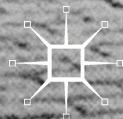




**Family Networks
and the Russian Revolutionary Movement,
1870–1940**

Katy Turton



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Katy Turton
School of History
Queen's University Belfast
Belfast, UK

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SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION AND CLARIFICATION OF DATES

I have used the Library of Congress system of transliteration throughout, except for those names which have a more familiar version, for example Trotsky rather than Trotskii, or where they have been anglicized in publication.

Until the Bolsheviks changed the Russian calendar on 14 February 1918, Russia followed the Julian (old style) calendar rather than the Gregorian (new style) calendar which was used in the rest of Europe. The Julian calendar was twelve days behind the Gregorian calendar in the nineteenth century and thirteen days behind it in the twentieth century. I have used the Julian calendar for dates before 14 February 1918.

Belfast, UK

Katy Turton

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INTRODUCTION

The Decembrist uprising of 1825 was the opening salvo of an almost century-long revolutionary struggle against the Russian autocracy. A group of officers, supported by several thousand soldiers, staged a protest in St Petersburg demanding that Alexander I's brother Constantine ascend the throne rather than his younger brother Nicholas and that Russia be given a constitution. Nicholas I successfully crushed the revolt, executing five men and sending several hundred more into Siberian exile. It was expected that the wives of these exiles would exercise their right to divorce their criminal husbands, putting their loyalty to the state above their family ties. Some did, but eleven chose instead to travel with their husbands, accompanied in a few cases by the men's mothers and sisters.¹ The historian D.S. Mirsky argued that 'the heroic conduct of the wives of the Decembrists' was a powerful act which did a great deal to 'enhance the prestige of the exiles'.² Beyond this, the deeds of the wives showed that women and men might support each other in revolutionary activity and that family ties could prove stronger than loyalty to the crown. They demonstrated that a revolutionary's life defied the

¹Natalia Pushkareva, *Women in Russian History from the Tenth to the Twentieth Century*, trans. and ed. by Eve Levin (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1997), pp. 201–202.

²D.S. Mirsky, 'The Decembrists, (14 (26) December, 1825)', in *The Slavonic Review*, 1925, Vol. 4, No. 11, p. 403.

traditional delineation between personal and political affairs since a private act of devotion could also serve as a public statement of political sympathy. That it was recognized as such is highlighted by the fact that while Nicholas I was alive ‘it was forbidden to refer to the rebels or their wives in public’.³

In an inverse journey in April 1917, Vladimir Il’ich Lenin and some of his revolutionary comrades returned to Russia from European exile, safe to do so now that Tsar Nicholas II had been overthrown in the February revolution and a provisional government had been established. Amongst the group were a number of families and two children, including Lenin and his wife Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaja, Grigorii Evseevich and Zlata Lilina Zinoviev with their son Stepan,⁴ Elena Feliksovna and Grigorii Aleksandrovich Usievich, Georgii Ivanovich and Valentina Sergeevna Safarov, Ol’ga Naumovna Ravich (Zinoviev’s first wife), Inessa Armand (Lenin’s former lover) and her sister-in-law Anna Evgen’evna Armand.⁵ The front cover of this book features a photograph of the group in Sweden.

Between 1825 and 1917, the revolutionary movement developed and grew from the Decembrist uprising and the populist and terrorist organizations of the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s, including Land and Liberty, the People’s Will and the Black Repartition, to the arrival of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (RSDRP) and the Party of the Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs) in 1898 and 1901 respectively. While these organizations had distinct ideological outlooks, tactics and visions for a reformed Russia, which were often asserted and debated in the most fraught ways, in terms of their practical work and basic assumptions about the duties and responsibilities of the revolutionary there were commonalities. Regardless of theoretical position, all groups

³Barbara Alpern Engel, *Women in Russia, 1700–2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 44.

⁴Stepan was born to Grigorii Evseevich Zinoviev and Zlata Evnovna Lilina in 1908 and he can be seen holding Zinoviev’s hand in the photograph taken in Sweden of the group which is on the front cover of this book.

⁵N. Krupskaja, *Vospominaniia o Lenine* (Moscow: Partiinoe izdatel’stvo, 1932), p. 266; Carter Elwood, ‘Lenin and Armand: New Evidence on an Old Affair’ in *Canadian Slavonic Papers/Revue Canadienne des Slavistes*, 2001, Vol. 43, No. 1, pp. 49–65; R.C. Elwood, *Inessa Armand: Revolutionary and Feminist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 39–40.

agitated or propagandized amongst workers and to a greater or lesser degree peasants, all printed illegally, all made use of safe houses, and all lost members to arrest, imprisonment and exile, regardless of theoretical position.⁶ Similarly, all shared the need for secrecy, the requirement to limit contact with innocent parties and the expectation that the revolutionary cause should be prioritized over personal concerns.

Revolutionaries also experienced the reality that adhering to these principles was not always possible or desirable. As the two vignettes above have suggested, in the Russian revolutionary movement political activity and family life were inextricably linked. Rarely did an individual join the underground without also involving his or her parents, siblings, spouse and even his or her children. Private homes were used for a wide variety of conspiratorial purposes, including as safe houses, meeting places and as the site of printing presses and weapons stores. Family networks were used to facilitate secret correspondence, they could be drawn on to help those arrested, imprisoned and exiled, and more generally they were a constant source of emotional and financial support to party activists.

So fundamental was familial involvement in the revolutionary movement that after the revolutionary year of 1917, family networks continued to play a role in the building of the Soviet regime, informing staffing decisions, working patterns and living arrangements. As the Bolshevik dictatorship was consolidated, the socialist opposition reverted to their old conspiratorial techniques in order to offer resistance to the regime and once again relied on their families as an integral part of their activities. Now, however, their oppressors understood deeply the ways in which kin supported revolutionary activities, and the laws which the Bolsheviks devised to target the opposition contained numerous measures deliberately designed to prevent family networks being used against the regime, if not to obliterate them altogether.

The family lives and personal connections of revolutionaries have been a consistent part of the historiography of the movement. Biographers of revolutionaries have acknowledged the family ties of their subjects, while those concerned with the structure, organization and functioning of the underground have included familial aspects of revolutionaries'

⁶J.L.H. Keep, *The Rise of Social Democracy in Russia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), p. 11.

lives as incidental detail.⁷ In both fields, however, there has always been a small but significant group who have preferred to keep the personal out of biographies and political studies, the former in particular, which are often framed as ‘political biographies’.⁸ In the introduction to his biography of the Menshevik leader Iulii Osipovich Martov, for example, Israel Getzler wrote:

[I have not] presumed to pry into the intimacies of Martov’s personal life. Having no family, worldly possessions or private interests of his own, Martov put all he had into the service of the Russian revolution and of socialism. For the purpose of this study, then, his public was his private life.⁹

In fact, as Getzler and this book discuss, Martov had seven siblings, six of whom were involved in the revolutionary movement, and parents

⁷For biographical examples, see Barbara Evans Clements, *Bolshevik Feminist: the Life of Aleksandra Kollontai* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979); Tova Yedlin, *Maxim Goriky: A Political Biography* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1999); Robert Service, *Lenin: A Biography* (London: Macmillan, 2000); Carter Elwood has written two articles on the non-geometric Lenin, see ‘What Lenin Ate’ in *Revolutionary Russia*, 2007, Vol. 20, No. 2, pp. 137–49 and ‘Lenin on Holiday’, in *Revolutionary Russia*, 2008, Vol. 21, No. 2, pp. 115–34; Lynne Ann Hartnett, *The Defiant Life of Vera Figner: Surviving the Russian Revolution* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014). Histories of the underground which contain details of family connections include: Avrahm Yarmolinsky, *Road to Revolution: A Century of Russian Radicalism* (London: Cassell, 1957); David Lane, *The Roots of Russian Communism: A Social and Historical Study of Russian Social-Democracy 1898–1907* (Assen: Van Gorcum and Company, 1969); Adam B. Ulam, *In the Name of the People: Prophets and Conspirators in Pre-Revolutionary Russia: Prophets and Conspirators in Prerevolutionary Russia* (New York: The Viking Press, 1977); Stephen F. Jones, *Socialism in Georgian Colors: The European Road to Social Democracy, 1883–1917* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2005).

⁸See, for example, Israel Getzler, *Martov: A Political Biography of a Russian Social Democrat* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), p. vii; W.H. Roobol, *Tsereteli — A Democrat in the Russian Revolution: A Political Biography*, trans. by Philip Hyams and Lynne Richards (The Hague: Martinus Nijhof, 1976); Stephen F. Cohen, *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution: A Political Biography, 1883–1938* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980); Yedlin, Tova, *Maxim Goriky: A Political Biography* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1999).

⁹Getzler, *Martov*, p. vii. See also editorial comments regarding a letter from Iu.O. Martov to S.D. Shchupak, 26 June 1920, in *Dear Comrades: Menshevik Reports on the Bolshevik Revolution and the Civil War*, ed. and trans. by Vladimir N. Brovkin (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1991), p. 209 and p. 214.

who were sympathetic to the cause. He may not have married, but he certainly had a family.¹⁰

More recently, prosopographical studies of socialist and Bolshevik women have commented on the family lives of their subjects and noted the supportive role relatives played in the work of revolutionary women. Understandably, given the focus of these works, they have not offered the same analysis of men's family lives.¹¹ In contrast, studies of the new regime established after the revolutions of 1917 have shown a great deal of interest in family ties amongst the Bolshevik and especially the Stalinist elite, as well as in the inclusion of family members in the widespread arrests of enemies of the state.¹² More generally, much work has been done on the place of the family in the Imperial Russian state, in socialist theory and in the Soviet regime, the latter of which is known both for its progressive and globally unprecedented laws emancipating women in its early years and for the Stalinist retreat to more conservative policies in the 1930s.¹³ What is missing is an analysis of the family as an integral part of the Russian revolutionary movement, as important to men as to women.

¹⁰Getzler, *Martov*, p. 3.

¹¹Beate Fieseler, 'The Making of Russian Female Social Democrats, 1890–1917', in *International Review of Social History*, 1989, Vol. 34, pp. 193–226; Barbara Evans Clements, *Bolshevik Women* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Anna Hillyar and Jane McDermid, *Revolutionary Women in Russia, 1870–1917. A Study in Collective Biography* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

¹²T.H. Rigby, *Lenin's Government: Sovnarkom, 1917–1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Simon Sebag Montefiore, *Stalin: The Court of the Red Tsar* (London: Phoenix, 2004); Sheila Fitzpatrick, *On Stalin's Team The Years of Living Dangerously in Soviet Politics* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2015); Stephen Kotkin, *Stalin: Paradoxes of Power, 1878–1928* (Penguin, 2015); Melanie Ilic, *Stalin's Terror Revisited* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Golfo Alexopoulos, 'Stalin and the Politics of Kinship: Practices of Collective Punishment, 1920s–1940s', in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 2008, Vol. 50, No. 1, pp. 91–117.

¹³Mary Buckley, *Women and Ideology in the Soviet Union* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989); Laura Engelstein, *The Keys to Happiness: Sex and the Search for Modernity in Fin-de-Siècle Russia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992); Elizabeth Waters, 'The Modernization of Russian Motherhood, 1917–1937' in *Soviet Studies*, 1992, Vol. 44, No. 1, pp. 123–35; W. Z. Goldman, *Women, the State and Revolution: Soviet Family Policy and Social Life, 1917–1936* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Barbara Raney, *From Baba to Tovarishch: The Bolshevik Revolution and Soviet Women's Struggle for Liberation*, (Chicago: Marxist-Leninist Books and Periodicals, 1994); William G. Wagner, *Marriage, Property, and Law in late Imperial Russia* (Oxford: Oxford

The family lives of party activists had a daily, practical impact on their ability to work for the revolutionary movement, as well as on the viability of the movement itself. Here the work of researchers in other fields is illuminating, where studies of the family have found that it can be an important site of resistance in an oppressive regime.¹⁴ In addition, there is an emerging literature about ‘activist mothering’, where women expand their traditional caring roles to support protestors and revolutionaries in their political struggles, which is instructive for understanding the importance of the types of roles Russian female party workers performed.¹⁵

In researching family networks I have found, like many other feminist historians, that there is no need to look for new primary documents to research women’s contributions to the past.¹⁶ Instead, what is required is the asking of new questions. This book draws on a range of published materials, from various collections of party documents and correspondence, to biographical sketches of key revolutionary figures, histories of revolutionary parties, and studies of Stalin and his elite circle. Autobiographical works and memoirs have been particularly important. When not published as monographs, such memoirs are to be found in a range of socialist publications dedicated to materials related to aspects

University Press, 1994); Elizabeth Wood, *The Baba and the Comrade* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997); B.A. Engel, *Mothers and Daughters: Women of the Intelligentsia in Nineteenth-century Russia* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 2000); Choi Chatterjee, *Celebrating Women: Gender, Festival Culture, and Bolshevik Ideology, 1910–1939* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2002).

¹⁴See, for example, Katherine Hollander, ‘At Home with the Marxes’, in *Journal of the Historical Society*, 2010, Vol. 1, No. 10, pp. 75–111.

¹⁵The term ‘activist mothering’ was coined by Nancy Naples in her book, *Grassroots Warriors: Activist Mothering, Community Work and the War on Poverty* (London: Routledge, 1998). Naples’ work discusses how women view their duties as mothers on a continuum with their work as civic or political activists. The term has also been applied by Alexandra Hrycak in her study of the Orange Revolution in Ukraine to highlight the way that women chose to take on this particular role, regardless of their high level of education and experience of political activism: Alexandra Hrycak, ‘Seeing Orange: Women’s Activism and Ukraine’s Orange Revolution’, in *Women’s Studies Quarterly*, 2007, Vol. 35, Nos. 3/4, pp. 208–25.

¹⁶Jane McDermid and Anna Hillyar, *Midwives of the Revolution: Female Bolsheviks and Women Workers in 1917* (London: UCL Press, 1999), p. vi.

of the revolutionary movement, including *Byloe (The Past)*, *Katorga i ssylka (Hard Labour and Exile)*, *Krasnyi arkhiv (The Red Archive)* and *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia (The Proletarian Revolution)*. They are also contained in biographical collections, such as the 1934 guide to members of the Society of Political Prisoners and Exiles, and in collections of short memoirs about party members and leaders.¹⁷

In many cases, I have had to search for the single line of reference to family connections, often buried in the notes rather than the text itself. Indeed, socialist memoirs in particular have a reputation for not dealing with personal concerns. As Clements has noted, those writing memoirs in the Soviet regime were expected to stress their contribution to the political struggle and limit references to family life since this was ‘an unseemly assertion of the importance of the individual’.¹⁸ Even socialists writing in emigration were bound by a similar code. More generally and beyond the revolutionary context, male autobiographers have a reputation for not discussing their home and family life to the same extent as female writers.¹⁹ As this study shows, however, there are numerous examples of female *and* male revolutionaries being candid about family life and the emotional experiences which went along with it.²⁰ Indeed, since so much underground activity took place in private homes and involved spouses and relatives, and since family networks remained so important in the Soviet regime, it is not surprising that descriptions of family life found their way into memoirs.

¹⁷*Politicheskaiia katorga i ssylka: biograficheskii spravochnik chlenov o-va politkatorzhan i ssyl'no-poselentsev*, ed. by M.M. Konstantinov (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Vsesoiuznogo Obshchestva Politkatorzhan i ssyl'no-poselentsev, 1934); Ignat'eva, V., ed., *Slavnye bol'shevichki* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1958); Vinogradova, S.F., E.A. Giliarova, M.Ia. Razumova (eds), *Leningradki: vospominaniya, ocherki, dokumenty* (Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1967); Zhak, L., and A.M. Itkina, eds., *Zhenshchiny russkoi revoliutsiia* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1968); V.M. Chernov, *V partii Sotsialistov-Revoliutsionerov: vospominaniia o vos'mi liderakh*, ed. by M.E. Ustinov (St Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo 'Dmitrii Bulanin', 2007).

¹⁸Clements, *Bolshevik Women*, p. 298.

¹⁹James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), p. 121.

²⁰Leon Trotsky, *My Life: The Rise and Fall of a Dictator* (London: Thornton Butterworth Ltd., 1930); ‘Interview with Lydia Dan’, in Leopold H. Haimson, *The Making of Three Russian Revolutionaries: Voices from the Menshevik Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 148.

The book also makes use of unpublished primary materials including personal and party correspondence, petitions to the authorities and the personal papers of some key revolutionary figures. Party correspondence from before and after the revolutions contains numerous candid references to the presence and role of family members in the movement. The archives of the Society of Old Bolsheviks, the personal papers of Bolsheviks, Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs) and Mensheviks held in various archives contain personal details of the families of revolutionaries as well as of their contributions to the underground and the new Soviet regime.

Also of value have been police reports and petitions to the authorities. The Tsarist political police, especially the Okhrana, was well aware that it had to take into account the work of women in the revolutionary movement if it was to identify and understand the nature of the radical threat to the autocracy.²¹ Police reports regularly noted the presence and activities of women, as well as the wider family networks which surrounded party activists. Indeed, since the law allowed prosecutions of family members for hiding or aiding revolutionary kin, the police were duty-bound to observe them. Other documents held by the police and the authorities are also of interest, including petitions on behalf of imprisoned relatives appealing for clemency or the mitigation of their sentence. Indeed, one of the most common ways for family members to support their revolutionary kin was to submit appeals to the authorities.

THE VALUE OF STUDYING FAMILY NETWORKS

Taken together, these sources make a convincing case that family networks were a constant presence in the revolutionary movements from the 1860s to the 1930s. This book deals with all the key radical parties of the pre-1917 period, as well as the new political scene of the early decades of the Soviet regime, but its approach is broadly thematic. Throughout the book, the focus will be above all on the interaction between family members and the revolutionary movement, the practical daily impact of the family on the underground or post-revolutionary political life and vice versa. Where there is discussion of the intimate and

²¹See, for example, I.E. Gorelov, *Bol'sheviki: Dokumenty po istorii bol'shevizma s 1903 po 1916 god byvshego Moskovskogo Okhrannogo Otdeleniia* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1990), pp. 18–21.

gendered aspects of family life, it is included to demonstrate how these affected an individual's ability to contribute to party work.

Studying the family life of revolutionaries allows a bridge to be built between histories of the revolutionary movement and studies of women's involvement in it. As is so often the case, women's history remains a field apart from the more 'general' histories of the Russian revolution. Women are rarely or only briefly included in histories of the revolutionary movement, despite the growing field of work on the part they played as comrades. If the ultimate aim of women's history is to produce an integrated narrative of the past in which men and women are dealt with equally, family life—the site of daily interaction between men and women—is one possible route by which to achieve it.²² This is particularly the case where the Russian revolutionary underground is concerned, since so much of its work was conducted in the private sphere. In this way it was unlike other political movements, which operated more freely in less oppressive regimes and could more easily exclude women from the traditional political spaces of meeting halls, gentlemen's clubs and party offices. While women's participation in the official work of parties was still unequal in terms of the roles they fulfilled, the use of domestic settings for revolutionary work to an extent compensated for this and offered more opportunities for women's involvement than was the case in other political movements.

Another benefit of studying the family life of revolutionaries is the insight it provides into the mindset of men and women in terms of issues of gender. Much has been written about socialist theories of women's emancipation and the institutional efforts (or lack thereof) post-1917 to implement them, but it is the daily lives of the revolutionaries propounding those theories that best illuminate their attitude towards women's place in society in all its complexities and contradictions and the extent to which they implemented the beliefs they propounded.

Lastly, there is a very real link between the activities of family members in supporting the revolutionary movement's work against the Tsarist regime and Bolshevik and later Stalinist policies regarding opposition. Arguably, the well-documented Soviet approach to political enemies, of

²²See also Katy Turton, 'Men, Women and an Integrated History of the Russian Revolutionary Movement' in *History Compass*, 2010, Vol. 8, pp. 1–15.

arresting, deporting, incarcerating or executing whole families, can only be properly understood in the context of the underground period.

This book takes a thematic approach, with chapters devoted to different aspects of the underground and the Soviet regime. It can also be understood as the life story the typical Russian revolutionary, who first had to be recruited into revolutionary circles (Chapter “[Joining the Movement](#)”) and then assigned party tasks (Chapter “[The Underground](#)”). Arrest, imprisonment and exile almost inevitably followed (Chapters “[Prison](#)” and “[Exile](#)”). While the revolutions of 1917 offered the chance for revolutionaries to begin building the better society of which they had dreamed (Chapter “[Consequences: The Bolsheviks After 1917](#)”), many, especially those who had participated in the underground, found themselves swept up in the Soviet persecution of perceived enemies (Chapter “[Consequences: Families in Opposition After 1917](#)”). The common thread through each chapter is the personal and political support of the family received by the revolutionary and by the movement itself.

Joining the Movement

The circle accepted as members only persons who were well known and had been tested in various circumstances, and of whom it was felt that they could be trusted absolutely. [...] The circle preferred to remain a closely united group of friends; and never did I meet elsewhere such a collection of morally superior men and women as the score of persons whose acquaintance I made at the first meeting of the Circle of Chaikovskii. I still feel proud of having been received into that family.

—Peter Kropotkin

(P. Kropotkin, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*
(New York: Horizon Press, 1968), p. 306.)

The routes by which individuals became politically radicalized in Russia were numerous and varied. Social status, ethnicity, gender, level of education, place of employment and even geographical location all had a role to play in influencing an individual's opportunities for gaining political awareness and engaging in radical activities. If there is a 'creation story' for the revolutionary it is the anarchist Pëtr Alekseevich Kropotkin's above: joining the movement meant replacing one's own family with a new family of revolutionary comrades. A young person would gradually become aware of the systemic injustices of the Russian autocratic system through personal observation, reading and perhaps through the guidance of an influential figure—a school mate, student or teacher. Having decided to become a revolutionary, the youngster would abandon his or her home, family and career path, and set out to find like-minded

comrades, joining study circles and then a party cell. Life would now be dedicated to revolutionary work, with all else sacrificed to the cause, especially the personal, with the sole exception of the brotherly respect and affection shared between comrades who would live, work and die together. For women revolutionaries, the rejection of the family home and a future that likely would have contained marriage and childbearing, or even the abandonment of an existing marriage and children, had a particular resonance and symbolic power, for it captured in microcosm the revolution itself. The rejection of the patriarchal oppression of the family paralleled the future destruction of the autocratic Tsarist regime.

The need to sever family ties can be traced to both theoretical and practical reasoning. As nihilism emerged as one of the first inspirers of revolutionary activity, it also informed how individuals were to behave as revolutionaries. Sergei Gennadevich Nechaev's *Revolutionary Catechism* of 1869 is often cited as the foundation of this view, with its argument that 'all the gentle and enervating sentiments of kinship, love, friendship, gratitude, and even honour, must be suppressed in [the revolutionary] and give place to the cold and single-minded passion for revolution'.¹ While nihilism gave way to populism and social democracy, hostility to the family remained, as Alexopoulos explains:

The Communist Manifesto called for the abolition of the traditional family which Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels believed was based on exploitation—the enslavement of wives by husbands and children by parents. Bolshevik revolutionaries viewed the traditional family with hostility as a site of so-called bourgeois, backward, and patriarchal power.²

Notions of personal sacrifice amongst the populists and 'hardness' amongst the Bolsheviks were embedded in revolutionary culture.³ Ol'ga Spiridovna Liubatovich, a member of the People's Will, wrote: 'Yes, it's a sin for revolutionaries to start a family. Men and women both must stand

¹Sergei Nechaev, 'Revolutionary Catechism', at <https://www.marxists.org/subject/anarchism/nechayev/catechism.htm>, last accessed 11 May 2017.

²Golfo Alexopoulos, 'Stalin and the Politics of Kinship: Practices of Collective Punishment, 1920s–1940s', in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 2008, Vol. 50, No. 1, p. 95.

³Barbara Evans Clements, *Bolshevik Feminist: the Life of Aleksandra Kollontai* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979), pp. 59–64.

alone, like soldiers under a hail of bullets.⁴ The social democrat Liubov' Nikolaevna Radchenko wrote in her diary that 'it was the duty of the true revolutionary not to be tied down by a family', while the Bolshevik Semën A. Ter-Petrosian, better known as Kamo, declared that he would break his ties with his aunt and sisters.⁵ From now on his only family would be his revolutionary comrades.⁶

Each sex developed its own rationales for avoiding romantic attachments with the other. For some women, the idea of avoiding romantic relationships with men and thereby emancipating themselves from patriarchy was attractive. For them, their fulfilment as socialists could only be properly achieved if they were allowed to be free of the shackles of family life and instead devote themselves wholeheartedly to their own development, education and political work. The Fritschi circle, formed by Russian women students in Zurich, deliberately excluded men in order to give its members time to improve their own revolutionary education and increase their confidence, before they joined mixed groups.⁷

Amongst some men, there was an unmistakable misogynistic tendency to view women as backward, conservative and religious, and therefore instinctively hostile to socialism.⁸ Socialism would emancipate women and transform their consciousness, but until then, they were best left out of the movement. In 1916, Lenin gave voice to this view of women as a brake on men's revolutionary activities in a letter to Inessa Armand when he wrote: 'What sort of person is Usievich's wife? An energetic woman, I believe? Will he make a Bolshevik of her or she make a neither-this-nor-that of him?'⁹

⁴'Olga Liubatovich', in Barbara Alpern Engel and Clifford N. Rosenthal, eds., *Five Sisters: Women Against the Tsar* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1975), p. 196.

⁵Orlando Figes, *The Whisperers: Private Life in Stalin's Russia* (London: Allen Lane, 2007), p. 3.

⁶S.F. Medvedeva-Ter-Petrosian, 'Tovarishch Kamo', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1924, No. 8–9, p. 121.

⁷Lynne Ann Hartnett, *The Defiant Life of Vera Figner: Surviving the Russian Revolution*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014, p. 56 and p. 46.

⁸Dave Pretty, 'The Saints of the Revolution: Political Activists in 1890 s Ivanovo-Voznesensk and the Path of Most Resistance', *Slavic Review*, 1995, Vol. 54, No. 2, p. 294.

⁹Letter, Lenin to Inessa Armand, 17 December 1916, in *Lenin's Collected Works*, 45 Vols. (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977) Vol. 43, pp. 587–588, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1916/dec/17ia.htm>, last accessed 10 May 2017.

There were of course practical considerations for encouraging and even demanding the breaking of ties with family members and anyone else not fully initiated into the revolutionary movement. The first was the risk of secrets being divulged. The terrorist Sergei Mikhailovich Stepniak-Kravchinskii asserted that family connections led to

those almost inevitable indiscretions, as, for instance, between husband and wife, or friend and friend, by which it sometimes happens that a secret, which has leaked out from the narrow circle of the organization through the thoughtlessness of some member, in a moment spreads all over the city, and is in every mouth.¹⁰

The second was that involving family members, in however limited a fashion, in revolutionary activities condemned them as revolutionaries in their own right in the eyes of the Tsarist regime. Kennan described the law as it stood in the 1880s:

A man may be perfectly loyal; [...] and yet, if he comes accidentally to know that his sister, or his brother, or his friend belongs to a society which contemplates a 'change in the existing form of government', and if he does not go voluntarily to the chief of gendarmes and betray that brother, sister, or friend, the law is adequate to send him to Siberia for life.¹¹

Convictions on this basis alone were rare, but the threat was a constant presence. Thus, the 'sole purpose' of cutting oneself off from one's family was, as the Socialist Revolutionary Marie Sukloff remembered, 'to safeguard innocent people against governmental persecution in the event of arrest of a member of the organization'.¹²

In view of the above, it is not surprising that when describing their entry into the revolutionary movement, party members regularly give the impression that they found their way independently to socialism and to party activity. The social democrat George Denike, who joined the Mensheviks in 1917, used rather startling imagery in his memoirs when he asserted that 'it was not in my family that I was infected by

¹⁰Sergei Stepniak, *Underground Russia: Revolutionary Profiles and Sketches from Life* (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1890), p. 137.

¹¹George Kennan, *Siberia and the Exile System*, 2 vols. (London: James R. Osgood, McIlvaine & Co., 1891), Vol. 2, p. 509.

¹²Marie Sukloff, *The Life Story of a Russian Exile* (New York: Century Co., 1914), pp. 126–127.

revolutionary bacilli. I cannot say whether my parents were conservative or liberal. Politics simply did not exist in our family'.¹³ The medical imagery was used here presumably to reinforce the notion that he became a revolutionary due to forces entirely external to his family life. Other revolutionaries made similar claims, sometimes adding that their revolutionary spirit sprang spontaneously from within themselves.

The future Bolshevik Aleksandra Mikhailovna Kollontai remembered her feeling of deep independence as a child and her awareness that she had to break free from 'the given model' and 'grow beyond' it in order to find her way in life. She framed her 'protest against everything' around her as a rebellion against being the spoiled youngster of the family and asserted: 'Already early in life I had eyes for the social injustices prevailing in Russia.'¹⁴

Despite these assertions of independent arrival at revolutionary thinking, however, further investigation clearly reveals that familial influence was also important. Denike went on to modify his earlier statement, saying: 'although far from being a radical himself, [my father] unwittingly helped me to become a revolutionary'.¹⁵ Denike's father's career as a judge had been cut short because, Denike implies, he was too reformist for the establishment's liking. Similarly, while Denike claimed that he was independently aware of Marxism and Bolshevism by the time he was aged fourteen or fifteen, it also emerges that it was a cousin of his, Nikolai Ivanovich Dankerov, who brought him into contact with a revolutionary circle. Dankerov was seven or eight years older and had already been expelled from university. He now led a Bolshevik group in Kazan.¹⁶ Indeed, Dankerov was something of a recruiter for the Bolsheviks, sometimes drawing whole families into the movement.¹⁷

¹³Iu. Denike, 'Memoirs', in Hoover Institution Archive, Nicolaevsky papers, Series 279, Box 672, Folder 11, p. 1. Denike's real name was Iurii Petrovich Denike.

¹⁴Aleksandra Kollontai, *The Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Communist Woman*, trans. Salvator Attansio (New York: Herder and Herder, 1971) (<https://www.marxists.org/archive/kollonta/1926/autobiography.htm>, last accessed 20 April 2017).

¹⁵Iu. Denike, 'Memoirs', in Hoover Institution Archive, Nicolaevsky papers, Series 279, Box 672, Folder 11, p. 2.

¹⁶Iu. Denike, 'Memoirs', in Hoover Institution Archive, Nicolaevsky papers, Series 279, Box 672, Folder 11, pp. 2–3.

¹⁷Denike describes how Dankerov introduced four out of five siblings from one family to Bolshevism. The siblings were the four sons and one daughter of the widow of Viktor Tikhomirov, a member of 'a family of very interesting Kazan merchants'; only the eldest son did not become a Bolshevik (Iu. Denike, 'Memoirs', in Hoover Institution Archive, Nicolaevsky papers, Series 279, Box 672, Folder 11, p. 34).

Kollontai's parents had their own connections with revolutionary activity. Her father had pleaded on behalf of her mother's first husband, who had been 'arrested for involvement in conspiracy to assassinate Alexander II', and the governess of Kollontai's half-sister, Evgeniia, had regular political conversations with Kollontai's father and introduced Kollontai to radical ideas, finding her work 'at a library that supported the Sunday classes teaching workers basic literacy and a little socialism'.¹⁸

Once Kollontai had made her decision to pursue higher education abroad in Switzerland, not least because it had long been a haven for radical Russian students, she needed her parents' approval and financial support, as well as their agreement to care for her son while she was away, in order to do so. Arguably, if they had wished to prevent her activities, which they were aware of, they had the means to do so.

There are numerous other examples of progressive parents who came into conflict with the regime, but maintained their commitment to raising their children in a reformist atmosphere. The terrorist and People's Will member Sergei Petrovich Degaev was raised with his three siblings by his widowed mother, Natal'ia Nikolaevna Degaeva, in a 'radical spirit'. She was the daughter of the liberal writer, historian and publisher Nikolai Alekseevich Polevoi, who had 'suffered at the hands of Nicholas I's censors'. When the Degaevs arrived in St Petersburg in 1879, the whole family 'became close acquaintances of several members of the People's Will'.¹⁹ Lev Stepanovich Olitskii, father of the future Socialist Revolutionary Ekaterina L'vovna, had been a member of the People's Will, but had long since settled into a progressive but law-abiding life. Nonetheless, he happily provided his daughter with books on political economy to read.²⁰

There are also more clear-cut examples of parental influence in the development of revolutionaries. Osip Aleksandrovich Tserdobaum, father of the future Menshevik leader Martov, was well educated and

¹⁸Clements, *Bolshevik Feminist*, p. 9, p. 11, p. 12 and p. 18.

¹⁹Adam B. Ulam, *In the Name of the People: Prophets and Conspirators in Pre-Revolutionary Russia: Prophets and Conspirators in Pre-revolutionary Russia* (New York: The Viking Press, 1977), p. 380.

²⁰E.L. Olitskaia, *Moi vospominaniia*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt: Posev, 1971), p. 74 <http://www.libros.am/book/167398/moi-vospominaniya-1>, downloaded 3 March 2017.

liberal in outlook, but became increasingly hostile to the regime, partly as a result of the harsh treatment Jews faced under Alexander III. He hosted regular evening parties at which he and his like-minded friends criticized the regime and discussed the activities of the People's Will. As a young teenager, Martov was allowed to participate in these evenings and it was here that he heard his 'first "seditious" ideas'.²¹ One of the leading figures of Georgian social democracy, Iraklii Tsereteli, was raised by a father who had himself been imprisoned for rioting against the Tsarist regime and now dedicated himself to editing a number of radical newspapers. Giorgi gave one of them, *Kvali*, to a local social democratic group in 1898 and Iraklii became one of its editors. 'By the 1890 s', as Jones describes, Giorgi Tsereteli 'was championing the "young" generation of Marxists, who would 'show the Georgian people a new way forward'.²²

Female revolutionaries record similar experiences. The Bolshevik Rozaliia Samoilovna Zemliachka learned her 'democratic ways of thinking and living' from her mother, while Evgeniia N. Adamovich remembered that her mother's 'energy, diligence, [and] attraction to the revolutionary-democratic ideals of the 1860 s and 1870 s had a decisive influence' on her own outlook.²³ The future leader of the Women's Section in the Soviet government, Aleksandra Vasil'evna Artiukhina, was first drawn into workers' activism by her mother, who recruited her to a trade union for textile workers.²⁴ Mariia Prokof'evna Timofeeva-Reingol'dts was born and raised in Finland by a father who opposed the autocracy and soon became familiar with social democratic ideas before joining the RSDRP.²⁵ It is also clear that a number of children born to

²¹ Israel Getzler, *Martov: A Political Biography of a Russian Social Democrat* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), p. 3 and pp. 5–6.

²² Stephen F. Jones, *Socialism in Georgian Colors: The European Road to Social Democracy, 1883–1917* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2005), p. 39 and p. 42.

²³ R.S. Zemliachka and E.N. Adamovich, quoted in Clements, *Bolshevik Women*, p. 23 and p. 38.

²⁴ Hillyar, Anna, and Jane McDermid, *Revolutionary Women in Russia, 1870–1917. A Study in Collective Biography* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 146.

²⁵ 'Pamiati M.P. Timofeevoi-Reingol'dts', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1924, No. 5, p. 10.

parents in political exile went on to become revolutionaries, including Minei Izrailevich Iaroslavskii-Gubel'man, who joined the RSDRP in 1902, and Konstantin Ivanovich Slobodchikov, who participated in radical activity in Irkutsk.²⁶

With or without parental influence, another route into the revolutionary movement was to follow an older sibling. The Ul'ianov (Lenin's) and Tserderbaum (Martov's) siblings followed uncannily similar paths into the movement. After the initiation of the eldest or elder siblings, they passed on their knowledge to younger brothers and sisters, deliberately recruiting them as their helpers in revolutionary activity, but also as members of the same party in their own right.

The six Ul'ianov children were born in pairs: Anna and Aleksandr were of similar ages, then Vladimir (Lenin) and Ol'ga, followed by Dmitrii and Mariia. They were raised by liberal parents who gave them all an excellent education. Anna and Aleksandr attended university in St Petersburg at the same time. Both quickly became involved in radical discussion groups and student activism, but Aleksandr took things further and joined a conspiracy to assassinate Tsar Alexander III. He and his group were caught and Aleksandr and four others were executed. Anna had received a telegram from one of Aleksandr's co-conspirators and for this was imprisoned then exiled for five years. In trying to understand Aleksandr's actions, Anna, Lenin and Ol'ga familiarized themselves with illegal literature and sought out radical groups, soon becoming activists in their own right. Indeed, it was their connection to Aleksandr, whose deeds were well known, which facilitated their entry to revolutionary activities.²⁷ When Dmitrii and Mariia were old enough, they followed their siblings, first into the RSDRP, then into the Bolshevik party.²⁸

In the Tserderbaum family, it was Iulii Osipovich Martov who first came into contact with revolutionary ideas, both through the democratic outlook of his father and through his friends at gymnasium in St Petersburg. One told him secretly that his older sister, Vera Davidovna

²⁶ *Političeskaiia katorga i ssylka: biograficheskie spravocniki členov o-va politkatorzhan i ssyl'no-poselentsev*, ed. by M.M. Konstantinov (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Vsesoiuznogo Obshchestva Politkatorzhan i ssyl'no-poselentsev, 1934), p. 764 and p. 866.

²⁷ Richard Pipes, *Social Democracy and the St Petersburg Labour Movement, 1885–1897* (Irvine, CA.: Charles Schlacks Jr, 1985), p. 33.

²⁸ Katy Turton, *Forgotten Lives: The Role of Lenin's Sisters in the Russian Revolution, 1864–1937* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 10–29.

Gurari, was in exile for revolutionary activities; another was the nephew of the revolutionary and writer Nikolai Vasil'evich Shelgunov; and a third, Sergei Nikolaevich Kranikhfel'd, had two cousins in exile for their involvement in the People's Will.²⁹ Having begun to participate in radical circles, Martov shared the ideas and information he gleaned from them and from his wide and avid reading with his brothers and sisters and increasingly drew them first into revolutionary discussions and then into illegal activities. As his sister, Lydia Dan, put it: 'Each of us was involved, however slight our involvement might be. Iulii always tried to involve everyone in these doings.'³⁰ Indeed, Martov's younger brother Vladimir claimed that Martov felt it was his duty to do so.³¹

Other revolutionaries, of all persuasions, reported a similar route into revolutionary activities. When the populist and 'Grandmother of the Revolution' Ekaterina Konstantinovna Breshko-Breshkovskaia decided to embark for good on a revolutionary career, her first port of call was the Kiev home of her sister Ol'ga, a widow, with whom she formed a revolutionary cell.³² The Ivanovskii siblings also joined the populist movement en masse. Vasilii Semenovich, the eldest brother, first came into contact with radical ideas in Moscow while studying at the Medical and Surgical Academy. On his return to Tula, he set up a study circle, discussion groups and a library of illegal literature which his sister Praskov'ia helped to run. After her came their sister Aleksandra, who went to St Petersburg to attend the Higher Women's Courses and joined the 'To the People' movement. Meanwhile their younger brother helped hide illegal literature and even their youngest brother, aged ten, became involved.³³

²⁹Iu.O. Martov, *Zapiski sotsial-demokrata*, ed. P.Iu. Savel'ev (Moskva: ROSSPEN, 2004), p. 31 and p. 42. Kranikhfel'd went on to marry Martov's sister Nadezhda Osipovna (Martov, *Zapiski*, p. 459).

³⁰Interview with Lydia Dan', in Leopold H. Haimson, *The Making of Three Russian Revolutionaries: Voices from the Menshevik Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 68.

³¹V.O. Tsederbaum (V. Levitskii), 'Za chetvert' veka' in Martov, *Zapiski sotsial-demokrata*, p. 435.

³²Alice Stone Blackwell, ed., *The Little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution: Reminiscences and Letters of Catherine Breshkovsky* (Westport, Connecticut: Hyperion Press, Inc., 1973), p. 31.

³³'Praskovaia Ivanovskaia', in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 99, pp. 101–102 and p. 112.

The Figner sisters (though not their brothers)³⁴ are another good example of revolutionary siblings. Initially influenced by the progressive outlook of her uncle, Vera became determined to go abroad to study medicine and took her sister Lydia with her. It was Lydia who initially joined the Fritschi circle and then drew in her sister. By 1875 Lydia was conducting propaganda in Russia and by 1876, Vera had helped found Land and Liberty. Vera and Lydia's younger sister Evgeniia followed suit.³⁵ Also in the Fritschi circle were the Liubatovich sisters, who, on returning to Russia, joined the All-Russian Social Revolutionary (or Moscow) Organization, a precursor to Land and Liberty.³⁶ Other examples abound. Nechaev himself had a sister, Anna, in the movement.³⁷ The brothers Vasilii and Nikolai Stepanovich Kurochkin belonged to Land and Liberty.³⁸ Members of the People's Will included the three Subbotina sisters, Mariia, Nadezhda and Evgeniia Dmitrievna, and the Olovennikov sisters.³⁹

Social democrats tell similar stories. Iraida Karaseva (Murav'eva) Ul'ianova remembered being aware from the age of eleven that her elder brother and sister were holding meetings of social democrats in their flat.⁴⁰ The Bolshevik and future Politburo member Lazar' Moiseevich Kaganovich was introduced to the revolutionary movement by his elder brother Mikhail.⁴¹ Similarly, Avgusta Iakovlevna Degtiareva-Boksberg (Zonta) became acquainted with social-democratic illegal literature through her brother (and others).⁴² Amongst the Socialist

³⁴Vera's brother Pëtr became a 'prominent mining engineer' in Perm and Ufa, while her other brother Nikolai was 'an operatic tenor' (Vera Figner, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1991), p. 12).

³⁵Figner, *Memoirs*, p. 12, p. 39, p. 40 and p. 48.

³⁶'Olga Liubatovich', in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 146.

³⁷'Vera Zasulich', in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 76.

³⁸Ulam, *In the Name of the People*, p. 153.

³⁹'Vera Figner', in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 31; Avraham Yarmolinsky, *Road to Revolution: A Century of Russian Radicalism* (London: Cassell, 1957), p. 314; Ulam, *In the Name of the People*, pp. 347–348.

⁴⁰Iraida Karaseva (Murav'eva) Ul'ianova, 'Avtobiografia', in RGASPI, f. 124, o. 1, ed. khr. 823, l. 6.

⁴¹E.A. Rees, *Iron Lazar: A Political Biography of Lazar Kaganovich* (London: Anthem Press, 2012), p. 3 and p. 6.

⁴²Avgusta Iakovlevn Degtiareva-Boksberg (Zonta), 'Avtobiografia', in RGASPI, f. 124, o. 1, ed. khr. 572, l. 8.

Revolutionaries were the Natanson siblings and the Ratnikovs.⁴³ The memoir literature contains numerous references to other sibling groups working for the movement.⁴⁴

Even if the new recruits to revolutionary circles were related to other members, they were still often initiated incrementally. Lydia Dan described her younger brother's entry to the movement:

Sergei began fairly early. [...] There was no question that Sergei was going to be involved. [...] It was sometimes necessary to deliver literature or a letter, and this was entrusted to Sergei. Sergei was going to gymnasium [secondary school] and could come home a half-hour late; no one would notice. He carried out these tasks precisely and conscientiously. He showed an aptitude for such technical functions very early, and carried them out very precisely.⁴⁵

⁴³Michael Melancon, *The Socialist Revolutionaries and the Russian Anti-War Movement, 1914–1917* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1990), p. 27 and p. 28.

⁴⁴Members of the People's Will included the brothers N.L. and B.L. Zotov (Iu.O. Martov, *Zapiski sotsial-demokrata*, ed. P.Iu. Savel'ev (Moskva: ROSSPEN, 2004), p. 68); amongst the social democrats were the siblings Nikolai Mikhailovich Velichkin and his sister Klavdia, who had been members of the Moscow Workers' Union and were active in Tula in 1894 (James D. White, 'Bogdanov in Tula', in *Studies in Soviet Thought*, 1981, Vol. 22, No. 1, p. 53); the Krasin brothers, Leonid and German Borisovich, who joined the social-democratic movement together (M.A. Sil'vin, 'K biografii V.I. Lenina (Iz vospominanii)' in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1924, No. 7, p. 67); Viktor Pavlovich Nogin, who worked with his brother T.P. Nogin for the RSDRP publication *Iskra* (*The Spark*) in Moscow in 1901 (V.P. Nogin, 'Vospominaniia V.P. Nolina o Moskovskoi organizatsii', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1925, No. 2, p. 205); the sisters Vassa and Aleksandra Kondrat'eva (Al. Bogdanov (Anton), 'Samarskaia s.-d organizatsiia (1906–1907 gg.)', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1925, No. 7, p. 176); the Liubimov brothers, Vladimir, Vasilii and Leonid, in the Minsk organization of RSDRP 1903–1905 (E. Belen'kii, 'K istorii Minskoi organizatsii RSDRP(b) v 1903–1905 gg.', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1925, No. 8, p. 65); the brothers Ivan and Mikhail Kadomtsev and Mikhail and Petr Guzakov (Sulimov, 'K istorii', p. 100 and p. 106); the siblings involved in bomb-making and weapons transportation in Finland, the brothers Klingstedt, Niuman and Niulander (Smirnov, 'Revoliutsionnaia rabota v Finlandii', p. 126); L. Shklovskii worked in the Ekaterinoslav Bolshevik organization with his brother Iakov in 1905 (L. Shklovskii (Sergei), 'Vospominanii o 1905 gode', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1926, No. 1, p. 191); and, finally, the Berzin sisters, Al'ma and Marta Karlovna (M. Latsis, 'Podpol'naia rabota v Moskve (1914–1915)', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1925, No. 10, p. 204).

⁴⁵'Interview with Lydia Dan', in Haimson, *The Making of Three Russian Revolutionaries*, pp. 68–69.

The Bolshevik Osip Aronovich Piatnitsky was determined to leave home and in 1897 went to Kovno to live with one of his brothers ‘at whose house meetings, readings and discussions frequently took place’. He remembered:

At first they used to turn me out of the room, but later I became a ‘rightful’ though silent member of all these gatherings. About that time raids and arrests began. The active members of the self-education circle of the illegal trade union of carpenters who used to gather at my brother’s house began to entrust me with conspiratorial and responsible commissions, such as carrying literature from Kovno to Vilna, delivering packages, etc.⁴⁶

Bogdana Petrovna Milevskaia was drawn into the movement because her brother, who had been a member of the RSDRP since 1900, gave her illegal literature to distribute in the tobacco factory where she worked from the age of thirteen. She began this small-scale work in 1903 and officially joined the party in 1905.⁴⁷

Where siblings could not be recruited, cousins could prove just as influential, as Denike’s example above suggested.⁴⁸ Remembering his experiences as a youngster, William Reswick wrote that both he and his friend Mania had revolutionary connections. Mania’s cousin Dunia was a member of the underground in Kiev who had been in prison, while Reswick’s cousin Raisa had already experienced exile as a result of participating in a student demonstration. He and Mania attended Raisa’s ‘secret lectures’ and there met members of the Socialist Revolutionary party. He recalled: ‘From that day on Mania and I rarely missed a lecture. We took up the study of revolutionary literature, read the illegal books, and dreamed continually of daring exploits in the underground.’⁴⁹ Before long, the two were delivering illegal literature to a nearby military camp.⁵⁰

Given the patriarchal structures in family life and the laws that upheld them, women’s entry to the revolutionary movement was not always

⁴⁶O. Piatnitsky, *Memoirs of a Bolshevik* (London: Martin Lawrence Ltd., 1927), p. 17.

⁴⁷Bogdana Petrovna Milevskaia, in RGASPI, f. 124, o. 1, ed. khr. 1270, l. 3.

⁴⁸See also Ulam, *In the Name of the People*, p. 159.

⁴⁹William Reswick, *I Dreamt Revolution* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1952), p. 20.

⁵⁰Reswick, *I Dreamt Revolution*, p. 20.

easy, even if they shared the same views as their brothers. Women needed the permission of their father or husband if they wished to travel and where questions of their place of residence, education and employment were concerned. For some women, then, whose male relatives did not approve of their radical views, entry into the movement required a rebellion against their own ‘oppressors’, before they could begin the fight against the Tsar.

To escape home, women found sympathetic husbands who were prepared to work with them in the revolutionary movement, or made fictitious marriages from which their husbands agreed to free them once they had escaped parental control. While Vera Nikolaevna Figner’s father died before she embarked on her journey to Switzerland, she still needed to ensure she had the support of her fiancé in her plans. Thus, Vera persuaded her husband-to-be to give up his job as a lawyer and travel with her.⁵¹ Ol’ga Evgen’evna Fedorenko fled a marriage planned by her parents and married instead Sergei Iakovlevich Alliluev, ‘who at that time was already occupied with revolutionary activities’. In this way, Ol’ga began her ‘conscious life’ as a revolutionary.⁵² The social democrat Aleksandra Mikhailovna Iakubova explained that while she became radicalized independently, she officially joined the RSDRP through her husband. It seems that her father opposed her involvement in the party and threw her out after a police search. In 1909, she cut all ties with her parents and joined Iakubov in exile, where they formed a party committee.⁵³

Even if women were not radicalized before they married, it was unusual for husbands who were involved in revolutionary activities to keep them in the dark about it. Practical considerations meant that almost as a matter of course husbands involved their wives in their activities.⁵⁴ Ivan Aleksandrovich Iukhotskii joined the social-democratic movement through his acquaintance with ‘two Jewish Marxist activists’ in Odessa. As he put it:

⁵¹Figner, *Memoirs*, pp. 36–37.

⁵²Ol’ga Evgen’evna Allilueva, ‘Avtobiografia’, in RGAPSI, f. 124, o. 1, ed. khr. 40, l. 7.

⁵³Aleksandra Mikhailovna Iakubova, ‘Avtobiografia’, in RGASPI, f. 124, o. 1, ed. khr. 2245, l. 10 and l. 11.

⁵⁴See, for example, E.Ia. Drabkina, ‘Tovarishch Natasha’ and A.N. Emel’ianov, ‘Rasskaz o moei materi’, in S.F. Vinogradova, E.A. Gilyarova, M.Ia. Razumova (eds), *Leningradki: vospominaniya, ocherki, dokumenty* (Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1967), p. 100 and p. 73.

My job was to organize the building workers, with whom I mixed most. I knew very well what I was letting myself in for and for that reason to begin with I trod very warily. My wife [Berta] of course knew what was going on and I told her that I might be arrested. She never tried to stop me in my political activities; in fact she helped.⁵⁵

When Avetis Pavlovich Gevorkiants joined the RSDRP in 1901, his wife, Varvara Avetovna, soon involved herself too, participating in ‘voluntary organizations’ and helping to feed and clothe party comrades.⁵⁶ The Menshevik Boris Isaakovich Gorev recruited his girlfriend, O.V. Neustroeva, to his party committee, while Elizaveta Alekseevna Elagina puts her conversion from the People’s Will to social democracy down to her marriage.⁵⁷ The Bolshevik Inessa Armand left her first Aleksander Armand for his brother, Vladimir, while simultaneously going through a transformation from being content to do legal philanthropic work to engaging in more radical circles. Through Vladimir she became involved in illegal revolutionary activities, as did, incidentally, several of his siblings. Aleksander continued to support Inessa throughout her life, looking after their four children (Inessa had a fifth with Vladimir) and providing help when she needed it.⁵⁸

The process worked in the opposite direction as well. Aleksandr Dmitrievich Mikhailov joined Land and Liberty because he had fallen in love with Ol’ga Shleisner, the wife of Mark Andreevich Natanson, one of the founders of the party and later People’s Will member and Socialist Revolutionary.⁵⁹ The writer Maxim Gorky had come into contact with revolutionary ideas before his second marriage, but it was his relationship with his second wife Mariia Fëdorovna Andreeva which drew him specifically into

⁵⁵Ivan Alexandrovich Yukhotsky, ‘Prisoner of the Tsar’, in Norman Stone and Michael Glenny, eds., *The Other Russia* (London: Faber and Faber, 1990), p. 79.

⁵⁶Avetis Pavlovich Gevorkiants, ‘Avtobiografiia’, in in RGASPI, f. 124, o. 1, ed. 450, l. 8.

⁵⁷B.I. Gorev, *Iz partiinogo proshlogo. Vospominaniia, 1895–1905* (Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel’stvo, 1924), p. 35; Elizaveta Alekseevna Elagina, ‘Avtobiografiia chlena VOSB Elaginoi E.A.’, in RGASPI, f. 124, o. 1, ed. khr. 633, l. 4 ob.

⁵⁸Bertram D. Wolfe, ‘Lenin and Inessa Armand’, in *Slavic Review*, 1963, Vol. 22, No. 1, p. 99 and pp. 100–101; Elwood, *Inessa Armand*, p. 35 and p. 55.

⁵⁹Ulam, *In the Name of the People*, p. 292; Aleksandr Dmitrievich Mikhailov, ‘Avtobiograficheskiia zametki’, in *Byloe*, 1906, No. 2, p. 160.

the orbit of the RSDRP.⁶⁰ The Menshevik Fëdor Il'ich Dan's 'introduction to the Petersburg revolutionary milieu was facilitated by his first wife', Vera Vasil'evna Kozhevnikova.⁶¹

Whatever the route, the memoir literature of the revolutionary movement regularly mentions couples who were part of the movement, and ran or were members of party cells together.⁶² The Ekaterinburg RSDRP committee was staffed on separate occasions by two married couples: Marusia and Sergei Cherepanov and Isaak Khristoforovich Lalaian and his wife Praskov'ia Ivanovna Kuliabko.⁶³ In the early months of 1917 in Petrograd, the SR couple Boris and Ol'ga Flekkel' led several workers' educational societies which were at the centre of underground activities.⁶⁴

Not all marriages were made between two equally committed revolutionaries and not all marriages survived one spouse's entry into the movement. Vera Figner parted company with her husband when it became clear that he could not wholeheartedly support the revolutionary cause.⁶⁵ More famous are the cases of women leaving children as well

⁶⁰Tova Yedlin, 'Maxim Gorky: His Early Revolutionary Activity and his Involvement in the Revolution of 1905', in *Canadian Slavonic Papers/Revue Canadienne des Slavistes*, 1975, Vol. 17, No. 1, p. 89; Tova Yedlin, *Maxim Gorky: A Political Biography* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1999) p. 33. Gorky's first wife was E.P. Peshkova.

⁶¹André Liebich, *From the Other Shore: Russian Social Democracy after 1921* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 20; Haimson, *The Making of Three Russian Revolutionaries*, p. 462.

⁶²Amongst the social democrats were Aleksei and Elena Voitevich in the RSDRP Moscow Committee in 1906 (Nogin, 'Vospominaniia V.P. Nogina', p. 210); A.M. Bulygin and his wife Nastia, who ran a bomb-making workshop in St Petersburg in 1905 (Sergei Sulimov ('Petr'), 'Vospominaniia o boevoi tekhnicheskoi gruppe pri TsK partii (1905–1907 gg.)' in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1925, No. 7, p. 95); A.P. Romanova, who worked on an underground typograph with her fiancé (A. Sukhov, 'Revoliutsiia 1905 g. v Nizhnem i Sormove (Vospominaniia agitatora)', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1925, No. 11, p. 223); and Stepan Shaumian, who with his wife and two sons was at the heart of the Bolshevik community in Baku (Miklós Kun, *Stalin: An Unknown Portrait* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2003), p. 90.).

⁶³Preobrazhenskii, 'Evgeniia Bogdanovna Bosh', p. 9; Martynov-Piker, 'Vospominaniia revoliutsionera', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1925, No. 11, p. 272; Grigorii Bienstock and wife Judith Grinfeld (Liebich, *From the Other Shore*, p. 60).

⁶⁴Michael Melancon, *The Socialist Revolutionaries and the Russian Anti-War Movement, 1914–1917* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1990), p. 211.

⁶⁵Figner, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, p. 44.

as marriages in order to become revolutionaries. Breshko-Breshkovskaia described realizing that if she was to dedicate her life to the revolutionary movement, she could not also fulfil her role as wife and mother as Tsarist society envisaged it at the time. Therefore, she left her husband and gave her son to her brother and his wife to raise.⁶⁶ The Menshevik Eva L'vovna Broido left her first husband and gave her daughter to her mother to look after when she joined the movement, while Kollontai placed her son in her parents' care when she embarked on her revolutionary career.⁶⁷ Lydia Dan gave her three-year-old daughter, by her first marriage, to her brother-in-law and his wife to raise.⁶⁸ This highlights another way in which family members, sympathetic or otherwise, could facilitate an individual joining the movement. If the families of these women had not agreed to look after their children, it would have been much more difficult for them to pursue their revolutionary careers.

Men sometimes made this decision as well, though as Engel has persuasively argued it tended not to be as difficult for a man to be both a father and a revolutionary. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries fathers assumed, and society and the law agreed, that children would be cared for by their mothers while they pursued their careers; a man therefore did not always have to sacrifice his family life to become a revolutionary.⁶⁹ One of the leading figures of the People's Will, Andrei Ivanovich Zheliabov, left a wife and children at home when he joined the movement.⁷⁰ Similarly, the Socialist Revolutionary Boris Viktorovich Savinkov remembered a peasant and sympathizer, Karl Ivanovich Shtalberg, happily deciding to join the revolutionary movement even

⁶⁶Breshko-Breshkovskaia quoted in Blackwell, *Little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution*, pp. 39–40.

⁶⁷Eva L'vovna Broido, *Memoirs of a Revolutionary*, ed. and trans. by Vera Broido (London, 1967), p. 14; Clements, *Bolshevik Feminist*, p. 22.

⁶⁸Andre Liebich, 'Mensheviks, Then and Now', in *Russian Review*, 1989, Vol. 48, No.1, p. 69.

⁶⁹Barbara Alpern Engel, *Mothers and Daughters: Women of the Intelligentsia in Nineteenth-Century Russia* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1983), p. 195; William Wagner, *Marriage, Property, and Law in Late Imperial Russia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), p. 75. One Orthodox writer expressed it thus: 'The appointed place of a male is in the life of the family and of society beyond the family [...] The appointed place of a female is in the life of the family [...]' (Wagner, *Marriage, Property, and Law*, p. 75).

⁷⁰Engel, *Mothers and Daughters*, p. 186.

though it would mean leaving his wife, sister-in-law and children to work the family farm without him.⁷¹ Savinkov himself left his children to be cared for by his wife, whom he then divorced.⁷² Evgenii Arkad'evich Anan'in recalled the case of the Menshevik Vladimir Aleksandrovich Antonov-Ovseenko, who left his wife in order to participate in revolutionary activities. When Ovseenko's wife's sister came looking for him, Anan'in defended him, saying that revolutionaries could not be bound by bourgeois standards.⁷³

After this list of apparently indifferent fathers, it is worth mentioning the case of the SR terrorist Lev Ivanovich Zil'berberg, who participated in attempts to assassinate Prime Minister Stolypin and Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaevich, but who also had a daughter with his wife, Ksenia Ksenofontovna Panfilova. He chose never to see his child, even before his execution. Yet his letters to his wife highlight that this decision was as deeply painful for him as it was for the women who left their children behind.⁷⁴

It was, in fact, rare for revolutionaries, both female and male, to make a complete break from their children. Thus, having joined the revolutionary movement, Broido, Armand and Kollontai all took on the care of their children again, albeit for short periods.⁷⁵ Some revolutionaries kept their children with them as much as possible throughout their lives: the Bolsheviks Ol'ga and Sergei Alliluev did this, as did the Bolshevik Feodosiia Il'inichna Drabkina.

Parents often made the decision to educate their children in their views, ideals and plans. Valerian Aleksandrovich Balmashëv was a former member of the People's Will, but he continued to run a library of banned literature and held regular Saturday meetings at which he

⁷¹B. Savinkov, *Vospominaniia terrorista* (Benson, Vermont: Chalidze Publications, 1986), p. 270.

⁷²Marc Jansen, 'Boris Savinkov's Sons', in *Revolutionary Russia*, 2001, Vol. 14, No. 2, p. 131.

⁷³E.A. Anan'in, 'Iz vospominanii revoliutsionera, 1905–1923 gg.', in Hoover Institution Archive, Nicolaevsky Papers, Series 279, Box 672, Folder 2, p. 16. See also Figes, *The Whispersers*, p. 3. Ovseenko later became a Bolshevik.

⁷⁴Savinkov, *Vospominaniia terrorista*, pp. 317–318.

⁷⁵Broido, *Memoirs*, 47; Secret Police Report, 1911, in I.E. Gorelova, *Bol'sheviki: Dokumenty po istorii bol'shevizma s 1903 po 1916 g. byvshego Moskovskogo Okbrannogo Otdeleniia* (Moscow, 1990), p. 132; Kollontai, *Autobiography*, p. 22.

educated youngsters, including his son who became a revolutionary terrorist, in radical ideas.⁷⁶ Peter and Nina Struve, who were involved in the formation of the RSDRP, started particularly early and, showing him pictures of Darwin and Marx, encouraged their infant son to ‘Nod to Uncle Darwin, nod to Uncle Marx’.⁷⁷ The daughter of the Mensheviks Mark and Eva Broido, Vera, remembered: ‘I was brought up to love and admire the heroes of the revolutionary movement.’⁷⁸ Ol’ga Andreeva, the adopted daughter of Socialist Revolutionary leader Viktor Mikhailovich Chernov, recalled: ‘In our family, I had grown up within the ideal of the Russian Revolution. The lives of those around us had been dedicated to it. The Revolution was considered both desirable and inevitable—and not necessarily easy.’⁷⁹ It was also common, if not inevitable, that children became involved in their parents’ illegal activities, as unwitting participants, as infants and toddlers, but in later life as conscious and occasionally enthusiastic helpers, and then, when they were old enough, as official party members.

Just as the younger generation was pulled into the movement, so too was the older generation, albeit reluctantly in some cases. Thus, for example, the People’s Will member and terrorist Sof’ia L’vovna Perovskaia found herself battling with her father over joining the movement. Her comrade Elizaveta Nikolaevna Koval’skaia remembered Sof’ia’s unhappy situation:

She was very close to her mother, who sympathised with her efforts to break free of the stifling atmosphere of her family life, but her father was furious with her, and their relations were very strained. Now her father wanted to make her live at home. She dreaded this terribly; and now, staying with various friends, she found herself in a semi-legal position.⁸⁰

⁷⁶I.A. Kreinert (Ketov), ‘Ubiistvo Sipiagina. 2/14 Aprelia 1902 g.’ in A.I. Spiridovich, ed., *Partiia sotsialistov-revoliutsionerov i eia preshestvenniki, 1886-1916* (Petrograd: Voennaia tipografiia, 1918), pp. 2–5.

⁷⁷N. Krupskaja, *Vospominaniia o Lenine* (Moscow: Partiinoe izdatel’stvo, 1932), p. 131.

⁷⁸Vera Broido, *Daughter of Revolution: A Russian Girlhood Remembered* (London: Constable, 1998), p. 9.

⁷⁹Olga Chernov Andreyev, *Cold Spring in Russia*, trans. Michael Carlisle (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1978), p. 20.

⁸⁰‘Elizaveta Koval’skaia’, in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 217.

The difficulty was that she did not have the necessary papers allowing her to live apart from her father or husband, and while her father was prepared to tolerate her absence and overlook her activities, it left both father and daughter in a precarious legal situation.⁸¹ Other parents took firmer action against their wayward children. Although sympathetic to the cause, the father of the fiancée of Marxist and Menshevik Pavel Borisovich Axelrod, Dr. Kaminer, refused to give his daughter, Nadezhda Ivanovna Kaminer, her dowry in a vain effort to keep the couple out of the movement.⁸² Semën Ivanovich Balashov began his revolutionary career as a member then leader of a workers' circle in Ivanovo-Voznesensk in the late 1890s. His father disapproved of his activities and reported him to the police, who arrested and imprisoned him for one and a half months.⁸³

Other parents who did not hand their children over to the authorities found they could not maintain their disapproval or their distance when their offspring found themselves in danger, arrested, imprisoned or exiled. Thus Reswick's Aunt Ina spent 'a fortune to buy off half of [his cousin Raisa's] five-year sentence' of exile, despite Raisa being 'a grief to her mother'.⁸⁴ Later, when Reswick was caught delivering illegal literature to the local military camp, Aunt Ina was prepared to bribe an officer not to report him. His grandmother was deeply upset by this, saying to him:

I know Mania is in [the movement] but she can afford it. Her father has enough money to buy up all the gendarmes in the Ukraine. But a poor boy like you—if you ever get caught, it will be Siberia unless we manage to get you over the border.⁸⁵

⁸¹'Elizaveta Kovalskaia', in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 216.

⁸²Abraham Ascher, *Pavel Axelrod and the Development of Menshevism* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1972), p. 27.

⁸³S. Balashov, 'Rabochee dvizhenie v Ivanovo-Voznesenske (1898–1905gg.)', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1925, No. 9, p. 151; see also, 'Olga Liubatovich', in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 153 and Nikolai Emel'ianovich Aivasov, 'Avtobiografia', in RGASPI, f. 124, o. 1, ed. khr. 20, l. 7.

⁸⁴Reswick, *I Dreamt Revolution*, p. 20.

⁸⁵Reswick, *I Dreamt Revolution*, p. 22.

While this initially elicited a promise from Reswick ‘to steer clear of [the] local underground’, he soon returned to radical activities.⁸⁶ He had presumably realized that despite the upset his work caused, his grandmother and aunt could be relied on if he got into difficulties.

From this type of activity, it was often a few short steps to further acts of parental support, a deepening of the parents’ understanding of the activities of their revolutionary children, and sometimes to outright and full commitment to the movement. Lenin’s mother, Mariia Aleksandrovna Ul’ianova, followed just such a path. She was initiated into the movement when she learned that her eldest children had been arrested. She made great efforts to help both Anna and Aleksandr in prison and although she briefly hoped to be able to prevent her children’s further involvement in the movement, she soon realized this was futile. Over time she became acquainted with her children’s revolutionary comrades, the ideas of social democracy and conspiratorial methods. She travelled across Russia and Europe to stay with and support her offspring, and she took what measures she could to disrupt police attempts to arrest her family.⁸⁷ Beyond Mariia Aleksandrovna, the social-democratic community could also, for example, depend on the help of the parents of Elena Dmitrievna Stasova and Sof’ia Nikolaevna Smidovich, as well as the widowed mothers of Krupskaiia and Sergei Alliluev.⁸⁸

THE GREAT REVOLUTIONARY FAMILY

In describing above the induction of individuals into a party cell, Kropotkin offered an idealized picture. He noted that there was no ‘initiation’ and no ‘oath of allegiance’, but rather ‘the circle accepted as members only persons who were well known and had been tested in various circumstances, and of whom it was felt that they could be trusted absolutely’.⁸⁹ All parties, regardless of outlook, claimed to apply similar

⁸⁶ Reswick, *I Dreamt Revolution*, p. 22.

⁸⁷ See Katy Turton, ‘A Mother’s Love or Political Statement: The Role of Mariia Aleksandrovna Ul’ianova in her Family’s Revolutionary Struggle’, in *Women’s History Review*, 2007, Vol. 16, No. 4, pp. 577–594.

⁸⁸ Clements, *Bolshevik Women*, p. 37.

⁸⁹ Kropotkin, *Memoirs*, p. 306.

clandestine techniques, with the Bolsheviks, for example, being deeply concerned with personal recommendations to support an individual's party membership, with evidence of their reliability and loyalty.⁹⁰

Despite this theoretical commitment to conspiratorial procedure, it seems that these methods were not always rigorously upheld. Schleifman exposes the laxity of the Socialist Revolutionary party in its recruitment of members, particularly prior to the exposure of the double agent Evgenii Filippovich Azef.⁹¹ Similarly, as the foregoing has highlighted, recruitment of a more informal sort took place throughout the underground period, with family members being drawn into their relatives' work. Of course, if reliability was the paramount criterion for suitability as a member, who better to turn to than a family member who was bound by ties of kinship and love, as well as political loyalty?⁹²

For historians, this does complicate the already difficult task of assessing the number of members of each revolutionary party. Membership fluctuated wildly and accurate records were both difficult and dangerous to keep. Strumilin estimated there were about 8400 Bolsheviks in 1905, with Lane adding that the Mensheviks probably had the same number.⁹³ Lane estimated that membership in the Bolshevik and Menshevik parties reached a peak around 1907 with around 40,000 in each party, though by 1910, membership was back down to under 10,000 each.⁹⁴ In 1917, Bolshevik party membership increased rapidly, from 2000 to 16,000 in April and 32,000 in June.⁹⁵ By October, the Bolsheviks boasted 400,000 members, which was twice as many as the Mensheviks, but fewer than the SRs.⁹⁶ In explaining his counting, Lane made the distinction between a member and a supporter as follows. A member is:

⁹⁰Nurit Schleifman, *Undercover Agents in the Russian Revolutionary Movement: The SR Party, 1902–1914* (Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1988), p. 75.

⁹¹Schleifman, *Undercover Agents*, pp. 75–78 and p. 81.

⁹²Piatnitsky, *Memoirs*, pp. 127–128.

⁹³S.G. Strumilin, quoted in David Lane, *The Roots of Russian Communism: A Social and Historical Study of Russian Social-Democracy 1898–1907* (Assen: Van Gorcum and Company, 1969), p. 12.

⁹⁴Lane, *The Roots of Russian Communism*, p. 13. The 1910 figure is Trotsky's estimate, cited in Richard Pipes, *A Concise History of the Russian Revolution* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), p. 107.

⁹⁵Alexander Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks Come to Power* (London: Pluto Press, 2004), p. xxix.

⁹⁶Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks Come to Power*, p. 235.

Any person who agrees with the aims of a party, and who persistently performs some service (other than voting) on behalf of the party. By performing a service, I mean spreading the message (agitating) formally or informally, besides attending meetings and carrying out the usual obligations of party activists (distributing literature, collecting subscriptions and participation in policy making). Such a person need not, of course, be formally ‘enrolled’—he may have no party membership card; in underground political activity such members may even be typical.

A supporter is: ‘one who sympathizes with the aims of the party but who commits no act to ally himself to it except perhaps to vote [for that party] or pay a subscription.’⁹⁷ Lane also made a distinction between activists and rank-and-file members, activists being ‘propagandists, public speakers, agitators or members of a local soviet or of an armed (Social-Democratic) detachment’, and rank-and-file members being ‘men [*sic*] who were recorded in biographies either as “Social-Democrats” or as “taking part in” or “being connected with” Social-Democracy’.⁹⁸

Strikingly, Lane’s definition of the work of a member matches in several respects the types of activities relatives undertook in the movement (see Chap. 2), which suggests that the presence of kin might also be noted and taken into account when calculating party size. Certainly the testimonies of revolutionaries themselves suggest that they viewed the revolutionary movement as greater than the number of official members would suggest: it was a family in its own right, but one that was extended and enhanced by the real family members who were connected with it.

Many memoirs by revolutionaries portray a movement in which comrades felt as strongly for each other as they would for family members.⁹⁹ Stepniak-Kravchinskii referred on several occasions to the deep affection men developed for one another in party cells. Of one Stefanovic, he wrote:

[He is] capable of a friendship which borders on adoration. His most intimate friend is L., from whom he is never separated except when absolutely

⁹⁷ Lane, *The Roots of Russian Communism* pp. 11–12.

⁹⁸ Lane, *The Roots of Russian Communism*, p. 46.

⁹⁹ Kropotkin, *Memoirs*, p. 315.

compelled by ‘business’, and then they write long letters to each other every day [...].¹⁰⁰

This sense of familial camaraderie was not confined to men. Ol’ga Liubatovich remembered being sent to Sof’ia Aleksandrovna Leshern after her escape from Siberian exile in similarly effusive words: ‘I virtually flew to her place: we had never met, but I felt there was an intimate bond between us, forged by common adversities and prison. Leshern was home, and she greeted me like a long-awaited sister.’¹⁰¹ Beyond fraternal and sororal relations, though, many revolutionaries agreed that their groups were like families. Kropotkin remembered fondly his time with the Chaikovskii circle:

I was in a family of men and women so closely united by their common object, and so broadly and delicately humane in their mutual relations, that I cannot now recall a single moment of even temporary friction marring the life of our circle.¹⁰²

Indeed, it is clear that revolutionaries drew a great deal of emotional strength from their comrades and that socializing with comrades was an important feature of revolutionary life. Praskov’ia Ivanovskaia remembered the total isolation which she and her comrades were expected to maintain while running a People’s Will printing press, but went on to admit: ‘For our sakes, one precious exception was made to the prohibition on seeing friends: once a week [...] and in the intervals between printing jobs, we visited Sof’ia Perovskaia’s apartment. [...] To us, the visits to Perovskaia were like a refreshing shower.’¹⁰³

In several sections of her memoirs, Krupskiaia acknowledged the value of friendship amongst party comrades and stated that Lenin understood it too.¹⁰⁴ She recalled receiving a food parcel from Russia (presumably from Lenin’s family) while in emigration and she and Lenin putting it to

¹⁰⁰Stepniak, *Underground Russia*, p. 63 and p. 131. See also Leo Deutsch, *Sixteen Years in Siberia*, trans. by Helen Chisholm (London: J. Murray, 1905), p. 7.

¹⁰¹‘Olga Liubatovich’, in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 149.

¹⁰²Kropotkin, *Memoirs*, p. 315.

¹⁰³‘Praskovaia Ivanovskaia’, in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, pp. 122–123.

¹⁰⁴Krupskiaia, *Vospominaniia*, p. 73 and p. 162.

good use by organizing a pancake party for their comrades.¹⁰⁵ Liebich describes how the editors of the RSDRP newspaper *Iskra* (*The Spark*) ‘lived practically communally’, noting that Lydia Dan was somewhat critical of Aleksandr Nikolaevich Potresov, who maintained a more private family life.¹⁰⁶ Revolutionaries also recognized the positive impact which socializing with children could have on the mood of a group. Many memoirs depict happy domestic scenes in which comrades of married couples with children played with the youngsters.¹⁰⁷ They are often seen as providing cheerful distractions to both parents and their comrades, especially in difficult times.¹⁰⁸

It is, however, important to understand that this sense of being part of a revolutionary family was by no means a substitute for revolutionaries’ actual families. Stepniak-Kravchinskii acknowledged that Stefanovic retained affection for his family and did not break contact with his father: ‘He greatly loves and venerates his father, and often speaks of him, relating with especial pleasure anecdotes of him, and quoting passages from his letters, which show his rude intelligence and his honest and upright heart.’¹⁰⁹ In his memoirs, the People’s Will member and later Menshevik Aleksandr Samoilovich Martynov-Piker did not refer to help or support from, or even communication with, his family while he was engaged in underground activities, but it is striking that on his return from four years of exile, following two years in prison, his first act was to go illegally to Kiev to visit his family.¹¹⁰ Similarly, when Ol’ga Liubatovich travelled back to Russia at great risk to try to help her imprisoned husband, Nikolai Aleksandrovich Morozov, she took time to see her father.¹¹¹ Even Kamo maintained correspondence with his aunt, receiving food parcels from his family from time to time.¹¹² Lastly, amongst the radical student circles which sprang up, it was usual that revolutionary work

¹⁰⁵Krupskaia, *Vospominaniia*, p. 200.

¹⁰⁶Liebich, *From the Other Shore*, p. 36 and p. 353.

¹⁰⁷Andreyev, *Cold Spring*, p. 36 and p. 44.

¹⁰⁸Krupskaia, *Vospominaniia*, p. 201.

¹⁰⁹Stepniak, *Underground Russia*, p. 4.

¹¹⁰Martynov-Piker, ‘Vospominaniia revoliutsionera’, in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1925, No. 11, p. 271.

¹¹¹‘Olga Liubatovich’, in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 191.

¹¹²Krupskaia, *Vospominaniia*, p. 116.

would cease in the summer holidays when the youngsters went home to their families, and many revolutionaries spoke with deep nostalgia about their family homes.¹¹³

In the intense atmosphere of the revolutionary movement, it is also not surprising that new families were formed. Unlike the marriages discussed earlier, in which a party worker married someone outside the movement and drew their spouse in, these were matches between comrades who had joined the movement separately and independently. In 1880, the People's Will members Lev Aleksandrovich Tikhomirov and Ekaterina Dmitrievna Sergeeva married in some style, celebrating with their comrades at a wedding lunch afterwards in a private restaurant.¹¹⁴ Gleb Maksimilianovich Krzhizhanovskii and Zinaida Pavlovna Nevzorova met through their social-democratic work in St Petersburg in 1892, while Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin, a founding member of the RSDRP, married his comrade Ekaterina Ivanovna Lorberg in Riga.¹¹⁵ The Bolshevik Lazar Kaganovich met Mariia Privorotskaia in an underground social-democratic group in Kiev and the two married in 1912.¹¹⁶

It is also clear that within such relationships couples actively sought to have children. Krupskaia and Lenin both mourned the fact that they could not conceive.¹¹⁷ Zinaida Nevzorova went abroad to undergo expensive treatment to improve her chances of having a child, though this proved unsuccessful and caused her long-term health problems.¹¹⁸ Lenin's sister Anna and her husband Mark Timofeevich Elizarov adopted a young boy, Gora, in 1913. Anna did have fears that adopting the child

¹¹³Ulam, *In the Name of the People*, p. 134; *Molotov Remembers*, p. 187; Nikolay Valentinov (N.V. Volsky), *Encounters with Lenin*, trans. by Paul Rosta and Brian Pearce, foreword by Leonard Schapiro (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 109.

¹¹⁴Ulam, *In the Name of the People*, pp. 347–348.

¹¹⁵V. Kartsev, *Krzhizhanovskii* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Molodaia gvardiia", 1985), p. 51 and pp. 60–61; Fitzpatrick, *On Stalin's Team*, p. 29.

¹¹⁶E.A. Rees, *Iron Lazar: A Political Biography of Lazar Kaganovich* (London: Anthem Press, 2012), p. 6.

¹¹⁷Letter, Nadezhda Konstantinovna to Mariia Aleksandrovna Ul'ianova, 4 April 1899, in V.I. Lenin, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, 55 vols. (Moscow: Gospolitizdat, 1958), Vol. 55, p. 409. Krupskaia suffered from Graves' disease, which can affect a woman's fertility (Service, Robert, *Lenin: A Biography* (London: Macmillan, 2000), p. 117). Service writes that Lenin once said to the Zinovievs: 'Eh, it's a pity that we don't have such a Stepa' (Stepa being the diminutive name of their son, Stepan) (Service, *Lenin*, p. 213).

¹¹⁸Kartsev, *Krzhizhanovskii*, p. 241.

was a selfish act, given her devotion to the revolutionary cause, but decided in the end to go ahead.¹¹⁹ Similarly, in 1902 Gorky adopted Zinovii Mikhailovich Sverdlov, brother of the well-known Bolshevik Iakov and the son of parents who were sympathetic to the movement. While this was mainly a tactic ‘in order to facilitate the boy’s entry into the conservatory’, the two soon worked together mimeographing ‘revolutionary leaflets’.¹²⁰

Not only did whole families become involved in the underground, but they also formed relationships with other such families based on intermarriage or friendship.¹²¹ The SR Mikhail Markovich Shneerov described how in one socialist group in Kiev, his elder brother married the oldest of three sisters who were also members.¹²² That intermarriage was a regular feature of the RSDRP is highlighted by the attendees of Lenin’s meeting of the twenty-two Bolsheviks in 1904, after the split of the party the previous year. The signatories included: Lenin’s younger sister Mariia and wife Krupskaiia; Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Bogdanov and his wife Natal’ia Korsak; Anna Aleksandrovna Malinovskaia, who was both the wife of Anatolii Vasil’evich Lunacharskii (who signed later) and Bogdanov’s sister; Ol’ga Borisovna and her husband Panteleimon Nikolaevich Lepeshinskii; the spouses Sergei Ivanovich Gusev and Feodosiia Il’nichna Drabkina; and Vladimir Dmitrievich Bonch-Bruievich and his wife Vera Mikhailovna Velichkina.¹²³ Also in attendance were two other party comrades who were married but whose spouses were not present, Pëtr Anan’evich Krasikov (who was married to Viktoriia Przhigodskaia) and Vatslav Vatslavovich Vorovskii (who was married to Iu.A. Tolochko). Lenin’s other siblings, Anna and Dmitrii, who were also Bolsheviks and married to other revolutionaries, were not present either, nor were his mother, Mariia Aleksandrovna, or his

¹¹⁹Letter, A.I. Ul’ianova-Elizarova to Mark Timofeevich Elizarov, 8 February 1913, in RGASPI, f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 227, l. 5.

¹²⁰Yedlin, ‘Maxim Gorky’, p. 83 and p. 85.

¹²¹See, for example, Iu. Denike, ‘Vospominaniia’, in Hoover Institution Archive, Nicolaevsky papers, Series 279, Box 672, Folder 11, p. 19.

¹²²M.M. Shneerov, ‘Memoirs’, in Hoover Institution Archive, Nicolaevsky Papers, Series 232, Box 392, Folder 10, p. 7.

¹²³Bertram D. Wolfe, review of Vladimir Il’ich Lenin: Biograficheskaia Khronika, 1870–1924. Vol. 1: 1870–1905, in *Slavic Review*, 1972, Vol. 31, No. 3, pp. 676–678; Valentinov, *Encounters with Lenin*, p. 109.

mother-in-law, Elizaveta Vasil'evna, both of whom sympathized with and supported his cause. While the RSDRP member and memoirist Nikolai Vladislavovich Valentinov dismissed the wives present as giving 'a homely appearance to the meeting', all the spouses and relatives, present or not, were either party members in their own right or strong sympathizers who could be relied on to support Lenin's party, ensuring that his group was in fact larger than the number of signatories suggested.¹²⁴

Lydia Dan was thus not exaggerating when she described the underground movement as 'a large family', adding: 'When the entire party numbers 200 people [...] you know each of them, and not just them but their mothers, fathers, and so on.'¹²⁵ Arguably, even once the party membership had expanded to the point where everyone could not know everyone, it was still usual for local cells to have good knowledge of their members' family connections.

The practical contribution family networks made to the movement are discussed in detail in the next chapter, but here it is worth noting the general importance of these groupings: they offered reliability and stability. The revolutionary movement had serious problems with *agents provocateurs* and infiltration by police agents, despite measures such as the use of personal recommendations to avoid this. These processes were ultimately fallible, as the Malinovsky and Azef affairs highlighted. According to Schleifmann, the Okhrana 'recognized the immense potential latent in the very presence of [provocateurs] within the revolutionary organizations, where cohesiveness and a sense of family were also a *sine qua non* for survival'.¹²⁶ Presumably a strong foil to fear of provocateurs was the knowledge that family members who were also comrades could be relied on when all else failed. Lydia Dan noted, for example, that she and her siblings' main value for Martov was that 'he trusted us'.¹²⁷

Tied closely to this was the ability of family networks to provide continuity in the face of constant police interference. Revolutionary groups were plagued by arrests, causing the loss of members and crucially the

¹²⁴Valentinov, *Encounters with Lenin*, p. 109.

¹²⁵'Interview with Lydia Dan', in Haimson, *The Making of Three Russian Revolutionaries*, p. 212.

¹²⁶Nurit Schleifman, *Undercover Agents in the Russian Revolutionary Movement: The SR Party, 1902–1914* (Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1988), p. 25.

¹²⁷'Interview with Lydia Dan', in Haimson, *The Making of Three Russian Revolutionaries*, p. 68.

loss of knowledge about safe houses, contacts in other towns and addresses for communicating with the leadership. The Bolshevik Martyn Ivanovich Latsis noted that a typograph could be resurrected in two or three days after an arrest, but that when individuals with connections were arrested, those links were lost as well.¹²⁸

Yet where revolutionary couples were members, there was the chance that though the husband was arrested, the wife might be spared, leaving her able to pass on the group's valuable information to new members. When, in June 1877, Mark Andreevich Natanson was arrested for his work for Land and Liberty, 'his wife stepped into the breach' and carried out party tasks.¹²⁹ Similarly, the RSDRP member Liubov' Nikolaevna Radchenko escaped arrest in Moscow in 1903 and was able to revive the party's work despite the loss of many of the group's workers.¹³⁰

Siblings and parents could perform the same function. After the arrests of members of the All-Russian Social Revolutionary (Moscow) Organization in 1875, only Vavara Shatilova, who was related to the Subbotina sisters who had also been members, was still free.¹³¹ She worked valiantly to recruit new agents.¹³² When social democrat Grigorii L'vovich Shklovskii was released from prison, he relied on his brother Sergei to provide him with contacts in order to re-enter the revolutionary movement.¹³³ On being banished from St Petersburg and without connections in any other Russian town, RSDRP member Vladimir Mar'tynovich Smirnov went to his mother's house to find new ones, for he was aware that she was accommodating N.N. Lokhov, one of his childhood friends, who was a leading figure in the workers' movement at that time.¹³⁴ The importance of family members as sources of revolutionary connections is highlighted by the experience of social democrat I. Iurenev. On returning to St Petersburg from exile in 1911, he found that none of his old contacts were of any use to him. Some had

¹²⁸Latsis, 'Podpol'naia rabota v Moskve (1914–1915)', p. 202.

¹²⁹Yarmolinsky, *Road to Revolution*, p. 211.

¹³⁰Nogin, 'Vospominaniia V.P. Nogina', p. 206.

¹³¹Vera Figner, in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 34.

¹³²Vera Figner, in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 34.

¹³³G.L. Shklovskii, 'Bobruisk nakaune 1905 g.', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1925, No. 11, p. 236 and p. 238.

¹³⁴V.M. Smirnov, 'Revoliutsionnaia rabota v Finlandii 1900–1907 gg. Moi pervye shagi na revoliutsionnom poprishche', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1926, No. 1, p. 120.

changed party allegiance, while others had left the movement altogether. Although he successfully made contact with members of the editorial board of the legal Bolshevik newspaper *Zvezda (Star)*, he was afraid they would take him for an *agent provocateur*. It took him three months to win their trust.¹³⁵

Lastly, it must be acknowledged that not all families joined one movement as a unit. Thus, although N.A. Gol'tseva had been a participant in the Going to the People movement of 1874 and became a committed Menshevik, her husband, Sergei Leonidovich Konkevich, was 'absolutely uninterested in politics'.¹³⁶ Other marriages endured mixed political allegiances. Galina Konstantinova Flakserman, who was a Bolshevik, remained married to her husband Nikolai Nikolaevich Sukhanov, who was first a Socialist Revolutionary and then a Menshevik. Kamenev was a Bolshevik, while his wife (and Trotsky's sister) Ol'ga Davidovna Bronstein sympathized for a time with the Mensheviks.¹³⁷ Siblings also did not always share the same political views. Vasilii Vasil'evich Sukhomlin joined the Socialist Revolutionaries, but his brother did not and instead travelled the world.¹³⁸ Of the Yagoda siblings, Genrikh Grigor'evich became a Bolshevik (and later director of the NKVD) while his sister Rozaliia was an anarchist.¹³⁹ One of the brothers of the Bolshevik sisters 'Evgeniia Bogdanovna Bosh and Elena Fedorovna Rozmirovich was a Tolstoyan'.¹⁴⁰ The brother of the Menshevik Boris Isaakovich Gorev, Mikhail Isaakovich Liber, was a prominent member of the Bund.¹⁴¹ Amongst the Nicolaevsky siblings, Aleksandra became an SR, while Boris and Vladimir became Mensheviks.¹⁴²

¹³⁵I. Iurenov, "Mezhraimnoka" (1911–1917 g.g.) (Vospominaniia)', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1924, No. 1, pp. 109–111.

¹³⁶'Irina Sergevna Tidmarsh', in Horsburgh-Porter, Anna, ed., with interviews by Frances Welch and Elena Snow, *Memories of Revolution: Russian Women Remember* (London: Taylor and Francis e-Library, 2001), p. 56.

¹³⁷Miklós Kun, *Stalin: An Unknown Portrait* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2003), p. 128.

¹³⁸Olga Chernov Andreyev, *Cold Spring in Russia*, trans. Michael Carlisle (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1978), pp. 57–58.

¹³⁹Stephen Kotkin, *Stalin: Paradoxes of Power, 1878–1928* (Penguin, 2015), p. 460.

¹⁴⁰E. Preobrazhenskii, "Evgeniia Bogdanovna Bosh", in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1925, No. 2, p. 5.

¹⁴¹Gorev, *Iz partiinogo proshlogo*, p. 49.

¹⁴²Interview with Boris Nicolaevsky', in Haimson, *The Making of Three Russian Revolutionaries*, p. 219.

Family connections such as these did much to undermine the occasional efforts by political parties to end their ties with revolutionaries of different persuasions. Lenin asserted in *What Is To Be Done?* that social democrats should sever their links with former members of the People's Will, and he spent much of his political career breaking with individuals and groups who did not agree with him.¹⁴³ Lydia Dan asserted that after the split between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks in 1903 'it was necessary to eliminate the streak of romanticism which always exists in an underground party', the romanticism which was brought about by being large family.¹⁴⁴ Similarly, Stalin argued that after the split 'the days when the party had been a "hospitable patriarchal family" willing to take on all sympathizers had to come to an end'.¹⁴⁵

Yet such connections were never effectively severed and there was always a certain amount of cross-party solidarity and even cooperation in the face of Tsarist oppression as well as respect for leading figures of older revolutionary parties.¹⁴⁶ Revolutionaries regularly found themselves fleeing Russia by the same routes, as for example in 1907, when Krupskaja shared the boat journey from Russia to Sweden with 'Bolsheviks, Mensheviks and SRs', including Fëdor and Lydia Dan.¹⁴⁷ They also holidayed in the same locations. The liberal Ekaterina Dmitrievna Kuskova and her husband Sergei Nikolaevich Prokopovich, who had both begun their careers as social democrats, remembered meeting Bolsheviks and Mensheviks while on vacation in Arcachon in France in 1910, but felt that everyone socialized happily together.¹⁴⁸

Revolutionaries had a strong sense of belonging to a community, and it was reinforced by shared political values as well as by marriage, familial ties and a great deal of socializing. As the next chapter shows, however, these family networks offered far more to the movement than simply moral support and were important if not indispensable to the daily functioning of the revolutionary parties.

¹⁴³Krupskaja, *Vospominaniia*, p. 35.

¹⁴⁴'Interview with Lydia Dan', in Haimson, *The Making of Three Russian Revolutionaries*, p. 212.

¹⁴⁵David Priestland, *Stalinism and the Politics of Mobilization: Ideas, Power and Terror in Inter-war Russia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 75.

¹⁴⁶Sarah Badcock, *Politics and People in Revolutionary Russia: A Provincial History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 77.

¹⁴⁷Krupskaja, *Vospominaniia*, p. 121.

¹⁴⁸Liebich, *From the Other Shore*, p. 54.

The Underground

I was born on 7 October 1907 [...], as my mother's fourth and last child. [...] Father was hiding from the police in Finland. There was, of course, no way of reaching him—but just then a Menshevik from Moscow, Vasilii Sher, appeared unannounced on the doorstep, on the run from the Moscow police. Mother immediately dispatched him to Finland, to find my father and tell him the glad news. No sooner had he departed than an unknown comrade arrived from Moscow just too late to inform him that his own wife too had just given birth to a daughter.

Vera Broido

(Vera Broido, *Daughter of Revolution: A Russian Girlhood Remembered* (London: Constable, 1998), p. 27).

In telling the story of her birth, Vera Broido captured in one episode the entangled nature of family life and revolutionary activities. Women bore children while maintaining their commitment to their party, families endured separations while members hid from the police, private homes doubled as safe houses for revolutionaries, and comrades were as likely to share personal news as conspiratorial information about the underground. Most importantly, families made numerous practical contributions to the daily functioning of the movement and to the parties' ability to resist state interference and persecution. Parents of revolutionaries offered funds and shelter, and helped hide incriminating evidence. Siblings and spouses worked together as party comrades, forming especially reliable groupings within the underground's networks. The children of revolutionaries were

trained not to expose any illegal activities they were witness to and even to help where possible. Beyond this, family members rarely limited their help to their own kin and could usually be relied on to offer the same support to their relatives' comrades. Revolutionaries were well aware that the appearance of domesticity was an effective disguise for party work and made use of family settings whenever possible to operate secretly. Indeed, so valuable was the appearance of family life that where real homes or relatives could not be used, fake ones were created. The nature of the underground meant that the boundaries between the public and private spheres were constantly blurred, with domestic settings used for much political activity, and domestic tasks, like providing food, clothing and shelter, taking on political significance and involving personal risk.

The revolutionary movement developed initially from small circles of like-minded individuals who came together to study, discuss politics and eventually to reach out to workers and peasants to spread radical ideas. The first political groups of a nihilistic or populist persuasion emerged in the 1860s and there was a gradual burgeoning of organizations, either through splits or through the formation of new parties based on divergent political theories. While the parties espoused different ideas about how the revolution was to be achieved and what a reformed Russia would look like, they all functioned in broadly similar ways. Organizationally, all were directed by a central or executive committee which aimed to coordinate the activities of party cells based in urban and rural areas across Russia and Europe. The activities of the party cells were often the same too and included conducting conspiratorial correspondence with other cells and the centre, fundraising, writing, publishing (or receiving) and distributing agitational leaflets and newspapers, organizing conferences, hiding weapons, arranging for the movement and safe housing of party agents, preparing for large-scale operations such as demonstrations, strikes, prison breaks and escapes from exile, and, in the case of terrorist organizations (affiliated to populist or SR groups), assassinations and attacks. Social-democratic groups shunned terrorism, but they did engage in a range of other violent activities including robberies and planning for armed uprisings. In all of these activities, family members offered valuable support.

Of central importance to party cell work was the task of maintaining contact with the central committee as well as with groups in other locales. Given the ubiquity of Tsarist surveillance, correspondence had to be conducted extremely carefully, using code or chemical ink, as well as, where

possible, safe addresses which first the gendarmes and later the Okhrana would be unlikely to monitor. Parents' homes could sometimes be used as safe addresses since the police often assumed they were not privy to nor supporters of their offspring's activities. More generally, disguising party correspondence as personal letters was a highly effective technique. Kropotkin described hiding messages in letters about family life:

You write an ordinary letter about all sorts of things, but in this letter it is only certain words—let us say every fifth word—which has a sense. You write, for instance: 'Excuse my hurried letter. Come tonight to see me; tomorrow I shall go away to my sister. My brother Nicholas is worse; it was late to perform an operation.' Reading each fifth word, you find, 'Come tomorrow to Nicholas, late'.¹

In other cases, information about family events disguised news. Stepniak-Kravchinskii remembered one telegram where the announcement 'Rejoice, boy just born' meant that some comrades had escaped from prison.² Those communicating with family members who were also party members had the added advantage that they could use personal terms as a type of informal code which removed the need for cyphers or chemicals. Gifts such as photograph albums sent to family members could also be used to conceal letters or illegal literature.³

Campaign literature and weapons were also sent through these channels and the appearance of domesticity proved time and again to be the key to success in this dangerous work. In 1903, the American and future scholar of Russian history and politics Samuel N. Harper lived in a boarding house for Russians in Paris while he studied Russian at the School of Oriental Languages. Some of the residents were revolutionaries and he observed that 'many evenings were spent addressing envelopes in which small pamphlets of revolutionary content were sent to individuals in Russia'.⁴ He continued: 'These pamphlets were printed

¹P. Kropotkin, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* (New York: Horizon Press, 1968), p. 321.

²Sergei Stepniak, *Underground Russia: Revolutionary Profiles and Sketches from Life* (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1890), p. 57.

³L. Kunetskaia and K. Mashtakova, *Mariia Ul'ianova* (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia, 1979), p. 39.

⁴*The Russia I Believe In: The Memoirs of Samuel N. Harper, 1902–1941*, ed. by Paul V. Harper with the assistance of Ronald Thomson (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1945), p. 14.

on rice paper and folded like personal letters, for letters got through the strict censorship more easily than did printed matter.⁵ The Bolshevik Osip Aaronovich Piatnitsky remembered hiding the Bolshevik newspaper *Vpered* (*Forward*) in domestic items to be sent: ‘We cut off the margins to reduce the weight, compressed the papers so that the bundles would be thinner and more compact [...]. We stuffed them into the frames of pictures, into book covers.’⁶

Family relations were often integral to the supply of literature. Anna Elizarova used a visit to her husband Mark in exile in Syzran in December 1906 to collect literature on the second Duma, including information about the first set of social-democratic candidates.⁷ To disguise a trip to Vilna to collect some illegal literature, the Bolshevik Cecilia Samoilovna Bobrovskaia told her landlady that she had been ‘suddenly called away by [her] parents on some important matters’ in order to prevent the landlady, who was a sympathizer but ‘quite a gossip’, from giving anything away to her neighbours.⁸ Krupskaia recalled shipping the Bolshevik newspaper *Proletarii* (*The Proletarian*) via Gorky’s wife, Maria Fëdorovna Andreeva, who lived on Capri and communicated with ship crew members to arrange it.⁹

Parents of revolutionaries often played a role in the ongoing task of conducting secret correspondence and smuggling literature or weapons. Anna Epstein, who was a member of the Chaikovskii circle and married to a fellow comrade, Dmitrii Aleksandrovich Klements, was helped by her own mother in the smuggling of literature and people across the Russian border. Both of her parents had in fact been smugglers and so her mother’s help and advice in effective techniques was invaluable.¹⁰ In 1892, a comrade of Martov’s, Sergei A. Gofman, ‘used his father’s position as a railroad employee to smuggle to Petersburg a package of

⁵ *The Russia I Believe In*, p. 14.

⁶ O. Piatnitsky, *Memoirs of a Bolshevik* (London: Martin Lawrence Ltd., 1927), p. 69.

⁷ P.P. Elizarov, *Mark Elizarov i sem'ia Ul'ianovykh* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1967), p. 87.

⁸ Cecilia Bobrovskaya, *Twenty Years in Underground Russia* (London: Martin Lawrence Ltd., 1934), pp. 36–37. Cecilia’s full name was Tsetsilia Samoilovna Zelikson-Bobrovskaia.

⁹ N. Krupskaia, *Vospominaniia o Lenine* (Moscow: Partiinoe izdatel'stvo, 1932), p. 131.

¹⁰ ‘Vera Zasulich’, in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, pp. 89–90.

illegal literature' which had been brought into Russia from Geneva.¹¹ Krupskaia's mother, Elizaveta, helped sew illegal literature into clothes and pack up guns so they could be smuggled into Russia.¹² Since his mother, Virginiia Karlovna Niurgen, was Finnish and fluent in the language, the social democrat Smirnov worked with her to transport illegal literature from Helsingfors to St Petersburg. In fact, Niurgen was once caught in a police cordon with a bag of such papers, but she approached a policeman and he, assuming she was innocent, escorted her to a tram.¹³

The appearance of travelling as a family proved to be an effective 'disguise' for revolutionaries on the run. The Bolshevik A. Sukhov described posing as the brother of the daughter of a senior railway official, which allowed him to travel first class from Nizhnii Novgorod to Odessa to escape police.¹⁴ When Smirnov went abroad to Stockholm in the hopes of obtaining party funds from the Swedish social-democratic party, he made the journey with his comrade Nikolai Evgen'evich Burenin and his wealthy mother in order to appear respectable.¹⁵

Similarly, the children or younger siblings of revolutionaries regularly proved to be the perfect decoy when literature and weapons were smuggled. On one occasion, Vera Figner's mother, Ekaterina Khristoforovna, and two of her sisters, Evgeniia and Ol'ga, travelled abroad and took money to three of Figner's comrades. The money was entrusted to Vera's mother, but in case they were stopped by the police, the accompanying letter was carried by eleven-year-old Ol'ga, who was less likely to be searched.¹⁶ Inessa Armand recorded being searched only cursorily by the police when travelling into Russia in 1904 because she had her five children, including an infant, with her. This enabled her to smuggle illegal social democratic literature into the country in her luggage.¹⁷

¹¹Leopold H. Haimson, *The Making of Three Russian Revolutionaries: Voices from the Menshevik Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 456.

¹²Krupskaia, *Vospominaniia*, p. 232.

¹³prishche', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1926, No. 1, p. 120 and p. 130.

¹⁴A. Sukhov, 'Revoliutsiia 1905 g. v Nizhnem i Sormove (Vospominaniia agitatora)', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1925, No. 11, p. 235.

¹⁵Smirnov, 'Revoliutsionnaia rabota v Finlandii', p. 137.

¹⁶'Vera Figner', in Barbara Alpern Engel and Clifford N. Rosenthal, eds., *Five Sisters: Women Against the Tsar* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1975), p. 39.

¹⁷R.C. Elwood, 'Lenin and the Brussels 'Unity' Conference of July 1914', in *Russian Review*, 1980, Vol. 39, No. 1, p. 44.

The Bolshevik and sister of Stalin's second wife, Anna Sergeevna Allilueva, remembered as a child willingly helping to smuggle arms to Baku. She travelled by train with her father's comrade, whom she knew as 'Uncle Vania', wearing a brand new overcoat made specifically to hide the gun cartridges strapped to her chest.¹⁸ The Bolshevik Feodosiia Drabkina was able to successfully smuggle weapons into Russia from Finland because she was accompanied by her young daughter Elizaveta.¹⁹

As the example of Ol'ga Figner above suggests, money was also transported between party groups, either sums for individual party members or larger sums for the parties' own coffers. After a successful robbery in Tiflis, the Bolshevik Kamo took the money to Lenin in Finland, travelling by train 'disguised as a Georgian prince with a new bride' who was a fellow comrade.²⁰ Where money was concerned, family members proved useful when plans went awry. Smirnov described one occasion when, unable to find his comrade Leonid Borisovich Krasin in order to give him a large sum of money for the Bolsheviks in 1906, he gave it instead to Gorky's wife's sister, A.V. Krit, knowing that she could be relied on to get the money to the right person.²¹

The money which was smuggled had to be raised, if not actually stolen, and here family members contributed as well.²² Money was vital for the cause—to support party members and their families, to rent accommodation, to buy materials, printing presses and weapons, and to pay for travel. At the most basic level, family members could contribute to party finances by supporting their relatives and relieving the party of the need to do so. Revolutionaries often found it difficult to get work as a result of their reputation for being 'politically unreliable', and impossible if they were forced to live underground without official papers, thus the financial support of parents was invaluable. Populists of the 1860s

¹⁸A.S. Allilueva, *Vospominaniia* (Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel', 1946), pp. 52–55. This was not the only time the Alliluev children helped to smuggle cartridges. See Ol'ga Evgen'evna Allilueva, 'Avtobiografiia', in RGASPI, f. 124, o. 1, ed. khr. 40, l. 11.

¹⁹G.M. Kramarov, *Soldat revoliutsii: o Sergee Ivanoviche Guseve* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1970), p. 58.

²⁰Stephen Kotkin, *Stalin: Paradoxes of Power, 1878–1928* (Penguin, 2015), p. 114.

²¹Tova Yedlin, *Maxim Gorky: A Political Biography* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1999), p. 81.

²²Tat'iana Ivanova Vulikh, 'Memoirs', in Hoover Institution Archive, Nicolaevsky Papers, Series 134, Box 207, Folder 10, p. 1.

and 1870s might have committed to giving up their wealth to become revolutionaries, but even they sometimes turned to home in emergencies. The populist Koval'skaia was supported by 'small funds secretly sent' by her mother.²³ Amongst the Bolsheviks, Kollontai, Lenin and his siblings, Suren Spandarian and Lev Borisovich Kamenev relied on their parents for financial support; Iurii Mikhailovich Larin relied on his uncle.²⁴ Even Kamo received food parcels from the family with which he claimed to have severed ties.²⁵ Of the Mensheviks, Martov's father, Osip, continued to support his children financially throughout their revolutionary careers.²⁶

Parental financial support was also regularly used to escape abroad, and even parents or relatives who disapproved of their children's activity did at times offer funds in this situation. When S. Shiriaev, a member of the People's Will, had only fifty roubles for going abroad, he turned to his mother, who gave him a further seventy to pay for his papers.²⁷ The social democrat Boris Nikolaevich Noskov turned to his uncle for money to pay for his escape abroad.²⁸ In 1893, the Georgian and future Menshevik Noe Nikolaevich Zhordania avoided police arrest by going to Europe with eighty roubles from his father.²⁹

²³'Elizaveta Kovalskaia', in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 238.

²⁴I.D. Remezovskii, *Ul'ianovy v Kieve: 1903–1904 gg.* (Kiev: Izdatel'stvo pri kievskom gosudarstvennom universitete, 1979), p. 8; Barbara Evans Clements, *Bolshevik Women* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 25; Miklós Kun, *Stalin: An Unknown Portrait* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2003), p. 129; Simon Sebag Montefiore, *Young Stalin* (London: Phoenix, 2008), p. 122; Anna Larina, *This I Cannot Forget: The Memoirs of Nikolai Bukharin's Widow*, introduction by Stephen F. Cohen, trans. by Gary Kern (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1994), p. 206.

²⁵Krupskaia, *Vospominaniia*, p. 116.

²⁶'Interview with Lydia Dan', in Haimson, *The Making of Three Russian Revolutionaries*, pp. 210–211.

²⁷S. Shiriaev, 'Avtobiograficheskaia zapiska S. Shiriaeva', introduction by R.M. Kantor, in *Krasnyi Arkhiv*, 1924, No. 7, p. 76. In fact, his request for a passport was rejected, but he went abroad anyway.

²⁸Krupskaia, *Vospominaniia*, p. 47.

²⁹Stephen F. Jones, *Socialism in Georgian Colors: The European Road to Social Democracy, 1883–1917* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2005), p. 60; see also M.M. Shneerov, 'Memoirs', in Hoover Institution Archive, Nicolaevsky Papers, Series 232, Box 392, Folder 10, p. 11.

Other revolutionaries used their inheritance or personal allowance to fund the movement. A printing press in Zurich loyal to the Chaikovskii circle in the 1870s was funded by money donated by Ekaterina Ivanovna, the sister of the radical writer Dmitrii Ivanovich Pisarev.³⁰ Elizaveta Petrovna Durnovo, the niece of the Governor of Moscow, donated 16,000 roubles to her group, the Black Repartition.³¹ In 1874, the three Subbotina sisters put ‘the whole of their large fortune at the disposal’ of the All-Russian Social Revolutionary (Moscow) Organization and later, in 1881, donated the remaining 11,000 roubles of their family’s fortune to the People’s Will.³²

The Bolshevik party also benefited from donations of personal fortunes, from Adol’f Abramovich Joffe, for example, and Nikolai Pavlovich Schmidt.³³ The latter was the nephew of the industrialist Savva Timofeevich Morozov, and a successful factory owner himself, who joined the Bolsheviks in 1905 and helped fund their legal daily newspaper, *Novaia Zhizn’* (*New Life*). He died in police custody, but made known his desire that his fortune go to the Bolsheviks. Officially Schmidt’s estate was inherited by his family members, but one beneficiary, Schmidt’s sister Elizaveta Pavlovna, was willing to donate her share to the Bolsheviks. However, because she was still a minor, and despite the fact that she was the common-law wife of a Bolshevik, Viktor Konstantinovich Taratuta, a fictitious marriage was arranged with another party member, Aleksandr Mikhailovich Ignat’ev, so that she could gain the consent of her husband to dispose of her legacy.³⁴ This tactic of contracting a legal but fictitious marriage to allow a young woman to access her inheritance in order to donate it to the cause was a fairly common one.³⁵

³⁰Avrahm Yarmolinsky, *Road to Revolution: A Century of Russian Radicalism* (London: Cassell, 1957), p. 180.

³¹Yarmolinsky, *Road to Revolution*, pp. 231–232.

³²‘Vera Figner’, in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 31; Yarmolinsky, *Road to Revolution*, p. 314.

³³William Reswick, *I Dreamt Revolution* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1952), p. 209.

³⁴Krupskaia, *Vospominaniia*, pp. 141–142.

³⁵Adam B. Ulam, *In the Name of the People: Prophets and Conspirators in Pre-Revolutionary Russia: Prophets and Conspirators in Prerevolutionary Russia* (New York: The Viking Press, 1977), pp. 150–151 and pp. 177–178.

Less scrupulous schemes involving sexual relations and family members were also used. When the funds donated by Dmitrii Ivanovich Pisarev's sister to the Chaikovskii circle's Zurich printing press ran out, her comrade V.M. Aleksandrov suggested that 'she obtain more funds for the establishment by selling herself to an old man'. She carried out this plan but committed suicide afterwards.³⁶ One member of the All-Russian Social Revolutionary (Moscow) Organization considered poisoning his father in order to gain access to his inheritance.³⁷

More conventional methods for obtaining money included hosting fundraising lectures and parties. The mother and father of Elena Dmitrievna Stasova hosted lectures in their St Petersburg apartment at which it was expected that their guests would make donations to the Bolshevik party.³⁸ Sometimes parents simply donated money to the cause, while others were approached for contributions.³⁹ In 1880, Koval'skaia approached the father of a revolutionary who had killed himself after 'failing in an attempt to assassinate a provocateur' to ask if he would give some money to the populist terrorist organization, the Union of Russian Workers of the South, so that it could help three comrades escape from prison. Polikarpov went so far as to borrow 1000 roubles to give to Koval'skaia.⁴⁰ Children of revolutionaries would sometimes be employed in the task of fundraising. Thus, the Alliluev sisters collected money for revolutionaries during the war.⁴¹

To conduct all these activities, party cells needed safe houses. These were the first port of call for revolutionaries arriving in a town in order to make contact with the local group, they were a safe haven for revolutionaries on the run from exile or who were being watched by the police, they were the meeting place for gatherings of revolutionaries and lastly they were the site of revolutionary activities.

³⁶Yarmolinsky, *Road to Revolution*, p. 180.

³⁷Yarmolinsky, *Road to Revolution*, p. 137.

³⁸Clements, *Bolshevik Women*, p. 69.

³⁹N.B. Bogdanova, *Men'shevik* (St Petersburg: Nauchno-informatsionnyi tsentre 'Memorial', 1994), p. 19.

⁴⁰'Elizaveta Kovalskaia', in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 228 and p. 237.

⁴¹'Anna', in *The Alliluev Memoirs: Recollections of Svetlana Stalin's Maternal Aunt Anna Alliluyeva and her Grandfather Sergei Alliluev*, ed. and trans. by David Tutaev (London: Michael Joseph, 1968), p. 159.

It was no small matter to establish them, for every block of apartments in Russian towns was staffed by a doorman who monitored residents for the police. Once they were established, it was important to keep them safe and reliable for as long as possible, for communicating a change of safe house, its address and the signal both for entering it and knowing that it was safe to enter (for example, by the placing of an umbrella in the window),⁴² was difficult and time-consuming.

Safe houses were kept by a range of people. Sometimes they were run by sympathizers who had no familial connection to the movement, but just as often they were run by relatives of revolutionaries. Degaev's mother Natalia allowed People's Will revolutionaries to stay at her house and to hold meetings there.⁴³ The Bolshevik N. Leshchenskii worked as a tailor alongside his father and nephew, with their workshop doubling as a safe house.⁴⁴ The parents of the Bolshevik Sof'ia Nikolaevna Smidovich, who would lead the Zhenotdel (Women's Department) between 1922 and 1924, were sympathetic to the revolutionary cause and sheltered 'revolutionary students'.⁴⁵ Trotsky remembered the doctor Aleksander Aleksandrovich Litkens, whose sons were members of the Bolsheviks and who ran a safe house for revolutionaries in St Petersburg.⁴⁶ Anna Allilueva wrote about her grandmother supporting the activities of her son and daughter-in-law, Sergei and Ol'ga:

Granny never passed judgement on any of her children: she was proud of them. She was also on the side of every rebel in Didube. The workmen at the rail depot liked coming to Granny [...] If there was anything they wanted to hide, they knew they only had to ask Magdalena Iakovlevna. She never asked any questions and her house was always open to anyone persecuted by the police.⁴⁷

Cecilia Bobrovskaia described her work in Moscow in 1907 as follows: 'I had three apartments which I could use for our daily work and for

⁴²'Olga Liubatovich', in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 169.

⁴³Ulam, *In the Name of the People*, pp. 380–381.

⁴⁴N. Leshchinskii, 'Rabota sotsial-demokratov v Stavropolegubernskom (1904–1907 g.g.)', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1924, No. 4, p. 129.

⁴⁵Clements, *Bolshevik Women*, p. 37.

⁴⁶Leon Trotsky, *My Life: The Rise and Fall of a Dictator* (London: Thornton Butterworth Ltd., 1930), pp. 149–150.

⁴⁷'Anna', in *The Alliluyev Memoirs*, pp. 39–40.

meeting purposes whenever it was expedient from the point of view of secrecy, and the tenants of these apartments never objected to our using them.’ One of them belonged to her mother-in-law Sof’ia Bobrovskaia, and the other to Sergei Veidrikh, who lived with his mother Alissa ‘who was also a sympathizer’.⁴⁸ Siblings also ran safe houses, including the Bolshevik sisters Ol’ga and Vera Dilevskaia, and Bobrovskaia’s sister Rose.⁴⁹

Safe houses were often kept by married couples. In 1913, the Bolshevik Lazar’ Moiseevich Kaganovich and his wife Mariia Markovna Privorotskaia, who had met and married through their underground work, ran a safe house in Kiev.⁵⁰ The Bolsheviks Ol’ga Pavlovna Ermakova and Viktor Pavlovich Nogin used their flat for Moscow Committee meetings in 1908.⁵¹ Where there were couples, there were often, also, children. The presence of children in safe houses did pose problems, but the fact that there were protocols for dealing with such circumstances highlights that family-run safe houses were fairly common. Going to a safe house usually required preparation, for example acquiring a password, but further precautions were required if a family lived there. According to Lydia Dan, it was ‘absolutely inadmissible, except in the most extreme circumstances’ to go to a revolutionary’s family home without contacting him first. This, however, increased the danger to all concerned: ‘At that time the telephone was not so common, so it was impossible to call. You had to write, which was always risky. It was documentary evidence.’⁵²

Safe houses were used for a variety of purposes. The Chernovs’ home in Vyborg in 1907 ‘became the center for the Socialist Revolutionary party in Finland’ as Ol’ga remembered: ‘Central Committee members, as well as comrades from Russia and abroad would come to stay with our family—sometimes for weeks at a time. Mother, young, outgoing

⁴⁸Bobrovskaia, *Twenty Years*, p. 195.

⁴⁹K.T. Sverdlova (Novgorodseva), *Iakov Mikhailovich Sverdlov. Vospominaniia* (Moscow: Izdatel’stvo TsK VLKSM, Molodaia gvardiia, 1939), p. 78; Bobrovskaia, *Twenty Years*, p. 134.

⁵⁰Rees, E.A., *Iron Lazar: A Political Biography of Lazar Kaganovich* (London: Anthem Press, 2012), p. 7.

⁵¹N. Nelidov, ‘Tovarishch Makar (V.P. Nogin)’, in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1924, No. 7, p. 157.

⁵²‘Interview with Lydia Dan’, in Haimson, *The Making of Three Russian Revolutionaries*, p. 140.

and generous, considered this natural.⁵³ Safe houses could also be used for meetings of workers, soldiers or sailors. Bobrovskaiia's mother-in-law Sof'ia and daughter Nina allowed all sorts of gatherings:

It often happened that mother and daughter, not having had time to consult each other, both offered the apartment for meeting purposes on the same day. Once, for example, a secret meeting of soldiers [...] was held in one room, which Sof'ia had lent for the purpose, while in another room the girl cashiers of the Chichkin dairies met to discuss the forthcoming strike of the employees of that firm. Nina had consented to let them have the room without consulting her mother. [...] Furthermore, workers frequently made appointments at the house without telling the Bobrovskii beforehand because they knew that the latter would acquiesce.⁵⁴

One tactic to disguise these large meetings was to pretend they were family gatherings, a New Year's celebration or an engagement party.⁵⁵

Safe houses were also used for that other major activity of underground party cells: printing. One of the central tasks of any revolutionary group was to assert its existence and to convey its revolutionary message to workers and peasants. This was achieved by issuing proclamations, leaflets and newspapers, though printing them was often a difficult task. At the most basic level leaflets were copied out by hand or retyped manually. This was an extremely time-consuming and tedious job, and needed as many people as possible to do it. It was not uncommon for mothers and children to be drawn into such work.⁵⁶

A much more satisfactory approach was to establish a printing press. Presses could be housed in revolutionaries' homes or the homes of relatives. In 1895, while living in his grandmother's house, the future head of the Cheka, Feliks Edmundovich Dzerzhinskii, kept an illegal printing

⁵³Olga Chernov Andreyev, *Cold Spring in Russia*, trans. by Michael Carlisle (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1978), p. 30.

⁵⁴Bobrovskaya, *Twenty Years*, pp. 115–116.

⁵⁵V. Kartsev, *Krzhizhanovskii* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo 'Molodaia gvardiia', 1985), p. 200; P. Kushner, 'Russkii kul'turnyi tsestr v 1908–1915 g.g.', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1924, No. 8–9, p. 210; S. Balashov, 'Rabochee dvizhenie v Ivanovo-Voznesenske (1898–1905 gg.)', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1925, No. 9, p. 156.

⁵⁶See for example E.A. Elagina, 'Avtobiografiia', in RGASPI, f. 124, o. 1, ed. khr. 633, l. 6 and l. 6 ob.

press in the attic.⁵⁷ A Bolshevik family, the Orlovs and their baby, housed the first *Iskra* printing press.⁵⁸ The presence of children inevitably required extra conspiratorial methods to be used to protect the press, but this did not stop revolutionaries using family homes. Bobrovskaiia recalled just such a press in Kostroma in 1906:

The necessity for printing a leaflet was very urgent [...] [W]e took courage and decided to work our machine in Zhiroslavka. At about this time I sent for an experienced Moscow comrade, an excellent typesetter (he was a printer as well) called Vasya Mayorov. Vasya came with his wife to Kostroma, and we immediately sent him to Zhiroslavka. In the evening when the children and servants were in bed, our work would begin.⁵⁹

That this was not a happy arrangement is highlighted by the fact that when setting up another press later, Bobrovskaiia deliberately chose a childless couple to oversee it.⁶⁰ Indeed, it was far more common that rather than use an existing home, an apartment would be rented specifically for the purpose of keeping the press. Unlike safe houses for meetings, these apartments were often cut off from most members of the party, with only a small number allowed to 'enter the premises, in order to bring supplies and take away the printed matter'.⁶¹

Often presses were run by a pair of revolutionaries who pretended to be married in order to give the apartment the respectability it needed to avoid the suspicion of the doorman.⁶² The Black Repartition kept their press first in a flat rented by the fake couple I. P'iankov and Mariia K. Krylova and then in an apartment held by Nikolai Pavlovich Shchedrin and Koval'skaia, who posed as a German couple, the Krudners, using 'phony identity papers'.⁶³ The press of the People's Will was

⁵⁷S.S. Khromov, *Felix Dzerzhinsky: A Biography* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1988), p. 15. See also Eva L'vovna Broido, *Memoirs of a Revolutionary*, ed. and trans. by Vera Broido (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 76–77.

⁵⁸Marie Sukloff, *The Life Story of a Russian Exile* (New York: The Century Co., 1914), p. 71.

⁵⁹Bobrovskaya, *Twenty Years*, pp. 152–153.

⁶⁰Bobrovskaya, *Twenty Years*, p. 177.

⁶¹Yarmolinsky, *Road to Revolution*, p. 214.

⁶²N. Leshchinskii, 'Rabota sotsial-demokratov v Stavropolegubernskom (1904–1907 g.g.)', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1924, No. 4, pp. 127–128.

⁶³'Elizaveta Kovalskaia', in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 221.

operated by Vera Figner and Grigorii Prokof'evich Isaev, who lived together as the Kokhanovskii in a flat which was also used for 'important meetings', and another was run by Mikhail Fëdorovich Grachevskii and his 'nominal wife'.⁶⁴ There are also examples of genuine couples overseeing presses. Sergei Petrovich Degaev and his wife Liubov' Nikolaevna Ivanova ran a printing press in Odessa for the People's Will (before Sergei betrayed the group).⁶⁵

Once the printing was complete or illegal literature was received from abroad, it had to be concealed until it was needed, as did the weapons party cells occasionally gathered or received. Safe houses were used for this purpose as well.⁶⁶ Parents, including Kollontai's, sometimes helped conceal literature.⁶⁷ Rozaliia Zemliachka remembered watching 'her mother hiding illegal pamphlets printed by her brothers and sisters', while the Menshevik Anan'in relied on his mother to do the same.⁶⁸ Others hid literature in their parents' home without their knowledge. Cecilia Bobrovskaya remembered finding one comrade (whom she does not name, unfortunately) in 'a very worried state'. She remembered:

He sat locked in his room in his father's luxurious mansion, almost buried in piles of illegal literature. He complained to me that the maidservant had been trying to clean up the room for several days. He had made various excuses not to let her in. But this could not continue very much longer. His people would get wind of it sooner or later.⁶⁹

Safe houses were also sites of planning for terrorist activities by those parties which used assassination as a tactic, including the People's Will and later the Socialist Revolutionaries. Terrorist cells often genuinely did cut off ties with family members.⁷⁰ Yet the appearance of family life in

⁶⁴'Vera Figner', in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, pp. 51–52; Yarmolinsky, *Road to Revolution*, p. 236.

⁶⁵Vera Figner, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1991), pp. 139–141.

⁶⁶Bobrovskaya, *Twenty Years*, p. 135 and p. 116.

⁶⁷Clements, *Bolshevik Feminist*, p. 25.

⁶⁸Clements, *Bolshevik Women*, p. 37; E.A. Anan'in, 'Iz vospominanii revoliutsionera, 1905–1923 gg.', in Hoover Institution Archive, Nicolaevsky Papers, Series 279, Box 672, Folder 2, p. 13.

⁶⁹Bobrovskaya, *Twenty Years*, p. 37.

⁷⁰Yarmolinsky, *Road to Revolution*, p. 137.

such a safe house was still vital, as the numerous examples of cells run by fictitious married couples show. In September 1878, Lev Nikolaevich Hartman and Sof'ia Perovskaia posed as a married couple and bought a house near Moscow station so as to have a base to carry out a plan to bomb Tsar Alexander II's train.⁷¹ Perhaps most famous is the cheese shop and living quarters rented in St Petersburg by the fake couple of Iuri Nikolaevich Bogdanovich and Anna Vasil'evna Iakimova in January 1881 for the purposes of tunnelling under a street regularly used by the Tsar in order to plant a mine.⁷²

The Bolsheviks, meanwhile, produced bombs in preparation for armed uprising and, in 1905, for example, for the defence of the revolution. In a St Petersburg flat in 1905, dynamite production for the Bolsheviks was overseen by A.M. Bulygin and his wife Nastia under the false names of Barsukov 'Potapych' and Liutsia.⁷³ It was so common for Russians to purchase or rent dacha space in Finland that two Bolshevik operatives, using false passports, were able to pose as a married couple and purchase a dacha in order to make bombs.⁷⁴

Despite all the precautions taken by the revolutionaries, the police were well aware that private homes were used by the underground movement. Anna Allilueva admitted of her grandmother's safe house: 'Everyone in Didube knew that [she would hide people], including the police.'⁷⁵ In Samara in 1901, the police reported of the Krzhizhanovskii's flat that 'many undesirable elements had links with the lodgers of 95 Troitskaia Street, at least three of whom—Gazenbush, Lengnik, and Kranikhfel'd—were under police surveillance'.⁷⁶ Similarly, the Okhrana reported that in the autumn of 1914,

⁷¹Yarmolinsky, *Road to Revolution*, p. 253; see also Stepniak, *Underground Russia*, p. 152.

⁷²Yarmolinsky, *Road to Revolution*, p. 273; Figner, *Memoirs*, p. 51.

⁷³Sergei Sulimov ('Petr'), 'Vospominaniia o boevoi tekhnicheskoi gruppe pri TsK partii (1905–1907 gg.)' in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1925, No. 7, p. 90.

⁷⁴Kitty Lam, 'Russia's Revolutionaries on Vacation: Anti-Government Activities in the Finnish Countryside', in *Historical Research*, 2017, Vol. 90, No. 247, p. 64.

⁷⁵'Anna', in *The Alliluyev Memoirs*, pp. 39–40.

⁷⁶Kartsev, *Krzhizhanovskii*, p. 161; Rees, *Iron Lazar*, p. 7. Lengnik and Kranikhfel'd are referred to in the biographical list. Gazenbush might be K.K. Gazenbush, who was a member of the Russian *Iskra* organization, or A.G. Gazenbush; the latter worked together with K.K. Gazenbush in Kuban in 1907 as a Bolshevik organizer. Presumably they were a married couple.

Socialist Revolutionary leaders met at Chernov's apartment in Lausanne, Switzerland, for what they described as 'an intimate discussion'.⁷⁷

The secret police also knew that family members were often at the heart of revolutionary activity. When Martov's youngest brother, Vladimir, was arrested, a police chief in St Petersburg exclaimed that he had now caught 'the oldest ones, the middle ones and the youngest ones too'.⁷⁸ In May 1912, the following report was sent to the minister of the interior in St Petersburg by the Moscow security police:

Enclosed, please find the resumé of the security files on the members of the RSDRP Gleb Krzhizhanovskii and his wife Zinaida Krzhizhanovskaia. They are important party workers whose influence is constantly felt in various party activities in Moscow. I beg to inform Your Excellency that the residence of these persons in Moscow is undesirable since they extensively support the party by arranging public lectures with the fees donated to the party funds, by assisting in the selection of legal methods for conducting underground activities, trade union work, and strikes.⁷⁹

The police regularly watched the relatives of revolutionaries at their places of employment and homes.⁸⁰ Thus 'police agents openly waited for Dmitrii Il'ich Ul'ianov's wife, Antonina Ivanovna Neshcheretova, and sisters, Anna and Mariia, near the door of the railway office where they had jobs'.⁸¹ There were also times when relatives were arrested for their association with the revolutionary movement. The father of Fëdor Afanas'evich Afanas'ev, who was a member of social democratic Ivanovo-Voznesensk group, was arrested on one occasion, as was Sof'ia Aleksandrovna Subbotina, the mother of three revolutionary daughters.⁸² In the latter case, however, Subbotina had in fact been actively taking part in the movement and spreading propaganda amongst the peasantry. She was

⁷⁷Michael Melancon, *The Socialist Revolutionaries and the Russian Anti-War Movement, 1914-1917* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1990), p. 27.

⁷⁸Israel Getzler, *Martov: A Political Biography of a Russian Social Democrat* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), p. 3.

⁷⁹Security police report, sent to the Minister of the Interior, St Petersburg, May 1912, quoted in Kartsev, *Krzhizhanovskii*, pp. 238-239.

⁸⁰Kropotkin, *Memoirs*, pp. 355-356.

⁸¹Kartsev, *Krzhizhanovskii*, p. 196.

⁸²Balashov, 'Rabochee dvizhenie v Ivanovo-Voznesenske', p. 161; Yarmolinsky, *Road to Revolution*, p. 195.

not simply a sympathetic bystander who knew what her daughters were doing.⁸³ Stalin's mother, Ekaterina 'Keke' Geladze, was regularly visited by the police because of her son's activities, especially his frequent escapes from prison and exile.⁸⁴

THE VALUE OF FAMILY INVOLVEMENT

Despite the risks of police harassment and even arrest, revolutionaries continued to involve family members in their work. It was simply unrealistic and impractical not to bring them into the political fold, but the other major consideration was that family members were of great value to the movement.

Tied closely to this question is an ongoing debate about the place, role and importance of women in the revolutionary underground. Despite the prominence of a small number of radical women, from the terrorist Sof'ia Perovskaia to the Bolshevik theorist Aleksandra Kollontai, most women in revolutionary parties performed supportive roles or what was known in the underground as technical work. This included all the tasks discussed above: conducting correspondence, organizing safe houses, raising funds, hiding illegal literature, organizing the travel of party members and taking on secretarial duties in committees. While rank-and-file men also carried out technical work, it is also the case that virtually all the leadership roles in the revolutionary movement were taken up by men, most theoretical publications were written by men and, when delegates were sent to conferences and congresses, they tended to be men too.⁸⁵

When women wrote about doing technical work, they often downplayed its significance.⁸⁶ The work of the Bolshevik Mariia Andreeva consisted of organizing fundraising concerts, participating in the illegal organization of the Political Red Cross, safeguarding illegal literature and securing passports and jobs for party members in hiding. She described it

⁸³Yarmolinsky, *Road to Revolution*, p. 195.

⁸⁴Kun, *Stalin*, p. 42.

⁸⁵S. Mitskevich's description of the Bolshevik Moscow Committee in 1905 captures this gendered division of labour (S. Mitskevich, 'Lektorskaia gruppa pri Moskovskom komitete v 1905–1907 gg.' in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1925, No. 9, p. 51 and p. 55).

⁸⁶Katy Turton, *Forgotten Lives: The Role of Lenin's Sisters in the Russian Revolution, 1864–1937* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 56.

as follows: ‘My part was a very minor one—I collected and obtained funds for the party and fulfilled those tasks which were entrusted to me by the more experienced and important members of the Party. That was all.’⁸⁷

Historians have argued convincingly for the importance of women’s technical work to the revolutionary movement, though at least one reviewer has accused them of ‘special pleading’.⁸⁸ Strikingly, male revolutionaries (and their biographers) have been more keen to stress the value of such activities if they were involved in it. As Kartsev put it of Krzhizhanovskii:

After his resignation from the [RSDRP] Central Committee [in 1904], Gleb continued to perform important duties in the underground movement in which he was highly skilled thanks to his Samara experience, and which were often condescendingly referred to as ‘prosaic’. They included collecting donations to the party funds primarily from party members and sympathizers, smuggling illegal literature, setting up underground printing presses, finding new useful contacts, procuring forged identity papers, sending messages in code, taking measures against police surveillance.⁸⁹

Stalin’s daughter Svetlana Iosifovna Allilueva wrote of her maternal grandfather, Sergei: ‘[He] was never a theoretician or an important figure in the Party. He was one of the humble rank and file, without whom there could have been no communications between one Party group and another, nor the ground work laid, nor the Revolution itself accomplished.’⁹⁰ Yedlin, the biographer of Gorky, in fact changed her view of his subject’s activities. She argued in 1975 that ‘Gorky’s work for the RSDRP during this period [...] was not central to the party’s activities’ since it was mainly of a technical nature, but later in 1999 asserted that it was in fact of considerable importance.⁹¹ Eva Broido supported this view, claiming:

⁸⁷Yedlin, *Gorky*, p. 33.

⁸⁸Yarmolinsky, *Road to Revolution*, p. 237; Sarah Ashwin, ‘Review: Women’s Lives under Socialism’, in *Labour/Le Travail*, 2002, Vol. 50, pp. 261–273, p. 266.

⁸⁹Kartsev, *Krzhizhanovskii*, p. 217.

⁹⁰Svetlana Alliluyeva, *Twenty Letters to a Friend*, trans. by Priscilla Johnson (London: World Books, 1968), p. 46.

⁹¹Tova Yedlin, ‘Maxim Gorky: His Early Revolutionary Activity and his Involvement in the Revolution of 1905’, in *Canadian Slavonic Papers/Revue Canadienne des Slavistes*, 1975, Vol. 17, No. 1, p. 89; Yedlin, *Gorky*, pp. 33–34.

To wield real authority in our organization, an intellectual had to prove himself a good organizer, a first-rate practical leader of the movement; a good propagandist or agitator was equally highly esteemed. If a newly arrived intellectual did not satisfy any of these requirements, he was soon told that this was not the place for him, was given his fare and sent elsewhere.⁹²

Many comments by revolutionaries highlight how important safe houses were to the movement. E. Belen'kii, of the Minsk organization of the RSDRP, in 1903–1905 described the task of obtaining apartments as one of the 'most important questions in work', for which the group set up a special committee.⁹³ He added: 'It was difficult to stock up apartments for all needs, and the needs were many, starting with apartments for depots/stores, for safe houses, for circles and finally apartments for meetings.'⁹⁴ Piatnitsky set out vividly the problems he faced when unable to use a safe house:

Three or four times a week I had to make use of any chance lodgings I could find where I could get a night's rest. Much time and effort was spent merely to find a night's lodging. Occasionally it was necessary to go to places at eight or nine o'clock in the evening and remain there until the next morning. Of course, it was not convenient to take any documents or books with me, and therefore much time was wasted.⁹⁵

Indeed, Piatnitsky took pride in the fact that he replaced a very poor organizer, who could only find accommodation for one or two comrades at a time, while he himself was apparently able to accommodate twenty to thirty at a time.⁹⁶

The importance of safe houses is also highlighted by the lengths to which revolutionaries would go to protect them. In 1905, Bobrovskaia was making use of the excellent safe house run by her mother- and sister-in-law. It was so important that when Bobrovskaia was arrested she refused 'point blank' to give the police any of her personal details, even

⁹²Broido, *Memoirs*, p. 91.

⁹³E. Belen'kii, 'K istorii Minskoi organisatsii RSDRP(b) v 1903–1905 gg.', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1925, No. 8, p. 71.

⁹⁴Belen'kii, 'K istorii Minskoi organisatsii RSDRP(b)', p. 71.

⁹⁵Piatnitsky, *Memoirs*, p. 114.

⁹⁶Piatnitsky, *Memoirs*, p. 51.

though she knew she would be imprisoned ‘under Article 102 of the Criminal Code’.⁹⁷ Sof’ia Smidovich found herself in a similar position in 1910 when she was arrested. At home, she had a store of illegal literature, as well as her two children who were alone since their father was in exile at the time. In these circumstances, Smidovich chose not to give her address so as to protect the pamphlets and assumed (correctly) that her comrades would help her children and clear out the literature when they realized she had been arrested.⁹⁸

Other aspects of technical work which were carried out by spouses and relatives were also vital. Krupskaiia could not attend the Fourth Party Conference in Kotka, Finland, in 1907 because, as she put it, ‘there was no one to whom I could hand over the secretarial work’.⁹⁹ Similarly, those who were skilled in arranging for the movement of literature and weapons were also sought-after comrades. As Krupskaiia described: ‘Kostia (Dement’ev’s wife) really astounded Vladimir Il’ich with her knowledge of transportation affairs. “That’s a real transporter!” he repeated. “She does not chatter, but acts.”’¹⁰⁰ Lenin’s slip into the sexist assumption that women would not be suited to such a role because of their tendency to talk too much is worth noting, however.

Printing presses and revolutionary publishing were revered. Stepaniia Kravchinskii described visiting a printing press ‘with the sense of awe experienced by the faithful crossing the threshold of a temple’.¹⁰¹ In December 1913, Lenin asserted at a Bolshevik conference that ‘without *Pravda* the Bolshevik Duma fraction [would] lose 99/100 of its significance’.¹⁰²

Technical work, then, had a value in the revolutionary movement. It is also clear that when it was carried out by family members, it was much safer. The police may have known that family members were involved in revolutionary activities, yet time and again families proved extremely adept at resisting police interference and thwarting attempts by police to find evidence of revolutionary activities. The appearance of domesticity

⁹⁷Bobrovskaya, *Twenty Years*, p. 115.

⁹⁸L. Krechet, ‘Sof’ia Nikolaevna Smidovich’, in V. Ignat’eva, ed., *Slavnye bol’shevichki* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel’stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1958), p. 281.

⁹⁹Krupskaiia, *Vospominaniia*, p. 117.

¹⁰⁰Krupskaiia, *Vospominaniia*, p. 66.

¹⁰¹Kravchinskii quoted in Yarmolinsky, *Road to Revolution*, p. 214.

¹⁰²Jonathan W. Daly, ‘Government, Press, and Subversion in Russia, 1906–1917’, in *The Journal of the Historical Society*, 2009, Vol. 9, No. 1, p. 25.

proved to be one of the best ways to disguise party activity, playing as it did on notions of women's innocence as well as the assumption that those with families would not put their kin in jeopardy for the sake of the movement. Eva Broido described how in Balakhany, Azerbaijan, she was trained by her worker hosts to pass unnoticed when she transported illegal party literature:

When I had to go alone somewhere or to travel by post-coach, I used to improve my general appearance by stuffing my pockets with sunflower seeds and assuming that could-not-care-less look that goes with them. Soon I began to use these trips for transporting illegal literature: I tied the leaflets into a kerchief and put the bundle at the bottom of a basket that I slung over my arm; over it I put some brushes, a kettle, a candlestick, any kitchen-ware that came to hand and on top of it all the inevitable bag with sunflower seeds. Installed in the coach, I cracked the seeds with great gusto, inviting my neighbours to help themselves straight from the basket. I learnt this touch from the mother of my hostess, a woman of about 65, who spent most of her time transporting illegal literature.¹⁰³

Domestic items in general were extremely useful as hiding places and were sometimes adapted to create hidden compartments. Lenin's family, famously, had an adapted chess table with a secret drawer, while others used niches in larders and even bathrooms as hiding places.¹⁰⁴ Clothing also proved eminently adaptable to transport party literature, with special waist-coats made for men which could carry up to 300 copies of *Iskra* and bodices and skirts constructed so that women could transport up to 400 copies.¹⁰⁵

Despite Lydia Dan's comments above, the utility of keeping a safe house in a family home is clearly evidenced by the number of times it was done, as well as by remarks by a number of memoirists that suggest family homes were preferable to other arrangements. The Odessa-based Marxist revolutionary Ivan Aleksandrovich Iukhotskii remembered how he sometimes hosted workers at his place, 'but to do this too often was suspicious, because it was in the Government harbour and in a separate

¹⁰³Broido, *Memoirs of a Revolutionary*, p. 77.

¹⁰⁴Michael Pearson, *The Sealed Train: Journey to Revolution; Lenin—1917* (London: Fontana Paperbacks, 1989), p. 168; 'Anna', in *The Alliluyev Memoirs*, p. 73; E.A. Anan'in, 'Iz vospominanii revoliutsionera, 1905–1923 gg.', in Hoover Institution Archive, Nicolaevsky Papers, Series 279, Box 672, Folder 2, p. 13.

¹⁰⁵Piatnitsky, *Memoirs*, p. 48.

house, where no one lived except me, and empty places were easy to watch'.¹⁰⁶ Visitors were also harder to explain, especially in the case of single young women, who would soon find themselves prey to gossip and even unwanted official attention to their sexual activities. Samuel Harper knew of a revolutionary safe house in 1906 run by two young women. The regular visits from sailors and soldiers did not go unnoticed by the doorman and the police, who suggested the women 'take out yellow tickets' which would identify them, and allow them to work, as prostitutes.¹⁰⁷

Indeed, even unconventional households aroused less suspicion than single occupiers. Eva Broido recalled of her apartment in St. Petersburg in 1905:

I myself registered under my maiden name. Marriages of an irregular kind being not uncommon among Russian intellectuals, it attracted no comment when a Miss Gordon rented a large apartment for herself, her aged mother, her three children and a 'lodger' by the name of Kuritsky.¹⁰⁸

This latter was her husband Mark who, unlike Eva, did not have legal papers in his own name. Nikolai Nikolaevich Sukhanov had a similar arrangement with his wife, Galina Konstantinovna Flakserman. Forbidden to live in St Petersburg, he continued to stay there, 'sometimes sleeping in a different place every night, sometimes slipping past the night-porter in the shadows as a "frequent visitor"¹⁰⁹ to my own flat, where my family was living'.¹¹⁰

Revolutionaries also readily admitted that if they could not find or use an official safe house, they could usually count on being able to go home, whether their relatives were sympathizers or not.¹¹¹ In 1875, Land and Liberty member Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Kviatkovskii was living illegally under a false name and moving from place to place.

¹⁰⁶Ivan Alexandrovich Ykhotsky, 'Prisoner of the Tsar', in Norman Stone and Michael Glenny, *Other Russia* (London: Faber and Faber, 1990), p. 79.

¹⁰⁷*The Russia I Believe In*, pp. 43–44.

¹⁰⁸Broido, *Memoirs*, p. 123.

¹⁰⁹A frequent visitor was not included in the list of tenants all doormen kept for the police (Joel Carmichael in N.N. Sukhanov, *The Russian Revolution 1917: Eyewitness Account*, Vol. 1, ed., abridged and trans. by Joel Carmichael (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962), p. 3).

¹¹⁰Sukhanov, *The Russian Revolution*, p. 3.

¹¹¹Piatnitsky, *Memoirs*, p. 48.

When he was able, however, he would live, unregistered, with his wife in St Petersburg.¹¹² When, in 1905, the Menshevik Evgenii Arkad'evich Anan'in returned from a spell in Europe, where he had been working with revolutionaries in Paris and Geneva, he found that none of his safe house addresses in St Petersburg were still active as a result of the mass arrests in the wake of Bloody Sunday. Thus he was forced to go to his family, who were at their dacha in Finland, despite the fact that his father was not a sympathizer.¹¹³ Piatnitsky found himself in a similar situation in 1906: 'I had to leave Odessa promptly, because I and my fellow accused were summoned before the court-martial for some reason or other. But I had as yet received no address to which to go to in Moscow, and at the same time I had no suitable clothes for Moscow. I decided to visit my relatives in my native town.'¹¹⁴ The Bolshevik Aleksandr Mitrofanovich Stopani hid in his mother's flat to escape police searches in Kazan.¹¹⁵

Another indicator of the success of family homes as safe houses is the number of times fake families were set up to disguise party activity, as outlined above. Presumably, however, the pretence of innocence was more easily maintained by those who were actually a couple and certainly it helped if the fake couple got along. Praskov'ia Ivanovskaia of the People's Will remembered the following:

The apartment was to be staffed by Nikolai Kibalchich and me (alias the Agicheskulovs) and Lila Terent'eva (alias Trifonova), who was to pose as a poor relative working as our servant. As was often the case in this kind of operation, we didn't know each other beforehand, although I had met Lilochka Terent'eva in Odessa. Generally speaking, the title of 'socialist', with the addition of 'revolutionary', served as sufficient guarantee of comradesly kinship, intimacy, and readiness for sacrifice of all sorts. However, occasionally people found their apartment mates too incompatible, even

¹¹²'Avtobiograficheskoe zaiavlenie A.A. Kviatkovskogo,' in *Krasnyi arkhiv*, 1926, Vol. 1, No. 14, p. 162.

¹¹³E.A. Anan'in, 'Iz vospominanii revoliutsionera, 1905–1923 gg.', in Hoover Institution Archive, Nicolaevsky Papers, Series 279, Box 672, Folder 2, p. 6.

¹¹⁴Piatnitsky, *Memoirs*, p. 102.

¹¹⁵A.K. Petrov, 'K 35-letnemy iubileiu pervykh s.-d. rabochikh kruzhkov v Kazani (1889–1924 g.g.)', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1925, No. 2, p. 188.

though they were fellow radicals, and categorically refused to live with them; and since it was best to be cautious in establishing a fictional ‘family’, Lila and I asked for a prior meeting with the man who was going to be living with us.¹¹⁶

Real families often included children, and while this did bring certain risks, it is also clear that the presence of children was also enormously helpful to revolutionaries trying to subvert police raids. Children were trained from an early age not to give away what their parents did.¹¹⁷ Anna Allilueva put it as follows: ‘From our earliest years we learned the dangers and deprivations which faced those who had chosen a revolutionary’s path. Even before we could speak, we knew we had to be afraid of the police, and that we had to keep quiet about the things our elders said or did at home.’¹¹⁸ Other parents took more drastic measures. The Bolshevik Nadezhda Kondrat’evna Emel’ianova told her son that his father would ‘cut out his tongue’ if he spoke to anyone about the fact that Lenin was using their place as a safe house, while Feodosiia Drabkina spread hot mustard on her daughter Elizaveta’s tongue as a punishment for speaking about conspiratorial conversations that she had eavesdropped on.¹¹⁹ When the Bolshevik Margarita Vasil’evna Fofanova sheltered Lenin in her flat in 1917, she took the precaution of sending her children away to stay with her parents.¹²⁰

The presence of children regularly deflected police attention. On one occasion, in 1907, Ol’ga Allilueva was sheltering her husband Sergei, who was on the run from exile. She managed to prevent the police searching the flat by sitting at her sewing machine and pointing to the

¹¹⁶‘Praskovia Ivanovskaia’ in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, pp. 114–115.

¹¹⁷Elena Loskutova, ‘Dorogoi nepokorenykh (E.F. Rozmirovich)’, in L.P. Zhak and A.M. Itkina, eds., *Zhenshchiny russkoi revoliutsiia* (Moscow: Izdatel’stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1968), pp. 388–389.

¹¹⁸‘Anna’, in *The Alliluyev Memoirs*, p. 38.

¹¹⁹‘Vospominaniia S.Ia. Allilueva i N.A. Emel’ianova o prebyvanii V.I. Lenina i G.E. Zinov’eva v podpol’e (v Raslive) v 1917 g. v Rossii i ob iul’skikh sobytiakh v Rossii’, in RGASPI, f. 324, o. 1, ed. khr. 8, l. 5; Clements, *Bolshevik Women*, p. 89.

¹²⁰M.V. Fofanova, ‘Poslednee podpol’e’, in A.F. Smirnov, ed., *Oktiabr’ v Petrograde: stat’i, vospominaniia, dokumenty* (Moscow: ‘Sovremennik’, 1987), p. 97.

'ill children in bed' to create an impression of innocence.¹²¹ Even less discreet children lent an aura of innocence to the scene. When Axelrod, his wife Nadezhda and their daughter were travelling into Russia by train, 'two policemen joined them in their compartment and engaged little Vera in conversation'. To her parents' horror, Vera mentioned her parents' revolutionary comrades 'Uncle Dragomanov' and 'Uncle Kropotkin', but luckily 'mispronounced the names' and the police did not realize who they were talking to.¹²² In Moscow in 1914, the police did not arrest Sonia Grunt as part of a raid on the Bolshevik committee because she had an infant child, but this left her free to warn her comrade Martyn Ivanovich Latsis about the arrests and able to continue working for the party.¹²³

At home, children's toys were an ideal place in which to hide illegal literature.¹²⁴ Galina Petrovna, the daughter of Elena Fedorovna Rozmirovich, proudly remembered helping her mother to thwart a police search. She was only eight years old and ill in bed, but when her mother handed her a notebook and some revolutionary leaflets to hide as the police knocked on the door, she concealed the book under her dolls and the leaflets in amongst the doctor's notes attached to her bed.¹²⁵ The Bolshevik Mariia Petrovna Golubeva, a mother to three children, hid illegal literature in her daughter's doll and the toy was overlooked during a police search in 1907. In doing this, Golubeva took a relatively minor risk. Two years previously, during the revolutionary days of October 1905, her home had been the Petersburg Committee's headquarters where revolutionaries met and weapons were stored. As one comrade commented, 'Her children slept on bombs'.¹²⁶

¹²¹'Anna', in *The Alliluyev Memoirs*, p. 120.

¹²²Abraham Ascher, *Pavel Axelrod and the Development of Menshevism* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1972), p. 43.

¹²³M. Latsis, 'Podpol'naia rabota v Moskve (1914–1915)', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1925, No. 10, p. 201 and p. 205.

¹²⁴E. Golubeva, 'Mariia Petrovna Golubeva', in Ignat'eva, *Slavnye bol'shevichki*, p. 128. E. Golubeva writes that the search occurred in 1907 or 1908.

¹²⁵Elena Loskutova, 'Dorogoi nepokorennykh (E.F. Rozmirovich)', in Zhak and Itkina, *Zhenshchiny russkoi revoliutsiia*, pp. 388–389.

¹²⁶Golubeva, in Ignat'eva, *Slavnye bol'shevichki*, p. 128.

Family members were also useful when a police search was successful and word had to be got out to other comrades that a safe house had been exposed. Eva Broido remembered one raid on a worker's home in the winter of 1910–1911: 'Our main concern', she wrote, 'was to smuggle out a warning to our families, so that they could destroy or remove all compromising material from our homes. In order to gain time we refused to give our names. Meanwhile our resourceful hostess found somebody reliable to send round and all our families were in fact warned even before we were taken into custody.'¹²⁷ It was also important that other revolutionary comrades did not come to flats during a police search, so it was often the 'innocent' kin, who were watched less closely or even allowed to leave altogether, who were relied on to signal at the window or head off individuals in the street. In May 1912, Mariia Aleksandrovna Ul'ianova wrote to her son-in-law's brother to warn Mark Elizarov not to return from his business trip to Saratov as he was likely to be arrested, even using the code 'fall ill' for arrest.¹²⁸

While many revolutionaries referred to the help of family members in their memoirs, and several pointed to how hard their lives were because they did not have parental support, few offered passionate thanks in the way that V.M. Smirnov did.¹²⁹ He dedicated a whole section of his reminiscences to an unashamed and heartfelt tribute to his mother for helping him in his work, admitting at the end: 'If I succeeded in doing a little for the party, I am indebted to her to a significant degree [...] I do not doubt that it was because of her constant care [...] that I successfully avoided prison and exile in those years.'¹³⁰

¹²⁷Broido, *Memoir*, pp 139–140.

¹²⁸Letter, M.A. Ul'ianova to A.I. Elizarova, 26 April 1910, in N.N. Simagin and A.G. Vinogradova, eds., *Perepiska sem'i Ul'ianovykh, 1883–1917*, p. 224 (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1969), p. 224. For another example of a mother warning her son's revolutionary comrade of his imminent arrest, see Iu.O. Martov, *Zapiski sotsial-demokrata*, ed. P.Iu. Savel'ev (Moskva: ROSSPEN, 2004), p. 55 and p. 76.

¹²⁹See, for example, Nikolai Emel'ianovich Aivasov, 'Avtobiografiia', in RGASPI, f. 124, o. 1, ed. khr. 20, l. 10 ob.

¹³⁰Smirnov, 'Revoliutsionnaia rabota v Finlandii', pp. 155–156.

THE FAMILY LIFE OF REVOLUTIONARIES

The picture painted here of family life is one of harmonious and loving cooperation, in which dedication to the cause was reinforced by personal loyalties and affection.¹³¹ However, family life did not always combine seamlessly with revolutionary activities, with personal concerns such as income, health, caring responsibilities and affairs of the heart often taking precedence over or at the very least distracting attention from party work. Revolutionaries grappled with this issue in their theories about how a party member ought to conduct him or herself, and sources from and about the underground period often refer to this question. While there is a great temptation to see this as a problem affecting only women, and numerous historians have made such assertions or at least dealt with the question exclusively from the female perspective, it is in fact clear that domestic, personal and private issues were also likely to affect men.¹³² Inevitably, gender played a role in the way such problems were experienced, especially where issues such as housework and childcare were concerned. On the other hand, family life contains in it a curious potential to uphold and subvert gender roles in equal measure.

The division of household chores amongst the family was an important issue in the revolutionary movement, not least because socialists were strident about the fact that confining women to performing unpaid labour in the home was detrimental to them as individuals as well as to society as a whole. Under socialism, such drudgery would be eradicated through the establishment by the state of communal canteens and laundries as well as the deployment of paid cleaners. Until socialism came to pass, of course, such developments were impossible.

In certain circumstances, efforts were made to divide up housework in a more egalitarian manner. In single-sex exile communities, the tasks of cooking and washing were often shared fairly amongst group members. However, in mixed groups, women were almost always expected to take on this work, and in family homes, whether real or fake, women were also expected to shoulder these burdens. Praskov'ia Ivanovskaia remembered her fake household referred to above: 'One day, when Lila and I were deeply

¹³¹These ideas are also discussed in my chapter 'Gender and Family in the Russian Revolutionary Movement', in Melanie Ilic, ed., *Palgrave Handbook on Women and Gender in Twentieth-Century Russia and the Soviet Union* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

¹³²See, for example, Clements, *Bolshevik Women*, pp. 81–91; Anna Hillyar, and Jane McDermid, *Revolutionary Women in Russia, 1870–1917. A Study in Collective Biography* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 171–176.

involved in urgent work, Nikolai [Kibalchich] suddenly proposed that we all have some tea.¹³³ When Lila asked Nikolai to go and make it, he protested: ‘Well, you know, that’s not man’s work!’¹³⁴ Indeed, there was an ongoing assumption that it was up to women party members to organize food for their comrades, as well as to do any necessary cleaning.¹³⁵ A. Katanskaia remembered the RSDRP printing press run by the brothers Korobkov in Astrakhan from 1901 to 1903. Their sister Tat’iana, who along with her husband Pëtr Sal’nikov was a member of the group, was made responsible for cleaning the floors, though it was justified with the assertion that this would give the apartment a ‘lived-in air’ and so disguise the political work carried out there.¹³⁶ Similarly, a member of the People’s Will argued that in safe houses ‘the ladies had to do the housework themselves whether or not the men felt inclined to help them’ so that the front of normal domesticity was maintained.¹³⁷ Even the émigré canteen in Geneva, run by Ol’ga Borisovna Lepeshinskaia, was staffed by other female comrades, though notably her husband Panteleimon Nikolaevich did the shopping for it.¹³⁸

Lastly, women tended to be expected to organize the moving of households, a common task in the movement, with revolutionaries often having to flee police attention or move to where a new revolutionary community had sprung up. Krupskaia mentioned several times in her memoirs either being left to pack up the Ul’ianov household while Lenin went on ahead or setting up their new household while Lenin immersed himself in his work.¹³⁹ Ol’ga Andreev remembered her family’s return to Russia in 1917 after the February revolution: ‘It was decided that [Viktor] would start for Russia first, by way of Paris, London and Scandinavia, and would wait for us in Petrograd. Mother would settle our affairs in Italy, pack, and bring us along.’¹⁴⁰

¹³³‘Praskovaia Ivanovskaia’, in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 118.

¹³⁴‘Praskovaia Ivanovskaia’, in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 119–120.

¹³⁵See, for example, Kun, *Stalin*, pp. 99–100; A. Kiselev, ‘V iule 1914 goda (Iz vospominanii)’, in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1924, No. 7, p. 39.

¹³⁶A. Katanskaia, ‘Astrakhanskaia typografiia (1901–1903 g.g.)’, in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1925, No. 6, p. 213 and p. 214.

¹³⁷Lev Tikhomirov cited in Barbara Alpern Engel, ‘The Emergence of Women Revolutionaries in Russia’, in *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, 1977, Vol. 2, No. 1, p. 99.

¹³⁸Nikolay Valentinov (N.V. Volsky), *Encounters with Lenin*, trans. by Paul Rosta and Brian Pearce, foreword by Leonard Schapiro (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 84.

¹³⁹Krupskaia, *Vospominaniia*, p. 120 and p. 146.

¹⁴⁰Andreyev, *Cold Spring*, p. 69.

The expectation that women should take on household chores clearly grated on female members of the revolutionary movement. According to Kropotkin, Sof'ia Perovskaia made it 'a point of honour' to keep the safe house she ran 'relatively clean' but she 'quarrelled' with her male visitors when they brought mud from the streets into the flat with them.¹⁴¹ Krupskaja was also vocal in her protests about these tasks.¹⁴²

Yet many revolutionary women found ways of alleviating the burden, even if it did mean sharing it with other women, rather than men. Families who were able to employ servants, including the Alliluevs and, while in exile, Eva Broido, and Lenin and Krupskaja.¹⁴³ Others relied on help from their mothers or mothers-in-law, as well as their children.¹⁴⁴ The seven Emel'ianov children had to do household chores while their Bolshevik parents carried out party work. Their eldest remembered that the children 'did not avoid women's work' for 'there were no daughters, you see, only sons'.¹⁴⁵ When without the services of a housekeeper, the same pattern was followed in the Alliluev family, though since they had daughters as well as sons, it was on the girls' shoulders that these responsibilities mainly fell.¹⁴⁶

Finally, it was not unheard of for men to take on some household tasks, either as a matter of course or if, for example, the wife was ill or in prison.¹⁴⁷ The Bolshevik Nikolai Ivanovich Bukharin took over the cooking when his wife Nadezhda Mikhailovna Lukina was unwell.¹⁴⁸ There are examples of revolutionary men doing their own laundry, including Lenin who made a point of not asking his landlady in Finland to wash his clothes.¹⁴⁹

One problem which did remain, however, was that often expectations that women should do housework extended into notions about

¹⁴¹ Kropotkin, *Memoirs*, pp. 317–318.

¹⁴² Krupskaja, *Vospominaniia*, p. 118.

¹⁴³ Kun, *Stalin*, p. 192; Broido, *Daughter of Revolution*, p. 60; Krupskaja, *Vospominaniia*, p. 27.

¹⁴⁴ Bobrovskaya, *Twenty Years*, p. 94; 'Anna', *Alliluyev Memoirs*, p. 139.

¹⁴⁵ A.N. Emel'ianova, 'Rasskaz o moei materi', in S.F. Vinogradova, E.A. Gilyarova, M.Ya. Razumova (eds), *Leningradki: vospominaniya, ocherki, dokumenty* (Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1967), p. 74.

¹⁴⁶ 'Anna', in *The Alliluyev Memoirs*, pp. 146–147.

¹⁴⁷ Krupskaja, *Vospominaniia*, p. 239.

¹⁴⁸ Krupskaja, *Vospominaniia*, p. 201.

¹⁴⁹ Mary Hamilton-Dann, *Vladimir and Nadya* (New York: International Publishers, 1998), p. 218. See also Krupskaja, *Vospominaniia*, p. 239.

how political tasks were divided up. Lydia Dan noted her own brother's assumptions about what tasks his siblings would perform when they joined the movement. She remembered that because 'habits were rather patriarchal then', she and her sister were 'promptly instructed' by Martov 'to write to so-and-so, say such-and-such, and so forth'.¹⁵⁰ Similarly, while the Bolsheviks Martyn Ivanovich Latsis and Ia. Grunt made leaflets and red flags, they assigned Grunt's wife, Sonia, the 'thankless work' of cleaning up afterwards.¹⁵¹ Wives were often used also as messengers and as lookouts while meetings were being held.¹⁵²

Women also tended to take on supportive roles where party writing was concerned. Although some women wrote independently, often for revolutionary publications aimed at women, many more helped their husbands in their literary work. Kropotkin was helped by his wife, 'with whom I used to discuss [...] every proposed paper and who was a severe literary critic of my writings'.¹⁵³ Krupskaiia remembered playing the "un-understanding" reader' to help Lenin prepare his work *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* for publication, while Natal'ia Ivanovna Sedova helped her husband Trotsky with his research.¹⁵⁴ There is a description of Lev Mikhailovich Karakhan compiling a propaganda leaflet for the RSDRP Mezhrainka group in the summer of 1914, which his wife Klavdiia Efremovna then rewrote in preparation for typesetting.¹⁵⁵

It is important to note that gender expectations also affected male party comrades. If women had to take on the burden of housework, earning a family income was one which men tended to shoulder. Combining legal, regular paid work with revolutionary activity was extremely difficult, though some men, such as Mark Elizarov and Gleb

¹⁵⁰Interview with Lydia Dan', in Haimson, *The Making of Three Russian Revolutionaries*, p. 68.

¹⁵¹Latsis, 'Podpol'naia rabota v Moskve', pp. 190–191.

¹⁵²Kiselev, 'V iule 1914 goda', p. 44; Ol'ga Evgen'evna Allilueva, 'Avtobiografiia', in RGASPI, f. 124, o. 1, ed. khr. 40, l. 7; Sulimov, 'Vospominaniia', p. 94.

¹⁵³Kropotkin, *Memoirs*, p. 424.

¹⁵⁴Letter, Krupskaiia to M.A. Ul'ianova, 14 October 1898, in *Lenin's Collected Works*, 45 Vols. (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977), Vol. 37, pp. 569–571, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1898/oct/14.htm>, last accessed on 11 May 2017.

¹⁵⁵I. Iurenov, "Mezhraionka" (1911–1917 g.g.) (Vospominaniia)', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1924, No. 1, pp. 109–139, p. 127; see also Samuel H. Baron, *Plekhanov: The Father of Russian Marxism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1963), p. 258.

Krzhizhanovskii, managed it.¹⁵⁶ Others found that paid employment interfered with their revolutionary work. In Novgorod in 1892, Maxim Gorky had to take on work as a lawyer's copyist in order to support his first common-law wife, Ol'ga Kaminskaia, but found that it left him 'little time for involvement in revolutionary activity'.¹⁵⁷

Many other revolutionaries found themselves unable to obtain paid work, either because they had been identified as 'politically unreliable' by the police or because they could not find suitable employment while in exile abroad. Poverty was often a source of deep depression and even shame for men. It was by no means unusual for female revolutionaries to have careers and to take up employment to help support the family, including, for example, Axelrod's wife Nadezhda.¹⁵⁸ At other times, men chose to leave the revolutionary movement altogether in order to provide for their families through legal employment. In 1915, the Bolshevik Aleksandr Gavrilovich Shliapnikov reduced his party work and took employment in a factory in London for a time to support his mother in Russia.¹⁵⁹ George Denike gave up his role with the Mensheviks and moved to Kazan in 1914 after his father's death because, as he put it:

The family had nothing to fall back on, and since it would take some months for his pension to come through, my principal concern was to earn money to support not only myself but my mother and younger brothers. So it was a period when family matters took up most of my time.¹⁶⁰

Denike lived in Kazan until his return to Petrograd in November 1917.¹⁶¹ Having escaped arrest in Russia by going abroad, Tikhomirov found it increasingly hard to support his wife and child. He converted to Christianity and renounced his revolutionary work.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁶Turton, *Forgotten Lives*, p. 32 and p. 64; Kartsev, *Krzhizhanovskii*, pp. 215–216.

¹⁵⁷Yedlin, *Gorky*, p. 15 and p. 16. Shortly after this relationship broke up, Gorky married Ekaterina Pavlovna Peshkova, née Volzhina.

¹⁵⁸Ascher, *Pavel Axelrod*, pp. 82–83.

¹⁵⁹Barbara C. Allen, *Alexander Shliapnikov, 1885–1937: Life of an Old Bolshevik* (Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books, 2015), p. 59.

¹⁶⁰'Interview with George Denike', in Haimson, *The Making of Three Russian Revolutionaries*, p. 386.

¹⁶¹Iu. Denike, 'Memoirs', in Hoover Institution Archive, Nicolaevsky papers, Series 279, Box 672, Folder 11, p. 36.

¹⁶²Ulam, *In the Name of the People*, p. 396.

Some men did not embark on revolutionary careers at all because of their family commitments. Marie Sukloff wrote of one acquaintance: ‘I knew that N_____ [*sic*] sympathized with the revolution, but I also knew that he had never taken an active part in it, and besides he had a wife and two children.’¹⁶³ Lydia Dan admitted: ‘Not everyone was able simply to abandon his wife and children—they would be lost. The party could not be counted upon for support. Naturally, people were greatly tied down and restricted by this.’¹⁶⁴

Others took breaks in order to care for loved ones. Axelrod lived in Switzerland from 1881 to 1906 in order to support his wife through a long illness.¹⁶⁵ Lenin took time off from his party work to care for his sister Mariia when she was ill in 1909, and reduced his working hours to be by Krupskaja’s side after she underwent an operation in 1913.¹⁶⁶ In 1914, Zinoviev did not go to the socialist Unity Conference in Brussels in 1914 because Zlata, his wife, was ill in hospital.¹⁶⁷

Children of course required care and attention as well. The previous chapter noted some examples of mothers leaving their children in the care of others in order to embark on revolutionary careers. Children were also born after individuals had become party members, and parents made a variety of choices about how best to care for them. Some parents chose to hand their children over to others to be looked after. Anna Larina remembered as a young girl asking about her adoptive parents. Larina’s father abandoned her mother shortly after Anna’s birth and she died when Anna was one year old. Her mother’s sister and her husband, Elena Grigor’evna and Iurii Mikhailovich Larin, took her in but soon left her with Elena’s father to be cared for while they conducted revolutionary work. Bluntly, her grandfather told her: ‘Your parents are social democrats. They prefer to sit in jail, to escape arrest by running abroad, to sitting here beside you and cooking you kasha.’¹⁶⁸

¹⁶³Sukloff, *The Life Story of a Russian Exile*, p. 209.

¹⁶⁴‘Interview with Lydia Dan’, in Haimson, *The Making of Three Russian Revolutionaries*, p. 157.

¹⁶⁵Abraham Ascher, ed., *The Mensheviks in the Russian Revolution* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), p. 16; Ascher, *Pavel Axelrod*, pp. 232–233.

¹⁶⁶Krupskaja, *Vospominaniia*, p. 151 and p. 200.

¹⁶⁷Kiselev, ‘V iule 1914 goda’, p. 40.

¹⁶⁸Larina, *This I Cannot Forget*, pp. 209–210.

At other times, when children were born one or both parents withdrew from the underground in order to care for them. Generally, the wife became the primary carer, even if this meant a separation with the husband while he continued his revolutionary work. As Bobrovskaja observed, there were many women who, when they had children, ‘were obliged to play the unenviable role of mother and housewife even though they had all the attributes required to make them real party workers’.¹⁶⁹ Her comment is all the more pointed because she herself felt unable to immerse herself fully in her revolutionary work when her son was born. She remembered:

On my return from exile I could not find either the Moscow or the Regional Party organizations to which to go [...] Perhaps if I had gone to the districts and had got into my old harness of professional district worker, everything would have looked much brighter, but I could not do that because of a purely personal disability, I had a new born child on my hands, a sick little boy, who unjustly had to pay for my restless life.¹⁷⁰

Similarly, Ekaterina Ivanovna Lorberg, the wife of future Soviet head of state Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin, gave up her involvement in the Bolshevik party and moved to her husband’s home village, temporarily, to raise her three children out of harm’s way.¹⁷¹ There are many more examples of women who left the movement, at least for a short time, for their children.¹⁷² The RSDRP member Tania Abrosimova temporarily left her work for the Dvinsk Committee in 1907 in order to devote herself to raising her children.¹⁷³

Fathers often made a great deal of effort to be with their wives for the birth of their children. Ol’ga Liubatovich remembered Sergei Kravchinskii overcoming his great desire to return to Russia from European exile and

¹⁶⁹Bobrovskaya, *Twenty Years*, p. 150.

¹⁷⁰Bobrovskaya, *Twenty Years*, pp. 214–215.

¹⁷¹Vasilieva, Larissa, *Kremlin Wives*, ed. and trans. by Cathy Porter (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1994), p. 117.

¹⁷²See, for example, the autobiographies of K.N. Gavrilova, ‘Avtobiografii’, in RGASPI, f. 124, o. 1, ed. khr. 426 and E.A. Elagina, ‘Avtobiografii’, in RGASPI, f. 124, o. 1, ed. khr. 633, l. 6 and l. 6 ob in which these Bolshevik women ceased temporarily their active role in the party in order to care for children.

¹⁷³I. Iurenov, “‘Mezhraionka” (1911–1917 g.g.) (Vospominaniia)’, in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1924, No. 1, p. 110.

instead staying with his wife Fanny who was pregnant.¹⁷⁴ Axelrod came to Geneva, leaving his revolutionary work in Russia behind, in order to attend the birth of his first child in 1876.¹⁷⁵ It was not unusual for fathers to leave children in the care of their mothers after that, however. Dzerzhinskii did not see his son Jaček for the first seven years of his life, and Gusev did not see his daughter for twelve years.¹⁷⁶

There are, however, some examples of fathers who ceased, at least temporarily, their revolutionary activities.¹⁷⁷ The Bolshevik Aleksei Ivanovich Rykov's brother-in-law, Vladimir Nikolaevskii, abandoned his illegal revolutionary work to live with his wife and three children on a cooperative, while in 1908, Leonid Krasin, who also had three children, left Russia for Germany with his family to avoid further police harassment for his involvement in the RSDRP.¹⁷⁸ It is worth noting that in these cases both parents ceased their revolutionary work, causing their party to lose two agents, whereas fathers who left their children in the care of their mothers could continue with their activities. While fluctuations in party membership can in the main be put down to the level of state repression, political or economic factors, this evidence points to more personal issues which also affected member numbers.¹⁷⁹

Most parental breaks from revolutionary activity were temporary and many revolutionaries kept their children with them and continued to work as party agents. The Bolshevik Evgeniia Bogdanovna Bosh combined being a wife and mother with full membership of the party.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁴'Olga Liubatovich', in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 164.

¹⁷⁵Ascher, *Pavel Axelrod*, p. 32.

¹⁷⁶A. Tishkov, 'Feliks Edmundovich Dzerzhinskii', in S. Semanov, ed. *Kommunisty: Sbornik* (Moscow: 'Molodaia gvardiia', 1976), p. 257; S. Dzerzhinskaia, *V gody velikikh boev* (Moscow: Mysl', 1964), p. 268; Figes, *The Whisperers*, pp. 1–2.

¹⁷⁷P.A. Garvi, *Zapiski sotsial-demokrata (1906–1921)* (Newtonville, MA.: Oriental Research Partners, 1982), p. 90.

¹⁷⁸'Interview with Boris Nicolaevsky', in Haimson, *The Making of Three Russian Revolutionaries*, p. 219; Lubov Krassin, *Leonid Krassin: His Life and Work* (London: Skeffington, 1929), pp. 39–40.

¹⁷⁹André Liebich, 'The Mensheviks' and Michael Melancon, 'Neo-Populism in Early Twentieth-Century Russia: The Socialist Revolutionary Party from 1900–1917', in Anna Geifman, ed., *Russia Under the Last Tsar: Opposition and Subversion* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1999), p. 24 and p. 81.

¹⁸⁰E. Preobrazhenskii, 'Evgeniia Bogdanovna Bosh', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1925, No. 2, p. 7; Clements, *Bolshevik Women*, p. 27.

Later, when she separated from her husband, she took her children with her.¹⁸¹ Axelrod returned to Russia illegally with his family in 1878 in order to take up a job as one of the editors of the newspaper of the Northern Union of Russian Workers.¹⁸²

Revolutionaries drew on a range of support in order to protect and care for their children. Many depended on help from their own mothers or mothers-in-law, while wealthier revolutionaries hired nannies. As well as taking on household chores, the Chernov family's nanny Praskovia Nikifrova Nikifrova cared first for Andreeva's children from her first marriage, Vadia, Ol'ga and Natasha, and then her daughter with Viktor Chernov, Adia.¹⁸³ In emigration in Paris, the Bolshevik Kamenevs and Steklovs as well as the SR Avksent'evs all employed nannies for their children.¹⁸⁴ In Vienna, in 1912, the Bolsheviks Aleksandr Antonovich Troianovskii and his wife Elena Rozmirovich hired a governess for their daughter Galina.¹⁸⁵

Not all families could afford a nanny. Trotsky remembered living in poverty with his family in emigration in Vienna during the war: 'We had two babies and no nurse; our life was a double burden on my wife. But she still found time and energy to help me in revolutionary work.'¹⁸⁶ Trotsky unwittingly reveals here his assumption that it was his wife's responsibility to care for children and that in party work, she was his helper rather than an independent member herself.

However, there are examples of fathers helping with childcare, especially in cases where the mother was in prison or absent conducting revolutionary work. Sergei Alliluev regularly looked after his children when his wife Ol'ga was away on party business.¹⁸⁷ Sof'ia Smidovich left her daughter with her husband, Platon Vasil'evich Lunacharskii, brother of the future Commissar of Enlightenment, Anatolii Lunacharskii, while she fulfilled her revolutionary duties.¹⁸⁸ That this was a fairly rare

¹⁸¹Preobrazhenskii, 'Evgeniia Bogdanovna Bosh', p. 8.

¹⁸²Ascher, *Pavel Axelrod*, pp. 42–43.

¹⁸³Andreyev, *Cold Spring*, p. 26.

¹⁸⁴Andreyev, *Cold Spring*, pp. 38–39 and p. 45.

¹⁸⁵Kun, *Stalin*, p. 154.

¹⁸⁶Trotsky, *My Life*, p. 200.

¹⁸⁷'Anna', in *The Alliluev Memoirs*, p. 75.

¹⁸⁸Smidovich's biographer stresses on several occasions that Lunacharskii suffered from a long-term illness, perhaps implying that if he had been well, he would not have cared for his daughter (L. Krechet, 'Sof'ia Nikolaevna Smidovich', in Ignat'eva, *Slavnye bol'shevichki*, p. 277).

occurrence is suggested in an anecdote to be found in the memoirs of Land and Liberty member Ol'ga Liubatovich. She remembered that she was amazed to see the Ukrainian activist and scholar Mikhail Petrovich Dragomanov take a hands-on approach to fatherhood, highlighting her own assumptions about male and female parenting duties. As she put it: '[Dragomanov's wife] was suffering from a serious illness [...] She couldn't even look after her little eight-month-old daughter, and with my own eyes I saw Dragomanov himself change the baby! [...] I had to wonder at the courage of this man, who was able to reconcile serious literary work with caring for a sick wife and small child.'¹⁸⁹

Other family members might be called into help out as well. When Anna Elizarova was arrested in 1916, her husband Mark had to take on the care of Gora.¹⁹⁰ In fact he shared this duty with Anna's younger sister Mariia, and this was not always a happy arrangement. Gora remembered Mariia having 'fits of hot-temper and irritability' and arguing with Mark over her childcare responsibilities, probably because they affected her ability to fulfil her many revolutionary tasks.¹⁹¹ Regardless of Mariia's annoyance, there was in fact an understanding amongst revolutionaries that in times of crisis they might be called on to help with their comrades' children. Ol'ga Liubatovich left her infant with a male comrade in Geneva while she travelled to Russia to try to secure the release of her partner, Morozov, from prison.¹⁹²

In October 1905, the Bolsheviks Evgeniia Samoilovna and Aleksandr Grigor'evich Shlikhter actively supported a railway workers' strike in Kiev, even though they had three young sons. Returning from a trip to St Petersburg, Evgeniia discovered that her husband had successfully evaded arrest after a political demonstration, but had since disappeared. She then had to find and collect her children, who had been divided up amongst friends to be cared for, and go after her husband, who it turned out was in Finland.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁹'Olga Liubatovich', in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 162.

¹⁹⁰Elizarov, *Mark Elizarov*, p. 112.

¹⁹¹Georgii Iakovlevich Lozgachev-Elizarov, *Nezabyvaemoe* (Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1970), p. 116.

¹⁹²'Olga Liubatovich', in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 195.

¹⁹³Natal'ia Aleksandrova, 'Sil'naia dukhom (E.S. Shlikhter)', in Zhak and Itkina, *Zhenshchiny russkoi revoliutsii*, p. 543.

Children themselves reacted in a range of ways to their revolutionary parents' lifestyles. Larina was 'crushed' to learn that her parents had left her with her grandfather in order to pursue their revolutionary activities.¹⁹⁴ Those children who lived with their parents often found separations difficult. Anna Allilueva remembered her 'heart sink[ing]' on one occasion when her mother announced she was going to travel to Tula to collect ammunition for the party.¹⁹⁵ Similarly, the Chernov children experienced anxiety when their mother visited Russia in 1913: 'we awaited her return to Alassio with impatience, especially Vadia, who had been taken seriously ill. All four of us children missed Mother desperately. We had the habit of running down to the road below our house to check and see whether she might be arriving.'¹⁹⁶ Vera Broido described vividly the impact of her mother's frequent absences:

She was so often away from home for long periods that I hardly noticed her absence and no-one explained what had happened to her. [...] I always cried when she reappeared though I don't think that I cried or missed her very much in between. Each time she seemed a stranger at first and I felt a bit shy of her but a good cry seemed to bring us together.¹⁹⁷

Others, such as the daughter of Bolsheviks Feodosiia Drabkina and Sergei Gusev, Elizaveta, found the perpetual need for discretion and caution burdensome. She recalled:

When I remember my mama, a street under wet snow appears to me. I step in the puddles behind mama and wipe away tears. I'm cold, I want to eat, but mama goes on and on without end and drags me by the hand. When finally a door opens before us, mama wipes my nose with her perfumed lace handkerchief and says: 'Silence! It is necessary.' That 'it is necessary' oppressed me. My whole childhood passed under the sign 'it is necessary' and 'it is not allowed'. It is not allowed to talk about the strange people—the aunts and uncles. It is not allowed to give your surname, it is not allowed to say what your mama is called. It is not allowed to say who

¹⁹⁴Larina, *This I Cannot Forget*, p. 209.

¹⁹⁵'Anna', in *The Alliluyev Memoirs*, p. 71.

¹⁹⁶Andreyev, *Cold Spring*, p. 60.

¹⁹⁷Broido, *Daughter of Revolution*, p. 42.

my papa is and where he is. In a word, it is not allowed to do what any five years old child does and is praised for.¹⁹⁸

At other times, children seem to have been more than willing to participate in their parents' or older siblings' work, as in the case of Allilueva smuggling the cartridges discussed above. According to Figner, Ol'ga 'jumped for joy' when she was given the 'important' task, mentioned above, of carrying the letter destined for Vera's comrades.¹⁹⁹ On the other hand, Ol'ga did not continue her revolutionary activities into adulthood, instead preferring 'cultural and educational work'.²⁰⁰

While the children of revolutionaries had unconventional upbringings, revolutionaries had far from traditional marriages. Indeed, socialist theory had long been critical of bourgeois marriage, which was seen as a patriarchal institution that oppressed women, especially in view of the inability of women to escape unhappy marriages due to restrictive divorce laws. Sexual freedom and the use of common-law marriages rather than officially sanctioned and registered arrangements were an integral part of the underground movement, as was an acceptance of separations and divorce.

There were of course marriages which endured all the hardships and challenges of party life, including the Broidos' and the Dans'. Some couples had open marriages, including the Alliluevs, while others, for example Lenin and Krupskaja, survived adultery.²⁰¹ Many more male and female revolutionaries were serial monogamists, marrying two or even three times, including Gorky, Trotsky, Bukharin, Chernov, Kollontai and Armand. A significant number of male comrades, including Stalin, were sexually promiscuous.²⁰²

It is impossible to generalize about the intimate details of marriages and divorces, but it is clear that both, alongside wider familial relationships, were often entangled with political loyalties, and at times of crisis or changes in party allegiance, relationships played a role in individuals'

¹⁹⁸Elizaveta Drabkina, quoted in Tamara Leont'eva, 'Partiinaiia klichka Natasha (F.I. Drabkina)', Zhak and Itkina, *Zhenshchiny russkoi revoliutsii*, p. 103.

¹⁹⁹'Vera Figner', in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 39.

²⁰⁰Figner, *Memoirs*, p. 12.

²⁰¹Alliluyeva, *Twenty Letters*, p. 53.

²⁰²Stephen Kotkin, *Stalin: Paradoxes of Power, 1878–1928* (London: Penguin, 2015), p. 124 and p. 193; Kun, *Stalin*, p. 130.

decisions or indeed suffered the consequences of them.²⁰³ At least one marriage broke up on the basis of the split of the RSDRP into Bolshevik and Menshevik factions. Mikhail Stepanovich Ol'minskii and his wife Ekaterina Mikhailovna Dolgova separated when he became a Bolshevik and she a Menshevik. Liebich noted that although all of Martov's siblings became Mensheviks, his 'brother and sister-in-law Sergei Ezhov and Konkordiia Zakharova originally inclined towards bolshevism'. Their familial loyalty, however, brought them to the Mensheviks.²⁰⁴

More broadly, the personal life of a revolutionary was often used as a means of attacking him or her politically. Krupskaia remembered that when it came to choosing a new RSDRP Central Committee at the party congress in 1903, not only were there 'too many "generals" at the Congress, who were candidates for the Central Committee', but 'everybody knew one another not only as Party workers, but knew about each other's personal lives. There was thus a whole network of personal sympathies and antipathies. The nearer the voting approached, the more strained became the atmosphere.'²⁰⁵ Lenin appalled Valentinov by ignoring the fact that a comrade had spent party money in 'a brothel', but he was prepared to use evidence of immoral behaviour to attack his enemies.²⁰⁶

Others rejected as political allies those they perceived to condone or conduct sexual improprieties.²⁰⁷ When the anarchist Mikhail Aleksandrovich Bakunin turned against Nechaev, it was not only for his unscrupulous revolutionary methods but also for his sexual promiscuity. 'If you introduce him to a friend', Bakunin wrote, 'he will immediately proceed to sow dissension, scandal, and intrigue between you and your friend and make you quarrel. If your friend has a wife or a daughter, he will try to seduce her, and get her with child, in order to snatch her from the power of conventional morality and plunge her despite herself into revolutionary protest against society.'²⁰⁸ Krupskaia remembered at the 1903 congress Axelrod reproaching '[Nikolai Ernestovich] Bauman

²⁰³See, for example, André Liebich, *From the Other Shore: Russian Social Democracy after 1921* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 355 and Kotkin, *Stalin*, p. 118.

²⁰⁴Liebich, *From the Other Shore*, pp. 40–41.

²⁰⁵Krupskaia, *Vospominaniia*, pp. 71–72.

²⁰⁶Valentinov, *Encounters with Lenin*, p. 241; Liebich, *From the Other Shore*, p. 39 and p. 21.

²⁰⁷Liebich, *From the Other Shore*, p. 39.

²⁰⁸Bakunin, quoted in Yarmolinsky, *Road to Revolution*, p. 164.

(‘Sorokin’) for a supposed lack of moral feeling, and recalled some kind of scandalous exile story’ (see Chap. [Exile: The Bolsheviks after 1917](#)).²⁰⁹

Lastly, it is worth noting that besides anxiety about sexual immorality, there was another strand of concern about the inter-relationship between family ties and political affiliations. In 1911, after the discovery that Azef, the leader of the SR terrorist organization, was in fact an Okhrana spy, Iankel’ Iudelevskii of the SRs wrote a pamphlet entitled ‘The Azefshchina on Trial’. One of the reasons for the problems in the party, he argued, was that the party had become too centralized and ‘the members of the centre grew accustomed to regarding the party as their own private preserve’, handing out ‘posts to their wives, family members and close friends’. He asserted that ‘a revolutionary dynasty’ was developing which was ‘engendering in turn sycophants and revolutionary careerism’.²¹⁰

This accusation had strong resonances in the attacks on family networks in the 1930s in particular, but does not seem to have been acted on in the underground. Family connections were far too valuable to the daily running of revolutionary parties to be abandoned, and as the next two chapters will show came into their own in enabling prisoners and exiles to survive Tsarist persecution.

²⁰⁹ Krupskaia, *Vospominaniia*, p. 74.

²¹⁰ Iankel’ Iudelevskii’s pamphlet ‘The Azefshchina on Trial’, quoted in Nurit Schleifman, *Undercover Agents in the Russian Revolutionary Movement: The SR Party, 1902–1914* (Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1988), pp. 111–112.

Prison

[There is] an actual anguish, unknown to other men, but which is the most agonizing torture, and, so to speak, the daily torture of a Russian Revolutionist, who, parting from his friends or his wife for half an hour, is not sure that he will ever see them again.

Sergei Mikhailovich Stepniak-Kravchinskii
(Sergei Stepniak, *Underground Russia: Revolutionary Profiles and Sketches from Life* (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1890), p. 59)

The possibility of arrest and imprisonment was a constant threat in the revolutionary movement and almost all party work was conducted in a way calculated to minimize the chance of capture and conviction.¹ Such conspiratorial techniques were often successful, but they also frequently failed or were undermined by the presence of *agents provocateurs* or those who could not withstand the pressure of interrogation and gave up information to the police.

The political police of the Tsarist regime consisted of the gendarmes and, from 1880, the Okhrana, and they had a formidable range of

¹Much of the material for this chapter is drawn from my article ‘The Revolutionary, his Wife, the Party, and the Sympathizer: The Role of Family Members and Party Supporters in the Release of Revolutionary Prisoners’ which was published in *The Russian Review*, 2010, Vol. 69, No. 1, pp. 73–92 and is used here with *The Russian Review*’s kind permission.

powers at their disposal.² They could use surveillance, arrest without evidence and hold individuals in preliminary detention for months without charge. As with many elements of the Tsarist regime, the system was overseen by those with the personal and arbitrary power to mitigate or intensify punishment, ending with the Tsar himself. Although Alexander II's reforms of the 1860s included progressive regulations governing criminal investigations, measures introduced in 1881 to maintain order during emergencies meant that the police and gendarmes were allowed to make arrests on the basis of suspicion only and that governors and governors-general were allowed to exile prisoners administratively (that is, without using the court system), as long as their city or region was in a state of 'reinforced' or 'extraordinary' security.³ While more recent scholarship has tended to view the emergency legislation of 1881 as less draconian than previously thought, some observers at the time viewed it as oppressive and open to abuse.⁴ According to Kropotkin:

At this period of the reign of Alexander II the Third Section was absolutely all-powerful. The gendarme colonels made searches by the thousand without troubling themselves in the least about the existence of laws and law courts in Russia. They arrested whom they liked, kept people imprisoned as long as they pleased, and transported hundreds to Northeast Russia or Siberia according to the fancy of general or colonel; the signature of the minister of the interior was a mere formality, because he had no control over them and no knowledge of their doings.⁵

Targeted arrests of leaders were as common as wholesale round-ups of party cell members and most members of the revolutionary movement could expect to be taken at some point in their career.⁶

² Nurit Schleifman, *Undercover Agents in the Russian Revolutionary Movement: The SR Party, 1902–1914* (Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1988), p. 9.

³ Alexander N. Domrin, *The Limits of Russian Democratization: Emergency Powers and States of Emergency* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 71–75.

⁴ See, for example, Domrin, *The Limits of Russian Democratization*; Jonathan W. Daly, *The Watchful State: Security Police and Opposition in Russia, 1906–1917* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2004); Jonathan W. Daly, 'On the Significance of Emergency Legislation in Late Imperial Russia', in *Slavic Review*, 1995, Vol. 54, No. 3, pp. 602, 626.

⁵ P. Kropotkin, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* (New York: Horizon Press, 1968), p. 336.

⁶ Vl. Vilenskii (Sibiriakov), 'Rol' politicheskoi katorgi i ssylki v Russkoi Revoliutsii', in *Katorga i ssylka*, 1923, No. 5, p. 15.

Aware of the hardships endured by prisoners, revolutionary parties and the Political Red Cross made great efforts to provide aid to those in prison, penal servitude and exile, the former often facilitating escapes.⁷ However, it was in fact the family networks of the underground which came into their own when revolutionaries were imprisoned. This was because only spouses or relatives had official rights to communicate with prisoners and to make appeals to the authorities on their behalf. Family members were also most likely to help their kin at this point, since even if they opposed their revolutionary activities, they tended to be sympathetic to relatives facing punishment by the state.

PETITIONS

One of the first things family members could do for an imprisoned loved one was to begin petitioning on their behalf, for their release or the mitigation of their sentence, for improvement of their living conditions and for visits. In a country where personal power was so important, petitioning, understandably, had a long tradition, recognizable forms and some record of success.⁸ If arrests could be made at the discretion of the authorities, then so could releases, and petitions continued to be made to the authorities until the revolutions of 1917 (and beyond).⁹

Even the rules governing petitions were applied arbitrarily: only an appeal from a blood relation, as opposed to one from her husband, was accepted for consideration (and later rejected) in Ekaterina Breshko-Breshkovskaia's case in 1908, and in 1910, the governor of Yakutsk refused to accept the petition sent by the SR Vladimir Zenzinov's

⁷The Political Red Cross was a non-partisan organization led by, amongst others, the socialist theorist P.L. Lavrov, which raised money in Russia and beyond to help political prisoners and exiles (I.S. Vakhriushev and V.M. Andreev, 'Korrespondenty L. Lavrova o Sibirskoi ssylke', in N.N. Shcherbakov, ed., *Syl'nye revoliutsionery v Sibiri, XIX v.—fevral' 1917 g.* (Irkutsk: Irkutskii Gosudarstvennyi Universitet Imenii A.A. Zhdanov, 1973), p. 49).

⁸Andrew Verner, 'Discursive Strategies in the 1905 Revolution: Peasant Petitions from Vladimir Province', in *Russian Review*, 1995, Vol. 54, No. 1, p. 66; Gregory L. Freeze, *From Supplication to Revolution: A Documentary Social History of Imperial Russia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 5; Sheila Fitzpatrick, 'Suplicants and Citizens: Public Letter-Writing in Soviet Russia in the 1930s', in *Slavic Review*, 1996, Vol. 55, No. 1, p. 84.

⁹See Daly, *The Watchful State*, p. 45, for one example of arbitrary release.

parents, insisting that Zenzinov himself appeal to him for clemency.¹⁰ In many other cases, however, family members and spouses were able to submit petitions.¹¹

Given the prevalence of arrest without evidence, many petitioners pointed to the prisoner's innocence.¹² It was also common for parents of revolutionaries in particular to offer to stand bail for their offspring and supervise their activities at the family home until they were tried. In 1874, Perovskaia was arrested for disseminating propaganda against the Tsar. Due to the lack of evidence against her, her father was able to secure her release after a year of detention, by paying her bail and guaranteeing that she would live on the family estate in the Crimea until her trial (where she was acquitted).¹³ Some reminiscences suggest that parents simply bribed the authorities to obtain the release of their children.¹⁴ When N.I. Bukharin was arrested during a police campaign against the Moscow organization of the RSDRP in 1909, his father and uncle petitioned successfully for his release on bail before he was exiled.¹⁵ His father paid 1000 roubles, but Gorelov argues that also important were 'the links of his parents and [Bukharin's] status as a student of Moscow University'.¹⁶

Some parents may have intervened in this way in order to 'straighten out' their children. Initially, Lenin's mother nursed a hope that guaranteeing her son's behaviour might enable her to turn him from the political cause.¹⁷ However, once she understood that her children would always be committed revolutionaries she became their staunch supporter

¹⁰Alice Stone Blackwell, ed., *The Little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution: Reminiscences and Letters of Catherine Breschkovskiy* (Westport, Connecticut: Hyperion Press, Inc., 1973), p. 134; Vladimir Zenzinov, *The Road to Oblivion* (New York: Robert M. McBride & Company, 1933), p. 10.

¹¹V. Kartsev, *Krzhizhanovskii* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo 'Molodaia gvardiia', 1985), p. 131.

¹²See, for example, letter, Zlata Evnovna Radomysl'skaia to the Chief of the Okhrana Department, 1908, RGASPI, f. 324, o. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 1.

¹³Stepniak, *Underground Russia*, p. 134.

¹⁴Arvids Jurevics, 'Through Latvian Eyes', in Norman Stone and Michael Glenny, eds., *The Other Russia* (London: Faber and Faber, 1990), p. 125.

¹⁵Letter, I.G. Bukharin to Arkhangel'sk Governor, 27 May 1911, in GARF, f. 1764, o. 1, d. 5, l. 2; Letter, G.G. Bukharin to His Excellency Nikolai Alekseevich, undated, in GARF, f. 1764, o. 1, d. 5, l. 4.

¹⁶O.I. Gorelov, *Tsugtsvang Mikhbaila Tomskogo* (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2000), p. 35.

¹⁷Krupskaia, *Vospominaniia*, p. 27.

petitioning on their behalf when they were arrested and using her own money to pay their bail.¹⁸

Spouses could also petition successfully in this regard. After a series of arrests in Kiev in 1904 targeted at the Russian Central Committee of the RSDRP, Gleb Krzhizhanovskii was able to secure his wife Zinaida's release 'for a cash bond and his personal guarantee as a respectable citizen, "a senior railway official"', despite the fact that he was himself an active member of the Bolshevik party.¹⁹

If a prisoner's innocence could not be vouched for, families could ask for release on the basis of ill health. One defendant, Betia Abramovna Kaminskaiia, was saved from prosecution at the Trial of the 50 by the intervention of her father. His petition for her release on the grounds of mental ill health was granted, though it was said that this was because it was submitted along with 5000 roubles.²⁰ Vera Figner's mother was able to plead for her daughter's sentence of execution to be commuted to twenty years in prison.²¹ When M.N. Davidov was arrested during the 1909 sweep of the Moscow RSDRP, his wife successfully petitioned for his release on the grounds that he was suffering from tuberculosis.²²

Family matters were also used regularly to make the case for a prisoner's release and this could be successful, especially when they played on traditional notions about the roles of men and women in the family: the father as breadwinner, the mother as carer, adult children as responsible for ageing parents.²³ Of course, a petition grounded in reality was presumably much more convincing since it could stand up to scrutiny, but

¹⁸Katy Turton, 'A Mother's Love or Political Statement? The Role of Mariia Aleksandrovna Ul'ianova in her Family's Revolutionary Struggle', in *Women's History Review*, 2007, Vol. 16, No. 4, pp. 577–594.

¹⁹Kartsev, *Krzhizhanovskii*, pp. 215–216.

²⁰'Vera Figner', in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 31.

²¹Ulam, *In the Name of the People: Prophets and Conspirators in Pre-Revolutionary Russia: Prophets and Conspirators in Prerevolutionary Russia* (New York: The Viking Press, 1977), p. 395.

²²O.I. Gorelov, *Tsugtsvang Mikhaïla Tomskogo* (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2000), p. 35.

²³These roles are seen time and again in petitions. See, for example, Emily E. Pyle, 'Peasant Strategies for Obtaining State Aid: A Study of Petitions During World War I', in *Russian History*, 1997, Vol. 24, No. 1/2, p. 49 and Golfo Alexopoulos, 'The Ritual Lament: A Narrative of Appeal in the 1920s and 1930s', in *Russian History*, 1997, Vol. 24, No. 1/2, pp. 117–129.

it is also clear that revolutionaries rarely allowed these traditional roles to prevent them from participating in the movement.

Children, therefore, often proved useful to women revolutionaries at least, in ensuring their release. In 1903, a social democrat named Norinskii was arrested along with his wife, leaving their three young children in the care of their lodger and fellow revolutionary, Tkachenko. As Norinskii put it in his memoirs:

It was immediately decided to make a petition to the police chief about my or my wife's release in order to go to the children, who were left [...] completely neglected. I don't know what to put it down to—but my request was granted on that very day and my wife was released and sent to the children; I remained in prison, with a celebration in my soul.²⁴

If Norinskii's experiences can be used as a guide to police policy, it seems that if one parent was available to care for the children, it was unlikely the other would be released. Certainly the police were unwilling to make exceptions to arrests for fathers. Sergei Alliluev tried to resist arrest on one occasion, stating that he could not leave his children, to no avail.²⁵

A similar case to Norinskii's is the experience of A. Gazenbum. Her husband was in prison for his revolutionary activities and she was left to look after her mother and her young child. In April 1903, Gazenbum's house was searched by the police. An illegal pamphlet was found and she was arrested. Gazenbum's description of events is particularly interesting because she credits Lenin's mother, Mariia Aleksandrovna, who was a friend of the family, with advising her on how to proceed, thus pointing to the inter-family cooperation in the revolutionary movement. Gazenbum wrote:

The next day, at nine o'clock in the morning, Mariia Aleksandrovna was already at the house with my mother. In the night a young nanny had brought Krotkov's youngster [to the house as well], because [the police]

²⁴K. Norinskii, 'Ekaterinoslavskaiia zabastovka, 1903g.', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1922, No. 7, p. 168. For another example of the police allowing one parent to be released to care for children, see Turton, 'A Mother's Love', p. 581.

²⁵'Anna', in David Tutaev, ed. and trans., *The Alliluyev Memoirs: Recollections of Svetlana Stalin's Maternal Aunt Anna Alliluyeva and her Grandfather Sergei Alliluyev* (London: Michael Joseph, 1968), p. 73.

had arrested his mother and father that same night. Mariia Aleksandrovna instructed my mother to go quickly to the police colonel with both children and tell him that she was forced to leave them at the police administration. Mother did so, and by one o'clock Krotkova and I were already free.²⁶

Here, Gazenbum's mother was able to make a successful plea to the authorities by playing on the fact that the arrested women were themselves mothers who had young children who needed their care.

Another common tactic was to plead for the release of the prisoner because he or she needed to take care of an elderly parent, usually a mother. Writing in 1904 to the chief of the Kiev guberniia gendarmes department, Sheina Abramovna Asnes pleaded on behalf of her sister, Beila-Etila Abramovna Asnes, who had been arrested with fifty other Bolsheviks in Kiev on the night of 1 January. Sheina Asnes claimed in her letter that her sister was devoted to her work as a midwife and to supporting their mother, and had not the slightest interest in politics. She asked that she be released to her on bail. Lastly, she warned that the prolonged imprisonment might have a negative impact on her sister's health, and would certainly harm their mother's.²⁷ When Stalin was imprisoned in Batum in 1902, he petitioned twice for release on the grounds of ill health, but also because of his mother's need of care, writing of 'the helpless position of my elderly mother, abandoned by her husband twelve years ago and seeing me as her sole support in life'.²⁸

The attitude towards such petitions amongst party members varied. Neither Kaminskaia nor Figner, mentioned above, wished for their parents to intervene, feeling that they were betraying the comrades whose fate they no longer shared.²⁹ Kotkin argues that Stalin's 'groveling' and similar appeals by other revolutionaries 'could have tainted a revolutionary's reputation'.³⁰ Yet the number of such petitions suggests it was in

²⁶A. Gazenbum, 'Vospominaniia o M.A. Ul'ianovoi', in *Istoricheskii arkhiv*, 1958, No. 2, p. 165.

²⁷Letter, Sheina Abramovna Asnes to Chief of Gendarmes Authority, Kiev, 21 May 1904, GARF, f. 1764, o. 1, d. 58, l. 194.

²⁸Kotkin, Stephen, *Stalin: Paradoxes of Power, 1878–1928* (London: Penguin, 2015), p. 52.

²⁹'Vera Figner', in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 31; Ulam, *In the Name of the People*, p. 395.

³⁰Kotkin, *Stalin*, p. 52.

fact a regular tactic used by revolutionaries to try to secure release.³¹ When, for example, Grigorii Evseevich Zinoviev was arrested in 1908, he and his wife Zlata Evnovna Lilina waged a concerted campaign appealing for his release, writing letters to the chief of the Okhrana department and to the governor of St Petersburg. In these letters, the Zinovievs provided every possible reason to justify Zinoviev's release, from pointing to Zinoviev's innocence, to Zlata's precarious financial situation now that her husband was no longer supporting the family, to Zinoviev's worsening health and finally to the negative impact Zinoviev's imprisonment was having on Zlata's pregnancy.³² All of these claims were true, including the reference to the pregnancy, but their efforts suggests they had no qualms about seeking his release. Indeed, since most revolutionaries returned to party work after their release, presumably such appeals must have seemed justifiable to many activists.³³

SUPPORT IN PRISON

Even if release or the mitigation of a sentence was not possible, family members could do a great deal to support their kin while they were in prison. Though prison conditions varied from place to place, from prison to prison and over time—there was, for example, a noticeable worsening of conditions after 1905—imprisonment was always a difficult experience

³¹ See, for example, Ulam, *In the Name of the People*, p. 134.

³² Letters, Zlata Evnovna Radomysl'skaia to the Chief of the Okhrana Department, 1908, RGASPI, f. 324, o. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 1. The letter gives only the year, 1908, but since there are letters after it in the file dated from 31 March, it seems likely it was written the day after Zinoviev's arrest, that is, after 30 March 1908; Letter, Ovsei-Gershon Aronovich Radomysl'skii to St Petersburg Governor, 4 April 1908, RGASPI, f. 324, o. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 5; Letter, Zlata Evnovna Radomysl'skaia to the Chief of the Okhrana Department, undated, RGASPI, f. 324, o. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 1; Letter, Ovsei-Gershon Aronovich Radomysl'skii to St Petersburg Governor, 4 April 1908, in f. 324, o. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 5; Letter, Zlata Evnovna Radomysl'skaia to St Petersburg Governor, 24 May 1908, RGASPI, f. 324, o. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 14; Letter, Zlata Evnovna Radomysl'skaia to St Petersburg Governor, 25 April 1908, in f. 324, o. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 11; Letter, Zlata Evnovna Radomysl'skaia to Chief of the Okhrana Department, 1 May 1908, RGASPI, f. 324, o. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 12.

³³ E.D. Stasova, *Vospominaniia* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo 'Mysl', 1969), p. 89; Iu.O. Martov, *Zapiski sotsial-demokrata*, ed. P.Iu. Savel'ev (Moskva: ROSSPEN, 2004), p. 160.

physically and mentally. Political prisoners were often kept in solitary rather than the communal cells, though both options had advantages and disadvantages. Some revolutionaries relished the opportunity to study that single cells offered, while others found the solitude trying.³⁴ Exercise was limited, food was poor and physical comforts few. Cells usually lacked natural light, ventilation and temperature control. Besides the general deprivations, illnesses such as typhoid fever and scurvy were rife in prisons and mortality rates worrying.³⁵ Revolutionaries often returned to the outside world after incarceration with their health broken, often as a result of the lack of mental or physical occupation.³⁶ Martynov-Piker, who spent two years in Odessa prison in the 1880s, claimed that during his stay 25% of the political prisoners fell ill with mental disorders.³⁷ Violence and torture in prisons were not unheard of, including against women, though it was not consistently or legally used.³⁸ At certain times, prison regimes were lax; prisoners could get books, talk through open windows and receive visits. At other times, these allowances had to be petitioned and even protested for.³⁹

Surviving such trials often came down to personal temperament, as well as mental and physical robustness, but could be aided by the few comforts family members could offer prisoners. Most prisoners were allowed to receive and send letters and parcels, and these are universally described as a vital lifeline, even if they were emotionally challenging. As Ivanovskaia remembered:

³⁴‘Praskovaia Ivanovskaia’, in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 136; Zinoviev, Autobiographical notes, RGASPI, f. 324, o. 1, cd. khr. 9, l. 46 ob and l. 47.

³⁵Kropotkin, *Memoirs*, pp. 426–427.

³⁶George Kennan, *Siberia and the Exile System* (London: James R. Osgood, McIlvaine & Co., 1891), Vol. 2, p. 9; Cecilia Bobrovskaya, *Twenty Years in Underground Russia* (London: Martin Lawrence Ltd, 1934), p. 15; Kropotkin, *Memoirs*, pp. 426–427; ‘Praskovaia Ivanovskaia’, in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, pp. 134–135.

³⁷Martynov-Piker, ‘Vospominaniia revoliutsionera’, in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1925, No. 11, p. 266.

³⁸Kropotkin, *Memoirs*, pp. 256–257; ‘Elizaveta Kovalskaia’, in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 241.

³⁹Ivan Alexandrovich Yukhotsky, ‘Prisoner of the Tsar’, in Stone and Glenny, *The Other Russia*, p. 85.

News from home is the unfading light of our lives. Letters—even the most ordinary, trivial letters—bring us indescribable pleasure. We wait for the Cossack who delivers these words from home as if he were a messenger from heaven. Even if only one person gets a letter, there is universal rejoicing.⁴⁰

In contrast, the populist turned social democrat Leo Deutsch recalled that receiving letters while imprisoned in Kara⁴¹ was the ‘source of so much joy and of so much sorrow’, and between deliveries prisoners experienced ‘constant anxiety’ for family members left behind.⁴² Nonetheless, the arrival of news from home was cause for a small party, with inmates sharing the contents of letters and parcels with each other.⁴³ Deutsch wrote that ‘treating one’s room-mates was also customary if one had any specially good news from home’ as was sharing any ‘extracts containing tidings of universal interest’.⁴⁴ People’s Will member Stepan Grigor’evich Shiriaev described his dependence on letters from his fiancée, Anna Dmitrievna Dolgorukova, in a letter to her from prison in 1880.⁴⁵ In 1896, while in prison, Krzhizhanovskii wrote to his mother: ‘I will live from Monday to Monday hoping to hear that you are well.’⁴⁶

In contrast, those who did not receive letters experienced stress and anguish. When Marie Sukloff was in prison in 1902, she recalled how hard it was to bear the isolation from her family: ‘The longing for my folks at home and the desire to know something about them almost drove me insane.’⁴⁷ Deutsch recognized the distress experienced by those who received no correspondence. Those who got letters from home:

⁴⁰‘Praskovia Ivanovskaia’, in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 138.

⁴¹I have included Kara in this section for while prisoners here were technically sentenced to hard labour, they were in fact kept isolated in a special compound and not made to work (‘Praskovia Ivanovskaia’, in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 133).

⁴²Leo Deutsch, *Sixteen Years in Siberia*, trans. by Helen Chisholm (London: J. Murray, 1905), pp. 250–251.

⁴³‘Praskovia Ivanovskaia’, in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 137.

⁴⁴Deutsch, *Sixteen Years*, pp. 250–251.

⁴⁵Letter, S.G. Shiriaev to Anna Dmitrievna Dolgorukova, 9 July 1880, in ‘Avtobiograficheskaia zapiska S. Shiriaeva’, in *Krasnyi arkhiv*, 1924, No. 7, p. 100.

⁴⁶Letter, Krzhizhanovskii to his mother, 5 March 1896, quoted in Kartsev, *Krzhizhanovskii*, p. 103.

⁴⁷Marie Sukloff, *The Life Story of a Russian Exile* (New York: The Century Co., 1914), p. 67.

were envied by the lonely ones who never expected letters at all. [...] It is terrible to think of being thousands of miles from home in the solitudes of Siberia, and not to know of a single soul who may sometimes remember one's existence; yet [...] some of our comrades at Kara were in this forlorn situation.⁴⁸

With letters came parcels which provided prisoners with food, clothing and books. Food was of course vital to help prisoners supplement the limited prison diet and maintain their physical well-being.⁴⁹ Perhaps the most poignant example comes from Bobrovskaia, whose mother was appalled to learn that her daughter had been arrested, but then made a determined effort to bring food to Cecilia in prison. Bobrovskaia remembered:

About two hours after my arrest, while pacing the locked room in the police headquarters and awaiting the police officer who was to explain to me what it was all about, I heard some heated words behind the door between the bewhiskered officer ... and a woman's voice which, to my horror, I recognized as my mother's. They were shouting at her and pushing her away. I began to beat my fists upon the door, and when it finally opened, I saw my tear-stained mother holding a pot with the precious chicken, and the infuriated face of the policeman, who pleasantly smirking at my appearance, muttered, 'Oh, excuse me, so this woman came to see you! I would never have believed that such a young lady could have such a plaguing mother.' I answered that my mother was just wonderful, that before they had time to lock me up properly she was already on the spot with a cooked dinner. Seeing that I was perfectly well, my mother calmed down, particularly after I ate and praised the chicken she had prepared and assured her that nothing serious threatened me.⁵⁰

This anecdote highlights the way in which even parents who did not approve of their children's revolutionary activities could still become their ardent champions in the face of police oppression. Trotsky

⁴⁸Deutsch, *Sixteen Years*, pp. 250–251.

⁴⁹'Sergei', in *The Alliluyev Memoirs*, p. 98; 'Praskovia Ivanovskaia', in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 138.

⁵⁰Bobrovskaia, *Twenty Years*, p. 143.

remembered a similar experience. His parents had been deeply distressed by his joining the revolutionary movement, but his arrest began his rapprochement with them, signalled first by the arrival of a food parcel from his mother:

At the end of the third month, when a straw-filled bag, prison-bread, and lice were the fixed elements of existence, as much so as day and night, one evening the guards brought me a great bundle of things from that other, utterly fantastic world; there were fresh linen, covers and a pillow, white bread, tea, sugar, ham, canned foods, apples, oranges—yes, big bright-coloured oranges! Even to-day, after thirty-one years, I list all these marvellous things with emotion, and I even pull myself up for having forgotten the jar of jam, the soap and the comb for my hair. ‘Your mother sent them,’ said the assistant warden. And little as I knew about reading the thoughts of people in those days, I could tell from his tone that he had been bribed.⁵¹

The provision of clothing enabled prisoners to maintain their personal hygiene and dignity, while books provided a mental lifeline for prisoners. Many used their time in prison to continue their political education and to conduct research. Kropotkin remembered with gratitude the help his brother, Aleksandr, gave him in obtaining permission to read in prison.⁵²

Perhaps valued most of all were the visits prisoners were allowed to receive from relatives, spouses or fiancés. These were often intensely emotional affairs, but of deep importance for the well-being of prisoners.⁵³ The significance of visits was so deeply understood by revolutionary groups that if a prisoner was not receiving visits from relatives, a party comrade would claim to be his or her betrothed and so gain the right to meetings.⁵⁴ It was such a common tactic that occasionally the use of fictitious fiancés could go wrong, as Deutsch remembered: ‘Often other friends and acquaintances gave themselves out as betrothed to such

⁵¹Leon Trotsky, *My Life: The Rise and Fall of a Dictator* (London: Thornton Butterworth, Limited, 1930), pp. 103–104.

⁵²Kropotkin, *Memoirs*, p. 348.

⁵³‘Aleksandr “Dmitrievich” Mikhailov. Avtobiograficheskiia zametki’, in *Byloe*, 1906, No. 2, p. 158; Trotsky, *My Life*, p. 105.

⁵⁴For examples of prisoners whose parents refused to support them in prison, see ‘Olga Liubatovich’, in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, pp. 152–153 and S.F. Medvedeva-Terpetsian, ‘Tovarishch Kamo’, in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1924, No. 8–9, p. 123; for a discussion of the fictitious fiancés, see Krupskaiia, *Vospominaniia*, p. 26.

and such a prisoner in order to be allowed entry. It occasionally happened in this way that an awkward situation came about, if a young man or a girl appeared to be betrothed to two or more different people.⁵⁵

It was not unusual for the prison authorities and other officials to exploit prisoners' familial ties during interrogation in order to try to provoke a confession. Sergei Alliluev remembered the public prosecutor saying to him during one interrogation: 'You're an intelligent, grown-up man, yet you treat your family so brutally. It's incredible!' he exclaimed. 'Your refusal to talk may have unfortunate consequences for your family. You should try to understand [...] No one will know anything about it. You name the strike leaders and we'll leave you alone.'⁵⁶ Iukhotsky remembered a similar interrogation experience in 1895. His interrogator told him he would 'rot in prison' if he did not confess and that he 'should have pity on [his] wife and child. I still said nothing. I could not add anything more; he had made me very angry.'⁵⁷

The prison authorities were also well aware of the importance of correspondence and visitation rights and did on occasion withhold, interfere with or withdraw them to intensify the punishment of prisoners.⁵⁸ In the Kara prisons, all correspondence arriving for prisoners was read first by the commandant and censored for content relating to the outside world, but what was worse was that prisoners were not allowed to reply for themselves. Deutsch described the system as follows:

But what was most cruel was that we were not permitted to answer on our own account; we might only send a post card in the name of the commandant, acknowledging the receipt of a letter or other communication, and giving the briefest information as to health, somewhat in this fashion: 'Your son (brother, nephew) is well. The money (or whatever it was) sent to him by you has been received, and he begs you to send him the following _____' This is signed by the commandant, but as the card is written by the prisoner himself, his correspondents may be assured from his handwriting that he is alive and is in possession of their missives, nothing further. Under such conditions correspondence is often a torture to both parties.⁵⁹

⁵⁵Deutsch, *Sixteen Years*, p. 127.

⁵⁶'Sergei', in *The Alliluyev Memoirs*, p. 44.

⁵⁷Yukhotsky, 'Prisoner of the Tsar', in Stone and Glenny, p. 84.

⁵⁸Deutsch, *Sixteen Years*, p. 120.

⁵⁹Deutsch, *Sixteen Years*, pp. 250–251; see also, 'Praskovia Ivanovskaia', in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 133.

Changes to visiting rights could also be used to add to the torment of prisoners or their families.⁶⁰ When Kropotkin's brother, Aleksandr, was being held in prison for a letter he had written to the socialist Peter Lavrovich Lavrov, he was denied permission to leave prison to see his dying son.⁶¹ It was usual for prisoners sentenced to death to be allowed a final visit with their family before their execution, but Perovskaia's mother was denied a last meeting.⁶²

Prisoners were ingenious in devising ways to continue to communicate with the outside world, even if their correspondence and visiting rights were curtailed. They regularly made use, for example, of the prison 'telephone'.⁶³ Relatives or comrades would stand at a prearranged spot which could be seen from the prison cell window and prisoners would shout to them.⁶⁴ When Zinoviev was imprisoned in 1908, Zlata was able to communicate with her husband via the 'telephone' system because Zinoviev was kept in a general cell, holding forty men, with a window onto the outside world. Zinoviev noted also that someone from his cell was released every day and they could be asked to pass on messages to Zlata.⁶⁵ Using the telephone was not without risks, however, and prisoners were occasionally shot at for standing at their cell window.⁶⁶ Incidentally, prisoners who were kept in solitary could communicate with each other by tapping on walls or pipes according to a well-established system.⁶⁷ They sometimes even exchanged letters or books using a pulley system.⁶⁸

The lengths to which prisoners would go to defend their rights or to circumvent restrictions are testament to the importance of correspondence and visits. Prisoners found ways around the strict correspondence regime in Kara. Ivanovskaia remembered:

⁶⁰See, for example, GARF, f. 1764, o. 1, d. 58, l. 206 and l. 207, in which a prisoner in Kiev requested to be allowed to meet with his fiancée but was turned down.

⁶¹Kropotkin, *Memoirs*, p. 356.

⁶²Stepniak, *Underground Russia*, p. 142.

⁶³Zinoviev, Autobiographical notes, RGASPI, f. 324, o. 1, ed. khr. 9, l. 46 ob.

⁶⁴My thanks to Dr Jarrod Tanny of Ohio University for explaining to me what the 'telephone' system was.

⁶⁵Zinoviev, Autobiographical notes, RGASPI, f. 324, o. 1, ed. khr. 9, l. 46 ob.

⁶⁶Kotkin, *Stalin*, p. 55.

⁶⁷Blackwell, *Little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution*, p. 84.

⁶⁸Vladimir (Zeev) Zhabotinskii, *O zbeleznoi stene: rechi, stat'i, vospominaniia* (Minsk: Izdatel'stvo 'Belorusskii dom pečhati', 2004), p. 487.

We were always on the lookout for opportunities, however indirect, to communicate more fully [with family and friends]. For example, we sometimes smuggled letters out with people leaving the prison for the exile settlement: encoded letters made by dotting the pages of books, or else letters written on pieces of white calico, which we then sewed into worn articles made of heavy gray institutional cloth. Of course, when relatively safe opportunities presented themselves, we simply wrote and sent long letters.⁶⁹

Prisoners would also protest openly. Kropotkin described one occasion when a hunger strike was used to win the right to have ‘some sort of work, or reading, in their cells’.⁷⁰ In Krasnoiarsk prison in 1881, one revolutionary prisoner, Dolgushin, slapped the warden, Ostrovskii, for not granting him ‘a visit from his son’.⁷¹ The social democrat Nikolai Valentinov began a solo hunger strike in order secure his release or ‘immediate exile somewhere’ so that he might be reunited with his new wife.⁷² Strikingly, he kept his reasons for the hunger strike secret from his fellow prisoners (who would not support him as he ‘would not reveal [his] “personal” motives’) and later from Lenin.⁷³

PARTY WORK

Besides the emotional reasons for defending their rights to correspondence and visits, there were also political motivations. As might be expected, the official and unofficial prison communication channels were seldom simply used for the innocent exchange of messages of love and support and the sending of material comforts. They were also consistently exploited to preserve party communication between those inside and those at liberty, with the familial nature of most interaction providing an excellent cover for coded messages.

⁶⁹‘Praskovia Ivanovskaia’, in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 134.

⁷⁰Kropotkin, *Memoirs*, p. 426.

⁷¹‘Elizaveta Kovalskaia’, in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 241.

⁷²Nikolay Valentinov (N.V. Volsky), *Encounters with Lenin*, trans. by Paul Rosta and Brian Pearce, foreword by Leonard Schapiro (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 1.

⁷³Valentinov, *Encounters with Lenin*, pp. 1, 21.

Letters were regularly used to convey political messages, using either invisible ink or codes.⁷⁴ Similarly, the contents of packages, including food parcels, were used to hide notes. When Sergei Alliluev was imprisoned in Metekh prison fortress in Tiflis, his wife sent him a cooked sheep's head in which was concealed a tiny letter.⁷⁵ Books were also an invaluable communication channel for the parties. Dots could be placed over letters to spell words and pass on messages, both as the book entered the prison and when it was returned.⁷⁶ Zinoviev recalled that it was through speaking 'by telephone' with his wife and sister that he was able to maintain communications with the Petersburg Committee and the Central Committee and get their advice about how to deal with the prison authorities.⁷⁷

Personal conversations could easily convey hidden political information. When Krzhizhanovskii was in prison in 1896, his mother and sister were able to inform him during their visits which of his companions had been arrested as well.⁷⁸ Anna Elizarova recounted how she would visit her brother Lenin in prison and discuss revolutionary matters with him, often using code words made up on the spot, but intuitively understood by her brother.⁷⁹ Relatives could even help prisoners communicate with each other. One prisoner would leave a book with a coded message in the prison library and tell his own visitor where it could be found. The visitor would then pass this on to the relative of the intended recipient, who could in turn tell him.⁸⁰ Sometimes it was not even necessary to use code. When Trotsky was in prison in 1906, his (second) wife, Natalia Ivanovna Sedova, visited him twice a week and openly passed 'letters and manuscripts' to him, while the guards turned a blind eye.⁸¹ Balashov recalled that by visiting his wife in prison, after she was arrested at the May Day meeting mentioned above, he was able to find out from her about his other imprisoned comrades.⁸²

⁷⁴Turton, *Forgotten Lives*, p. 34.

⁷⁵'Anna', in *The Alliluev Memoirs*, p. 33.

⁷⁶Katy Turton, *Forgotten Lives: The Role of Lenin's Sisters in the Russian Revolution, 1864–1937* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 35.

⁷⁷Zinoviev, Autobiographical notes, RGASPI, f. 324, o. 1, ed. khr. 9, l. 46 ob.

⁷⁸Kartsev, *Krzhizhanovskii*, p. 103.

⁷⁹Turton, *Forgotten Lives*, p. 34.

⁸⁰Krupskaia, *Vospominaniia*, p. 26.

⁸¹Trotsky, *My Life*, p. 164.

⁸²S. Balashov, 'Rabochee dvizhenie v Ivanovo-Voznesenske (1898–1905 gg.)', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1925, No. 9, p. 161.

Children in particular proved to be useful as prison visitors. While their presence brought personal comfort, it also aroused far less suspicion amongst the guards. The Menshevik Mark Broido was visited regularly in prison by his step-daughter and daughter, who, according to his wife Eva, ‘brought a welcome note of gaiety and sweetness into the monotonous life of the prisoners’. The girls were warmly received by the prisoners, who ‘came to love their visits to the prison and always prepared for them as for a party’. Their visits were not only social occasions, but also had a political purpose, for ‘various notes and letters were carefully hidden in the belts and hems of their dresses’ for Mark and his cellmates.⁸³ Indeed, visits from children were used regularly to enable parents to remain in contact with the revolutionary movement. Thus, Feodosiia Drabkina relied on her daughter Elizaveta to act as a go-between for her while she was in prison. Elizaveta later wrote with pride about taking a message from her mother and her fellow political inmates to Anna Elizarova, who at that time was one of the editors of the Bolshevik newspaper *Rabotnitsa* (*The Woman Worker*).⁸⁴ When she herself was in prison in 1916, Anna was visited regularly by her husband Mark and adopted son Gora. On at least one occasion, Anna was able to hide a letter to her husband in her son’s clothes as she made a show of fastening his coat.⁸⁵

Family members could also prove effective in facilitating the escape of their kin from prison. While escape from exile was more common, escape from prison was not unheard of. Kropotkin escaped from the Peter and Paul Fortress with the aid of ‘a dear relative’ of his, whom he does not name. She brought him the gift of a watch which contained ‘a tiny cipher note’ outlining the plan for his escape. Having successfully exited the fortress, he got into a waiting carriage, driven by one friend and occupied by another, which immediately took him to a building just off Nevskii Prospect, where his sister-in-law gave him a change of clothes and helped him to trim his beard.⁸⁶

⁸³Eva L’vovna Broido, *Memoirs of a Revolutionary*, ed. and trans. by Vera Broido (London, 1967), p. 47.

⁸⁴Turton, *Forgotten Lives*, p. 69.

⁸⁵Georgii Iakovlevich Lozgachev-Elizarov, *Nezabyvaemoe* (Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1970), p. 116.

⁸⁶Kropotkin, *Memoirs*, pp. 370, 374.

FAMILY LIFE IN PRISON

Family life continued within prison walls as well as between those incarcerated and those at liberty. Families were sometimes arrested together and held in the same prison. Those who were kept in solitary cells lived on mixed corridors, while in prisons where the sexes were kept apart, sometimes the exercise yards might only be divided by a wire fence.⁸⁷ Siblings who were incarcerated in the same prison were sometimes allowed meetings. Bobrovskaiia remembered getting permission to see her brother. As might be expected, they used the time to discuss their political work, and her brother was able to warn her in a whisper that they had been betrayed by a comrade in Moscow.⁸⁸

It was not unusual for women to take their children into prison with them, if there was not time during the arrest to arrange for their care or if they had an infant. There is even one example of a male prisoner whose wife and youngest child stayed in his cell with him.⁸⁹ Some mothers with children were given special privileges in prison, including, for example, better food.⁹⁰ Generally, however, the presence of children made the experience of prison much more difficult. Those who, like the Bolsheviks Klavdiia Timofeevna (wife of Iakov Mikhailovich Sverdlov) and Glafira Ivanovna Okulova-Teodorovich, gave birth in prison did so in unsanitary and disease-ridden circumstances, often with only the help of their fellow prisoners during labour.⁹¹ Not all children survived this start in life, particularly in view of the fact that special consideration was not always given to a mother and her child in prison. Bonch-Bruevich's wife, Vera Mikhailovna, gave birth to her first child in prison, but it died soon after.⁹²

⁸⁷Kropotkin, *Memoirs*, p. 358.

⁸⁸Bobrovskaya, *Twenty Years*, p. 221.

⁸⁹'Elizaveta Kovalskaia' in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 240.

⁹⁰'Praskovia Ivanovskaia', in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 135.

⁹¹Barbara Evans Clements, *Bolshevik Women* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 89; Aleksandra Arenshtein, 'Kamnia tverzhe (K.T. Novgorodsteva-Sverdlova)', in Zhak and Itkina, *Zhenshchiny russkoi revoliutsiia*, p. 313; Sukloff, *The Life Story of a Russian Exile*, pp. 231–232.

⁹²Sergei Usol'tsev, 'Ot Tolstogo – k Leniny (V.M. VelichkinannBonch-Bruevich)', in Zhak and Itkina, *Zhenshchiny russkoi revoliutsiia*, p. 49.

Lastly, having a child in prison prevented women from making escape attempts. When Elizaveta Koval'skaia and her comrade Bogomolets decided to escape from the transit prison in Irkutsk, they first asked the permission of a fellow prisoner, Elizaveta Iuzhakova. Because she had a baby, she would have to be left behind and suffer any consequences of the escape. She replied that escape was 'not only a right', but also 'the duty of every revolutionary' and offered to help them.⁹³ In fact, as Koval'skaia noted, Iuzhakova was in fact in prison for 'escaping from Balagansk', which presumably was her place of exile. Perhaps her baby had been born in prison after her flight, or perhaps she had escaped exile with the child. As the next chapter shows, escape from exile was sometimes facilitated by the presence of a child.

The authorities could also use a prisoner's child to make a sentence harsher, and here fathers could be affected as well as mothers. When the Orlovs were imprisoned at the same time, the treatment of their child, whom Orlova had taken into prison with her, caused both parents great stress. For a minor offence, Orlova was ordered to be put into a punishment cell and her child was removed forcibly from her. The infant was only returned when the male prisoners rioted and Aleksandr Orlov attempted suicide.⁹⁴ The helplessness which fathers experienced while imprisoned and unable to see their wives and children was often exploited by the authorities. Norinskii remembered a fellow prisoner 'tearing out his hair' because his wife was in labour when he was arrested.⁹⁵

Perhaps the most infamous example of the authorities using a revolutionary's child to intensify his or her punishment is the case of Gesia Mirokhovna Gelf'man, one of the terrorists who assassinated Aleksandr II in 1881. Her sentence of death was commuted to hard labour in view of the fact that she was expecting a child, but she remained in prison in St Petersburg during her pregnancy and the birth itself. The authorities

⁹³'Elizaveta Koval'skaia', in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 244.

⁹⁴Sukloff, *The Life Story of a Russian Exile*, pp. 71–76.

⁹⁵Norinskii, 'Ekaterinoslavskaiia zabastovka', p. 167 and Turton, 'The Revolutionary, His Wife, the Party, and the Sympathizer', p. 82. The frustration fathers felt in being unable to protect their pregnant wives from Tsarist officials is also discussed in Kennan, *Siberia*, Vol. 2, pp. 410–412.

also did not allow the father, Nikolai Alekseevich Sablin, who was also in prison, to see his child and the baby was removed from Gelf'man after forty days and placed in an orphanage.⁹⁶ Gelf'man and the child both died within the year.⁹⁷

For children who were imprisoned along with their parents, there were often negative consequences. One of Elizaveta Drabkina's friends 'had spent so many years in jail with his mother that he was afraid to walk through an open doorway without permission'.⁹⁸ On the other hand, Sof'ia Smidovich recalled that her daughter Tania was upset not by being in prison with her mother, but by being taken away by her grandfather to be cared for at home.⁹⁹

As the above demonstrates, there was a cost to family members when a loved one was imprisoned. Besides causing emotional trauma, it often exposed the family to financial hardship. Recognizing this, revolutionary parties consistently made efforts to raise money to support those families who had lost a relative to the prison system.¹⁰⁰ Money was also provided to families to enable them to visit imprisoned relatives.¹⁰¹ Indeed, in times of the worst state repression of underground activities, fundraising for families continued even as all other activities ceased.¹⁰²

Thus, while the imprisonment of a revolutionary meant disruption to his or her party and family, it is clear that this was also a time when party and family networks drew closer together and cooperated to support each other. Family members offered emotional and material help to their kin, while also acting as a channel through which the party could maintain contact with its agents. From prison, many revolutionaries could expect to be sent into exile, and once again family life proved to be vital in supporting them there.

⁹⁶Yarmolinsky, *Road to Revolution*, p. 288; 'Olga Liubatovich', in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, pp. 186–187.

⁹⁷'Olga Liubatovich', in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 187. Gelf'man died of peritonitis in February 1882; Yarmolinsky, *Road to Revolution*, p. 287.

⁹⁸Clements, *Bolshevik Women*, p. 89.

⁹⁹L. Krechet, 'Sof'ia Nikolaevna Smidovich', in V. Ignat'eva, ed., *Slavnye bol'shevichki* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1958), pp. 276–277.

¹⁰⁰Letter, V.I. Lenin to V.A. Ter-Ioannisyan, 5 May 1912, in *Lenin's Collected Works*, 45 Vols. (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977), Vol. 43, pp. 287–288, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1912/may/05vati.htm>, last accessed 10 May 2017.

¹⁰¹Stepniak, *Underground Russia*, pp. 254–245.

¹⁰²Kotkin, *Stalin*, p. 106.

Exile

May 10. How wearying it is to wait! Will they bring me something from Ust-Iansk? And what will it be? How many times a day do I climb to my roof and yearningly look south at the row of guideposts disappearing in the distance. A motionless, dead waste. [...] The works of Plato or Soloviev, the books geology and botany refuse to stay in my hands. Even my favourite and tested treatment for loneliness, the study of foreign languages, is of no avail. I am sick of the self-taught method. Is there any mail for me? God!

Vladimir Zenzinov (Vladimir Zenzinov,
with Isaac Don Levine, *The Road to Oblivion*
(New York: Robert M. McBride & Company, 1933), p. 87)

Just as prison was a common experience for members of revolutionary parties, so too was exile, with its attendant trials of isolation, apathy and the pain of separation from loved ones, as Zenzinov describes in his diary entry above.¹ Of 305 delegates who attended the Eighth Party Congress of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in 1919, 104 had been in exile before 1917.² Prisoners could be sentenced to exile by the courts or by administrative order. In the former case, exile began with a period

¹ Much of the material for this chapter is drawn from my article ‘Keeping it in the Family: Surviving Political Exile, 1870–1917’, in *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, 2010, Vol. 52, No. 3–4, pp. 391–415 and is used here with *Canadian Slavonic Papers*’ kind permission.

² Vl. Vilenskii (Sibiriaikov), ‘Rol’ politicheskoi katorgi i ssylki v Russkoi Revoliutsii’, in *Katorga i ssylka*, 1923, No. 5, p. 15.

of hard labour (*katorga*), followed by settlement in Siberia.³ The use of administrative exile, particularly against ‘alleged political offenders’, that is, without evidence or a trial, became common during the last years of Alexander II’s reign.⁴ Such sentences could last for up to five years, while the place of exile varied.⁵ In less serious cases, or while a case was being adjudicated, offenders were sometimes sent to their home regions or even family estates, with their parents acting as guarantors of their behaviour.⁶ The assumption was presumably that parental supervision would prevent a return to revolutionary activity. This rarely had such an effect and exiles tended to find their way into local revolutionary circles. Thus, after one year of imprisonment, Zhordania was sent home to Guria and immediately began organizing peasant unrest there.⁷

The next form of exile involved banishment from the two capitals and major university cities. On completion of the sentence, the individual was placed under police surveillance and forbidden to live in industrial centres or university towns for a further period of time.⁸ In more serious circumstances, the prisoner would be transported to a remote region of Russia. Kropotkin described with outrage the ‘ferocious’ sentences meted out to those found guilty in the Trials of the 50 (1877) and 193 (1877–1878):

Hard labour for six, ten, twelve years in the mines, with subsequent exile to Siberia for life, was a common sentence. There were such cases as that of a girl who got nine years’ hard labour and life exile to Siberia, for giving one socialist pamphlet to a worker; that was all her crime. [...] Even those

³Jonathan Daly, ‘Political Crime in Late Imperial Russia’, in *The Journal of Modern History*, 2002, Vol. 74, No. 1, p. 85; George Kennan, *Siberia and the Exile System*, 2 vols. (London: James R. Osgood, McIlvaine & Co., 1891), Vol. 2, pp. 508–509; A.P. Meshcherskii, ‘Osobennosti, partiinyi sostav politicheskoi slylki v Sibiri v kontse XIX – nachale XX veka’, in N.N. Shcherbakov, ed., *Syl’nye revoliutsionery v Sibiri, XIX v. – fevral’ 1917 g.* (Irkutsk: Irkutskii Gosudarstvennyi Universitet Imenii A.A. Zhdanov, 1973), p. 125.

⁴Kennan, *Siberia and the Exile System*, Vol. 2, p. 29; Daly, ‘Political Crime’, p. 78.

⁵Daly, ‘Political Crime’, p. 78.

⁶Z. Krzhizhanovskaia-Nevzorova, ‘Avtobiografiia’, in RGASPI, f. 124, o. 1, ed. khr. 980, l. 3.

⁷Stephen F. Jones, *Socialism in Georgian Colors: The European Road to Social Democracy, 1883–1917* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2005), p. 70.

⁸Meshcherskii, ‘Osobennosti, partiinyi sostav politicheskoi slylki’, in Shcherbakov, *Syl’nye revoliutsionery*, p. 130.

who were acquitted by the courts were banished by the gendarmes to little hamlets in Siberia and Northeast Russia.⁹

At other, less fraught times, the sentence depended not on the crime but on one's social status and ethnicity, with less harsh locations for members of the nobility and native Russians.¹⁰

THE CHALLENGES OF EXILE

For political prisoners who faced sentences of exile, their determination was above all to survive their sentence, many so that they could return to their revolutionary activities. In pursuing this aim, they faced three major challenges: harsh environmental conditions, poverty and the 'dense melancholy' which many exiles experienced. All contributed to 'the slow destruction of [their] physical and moral strength'.¹¹ As one exile put it in a letter: 'I will say openly that exile is having the most awful and ruinous effect on me and others. It is slow like a worm, but constantly eats away at (destroys) the whole person.'¹² Physical and mental suffering were unavoidable in exile and led, in some cases, to death and suicide.¹³

The harsh climate of Siberia is well known: it is extremely cold in the winter months, muddy in spring and autumn, and full of mosquitoes and midges in the short but moderately warm summer.¹⁴ Temperatures worsened the further north the exiles were sent. One way to avoid the worst extremes of weather and geography was to persuade the authorities to assign a place of residence that was less remote and more forgiving. This of course also had the benefit of bringing the exile closer to urban

⁹P. Kropotkin, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* (New York: Horizon Press, 1968), pp. 425–426. The Trial of the 50 targeted members of the All-Russian Social Revolutionary (Moscow) Organization, while the Trial of the 193 targeted students and revolutionaries, including those who had participated in the Going to the People movement.

¹⁰Daly, 'Political Crime', p. 89; Kennan, *Siberia and the Exile System*, Vol. 2, p. 25.

¹¹I.S. Vakhriushev and V.M. Andreev, 'Korrespondenty L. Lavrova o Sibirskoi ssylke', in Shcherbakov, *Syl'nye revoliutsionery*, p. 46.

¹²Letter, Makarevskii to L. Lavrov, quoted in Vakhriushev and Andreev, 'Korrespondenty', in Shcherbakov, *Syl'nye revoliutsionery*, p. 46.

¹³N.K. Krupskaja, 'Lidia Mikhailovna Knipovich', in V. Ignat'eva, ed., *Slavnye bol'shevichki* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1958), p. 182.

¹⁴Leon Trotsky, *My Life: The Rise and Fall of a Dictator* (London: Thornton Butterworth, Limited, 1930), p. 110.

centres, where medical attention might be sought, other exiles would probably be found and busy channels of travel could be exploited. While this made life in exile easier, the combination of a community of exiles and the proximity to fast modes of transport such as boats or trains also made escape easier. It was in this process of appeal that parents, siblings and spouses could offer invaluable help, particularly because only family members had the right to petition the authorities on an exile's behalf.

Occasionally, parents were able to overturn the sentence of exile itself.¹⁵ More usually, family members attempted to influence where the prisoner was to be exiled. Krzhizhanovskii's mother successfully petitioned the authorities so that her son, who had been exiled for his involvement in the social-democratic Union of Struggle for the Emancipation of Labour Group in St Petersburg, would not be sent too far from the urban centre of Krasnoiarsk.¹⁶ The mother of Bolshevik Sergei Modestov persuaded the authorities to allow her son, who was very ill, the choice of going into Siberian exile or going abroad. Having agreed to go abroad, Modestov went underground instead to continue his revolutionary activities.¹⁷ After his arrest in 1907, Anan'in was given the common punishment of exile from university towns for three years. He chose to go to Velikii Novgorod but hated it so much that he turned to his older sister, who had good connections in St Petersburg, and asked her to obtain for him permission to go abroad instead. She fulfilled his request and he departed for Europe in the autumn of 1908.¹⁸

Even when family members were not able to change their relative's sentence, they could still help him or her in the early stages of exile. One small but important concession was winning them time to recuperate from their prison sentence and settle their personal and family affairs before going into exile.¹⁹ Kalinin spent two months with his parents and

¹⁵E.D. Stasova, *Vospominaniia* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo 'Mysl', 1969), p. 89.

¹⁶V. Kartsev, *Krzhizhanovskii* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo 'Molodaia gvardiia', 1985), p. 118.

¹⁷Cecelia Bobrovskaya, *Twenty Years in Underground Russia* (London: Martin Lawrence Ltd, 1934), pp. 156–157.

¹⁸E. A. Anan'in, 'Iz vospominanii revoliutsionera, 1905–1923 gg.', in Hoover Institution Archive, Nicolaevsky papers, Series 279, Box 672, Folder 2, p. 20.

¹⁹Eva L'vovna Broido, *Memoirs of a Revolutionary*, ed. and trans. by Vera Broido (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 143.

sister between his release from prison and his journey into exile.²⁰ Vera Broido remembered how her mother spent her week of freedom before going into exile for three years:

Soon the flat was full of people, Father, the children and innumerable friends and comrades. [...] A week was not a very long time to settle all the family affairs. It was decided between my parents that the elder children should remain in St Petersburg, under the care of Father and Grandmother Sara and continue their schooling, while I was to go with Mother. My brother Dania [Daniel] was to go with us for the summer, as the long vacation was not far away, and return to school in the autumn.²¹

Many revolutionaries, and in all probability Eva Broido too, used these periods of rest to make plans to maintain links with their comrades from exile, establishing addresses and codes for correspondence. Tserderbaum obtained for his son Martov a month's rest in St Petersburg between his release from prison and the start of his sentence of exile in Vilna. Martov spent the time with his comrades planning 'further work'. It is perhaps worth noting here that the authorities granted Tserderbaum's petition so that they could follow Martov and attempt to identify his contacts in St Petersburg.²² This highlights the way both sides could exploit the tradition of this type of petition to their advantage.

Families could also intervene to try to improve the conditions in which those sentenced travelled into exile. The state-funded journey into exile was notoriously hard and dangerous, and could take several years, in all seasons. Besides this, the transit prisons in which the exiles broke their journey were dirty, poorly supplied with food and often without medical staff. Many fell ill en route, some fatally.²³ Thus the concessions families could obtain from the authorities regarding the journey could

²⁰A. Golub, M.V. Kabanov, G.Z. Mukhina and Iu. Sharapov, *Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin: Kratkaia biografiia*, 2nd ed. (Moscow: Politizdat, 1980), p. 28.

²¹Vera Broido, *Daughter of Revolution: A Russian Girlhood Remembered* (London: Constable, 1998), p. 43.

²²Iu. Martov, *Zapiski sotsial-demokrata* (Berlin: Izdatel'stvo Z.I. Grzhebina, 1922), pp. 160–161.

²³A. Moiseenko, *Vospominaniia starogo revoliutsionera*, ed. Iu.N. Shebal'din (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo 'Mysl', 1966), p. 53 and p. 59; Kennan, *Siberia and the Exile System*, Vol. 2, p. 119.

help alleviate a great deal of suffering before the sentence of exile was begun.²⁴ Some families were able to obtain permission to pay for the individual's journey into exile. Most famously, Lenin's mother arranged for her son to be able to travel into exile at his own expense, but there are other examples.²⁵ In 1908, Rose Zelikson campaigned on her sister Cecilia's behalf that special consideration be given to her illness. Thus, her sentence of four years of exile in East Siberia was changed to two years in Vologda province and she was permitted to travel at her own expense, as long as she also paid for the 'two detectives' who were to accompany her. She concludes:

These were to guard me all the way and deliver me safely to the governor of Vologda. The entire journey cost me 30 roubles. My guards, while generously helping themselves to the food [my mother-in-law] Sophia Bobrovskaia had sent, took excellent care of me.²⁶

A second major challenge for some exiles was that of poverty.²⁷ Elena Stasova noted the different rules for exiles regarding employment: exile-settlers were allowed to take up any form of work except teaching (though a job was not always easy to find, especially for members of the intelligentsia who did not have a trade),²⁸ while administrative exiles were not allowed to work and had to depend on the government allowance.²⁹ In the 1860s solitary exiles received three roubles a month on which to live.³⁰ This had risen by the 1890s to eight roubles a month, while those with a family received 15 to 35 roubles. One of Lenin's fellow exiles stated that eight roubles was enough for 'food, lodgings, kerosene, brick-tea and sugar', but noted that there was nothing left after

²⁴Leo Deutsch, *Sixteen Years in Siberia*, trans. by Helen Chisholm (London: J. Murray, 1905), p. 202.

²⁵Robert Service, *Lenin: A Biography* (London: Macmillan, 2000), p. 110; N. Krupskaja, *Vospominaniia o Lenine* (Moscow: Partiinoe izdatel'stvo, 1932), p. 24.

²⁶Bobrovskaia, *Twenty Years*, pp. 208–209.

²⁷'Ot redaktsii', in *Vestnik katorgi i ssylki*, 1914, No. 1, p. 2.

²⁸Kropotkin, *Memoirs*, p. 425; 'Kak zhivet katorga i ssylka: Narym (Administrativnaia ssylka)', in *Vestnik katorgi i ssylki*, 1914, No. 2, p. 18; F. Seniushkin, 'Iz zhizn' Ust'-Udinskoi ssylki', in *Katorga i ssylka*, 1921, No. 1, p. 94.

²⁹E.D. Stasova, *Vospominaniia* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo 'Mysl', 1969), p. 116.

³⁰Kropotkin, *Memoirs*, p. 425.

those purchases for ‘tobacco or clothes’, the latter of which, at least, was extremely important given the freezing winter temperatures.³¹ An investigation into the living conditions of exiles, published in 1900, estimated that an exile arriving in his or her place of settlement required ‘not less than 50 roubles’ in order to establish him or herself comfortably in a rural setting. However, between 1894 and 1898, of 4732 exile-settlers, 64.6% had no money of any kind and only 12% had 50 roubles or more.³²

Although the government stipend did increase for exiles with families, many lived in dire poverty. In 1915, the Bolsheviks Iakov Mikhailovich and Klavdiia Timofeevna Sverdlov lived with their two young children in a little wooden house with one room and a kitchen.³³ While in exile with her husband and son, Orlova expressed anxiety about caring adequately for their young child and noted that the funds she received from her family were ‘hardly sufficient to pay rent and buy fire-wood’.³⁴ Reflecting in later life, Sverdlov and the Menshevik Pëtr Abramovich Garvi both recognized in their memoirs that the majority of political exiles found themselves in the Orlovs’ situation or worse off.³⁵ Only a minority, including Lenin and Stasova, had ‘well-off parents’ who could be relied on to send ‘regular material help’ in sufficient amounts.³⁶ Nonetheless,

³¹A. Shapovalov, ‘Vospominaniia o vstrechakh s V.I. Leninyim (V Sibirskoi ssylke)’, in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1929, No. 1, pp. 73–74.

³²A.P. Salomon, *Ssylka v Sibir’: Ocherk’. Eia istorii i sovremennago polozeniia* (St Petersburg: Tipografia S.-Peterburgskoi Tiur’mi, 1900) p. i and pp. 151–152.

³³F. Samoilov, ‘Bol’shevistskaia fraktsiia IV gosudarstvennoi dumy v Eniseiskoi ssylke pered Fevral’skoi revoliutsiei’, in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1927, No. 2–3, p. 223.

³⁴Marie Sukloff, *The Life Story of a Russian Exile* (New York: The Century Co., 1914), p. 96 and p. 116.

³⁵Ia.M. Sverdlov, ‘Massovaia ssylka (1906–1916 gg.)’, in Ia. M. Sverdlov, *Izbrannye proizvedeniia: Stat’i, rechi, pis’ma*, eds. M.M. Bassier and L.V. Ivanova (Moscow: Izdatel’stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1976), p. 45; A. Garvi, *Vospominaniia sotsial-demokrata: Stat’i o zhizni i deiatel’nosti A. Garvi* (New York: Grenich Printing Cor, 1946), p. 296.

³⁶Garvi, *Vospominaniia*, p. 296; Letter, V.I. Lenin to M.A. Ul’ianova and M.I. Ul’ianova, 18 May 1897, in *Lenin’s Collected Works*, 45 Vols. (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977), Vol. 37, pp. 106–110, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1897/may/18x.htm>, last accessed 11 May 2017; Barbara Evans Clements, *Bolshevik Women* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 85; N.G. Dumova, *Sekretar’ MK: povest’ o V.M. Zagorskom* (Moscow: Politizdat, 1966), p. 24; Ia. Ianson, ‘Iz zhizni verkholenskoi ssylki (Nemnogo statistiki)’, in *Katorga i ssylka*, 1922, No. 4, p. 101.

when it was possible, this support was vital, as a survey of Verkholensk exiles in 1914 found.³⁷ Piatnitsky remembered the extreme case of the SR Khaim Ber who was, as he put it, ‘mentally deranged’ and living in a ‘half-demolished house’ in exile. He continued: ‘I wrote to Ber’s parents in Odessa, who turned out to be very well-to-do people, and asked them to send him money for necessary clothing and living expenses.’³⁸ Families who were unable to send money could help those in exile by sending parcels and supplies, especially items that could not be purchased nearby. The exile S. Kravchenko, for example, relied on his brother to supply him with carpentry tools, while Stalin received winter clothing from his mother and from the Alliluev family, with whom he had a long-standing relationship.³⁹

Garvi described in detail the way in which ‘poor and needy’ exiles pooled the money they had taken with them from home or which they had received from the Red Cross or party comrades in order to support the entire commune.⁴⁰ He implied that those with a regular source of income from parents were not involved in this system, but other accounts of exile communes suggests that those receiving funds from home did contribute to the collective fund and indeed were expected to subsidize comrades in a worse financial position.⁴¹ Thus, payments from home to one individual often helped support whole groups of exiles.

The Political Red Cross provided material support to political exiles, whether financially as a result of fundraising campaigns in Russia and abroad, or in the form of items of necessity.⁴² It is striking that historians

³⁷Ianson, ‘Iz zhizni verkholenskoi ssylki’, in *Katorga i ssylka*, 1922, No. 4, p. 101.

³⁸O. Piatnitsky, *Memoirs of a Bolshevik* (London: Martin Lawrence Ltd., 1927), pp. 215–216.

³⁹Moiseenko, *Vospominaniia*, p. 125; Simon Sebag Montefiore, *Young Stalin* (London: Phoenix, 2008), p. 99; ‘Anna’, in David Tutaev, David, ed. and trans., *The Alliluyev Memoirs: Recollections of Svetlana Stalin’s Maternal Aunt Anna Alliluyeva and her Grandfather Sergei Alliluyev* (London: Michael Joseph, 1968), p. 144.

⁴⁰A. Garvi, *Vospominaniia sotsialdemokrata: Stat’i o zhizni’ i deiatel’nosti A. Garvi* (New York: Grenich Printing Cor, 1946), p. 296.

⁴¹Piatnitsky, *Memoirs*, p. 218.

⁴²Vakhriushev and Andreev, ‘Korrespondenty’, in Shcherbakov, *Syl’nye revoliutsionery v Sibiri*, p. 49; Deutsch, *Sixteen Years*, pp. 133–135.

Vakhriushev and Andreev credit the Red Cross with creating amongst those in exile the sense of belonging to a ‘united revolutionary family’ which helped them survive their ‘fate’.⁴³ As discussed below, such a sense of belonging was a useful defence against the loneliness of exile. The financial contributions made by the Red Cross were not always enough, however. One exile acknowledged the importance of these Red Cross donations, but described them as so ‘rare’ and ‘small’ that local political exiles remained dependent on help from home or their mutual aid funds.⁴⁴

Those family members who accompanied individuals into exile could help to offset poverty. Broido, for example, depended on her mother to care for her children while she worked.⁴⁵ Others cultivated vegetable plots to supplement the family’s food supply.⁴⁶ When the social democrat Pëtr Anisimovich Moiseenko served his sentence of exile in the early 1880s, his wife Ekaterina Sazonova joined him and both worked the fields at haymaking time in order to earn 1 rouble 75 kopecks a day together.⁴⁷ Money was vital not just for daily survival, but also for returning to European Russia after the completion of a period of exile. As Kennan put it:

Very few political exiles are willing to live a year in fever-infected and vermin infested transit prisons even for the sake of getting back to European Russia; and unless they can earn money enough to defray the expenses of such a journey, or have relatives who are able to send them the necessary money, they remain in Siberia.⁴⁸

Indeed, money was necessary not only to leave exile legitimately, but also to help fund escapes.

The final and perhaps worst challenge for exiles was the mental anguish they experienced. The punishment of exile was designed to isolate individuals from their revolutionary comrades, from friends and,

⁴³Vakhriushev and Andreev, ‘Korrespondenty P.L. Lavrova o sibirskoi ssykle’, in Shcherbakov, *Syl'nye revoliutsionery v Sibiri*, p. 51.

⁴⁴Shapovalov, ‘Vospominaniia’, p. 74; Stasova, *Vospominaniia*, p. 116.

⁴⁵Broido, *Memoirs*, p. 47.

⁴⁶Krupskaia, *Vospominaniia*, p. 27.

⁴⁷Moiseenko, *Vospominaniia*, pp. 63–64.

⁴⁸Kennan, *Siberia and the Exile System*, Vol. 2, p. 119.

in the harshest sentences, from family, as well as from ‘civilization’. It was often loneliness and a sense of emptiness that took the worst toll on a prisoner. Eva Broido referred to ‘the emotional strain’ she experienced when saying goodbye to her ‘relatives and friends’ and many exiles wrote later about the stress caused by their isolation.⁴⁹ While in exile in Beia in 1915, ‘a town of 4000 people’ with only one other exile, Elena Stasova wrote to a friend: ‘The solitude is beginning to depress me terribly.’⁵⁰ Gusev compared his exile in Berezov unfavourably to prison, writing ‘there is nothing, absolutely nothing new. From day to day literally it is the same thing, nothing changes or it changes so slowly that one doesn’t notice.’⁵¹ Nogin wrote to one of his comrades about the terrible boredom of exile, adding that separation from his family, in particular his daughter, was exacerbating his frustration and despair.⁵²

Some found that an occupation provided relief from the boredom and a chance to preserve, as one exile, S. Iushchinskii, put it, ‘one’s own identity’. He added:

For those exiles who found work which took up all their time, exile was not so burdensome. He who did not manage to devote himself to work which brought him satisfaction became depressed, became a drunk, or finished his life by his own hand.⁵³

For others, even an occupation did not help, as Zenzinov’s diary entry at the top of this chapter highlights.⁵⁴

For many, including Zenzinov, it was correspondence from family members that they craved the most. One of Sverdlov’s letters to his wife Klavdiia, who was also in exile but in a separate location, highlights this.

⁴⁹Broido, *Memoirs*, p. 143. See also Sukloff, *The Life Story of a Russian Exile*, p. 89.

⁵⁰Stasova quoted in Clements, *Bolshevik Women*, p. 99.

⁵¹G.M. Kramarov, *Soldat revoliutsii. O Sergee Ivanoviche Guseve* (Moscow: Izdatel’stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1970), p. 74.

⁵²‘Pis’ma V.P. Nogina k S.V. Andropovy’, in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1924, No. 8–9, p. 330 and p. 331; Kramarov, *Soldat revoliutsii*, pp. 74–75.

⁵³B.S. Shostakovich, ‘Poliaki – politicheskie ssyl’nye kontsa 70-x – nachala 90-x godov XIX veka – v Sibiri’, in Shcherbakov, *Syl’nye revoliutsionery v Sibiri*, pp. 114–115; see also, N. Nelidov, ‘Tovarishch Makar (V.P. Nogin)’, in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1924, No. 7, p. 160.

⁵⁴Zenzinov, *The Road to Oblivion*, p. 87.

The lengthy and detailed description of the local postal system which Sverdlov included makes clear the central importance of receiving letters from loved ones. Other comments suggest that the acting of writing to one's family could provide a release for an exile's painful emotions. Sverdlov wrote: 'You cannot imagine, how strongly I want to see the children. It aches so keenly, keenly ... Kadia! My own, beloved ... Somehow our future life will take shape. I know the depth and strength of your love.'⁵⁵

Waiting for letters from loved ones could be a torment of its own, however. Exiles were dependent on the Russian postal service, which could deliver mail to a Siberian town as regularly as twice a week, but which got progressively slower the more remote the place of exile.⁵⁶ Correspondence could also be held up by Tsarist officials. Those in permanent exile following a sentence of hard labour and in administrative exile could send and receive post, but often their correspondence had to be vetted by the authorities.⁵⁷ Other exiles enjoyed a more lax regime. In 1899, for example, Ol'minskii's wife, Ekaterina Dolgova, succeeded in having police control over exiles' correspondence suspended in Olekminsk, thus enabling 'local exiles to receive all sorts of correspondence, including *Iskra*, for a time'.⁵⁸

Of course, as with so many aspects of the exile system, the degree to which this regulation was enforced varied according to the political climate of the particular time and the attitude of the local officials.⁵⁹ On top of this, systems could be devised to get around police interference. Those arriving in exile often brought messages from family members to the community of exiles they were joining.⁶⁰ As Vera Broido described:

Among political exiles in Siberia the grapevine worked perfectly: they always knew whom to expect and when and even what the newcomers would be bringing by way of books and journals, and letters from friends and relatives. And each time there was an air of celebration.⁶¹

⁵⁵Letter, Ia.M. Sverdlov to K.T. Novgorodtseva-Sverlova, 19 January 1914 (written at 2am) in Sverdlov, *Izbrannye proizvedeniia*, p. 71.

⁵⁶Krupskaia, *Vospominaniia*, p. 30.

⁵⁷Kennan, *Siberia and the Exile System*, Vol. 2, p. 325 and p. 54.

⁵⁸Lezhava and Nelidov, *M.S. Ol'minskii*, p. 70.

⁵⁹O.A. Lezhava and N.V. Nelidov, *M.S. Ol'minskii. Zhizn' i deiatel'nost'*, 2nd edition (Moscow: Politizdat, 1973), p. 67 and p. 70.

⁶⁰Krupskaia, *Vospominaniia*, p. 24.

⁶¹Broido, *Daughter of Revolution*, p. 45.

Revolutionaries leaving or escaping from exile also made use of this network to receive new contacts and advice about taking up party work again.⁶²

Thus, by a variety of methods correspondence from home could get through and provide support. It is worth noting, though, that even receiving post from loved ones was often a traumatic experience. Zenzinov described how his hands ‘trembled’ as he opened his letters and remembered being afraid to read the contents in case ‘something irreparable’ had occurred, but then reading the letters so many times that he ‘almost knew their text by heart’.⁶³ In the end, Zenzinov was able to cope with these intense emotional experiences, but others could not deal with the loneliness of exile which, in many cases, was exacerbated when the individual was separated from his or her family. In these circumstances, some exiles experienced mental breakdown, and in a few extreme cases committed suicide.⁶⁴ Kropotkin remembered how, faced with ‘the wilderness’ of her place of exile, Gukovskaia ‘drowned herself in the Yenisei’.⁶⁵ When M. Vorontsova and her husband Kavalevskii were exiled on separate political charges, to different places, they entrusted the care of their daughter Hallie to one of Vorontsova’s sisters. Vorontsova found the separation from her husband and child extremely difficult in the context of enduring a harsh sentence and committed suicide.⁶⁶

The exile E. Semënovskii decided to kill himself when he realized that he might never return to revolutionary activities and after a decree was issued by the Kara authorities that he and his fellow exiles would no longer be allowed to correspond with their families in Russia. In his final letter, he wrote:

My whole life rests on the hope of returning some time to Russia and serving, with all my soul, the cause of right and justice to which I long ago devoted myself; but how can that cause be served by a man who is mentally and physically wrecked? [...] I have long been tired—deathly tired—of life; and only the thought of home has restrained me, hitherto, from

⁶²Krupskaia, *Vospominaniia*, p. 37.

⁶³Zenzinov, *The Road to Oblivion*, pp. 88–89.

⁶⁴Bobrovskaya, *Twenty Years*, pp. 124–125.

⁶⁵Kropotkin, *Memoirs*, pp. 425–426.

⁶⁶Kennan, *Siberia and the Exile System*, Vol. 2, pp. 212–215.

self-destruction. I know that I am about to cause terrible grief [...] but is not your love great enough to forgive the suicide of a man tortured to the last extremity? [...] Good-bye, forever, my dear, kind, well-remembered father and friend!⁶⁷

Here Semënovskii's sense of failure as a revolutionary was the source of his sorrow, but it is also clear that it was his love for his family that sustained him the longest.

For some revolutionaries, the presence of fellow exiles provided a supportive community and surrogate family which had a positive impact on their well-being.⁶⁸ Stasova found thriving groups of revolutionaries in Rybnoe in 1914 and Achinsk in 1915, Lenin's sister Mariia helped establish a close group of exiles in Vologda and Lydia Dan joined one in Olekminsk.⁶⁹ As she put it: 'There were around twenty of us, and we didn't live badly.'⁷⁰ En route to exile in 1880, Moiseenko recalled one incident when all the prisoners came together for a literary evening and it felt like they were his 'own family', condemned to exile only because they wished to 'love one another' and 'live a brotherly life'.⁷¹

Forming a community was often difficult, however, for a number of reasons. Firstly, it was Tsarist policy to scatter exiles in order to stymie the formation of such networks, which were known to facilitate revolutionary correspondence, as well as to prevent them having a significant impact on or influence over the local population.⁷² Thus, the number of exiles per district was limited to 50 to 75 people, and of course, not all of those exiles would be of the same party, or even revolutionaries at all.⁷³

⁶⁷Kennan, *Siberia and the Exile System*, Vol. 2, pp. 210–212.

⁶⁸Kropotkin, *Memoirs*, p. 306; 'Interview with Lydia Dan', in Leopold H. Haimson, *The Making of Three Russian Revolutionaries: Voices from the Menshevik Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 212; Krupskaiia, *Vospominaniia*, p. 35; Broido, *Memoirs*, p. 28.

⁶⁹Stasova, *Vospominaniia*, p. 115 and p. 120; Katy Turton, *Forgotten Lives: The Role of Lenin's Sisters in the Russian Revolution, 1864–1937* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 66.

⁷⁰'Interview with Lydia Dan', in Haimson, *The Making of Three Russian Revolutionaries*, p. 168.

⁷¹Moiseenko, *Vospominaniia*, pp. 59–60.

⁷²V. Kollenskii, 'Politicheskaia ssylka administrativnym poriadkom', in *Katorga i ssylka*, 1923, No. 5, p. 211.

⁷³Meshcherskii, 'Osobennosti, partiinyi sostav politicheskoi ssylki v Sibiri', in Shcherbakov, *Syl'nye revoliutsionery*, p. 129.

According to Vera Broido, political affiliations did not matter in exile, but other memoirs suggest that divisions based on outlook remained and these often seem to have been exacerbated by the intense atmosphere of exile.⁷⁴ Disputes also occurred within political groupings. When Krupskaia arrived in Ufa in 1900, the local social democrats had divided into two groups over an unspecified ‘exile incident’. She recalled that the Plaksin brothers were together in one of the camps, suggesting perhaps a certain resilience of familial relations in such crises.⁷⁵ Exiles were also subject to police surveillance, which disrupted the extent to which they could meet and discuss political affairs.⁷⁶ Lastly, when the authorities suspected that a community of exiles was forming, they sometimes took action to separate them, as they did with Stasova’s Rybnoe group.⁷⁷

Unsurprisingly, where communities did form, romantic relationships developed between exiles.⁷⁸ Some of these marriages were between revolutionary exiles and locals, while others were between fellow comrades.⁷⁹ Evgeniia Figner married a fellow political convict, Mikhail Petrovich Sazhin, and the Bolshevik Faina Ivanovna, sister of Alexei Rykov, married the Menshevik Vladimir Ivanovich Nikolaevskii, while in exile in Pinega in 1908 and had three children with him.⁸⁰ The Bolshevik and Stalin’s close comrade Kliment Efremovich Voroshilov married a fellow revolutionary, Ekaterina (Golba) Gorbman, in Arkhangel’sk.⁸¹ Other relationships were less long-lasting as some revolutionaries took advantage of the sexual freedom exile seemed to afford them.⁸² Kotkin listed Stalin’s numerous short-term liaisons with local peasant women and fellow exiles during his time in Siberia, including fellow exile Tat’iana

⁷⁴Broido, *Daughter of Revolution*, p. 59; Garvi, *Vospominaniia*, p. 259.

⁷⁵Krupskaia, *Vospominaniia*, p. 36.

⁷⁶Kennan, *Siberia and the Exile System*, Vol. 2, p. 186; Stasova, *Vospominaniia*, p. 118.

⁷⁷Clements, *Bolshevik Women*, p. 99.

⁷⁸Salomon, *Sylka v Sibir’*, pp. 282–283.

⁷⁹Kennan, *Siberia and the Exile System*, Vol. 2, p. 377.

⁸⁰Vera Figner, *Zapechatlennyi trud* (Moscow: Izdatel’stvo sotsial’no-ekonomicheskoi ‘Mysl’, 1964), p. 48; ‘Interview with Boris Nicolaevsky’, in Haimson, *The Making of Three Russian Revolutionaries*, p. 219. See also, V. Chashchin, ‘Pamiati V.M. Serova’, in *Katorga i sylka*, 1922, No. 4, p. 180.

⁸¹Sheila Fitzpatrick, *On Stalin’s Team The Years of Living Dangerously in Soviet Politics* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2015), p. 26.

⁸²Stephen Kotkin, *Stalin: Paradoxes of Power, 1878–1928* (London: Penguin, 2015), p. 155.

Sukhova in Solvychevodsk; his widowed landlady Matriona Kuzakova in Solvychevodsk (when he was deported there a second time), with whom he had, but abandoned, a child; and in Vologda, a landlady's divorced daughter, a fellow exile Serafima Khoroshenina and Pelageia Onufrieva.⁸³ Such brief relationships as Stalin had did not prove as helpful as the more stable, devoted relationships which other exiles enjoyed; instead, he had to rely on the Alliluev family for most of his support in exile.⁸⁴

Besides this, in the heightened emotional environment of exile such liaisons often caused disruption more than they provided comfort. Trotsky noted this phenomenon in his memoirs:

Intellectual disagreements were made the more bitter by squabbles over personal matters, as is natural where a great many people are forcibly confined. Private, and especially romantic, conflicts frequently took on the proportions of drama. There were even suicides on this account. At Verkholensk, we took turns at guarding a student from Kiev. [...] Our guarding him was in vain. With the barrel of the gun against his breast, he pulled the trigger with his foot.⁸⁵

When the fiancée of Marxist Nikolai Evgrafovich Fedoseev, who was on her way to join him in exile, heard that he had committed suicide after false accusations were made against him about misuse of money, she also took her life.⁸⁶ Lydia Dan recalled an incident in which a social democrat, Klavdiia Prikhodko, was so tormented by her ex-partner, Bauman, when she conceived a child with another political exile shortly after their break-up that she committed suicide.⁸⁷ It was this affair for which Axelrod reproached Bauman at the Second Party Congress (see chapter “[The Underground](#)”).

⁸³Kotkin, *Stalin*, p. 116, p. 121 and p. 155.

⁸⁴Kotkin, *Stalin*, p. 53.

⁸⁵Trotsky, *My Life*, pp. 111–112.

⁸⁶Letter, Lenin to M.A. Ul'ianova and A.I. Ul'ianova, 16 August 1898, in *Lenin's Collected Works*, 45 Vols. (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977), Vol. 37, pp. 184–185, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1898/aug/16x.htm>, last accessed 10 May 2017; Mary Hamilton-Dann, *Vladimir and Nadya* (New York: International Publishers, 1998), pp. 40–42.

⁸⁷Interview with Lydia Dan', in Haimson, *The Making of Three Russian Revolutionaries*, p. 182.

Prikhodko's death suggests that for women, going into exile alone posed challenges and held perils that were particular to their sex and which made taking loved ones with them particularly important. An 1898 report on exiles admitted that the lot of unmarried female exiles was 'extremely distressing', noting:

Their person and female honour is not protected from the most coarse infringements, and the majority of such unhappy [people] end up in prostitution or, in the best case, transfer from hand to hand, entering into a series of brief illicit co-habitations with local residents or with other exiles.⁸⁸

An observer from a different time (or of a more emancipated perspective, such as Aleksandra Kollontai) might not object to 'illicit co-habitations', though there was a risk of unwanted pregnancy, but the threat of 'coarse infringements' was obviously a very real danger.⁸⁹ Thus, Kennan met revolutionary women who, in the absence of family members, cohabited with their male comrades (in a non-sexual arrangement) for their own protection.⁹⁰

FAMILY LIFE IN EXILE

In view of the hardships discussed, it is not surprising that many revolutionaries and their families recognized that the presence of loved ones and a stable home life made a positive contribution to an exile's ability to survive his or her sentence. This conclusion has also been drawn by other historians.⁹¹ Certainly some families followed loved ones into exile and many marriages were formed en route to Siberia, both of which were allowed by the Tsarist regime. Indeed, the Tsarist regime had made some efforts to make it easier for wives to follow their husbands into exile in

⁸⁸Salomon, *Sylka v Sibir'*, p. 281.

⁸⁹Cecilia Bobrovskaiia was not the only woman to return from exile as a single mother with an infant to care for (Bobrovskaya, *Twenty Years*, pp. 214–215).

⁹⁰Kennan, *Siberia and the Exile System*, Vol. 2, pp. 53–54.

⁹¹Dmitrii Shelestov, *Vremia Alekseia Rykova* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1990), p. 81; A.M. Schrader, 'Unruly Felons and Civilizing Wives: Cultivating Marriage in the Siberian Exile System, 1822–1860', in *Slavic Review*, 2007, Vol. 66, No. 2, p. 244; Sarah Badcock is more ambivalent about this, but acknowledges that 'the warmth of intimate human relations and the joy of children may have brought comfort and a sense of purpose and identity to exiles' (Sarah Badcock, *A Prison without Walls? Eastern Siberian Exile in the Last Years of Tsarism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 95).

the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to try to reduce the perceived sexual debauchery and recidivism of exiles, to limit the numbers who attempted escape and to integrate exiles more effectively into new settlements in recently acquired territories in Siberia. As Schrader has noted: 'Although permitting couples to remain together undermined the severity of exile from the outset, authorities eager to settle the empire's borderlands found it easy to overlook this contradiction.'⁹² Thus, criminal prisoners sentenced to hard labour who were married were allowed to settle in the free command, an unlocked compound, rather than serve time in prison.⁹³ For political prisoners with wives, resettlement in the free command was a privilege which had to be earned and petitioned for.⁹⁴ Thus, Tsarist officials and revolutionaries, who viewed traditional marriage so differently, both believed that the stability it offered in exile was important and worth exploiting, the former to encourage passive acceptance of the punishment, the latter to enable survival and escape.

The 1900 investigation into exile found that between 1887 and 1898, 52,611 individuals (male and female) were exiled administratively. The evidence shows that men and women followed their spouses into exile, but that there was a gender imbalance. While twenty-three per cent of the men were accompanied by their wives, only three per cent of the women were accompanied by their husbands.⁹⁵ There are, no doubt, a number of explanations for this. Women were more likely to be financially dependent on their husbands, and there was perhaps an expectation that a man required domestic support from his spouse. Lydia Dan stated explicitly that when her brother Martov was sentenced to exile she 'wanted someone to be with him' because 'he was a helpless person'. The 'someone' to whom she was referring was Martov's first partner and fellow social democrat Polina Osipovna Gordon.⁹⁶ Lastly, because of the secondary positions women held in the revolutionary movement, they may not have felt they were causing too much damage to the cause by following their husbands into exile.

⁹²Schrader, 'Unruly Felons', p. 247 and p. 244.

⁹³'Praskovaia Ivanovskaia', in Barbara Alpern Engel and Clifford N. Rosenthal, eds., *Five Sisters: Women Against the Tsar* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1975), p. 140.

⁹⁴'Praskovaia Ivanovskaia', in Engel and Rosenthal, *Five Sisters*, p. 140.

⁹⁵Salomon, *Sylka v Sibir*, p. 134; Petr Moiseenko, 'Morozovskaia stachka', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1924, No. 1, p. 63.

⁹⁶'Interview with Lydia Dan', in Haimson, *The Making of Three Russian Revolutionaries*, pp. 52–53 and p. 68.

In contrast, men generally did not follow their spouses into exile. Martov's response to Gordon's offer to accompany him into exile in 1897 is illuminating. He refused to allow her to go with him, arguing that she should continue the revolutionary struggle. Indeed, he became 'thoroughly disillusioned in her—that she, an active revolutionary, was ready to abandon everything and go with him to Siberia'.⁹⁷ Clearly Martov felt that working for the movement was more important than personal concerns. As the statistics suggest, however, there were exceptions. The Bolshevik, Ekaterina Vasil'evna Bezrukova, was followed into exile by her husband; Vladimir Armand followed his wife Inessa into exile too.⁹⁸

Many other 'last-minute' marriages were made between revolutionaries who were both condemned to exile, but who wished to live together. It is not clear how many were marriages of convenience or the formalization of a pre-existing relationship. Lenin and Krupskaja's marriage is sometimes identified as the former, though Krupskaja always denied this suggestion, as is that of the Krzhizhanovskii.⁹⁹ Many have characterized Trotsky's marriage to a fellow exile, Aleksandra Lvovna Sokolovskaia, in the same light, not least because it ended so quickly after his escape from exile, yet his passionate letters to his bride-to-be in prison suggest that it was a love match.¹⁰⁰ Other such marriages, such as Eva and Mark Broido's, were longer lasting. The fact that Mark resorted to a hunger strike to gain permission to see Eva while in the transit prison in Krasnoiarsk suggests that he already had strong feelings for her. They were able to arrange a Jewish marriage ceremony in prison, complete with the required ten Jewish witnesses found amongst the exiles, and were provided with a wedding breakfast in the prison hospital.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷'Interview with Lydia Dan', in Haimson, *The Making of Three Revolutionaries*, p. 53.

⁹⁸R.C. Elwood, *Inessa Armand: Revolutionary and Feminist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 55; Ekaterina Vasil'evna Bezrukova, 'Avtobiografia', RGASPI, f. 124, o. 1, ed. khr. 152, l. 7.

⁹⁹Robert McNeal, *Bride of the Revolution* (London: Gollancz, 1973) 56; Kartsev, *Krzhizhanovskii*, p. 131.

¹⁰⁰Trotsky, *My Life*, p. 117; Ian D. Thatcher, *Trotsky* (London: Routledge, 2002) 48; See extracts of Trotsky's letters in Dmitrii Volkogonov, *Trotsky: The Eternal Revolutionary*, trans. and ed. Harold Shukman (London: HarperCollinsPublishers, 1996), p. 11.

¹⁰¹Broido, *Memoirs*, pp. 26–27.

Besides being accompanied by spouses, revolutionaries also took their children with them into exile. The 1900 investigation gathered statistics on this issue, though it counted the number of children in exile, thus including not only those brought into exile but also those born en route or after arrival.¹⁰² For the 52,611 administrative exiles sentenced between 1887 and 1898, there were over 27,000 children.¹⁰³ Anecdotal evidence suggests that children were more likely to be taken into exile by their mothers, either the wives of prisoners or women being exiled themselves.¹⁰⁴ I have found only one exception to this rule: the Bolshevik Aleksandr Pavlovich took his son into exile with him, while his wife, a concert pianist, chose to remain in Moscow.¹⁰⁵

Although the Tsarist authorities permitted families to accompany individuals into exile, they made few special provisions for those who did so. Those who lacked the means to follow the exiles at their own expense had to endure the same state-organized journey which exiles took. Followers used the same means of transport offered to the exiles and, while they were occasionally accommodated with local families at rest stops, far more often they were housed in the transit prisons themselves. Wives would reside with the female exiles or in separate cells, and were sometimes even locked in. A major concession for followers was introduced in 1883, when exiles with families were allowed to travel in separate convoys to those of single men.¹⁰⁶ This protected wives who followed their husbands from some of the sexual harassment and attacks to which they had been subjected in mixed convoys.¹⁰⁷ Another important provision was that the state issued ‘foraging money’ to pay for food and other necessities on the journey to both exiles and their family members. Each individual received a stipend, including children, who were

¹⁰²Sukloff, *The Life Story of a Russian Exile*, pp. 233–234.

¹⁰³Salomon, *Sylka v Sibir'*, p. 134.

¹⁰⁴See, for example, K.N. Gavrilova, ‘Na fronte kul'tury’, in A.V. Berdnikova, *Zhenshchiny v revoliutsii* (Novosibirsk: Zapadno-sibirskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1968) 34; L. Karaseva, ‘Klavdiia Ivanovna Nikolaeva’, in Ignat'eva, *Slavnye bol'shevichki*, p. 233.

¹⁰⁵Broido, *Daughter of Revolution*, p. 63. Unfortunately, Vera Broido does not give the Bolshevik's surname, though it seems likely it was the Bolshevik Aleksandr Pavlovich Golubkov and his son Pavel. See the Biographies section for more details.

¹⁰⁶Deutsch, *Sixteen Years*, p. 158; Andrew Gentes, *Exile to Siberia, 1590–1822* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2008), p. 176.

193.

¹⁰⁷Gentes, *Exile to Siberia*, p. 193.

awarded half of the adult's sum.¹⁰⁸ The presence of spouses was therefore a source of emotional comfort and material support to exiles; wives in particular often took on many of the chores and helped buy provisions for the convoy.¹⁰⁹ Their movements in the towns and villages where the convoy stopped tended not to be monitored, enabling them to meet with political exiles and exchange messages.¹¹⁰

In contrast, the presence of children often caused exiles extra anxiety. The state-sponsored journey into exile was extremely hazardous for all children, but especially infants.¹¹¹ Indeed, such was its reputation that the People's Will member Anna Iakimova gave her child over to others to care for when she was sentenced to hard labour.¹¹² One observer estimated that half of the children accompanying their parent(s) died on the journey.¹¹³ The SRs Osip Solomonovich Minor and his wife Anastasiia Naumovna Shekhter lost a child on their way into exile.¹¹⁴ It was also common for children not to survive the harsh conditions of exile itself, especially newborns. Antonina, Gleb Krzhizhanovskii's sister, lost an infant child while in exile with her husband Vasilii Vasil'evich Starkov in Tesinskoe.¹¹⁵

Even in these difficult circumstances, however, young children sometimes provided a welcome distraction from other fears and cares. The SR Marie Sukloff recalled that holding a baby born en route into exile made her 'forget [her] position for a while'.¹¹⁶ At times the Tsarist authorities were prepared to make concessions to those with children. For example,

¹⁰⁸Gentes, *Exile to Siberia*, p. 176.

¹⁰⁹A. Moiseenko, *Vospominaniia starogo revoliutsionera*, ed. Iu.N. Shebaldin (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo 'Mysl', 1966), pp. 54–60 and p. 123.

¹¹⁰Iu. Steklov, 'Vospominaniia o iakutskoi ssylke (1896–1899)', in *Katorga i ssylka*, 1923, No. 6, p. 75.

¹¹¹Deutsch, *Sixteen Years*, p. 202; V.M. Chernov, *V partii Sotsialistov-Revoliutsionerov: vospominaniia o vos'mi liderakh*, ed. by M.E. Ustinov (St. Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo 'Dmitrii Bulanin', 2007) p. 356; Kennan, *Siberia and the Exile System*, Vol. 2, pp. 25–27.

¹¹²Kennan, *Siberia and the Exile System*, Vol. 2, pp. 212–214; Cathy Porter, *Fathers and Daughters: Russian Women in Revolution* (London: Virago, 1976), p. 278.

¹¹³Gentes, *Exile to Siberia*, p. 193.

¹¹⁴'Minor Osip Solomonovich (1861–1932)', in Chernov, *V partii Sotsialistov-Revoliutsionerov*, p. 356.

¹¹⁵Hamilton-Dann, *Vladimir and Nadya*, p. 40; see also Letter, Lenin to M.A. Ul'ianova, 16 September 1898, in *Lenin's Collected Works*, Vol. 37, pp. 188–189, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1898/sep/16mau.htm>, last accessed 10 May 2017.

¹¹⁶Sukloff, *The Life Story of a Russian Exile*, pp. 233–234.

on one occasion Eva Broido was allowed to travel into Siberian exile by train, at her own expense, because she was taking her two children with her.¹¹⁷ Another political exile remembered the mercy she and her husband had received from the governor due to her pregnancy and her husband's ill health:

The first time [I was imprisoned] was when my husband and I were both students. We were sentenced to a year's imprisonment for revolutionary activity. When we got out we went on conspiring and were arrested again and kept here; but the doctors found out I was pregnant, and so we were exiled to Karelia instead of being imprisoned again as the prosecutor had asked. We lived on the State maintenance money in a Karelian village. It was bitterly cold and snowed nearly all the time, and I was worried about when I would need help for the baby's birth. My husband had lung trouble; he was not allowed to leave the village, but I was, and he sent me with a peasant to Petrozavodsk to ask the governor to change our place of exile. The governor listened kindly; he had no power himself to grant the request, but he suggested that my husband should repeat it in writing and send a medical certificate. A few days later, an official messenger brought a parcel of food and baby's clothes from the governor's wife; and not long after that, we were given permission to move to the place in central Russia that my husband had asked for.¹¹⁸

Bosh was also granted permission to move from Kachugskaia volost' in Irkutsk guberniia to Usol'e, which was nearer to Irkutsk, in 1913 because her children were going to join her in exile.¹¹⁹

Spouses and children were not the only source of familial support on which exiles could draw. It was not uncommon for parents, or more accurately widowed mothers, to live in exile with their children (or at the very least to visit them). Perhaps most famously, Krupskaia's mother Elizaveta lived with her daughter and son-in-law during their time in Shushenskoe; however, there are other examples.¹²⁰ Sof'ia Subbotina

¹¹⁷Broido, *Memoirs*, p. 143. Vera, her third daughter, had not yet appeared on the scene.

¹¹⁸Aino Kuusinen, *Before and After Stalin: A Personal Account of Soviet Russia from the 1920s to the 1960s*, trans. by Paul Stevenson, foreword by Wolfgang Leonhard (London: Michael Joseph, 1974), p. 179.

¹¹⁹E. Preobrazhenskii, 'Evgeniia Bogdanovna Bosh', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1925, No. 2, p. 9.

¹²⁰Krupskaia, *Vospominaniia*, p. 24.

followed one of her three radical daughters, Nadezhda, into exile in the early 1880s, and the mother of the populist Natal'ia Aleksandrovna Armfel'd travelled out to live with her daughter.¹²¹ She told Kennan: 'I could not help coming. God knows what they were doing to people here. Nathalie was beaten by soldiers with the butt-ends of guns. Others were starving themselves to death ... I could not bear to think of Nathalie living alone in the midst of such horrors.'¹²² Krzhizhanovskii's mother and sister Antonina followed him into exile in Minusinsk and shared a house with him in the 1890s.¹²³

As the above example shows, innocent siblings occasionally followed a revolutionary into exile.¹²⁴ When Garvi was exiled to Siberia, his sister Roza, who was following her husband into exile, travelled at the same time. That knowing his sister would be making the journey with him was a comfort is highlighted by Garvi's outrage when he discovered at the first transit prison that his sister and brother-in-law were to be sent by a different route to Siberia. His 'protests' were perhaps the more vociferous because initially he 'somehow did not find a common language' with the other political exiles he met en route. Brother and sister were reunited permanently in their place of exile, Ust'-Kut, and again Roza and her husband were a vital support to Garvi since there was no colony of exiles there, except the four others who had arrived at the same time as them.¹²⁵ It was also possible for siblings who had both been exiled to petition the authorities successfully to be allowed to live together. When Aleksei Rykov was sentenced to exile, his sister Faina wrote to the authorities requesting that her brother be sent to her in Pinega, where she too was in exile. She wrote that living together would 'alleviate the material conditions of [their] life' and would allow her to care for her

¹²¹ Anna Hillyar and Jane McDermid, *Revolutionary Women in Russia, 1870–1917. A Study in Collective Biography* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 36.

¹²² Kennan, *Siberia and the Exile System*, Vol. 2, p. 193.

¹²³ Kartsev, *Krzhizhanovskii*, pp. 117–118.

¹²⁴ Natal'ia Alekseevna Aleksandrova, 'Avtobiografiia', in RGASPI, f. 124, o. 1, ed. khr. 30, l. 5 ob.

¹²⁵ Garvi, *Vospominaniia*, p. 259 and p. 326.

brother who had a ‘weak, sickly organism’.¹²⁶ Remarkably, even though the governor knew that Faina corresponded with revolutionaries in Moscow, he agreed to let Rykov live with her.¹²⁷

Families who followed revolutionaries into exile provided more than simply practical help and often had a positive impact in terms of the emotional well-being of the exile. The domestic setting helped to create a feeling of normality in what were often extreme circumstances. Indeed, revolutionaries sometimes experienced a more settled family life while in exile than while working actively for the cause. The family life of active party agents was always disrupted. Those who were able to reside legally in towns were still often forced to move if police attention grew too intense, and those in the underground proper often changed their abode every night. The threat of arrest and imprisonment was ever-present. Children were regularly passed between relatives and comrades to be cared for while parents fulfilled their revolutionary duties.¹²⁸ While the Bolshevik Gusev was a member of the Bolshevik fighting committee in 1905, he was only able to meet his wife and daughter, Feodosiia and Elizaveta Drabkina, briefly in safe houses.¹²⁹ For those in exile, the worst had already happened. Though under surveillance, the revolutionary could live in relative tranquillity with his or her family, especially if their financial means were adequate.¹³⁰ Klavdiia Sverdlova described the joy she and her husband experienced when she and their son Andrei joined him in his exile in Kostyrevka, while Moiseenko remembered how his daughter,

¹²⁶Letter, Faina Ivanovna Rykova to Arkhangel’sk Governor, 12 March 1910, GARF, f. 1764, o. 1, d. 4, l.7.

¹²⁷Report to Arkhangel’sk Governor, 3 April 1910, GARF, f. 1764, o. 1, d. 4, l.14; Letter, Arkhangel’sk Police Chief to Arkhangel’sk Governor, 7 April 1910, GARF, f. 1764, o. 1, d. 4, l.16.

¹²⁸See, for example, Ol’ga Evgen’evna Allilueva, ‘Avtobiografiia’, in RGASPI, f. 124, o. 1, ed. khr. 40, l. 11; Natal’ia Aleksandrova, ‘Sil’naia dukhom (E.S. Shlikhter)’, in L. Zhak and A.M. Itkina, eds., *Zhenshchiny russkoi revoliutsiia* (Moscow: Izdatel’stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1968), p. 543; L. Krechet, ‘Sof’ia Nikolaevna Smidovich’, in Ignat’eva, *Slavnye bol’shevichki*, p. 281.

¹²⁹Kramarov, *Soldat revoliutsii*, p. 59.

¹³⁰Kennan, *Siberia and the Exile System*, Vol. 2, pp. 324–325.

who was born in exile, was a ‘comfort’ to the other local politicals.¹³¹ That this existence was ‘endurable’, for a short time at least, is perhaps indicated by the fact that administrative exiles, whose sentences could last only up to five years, were far more likely to take their families into exile with them than other types of exiles, even those who were exiled for life.¹³²

Families in exile could provide more than emotional support; they could also help sustain revolutionary activities amongst exiles. Self-education was a key activity which revolutionaries engaged in while in exile and spouses with similar political views shared the work. Wives travelling voluntarily with husbands tended not to be searched, so they could carry revolutionary literature with them into exile for use in study projects.¹³³ In 1904, Lydia Dan and her husband of that time, Aleksandr Viktorovich Savinkov, ‘read a lot and worked’ together, while Lenin and Krupskaja translated Webb and read Kautsky.¹³⁴

Beyond these efforts, family units often became the centre of revolutionary communities.¹³⁵ In the free command of Kara, the home of Armfel’d and her mother became the meeting place for other exiled political comrades.¹³⁶ Krupskaja and Lenin and the Krzhizhanovskii formed a core in the area around Minusinsk in which the correspondence between the revolutionaries and their regular meetings were vital to the group’s well-being.¹³⁷ As Zinaida Krzhizhanovskaia remembered: ‘Thanks to these conditions, [our] exile passed without any strain, without a feeling of loneliness, abandonment and so on.’¹³⁸ In 1915 in the

¹³¹K.T. Sverdlova (Novgorodtseva), *Iakov Mikhailovich Sverdlov. Vospominaniia*. (Moscow: Izdatel’stvo TsK VLKSM, Molodaia gvardiia, 1939), pp. 68–69; A. Moiseenko, *Vospominaniia starogo revoliutsionera*, ed. Iu.N. Shebal’din (Moscow: Izdatel’stvo ‘Mysl’’, 1966), p. 133.

¹³²Salomon, *Sylka v Sibir’*, pp. 133–134.

¹³³Moiseenko, *Vospominaniia*, p. 123.

¹³⁴‘Interview with Lydia Dan’, in Haimson, *The Making of Three Russian Revolutionaries*, p. 168; Krupskaja, *Vospominaniia*, p. 29.

¹³⁵A. Stopani, ‘Nakanune i posle II c”ezda RSDRP (Nabroski iz vospominanii: Pskov – II c”ezd – Iaroslavl’), in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1926, No. 1, p. 87.

¹³⁶Kennan, *Siberia and the Exile System*, Vol. 2, pp. 188–189.

¹³⁷Shapovalov, ‘Vospominaniia’, p. 74; Krupskaja, *Vospominaniia*, p. 31.

¹³⁸Zinaida Pavlovna Nevzorova-Krzhizhanovskii, ‘Avtobiografiia’, in RGASPI, f. 124, o. 1, ed. khr. 980, l. 3.

village of Monastirskoe, a group of exiles was centred round Suren Spandarian and his wife Vera Shweitzer.¹³⁹ In Mezen', Moiseenko and his wife lived together with two other revolutionaries, S. Kravchenko and A.N. Shipitsyn, and became a 'family', with Sazonova cooking for the whole group, while Eva Broido regularly hosted dinners for other local, male exiles, discussing politics deep into the night while her daughter slept in the next room.¹⁴⁰ Eva and her daughter also formed a close friendship with fellow Mensheviks Lydia and Fëdor Dan and their daughter.¹⁴¹ The social democrat Iurii Mikhailovich Steklov remembered that he and his fellow exiles enjoyed gathering at G. Osmolovskii's abode because his wife was a 'very good hostess'.¹⁴²

For the revolutionary communities that did form, receiving regular information about the situation in European Russia, current revolutionary newspapers and other party literature was an important lifeline, which party organizations and the Political Red Cross maintained successfully.¹⁴³ Visiting relatives or fiancés could bring information with them.¹⁴⁴ Sympathetic family members who had not joined their loved ones in exile could help with this process. To an extent, it was easier for family members to disguise secret correspondence since the authorities would expect relatives to remain in contact, while exiles writing to each other was presumably suspicious from the start. Sending family photograph albums with illegal literature hidden in the book binding was one tactic for smuggling pamphlets to revolutionaries.¹⁴⁵ For the three years of Lenin's exile, the coded letters he received from his sister Anna went undetected.¹⁴⁶

¹³⁹Miklós Kun, *Stalin: An Unknown Portrait* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2003), p. 174.

¹⁴⁰Moiseenko, *Vospominaniia*, pp. 123–124 and p. 127; Broido, *Daughter of Revolution*, pp. 67–69.

¹⁴¹Broido, *Daughter of Revolution*, p. 61.

¹⁴²Steklov, 'Vospominaniia', p. 75.

¹⁴³'Ot redaktsii', p. 5; Vakhriushev and Andreev, 'Korrespondenty', in Shcherbakov, p. 51.

¹⁴⁴Kartsev, *Krzhizbanovskii*, p. 144.

¹⁴⁵L. Kunetskaia and K. Mashtakova, *Mariia Ul'ianova* (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia, 1979), p. 39.

¹⁴⁶A.I. Ul'ianova-Elizarova, 'Vladimir Il'ich v ssylke (1899 g.)', *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1929, No. 6, p. 202.

A particularly good example of the way in which families and revolutionary parties could work together in their correspondence with revolutionaries in exile is Lydia Dan's escape from Olekminsk in 1905. She needed a fake passport to be sent to her by the *Iskra* party organization so that she could travel safely across Russia. She explained:

There was no direct correspondence [with my *Iskra* colleagues], but I had letters from my sister, Nadezhda Osipovna. She took it from there. I didn't write abroad, since it would have been too risky. [My *Iskra* colleagues] sent [the passport] to my parents. Then they sent a package to me in Olekminsk, and the passport was concealed inside a book.¹⁴⁷

The mother of the Bolshevik Sergei Moiseev went even further than Lydia's family: she visited her son in Siberia in order to bring him money and a fake passport obtained by the RSDRP committee of Nizhegorod to facilitate his escape.¹⁴⁸

Family members on the spot could both help and hinder escapes; thus Moiseev's mother departed before her son made his escape and took a different route home.¹⁴⁹ When revolutionaries themselves were parents, it is more accurate to state that families helped men escape and hindered women, though there were exceptions to both rules. Clements notes that the escape rate was higher amongst Bolshevik men than Bolshevik women. She suggests a number of reasons for this: men had longer sentences; a man travelling alone was less likely to arouse suspicion than a single female; it was safer for men to travel alone; or perhaps women 'adjusted more easily to the conditions in exile and hence were more willing to stay'.¹⁵⁰ Two other explanations can be added here. When describing her escape from exile in 1905, Dan highlighted that exiles prioritized whom they would help escape. Of her departure from Olekminsk, she noted that 'there wasn't exactly a waiting line' to escape, but stated that 'if some valuable person had expressed the desire,

¹⁴⁷Interview with Lydia Dan', in Haimson, *The Making of Three Revolutionaries*, p. 177.

¹⁴⁸V.V. Alekseev, *Sergei Moiseev* (Gor'kii: Volgo-Viatskoe Knizhnoe Izdatel'stvo, 1979), p. 46.

¹⁴⁹Alekseev, *Sergei Moiseev*, p. 46.

¹⁵⁰Clements, *Bolshevik Women*, p. 99.

I probably would have given him my money—that was the usual thing to do. But there were no takers.¹⁵¹ This comment captures well the way in which women were viewed (and indeed, sometimes viewed themselves) as lesser contributors to the movement.¹⁵²

The second explanation is the presence of children and the general assumption amongst revolutionaries that mothers were responsible for their care. Escaping as a family was more difficult than a single man making a run for it, not least because it required substantially more funds. Thus, when Trotsky escaped from Siberia in 1902, he left behind his wife and two daughters. Trotsky described his escape as follows, highlighting his need to make a significant contribution to the revolutionary movement:

A book by Lenin also reached us [*What Is to Be Done?*] [...] My handwritten essays, newspaper articles, and proclamations for the Siberian Union immediately looked small and provincial to me in the face of the new and tremendous task which confronted us. I had to look for another field of activity. I had to escape from exile.

At that time we already had two daughters. The younger was four months old. Life under conditions in Siberia was not easy, and my escape would place a double burden on the shoulders of Aleksandra L'vovna. But she met this objection with the two words: 'You must.' Duty to the revolution overshadowed everything else for her, personal considerations especially. She was the first to broach the idea of my escape when we realized the great new tasks. She brushed away all my doubts.

For several days after I had escaped, she concealed my absence from the police. From abroad, I could hardly keep up a correspondence with her. Then she was exiled for a second time; after this we met only occasionally. Life separated us, but nothing could destroy our friendship and our intellectual kinship.¹⁵³

This reference to separation points to the fact that upon his arrival in London in 1902, Trotsky met Natalia Ivanovna Sedova, whom he married in 1903 after having divorced Aleksandra L'vovna. He had a

¹⁵¹Escaping from Siberian exile often cost thousands of roubles ('Interview with Lydia Dan', in Haimson, *The Making of Three Revolutionaries*, p. 175 and p. 476).

¹⁵²Hillyar and McDermid, *Revolutionary Women*, p. 76.

¹⁵³Trotsky, *My Life*, pp. 116–117.

further two children, Leon and Sergei, with Sedova. Trotsky was not the only husband to leave a wife behind. Sverdlov's reunion with his wife and child may have been joyful, but he made an escape attempt only a few weeks later, assuming that the police would be less vigilant now that Sverdlov's family was with him and he would be unlikely to leave them.¹⁵⁴ There is even the example of the Bolshevik Konstantin Gvozdikov who, when he escaped from exile, left behind his wife, who had joined him their voluntarily, and three children.¹⁵⁵

There were exceptions to this rule, however. The Bolshevik Ivan Adol'fovich Teodorovich refused to escape because he did not want to leave his wife Glafira Ivanovna Okulova and their newborn child.¹⁵⁶ Other men not only did not escape, but even chose to remain with their wives while they completed their sentences. Krzhizhanovskii stayed in exile for an extra year so that his wife could complete her exile too. This is perhaps the least he could do since in joining her husband, Zinaida had gone into worse exile conditions than she had been sentenced to.¹⁵⁷

Some women were not tied down in exile by their children. Bosh was able to escape from Usol'e and take her children with her.¹⁵⁸ When Sukloff and the Orlovs escaped, Sukloff took the Orlovs' child with her, while the Orlovs left separately. The police Sukloff encountered on her journey did not check her documents, apparently assuming that a mother with an infant could not be an escapee.¹⁵⁹

Sometimes the appearance of travelling as a family was enough to enable an escape. When Eva Broido made her own escape from exile (having already sent her children back to her mother), she attached herself to an aunt and niece who were travelling in her train carriage to enhance her appearance of respectability.¹⁶⁰ When Lydia Dan escaped in 1905, she did

¹⁵⁴Sverdlova (Novgorodtseva), *Iakov Mikhailovich Sverdlov*, pp. 68–69.

¹⁵⁵'Ekaterina Evgen'evna Gvozdikova-Frumkina', in RGASPI, f. 124, o. 1, ed. khr. 449, l. 7 ob.

¹⁵⁶'Interview with Lydia Dan', in Haimson, *The Making of Three Russian Revolutionaries*, p. 175.

¹⁵⁷Kartsev, *Krzhizhanovskii*, p. 148.

¹⁵⁸Preobrazhenskii, 'Evgeniia Bogdanovna Bosh', p. 10.

¹⁵⁹Sukloff, *The Life Story of a Russian Exile*, pp. 116–117.

¹⁶⁰Broido, *Memoirs*, p. 55.

so by posing as the wife of Shipulinskii, a fellow exile who had completed his term and was returning legitimately to Russia. It was presumably so normal for exiles to be accompanied by innocent wives that no one questioned Lydia's presence. Shipulinskii's actual wife remained in Olekminsk to complete her sentence. On this point, Lydia was pragmatic: 'Her sentence was for five years, and his was only for three, so she remained.'¹⁶¹

Family members often sacrificed a great deal to support exiles, whether facilitating escapes in which they would not participate or moving voluntarily to the far reaches of the Russian empire to live with exiled kin. Others worked on a daily basis to ensure that correspondence and parcels, both personal and political, reached exiles and mitigated against the various hardships of their relatives' sentences. In 1917 it was often they who first communicated to exiles, both in Russia and abroad, the news of the February revolution.

In Yakutsk, for example, there was a united group of 150 Bolshevik and Menshevik exiles, including Sergo Ordzhonikidze, Vladimir Dmitrievich and M.M. Vilenskii, as well as the two Sereckina sisters. On 2 March they received word of the revolution from a comrade, Goncharuka, in Irkutsk. It was written in code as the governor was trying to prevent news of the revolution from spreading and was worded: 'Expect great joy soon; you will see your mother.'¹⁶² The first detailed telegram came the following day addressed to Grigorii Ivanovich Petrovskii from his wife, Domna.¹⁶³

Meanwhile, the new Provisional Government was signalling the establishment of unprecedented political liberties in Russia, including freedom of speech and universal suffrage. On 2 March, Kerensky, as the new Minister of Justice in the Provisional Government, issued a telegram to Siberia 'ordering that Catherine Breshkovsky, "grandmother of the Russian Revolution", be immediately released from exile and conveyed with all due honours to Petrograd'.¹⁶⁴ This was followed by a general amnesty for political prisoners and exiles.

¹⁶¹ 'Interview with Lydia Dan', in Haimson, *The Making of Three Revolutionaries*, pp. 175–176.

¹⁶² Em. Iaroslavskii, 'Chto bylo 9 let nazad v Yakutske', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1926, No. 3, p. 225–227.

¹⁶³ Iaroslavskii, 'Chto bylo 9 let nazad v Yakutske', p. 227.

¹⁶⁴ Alexander F. Kerensky, *The Catastrophe: Kerensky's Own Story of the Russian Revolution* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1927), p. 64.

Thus, for many party comrades the February revolution was marked by family reunions, as revolutionaries who had been separated from their relatives and children by the underground as well as by prison and exile were able to return home openly. The Alliluevs were reunited with Sergei and were soon visited by Nadezhda's godfather, Avel Safronovich Enukidze, who had also returned from exile where he had relied on packages from the family.¹⁶⁵ Some children met their parents for the first time. Anna Larina was living in Belorussia when she was reunited with her mother in July 1917 (her father she met when she joined her parents in Moscow in 1918): 'Mama pleased me; she was beautiful and elegant and had large, grey, kind eyes with long, fluffy eyelashes. I decided that Social Democrats were not so bad.' However, her mother did not take her back to Petrograd, as 'people were frightened and hungry' there.¹⁶⁶

Whole families returned to Russia from Europe. Ransome remembered returning to Russia from Finland with a group of revolutionaries:

The younger members of the party, together with [the Bolshevik Maksim Maksimovich] Litvinov, found their spirits irrepressibly rising in spite of having no dinner. They walked about the village, played with the children, and sang, not revolutionary songs, but just jolly songs, any songs that came into their heads. When at last the train came to take us into Petrograd, and we found that the carriages were unheated, somebody got out a mandolin and we kept ourselves warm by dancing. At the same time I was sorry for the five children who were with us, knowing that a country simultaneously suffering war, blockade and revolution is not a good place for childhood. But they had caught the mood of their parents, revolutionaries going home to their revolution, and trotted excitedly up and down the carriage or anchored themselves momentarily, first on one person's knee and then on another's.¹⁶⁷

As revolutionaries flooded back from exile, then, there was no question that their families would accompany them and indeed assist them in the new work of building a reformed if not revolutionary Russia.

¹⁶⁵ Alliluyeva, *Twenty Letters*, p. 96.

¹⁶⁶ Larina, *This I Cannot Forget*, pp. 210–211.

¹⁶⁷ Arthur Ransome, *Russia in 1919* (New York: B.W. Huebsch, 1919), p. 7.

Consequences: The Bolsheviks After 1917

Those of us who belong to the older generation [...] are still influenced up to 90 per cent by the baggage which we acquired during the underground years.

Sergei Mironovich Kirov, 1934.

(S.M. Kirov, 'Speech to the plenum of 10 October 1934 of the Leningrad obkom and gorkom of the VKP(b), quoted in John Biggart, 'Kirov before the Revolution', in *Soviet Studies*, 1972, Vol. 23, No. 3, p. 372.)

The year 1917 witnessed two revolutions in Russia. In February, the Tsarist regime was toppled, to be replaced by a liberal Provisional Government in coalition with the socialist Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' (and from mid-1917 Peasants') Deputies, both of which were committed to the calling of a universally elected Constituent Assembly. However, the unpopular continuation of the war, with its defeats and privations, as well as the prevarications of the new government over issues such as land reform, ensured that revolutionary sentiment did not die away after February but instead increased.

This rise in radicalism was facilitated by the unprecedented political freedoms introduced by the Provisional Government, for now the socialist parties were able to conduct their activities and campaigns in the open. After the reunions of underground members, prisoners and exiles, work began in earnest to sustain the revolutionary processes begun in February, with the aim of making the Constituent Assembly as left-wing as possible or, in the case of the Bolsheviks, to accelerate those processes and push on towards a full socialist revolution. The latter's efforts

throughout the year to whip up revolutionary fervour and organize demonstrations and strikes ensured that many leading Bolsheviks were forced back into the underground by July as the Provisional Government tried to suppress their subversive activities. Lenin had to flee the capital and others were arrested. Regardless, Bolshevik influence and support for their party grew. By October, the Provisional Government was thoroughly discredited and could no longer rely on the support of workers, peasants or soldiers. Seizing the moment, the Bolsheviks took power and established a socialist regime.

In contrast to the pre-1917 period, historians have paid a great deal of attention to the place of the family in the now renamed Communist Party, from assessing the role of family ties in Soviet state building to exploring the intricate allegiances and networks which existed amongst the Bolshevik elite and Stalin's immediate circle.¹ What has been less fully discussed is the continuity between the place of the family in the underground and in the new regime. Easter acknowledges that Party relationships formed before 1917 continued to function after the revolution, stating that 'personal networks among the Bolsheviks originated as a survival strategy in the prerevolutionary underground', but he does not specifically recognize that kinship underpinned these networks as much as friendship did.²

Family networks were to be an important element of the new regime. As Clements has noted, however, as a result of the reorganization of political space, where previously the home had been the site of both domestic and political activities, the formation of the Provisional Government, the Soviet and then the Bolshevik government ensured that revolutionary politics was no longer conducted across the kitchen table, but moved to offices, committee rooms and assemblies from which it was much easier to exclude women.³

¹T.H. Rigby, *Lenin's Government: Sovmarkom, 1917-1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Robert C. Tucker, *Stalin in Power: The Revolution From Above* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1992); Lara Cook, 'Collegiality in the People's Commissariats, 1917-1920', in *Revolutionary Russia*, 2013, Vol. 26, No. 1, pp 1-31.

²Gerald M. Easter, 'Personal Networks and Postrevolutionary State Building: Soviet Russia Reexamined', in *World Politics*, 1996, Vol. 48, No. 4, p. 560.

³Barbara Evans Clements, *Bolshevik Women* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 160-161.

Of course, gender differences in the roles men and women performed in the revolutionary parties had been clear even in the underground, but if anything they now became more pronounced. The Socialist Revolutionary and leading figure in the February revolution Aleksandr Fëdorovich Kerensky categorized the work of revolution as an entirely masculine affair in his 1927 memoir:

I saw new forms of government shaped by men [...]. They did it because something inexplicable, mysterious, miraculous had happened—that which we are accustomed to call revolution. This something lit up the souls of men with a purifying fire and filled them with love and readiness for boundless self-sacrifice.

We forgot everything that was merely personal, all that was a matter of class or caste, and became for the moment simply men conscious of our common humanity. It was a moment when every man came into touch with what is universal and eternally human. It was most exhilarating to see about me these men, so transformed, working together with sublime devotion for the common good.⁴

This kind of attitude, combined with the delineation between personal and political space, had an immediate impact on women's involvement in party affairs. It is a regular trope of memoirs of the February days that male revolutionaries barely went home.⁵ When Chernov became Minister of Agriculture in the Provisional Government, his wife and daughters immediately experienced a complete change in circumstances. Their home became two rooms in the palace of Great Prince Andrei, which housed the Socialist Revolutionary headquarters. Ol'ga Andreeva recalled: 'Several elderly ladies who had cared for Viktor in Mother's absence greeted us with hostility. They tried to keep Mother away from party work.' While this did not deter Ol'ga Eliseevna, these new circumstances left the Chernov daughters, who had been used to

⁴Alexander F. Kerensky, *The Catastrophe: Kerensky's Own Story of the Russian Revolution* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1927), p. 4.

⁵N.B. Bogdanova, *Men'shevik* (St Petersburg: Nauchno-informatsionnyi tsentre 'Memorial', 1994), p. 5; Marc Slonim, 'Reminiscences of the Revolution', in *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*, 1977, Vol. 18, No. 4, p. 423.

interacting with revolutionaries on a daily basis, bereft. For want of anything better to do, they ‘walked the streets of Petersburg alone’.⁶

Vera Broido’s description of her family’s new life and the Chkheidze household in the February days is similarly evocative:

We were no longer living near the Obvodny Canal. I have no idea what happened to Sania [Aleksandra] and Dania [her step-sister and brother], but I was living with Mother somewhere else. That is, I was not exactly living with her—most days I was dumped with whatever Menshevik family had children of my age, while Mother rushed away on Party business. I remember best of all the Chkheidzes. Their father, a Georgian Menshevik, was chairman of the Petrograd Soviet and was seldom at home. Mrs Chkheidze was a busy but friendly woman and made me welcome [...]. Another family where I was occasionally dumped was that of Martov’s brother Sergei and his wife Konkordiia. Both were prominent Mensheviks and there was much coming and going at their house.⁷

Broido’s description makes it clear that while the homes of Menshevik party members remained busy hubs, they now had a domestic and social role, while the business of the revolution was conducted elsewhere. Eva Broido was not the only woman who managed to continue with party work, but there was a new distinction between the work women did and that which occupied men.

This was captured beautifully by Ekaterina L’vovna Olitskaia who became an SR in 1917, inspired by the revolutionary politics which was all around her. She recalled going to the Tauride Palace during the February days, keen to participate in some way. She found herself assigned to checking the passes of visitors to Kerensky’s office, before being sent to cut bread in the canteen to help feed the soldiers’ and workers’ deputies of the Soviet.⁸ Sukhanov, in fact, viewed women as extra to requirements. There seemed to be women in all the motor cars now travelling around Petrograd in the celebratory first days of the revolution,

⁶Olga Chernov Andreyev, *Cold Spring in Russia*, trans. by Michael Carlisle (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1978), p. 74–76.

⁷Vera Broido, *Daughter of Revolution: A Russian Girlhood Remembered* (London: Constable, 1998), p. 82.

⁸E.L. Olitskaia, *Moi vospominaniia*, 2 Vols. (Moscow: Posev, 1971), Vol. 1, at <http://www.sakharov-center.ru/asfcd/auth/?t=book&num=1822>.

but women, he concluded, 'in such numbers seemed superfluous'.⁹ He recalled 'our women and families gathered' in the Tauride Palace 'eager to take part [in the revolution] and demanding assignments'. The solution was to set up typewriters in secretarial offices.¹⁰ Women were to be helpers and administrators rather than committee members and decision makers.

This pattern continued in October as the new Bolshevik government was formed. Lenin's sister Mariia's most notable role, according to Trotsky, was to bring him and Lenin pillows as they settled down to sleep in Bolshevik headquarters and to let them know when the session of the Second Congress of Soviets was beginning.¹¹ Krupskaja, who had been at the heart of the Bolshevik Party for its entire existence, suddenly found herself redundant in October. She was given 'no special duties' and the 'absence of definite work began to pall'. Made deputy to Stasova, who became secretary of the Central Committee, Krupskaja soon rejected this role and tried to find her own position independently.¹² Olga Kameneva initially became the head of the Theatre Administration under Narkompros (the Commissariat of Enlightenment). This did not satisfy her, however, so she made 'constant requests' to the Politburo in 1919 to allow her to take up 'political work'.¹³ Eventually, and largely on her own initiative, she became the 'driving force' behind Soviet efforts to foster positive links with intellectuals abroad.¹⁴

More generally, Rigby offered some damning statistics on the number and representation of women in the Party in the early years of the regime. While women formed eight per cent of the Party's membership, they saw a gradual decline in the (only ever single-digit) percentage of their representation at Party congresses and in Party posts as

⁹N.N. Sukhanov, *The Russian Revolution, 1917, Eyewitness Account*, Vols. I and II, ed., abridged and trans. by Joel Carmichael (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962), p. 45.

¹⁰Sukhanov, *The Russian Revolution*, p. 92.

¹¹Leon Trotsky, *My Life: The Rise and Fall of a Dictator* (London: Thornton Butterworth, Limited, 1930), p. 340.

¹²Krupskaja quoted in Mary Hamilton-Dann, *Vladimir and Nadya* (New York: International Publishers, 1998), p. 199.

¹³Michael David-Fox, *Showcasing the Great Experiment: Cultural Diplomacy and Western Visitors to the Soviet Union, 1921–1941* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 35.

¹⁴David-Fox, *Showcasing the Great Experiment*, p. 35.

the regime was consolidated.¹⁵ Men, meanwhile, monopolized roles across the Party and government.

STATE BUILDING

In fact, the staffing of the new regime was one of the Bolsheviks' first challenges. Some of the old Tsarist and Provisional Government staff had been sacked or had resigned, while those who remained offered passive or active resistance. Thus, it was vital for the Bolsheviks to place as many of their own people in the available positions in order to consolidate their power.¹⁶ Matters were complicated by the surge in Bolshevik Party members during and after 1917, not least through the influx of many former SRs and Mensheviks to the Party.¹⁷ The reliability of these new members had not been tested in the underground and it was difficult to rule out the possibility that people were now joining the Party in order to survive or as a result of ambition. Their grasp of Party ideology and their dedication to the cause could not be judged easily. Only those with a long Party history could prove their commitment, since they had likely suffered prison or exile as well as the many other risks and difficulties associated with illegal Party work. Hence the long membership questionnaires which probed the candidate's date of joining the Party, their experience of prison or exile, and asked for the names of comrades with whom they had worked. Similarly, only members with impeccable Party credentials could adequately judge a person's reliability and loyalty, and thus almost inevitably personal recommendations from Old Bolsheviks became the currency for advancement. Indeed, the regime attempted to institutionalize this by trying to keep the key post of regional Party secretary for Bolsheviks who had joined before February 1917.¹⁸

¹⁵T.H. Rigby, 'The Soviet Political Elite, 1917–1922', in *British Journal of Political Science*, 1971, Vol. 1, No. 4, p. 424.

¹⁶*Molotov Remembers: Inside Kremlin Politics*, conversations with Felix Chuev, ed. and with an introduction by Albert Resis (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1993), p. 102.

¹⁷Konrad Kellen, *Khrushchev: A Political Portrait* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1961), p. 12; Rigby, 'The Soviet Political Elite', p. 422.

¹⁸Rigby, 'The Soviet Political Elite', p. 419.

Lenin argued on several occasions for the systematization of the use of personal recommendations.¹⁹ In his view, the best way to ensure that staff were ‘honest’ was to ‘give in the greatest possible detail their Party and Soviet government record, and a *personal* warranty of their absolute honesty by *several* Party veterans’.²⁰ There was also an unspoken belief that family members of an Old Bolshevik could similarly be depended upon to share that loyalty to the Bolsheviks, unless there was clear evidence to the contrary. Since families had consistently worked together in the underground, even those who had not held a Party post could be assumed to have been involved in some way.

Several historians have noted the way in which family networks were often used to staff positions.²¹ Sheila Fitzpatrick describes this process in her book on Narkompros. The Commissar, Lunacharskii, ‘had the habit of recruiting staff on a personal basis’. As a result, she states:

Narkompros became—like the *zhenskii otdel* (Women’s Section) of the Central Committee and, in later years, Riazanov’s Marx-Engels Institute—a place of employment for wives and sisters of Bolshevik politicians: its members included the wives of Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Dzerzhinskii, Krzhizhanovskii and Bonch-Bruевич, Lenin’s sister Anna Elizarova and the two sisters of Menzhinskii.²²

Of course, it is worth noting that the wives and sisters mentioned here all had Party careers of their own to recommend them and that men equally benefited from such personal connections, and were often assigned to more prestigious jobs than women. Thus Mark Elizarov, Lenin’s brother-in-law, was appointed Commissar for Ways of Communication,

¹⁹Letter, Lenin to V.A. Avanesov, 1 June 1921, in *Lenin’s Collected Works*, 45 Vols. (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977) Vol. 35, p. 504, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1921/jun/01vaa.htm>, last accessed 10 May 2017.

²⁰Letter, Lenin to Comrades Enukidze, Karpinskii, Dzerzhinskii, Zalutskii, Mikhailov and Molotov, ‘On the Use of “Personal Contacts”’, 3 December 1921, in *Lenin’s Collected Works*, Vol. 45, pp. 395–396, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1921/dec/03.htm>, last accessed 10 May 2017.

²¹Adam B. Ulam, *The Bolsheviks: The Intellectual and Political History of the Triumph of Communism in Russia* (London: Collier-Macmillan Co., 1965), p. 526; Rigby, *Lenin’s Government: Sovnarkom, 1917–1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 125.

²²Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Commissariat of Enlightenment: Soviet organization of education and the arts under Lunacharsky, October 1917–1921* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 19.

then Commissar for Insurance, as a result as much of his connection to Vladimir Il'ich as his employment history on the railways and in insurance.²³ It was Yagoda's marriage to 'a niece of Sverdlov's' in 1915 that 'provided his future entrée into the regime'.²⁴ In an example of a wife extending patronage to a husband, it was Valeria Alekseevna Golubtseva who helped to get her spouse, Georgii Maksimilianovich Malenkov, a post in the Central Committee.²⁵ Golubtseva, who had joined the Party in 1920, was herself the daughter of Ol'ga Pavlovna Nevzorova, sister of G.M. Krzhizhanovskii's wife Zinaida, all three of whom had worked closely with Lenin in the 1890s.

Despite these measures, anxiety about the reliability of Party members persisted and was expressed in the regular Party purges, which at this time involved revoking the Party membership of those deemed undesirable or even in campaigns to arrest enemies. Evidence of service to the Bolsheviks in the underground or of family ties to Party members was often enough to avoid such persecution. Thus, for example, in August 1921, Lenin defended a geologist studying sapropel who had been arrested with his colleagues because, as he put it: 'In 1890, Nadezhda Konstantinovna knew him personally as an honest and revolutionary-minded man. His son is a Communist. Comrade Unshlicht: Please order a check-up. It looks very much as though the scientists will have to be released. Sapropel is an important thing for our economy.'²⁶ Clearly family relationships run through this exchange. Lenin knew he could trust the reliability of his wife's testimony, and the fact that the geologist was the father of a communist reinforced that certainty. In December 1921, Lenin asked for Kasparova-Popova's 'expulsion from the Party' to be 'verif[ied]' on the basis that he had known her brother Slava Kasparov

²³Katy Turton, *Forgotten Lives: The Role of Lenin's Sisters in the Russian Revolution, 1864–1937* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 84.

²⁴Stephen Kotkin, *Stalin: Paradoxes of Power, 1878–1928* (London: Penguin, 2015), p. 46.

²⁵Simon Sebag Montefiore, *Stalin: The Court of the Red Tsar* (London: Phoenix, 2004), p. 259.

²⁶V.I. Lenin, Note on N.N. Iakovlev's letter and memo to I.S. Unshlicht, 23 August 1921', in *Lenin's Collected Works*, Vol. 45, p. 267, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1921/aug/23e.htm>, last accessed 10 May 2017.

in emigration as a loyal Bolshevik.²⁷ She was subsequently ‘reinstated in the Party’.²⁸ Nikolai Egorovich Egorov-Kirilov petitioned the Society of Old Bolsheviks to have his daughter and Komsomol member, Evgeniia, restored to her place at the local Workers’ School, from which she had been excluded as an ‘undesirable element’.²⁹ The Society successfully defended Evgeniia on the grounds that her father was ‘one of the oldest members of the Party’.³⁰

Such children of Party members continued to be groomed for a place in politics, as they had been in the underground. Larina remembered ‘my father brought me up on [Nekrasov’s verses], for Nekrasov was the favourite poet of many revolutionaries’.³¹ She continued: ‘I grew up among professional revolutionaries who, having made their revolution, stood at the head of their country. Not surprisingly, then, the internal life of the Party began to interest me very early on. My father fostered this development.’³² Svetlana Allilueva remembered her father, Stalin, giving her ‘the first copy issued of *A Brief History of the CPSU*, inscribed by him’ and telling her to read it, for ‘he wanted me to make a study of the Party’s history—his version of it’.³³ As soon as the revolution of October was completed, children who were of age were recruited into the Party. The Alliluevs’ daughters obtained work as secretaries attached

²⁷Letter, Lenin to P.A. Zalutsky and A.A. Solts, dictated by telephone on 20 December 1921, in *Lenin’s Collected Works*, Vol. 45, pp 414–415, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1921/dec/20.htm>, last accessed 10 May 2017.

²⁸*Lenin’s Collected Works*, Vol. 45, pp. 414–415, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1921/dec/20.htm>, last accessed 10 May 2017.

²⁹Letter, Nikolai Egorovich Egorov-Kirilov to the Bureau of the Society of Old Bolsheviks, 24 June 1924 in RGASPI, f. 124, o. 1, ed. khr. 628, l. 15.

³⁰Letter, Society of Old Bolsheviks to Kostroma, Gubkom, 24 June 1924, in RGASPI, f. 124, o. 1, ed. khr. 628, l. 16; Letter, Kostroma Gubkom to the Society of Old Bolsheviks, 1 July 1924, in RGASPI, f. 124, o. 1, ed. khr. 628, l. 19.

³¹Anna Larina, *This I Cannot Forget: The Memoirs of Nikolai Bukharin’s Widow*, introduction by Stephen F. Cohen, trans. by Gary Kern (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1994), p. 63.

³²Larina, *This I Cannot Forget*, p. 105.

³³Svetlana Alliluyeva, *Only One Year*, trans. Paul Chavchavadze (Hutchinson of London: 1969), p. 347.

to Sovnarkom (The Council of People's Commissars), while their son Pavel joined the Red Army.³⁴

There were even efforts to 'turn' relatives of Party members who had not participated in the revolutionary underground. Lenin wrote to Finance Commissar Evgenii Alekseevich Preobrazhenskii in March 1921, asking him to pay 'attention' to S.A. Falkner, brother of Maria Smith-Falkner who was herself 'an economist and member of the Communist Party'. His hope was that the brother might 'move closer' to the Party and 'join in the work'.³⁵ Similarly, Lunacharskii made numerous efforts to encourage Nikolai Nikolaevich Sukhanov to join the Bolsheviks since his 'wife was already converted'.³⁶ While the leading Party figure Lazar' Kaganovich had joined the Bolsheviks with his brother Mikhail, it was after October 1917 that their three other brothers, Izrail', Aron and Iulii, were brought into the fold.³⁷

Just as they had in the underground, as revolutionaries formed new relationships they regularly recruited their partners into the Party and state apparatus. Thus, when Otto Kuusinen, a native Finn and secretary to the Executive Committee of the Comintern, fell in love with Aino Sarola, he immediately involved her in his conspiratorial work as a Communist in Finland.³⁸ When she travelled to Moscow, the two wed and Otto secured her employment in the Comintern.³⁹

³⁴Ol'ga Evgen'evna Allilueva, 'Avtobiografiia', in RGASPI, f. 124, o. 1, ed. khr. 40, l. 14.

³⁵Letter, Lenin to Ia. A. Preobrazhenskii, 27 March 1921, in *Lenin's Collected Works*, Vol. 45, pp. 106–107, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1921/mar/27d.htm>, last accessed 10 May 2017; Gilbert Faccarello and Masashi Izumo, eds., *The Reception of David Ricardo* (London: Routledge, 2014), p. 209; Naum Jasny, *Soviet Economists of the Twenties: Names to be Remembered* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 4.

³⁶Sukhanov, *The Russian Revolution*, p. 419.

³⁷E.A. Rees, *Iron Lazar: A Political Biography of Lazar Kaganovich* (London: Anthem Press, 2012), p. 3 and p. 6.

³⁸Aino Kuusinen, *Before and After Stalin: A Personal Account of Soviet Russia from the 1920s to the 1960s*, trans. by Paul Stevenson, foreword by Wolfgang Leonhard (London: Michael Joseph, 1974), pp. 18–20. While doubt has been cast over the reliability of Kuusinen's memoir, Peter Day offers a robust defence of the accuracy of her account (Peter Day, 'Love in a Cold War Climate', *The National Interest*, 1995, No. 40, pp. 61–69).

³⁹Kuusinen, *Before and After Stalin*, p. 25 and p. 28.

Women might now have been channelled into administrative roles while men took up political positions, but cooperation between spouses and siblings continued. Thus when Stalin was assigned to Tsaritsyn during the Civil War, he took his new wife, Nadezhda Allilueva, with him as part of his secretariat.⁴⁰ Lenin regularly supported the work of his wife, Krupskaja, and his sisters, endorsing their requests to government departments.⁴¹ Nikolai Krylenko and his ex-wife Elena Rozmirovich worked together in the Supreme Revolutionary Tribunal, while Nikolai Ivanovich Ezhov, future chief of the NKVD, appointed his wife Antonia as his secretary in the Party organization of the Mari republic, which he led in 1922.⁴² Even if they were not working together, couples often remained together, with wives following their husbands to wherever they were posted.⁴³ When Ivan Ivanovich Ul'ianov, a member of the All Russia Central Executive Committee of the Soviet, offered to form a Cossack division in Saratov and Pokrovsk during the Civil War, he chose his two brothers to join him in the 'special detachment'.⁴⁴

At times, Party members reverted to using their private homes to conduct business. Anna Larina recalled:

We were living then in room 305 of the Metropol, and although Father often went out to the Supreme Soviet of the National Economy, to the All-Union Central Executive Committee, or to the Council of People's

⁴⁰Kotkin, *Stalin*, p. 301; Miklós Kun, *Stalin: An Unknown Portrait* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2003), p. 212.

⁴¹Letter, Lenin to the Nizhni-Novgorod Gubernia Executive Committee, 8 July 1919, in *Lenin's Collected Works*, Vol. 44, p. 261, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1919/jul/08.htm>, last accessed on 11 May 2017; letter, Lenin to A.D. Tsyurupa and A.I. Rykov, 2 May 1922, in *Lenin's Collected Works*, Vol. 45, p. 538, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1922/may/02d.htm>, last accessed on 11 May 2017; see also Turton, *Forgotten Lives*, p. 91 and p. 95.

⁴²Kuusinen, *Before and After Stalin*, pp. 34–35; Marc Jansen, *A Show Trial Under Lenin: The Trial of the Socialist Revolutionaries, Moscow 1922*, trans. by Jean Sanders (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1982), p. 47; Donald Rayfield, *Stalin and his Hangmen: An Authoritative Portrait of a Tyrant and Those who Served Him* (London: Penguin, 2005), Kindle edition, location 5389 out of 11603, in Chap. 7.

⁴³Kun, *Stalin*, p. 376.

⁴⁴Letter, Lenin to the Orgbureau of the Central Committee, RKP(b) and the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic, 16 June 1919, in *Lenin's Collected Works*, Vol. 44, p. 254, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1919/jun/16d.htm>, last accessed 10 May 2017.

Commissars, he maintained his office in our apartment, with his secretariat installed in the next room, in order to facilitate his work. [...] Often, meetings of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the National Economy were held in his office, between walls crowded with bookcases.⁴⁵

Otto Kuusinen included his wife in ‘evening discussions on Comintern affairs in our apartment at the Lux Hotel’.⁴⁶ Aino remembered: ‘Otto even enlisted my help on occasion with delicate affairs which he wanted to keep secret from his office colleagues. Although I was only a two-finger typist, my first task was to copy out a document which Otto had drawn up in German for the International Control Commission.’⁴⁷ As Aino made clear, it was not her skills as a typist which made her fit for this role but rather, as had always been a consideration in the underground too, her trustworthiness as his wife.

Above all, however, it was in enabling individuals to overcome the numerous challenges of the new regime that family connections came into their own. Privation and shortages dominated the early years of the Soviet regime and securing a job was only a part of the battle in ensuring the material well-being of one’s family. Before 1917, the revolutionary parties had recognized the need to support their members’ kin and to mitigate the hardships which ensued from a life of illegal political struggle; they continued to assume that responsibility after the revolution.

Thus, during the Civil War a decree of August 1918 announced that property confiscated from those who fought for the Whites and from ‘the sons of the bourgeoisie and landlords will be handed over to the wounded and maimed Red Army men and the families of fallen soldiers of the Workers’ and Peasants’ Army’.⁴⁸ When Party committees had to flee from areas in the face of advancing Whites, measures were usually taken to ensure that Party members’ families were evacuated as well.⁴⁹

⁴⁵Larina, *This I Cannot Forget*, p. 212.

⁴⁶Kuusinen, *Before and After Stalin*, p. 34.

⁴⁷Kuusinen, *Before and After Stalin*, pp. 34–35.

⁴⁸Decree, Trotsky, ‘To the Peasants and Workers in Kazan Guberniia’, 27 August 1918, in Martin McCauley, ed., *The Russian Revolution and the Soviet State 1917–1921. Documents*. (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1975), p. 150.

⁴⁹Donald J. Raleigh, ‘Languages of Power: How the Saratov Bolsheviks Imagined Their Enemies’, in *Slavic Review*, 1998, Vol. 57, No. 2, p. 343; Fedor Il’ich Dan, *Two Years of Wandering: A Menshevik Leader in Lenin’s Russia*, trans., ed., and introduced by Francis King (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 2016), p. 103 and p. 86.

The rationing system in place in the Civil War took into account the extra needs of families.⁵⁰

On 18 November 1917, Sovnarkom passed a policy ‘On the Remuneration of People’s Commissars, Senior Government Employees and Officials’. It stated that commissars were to be paid up to 500 roubles a month with ‘an allowance of 100 rubles for each member of the family unable to work’.⁵¹ One observer described the distribution of resources within the Party:

You cannot make money for yourself by trading, or by exploiting the work of another. You must be, usually, in state service, either in state industry or government office. If you get a wage higher than a certain sum, which was once almost nothing, but is now nearly fifty dollars a month, you must divide the surplus with the Party Treasury, which is used for the sick and dependents of the Party. [...] A Communist friend of mine held two jobs, in order to make ends meet in his family, which contained two children. [...] He had to give 15 of his 55 [dollars] to the Party. But if he needed extra help for his children or sanitarium care for himself in illness, he was entitled to go to the Party schools or the Party sanitariums. The Party is like one solid family, pooling its resources and uniting its forces.⁵²

More specifically, members of the Party were regularly prepared to write on behalf of a comrade in need, as well as to extend their help and support to that comrade’s family. Lenin wrote letters requesting medical treatment, increased rations and fuel for numerous comrades and their families, including the Ermakovs, the Lepeshinskiis, the Adoratskiis, the Emel’ianov family who had sheltered Lenin in 1917, and for Inessa Armand and her family.⁵³ A typical letter, written by Lenin in May

⁵⁰Letter, Lenin to A.Y. Badaev, 16 May 1920, in *Lenin’s Collected Works*, Vol. 44, pp 375–376, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1920/may/16.htm>, last accessed 10 May 2017.

⁵¹*Lenin’s Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p. 333, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1918/may/23vdbb.htm>, last accessed 10 May 2017; John Reed, *Ten Days That Shook the World* (New York: Modern Library, 1935) p. 359.

⁵²Anna Louise Strong, *The First Time in History: Two Years of Russia’s New Life (August, 1921, to December, 1923)* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1924), pp. 56–57.

⁵³Letter, Lenin to L.B. Krasin, 4 October 1922, in *Lenin’s Collected Works*, Vol. 45, p. 573, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1922/oct/04.htm>, last accessed 11 May 2017; Letter, Lenin to N.P. Gorbunov, 26 January 1921, in *Lenin’s Collected Works*, Vol. 45, p. 75, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1921/>

1919, protested that his colleague in Sovnarkom, Aleksandr Dmitrievich Tsiurupa, was not earning enough money to feed his family of seven adequately and demanded that his salary should be doubled to 4000 roubles and that 5000 roubles should be given to his family, who had ‘arrived from Ufa *without clothing*’.⁵⁴ He requested medical treatment for the daughter of Margarita Vasil’evna Fofana on the grounds that the latter was a ‘loyal’ Party comrade and had hidden Lenin in her apartment in October 1917.⁵⁵ This willingness to support comrades even extended to socialists and their families abroad, including Bela Kun in Stockholm and Karl Liebknecht’s wife’s family in Berlin, as well as remaining members of the People’s Will and the parents of comrades.⁵⁶ When the father of Suren Spandarian wrote to Lenin in 1921 asking for assistance to travel from Paris to the Soviet Union, Lenin immediately wrote a

[jan/26c.htm](http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1920/apr/06.htm), last accessed 11 May 2017; Letter, Lenin to I.I. Khodorovsky, 6 April 1920, in *Lenin’s Collected Works*, Vol. 44, p. 366, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1920/apr/06.htm>, last accessed 11 May 2017; Letter, Lenin to Comrades Stomoniakov, Lutovinov, Krasin, Vorovskii, Kerzhentsev, Lomonosov, Litvinov, and others, 19 November 1921, in *Lenin’s Collected Works*, Vol. 45, p. 379, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1921/nov/19b.htm>, last accessed 11 May 2017; Letter, Lenin to the Administration of Health Resorts and Sanatoria of the Caucasus, 17 August 1920, in *Lenin’s Collected Works*, Vol. 44, p. 417, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1920/aug/17.htm>, last accessed 11 May 2017 and letter, Lenin to Theodore Rothstein, 13 August 1921, *Lenin’s Collected Works*, Vol. 45, pp. 254–255, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1921/aug/13d.htm>, last accessed 11 May 2017.

⁵⁴Letter, Lenin to the Presidium of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, 15 May 1919, in *Lenin’s Collected Works*, Vol. 44, p. 230, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1919/may/15c.htm>, last accessed 11 May 2017. Lenin’s emphasis.

⁵⁵Letter, Lenin to V.M. Molotov for the RCP(B) CC Secretariat, 17 January 1922, in *Lenin’s Collected Works*, Vol. 45, pp. 439–440, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1922/jan/17b.htm>, last accessed 11 May 2017.

⁵⁶Letter, Lenin to P.M. Kerzhentsev, 13 April 1922, in *Lenin’s Collected Works*, Vol. 45, p. 530, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1922/apr/13.htm>, last accessed 11 May 2017; Letter, Lenin to Karl Radek, March, written not earlier than 23 March 1920, in *Lenin’s Collected Works*, Vol. 44, p. 360, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1920/mar/23.htm>, last accessed 11 May 2017; Letter, Lenin to the People’s Commissariat for Agriculture and the People’s Commissariat for Food, 22 June 1920, in *Lenin’s Collected Works*, Vol. 44, pp. 390–391, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1920/jun/22b.htm>, last accessed 11 May 2017.

letter arranging for such support on the basis that he was ‘the father of a prominent revolutionary’.⁵⁷

This was a role played by numerous men at the top of the Bolshevik elite. Kalinin, now the official head of the Soviet state, was known as ‘Papa’ Kalinin because he regularly gave ‘help in hardship cases’.⁵⁸ Anna Larina remembered that ‘so many people appealed to Larin for help in finding work that his involvement reached such proportions that his office was jokingly called Larin’s Employment Agency’.⁵⁹ Bukharin could also be turned to for support and help, as could Ordzhonikidze.⁶⁰ Stalin received numerous requests for help from his family. As Svetlana remembered:

Grandmother [...] always had a pile of complaints and requests that had to do with practical matters. In the old days she used to go to Lenin, who knew and respected the whole family, and later she turned to my father. [...] My mother had all sorts of scruples about appealing to my father on her parents’ behalf. And so Grandmother, who was altogether unable to cope, frequently turned directly to my father with her requests. ‘Ay, Josef, imagine, I can’t get vinegar anywhere!’ My father would burst out

⁵⁷Letter, Lenin to V.M. Molotov for the RCP(B) CC Secretariat, 11 June 1921, in *Lenin’s Collected Works*, Vol. 45, pp 184–185, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1921/jun/11.htm>, last accessed 11 May 2017. See also letter, Lenin to N.A. Semashko, 25 September 1920, in *Lenin’s Collected Works*, Vol. 44, p. 436, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1920/sep/25c.htm>, last accessed 11 May 2017; Letter, Lenin to M.I. Kalinin, 16 September 1920, in *Lenin’s Collected Works*, Vol. 44, p. 432, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1920/sep/16.htm>, last accessed 11 May 2017; Letter, Lenin to L.B. Kamenev, dictated by telephone on 1 January 1922, in *Lenin’s Collected Works*, Vol. 45, p. 425, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1922/jan/01.htm>, last accessed 11 May 2017; Telegram, V.I. Lenin to M.Kh. Poliakov, 6 December 1921, in *Lenin’s Collected Works*, Vol. 45, p. 404, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1921/dec/06c.htm>, last accessed 11 May 2017; Letter, Lenin to V.M. Molotov for the RCP(B) CC Secretariat, 17 January 1922, in *Lenin’s Collected Works*, Vol. 45, pp 439–440, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1922/jan/17b.htm>, last accessed 11 May 2017.

⁵⁸Alliluyeva, *Twenty Letters*, p. 250.

⁵⁹Larina, *This I Cannot Forget*, pp. 218–219.

⁶⁰See for example, letter, N.I. Bukharin to D.B. Riazanov, 20 July 1922, in RGASPI, f. 124, o. 1, ed. khr. 28, l. 1; Easter, ‘Personal Networks’, pp. 567–568.

laughing and my mother would fume. My father would have the whole thing settled in a second.⁶¹

Such assistance for Bolshevik families was systematized by the establishment of the Society of Old Bolsheviks on 28 January 1922. To join, an individual had to have become a Bolshevik before 1905, though this was later relaxed to before 1917, and membership rose from 64 in 1922 to 10,500 in 1925.⁶² Members could appeal to the Society for help with needs ranging from resources to access to education and employment, but as with the cases discussed above, good Party credentials justified requests for support from families. Ol'ga Pavlovna Nogina petitioned that she, her 72-year-old mother, 20-year-old son and 16-year-old daughter be attached to closed distribution (i.e. given better rations).⁶³ Vladimir Bonch-Bruевич appealed to the Society asking that his stepson Iosef Chernomordik be given six weeks' leave as he was suffering from a serious heart condition in 1934.⁶⁴

Inevitably, however, such connections were also used to gain more than protection from privation. It was not long before networks were being used to access greater privileges. Lenin was not above using his position to expedite his family's travel, writing on one occasion: 'My sister, Maria Il'inichna Ul'ianova, has gone to the Crimea with Bukharin, his wife and a few other comrades. They have a special coach. Could you not give orders that if the passengers ask, this coach should be attached to military trains *in order to speed it up?* (There and back).'⁶⁵ Molotov recalled that in 1922, when his wife Zhemchuzhina was 'undergoing medical treatment in Czechoslovakia', he 'visited her and decided to take

⁶¹Svetlana Alliluyeva, *Twenty Letters to a Friend*, trans. by Priscilla Johnson (London: World Books, 1968), p. 56.

⁶²Kotkin, *Stalin*, p. 453 and p. 816.

⁶³Ol'ga Pavlovna Nogina, 'Zaiavlenie', 1930, in RGASPI, f. 124, o. 1, ed. khr. 1401, l. 13.

⁶⁴Letter, Vladimir Dmitrievich Bonch-Bruевич to Society of Old Bolsheviks, 15 June 1934, in RGASP, f. 124, o. 1, ed. khr. 237, l. 30. See also letter, Avgusta Iakovlevna Degtiareva-Boksberg (Zonta) to Society of Old Bolsheviks, 6 June 1930, in RGASPI, f. 124, o. 1, ed. khr. 572, l. 8.

⁶⁵Letter, Lenin to Sklyansky, 9 April 1921, in McCauley, *The Russian Revolution*, p. 197. Lenin's emphasis.

advantage of my being abroad to go to Italy'.⁶⁶ Nina Beria, who worked as a chemist at the Moscow Timiriazev Agricultural Academy, once used state transport obtained through her husband to gather soil samples for her professional research.⁶⁷

That family networks continued to play a role in the Party's activities is perhaps best indicated by the anxiety expressed about it. Even as the use of family networks became common practice in the new regime, efforts were made to try to prevent special privileges being given to Party members and above all nepotism. Lenin himself sometimes faced resistance to his efforts to help particular families, for example when he intervened on behalf of the Old Bolshevik Grigorii L'vovich Shklovskii and his family. Although Lenin had received written confirmation from the Central Committee approving his request that the Shklovskiis be allowed to move to Berlin, where Grigorii would work at the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade, he soon had to write to Molotov complaining that this decision had been 'sabotaged' by Iurii Khrisanfovich Lutovinov of the Soviet Central Executive Committee and Boris Spiridonovich Stomoniakov, the Soviet government's trade representative in Berlin, with both complaining that Lenin was giving 'patronage' to Shklovskii. Lenin rejected their position on two grounds. Firstly, Shklovskii was 'an honest man, a Bolshevik since the first (1905) revolution' who had been known to Lenin, Zinoviev and 'all the Bolsheviks' in Switzerland before 1917. Secondly, he made it clear that the family situation of the man should also be taken into account: 'Shklovskii is absolutely of no use in Russia. His family (many children, a sick wife) has not adjusted in Russia. Over here it's nothing but fret and worry.'⁶⁸

Lenin's complaint was upheld and Shklovskii and his family were allowed to go abroad.⁶⁹ It is possible that Lutovinov and Stomoniakov misunderstood Lenin's motives for supporting the Shklovskiis. Lenin always had his eye fixed firmly on practicality and the ability of Party

⁶⁶ *Molotov Remembers*, p. 145.

⁶⁷ Beria, Sergo, *Beria, My Father: Inside Stalin's Kremlin*, ed. by Françoise Thom, trans. by Brian Pearce (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd, 2001), pp. 159–160.

⁶⁸ Letter, Lenin to V.M. Molotov, written in June, not before 4th, 1921, in *Lenin's Collected Works*, Vol. 45, pp. 175–176, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1921/jun/04b.htm>, last accessed 11 May 2017.

⁶⁹ *Lenin's Collected Works*, Vol. 45, pp. 175–176, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1921/jun/04b.htm>, last accessed 11 May 2017.

members to work. On at least two occasions, Lenin made it clear that grief over a family bereavement was not to interfere with Party tasks. When Lenin wrote to condole with V.A. Obukh on the death of his son, he concluded: ‘You need all your strength to help you both bear this blow, worn out as you are by overwork. And bear it you must, for we have so few functionaries.’⁷⁰ The meaning is clear. A father might grieve, but not take time off. He wrote much the same thing to the writer Aleksandr Serafimovich Popov, who had ‘lost his son during the Civil War’:

My sister has just told me of the terrible misfortune which has overtaken you. Allow me to give you the very warmest handshake, and to wish you courage and firmness of spirit. I very much regret that I have not been able to fulfill my desire to see you more often and to become better acquainted. But your books, and what my sister has often told me, have aroused a profound affection for you in me, and I very much want to say to you how *necessary* your work is for the workers and for all of us, and how essential it is now for you to be firm, in order to overcome your grief and *force* yourself to return to work.⁷¹

Lenin’s motives in helping families may have been driven by Party considerations, but many feared that patronage was usually offered for less scrupulous reasons. Thus, as Lara Cook has discussed, in the summer of 1918, legislation drawn up by the collegium at the head of the Commissariat of Labour was enacted ‘forbidding relatives to work together in the same Soviet institutions’.⁷² Relatives were defined as those ‘related by blood or marriage’ and the aim was to ‘address nepotism and corruption in state institutions and increase efficiency’.⁷³ The decree itself caused the breakdown of work at the Commissariat of

⁷⁰Letter, Lenin to V.A. Obukh, 5 June 1920, in *Lenin’s Collected Works*, Vol. 44, pp. 384–385, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1920/jun/05b.htm>, last accessed 11 May 2017.

⁷¹Letter, Lenin to A.S. Serafimovich, 21 May 1920, in *Lenin’s Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p. 448, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1920/may/21ass.htm>, last accessed 11 May 2017.

⁷²Cook, ‘Collegiality in the People’s Commissariats’, p. 12; Footnote, *Lenin’s Collected Works*, Vol. 44, p. 200, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1919/mar/04.htm>, last accessed 11 May 2017.

⁷³Cook, ‘Collegiality in the People’s Commissariats’, p. 12.

Labour because its commissar, Shliapnikov, overturned the decree and reinstated two of his own relatives, his niece and his brother-in-law, to their posts in the Commissariat.⁷⁴ Both had been his comrades in the underground during the First World War.⁷⁵ The collegium led by Nogin objected to this strongly. Interestingly, one of Nogin's allies in this dispute was Viktor Alekseevich Ratus-Zenkovich, who was his brother-in-law, but not subject to dismissal due to an exception to the rule included by the legislation. If the relative was an 'irreplaceable specialist' then he or she would not be dismissed.⁷⁶ Similarly, exceptions were also made 'in subordinate and elective positions'.⁷⁷ After the matter was arbitrated by the Party Central Committee the decree was made law and both Shliapnikov and Nogin were reassigned.⁷⁸

The instinct to support family members ran deep, however, and it was not long before others were trying to circumvent the legislation. Lenin's secretary, Lydia Aleksandrovna Fotieva, approached Vladimir Il'ich asking if Nadezhda Allilueva might be recruited to work for the Sovnarkom Secretariat. Nadezhda was technically not allowed to do this since her sister Anna already worked there. Lenin replied to Fotieva's inquiry that 'Decrees cannot be *bypassed*: the mere proposal invites prosecution', but added that 'an exception, though, can be put *through the Central Executive Committee*, and I advise doing this'.⁷⁹

Indeed, if anything the privileges of the Party elite and their families increased as Stalin consolidated his position after Lenin's death and the policy of wage levelling was swept away. Huge sums of state money were spent maintaining the luxurious lifestyles of leading Party members and their relatives, who were given the best accommodation, their own cinemas, dachas and access to exclusive medical care, food supplies

⁷⁴Cook, 'Collegiality in the People's Commissariats', p. 13; Barbara C. Allen, *Alexander Shlyapnikov, 1885–1937: Life of an Old Bolshevik* (Chicago, IL.: Haymarket Books, 2015), p. 119.

⁷⁵Allen, *Alexander Shlyapnikov*, p. 119.

⁷⁶Cook, 'Collegiality in the People's Commissariats', p. 12.

⁷⁷Bertram W. Maxwell, *The Soviet State: A Study of Bolshevik Rule* (Topeka, Kansas: Steves & Wayburn, 1934), p. 134 and p. 351.

⁷⁸Cook, 'Collegiality in the People's Commissariats', p. 17.

⁷⁹Letter, Lenin to Lydia Fotieva, 4 March 1919, in *Lenin's Collected Works*, Vol. 44, p. 200, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1919/mar/04.htm>, last accessed 11 May 2017; see also Kun, *Stalin*, p. 213.

and resorts.⁸⁰ Importantly for this study, it is worth noting that the distribution of goods, services, privileges and protection became a masculine preserve. In the underground, women had generally been in charge of Party members' welfare, seeing to accommodation, food, clothing, even travel and documentation. After the revolution, this became the domain of men, who could use the distribution of 'financial assistance, food, housing, employment and education' to 'reinforce network ties' and their own power bases.⁸¹ Thus Stalin and other leading Party figures 'often personally took care of distributing flats' amongst and organizing the holidays of Party members.⁸²

FAMILY LIFE AFTER 1917

One of the remarkable aspects of the October revolution is that the Bolsheviks remained true to their Party programme and issued decrees almost immediately to emancipate women. Women were given full political rights, as well as equal access to education and employment. Women gained the right to divorce and illegitimacy was abolished. Marriage was made a secular affair and the Party committed to helping and supporting pregnant women and mothers. Efforts were made to develop nursery facilities as well as communal canteens to liberate women from childcare and domestic chores, thus freeing them to enter the workplace. The Zhenotdel was established to campaign on women's behalf and to raise the political consciousness of women.

Those in favour of women's emancipation were soon to discover, however, that changing the place and structure of family life in Russian society was extremely difficult. Many, especially amongst the peasantry, misunderstood and resisted efforts to improve women's access to divorce and state attempts to assist with childcare. They resented the erosion of traditions of family life, with women fearing that it simply gave men licence to be sexually promiscuous and to avoid their domestic responsibilities. Others feared that the state was attempting to take their children

⁸⁰Kun, *Stalin*, pp. 262–263 and p. 324; Kotkin, *Stalin*, p. 467; Kees Boterbloem, *The Life and Times of Andrei Zhdanov, 1896–1948* (Montréal, Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), p. 62.

⁸¹Easter, 'Personal Networks', p. 567.

⁸²Kun, *Stalin*, p. 259.

from them. Resistance was even offered by the up and coming (male) Party members who wanted to recreate the trappings of the former elite, which included a traditional home life complete with a stay-at-home wife. Lenin noted to Clara Zetkin how few men helped their wives with housework and childcare at home, thinking it would undermine the 'privilege and dignity of the husband'.⁸³

Indeed, while many Party women embraced their emancipation, taking on posts in the government, Party or further afield, family life became more settled in the post-revolutionary period than it had been in the underground. Many families resisted the opportunity to make use of innovations such as communal dining in Party and government buildings, preferring to eat privately, including the Sverdlovs with their young children, Lenin's family and Stalin's, though their food was still retrieved from the canteens.⁸⁴ Few elite families took advantage of the new nurseries, preferring instead to continue to employ nannies.⁸⁵ A good number of the leading Party figures were dedicated family men, though this did not mean they were not hardened implementers of Stalin's will. The Soviet prime minister, Aleksei Rykov, was 'family oriented' and 'according to his daughter Natalia would usually spend his time at home with his family after work'.⁸⁶ Lazar Moiseevich Kaganovich is said to have lived 'an exemplary family life', while Andrei Aleksandrovich Zhdanov and his wife Zinaida Aleksandrovna 'doted on Iurii', their son.⁸⁷ Even Ezhov, chief of the NKVD, had lunch every day with his second wife, Evgenia, before going to work.⁸⁸

Extended households and friendly relations between them remained common, facilitated by the fact that most Party members lived in close proximity to one another. By 1918, for example, the Kremlin housed 1800 people, consisting of Party members and their families, while

⁸³Clara Zetkin, 'Lenin on the Women's Question (An Interview with Lenin on the Woman Question)', at www.marxists.org.

⁸⁴Arthur Ransome, *Russia in 1919* (New York: B.W. Huebsch, 1919), p. 19; Andreyev, *Cold Spring*, p. 236; Elizaveta Drabkina, *V vosemnadsatom godu. Rasskazy*. (Moscow: Pravda, 1960), p. 5; Kotkin, *Stalin*, p. 595.

⁸⁵Beria, *Beria*, p. 12; Kun, *Stalin*, p. 351; Larina, *This I Cannot Forget*, p. 168.

⁸⁶Kun, *Stalin*, p. 282.

⁸⁷Kun, *Stalin*, p. 229; Boterbloem, *The Life and Times of Andrei Zhdanov*, p. 62.

⁸⁸Sebag Montefiore, *Stalin*, p. 241.

others were accommodated in converted hotels.⁸⁹ Kalinin and his wife Ekaterina Lorberg ‘shared a communal apartment’ in the Kremlin with Trotsky, while Anna Larina and her husband, Nikolai Ivanovich Bukharin, shared their home with Bukharin’s invalid first wife, Nadezhda Mikhailovna, whom he had divorced in the early 1920s.⁹⁰ Svetlana Allilueva remembered that the ‘old Kremlin’ of the 1920s ‘was full of people, including children’.⁹¹

Socializing continued to be organized around family life. The regular celebrations of New Year that had been a feature of the pre-revolutionary period continued after 1917, as did the tradition of shared holidays, sometime at dachas supplied by the state.⁹² The dachas at Zubalovo were a hub for Stalin’s extended family, the Ordzhonikidzes, the Mikoians and the Voroshilovs.⁹³ Svetlana Allilueva also remembered fondly ‘noisy and cheerful’ family gatherings at Stalin’s second dacha at Kuntsevo.⁹⁴ Larina and her family regularly holidayed with the families of other prominent Bolsheviks. Thus in August 1928 she found herself in Georgia on holiday having dinner with Beria, and in 1932 vacationed in the Crimea with the families of Rykov and Valerian Vladimirovich Kuibyshev.⁹⁵

Unsurprisingly, there were intermarriages amongst comrades and between families. Beria met his wife Nina while in prison in Georgia in 1920 during the Civil War. She was visiting her uncle and, taking pity on Beria, shared her food with him. They married in 1921.⁹⁶ Larina noted that it was only due to the close friendship between her father and

⁸⁹Kotkin, *Stalin*, p. 263.

⁹⁰Sheila Fitzpatrick, *On Stalin’s Team The Years of Living Dangerously in Soviet Politics* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2015), p. 29; Larina, *This I Cannot Forget*, p. 140. Bukharin had a second wife too, Esfir Isaevna Gurvich, also from the 1920s and a daughter with her, Svetlana or Kozechka.

⁹¹Alliluyeva, *Twenty Letters*, p. 238.

⁹²Oleg V. Khlevniuk, *In Stalin’s Shadow: The Career of ‘Sergo’ Ordzhonikidze*, ed. by Donald J. Raleigh and Kathy S. Transchel, trans. by David J. Norlander (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1995), p. 64; Roy Medvedev, ‘The Murder of Bukharin’, in Zhores A. Medvedev and Roy A. Medvedev, *The Unknown Stalin*, trans. by Ellen Dahrendorf (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003), p. 264; Sebag Montefiore, *Stalin*, pp. 74–75.

⁹³Kotkin, *Stalin*, p. 467; Fitzpatrick, *On Stalin’s Team*, pp. 66–67.

⁹⁴Alliluyeva, *Twenty Letters*, pp. 26–27.

⁹⁵Larina, *This I Cannot Forget*, p. 188.

⁹⁶Beria, *Beria*, pp. 4–5.

Bukharin that she ended up marrying Nikolai Ivanovich, while Molotov portrayed the post-revolutionary period as more conducive to marriage than the underground.⁹⁷ He met Polina Semenova Zhemchuzhina at an international women's conference in Petrograd and married her in 1921. He stated: 'Before this I had little time for personal life. I was a bachelor. My suitcase was always with me and I traveled ...'⁹⁸ Andrei Aleksandrovich Zhdanov and his wife Zinaida Aleksandrovna Kondrat'eva married in September 1917 and had a child in 1919.⁹⁹ Later, the children of Party leaders also intermarried as Alexopoulos described: 'Stalin's son, Vasili, married Semën Timoshenko's daughter, [...] Gorky's granddaughter married Lavrentii Beria's son, and Anastas Mikoian's son married Nikolai Kuznetsov's daughter; Stalin wanted his daughter, Svetlana, to marry the son of one of his comrades (either Sergo Beria, Stepan Mikoian, or Iurii Zhdanov), and she eventually married Iurii.'¹⁰⁰ Beria's son, Sergo, married Gorky's granddaughter Marfa.¹⁰¹

In perhaps the greatest indication of the closeness of these families, adoptions of children orphaned by the revolution and Civil War were common. As Sebag Montefiore put it:

Stalin adopted Artëm when his father, a famous revolutionary, was killed in 1921 and his mother was ill. Similarly Mikoian adopted the sons of Sergei Shaumian, the hero of Baku. [...] Later both Kaganovich and Ezhov [...] adopted orphans.¹⁰²

Kliment Efremovich Voroshilov and his wife Ekaterina Davidovna adopted the three- and five-year-old children of Mikhail Vasil'evich Frunze after his death in 1925 was followed quickly by his wife Sof'ia Alekseevna's demise.¹⁰³ Similarly, Zinaida Pavlovna

⁹⁷Larina, *This I Cannot Forget*, p. 220.

⁹⁸Molotov *Remembers*, p. 92, p. 95 and p. 98.

⁹⁹Boterbloem, *The Life and Times of Andrei Zhdanov*, p. 20.

¹⁰⁰Golfo Alexopoulos, 'Stalin and the Politics of Kinship: Practices of Collective Punishment, 1920s–1940s', in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 2008, Vol. 50, No. 1, p. 97.

¹⁰¹Beria, *Beria*, p. 191.

¹⁰²Montefiore, *Stalin*, p. 10.

¹⁰³S.M. Budënnii, *Proidënnii put'* (Moscow: Voenizdat, 1965), Vol. 2, p. 168.

Krzhizhanovskaia-Nevezorova took on the care of her niece.¹⁰⁴ Adoptions of children in need of assistance were also known. The Bolshevik Mariia Prokof'evna Timofeeva-Reingol'dts adopted one girl and also financially supported seven other children whom she had met through her work at Narkompros and the Zhenotdel.¹⁰⁵

The tensions which families had experienced in the underground over expectations of male and female roles remained, however, and were sometimes intensified given the backdrop of the official emancipation of women. This was particularly the case for Nadezhda Allilueva. Raised above all as a Bolshevik revolutionary by parents who cooperated in all revolutionary activity, she perhaps expected that her marriage to Stalin would offer the same sharing of tasks. Instead, she found that Stalin had more traditional expectations about a woman's role, especially once she became pregnant. After the birth of her son Vasili in 1921, she was 'expelled during a Party purge for political "passivity"'.¹⁰⁶ Kotkin argues that only Stalin could have had the power to sanction the expulsion of such a highly placed individual.¹⁰⁷ Nadezhda did not submit, however, and turned to Lenin for help. He intervened in the strongest terms:

I consider it necessary to point out that I have known the whole Alliluev family, that is the father, the mother and the two daughters, since before the October Revolution. In particular, during the July days, when Zinoviev and I had to hide out and the danger was very great, it is this family that hid me, and the four of them, with the complete confidence of the Party Bolsheviks at the time, not only gave us both asylum, but also rendered a number of other secret services without which we would not have been able to escape Kerensky's bloodhounds. It could very well be that in view of Nadezhda Sergeevna Allilueva's youth, this circumstance has not been made known to the commission. Nor am I aware whether the commission was able, in examining the case of Nadezhda Sergeevna Allilueva, to make a comparison of the facts about her father, who had worked in various capacities in assisting the Party long before the revolution, and had,

¹⁰⁴Zinaida Pavlovna Krzhizhanovskaia-Nevezorova, membership questionnaire, in RGASPI, f. 124, o. 1, ed. khr. 980, l. 1.

¹⁰⁵'Pamiati M.P. Timofeevoi-Reingol'dts', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1924, No. 5, p. 12.

¹⁰⁶Kotkin, *Stalin*, pp. 467–468.

¹⁰⁷Kotkin, *Stalin*, p. 468.

I have heard, rendered important services to the illegal Bolsheviks under tsarism.¹⁰⁸

Nadia was restored to candidate status, but only regained full membership in 1924, this time by appealing to another Old Bolshevik, Ivan Radchenko, for help:¹⁰⁹

Dear Ivan Ivanovich! I have an important request. If you have no objection, I earnestly ask you to give me a recommendation to enable me to go from candidate membership to full membership in the Communist Party. [...] The recommendation should be very simple and written on a separate sheet of paper. [...] Forgive me for bothering you, and I thank you very much in advance. Greetings to Alisa Ivanovna and to Alëshka.¹¹⁰

Aino Kuusinen worked productively with her spouse in the Comintern, but when her marriage broke down and she tried to change jobs, her new boss wanted her to ask her husband if he would agree to her transfer. Kuusinen agreed she might take a new job, but refused to consent to a divorce.¹¹¹ Svetlana Allilueva paints a picture of an unhappy wife in Nina Beria, who despite her own successful, professional career, was expected to ‘play the part of wife and hostess’. She ‘sometimes cried and complained to [Svetlana] about her unhappy, humiliating life’.¹¹² Nina’s son remembers her distress when Beria was assigned to the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for the Struggle against Counter-Revolution and Sabotage (Cheka) rather than being allowed to pursue his professional training as an engineer. She called his revolutionary work ‘accursed’, claiming: ‘He would have made an excellent engineer. We should have had a normal life and been happy.’¹¹³

As the last example highlights, the dictates of the Party were often more important than the needs of family members, and this attitude was promoted throughout the 1920s alongside the image of a fraternal

¹⁰⁸Letter, Lenin to P.A. Zalutsky and A.A. Solts, dictated by telephone on 20 December 1921, in *Lenin’s Collected Works*, Vol. 45, pp 413–414, at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1921/dec/20.htm>, last accessed 11 May 2017.

¹⁰⁹Kotkin, *Stalin*, pp. 467–468.

¹¹⁰Alliluyeva, *Twenty Letters*, p. 101.

¹¹¹Kuusinen, *Before and After Stalin*, pp. 103–104.

¹¹²Alliluyeva, *Only One Year*, p. 387; see also Beria, *Beria*, p. 17.

¹¹³Beria, *Beria*, p. 6.

community of revolutionaries prevalent in propaganda at the time.¹¹⁴ On the other hand, as Figes has noted, in the 1920s, Party family life came increasingly under the spotlight and was found wanting. It became ‘a commonplace that the Bolshevik made a bad husband and father because the demands of the Party took him away from the home’.¹¹⁵ They were also prone to ‘abandon wives and families’, this behaviour compounded by the Party’s acceptance of unregistered marriages, open marriages, divorces, affairs and multiple marriages, as well as tolerance of sexual harassment.¹¹⁶ For example, no one commented on Valerian Kuibyshev’s or Bukharin’s multiple marriages, and Party leaders ignored the fact that Beria used his position as NKVD chief to regularly sexually assault and rape women.¹¹⁷ Some male Party members had not even reunited with their pre-revolutionary families. Despite working in close proximity to his daughter in the Smolny Institute in October 1917, Sergei Gusev made no effort to seek her out, despite having not seen her for 12 years when he left her, aged five, in the care of her mother.¹¹⁸ Women too came under attack, mainly for their work-related absences from the home, though in fact many still found themselves caring for their children.¹¹⁹

As the 1920s gave way to the 1930s, the state faced a soaring divorce rate and declining birth rate, and so more conservative family policies were introduced, adding obstacles to divorce and making abortion illegal again. In propaganda, there was a distinct return to the celebration of the patriarchal family and even a celebration of devoted love between spouses, yet Stalin also came to be portrayed as the national father figure

¹¹⁴David Priestland, *Stalinism and the Politics of Mobilization: Ideas, Power and Terror in Inter-war Russia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 291; Dinko Tomasic, ‘Interrelations Between Bolshevik Ideology and the Structure of Soviet Society’, in *American Sociological Review*, 1951, Vol. 16, No. 2, p. 145; Alexopoulos, ‘Stalin and the Politics of Kinship’, pp. 97–98.

¹¹⁵Orlando Figes, *The Whisperers: Private Life in Stalin’s Russia* (London: Allen Lane, 2007), p. 11.

¹¹⁶Figes, *The Whisperers*, p. 11; Paul Scheffer, ‘Stalin’s Power’, in *Foreign Affairs*, 1930, Vol. 8, No. 4, p. 132; Sebag Montefiore, *Stalin*, p. 177.

¹¹⁷Fitzpatrick, *On Stalin’s Team*, pp. 27–28; Stephen F. Cohen, *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution: A Political Biography, 1883–1938* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980); Beria, *Beria*, p. 27; Sebag Montefiore, *Stalin*, p. 519.

¹¹⁸Figes, *The Whisperers*, pp. 1–2.

¹¹⁹Figes, *The Whisperers*, p. 11; Kotkin, *Stalin*, pp. 594–595; E. Preobrazhenskii, ‘Evgeniia Bogdanovna Bosh’, in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1925, No. 2, p. 13.

to whom all owed their loyalty, regardless of family ties.¹²⁰ Family life was not to distract from loyalty to the Party and Stalin, so while, as Figes has pointed out, in the 1930s having a family was an acceptable part of a Soviet citizen's personal life, it was, under no circumstances, to be a private one.¹²¹

Within the Party there was 'a return to conventional and even rather prudish sexual attitudes' grounded in monogamy for both husband and wife, and the restoration of traditional gender roles.¹²² Tolerance of independent wives and sexually emancipated women ended, and men found themselves attacked for being henpecked, for divorcing too often or for debauchery.¹²³ In 1938, when her husband was called to Moscow to become the deputy head of the NKVD, Nina Beria tried to remain in Georgia. However, on hearing of this Stalin 'became very angry', 'sharply rebuked' Beria and sent the commander of his bodyguard, Nikolai Sidorovich Vlasik, to escort the whole family to Moscow.¹²⁴ Voroshilov lost respect amongst his peers for being 'bullied by his wife', as did Molotov for his devotion to his wife Zhemchuzhina.¹²⁵

Yet in some ways the family pattern amongst the Party elite seems to have moved in the opposite direction to propaganda. In the 1920s, regardless of its non-traditional nature, the family was an important element of Party life, with wives and children a constant presence. After the death of Stalin's wife Nadezhda in 1932, however, Stalin increasingly isolated himself from his family. Many members of his Alliluev extended

¹²⁰Priestland, *Stalinism*, p. 291. Catriona Kelly, 'Riding the Magic Carpet: Children and Leader Cult in the Stalin Era', in *The Slavic and East European Journal*, 2005, Vol. 49, No. 2, Special Forum Issue: Russian Children's Literature: Changing Paradigms, p. 219; Tomasic, 'Interrelations', p. 145; Alexopoulos, 'Stalin and the Politics of Kinship', pp. 97–98; Robert W. Thurston, 'The Soviet Family during the Great Terror, 1935–1941', in *Soviet Studies*, 1991, Vol. 43, No. 3, pp. 557–559; Cynthia Hooper, 'Trust in Terror? The Search for a Foolproof Science of Soviet Personnel' in *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 2013, Vol. 91, No. 1, Trust and Distrust in the USSR, p. 28.

¹²¹Figes, *The Whisperers*, p. 160; Jochen Hellbeck, 'Working, Struggling, Becoming: Stalin-Era Autobiographical Texts', in *The Russian Review*, 2001, Vol. 60, No. 3 (Jul., 2001), pp. 340–359.

¹²²Figes, *The Whisperers*, p. 161.

¹²³Sebag Montefiore, *Stalin*, p. 246; Fitzpatrick, 'Signals from Below', pp. 852–853; Beria, *Beria*, p. 161; Hooper, 'Trust in Terror?', p. 28.

¹²⁴Beria, *Beria*, p. 34.

¹²⁵Beria, *Beria*, p. 165 and p. 170.

family were banned from coming to his apartment, particularly once individuals connected to him began to be arrested.¹²⁶ The increasing pressure on women to perform traditional roles was designed to keep them contained at home and further isolated from the male political realm.

Similarly, men who seemed to prefer the company of women or their own non-Party friends rather than that of their male comrades were increasingly distrusted.¹²⁷ As Cynthia Hooper has argued, feelings of ‘intimacy, love or faith’ were thought to lead to ‘blindness and a weakening of vigilant [...] observation’, preventing individuals from seeing the hidden enemies standing in their midst.¹²⁸ Where before, in the underground, trust was extended to family members and friends if they had been recruited by and had a personal recommendation from a Party comrade, now there was a closing of ranks and a refusal to include individuals who were not proven Party members in their own right.¹²⁹ Molotov suggested that non-Party individuals could not be trusted and therefore opened up the Party to attack.¹³⁰

Thus, Molotov recalled scandals around the aforementioned Vlasik and Aleksandr Nikolaevich Poskrebyshev, the chief of Stalin’s chancellery, saying: ‘Women got Poskrebyshev and Vlasik into trouble.’¹³¹ Aleksandr Iakovlevich Arosev, the Soviet ambassador to Czechoslovakia, fell under suspicion for his marriage to a young non-Party Czechoslovak ballerina of Jewish descent, Gertrude Adol’fovna Freund.¹³² Avel Safronovich Enukidze faced criticism for his ‘dissolute lifestyle’ from the Politburo in March 1935.¹³³ As Party propaganda promoted traditional family life to the wider public, it seems that fraternal solidarity between male Party members and, above all, devotion to Stalin became paramount.

¹²⁶Alliluyeva, *Twenty Letters*, 139.

¹²⁷*Molotov Remembers*, p. 225, p. 274, p. 273 and pp. 281–283.

¹²⁸Hooper, ‘Trust in Terror?’, p. 28.

¹²⁹Scheffer, ‘Stalin’s Power’, p. 559.

¹³⁰*Molotov Remembers*, p. 225, p. 274, p. 273 and pp. 281–283.

¹³¹*Molotov Remembers*, p. 222.

¹³²David-Fox, *Showcasing the Great Experiment*, p. 79 and p. 298.

¹³³William Reswick, *I Dreamt Revolution* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1952), p. 161; Kun, *Stalin*, pp. 303–304.

Perhaps in response to the growing tension in Party life, there was a noticeable shift in the attitudes of Party members towards their children. Where previously children had been expected to follow in their parents' footsteps, now some parents encouraged their children to pursue non-Party careers. Sergo Beria claimed: 'What was essential for [my father] was to see me with a proper job and not about to become a Party official.'¹³⁴ Aleksandra Kollontai, who feared for her own life under Stalin, did her best to keep her son Mikhail, who worked in the USA as an engineer, out of the Soviet Union.¹³⁵ Svetlana Allilueva stated:

Almost none of the 'Kremlin children' followed in the political footsteps of their fathers. Olga Ul'ianova, Lenin's niece, became a chemist; so did Frunze's daughter. Kaganovich's daughter is an architect, Voroshilov's son an engineer, three of Mikoian's five sons and Andreev's son are air-plane designers, Zhdanov's son a chemist, Kuibyshev's son and Malenkov's daughter architects; while Shvernik's daughter is a television technician.¹³⁶

This exit of Party members' children from the political world of their parents signalled a great change to the family networks amongst Bolsheviks. So too did the growing distrust of family ties as a guarantee of political loyalty. The family networks which had played such an important role in the underground and in the building of the state now, in the 1930s, seemed to distract Party members from their dedication to political work and to Stalin, and any non-Party individuals joining a family through romantic attachments were seen as a threat. All of this would inform the Party's approach to internal enemies as the Terror began.

¹³⁴Beria, *Beria*, p. 35.

¹³⁵Clements, *Bolshevik Feminist*, p. 251.

¹³⁶Alliluyeva, *Only One Year*, p. 394.

Consequences: Families in Opposition After 1917

Not one of my experiences with Nikolai Ivanovich [Bukharin], even the kind that I treasure forever in memory—the first kiss, the birth of a child, the fleeting excitements of youth—was ever the embodiment of pure, light-hearted joy.

Invariably, our life together was burdened in unseen ways with the complex social climate of those years, the political discussions, debates, and dissensions, and finally the terror.

Anna Larina

(Anna Larina, *This I Cannot Forget: The Memoirs of Nikolai Bukharin's Widow*, introduction by Stephen F. Cohen, trans. by Gary Kern (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1994), p. 105).

If the families of Bolsheviks entered a new phase of life after the establishment of Soviet power, those families who belonged to oppositional groups continued to function in much the same way as they had before October 1917. As the quote from Larina above highlights, the personal and political remained as intertwined as they had been in the underground, but there was a new sense of worsening and deepening oppression. The Bolshevik seizure of power split the socialist parties, with only the Left Socialist Revolutionaries supporting the new Soviet regime. The Mensheviks and Right SRs, meanwhile, offered dissenting voices and sought ways to oppose the new government. For a brief time, between February and October 1917, the Mensheviks and SRs had been able to function openly. However, as the elections approached for the

Constituent Assembly, which the Provisional Government had promised and the Bolsheviks had agreed to call, socialist parties faced increasing restrictions on their ability to operate legally, publish their newspapers and campaign for support. Despite this, it quickly became apparent that the Bolsheviks would not win a majority in the Assembly. Lenin and his comrades, therefore, began laying the groundwork for its dissolution, calling it a remnant of bourgeois, and therefore incomplete, democracy.

The Constituent Assembly met on 5 January 1918 but was dissolved that night by the Bolsheviks. If it had not been clear before, it was now certain that the new state would be as, if not more, intolerant of dissent than the Tsarist regime. Freedoms so hard won in the February revolution—of speech, association and the press—were eroded or abolished altogether. By the summer of 1918, the Bolsheviks had closed down all opposition newspapers and decreed that all future publications would now be approved and supervised by the state.¹ Provisions were also made to ensure that oppositional publications printed illegally and works imported from abroad were kept under close scrutiny.² Freedom of association was heavily curtailed owing to the system of registration in place, and by August 1922 ‘the entire matter of right of assembly and organization was regulated’.³ Finally, elected representatives of the Mensheviks and SRs were removed from both the national and provincial Soviets (the Bolsheviks’ erstwhile coalition partners, the Left SRs, having resigned from Sovnarkom, the Council of People’s Commissars, in March 1918).⁴

¹Letter, F.I. Dan to P.B. Axelrod, 8 January 1918, Petrograd, in *Dear Comrades: Menshevik Reports on the Bolshevik Revolution and the Civil War*, ed. and trans. by Vladimir N. Brovkin (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1991), p. 59; Sarah Davies, ‘The Crime of “Anti-Soviet Agitation” in the Soviet Union in the 1930’s’, in *Cahiers du Monde Russe*, 1998, Vol. 39, No. 1/2, Les années 30: Nouvelles directions de la recherche, p. 149.

²Bertram W. Maxwell, *The Soviet State: A Study of Bolshevik Rule* (Topeka, Kansas: Steves & Wayburn, 1934), pp. 225–227.

³Maxwell, *The Soviet State*, p. 208.

⁴E.H. Carr, ‘The Origin and Status of the Cheka’, in *Soviet Studies*, 1958, Vol. 10, No. 1, p. 3; Lutz Häfner, ‘The Assassination of Count Mirbach and the “July Uprising” of the Left Socialist Revolutionaries in Moscow, 1918’, in *The Russian Review*, 1991, Vol. 50, No. 3, p. 326; Alexander Barmine, *One Who Survived, the Life Story of a Russian under the Soviets* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1945), p. 66; ‘Introduction’, in Abraham Ascher, ed., *The Mensheviks in the Russian Revolution* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), p. 32.

Enforcing these policies was the role of first the Cheka and then its successor organization, the GPU, which came into being on 8 February 1922 and was to be overseen by the Politburo and the Central Executive Committee of the Party.⁵ Both had the power to arrest suspects, as well as to imprison and exile them without trial. Both had powers to execute summarily.⁶

As the Bolsheviks extended their control over the state by securing victory in the Civil War, oppositional socialists found that legitimate avenues for engagement, debate and criticism were shut down. If they wished to express their dismay at Bolshevik activities, they had to rely on the conspiratorial techniques they had used in the underground and on the family networks which had been critical in the pre-revolutionary period. The SRs began to operate underground printing presses again, while the Mensheviks ‘transferred most functions’ of their Central Committee to their Foreign Delegation but the party ‘reassumed something of its pre-revolutionary aspect’.⁷ As Dan put it: ‘Meetings of the committee were convened clandestinely in private flats—just like in the good old days!’⁸

⁵Maxwell, *The Soviet State*, p. 246.

⁶Maxwell, *The Soviet State*, p. 247; Gennadii Bordyugov, ‘The Policy and Regime of Extraordinary Measures in Russia under Lenin and Stalin’, in *Europe-Asia Studies*, 1995, Vol. 47, No. 4, pp. 615–632, p. 618.

⁷Vladimir N. Brovkin, *The Mensheviks after October: Socialist Opposition and the Rise of the Bolshevik Dictatorship* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), p. 214; André Liebich, *From the Other Shore: Russian Social Democracy after 1921* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 124; ‘Excerpts from letters’, in *Letters from Russian Prisons: Consisting of Reprints of Documents by Political Prisoners in Soviet Prisons, Prison Camps and Exile, and Reprints of Affidavits Concerning Political Persecution in Soviet Russia, Official Statements by Soviet Authorities, Excerpts from Soviet Laws Pertaining to Civil Liberties, and Other Documents, with Introductory Letters by Twenty-Two Well Known European and American Authors*, published for the International Committee for Political Prisoners (London: C.W. Daniel Co., 1925), p. 62; Oliver Henry Radkey, *The Sick under the Hammer: The Russian Socialist Revolutionaries in the Early Months of Soviet Rule* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), pp. 375–376; Letter, F.I. Dan to P.B. Axelrod, 8 January 1918, Petrograd, in *Dear Comrades*, p. 59.

⁸Fedor Il’ich Dan, *Two Years of Wandering: A Menshevik Leader in Lenin’s Russia*, trans., ed., and introduced by Francis King (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 2016), p. 103; see also, N.B. Bogdanova, *Men’shevik* (St Petersburg: Nauchno-informatsionnyi tsentre ‘Memorial’, 1994), p. 75.

Similarly, revolutionaries on the run needed safe places to sleep, eat and regroup.⁹ As before, women and their families were often the owners or occupiers of such places. The Butkeviches, a mother and her two adult daughters, kept a place on Taganka Square and made it available to various Socialist Revolutionaries.¹⁰ Vera Broido remembered the Sher family in Moscow (possibly that of Menshevik Vasilii Vladimirovich Sher): ‘Most of the sons and daughters were active in the revolutionary movement, and the [widowed] matriarch sympathized with that.’¹¹ In Ekaterinburg in 1920, Dan turned to Sukhanov and his ‘hospitable family’ to take him in.¹² Others went to their own families for protection. In February 1921, Martov reported that one Menshevik party member, Somorovskii, was going to stay with his mother in Kishinev while he awaited party instructions.¹³ Basil noted that when the Mensheviks found themselves under pressure from the Bolsheviks, ‘many fled Petrograd for southern Russia and the Caucasus where protective family ties were strong’.¹⁴

Where actual families could not be found, fake families were once again formed to try to escape the notice of the ever-present doormen, whose role as spies for the secret police had been revived. Thus when the Menshevik Georgii Dmitrievich Kuchin, who had been imprisoned and exiled since the Bolshevik seizure of power, arrived in Petrograd in 1923, he found and took shelter with three Mensheviks ‘posing as a family’ and running an illegal printing press in a rented apartment.¹⁵

⁹Vera Broido, *Lenin and the Mensheviks: The Persecution of Socialists under Bolshevism* (Aldershot: Gower/Maurice Temple Smith, 1987), p. 140 and p. 142.

¹⁰Olga Chernov Andreyev, *Cold Spring in Russia*, trans. by Michael Carlisle (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1978), p. 185.

¹¹Broido, *Lenin and the Mensheviks*, p. 90.

¹²Dan, *Two Years*, p. 60.

¹³Iz pis'ma Iu.O. Martova S.D. Shchupaku, Berlin, 5 February 1921, in *Politicheskie partii Rossii. Konets XIX – pervaiia tret' XX veka. Dokumental'noe nasledie. Men'sheviki v 1921–1922 gg.*, ed. by Z. Galinin and A. Nenarokov (Moskva: Rosspen, 2002), p. 101.

¹⁴John D. Basil, *The Mensheviks in the Revolution of 1917* (Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers, Inc., 1984), p. 175.

¹⁵Simon Wolin, ‘The Party’s Activities in Russia’, in Leopold H. Haimson, ed., *The Mensheviks: From the Revolution of 1917 to the Second World War* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974), p. 301.

Secret correspondence began again and was used as the main means of communication between party cells in Russia and abroad. Family terms continued to be used as code, just as in Tsarist times. When a hunger strike began in the Butyrka prison in early 1922, the ‘Delegation Abroad was immediately informed by a telegram sent by Lev Lande to his father in Berlin’. The message was ‘Pass on to Uncle that Gurvich, Lipkin with family literally starve. Long journeys ahead. Very necessary to respond.’ Here, Gurvich was (Fëdor) Dan, Lipkin was (Fëdor Andreevich) Cherevanin, his family was the other Butyrka Menshevik prisoners and ‘long journeys’ was the likelihood of exile.¹⁶ Other methods used previously were revived as well, with the Mensheviks using invisible ink on family letters once again.¹⁷

In reverting to these old methods of conspiracy, however, oppositionists faced new challenges that had not been in place to the same degree in the Tsarist regime. As earlier chapters have shown, provisions were made in Tsarist law to prosecute aiders and abettors of political crimes, and some family members of revolutionaries found themselves harassed by the Okhrana. However, the laws were not used systematically, and in most cases the regime did not persecute the family members of revolutionaries unless they were illegal activists in their own right.

The Bolshevik regime showed no such restraint, swiftly taking measures to neutralize family networks and embedding coercion and persecution of family members into its criminal law. Throughout the Civil War, ‘family members of Red Army soldiers faced punishment if their kin committed military offenses’ and the government sanctioned the use of ‘relatives as hostages’ during the Civil War, both to persuade Tsarist and White soldiers to fight for the Reds and to quell popular unrest.¹⁸ Similarly, the families of so-called peasant bandits were to be punished for hiding them, with members being exiled and ‘the oldest in the family [...] to be shot on the spot without trial’.¹⁹

¹⁶Broido, *Lenin and the Mensheviks*, p. 131.

¹⁷Liebich, *From the Other Shore*, p. 128.

¹⁸Decree, Trotsky as Chairman of the Military Revolutionary Council, 13 October 1918, in Martin McCauley, ed., *The Russian Revolution and the Soviet State 1917–1921. Documents*. (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1975), p. 150; Alexopoulos, ‘Stalin and the Politics of Kinship’, p. 94.

¹⁹A Moscovite, ‘Insurrectionary Movement (a letter from Moscow)’, June 1921, in *Dear Comrades*, p. 236.

Arguably, the major motivator for the Bolsheviks' attacks on families of subversives was that they knew from their own experience that family networks provided vital support to revolutionaries and their parties. If oppositionist socialists were to be defeated, their kinship groups would have to be destroyed. Similarly, the Bolsheviks were aware of the weak spots that had existed in the Tsarist regime's policing and prisons which the socialists had exploited, and they made efforts to eliminate them as well. As one observer noted: 'The GPU, whose leaders are tried Bolsheviks, have learned a lesson or two from the tsarist Okhrana and have improved on it.'²⁰

Correspondence was monitored more intensely than it had ever been by the Tsarist regime and house searches became more thorough.²¹ Rather than conducting a single search and leaving, the GPU would leave police agents in the house to wait for the associates and relatives of their suspect.²² Thus Martov's sister Nadezhda was 'subjected to house searches practically once a week, and on the day the news of Martov's death was received in Moscow [4 April 1923], the GPU set up an ambush in her flat in the hope of catching any who might come to offer condolences'.²³ The houses and flats of the wives of exiles were also commonly searched.²⁴

Just as family members were increasingly targeted in searches, so too did they more and more often become victims of arrest, sometimes to be held as hostages to draw out their kin who had escaped, sometimes for their own crimes of aiding and abetting political opponents.²⁵

²⁰Maxwell, *The Soviet State*, pp. 247–248.

²¹Peter Holquist, "'Information Is the Alpha and Omega of Our Work": Bolshevik Surveillance in Its Pan-European Context', in *The Journal of Modern History*, 1997, Vol. 69, No. 3, p. 422.

²²Letter from a Comrade who left Russia at the Beginning of April 1919, in *Dear Comrades*, p. 165; 'List of Arrests and Exile', summer 1923, in *Letters from Russian Prisons*, p. 67; Vladimir N. Brovkin, 'The Mensheviks Under Attack: The Transformation of Soviet Politics, June-September 1918', in *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, Neue Folge, 1984, Vol. 32, No. 3, p. 384.

²³Broido, *Lenin and the Mensheviks*, p. 146.

²⁴Broido, *Lenin and the Mensheviks*, p. 149.

²⁵Brief reports from the provinces, June 1918 in Simbirsk, published in the Menshevik newspaper *Iskra*, 1918, No. 4, quoted in *Dear Comrades*, p. 93; Brovkin, 'The Mensheviks Under Attack', in *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, Neue Folge, 1984, Vol. 32, No. 3, p. 384.

The wife of SR and chairman of the Moscow City Duma in 1917 Vadim Viktorovich Rudnev was imprisoned as a hostage in her husband's place in 1918.²⁶ Even if the target of the arrest was found, his or her family members were often taken at the same time.²⁷ When the Menshevik Central Committee member Cherevanin was arrested, his daughter was also taken and in April 1919, the Mensheviks Dan and Boris Isaakovich Gorev were arrested with their wives.²⁸ Lists of those Mensheviks to be arrested in Moscow in 1923 'included relatives of Mensheviks'.²⁹ It came to be understood that if a prisoner was given a sentence of ten years' imprisonment without correspondence, then his wife could expect to be arrested too.³⁰ Similarly, as the number of executions increased, family members were also killed. In September 1921, the Menshevik newspaper published in Berlin, *Sotsialisticheskii vestnik* (*Socialist Courier*), reported the execution of several prisoners including a woman who was alleged to have been 'her husband's accomplice'.³¹

A harsh fate also awaited those who were relatives of prisoners, but who had escaped arrest or at least a prison sentence themselves. In Tsarist times, relatives of arrested political criminals tended to be left to their own devices, able to keep their property and their jobs. In contrast, under the Bolsheviks, those who were not arrested suffered from social isolation and found themselves unable to access housing or employment, while their children were not accepted into schools and universities.³²

Once in prison, arrestees could expect their family connections to be of critical interest to their interrogators and for personal ties to be used against them whenever possible. In 1923 there were reports that Mensheviks and SRs who had been arrested were 'subjected to great pressure by the GPU, and were threatened with reprisals to themselves

²⁶Martov, 'New Course in Soviet Russia (Letters from Russia)', February 1919, in *Dear Comrades*, p. 141.

²⁷Bogdanova, *Men'shevik*, p. 107.

²⁸Broido, *Lenin and the Mensheviks*, p. 149; Letter from a Comrade who left Russia at the Beginning of April 1919, in *Dear Comrades*, p. 165.

²⁹Broido, *Lenin and the Mensheviks*, p. 144 and p. 142.

³⁰Broido, *Lenin and the Mensheviks*, p. 108.

³¹Broido, *Lenin and the Mensheviks*, p. 130.

³²Victor Serge, *Memoirs of a Revolutionary, 1901-1941*, trans. and ed. by Peter Sedgwick (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 132; see, for example, 'The Lock-Out, May 1922', in *Letters from Russian Prisons*, p. 46.

and their families if they did not “repent” and sign a promise to recant in public if called to do so’.³³ It was also a police tactic to use family testimonies against different members, either while interrogating prisoners or in court.³⁴ At the show trial of the SR Central Committee members in 1922, a first group of defendants faced accusations from a second group of SRs, also from the Central Committee, who had agreed to give evidence against them. Thus Grigorii Moiseevich Ratner testified against his sister Evgeniia, who was in the first group. Ratner described Evgeniia as his ‘former sister’ and stated: ‘If the Revolution requires it, a man should be able to send his sister to the scaffold.’³⁵

Another significant tactic employed by the Bolsheviks was to target sympathizers. In the Tsarist period, revolutionaries could always rely on a loose community of individuals who sympathized enough with the movement to protect, shelter and support underground activities.³⁶ As Wolin argued: ‘The Communists knew from their own illegal past that to destroy an underground organization one had to cut it off from its sympathizers.’³⁷ They now made sympathizing with the opposition an even more risky proposition than it had been under the Tsars, punishable by sentences of prison and exile.³⁸ Thus, when Dan arrived in Ekaterinburg in 1920 he decided against trying to find accommodation at a ‘non-party address’ because he ‘did not really want to put non-party people at risk by associating with a seditious character’.³⁹ The loss of sympathizers put great pressure on the finances of the oppositionist socialists, as well as reducing the number of safe houses available to them.⁴⁰

For the same reasons, the Political Red Cross, which was still technically a legal organization, faced harassment from the Cheka.⁴¹ Sergius

³³Broido, *Lenin and the Mensheviks*, p. 143.

³⁴Andreyev, *Cold Spring*, p. 216.

³⁵Grigorii Ratner quoted in Scott B. Smith, *Captives of Revolution: The Socialist Revolutionaries and the Bolshevik Dictatorship, 1918–1923* (Pittsburgh, Pa: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011), p. 251.

³⁶Broido, *Lenin and the Mensheviks*, p. 139; Andreyev, *Cold Spring*, pp. 167–168.

³⁷Wolin, ‘The Party’s Activities in Russia’, p. 301.

³⁸Andreyev, *Cold Spring*, p. 165; See, for example, Letter, from ‘political exiles in Orenburg’, received 1924, in *Letters from Russian Prisons*, p. 43.

³⁹Dan, *Two Years*, p. 60.

⁴⁰Liebich, *From the Other Shore*, pp. 127–128.

⁴¹Dan, *Two Years of Wandering*, p. 170.

Gan, the Left SR and a recent émigré from Russia, reported in 1924 that the GPU was arresting members of the Political Red Cross and curtailing their activities so much that all they could do now was send food parcels to prisoners.⁴²

The Bolsheviks also expanded the system of spies and denunciations amongst society.⁴³ This had a devastating effect on the underground activities of the parties, as Martov described in a letter to a fellow Menshevik, Aleksandr Nikolaevich Shtein, in October 1918:

The general situation for our party has become unbearable. All outward manifestations of its existence have been annihilated in Soviet Russia. Everything is destroyed: the press, the organizations, and so forth. Unlike Tsarist times, it is impossible to 'go underground' to do any fruitful work because not only do the gendarmes, street sweepers, and the like keep an eye out for unreliability, but a segment of ordinary citizens (Communists and those with vested interest in the Soviet regime) regard denunciation, surveillance, and shadowing not only as proper but as the fulfillment of their supreme duty. Therefore, thinking about a somewhat regular functioning of underground organizations is out of the question.⁴⁴

Even familial support was put under pressure in these circumstances. A letter to *Sotsialisticheskii vestnik* in August 1927 explained: 'We also have wonderful comrades among the workers' groups but they are almost all married (and there is no way to support their families if they are arrested).'⁴⁵ This refers to the pre-1917 practice of offering financial support to family members when kin were imprisoned or exiled. Now that the parties could only raise small amounts of money, they could no longer guarantee such help, thus ensuring that some families at least could no longer afford the risk of participating in underground activities.

Nonetheless, family support of the oppositional socialist parties continued and was even more important given the lack of sympathizers. It also continued to be effective. The appearance of domesticity and family

⁴²Sergius Gan, 'Prison and Exile News to the End of 1924', 31 December 1924, Prague, in *Letters from Russian Prisons*, p. 126.

⁴³Maxwell, *The Soviet State*, p. 247; Carr, 'The Origin and Status of the Cheka', p. 3.

⁴⁴Letter, Iu.O. Martov to A.N. Stein, 25 October 1918, in *Dear Comrades*, p. 124.

⁴⁵Broido, *Lenin and the Mensheviks*, p. 157.

life could still thwart Cheka searches and attempts to arrest revolutionary activists. On one occasion, when the Cheka arrived at the Chernov residence, Ol'ga Eliseevna Kolbasina was able to delay their entry, giving her husband Viktor time to escape, by saying 'The children are asleep; please do not wake them up ahead of time' (that is, before other residents were found to act as witnesses of the search). Her prevarication also enabled her daughters to hide an incriminating manuscript by Chernov in a secret compartment in their desk and to put 'away the objects which might have indicated the presence of a man in the house'.⁴⁶

The above anecdote highlights the fact that some other aspects of the revolutionary movement did not change after the October Revolution either. There still remained heavily gendered expectations of what women might contribute compared to men. Maintaining safe houses, hiding illegal literature and even feeding revolutionaries continued to be women's tasks. In making preparations for attending the Constituent Assembly, the SRs planned for various contingencies, expecting the Bolsheviks to make every effort to disrupt the opening day. While men made political preparations, issues of food and other practicalities were to be dealt with by women. Even though Anastasia Nikolaevna Slětova, sister of Stepan Slětov and ex-wife of Chernov, had been elected to the Constituent Assembly as an SR, she was still expected to organize candles in case 'the electricity were cut off' and to 'have ready hundreds of sandwiches' in case 'the deputies were deprived of food'.⁴⁷

As more and more party members were forced underground, women were expected to facilitate their escapes, sometimes traveling ahead to scope out suitable hiding places, but more often staying behind with the children while their husbands departed for safer spots.⁴⁸ As before, women were more able to live legally under the Bolshevik regime because they could apply for the increasingly vital official papers in their maiden names, thus using a technicality to avoid arrest by association with a political enemy.⁴⁹ They also continued to exploit domestic accessories to hide contraband and resources, such as jewellery.

⁴⁶ Andreyev, *Cold Spring*, pp. 177–179.

⁴⁷ Radkey, *The Sickle under the Hammer*, p. 381.

⁴⁸ Andreyev, *Cold Spring*, p. 103 and p. 108.

⁴⁹ Andreyev, *Cold Spring*, p. 103.

The Menshevik N.A. Gol'tseva decorated one of her hats with red wax cherries, each of which contained a ring.⁵⁰

Nonetheless, combining motherhood with underground revolutionary activity was always difficult, as a letter of September 1928 to *Sotsialisticheskii vestnik* from one of the last female members of the Menshevik Bureau in Russia made abundantly clear. Not only did she express a lack of confidence in her leadership abilities and her 'theoretical grounding', but she also admitted that her baby was 'taking great toll on [her] time and health'. Echoing the sentiments of pre-1917 revolutionaries, she added: 'Possibly I had no right to have it, but it is too late now to talk of that.'⁵¹ In April 1921, Martov reported to Axelrod that his sister Lydia was unable to go and care for her husband, Dan, who was in prison at that point because she was looking after her brother's children.⁵² Nonetheless, it is apparent that youngsters were still being assigned party tasks or at least reading and perhaps distributing party literature, as they were regularly arrested, imprisoned, exiled and even shot as SRs and Mensheviks.⁵³

Women continued to take on the role of supporters of those arrested, but under the Bolshevik regime this task became not only more difficult but also more dangerous. Memoirists recalling Bolshevik prisons often made unfavourable comparisons between the bad Tsarist institutions and the far worse Soviet ones. Certainly, there were deliberate efforts by the Bolsheviks to prevent interaction between prisoners and family members. While these are consistently framed as simple acts of brutal cruelty in letters of protest from SRs and Mensheviks, presumably the true reason for such policies was the aim of preventing political opponents using the methods of the pre-1917 underground to maintain links with their comrades and to sustain their party communications despite persecution.

⁵⁰ 'Irina Sergevna Tidmarsh', in *Memories of Revolution: Russian Women Remember*, Anna Horsburgh-Porter, ed., with interviews by Frances Welch and Elena Snow (London: Taylor and Francis e-Library, 2001), pp. 66–67.

⁵¹ Broido, *Lenin and the Mensheviks*, p. 158.

⁵² 'Iz pis'ma Iu.O. Martova P.B. Aksel'rodu, 20 April 1921, Berlin, in *Politicheskie partii*, p. 208.

⁵³ 'The Working Class under the Bolshevik Dictatorship', in *Dear Comrades*, p. 111; 'Leningrad Jails (The Inner Prison of the GPU, known as the Gorokhovaia and the Shpalerka House of Preliminary Detention, and other prisons in Leningrad)', in *Letters from Russian Prisons*, p. 88; 'Excerpts from letters', in *Letters from Russian Prisons*, p. 63.

At a basic level, all means by which relatives could learn where their kin were imprisoned or where they were being exiled to were disrupted.⁵⁴ Prisoners often were not allowed to write to their families to tell them where they were or where they were going, while officials regularly refused to give any information on the whereabouts of politicals.⁵⁵ It was also common for the political police to give out false information, claiming that prisoners who were imprisoned had been shot and that those who had been shot were still in prison.⁵⁶ If prisoners could be found, the old approach of petitioning the authorities was no longer effective. Retish has explained that ‘petitions and applications to be freed, or to have sentences commuted, wound too slowly through the system and “often never even received an answer”’.⁵⁷

The common practice of sending care parcels to prisoners was also sometimes attacked. Martov’s brother, Sergei Ezhov, complained to the Central Committee of the Communist Party that relatives who tried to help prisoners were being arrested.⁵⁸ Dan remembered meeting one female prisoner who had been arrested as an SR ‘because on one occasion she had taken a parcel to an SR in prison’.⁵⁹ It was not uncommon for prisoners to be denied parcels and for correspondence rights to be curtailed drastically, if not removed altogether.⁶⁰

Concerted efforts were made to prevent the establishment of the prison telephone. In the prison, windows were ‘blacked out with white paint and covered with an iron grille fitted internally’ in order to prevent

⁵⁴ ‘Protest by the Non-Partisan Political Red Cross’, 1921, in *Letters from Russian Prisons*, pp. 224–225.

⁵⁵ Aaron B. Retish, ‘Breaking Free from the Prison Walls: Penal Reforms and Prison Life in Revolutionary Russia’, in *Historical Research*, 2017, Vol. 90, No. 247, p. 149; Peter Abramovich Gavy-Bronstein, ‘A Menshevik in Exile’, 1923, in *Letters from Russian Prisons*, p. 56.

⁵⁶ ‘Obrashchenie zagranichnoi delegatsii RSDRP po povodu repressii v Rossii. Ko vsem sotsialisticheskim partiiam i professional’nym organizatsiam’, Berlin 28 May 1921 in *Politicheskie partii*, p. 260.

⁵⁷ Retish, ‘Breaking Free from the Prison Walls’, p. 149.

⁵⁸ ‘Zaiavlenie S.O. Tserbayma-Ezhova v TsK RKP(b)’, in *Politicheskie partii*, p. 275; Broido, *Lenin and the Mensheviks*, p. 127.

⁵⁹ Dan, *Two Years*, p. 126.

⁶⁰ ‘An Appeal to the International Proletariat from a Prison in Tobolsk’, 1925 in *Dear Comrades*, pp. 240–241.

communication with the outside.⁶¹ In several prisons the rule that inmates were not to approach the windows of their cells was enforced by guards shooting at any prisoners who did so.⁶² In some prisons, inmates were kept in tiny wooden cells which had been constructed inside larger rooms; others were lined with cork to prevent prisoners communicating by tapping.⁶³

Visits by relatives were denied altogether on numerous occasions. In the run-up to the Trial of the Right SRs, in June 1922, for example, many SRs were ‘taken to the Inner Prison in the Lubianka and kept there in complete isolation from each other, without books or papers, without letters or visits from their relatives’.⁶⁴ More generally, the visiting regime in prisons was designed to make it difficult if not impossible for family members to see their kin. Political prisoners were regularly incarcerated far from the major cities in so-called polit-isolators.⁶⁵ One group of prisoners was incarcerated in a prison in Tobolsk ‘three thousand *versts*’⁶⁶ from European Russia and ‘three hundred *versts*’ from the railway. Their criticisms of the prison regime included the complaint: ‘We are almost completely isolated from our relatives, and very few of us can count on their chance visits.’⁶⁷

This would make prison visits difficult in any state, but in the Soviet Union travel by citizens was restricted. Special passes had to be obtained for journeys of long distances and getting ‘special leave’ from work for a lengthy absence was difficult since travelling to visit a prisoner was not recognized as a legitimate reason. Occasionally sympathetic bosses issued individuals with a fictitious ‘mission’ for their place of employment which justified their travel and enabled them to buy a train ticket.⁶⁸ The problem of getting time off was compounded by the fact that once

⁶¹Dan, *Two Years*, p. 156.

⁶²J. Bat’kovich, ‘From the Cheliabinsk Political Isolator’, 1924, in *Letters from Russian Prisons*, p. 133.

⁶³R. V. Ivanov-Razumnik, ‘Ezhov’s Regime’, in *The Russian Review*, 1951, Vol. 10, No. 4, p. 302.

⁶⁴Broido, *Lenin and the Mensheviks*, p. 159.

⁶⁵Broido, *Lenin and the Mensheviks*, p. 123.

⁶⁶A *verst* is the equivalent of 0.66 miles or 1.1 km.

⁶⁷‘An Appeal to the International Proletariat from a Prison in Tobolsk’, 1925 in *Dear Comrades*, pp. 240–241.

⁶⁸R. V. Ivanov-Razumnik, ‘After Twenty Years’, in *The Russian Review*, 1951, Vol. 10, No. 3, pp. 210–225, p. 210.

near the prison, visiting hours were sometimes limited to thirty minutes or one hour per week, so on top of the time spent travelling, visitors had to allow for several weeks' stay in the area as well. It is not surprising, therefore, that often 'such a visit meant in most cases giving up a job and with it wages and food rations'. On top of the complications caused by having to travel, it was also necessary to get a special permit to visit or correspond with a prisoner and these could only be obtained in Moscow. This necessitated further travel and more leave from work.⁶⁹

Unsurprisingly, in the long term many families found themselves having to move to be closer to their imprisoned kin. Thus, for example, in Vladimir there was a small community of families living near the prison.⁷⁰ When the Menshevik Vera Aleksandrovna Aleksandrova moved there to be close to her husband, Solomon [Meerovich] Schwarz, she found that:

There were many wives and mothers of prisoners in Vladimir at the time and she found a room not far from the prison, which she shared with the wife of another Menshevik. Mensheviks in Vladimir prison included Andrei [Sergeevich] Kranikhfel'd [Martov's nephew], whose mother also came to visit him, and many printers, including [Aleksandr Fëdorovich] Deviatkin, who was visited by Liudmila Radchenko, daughter of the old socialist couple Stepan and Liubov' Radchenko. Vera Aleksandrova managed to see her husband almost every day and to hand over parcels to him in the prison office. She even found a job.⁷¹

Perhaps to disrupt this local support network, the Vladimir prisons were transferred back to Moscow.⁷²

Even once visits were achieved, they often had to be conducted under closer supervision than had been the case in Tsarist prisons.⁷³ Now visitors were not allowed to embrace their loved ones and were made to sit at such a large table that it was impossible to speak softly. Prison wardens often joined the visitors at the table.⁷⁴

⁶⁹Broido, *Lenin and the Mensheviks*, p. 108–109.

⁷⁰Bogdanova, *Men'shevik*, p. 81 and p. 93.

⁷¹Broido, *Lenin and the Mensheviks*, p. 109.

⁷²Broido, *Lenin and the Mensheviks*, p. 109.

⁷³Bogdanova, *Men'shevik*, p. 88.

⁷⁴Dan, *Two Years*, p. 164.

The numerous protesters and hunger strikers who tried to win better prison rights from the authorities regularly highlighted the emotional importance of visits.⁷⁵ Sergei Ezhov complained about the restrictions on visits from relatives, writing: 'Would it shake the foundations of this dictatorship, if [socialist prisoners] could see their wives, mothers and children not once a week, but twice, not for an hour, but for longer?'⁷⁶ Dan and his fellow prisoners went on hunger strike to improve their prison conditions and managed to win 'the right to books, newspapers, visits from relatives and a half-hour exercise period between 1 and 2 am'.⁷⁷ The SR prisoners condemned in their show trial in 1922 conducted a hunger strike to be allowed to receive visits from their relatives.⁷⁸ When the Mensheviks Ezhov, Nikolaevskii and Pleskov were imprisoned in Lefortovo prison in Moscow, it took five days of hunger strike to be 'allowed books and newspapers and visits from relatives'.⁷⁹ There were also strikes against the practice of shooting at windows from which prisoners were looking out.⁸⁰

Occasionally, quite extraordinary concessions were made. For example, after the show trial of the SRs, the prisoners were each allowed a brief stay with their families at a GPU dacha near Moscow.⁸¹ Sometimes, more basic allowances were made, but these were often undermined by the authorities continuing to harass and intimidate the prisoners, or even then moving the inmates to different jails or into exile.⁸² At other times, local prison authorities unofficially relented and facilitated a less strict prison regime, in part out of a recognition of the rights which political prisoners had usually been afforded in Tsarist times and in part out of

⁷⁵Liebich, *From the Other Shore*, p. 92.

⁷⁶'Zaiavelenie S.O. Tsederbayma-Ezhova v TsK RKP(b)', Moscow, Butyrka Prison, 27 June 1921, in *Politicheskie partii*, p. 276.

⁷⁷Dan, *Two Years*, p. 156.

⁷⁸Marc Jansen, *A Show Trial Under Lenin: The Trial of the Socialist Revolutionaries, Moscow 1922*, trans. by Jean Sanders (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1982), p. 171.

⁷⁹Broido, *Lenin and the Mensheviks*, p. 128.

⁸⁰'The Shpalerka and its Hunger Strike', in *Letters from Russian Prisons*, p. 91.

⁸¹Jansen, *A Show Trial Under Lenin*, p. 171.

⁸²Sergius Gan, 'Prison and Exile News to the End of 1924', 31 December 1924, Prague, in *Letters from Russian Prisons*, p. 127 and pp. 124–125.

solidarity with the socialists. While in prison in Petrograd, Dan and his comrades won over their Red Army guards who helped them send letters to their families, agreed to allow them to receive parcels and even enabled visits from relatives.⁸³

Parcels, when they did get through, continued to provide vital support for prisoners. In particular, food parcels helped ward off starvation, since Bolshevik prison rations were of extremely poor quality and usually meagre. Prisoners were sometimes at risk of starvation without food parcels from home and when it was possible, those who did receive packages tended to share the contents with their fellow inmates.⁸⁴ Parcels also continued to perform the important function of improving the morale of prisoners. One letter from Solovki highlights the importance of visits: 'our mood is buoyant. Some few lucky ones have been visited by relatives. They brought letters, books, parcels.'⁸⁵

Of course, what none of the prisoners admitted was that their campaigns for correspondence and visiting rights were also designed to enable the opening up of channels of communication between prisoners and their revolutionary comrades at liberty. The regulations in at least one prison made it clear that every effort was being made to prevent this from occurring. Thus the inner prison of the Lubyanka stipulated that 'no other notes or letters' besides the address and contents list were 'permitted during the transmission of parcels' and that 'anyone caught in the act of attempting to communicate with prisoners during the transmission of parcels' would be 'liable to prosecution'.⁸⁶ Similarly, the harsh visiting rules were designed to prevent the surreptitious passing of notes which had occurred in Tsarist prisons.⁸⁷

Nonetheless, there is abundant evidence that this was achieved in some jails. At one point, for example, the Mensheviks in Butyrka prison were receiving *Sotsialisticheskii vestnik* regularly, as well as writing

⁸³Dan, *Two Years*, pp. 123–124; Bogdanova, *Men'shevik*, p. 66.

⁸⁴Dan, *Two Years*, p. 134 and p. 170; see also 'Experiences of Julia M. Zubelevich, Socialist-Revolutionary', affidavit dated 1925, in *Letters from Russian Prisons*, p. 48.

⁸⁵Broido, *Lenin and the Mensheviks*, p. 148.

⁸⁶'Rules for Prisoners of the Inner Prison of the Vetcheka', in *Letters from Russian Prisons*, p. 227.

⁸⁷Dan, *Two Years*, p. 164.

pamphlets to be distributed on the outside.⁸⁸ Similarly, the prisons could not always completely prevent the prison telephone being established. Dan remembered it functioning effectively between the male and female wings of Butyrka prison.⁸⁹ Even during highly restricted visits, conducted under close supervision, party messages could be passed on. As others had discovered before her, Ol'ga Andreeva noted: 'when people who are close to each other talk in such situations, they can understand each other by using allusions and fragments of phrases beyond any eavesdroppers' comprehension.'⁹⁰

Similar battles took place between the government and prisoners over the punishment of administrative exile. Socialists were appalled that the government resurrected 'one of the most shameful methods of the Tsarist regime in its struggle against socialists' and then flouted the conventions which had at times made this punitive measure more bearable—and less disruptive to revolutionary activities.⁹¹ Attempts were made, for example, to remove political prisoners' rights to settle their affairs, receive parcels and see their relatives before their departure into exile, to send prisoners to the most isolated and remote places, and to prevent family members accompanying kin into exile.⁹² Exiles also complained about being harassed by local GPU officers, being constantly moved from place to place, about the minimal monthly allowance given to exiles, the lack of specific sentencing and the re-arresting of exiles at the end of their sentence.⁹³ One administrative exile, Boris Nikolaevich Butiagin, wrote:

⁸⁸Dan, *Two Years*, p. 135; Liebich, *From the Other Shore*, pp. 92–93.

⁸⁹Dan, *Two Years*, p. 169.

⁹⁰Andreyev, *Cold Spring*, p. 241.

⁹¹Dan, *Two Years*, p. 175.

⁹²Peter Abramovich Garvy-Bronstein, 'A Menshevik in Exile', 1923, in *Letters from Russian Prisons*, p. 56; Israel Boruchovitz Idelson, 'Experiences of Idelson, Zionist-Socialist', 1924, in *Letters from Russian Prisons*, p. 57.

⁹³*Letters from Russian Prisons*, issued by the International Committee for Political Prisoners (London: The C.W. Daniel Company, 1925), p. 19; 'Experiences of Julia M. Zubelevich, Socialist-Revolutionary', affidavit dated 1925, in *Letters from Russian Prisons*, p. 50.

The communist government or its agents have gone farther than Tsarism and the conditions of exile in the years of 1914–1915 pale in comparison with the new exile system inaugurated in the only ‘free’ land of its kind in the world, with the most ‘left’ government of all.⁹⁴

It became usual to send exiled individuals to places many hundreds of miles from the railway, so that the last part of the journey had to be completed on foot. The isolation of the places to which revolutionaries were exiled, as well as the restrictions on what work exiles might do, meant that many found themselves in dire straits in terms of being able both to find food and also to pay for services such as medical care.⁹⁵ The lack of access to a railway made it more difficult to escape and far more difficult for the old emotional and political lifelines, correspondence and parcels, to make their way through. Remote locations made it far easier for the authorities to intercept mail, with political exiles in Orenburg complaining that ‘letters disappear altogether or are kept back for long periods’.⁹⁶

Prisoners were particularly infuriated by the authorities’ lack of consideration for family members in the exile arrangements, something the Tsarist regime could generally be relied on to take into account. Complaints about the treatment of prisoners during the transfer of political prisoners from prison to exile included angry denunciation of the deliberate splitting up of families and the isolation of prisoners from their loved ones. One appeal from prisoners expressed outrage that ‘mothers with babies’ were transported in overcrowded railway cars and that ‘the prisoners were split into groups and placed in railway cars, regardless of family ties’.⁹⁷ The appeal continued:

⁹⁴Letter, Boris Nikolaevich Butiagin to the GPU, Velikiy Ustiug, May 21, 1922, in *Letters from Russian Prisons*, pp. 46–47.

⁹⁵Broido, *Lenin and the Mensheviks*, p. 101; Letter, Boris Nikolaevich Butiagin to the GPU, Velikiy Ustiug, May 21, 1922, in *Letters from Russian Prisons*, p. 46; ‘Experiences of Julia M. Zubelevich, Socialist-Revolutionary’, affidavit dated 1925, in *Letters from Russian Prisons*, p. 50.

⁹⁶Letter, N., Narym, 1924, published in *Sotsialisticheskii vestnik (Socialist Courier)* on 17 April 1924, in *Letters from Russian Prisons*, p. 25; Letter, from ‘political exiles in Orenburg’, received 1924, in *Letters from Russian Prisons*, p. 42.

⁹⁷‘An Appeal to the International Proletariat from a Prison in Tobolsk’, 1925 in *Dear Comrades*, p. 239.

In one case, threatening violence, they took a pregnant woman with an eighteen-month-old baby away from her husband; he had to go to a place thousands of *verst*s away without being able to say good bye or knowing where he was going or where his wife was going.⁹⁸

Exiles also protested vehemently over the places of exile assigned to those with families. After the 1922 SR show trial, the GPU planned to send 'Evgeniia Ratner with her three young children (varying from 6 to 13 years of age) and her fairly old and sick mother, [...] to Ust't-Tsil'ma on the Pechora in the far north'. Only a nine-day hunger strike ensured that the places of exile were changed to ones 'with reasonable chances of existence'.⁹⁹ The SR Mikhail Ivanovich L'vov was exiled to Cherdyn', in the Perm region: 'His wife Nadezhda died there in 1926 in childbirth, due to lack of medical care. L'vov was refused permission to go to a more suitable place of exile with the child.'¹⁰⁰

Despite these harsh conditions, families were still able to play a role in supporting exiles, even if prisoners had to go on hunger strikes in order to enable it. In 1922, in Butyrka, prisoners went on hunger strike to ensure that they were 'given seven days to settle their private affairs' as had been the custom in Tsarist times. Others were able to push for being sent to 'small towns and not villages' rather than the most isolated spots.¹⁰¹ Those in exile were allowed to conduct correspondence, even with individuals abroad, but their isolated places of exile and the heavy censorship of correspondence disrupted it.¹⁰²

Spouses and relatives were sometimes permitted to follow their husbands into exile, but obstacles were thrown in their path.¹⁰³ For example, in Kharkov, during the four days in which a group of Menshevik prisoners were held in a train awaiting departure for exile, the wives

⁹⁸'An Appeal to the International Proletariat from a Prison in Tobolsk', 1925 in *Dear Comrades*, p. 239.

⁹⁹Jansen, *A Show Trial Under Lenin*, pp. 173–174.

¹⁰⁰Jansen, *A Show Trial Under Lenin*, p. 182.

¹⁰¹Broido, *Lenin and the Mensheviks*, p. 132.

¹⁰²Broido, *Lenin and the Mensheviks*, p. 101; Peter Abramovich Garvy-Bronstein, 'A Menshevik in Exile', 1923, in *Letters from Russian Prisons*, p. 57.

¹⁰³See, for example, Letter, G.U., October 1924 in Ch., in *Letters from Russian Prisons*, p. 65; Jansen, *A Show Trial Under Lenin*, picture page opp p. 1.

‘were not allowed to go into town’, as they would have been in Tsarist times. This prevented them from obtaining food and supplies, but also potentially stopped them making contact with other Mensheviks.¹⁰⁴ More generally the lack of provision for families who accompanied exiles ensured that many lived in poverty.¹⁰⁵

Exile communities did inevitably form, however, and once again the presence of families was a source of comfort and support. In her memoirs, Ekaterina Olitskaia described being exiled in 1924 for her work for the SRs. She married and had a child while in exile, and in her memoirs she recounted a visit from her mother-in-law and her sister. She also described how her family home became an important hub for other exiles, of whom there were about forty. As she put it: ‘In the Chimkent exile community we were the only family, and our house served as a magnet for our single comrades.’¹⁰⁶

The local police were always alert to too much familial support, however, and regularly disrupted events such as the marking of New Year. When a group of social democrats in exile in Orenburg met to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the RSDRP, all 23 were arrested by the GPU and sentenced to more remote places of exile.¹⁰⁷ On 6 October 1923, 14 exiles in the Zyrian district were arrested by the GPU for holding a birthday party, which they were told was ‘an illegal meeting’.¹⁰⁸ Of course, one of the reasons for the authorities’ suspicion of such celebrations was that they were well aware that in the Tsarist underground, family parties had regularly served as covers for political meetings.

Another way to remove the threat of political enemies was to banish them abroad, a tactic that was used regularly in the 1920s to exile revolutionaries and their families, especially high-ranking ones (though sometimes a hunger strike was necessary to ensure family members could go too).¹⁰⁹ Lenin and Kamenev were both deeply involved in compiling the

¹⁰⁴ Broido, *Lenin and the Mensheviks*, p. 135.

¹⁰⁵ ‘Excerpts from letters’, in *Letters from Russian Prisons*, p. 62.

¹⁰⁶ E.L. Olitskaia, *Moi vospominaniia*, 2 Vols. (Moscow: Posev, 1971), Vol. 2, at <http://www.sakharov-center.ru/asfcd/auth/?t=book&num=1822>.

¹⁰⁷ A. Kaplan, R. Bogorad, M. Bogorad, I. Bogorad, F. Lyssov, A. Rozhkov, S. Deitch, D. Liberova, V. Besrutchko, ‘A Bolshevik Celebration’, 12 April 1923, in *Letters from Russian Prisons*, p. 35.

¹⁰⁸ Letter, G.A., October 1923, in *Letters from Russian Prisons*, p. 66.

¹⁰⁹ Broido, *Lenin and the Mensheviks*, p. 132.

lists of deportees.¹¹⁰ The children of Mensheviks and SRs were deported along with their parents in the early 1920s by the Bolsheviks. In one letter on the subject of deportations from Lenin to Stalin on 17 July 1922, Vladimir Il'ich listed 'many, many' individuals who had to be expelled, including 'Liubov' Nikolaevna Radchenko and her young daughter (said to be malicious enemies of Bolshevism).¹¹¹ Radchenko had in fact ceased to be politically active, but more important here is Lenin's assumption that mother and daughter would be working together against the Bolsheviks.

There were several officially granted exoduses, beginning in 1922, when a group of Mensheviks, including Fëdor Dan, were exiled abroad after they refused to accept being exiled internally.¹¹² When they were deported they travelled with their families, as Dan remembered: 'All in all there were eleven of us travelling abroad, two of us with our wives and one with two underage children.'¹¹³ The centrality of family ties in the socialist parties is highlighted by the fact that some of Dan's group 'chose to stay in prison a day longer to celebrate Christmas with their remaining comrades', while another group preparing to leave for foreign exile in January 1923 secretly celebrated the New Year, taking the precaution of doing so in two different groups 'to prevent all of them being caught'.¹¹⁴

THE GREAT SOCIALIST FAMILY

Lydia Dan claimed that romanticism no longer characterized the revolutionary movement after 1905, but just as it remained part of it until 1917, so too did it persist after the October revolution, despite and, to an extent, because of the persecution of oppositional socialists by the Bolsheviks. Relations within individual parties remained strong. At the end of the SR show trial, one of the defendants, Elena Aleksandrovna Ivanova, said: 'all that is left to me is the happiness of dying with the

¹¹⁰Stuart Finkel, 'Purging the Public Intellectual: The 1922 Expulsions from Soviet Russia' in *Russian Review*, 2003, Vol. 62, No. 4, p. 602 and p. 603.

¹¹¹See, for example, Letter from Lenin to Stalin, 17 July 1922, in Richard Pipes, *The Unknown Lenin* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 168.

¹¹²Finkel, 'Purging the Public Intellectual', p. 601.

¹¹³Dan, *Two Years*, p. 187.

¹¹⁴Liebich, *From the Other Shore*, p. 94; Broido, *Lenin and the Mensheviks*, p. 140.

people whom I consider the dearest and closest to me.¹¹⁵ Comradely feelings also existed between socialists of all stripes who found themselves in opposition.¹¹⁶

Perhaps more surprisingly, solidarity was maintained between oppositional socialists and the Bolsheviks. There was a deep awareness of the commonality of experience in Tsarist times and this provided a foundation for continued mutual respect, even as political oppression worsened. Appeals from prisoners often argued that socialists were of a common family, especially those who had joined political parties before 1917, if not before 1905, and had experienced imprisonment and exile in the Tsarist period.¹¹⁷ The Mensheviks were always aware, Liebich argues, of their 'common origins' with the Bolsheviks, while Broido stated: 'Doctrinal differences apart, most Bolsheviks harboured no hatred against fellow revolutionaries with whom they had shared tsarist prison and exile: they were certainly reluctant to see them persecuted.'¹¹⁸

Bolsheviks extended gestures of respect and courtesy to their opponents. For example, Nadezhda Alliluyeva attended the funeral of the Menshevik leader Chkheidze's son just after the February revolution.¹¹⁹ More demonstratively, there are many instances of opposition socialists who escaped the political police because they were warned of their imminent arrest by sympathetic Bolsheviks. Both Lydia and Fëdor Dan recalled the numerous anonymous telephone calls they and Martov received warning them that a house was about to be searched or arrests were about to be made.¹²⁰ As controls over the press intensified, Rykov, now the Commissar of Internal Affairs, would telephone the Menshevik Central Committee to warn them of possible attacks on their central

¹¹⁵Smith, *Captives of Revolution*, p. 257.

¹¹⁶Andreyev, *Cold Spring*, p. 17 and p. 43.

¹¹⁷'An Appeal to the International Proletariat from a Prison in Tobolsk', 1925 in *Dear Comrades*, p. 241 and p. 244.

¹¹⁸André Liebich, 'At Home Abroad: The Mensheviks in the Second Emigration', in *Canadian Slavonic Papers/Revue Canadienne des Slavistes*, 1995, Vol. 37, No. 1/2, pp. 1-13, p. 3; Broido, *Lenin and the Mensheviks*, p. 51; see also, Dan, *Two Years*, p. 55 and p. 74.

¹¹⁹Svetlana Alliluyeva, *Twenty Letters to a Friend*, trans. by Priscilla Johnson (London: World Books, 1968), p. 96.

¹²⁰Broido, *Lenin and the Mensheviks*, p. 51; see also, Dan, *Two Years*, p. 74.

organ, *Rabochaia gazeta* (*Workers' Gazette*).¹²¹ Lenin and Krupskaja clearly consulted each other on who might need protection, with Nadezhda advocating for her comrade at Narkompros, Lev Grigor'evich Shapiro, to her husband and Lenin being prepared to share the nuances of Shapiro's political views to defend him against being purged from the Party as a former Menshevik.¹²² Even Stalin defended an old Menshevik acquaintance from Georgia, Soso Iremashvili, in 1921.¹²³ Both Raphael Abramovich Rein and Fëdor Dan owed their lives to interventions by Bolsheviks such as Krupskaja and Lunacharskii.¹²⁴ SRs also benefited from such warnings. Most famously, as the Constituent Assembly was forcibly dissolved and Chernov made his way to an exit, he was warned by a Bolshevik that armed soldiers awaited him at his car outside, so he escaped by a different door.¹²⁵

Broido did note that such help was often dependent on personal relations and respect for the leadership of the oppositional parties. Unknown rank-and-file Mensheviks were sent to more isolated places of exile and they were less likely to be allowed to have their families accompany them.¹²⁶ Lenin intervened directly when he discovered that Chernov's wife and daughters were in prison and arranged for a Bolshevik family to take in the children.¹²⁷ While the Chernovs initially wondered if Lenin was acting out of 'genuine humanitarian concern', it quickly became clear that he was afraid of the international scandal which the imprisonment of a famous SR's family might cause.¹²⁸

For oppositionists in Soviet Russia in the 1920s then, the challenges they faced in their activities in this period exceeded those of the

¹²¹Liebich, *From the Other Shore*, p. 76.

¹²²Letter, Lenin to the Moscow Gubernia Commission for Checking and Purging the Party, in *Lenin's Collected Works*, 45 Vols. (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977), Vol. 45, pp. 397–400 at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1921/dec/03c.htm>, last accessed 8 June 2017.

¹²³Kotkin, *Stalin*, p. 399.

¹²⁴Liebich, *From the Other Shore*, p. 91; see also Serge, *Memoirs*, p. 129.

¹²⁵Andreyev, *Cold Spring*, p. 99; Radkey, *The Sickle under the Hammer*, p. 415. While Radkey doubts an attack was planned, he believes the assertion that a friend might have sought to warn Chernov of a perceived danger (Radkey, *The Sickle under the Hammer*, p. 415).

¹²⁶Broido, *Lenin and the Mensheviks*, p. 104.

¹²⁷Andreyev, *Cold Spring*, p. 229.

¹²⁸Andreyev, *Cold Spring*, p. 235.

underground period. Similarly, while the punishments they might expect for such work were recognizably inspired by the Tsarist regime, they were in many respects harsher, especially in terms of the treatment of family members. The Bolsheviks understood the importance of kin to underground political work and did not hesitate to attack that source of support. However, vestiges of the old familial camaraderie of the underground period could be relied on by some to mitigate to some extent the harsh treatment. By the start of the 1930s, the opposing socialist parties had largely been silenced in the Soviet Union. Smith argues that the SRs ceased to be an ‘organized political party’ in 1921: ‘The Central Bureau survived to 1925, as did some local party organization that even managed to issue occasional pamphlets and illegal newspapers, but the party in Russia was no longer capable of coordinated political action.’¹²⁹ The Trial of the Mensheviks of 1931 signalled the end of that oppositional party.

INTERNAL ENEMIES

The Bolsheviks were as intolerant of internal opposition as they were of external attacks. Lenin was determined that the Communist Party would be a united body, so while discussion and debate were tolerated, any sign of dissent coalescing into factions was seen as a threat to the Party, its ability to stay in power and its chances of defeating its foes in the form of the Whites during the Civil War and more generally the capitalist nations which encircled Russia.

Thus, from early in the regime, measures were taken to clamp down on factionalism and other breaches of Party discipline, though initially these took the form of political measures only. The 1921 Ban on Factions, introduced to bring an end to the Workers’ Opposition, stated that those who engaged in factionalism could be expelled from the Party.¹³⁰ Understandably this was perceived as a serious threat, not only materially for those who depended on their Party wages and other benefits, but also psychologically.¹³¹ Regardless of any dissent, most Party members

¹²⁹Smith, *Captives of Revolution*, p. 236.

¹³⁰Barbara C. Allen, *Alexander Shlyapnikov, 1885–1937: Life of an Old Bolshevik* (Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books, 2015), pp. 186–187.

¹³¹Youngok Kang-Bohr, ‘Appeals and Complaints: Popular Reactions to the Party Purges and the Great Terror in the Voronezh Region, 1935–1939’, in *Europe-Asia Studies*, 2005, Vol. 57, No. 1, p. 135.

were dedicated to their revolutionary mission and to the Party itself. The possibility of being evicted from that tightly knit group was viewed by many with dismay. Besides the Ban, the regular Party purges discussed in Chapter “[Consequences: The Bolsheviks after 1917](#)” served to expel unreliable elements, who might find themselves also dismissed from their posts or evicted from their homes.¹³²

Regardless of such efforts, the Party found itself riven with political division over the question of leadership after Lenin’s death in 1924 and, closely related to this, over economic policy. As Stalin consolidated his power and the Party moved away from the New Economic Policy and into the phase of rapid industrialization and collectivization, various groupings of opponents emerged led by various key Old Bolsheviks, including Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev and later Bukharin, Rykov and Mikhail Pavlovich Tomskii. Inevitably, these groups resorted to some of the old methods of pre-revolutionary activity, meeting in private homes to discuss their position and publishing, or circulating internally, literature to set out their views, and this began to raise suspicions of the existence of underground networks once more.¹³³

Stalin successfully defeated all of the challenges mounted to his leadership, and those who were expelled from the Party during these debates found themselves in a precarious position, without guarantees of employment, housing, access to food, education or healthcare and more vulnerable to falling foul of the various laws designed to prevent counter-revolutionary activity.¹³⁴ For a time recantations were accepted and individuals could be readmitted to the Party, but whether their membership was restored or not, they remained under suspicion and could find themselves and their families arrested, imprisoned or exiled. Those families who escaped punishment faced a life of poverty. The long-serving Bolshevik Gavriil Il’ich Miasnikov, who had fallen foul of the regime by joining the Left Communists and was imprisoned in Tomsk in 1924, wrote:

¹³²Kang-Bohr, ‘Appeals and Complaints’, p. 135; Kevin McDermott, ‘Stalinist Terror in the Comintern: New Perspectives’, in *Journal of Contemporary History*, 1995, Vol. 30, No. 1, pp. 112–113.

¹³³William Reswick, *I Dreamt Revolution* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1952), p. 177; Allen, *Alexander Shlyapnikov*, pp. 183 and p. 313.

¹³⁴Shliapnikov, for example, faced just such a fate as Barbara Allenn has demonstrated in her biography of the Old Bolshevik. (Allen, *Alexander Shlyapnikov*, chapters 10 and 11).

My wife and three children, the oldest of whom is four years of age, are in administrative exile. Her crime is more serious than mine, for she is my wife. And the babies are exiled too, because they are my children.¹³⁵

More broadly, as the 1920s turned into the 1930s, and new challenges—the Five Year Plans, dekulakization and growing anxiety about the threat of war—were faced, the characteristics of opponents changed, from being easily identifiable to being enemies disguised as loyal individuals. Problems with industrialization were blamed on wreckers, resistance to collectivization was put down to kulaks and everywhere there were spies working for hostile governments. Strikingly, more and more these were categorized as ‘hidden enemies’ who seemed to support the regime but in fact were traitors.¹³⁶ The opposition was expected to operate ‘deep underground’ and it was seen as important to monitor enemies ‘at their work places as well as in their private lives’.¹³⁷

Within the Party itself, Stalin had faced not only the overt opposition of numerous Old Bolsheviks, but also more subtle opposition from a considerable number of leading and regional Party members who mounted clannish resistance to the excesses of the industrialization and collectivization policies.¹³⁸ It was bad enough that they seemed to speak from a position of strength based on the personal non-kinship networks which they had formed in the process of state building, but there was

¹³⁵G. Miasnikov, ‘From a Communist’, 1924, in *Letters from Russian Prisons*, p. 85.

¹³⁶Orlando Figes, *The Whisperers: Private Life in Stalin’s Russia* (London: Allen Lane, 2007), pp. 136–137; Geoffrey Hosking, ‘Trust and Distrust in the USSR: An Overview’, in *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 2013, Vol. 91, No. 1, pp. 1–25, p. 10; McDermott, ‘Stalinist Terror’, p. 115; Davies, ‘The Crime of “Anti-Soviet Agitation”’, p. 150.

¹³⁷Priestland, *Stalinism and the Politics of Mobilization: Ideas, Power and Terror in Inter-war Russia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 259.

¹³⁸Stephen Kotkin, *Stalin: Paradoxes of Power, 1878–1928* (London: Penguin, 2015), p. 432; Gerald M. Easter, ‘Personal Networks and Postrevolutionary State Building: Soviet Russia Reexamined’, in *World Politics*, 1996, Vol. 48, No. 4, p. 573; James Harris, ‘Resisting the Plan in the Urals, 1928–1956, or Why Regional Officials Needed “Wreckers” and “Saboteurs”’, in *Contending with Stalinism: Soviet Power and Popular Resistance in the 1930s*, ed. by Lynne Viola (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2002), p. 204 and p. 221; Cynthia , ‘Trust in Terror? The Search for a Foolproof Science of Soviet Personnel’ in *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 2013, Vol. 91, No. 1, Trust and Distrust in the USSR, pp. 26–56, p. 27.

also a danger that these could become sites of conspiracy.¹³⁹ The very nature of these groups, categorized as *semeistvennost'* or 'family-ness', was criticized.¹⁴⁰

Another problem was that the old, wider links amongst the socialist family were not fully severed, even after the defeat of the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries. Minutes of Politburo meetings were frequently 'leaked, not only within the Party but also abroad'.¹⁴¹ Stalin suspected that 'oppositionists were slipping the documents to old Menshevik friends', and Fitzpatrick and Liebich have both suggested that even sources at the heart of the Kremlin did the same, connected as they often were by marriage or other family ties to the Russian émigré community.¹⁴² For example, Vladimir Ivanovich, the brother of émigré Menshevik Boris Nicolaevsky, was married to Rykov's sister and they all lived together.¹⁴³

These fears of clans of resistance, of hidden enemies and of personal ties to socialist opponents were compounded as suspicion grew of family life in general. Kaganovich later asserted that in the 1930s, Party members were still attached to the 'swamp' of those who were not truly committed to the regime 'by many threads, both familial and non-familial', and that these threads had to be broken.¹⁴⁴ In November 1937, Stalin explained at a Kremlin reception that if 'the final extermination of all enemies' was to be achieved, each enemy's 'entire lineage (*rod*), his family!' had to be destroyed.¹⁴⁵

It is well established, of course, as Getty and others have made clear, that: 'the great majority of those sentenced for "counterrevolutionary offenses" had never committed any act deliberately directed against

¹³⁹Cynthia Hooper, 'Trust in Terror? The Search for a Foolproof Science of Soviet Personnel' in *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 2013, Vol. 91, No. 1, Trust and Distrust in the USSR, p. 27.

¹⁴⁰Wendy Goldman, 'Stalinist Terror and Democracy: The 1937 Union Campaign', in *The American Historical Review*, 2005, Vol. 110, No. 5, p. 1434.

¹⁴¹Fitzpatrick, *On Stalin's Team*, p. 39.

¹⁴²Fitzpatrick, *On Stalin's Team*, p. 39 and pp. 97–98; Liebich, *From the Other Shore*, p. 382.

¹⁴³Liebich, *From the Other Shore*, p. 382.

¹⁴⁴Kaganovich, quoted in Sheila Fitzpatrick, *On Stalin's Team. The Years of Living Dangerously in Soviet Politics* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2015), p. 115.

¹⁴⁵Stalin, quoted in Alexopoulos, 'Stalin and the Politics of Kinship', p. 91.

the Soviet system'.¹⁴⁶ Alongside this, the expectation that relatives and spouses of enemies could be equally guilty is also framed as part of the 'Bolshevik imagination', based on unfounded paranoia and suspicion.¹⁴⁷ Alexopoulos asserts: 'Soviet officials assumed that the hostile thoughts and activities of political enemies were shared with family members or with those who lived together under the same roof.'¹⁴⁸ He noted that arrests of family members who shared a home with an enemy of the state were carried out 'as if persons residing under the same roof would be likely collaborators. The targeting of co-inhabitants reveals the regime's suspicion of those in close proximity to the enemy, and shows how the private sphere emerged as a place of conspiracy and intrigue.'¹⁴⁹

Tucker has Stalin looking back as far as Ivan the Terrible for his motivation for destroying the families of enemies. He states:

Significant here is Stalin's refrain about exterminating the traitors 'as a clan'. The term 'clan' had no place in the political vocabulary of Bolshevism. But he knew from his reading that it was [Ivan] Grozny's practice, when he turned against a boyar whom he perceived as an enemy, to destroy along with him his whole extended family and retinue, his *rod* or clan. And so when a high Bolshevik fell in the Terror, both his personal family and his official family of political clients went with him.¹⁵⁰

In contrast, Corinna Kuhr argued that these were more spontaneous decisions. Spouses were arrested because 'the repressive organs were possibly afraid of a growing opposition among the wives of the mass of arrested men'.¹⁵¹ Certainly, Molotov categorized the Party's motive in

¹⁴⁶J. Arch Getty, Gábor T. Rittersporn and Viktor N. Zemskov, 'Victims of the Soviet Penal System in the Pre-War Years: A First Approach on the Basis of Archival Evidence', in *The American Historical Review*, 1993, Vol. 98, No. 4, p. 1033.

¹⁴⁷Lynne Viola, 'The Question of the Perpetrator in Soviet History', in *Slavic Review*, 2013, Vol. 72, No. 1, pp. 16–17.

¹⁴⁸Alexopoulos, 'Stalin and the Politics of Kinship', p. 99.

¹⁴⁹Alexopoulos, 'Stalin and the Politics of Kinship', p. 105.

¹⁵⁰Robert C. Tucker, *Stalin in Power: The Revolution From Above* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1992), pp. 485–486.

¹⁵¹Corinna Corinna, 'Children of "Enemies of the People" as Victims of the Great Purges', in *Cahiers du Monde Russe*, 1998, Vol. 39, No. 1/2, Les années 30: Nouvelles directions de larecherche, p. 213.

this way, arguing: '[The wives] had to be isolated somehow. Otherwise they would have served as conduits of all kinds of complaints. And a certain amount of demoralization.'¹⁵² Once the wives had been arrested, Kuhr argued, the state had to deal with the children left without mothers.¹⁵³

The findings of this book suggest that while the counter-revolutionary plots uncovered by the NKVD (the GPU's successor) were largely fictitious, in trying to suppress them the policies of Stalin and the Party were likely based on the evidence and experience gleaned from their own pre-revolutionary careers. The vast majority of family members were innocent in the 1930s, but they were also exactly the kinds of individuals who had helped the Bolsheviks and other revolutionary parties in the underground (and indeed in the early days of the new regime). The measures taken to watch Party families and the laws which dealt with counter-revolution and the involvement of family members were designed as if they were dealing with the pre-1917 movement where spouses, relatives and even children had regularly supported revolutionary parties.

One of the first signals that the regime was taking family life more seriously as a source of threat was the instigation of widespread spying on the Party elite from the late 1920s. Wiretapping and bugging of apartments became common practice, with Molotov admitting: 'I seem to have been bugged all my life.'¹⁵⁴ In the underground, as discussed above, the private home was the site of most of the daily activities of all the revolutionary parties. This remained the case when the Mensheviks and SRs went underground again in the 1920s. As the political atmosphere intensified, many Party members believed that the only place they could safely and candidly talk about politics was their home.¹⁵⁵ One transcript of a conversation between Zinoviev and Zlata Lilina from the late 1920s showed that 'political topics were intermixed with

¹⁵² *Molotov Remembers: Inside Kremlin Politics*, conversations with Felix Chuev, ed. and with an introduction by Albert Resis, (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1993), pp. 277–278.

¹⁵³ Kuhr, 'Children of "Enemies of the People"', p. 213.

¹⁵⁴ *Molotov Remembers*, p. 224; see also Aino Kuusinen, *Before and After Stalin: A Personal Account of Soviet Russia from the 1920s to the 1960s*, trans. by Paul Stevenson, foreword by Wolfgang Leonhard (London: Michael Joseph, 1974), pp. 48–49.

¹⁵⁵ Dinko Tomasic, 'Interrelations Between Bolshevik Ideology and the Structure of Soviet Society', in *American Sociological Review*, 1951, Vol. 16, No. 2, p. 146; Hosking, 'Trust and Distrust in the USSR', pp. 8–9; Volkogonov, *Stalin*, p. 181.

private, even intimate matters'.¹⁵⁶ It was at their dacha, for example, that Bukharin 'spoke frankly to [his wife Anna Larina] about the criminal role of Stalin in the organization of terror'.¹⁵⁷ As families became aware of the surveillance, adults who had always been discreet in public now avoided discussing politics at home and trained their children never to repeat conversations between adults, especially those things they said 'in a whisper'.¹⁵⁸ The Berias did not speak openly in front of their son Sergo, and Nina tried to maintain that protectiveness even into Sergo's adulthood.¹⁵⁹

This form of monitoring was supplemented by the planting of spies in homes, implemented under the cover of the growing privileges awarded to leading Party families. As they acquired state-funded and appointed chauffeurs, cooks, cleaners, guards, so too did they find their households infiltrated by individuals who reported directly to the GPU, while also fulfilling their domestic duties.¹⁶⁰ Stalin increasingly watched all visitors to the Kremlin: 'For security reasons he ordered that at larger gatherings, including children's parties, NKVD agents disguised as guests or staff were to supervise the proceedings and submit a written report about what had taken place.'¹⁶¹ Here he clearly had in mind the 'innocent' socializing of revolutionaries which had been used as a cover for political meetings in the underground. Similarly, the moving of many of the Soviet Party elite out of the Metropol and National hotels into the House on the Embankment was a measure designed to facilitate supervision of the Party elite. Once more the doormen were tasked with watching the residents, their relationships and their visitors.¹⁶² In the absence of actual evidence of plotting in private residences, many false

¹⁵⁶Larina, *This I Cannot Forget*, p. 118.

¹⁵⁷Robert C. Tucker, 'On the "Letter of an Old Bolshevik" as an Historical Document', in *Slavic Review*, 1992, Vol. 51, No. 4, p. 784.

¹⁵⁸Orlando Figes, *The Whisperers: Private Life in Stalin's Russia* (London: Allen Lane, 2007), p. xxxi; Beria, Sergo, *Beria, My Father: Inside Stalin's Kremlin*, ed. by Françoise Thom, trans. by Brian Pearce (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd, 2001), p. 34; Hosking, 'Trust and Distrust in the USSR', pp. 14–15.

¹⁵⁹Beria, *Beria*, pp. 279–280.

¹⁶⁰Larina, *This I Cannot Forget*, p. 84; Orlando Figes, *The Whisperers*, p. 264; Alliluyeva, *Twenty Letters*, p. 135.

¹⁶¹Miklós Kun, *Stalin: An Unknown Portrait* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2003), p. 273.

¹⁶²Kun, *Stalin*, pp. 254–255.

confessions included details of counter-revolutionary discussions and meetings held in homes, especially dachas.¹⁶³

Another signal was the abolition of the Society of Old Bolsheviks and the Society of Former Political Prisoners in 1935, two tightly knit groups of revolutionaries from the Tsarist underground.¹⁶⁴ The former group in particular had cemented the inter-relationships between Bolshevik families from the pre-revolutionary period, but was also known to defend revolutionaries from Party persecution. In 1935, the Society of Old Bolsheviks was preparing to protest against the treatment of Zinoviev, Kamenev and others accused of involvement in the murder of Sergei Mironovich Kirov, the leader of the Party in Leningrad, in December 1934.¹⁶⁵ This type of cooperation was no longer acceptable for, as Mawdsley and White argued, the ‘Old Bolshevik generation, with their close personal relationships and their history of past opposition’, were seen as ‘a thicket in which present-day oppositionists and “two-facers” might hide’. They continued: ‘It was precisely the cohesion of the Old Bolshevik elite which made them politically suspect.’¹⁶⁶

Over this period too, new laws were formulated which would facilitate the destruction of oppositional family networks. In 1926, a new Criminal Code was issued which included special provisions under Article 58 for the prosecution of counter-revolutionary activities, that is, any act ‘directed to the overthrow, subversion, or weakening of the power of the worker-peasant Soviets’ or a ‘conscious attack against the basic achievements of the proletarian revolution’.¹⁶⁷ This article was updated in June 1927 with provisions that ‘participation in any organization’ conducting counter-revolutionary activity was ‘punishable by death or, under mitigating circumstances, by deprivation of freedom

¹⁶³Oleg V. Khlevniuk, *In Stalin's Shadow: The Career of 'Sergo' Ordzhonikidze*, ed. Donald J. Raleigh, trans. by David J. Nordlander (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1995), p. 173.

¹⁶⁴Hiroaki Kuromiya, *Freedom and Terror in the Donbas: A Ukrainian-Russian Borderland, 1870s–1990s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 206.

¹⁶⁵Robert C. Tucker, ‘Problems of Interpretation’, in *Slavic Review*, 1983, Vol. 42, No. 1, pp. 82–83.

¹⁶⁶Evan Mawdsley and Stephen White, *The Soviet Elite from Lenin to Gorbachev: The Central Committee and its Members, 1917–1991* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 86.

¹⁶⁷Harold Joseph Berman, *Soviet Criminal Law and Procedure: The RSFSR Codes* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), p. 23.

with strict isolation for five to ten years with confiscation of property'. Numerous additional stipulations targeted exactly the types of roles played by the relatives of revolutionaries. The law made a specific reference not only to those who produced counter-revolutionary literature, but also to those who possessed it. The very definition of a counter-revolutionary crime included 'any kind of assistance' given to such a crime, even if not 'connected directly' to it and even 'when the person giving assistance was not aware of the counter-revolutionary purpose of the crime'. This was made punishable by 'deprivation of freedom from one to ten years'. Thus, the sheltering and feeding of a counter-revolutionary could be considered a crime, as could the hiding of illegal literature. Strikingly, 'even if the participant was unaware of the ultimate purpose of the organization, he was punishable by deprivation of freedom for three to ten years with confiscation of property'. Innocence of what was happening was no longer a mitigating circumstance, which meant that relatives who acted out of love for their kin or youngsters who did not really understand the significance of their actions were now a target. Finally, anyone who failed to report a counter-revolutionary crime could incur the penalty of 'deprivation of freedom from one to ten years'.¹⁶⁸

In June 1934, a new law was enacted on the punishment of military traitors, which made clear that relatives of the traitor would be automatically punished as well.¹⁶⁹ Published in *Pravda*, it stated:

In the event of one in the military service escaping abroad, the adult members of his family, if they in any way co-operated in the attempt or act of treason, or only knew about it and failed to report to the authorities, are punishable by imprisonment from five to ten years, with confiscation of all their property.

All the rest of the adult members of the traitor's family, who at the moment of the commission of the crime either lived with the miscreant or received his support, are punishable by loss of all citizenship rights and five years' exile to the remote regions of Siberia.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ Berman, *Soviet Criminal Law*, p. 24.

¹⁶⁹ Alexopoulos, 'Stalin and the Politics of Kinship', p. 112.

¹⁷⁰ Reswick, *I Dreamt Revolution*, pp. 323–324.

Melanie Ilic has set out how further orders issued made the families of political opponents specific targets. A decree issued on 23 May 1937 specified that the relatives and spouses of political opponents, members of terrorist organizations or spies could be ‘tried and sentenced to five or more years of loss of freedom and sent to an alternative place of residence’. By a further announcement in June the same year, those expelled from the Party would be exiled from six major cities—Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Rostov, Taganrog and Sochi—along with their families.¹⁷¹

The final blow came with NKVD order no. 00486 of August 1937, which was entitled ‘On the Repression of Wives of Enemies and Traitors of the Motherland, of Members of Right-Trotskyist Espionage-Sabotage Organizations Sentenced by the Military Collegia and by Military Tribunals’ and sanctioned the arrest of ‘all persons who are dependent on and who live with the person under arrest’.¹⁷² The order targeted the wives, ex-wives, children if they were over 15 and parents of the enemy of the regime.¹⁷³

Elements of these laws, beyond the direct targeting of family members, highlight that the experience of the underground informed their contents. For example, order no. 00486 called for the homes of political enemies to be searched for ‘weapons; ammunition; explosive and chemical substances; military equipment; copying equipment; counter-revolutionary literature; correspondence; foreign currency; precious metals in the form of ingots, coins and pieces; personal documents; and financial documentation’.¹⁷⁴ In the context of the 1930s, the expectations of what might be found in the homes of enemies sound far-fetched, but these were precisely the types of items which were stored in the homes of underground party agents before 1917.

Similarly, while the order temporarily exempted pregnant women and nursing mothers from arrest, measures were included to prevent the type

¹⁷¹Melanie Ilic, ‘The Forgotten Five per cent: Women, Political Repression and the Purges’, in Melanie Ilic, ed., *Stalin’s Terror Revisited* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 124–125.

¹⁷²Ilic, ‘The Forgotten Five per cent’, p. 126; Alexopoulos, ‘Stalin and the Politics of Kinship’, p. 105.

¹⁷³Ilic, ‘The Forgotten Five per cent’, p. 127; see also Kuhr, ‘Children of “Enemies of the People”’, p. 211.

¹⁷⁴Ilic, ‘The Forgotten Five per cent’, pp. 126–127.

of action such women had carried out in the underground, including warning other revolutionaries about arrests and continuing party work. Thus, these women were expected to remain in their current residence and were placed under surveillance.¹⁷⁵ That pre-revolutionary family networks were firmly in the minds of the NKVD is suggested by the fact that this form of collective punishment was not extended to criminals, but only to political offenders.¹⁷⁶

THE TERROR

Armed with this new legislation codifying attacks on entire families, the NKVD began to arrest Old Bolsheviks and their kin. All those who had offered opposition to Stalin, including Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin and Trotsky; those who had been closely associated with Lenin or with Stalin's wife Nadezhda Allilueva; and those Mensheviks and SRs who had avoided suppression until now, perhaps by joining the Party, were targeted, along with their spouses and children, siblings and parents.

The men of these families, including sons, brothers and fathers, were in the main executed, though some were sentenced to imprisonment in 'strict isolation' without correspondence rights.¹⁷⁷ Their sisters, wives (and ex-wives), daughters and mothers were first imprisoned and then sent into exile or to the Gulag. In a second, later wave of repressive measures, the wives of Stalin's closest comrades, including Kalinin, Litvinov and Molotov, were imprisoned while their husbands remained at liberty.¹⁷⁸ Others had siblings taken, including Stanislav Vikent'evich Kosior and Ordzhonikidze.¹⁷⁹

Mass arrests were not uncommon in the Tsarist period, with whole party committees being taken up in Okhrana operations. One of the fundamental differences between them and the Terror of the 1930s was the helplessness of family members in the face of them. Where previously

¹⁷⁵Ilic, 'The Forgotten Five per cent', p. 127.

¹⁷⁶Alexopoulos, 'Stalin and the Politics of Kinship', p. 91.

¹⁷⁷Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror: A Reassessment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 105; Simon Sebag Montefiore, *Stalin: The Court of the Red Tsar* (London: Phoenix, 2004), p. 224.

¹⁷⁸Sheila Fitzpatrick, *On Stalin's Team The Years of Living Dangerously in Soviet Politics* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2015), p. 134.

¹⁷⁹Fitzpatrick, *On Stalin's Team*, pp. 131–132; Sebag Montefiore, *Stalin*, p. 206.

prisoners could rely on their families to immediately begin petitioning the authorities on their behalf, protesting their innocence and pleading for their release, now many in the Party elite were unable or chose not to act.

Some did nothing to defend their wives (or ex-wives) who were arrested.¹⁸⁰ In 1938, when his brother was arrested, Stanislav Kosior, who had just been made deputy prime minister of the USSR, wrote to Stalin, stating that he was innocent and ‘had never suspected the real nature’ of his brother.¹⁸¹ Kuusinen’s wife condemned her husband, who ‘did not lift a finger when his own son was arrested in Karelia and sent to Siberia’ and ‘did nothing to save [...] his first wife’s brother, Einari Laaksovirta’.¹⁸² Kaganovich did not defend his brother Mikhail when it seemed that Politburo suspicion was falling on him. Shortly thereafter Mikhail committed suicide.¹⁸³

Some did not protest out of fear of retribution against themselves or their families.¹⁸⁴ Others chose not to become involved. Svetlana Allilueva explained her grandfather Sergei’s refusal to speak for his son-in-law, Redens, as his way of preserving his ‘dignity’ and ‘pride’.¹⁸⁵ There was even ‘a special decision of the Politburo forbidding members of the Politburo to interfere in the work of the NKVD’.¹⁸⁶ Larina described the contrast vividly:

In the mid-1920s, or perhaps close to the late 1920s, specialists from the old intelligentsia [...] were being persecuted. My father, Larin, doubting the justice in these arrests, [...] drove over to the OGPU to talk with Yagoda. The arrested were released.

But in the 1930s, such a thing could not have happened in your wildest dreams. For example, at the end of 1930 or the beginning of 1931, Sergei Groman turned to my father for help. He was the son of the former

¹⁸⁰Kun, *Stalin*, p. 239 and p. 266.

¹⁸¹Letter, quoted in Sebag Montefiore, *Stalin*, p. 279.

¹⁸²Kuusinen, *Before and After Stalin*, p. 227.

¹⁸³Dmitrii Volkogonov, *Stalin: Triumph and Tragedy*, ed. and trans. by Harold Shukman (London: Phoenix press, 2000), p. 247.

¹⁸⁴Kun, *Stalin*, p. 241; see, for example, Beatrice Farnsworth, ‘Conversing with Stalin, Surviving the Terror: The Diaries of Aleksandra Kollontai and the Internal Life of Politics’, in *Slavic Review*, 2010, Vol. 69, No. 4, p. 960 and p. 969.

¹⁸⁵Alliluyeva, *Twenty Letters*, pp. 56–57.

¹⁸⁶Fitzpatrick, *On Stalin’s Team*, p. 135; Reswick, *I Dreamt Revolution*, p. 170.

Menshevik Vladimir Groman, who had worked on the State Planning Committee and had just been arrested. [...] By this time, my father was powerless to help the younger Groman, who was eventually arrested. In fact, even Politburo members now had no access to the NKVD.¹⁸⁷

There were a few high-profile cases in which individuals denounced their families. Most famously, Georgii Leonidovich Piatakov at his trial offered to shoot his ex-wife, Evgeniia Bosh, for her links to Trotskyism.¹⁸⁸ Historians have also asserted that the fear generated by the Terror ‘destroy[ed] even the devotion of home and family’, making relatives suspect and turn on each other.¹⁸⁹ Yet Sheila Fitzpatrick has categorically demonstrated that while denunciation became a common part of Soviet life, it was extremely rare for family members to turn on one another.¹⁹⁰ She argued that above all there was a strong, ‘practical reason’ for not doing so: if one family member was identified as a traitor to the state, the rest of the family could expect to be branded in the same way.¹⁹¹ Fitzpatrick’s assertions are supported by the fact that the state adopted alternative strategies for gathering denunciations, including the measures such as widespread bugging mentioned above, as well as relying on denunciations by individuals outside the targeted family, including friends.¹⁹²

Indeed, far from denouncing each other, sometimes family members sought to help each other by cutting off ties to avoid incriminating one another. Larina tried to limit her contact with her own mother once Bukharin had been arrested for that very reason. As she put it: ‘By mutual agreement, because I was trying to safeguard her, Mother and I did not visit each other, though she was helping us out materially.’¹⁹³ Others, especially those lower down the Party ranks, continued to plead

¹⁸⁷Larina, *This I Cannot Forget*, pp. 94–95.

¹⁸⁸Conquest, *The Great Terror*, p. 141.

¹⁸⁹Reswick, *I Dreamt Revolution*, p. 168; Tomasic, ‘Interrelations’, p. 145; Figes, *The Whisperers*, p. 285.

¹⁹⁰Sheila Fitzpatrick, ‘Signals from Below: Soviet Letters of Denunciation of the 1930s’, in *The Journal of Modern History*, 1996, Vol. 68, No. 4 Practices of Denunciation in Modern European History, 1789–1989, p. 849.

¹⁹¹Fitzpatrick, ‘Signals from Below’, pp. 849–850.

¹⁹²Figes, *The Whisperers*, p. 261; *Molotov Remembers*, p. 224.

¹⁹³Larina, *This I Cannot Forget*, p. 169; Kun, *Stalin*, p. 184.

to the authorities on behalf of arrested loved ones regardless of the risks it entailed, and steadfastly refused to denounce their relatives.¹⁹⁴ Members of the Party elite also continued to intervene. Ordzhonikidze tried to defend his brother Pavel, who was arrested in Georgia in 1936 and made no effort to hide his contempt for Beria.¹⁹⁵ Svetlana was able to plead successfully to her father for her nurse who was about to be arrested, and even to convey a begging letter from the mother of one of her school friends, pleading for the release of her husband. Stalin granted this, but later forbade her ‘ever again to take such letters for transmission’.¹⁹⁶

As the arrests of key Bolshevik families began, they turned to each other, just as they had in the underground. Thus, before his arrest Radek asked Bukharin to intervene on his behalf to Stalin, while Bukharin wrote a letter to Ordzhonikidze asking him ‘to look after his family in the event of his arrest’.¹⁹⁷ In the event, Ordzhonikidze killed himself before he could be given the letter, and instead Larina had to rely on the generosity of Kalinin, who paid her rent.¹⁹⁸ Rykov’s family had also been counting on Ordzhonikidze’s continuing support.¹⁹⁹

One of the oldest forms of inter-family support also continued: Party members could usually rely on their comrades to take in their children if they themselves were arrested. Sergei Alliluev adopted his two grandsons, the children of Anna Allilueva and Stanisław Redens.²⁰⁰ The Mikoians protected Alla, the wife of their youngest son, when her father, Aleksei Kuznetsov, leader of the Leningrad Party, was arrested along with her mother. The Voroshilovs sheltered the wife of their adopted son Pëtr after her parents were arrested and applied successfully for the parents’ sentence to be changed from the Gulag to exile.²⁰¹ When Anna Larina

¹⁹⁴Fitzpatrick, ‘Signals from Below’, p. 849; see also Robert W. Thurston, ‘The Soviet Family during the Great Terror, 1935–1941’, in *Soviet Studies*, 1991, Vol. 43, No. 3, p. 566; Wendy Z. Goldman, *Inventing the Enemy: Denunciation and Terror in Stalin’s Russia*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 157–158.

¹⁹⁵Khlevniuk, *In Stalin’s Shadow*, p. 107; Montefiore, *Stalin*, p. 206.

¹⁹⁶Alliluyeva, *Twenty Letters*, p. 136; Svetlana Alliluyeva, *Only One Year*, trans. by Paul Chavchavadze (Hutchinson of London: 1969), pp. 146–147.

¹⁹⁷Larina, *This I Cannot Forget*, p. 297 and p. 317.

¹⁹⁸Larina, *This I Cannot Forget*, p. 168.

¹⁹⁹Khlevniuk, *In Stalin’s Shadow*, p. 142.

²⁰⁰Kun, *Stalin*, p. 392.

²⁰¹Alliluyeva, *Only One Year*, p. 394; Fitzpatrick, *On Stalin’s Team*, p. 136.

was imprisoned she left her child, Iurii, with her mother, but when she was arrested he had been placed in a children's home, despite the fact that his nanny, Praskov'ia Ivanovna Ivanova, had been willing to care for him.²⁰² Ivanova later helped Bukharin's father, Ivan Gavrilovich, to search for Iurii and petition Stalin for his custody.²⁰³ In the end his ill health prevented Ivan from caring for Iurii and he was taken in by Larina's mother's sister.²⁰⁴

Those who were arrested demonstrated deep loyalty and devotion to their families as well. Many made false confessions in order to try to save their family members from harm; others made final pleas to powerful comrades asserting the innocence of their kin and asking that they be spared.²⁰⁵ Where Tsarist prison officers had urged prisoners to think of the well-being of their families when trying to extract a confession, the NKVD now directly threatened prisoners' loved ones, including their children, since the age of criminal responsibility was 12 at this point.²⁰⁶ Indeed, the law had been passed with the intention of 'detering parents and other adults from enticing children into crime'.²⁰⁷ Did they have in mind the way in which children had been drawn into underground activities by their parents? Some confessed to having been offered (usually false) reassurances that their relatives would not be persecuted, others to having witnessed brutality against family members who were in prison along with them.²⁰⁸

As had been the case throughout the underground, family ties remained an unbreakable bond inextricably entangled with political matters in the first two decades of the Soviet regime. In the revolutionary period family networks had consistently been a support to the movement, sustaining party members and their activities through all the

²⁰²Larina, *This I Cannot Forget*, p. 77 and p. 168.

²⁰³Larina, *This I Cannot Forget*, pp. 77–78.

²⁰⁴Larina, *This I Cannot Forget*, pp. 241–244.

²⁰⁵Sebag Montefiore, *Stalin*, p. 190; Volkogonov, *Stalin*, p. 251.

²⁰⁶Kuhr, 'Children of "Enemies of the People"', p. 211; Thurston, 'The Soviet Family', p. 558.

²⁰⁷Thurston, 'The Soviet Family', p. 558.

²⁰⁸Fitzpatrick, *On Stalin's Team*, p. 124; Figes, *The Whisperers*, p. 248; Nathan C. Leites and Elsa Bernaut, *Ritual of Liquidation: The Case of the Moscow Trials* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1954), p. 19; Stephen F. Cohen, *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution: A Political Biography, 1883–1938* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 375.

challenges in the underground. They had also provided the foundation stones for the new regime after 1917. Gradually, however, as the state's fear of enemies became overwhelming, the family came to be seen as the final source of opposition to it and increasingly harsh and brutal measures were taken to obliterate kinship ties for good.

CONCLUSION

When writing about her experiences as a condemned wife, Anna Larina's thoughts turned to the Decembrist wives:

Consider the 'Russian women' [...] abandoning their lives of luxury in Petersburg and riding post chaise to join their Decembrist husbands in Siberia. There's no denying it; that was a heroic deed! A subject fit for a poet! But how did they travel? Behind a team of six horses, wrapped in furs, enclosed in a marvelously furnished carriage. [...] Also, they were riding to their husbands! Our women [...] were transported in cattle cars or in prison 'Stolypin cars', and on arrival we had to line up and walk from the station to the camp, drained of strength, barely able to haul our miserable belongings in suitcases or bundles, guarded by police dogs, and terrorized by the shouts of the convoy [...] And we were not going to our husbands, though some dreamers among us naively hoped that in that camp over in the other world they would be united with their men—men who had been sentenced to ten years without any mail or, in other words, men who had been shot.¹

Comparing her own experiences as the wife of a political enemy to those of the Decembrists' wives, Larina understandably found little

¹Anna Larina, *This I Cannot Forget: The Memoirs of Nikolai Bukharin's Widow*, introduction by Stephen F. Cohen, trans. by Gary Kern (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1994), p. 56. 'Stolypin cars' were the train carriages used to transport prisoners into exile after the 1905 revolution.

in common with them. Yet the fact they came to mind highlights that those who had begun the tradition of familial involvement in and support of revolutionary activity were firmly rooted in the imagination of the Bolsheviks. Larina pointed to the value of family ties in surviving oppression when she concluded: ‘Ah, how different that road would have been to me, if I could have believed that it led to Nikolai Ivanovich! But I was unable to hope.’² Indeed, it was for that very reason, the hope which family support provided, that the humanity with which the wives of the Decembrist exiles had been treated was deliberately omitted by the Soviet regime in its own policies regarding the family members of oppositionists.

By the mid-1930s, the institutions in place to incarcerate political enemies were extensive and fine-tuned to ensure the maximum disruption to, if not the destruction of, family networks. The main targets of the Terror were shot as soon as they were convicted, thus preventing final meetings between the condemned and their loved ones as the Tsarist regime had allowed, and their wives and other relatives were sent into exile and later into special camps.³ Children up to the age of four were housed in nurseries ‘near the places where their mothers were interned’, but young children were placed in orphanages if there were no relatives, friends or former servants to care for them, while older ones were sent into exile or to the camps.⁴ Brothers and sisters were

²Larina, *This I Cannot Forget*, p. 56.

³Melanie Ilic, ‘The Forgotten Five per cent: Women, Political Repression and the Purges’, in Melanie Ilic, ed., *Stalin’s Terror Revisited* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 127; Aino Kuusinen, *Before and After Stalin: A Personal Account of Soviet Russia from the 1920s to the 1960s*, trans. by Paul Stevenson, foreword by Wolfgang Leonhard (London: Michael Joseph, 1974), p. 120; Robert C. Tucker, *Stalin in Power: The Revolution From Above* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1992), p. 485.

⁴Corinna Kuhr, ‘Children of “Enemies of the People” as Victims of the Great Purges’, in *Cahiers du Monde Russe*, 1998, Vol. 39, No. 1/2, Les années 30: Nouvelles directions de la recherche, p. 212; Sheila Fitzpatrick, *On Stalin’s Team The Years of Living Dangerously in Soviet Politics* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2015), p. 125; Svetlana Alliluyeva, *Twenty Letters to a Friend*, trans. by Priscilla Johnson (London: World Books, 1968), p. 88; Tucker, *Stalin in Power*, p. 485; Nick Baron, ‘Production and Terror: The Operation of the Karelian Gulag, 1933–1939’, in *Cahiers du Monde Russe*, 2002, Vol. 43, No. 1, p. 150; J. Arch Getty, Gábor T. Rittersporn and Viktor N. Zemskov, ‘Victims of the Soviet Penal System in the Pre-War Years: A First Approach on the Basis of Archival Evidence’, in *The American Historical Review*, 1993, Vol. 98, No. 4, p. 1020.

separated.⁵ To make even the finding of imprisoned kin and children in orphanages more difficult, the NKVD rarely passed on information about where individuals were being held to relatives.⁶

Gulag prisons and camps were designed to isolate individuals from their families. The most ‘dangerous’ inmates were kept in solitary confinement in strictly run isolation prisons, often without correspondence rights.⁷ The rest were confined in the labour camps where correspondence rights were ‘extremely limited’ and all correspondence was censored.⁸ Some were allowed only to write ‘a single, solitary letter to ask for warm things’ and to ‘receive packages of food once a month’.⁹ Mothers were usually allowed to correspond with their children.¹⁰ Others had to live without food parcels, books, clothes and linens.¹¹ Rather than a right, visits from relatives were a privilege to be won through good behaviour and could be removed as a punishment.¹²

Nonetheless, even the Soviet regime’s draconian policies could not entirely destroy the link between the family and opposition. When the Decembrist wives chose to follow their husbands into exile, they signalled clearly that personal love and loyalty could be used to serve a political cause, that familial ties could be an asset to revolutionary campaigning and that family members could be counted on to make the same kinds of sacrifices as professional revolutionaries.

This book has traced the ways in which relatives of all types—parents, siblings, spouses and children—could and did support the political activities of the revolutionary movement. They joined as equal comrades and pursued careers side by side. Those who did not become official party

⁵Kuhr, ‘Children of “Enemies of the People”’, p. 212.

⁶Ilic, ‘The Forgotten Five per cent’, p. 127; Kuusinen, *Before and After Stalin*, p. 120.

⁷Steven A. Barnes, *Death and Redemption: The Gulag and the Shaping of Soviet Society* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011), pp. 18–19; J. Getty et al., ‘Victims of the Soviet Penal System’, p. 1019.

⁸Barnes, *Death and Redemption*, pp. 13, 19, 21; Getty et al., ‘Victims of the Soviet Penal System’, p. 1019.

⁹Larina, *This I Cannot Forget*, pp. 43–44; Barnes, *Death and Redemption*, p. 13.

¹⁰Kuhr, ‘Children of “Enemies of the People”’, p. 214.

¹¹Nick Baron, ‘Production and Terror: The Operation of the Karelian Gulag, 1933–1939’, in *Cahiers du Monde Russe*, 2002, Vol. 43, No. 1, p. 151 and pp. 153–156.

¹²Barnes, *Death and Redemption*, p. 71.

members themselves provided emotional and financial support, as well as invaluable help in hiding and smuggling literature, money and weapons for the cause. They helped party agents conduct correspondence and disrupted police interference. When loved ones were imprisoned or exiled, they offered support and care, helped prisoners maintain links with the revolutionary movement, and aided and abetted escapes.

The underground was also a site of experimentation and negotiation of the roles women and men were expected to play, both in the home and in politics. The blurring of the boundaries between the two spheres which resulted from the contingencies of the underground movement enabled women and men to cooperate daily as comrades in arms. Some men found themselves torn between the traditional role of breadwinner and family protector and that of lone-wolf revolutionary serving only the cause, yet most found a way to reconcile the two. For women, having to take responsibility for housework and childcare hindered their involvement in the movement at times, but these roles also took on political meanings. The former task helped to keep revolutionaries healthy and able to participate in the movement, while the latter raised new recruits who from birth could help revolutionaries thwart the authorities. Within the movement, auxiliary roles were assigned to women as a matter of course, yet without correspondence, smuggling, fake papers and safe houses the movement would have ceased to function.

Similarly, the Tsarist authorities had to reconcile their traditional view of family life as an essentially stabilizing force promoting loyalty to the regime and their knowledge that there was deep familial involvement in the revolutionary movement. While prisoners were exiled to family estates to be supervised by parents, the same regime instituted surveillance of the relatives of revolutionaries and enacted laws for the prosecution of aiders and abettors. Yet in the prisons and exile communities of the Tsarist regime concessions to family members were made almost as a matter of course and these proved to be the key to enabling relatives to sustain revolutionaries personally and as political agents.

Having seized power in October 1917, the Bolsheviks drew great strength from the family networks which had served them so well in the underground. They helped the Party to build a new regime, staffed by reliable and dedicated individuals, and to survive the challenges of the early years. However, even as family networks acted as a positive force, they began to cause corruption within party ranks and even undermined

state attempts to suppress socialist opponents. These subversive elements, the Mensheviks and the SRs, continued to rely on the support of family networks after 1917, especially as sympathizers melted away, but found themselves persecuted by a government which knew thoroughly the ways in which families could help an underground resistance and took decisive measures to prevent them from doing so.

The suspicion of family circles intensified throughout the 1920s and 1930s, and once the Party's external enemies were destroyed, it turned inwards to attack perceived opponents within its ranks. Where repression in the 1920s had been draconian, it now became absolutely brutal, with legislation to legitimize the execution of husbands, brothers and fathers and the incarceration of their wives, sisters, children and mothers. Huge efforts were made to obliterate all the old lifelines which family networks had offered prisoners, and absolute loyalty to a single leader at the expense of everything else was demanded.

And yet, the family as a political unit was never completely destroyed. Very rapidly after the peak of the Terror it was in fact, as Melanie Ilic and others have shown, the family which offered the Party a way to pull back from the frenzy of persecution. In 1937, the incarceration of wives and children put a huge strain on prisons and orphanages and the state resorted once more to exiling rather than imprisoning them.¹³ The following year, children were allowed once more to live with relatives, and seven months later it was decided to reduce the number of wives arrested, by ceasing to assume that they were guilty solely by their marriage to a political enemy.¹⁴ From now on, the state had to find evidence to show that a wife had been involved in counter-revolutionary activity in her own right or had assisted her husband in such work.¹⁵ Wives remained under suspicion, but the new approach at least acknowledged the possibility of wives' innocence.¹⁶

It took another twenty years before Old Bolshevik political prisoners began to be released from the Gulag, but as they reached freedom it was clear that the familial ties the state had tried so hard to destroy remained

¹³Ilic, 'The Forgotten Five per cent', p. 128.

¹⁴Kuhr, 'Children of "Enemies of the People"', p. 213.

¹⁵Ilic, 'The Forgotten Five per cent', pp. 129–130.

¹⁶Ilic, 'The Forgotten Five per cent', p. 130.

strong. Not all wives had memorized the final political testament of their executed husbands, as Larina had done for Bukharin, but regardless, they and their children were the keepers of the memory of relatives who had been shot or who had died while incarcerated. It was they who could tell the truth about the Terror and who could make the case for the posthumous rehabilitation of those loved ones who had not survived.¹⁷

¹⁷Miriam Dobson, 'POWs and Purge Victims: Attitudes towards Party Rehabilitation, 1956–57', in *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 2008, Vol. 86, No. 2, 'The Relaunch of the Soviet Project, 1945–1964', pp. 329–330 and p. 334; A.N. Emel'ianov, 'Rasskaz o moei materi', in Vinogradova, S.F., E.A. Giliarova, M.Ia. Razumova (eds), *Leningradki: vospominaniya, ocherki, dokumenty* (Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1967), p. 70; Larina, *This I Cannot Forget*, p. 77 and Stephen F. Cohen, *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution: A Political Biography, 1883–1938* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 370; Nanci Adler, *Keeping Faith with the Party: Communist Believers Return from the Gulag* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2012), pp. 3–4.

BIOGRAPHIES

Below is a list of the main individuals mentioned in the book, along with relevant members of their family trees and their roles in the revolutionary movement. Names in bold in the text have their own entry.

Adamovich, Evgeniia N., 1872–1942, RSDRP member, Bolshevik, after 1917 she worked for Commissariat of Enlightenment (Narkompros).

Adoratskii, Vladimir Viktorovich, 1878–1945, Bolshevik, after 1917 he worked as an archivist and was then director of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute.

Afnas'ev, Fëdor Afanas'evich, 1859–1905, member of the RSDRP, was killed during the 1905 revolution. Could rely on the help of his sympathetic father.

Aleksandrova, Vera Aleksandrovna, 1895–1966, became a Menshevik in 1921, literary critic. Married to Solomon Meerovich Schwarz, 1883–1973, Bolshevik, joined the Mensheviks in 1907. Both were exiled abroad after the civil war.

The Alliluev family (see also the Stalin family)

Grandmother, Magdalena Iakovlevna Aikhgol'ts

Father, Sergei Iakovlevich Alliluev, 1866–1945, Bolshevik, after 1917 worked in the field of electrification.

Mother, Ol'ga Evgen'evna Fedorenko, 1875–1951, Bolshevik.

Son, Pavel Sergeevich, 1894–1938, Red Army soldier in the civil war, then commander in the Red Army, died of a heart attack in 1938.

Married to Ksenia Aleksandrovna, arrested 1947, sentenced to ten years in prison. They had three children: Kira, 1919 arrested 1948, exiled for five years; Sergei, 1928; and Aleksandr, 1931.

Daughter, Anna Sergeevna, 1896–1964, joined the Communist Party 1919, worked in the secretariat of the Council of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom), worked as a secretary for the Cheka, arrested 1948, suffered mental breakdown and died in hospital. Married to Stanisław Frantsevich Redens, 1892–1940, Bolshevik, after 1917 worked for the Cheka, shot 1940. They had two sons.

Son, Fëdor Sergeevich, 1898–1955, Bolshevik, worked as a secretary in the Commissariat of Nationalities Affairs.

Daughter, Nadezhda Sergeevna, 1901–1932, Bolshevik, worked at the Commissariat of Nationalities Affairs, worked in Lenin's secretariat, committed suicide 1932. Married Stalin in 1919. They had two children; Vasili, 1921 and Svetlana, 1926. Svetlana married **Iuri Andreevich Zhdanov**.

Anan'in, Evgenii Arkad'evich, 1888–1965, Menshevik, emigrated. Could rely on the help of his sympathetic mother and sister.

Andreev, Andrei Andreevich, 1895–1971, Bolshevik, after 1917 member of the Politburo, worked for the Central Control Commission. Married to Dora Khazan, 1894–1961. They had two children; Vladimir, 1919, and Natal'ia, 1921.

The Antonov-Ovseenko family

Antonov-Ovseenko, Vladimir Aleksandrovich, 1883–1938, Menshevik, joined the Bolsheviks in 1914, member of opposition of the 1920s, diplomat, arrested and shot 1938.

First common-law wife, Anna Mikhailovna (died during civil war). They had a son Vladimir; he was adopted because Anna and Vladimir were both in prison.

Second wife, Rozaliia Borisovna Katznel'son, d. 1936, arrested in 1929, committed suicide in prison in 1936. They had three children: Vera, 1917; Anton, 1920; and Galina, 1921.

Third wife, Sof'ia Ivanovna Levina, 1898. They had a daughter, Valentina.

Arosev, Aleksandr Iakovlevich, 1890–1938, social-democrat, member of the Moscow Military Revolutionary Committee 1917, the Soviet Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, from 1934 chairman of the All-Union Society for Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries, arrested 1937 and shot 1938. Married to Ol'ga Viacheslavovna Goppen. They had three daughters: Natal'ia, 1919; Elena, 1923; and Ol'ga, 1925. Arosev then married Gertrude Adol'fovna Freund, ballerina.

The Armand family

Father, Evgenii Evgen'evich Armand

Mother, Varvara Karlovna

Daughter, Anna Evgen'evna, 1866, Bolshevik, on the sealed train with Lenin in 1917.

Daughter, Mariia Evgen'evna, 1868, SR.

Son, Aleksandr Evgen'evich, 1869/70–1943, zemstvo member. Married 1893 to Inessa Armand. They had four children: Aleksandr, 1894; Fëdor, 1896; Inna, 1898; and Varvara, 1901.

Daughter, Vera Evgen'evna, 1871.

Son, Nikolai Evgen'evich, 1872.

Son, Vladimir Evgen'evich, 1875–1909, social-democrat. Vladimir was the common-law husband of Inessa Armand from 1903. They had a son, Andrei, 1903.

Daughter, Evgeniia Evgen'evna, 1876.

Son, Boris Evgen'evich, 1878, social-democrat.

Daughter, Sof'ia, 1881, married to Nikolai Romanovich Brilling, Bolshevik

Daughter, Varvara Evgen'evna, 1882. Married to Evgenii Romanovich Brilling, Bolshevik.

Son, Sergei Evgen'evich, 1882, SR.

Adopted daughter, Elizabeth Inès (Inessa) Armand, 1874–1920, member of the RSDRP, Bolshevik, member of the editorial board of *Rabotnitsa* (*The Woman Worker*), after 1917 leader of the Zhenotdel. Married to Aleksandr Evgen'evich and the common-law wife of Vladimir Evgen'evich, five children (see above). Relationship with **Vladimir Il'ich Lenin**—see the entry for **The Ul'ianov family**.

Armfel'd, Natal'ia Aleksandrovna, 1850–1887, member of the Chaikovskii circle, died in exile. Could rely on the help of her sympathetic mother.

- Artiukhina, Aleksandra Vasil'evna, 1889–1969, social-democrat, leader of the Zhenotdel, editor of *Rabotnitsa*, member of the Orgburo 1926–1930. Could rely on the help of her sympathetic mother.
- Avksent'ev, Nikolai Dmitrievich, 1878–1943, SR leader, emigrated. Married to Mariia Samoilovna Tumarkina. They had a daughter, Aleksandra Pregel', 1907. Then married 1922 to Berta Mikhailovna Markushevich, SR.
- Axelrod, Pavel Borisovich, 1850–1928, co-founder of the Emancipation of Labour Group, co-editor of *Iskra*, Menshevik. Married 1875 to Nadezhda Ivanovna Kaminer, d. 1906. They had three children: Vera, 1875; Aleksandr, 1879; and Sof'ia, 1881.
- Azef, Evgenii Filippovich, 1869–1918, leader of SR Combat Organization, Okhrana agent. Married to Ljuba Mankin.
- Bakunin, Mikhail Aleksandrovich, 1814–1876, anarchist, lived in emigration.
- Balashov, Semën Ivanovich, 1874–1925, RSDRP member, Bolshevik. Married.
- Balmashëv, Valerian Aleksandrovich, People's Will member, son, Stepan, 1881–1902, revolutionary terrorist with links to RSDRP and SRs.
- Bauman, Nikolai Ernestovich, 1873–1905, social-democrat and Bolshevik.
- Beria, Lavrentii Pavlovich, 1899–1953, Georgian Bolshevik, worked for the Georgian OGPU, from 1938 head of the NKVD, arrested and shot 1953 after Stalin's death. Married to Nina Teimurazovna Gegechkori, 1905–1991. They had a son, Sergo, 1924, who married Maxim Gorky's grand-daughter, Marfa Peshkova.
- Bobrovskaia, Cecilia Samoilovna Zelikson, 1873–1960, Bolshevik, worked for the Comintern. Married to Vladimir Semënovich Bobrovskii, 1873–1924, Bolshevik, worked for the Commissariat of Agriculture. Cecilia could rely on the support of her sympathetic sister, Rose, as well as on her mother-in-law Sof'ia Bobrovskaia and her sister-in-law, Nina.
- Bogdanov, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich, 1873–1928, Bolshevik and leading figure in Proletkult after 1917. Married to Natal'ia Bogdanovna Korsak.
- Bogdanovich, Iuri Nikolaevich, 1849–1888, member of Land and Liberty and the People's Will, involved in the assassination of Alexander II.
- Bonch-Bruevich, Vladimir Dmitrievich, 1873–1955, RSDRP member, Bolshevik. Married to Vera Mikhailovna Velichkina, 1868–1918, Bolshevik and doctor. They had a daughter, Elena, 1904–1985.

Then married to Anna Semënovna Tinker, 1886–1956, director of the Museum of the Revolution in Moscow. They had a son, Iosef Chernomordik, Anna's son from her first marriage. Bonch-Bruevich's brother, Mikhail, 1870–1956, was a general in the Imperial Army and the Red Army.

Bosh, Evgeniia Bogdanovna—see the entry for **The Maish family**

Breshko-Breshkovskaia, Ekaterina Konstantinovna, 1844–1934, populist and SR, emigrateed. She had a son, Nikolai. She could rely on the support of her sympathetic sister, Ol'ga.

Broido, Eva L'vovna, 1876/78–1941, member of the RSDRP, Menshevik, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Menshevik Party 1917, emigrated, but returned to Russia in 1927 to work underground, arrested, imprisoned, exiled, shot 1941. Married to Abram Edelman. They had one child, Aleksandra, 1897. From 1902 married to Mark Isaevich Broido, 1877–1937, member of the RSDRP, Menshevik, in 1917 a leading figure in the Petrograd Soviet, emigrated. They had two children, Daniel, 1903, and Vera, 1907.

The Bronstein family

Father, David Leont'evich Bronstein, 1843–1922

Mother, Anna L'vovna Zhivotovskaia

Son, Trotsky, Lev Davidovich, 1879–1940, member of the RSDRP, in 1917 member of the member of the Mezhraionka or United RSDRP group, then Bolshevik, leading figure in the October revolution and civil war, Stalin's opponent in the 1920s, exiled internally then abroad, assassinated 1940. Married to Aleksandra L'vovna Sokolovskaia, 1872–1938, social-democrat, arrested and exiled 1935. They had two daughters: Zinaida, 1901, committed suicide 1933; and Nina, 1902, died of TB 1928. From 1903 married to Natal'ia Ivanovna Sedova, social-democrat. They had two sons: Lev, 1906, died in 1938; and Sergei, 1908, arrested and shot 1937.

Daughter, Ol'ga Davidovna, 1883–1941, revolutionary, lived in emigration before 1917, after 1917 worked for the Commissariat of Enlightenment (Narkompros) and then All-Union Society for Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries, arrested and imprisoned 1936, shot 1941. Married to **Lev Borisovich Kamenev**. They had two sons: Aleksandr, 1906, shot 1939; and Iurii, 1921, shot 1939.

The Bukharin family

Father, Ivan Gavrilovich Bukharin.

Mother, Liubov Ivanovna Bukharina.

Son, Bukharin, Nikolai Ivanovich, 1888–1938, Bolshevik, Politburo member, editor of *Pravda* and *Izvestiia*, opposed Stalin over collectivisation, defendant in the show trial of the Twenty-One, shot 1938. Could rely on the support of his sympathetic father.

First wife, Nadezhda Mikhailovna Lukina, married 1911, arrested 1938, shot 1940.

Second wife, Esfir' Isaevna Gurvich, 1895–1989, married 1921–1929, arrested 1947. They had a daughter Svetlana, 1924, arrested 1947.

Third wife, Anna Mikhailovna Larina, married 1934 (see entry for **The Larin family**). They had a son Iurii, 1936, placed in orphanage, then raised by Anna's relatives.

Burenin, Nikolai Evgen'evich, 1874–1962, RSDRP member, after 1917 worked for the Commissariat of Enlightenment (Narkompros). Could rely on the support of his sympathetic mother.

Cherevanin, Fëdor Andreevich, 1869–1938, member of the RSDRP, member of the Menshevik Central Committee, opponent of the Soviet regime, in prison and exile, shot 1938. He had a daughter.

Cherepanov, Sergei Aleksandrovich, 1881–1918, member of the RSDRP, member of the Petrograd Military Revolutionary Committee. Married to Marusia Cherepanova.

The Chernosvitov family

Father, Nikolai Petrovich Chernosvitov, 1848–1908.

Mother, Aleksandra Ivanovna Pushkin, 1840–1934.

Son, Nikolai Nikolaevich, 1870.

Daughter, Sof'ia Nikolaevna Chernosvitova-Smidovich, 1872–1934, member of the RSDRP, Bolshevik, after 1917, head of the Zhenotdel, member of the Central Control Commission. Married to Platon Vasil'evich Lunacharskii, 1867–1904. They had a daughter, Tania, 1895. Then married to Pëtr Germogenovich Smidovich, 1874–1935, member of the RSDRP, in 1917 member of the Moscow Military Revolutionary Committee, member of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet. They had two children: Gleb, 1910; and Sof'ia, 1912.

Son, Vladimir Nikolaevich, 1873.

Son, Aleksei Nikolaevich, 1875.

The Chernov family

Chernov, Viktor Mikhailovich, 1873–1952, leader of the SRs, Chairman of the Constituent Assembly, emigrated.

First wife, Anastasia Nikolaevna Slětova, 1873–1938, SR, elected to the Constituent Assembly. They had two children: Boris, 1900; and Mariia, 1908. Slětova's brother was **Stepan Nikolaevich Slětov**, 1876–1915, SR, terrorist.

Second wife, Ol'ga Eliseevna Kolbasina, 1886–1964, SR. She had three children from a previous marriage: twin daughters, Natal'ia and Ol'ga, 1903, and son, Vadim, and one child with Viktor: Ariadna, 1908.

Relationship with Ida Samoilovna Sirmus-Pider.

Nikolai Semënovich Chkheidze, 1864–1926, Georgian Social Democrat and leading Menshevik, Chairmand of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet in 1917, President of the Democratic Republic of Georgia in 1918, emigrated. He was married. He had two sons, one d. 1917. His brother was Kalenike, Menshevik.

Dan, Fëdor Il'ich, 1871–1941, member of the Union of Struggle for the Emancipation of Labour and the RSDRP, Menshevik leader, leading figure in the Petrograd Soviet, exiled abroad. Married to Vera Vasil'evna Kozhevnikova. They had a daughter. Then married to Lydia Osipovna Tsederbaum-Dan. They had a daughter, d. 1917.

Dankerov, Nikolai Ivanovich, social-democrat, cousin of **George Denike**.

Degaev, Sergei Petrovich, 1857–1921, People's Will member and terrorist. Married to Liubov' Nikolaevna Ivanova. Could rely on sympathetic support from his mother Natal'ia Nikolaevna Degaeva and his three siblings.

Deutsch, Leo Grigor'evich, 1855–1941, member of Land and Liberty and of the RSDRP, Menshevik.

Denike, George, 1887-circa - 1987, social-democrat who joined the Mensheviks in 1917, emigrated.

Deviatkin, Aleksandr Fëdorovich, 1886–1932, Menshevik, died in exile.

Dilevskaia, Ol'ga Aleksandrovna, 1886–1919, member of the RSDRP, captured and executed by the Whites. Married to Nikolai Nikolaevich Avdeev. They had a daughter Irina. Ol'ga's sister Vera was also a

- Bolshevik. She was married to **Veniamin Mikhailovich Sverdlov**. Her other siblings were Margarita, Natal'ia, Elena and Iurii.
- Drabkina, Feodosiia Il'ichna, 1883–1957, Bolshevik, member of editorial board of *Rabotnisa*, after 1917 worked for for the Commission for the History of the October Revolution and the Communist Party (Istpart). Married to Sergei Ivanovich Gusev, 1874–1933, Bolshevik, member of the Military Revolutionary Committee. They had a daughter, Elizaveta, 1901–1974, Bolshevik and writer.
- Dragomanov, Mikhail Petrovich, 1841–1895, Ukrainian activist and scholar. He was married and had a daughter.
- Durnovo, Elizaveta Petrovna, 1854, member of the Black Repartition, SR, emigrated, niece of the Pëtr Pavlovich Durnovo, Governor of Moscow. From 1883 married to fellow comrade Iakov Konstantovich Efron. They had two sons: Konstantin and Sergei. Sergei worked for the NKVD and married the poet Maria Tsvetaeva.
- Dzerzhinskii, Feliks Edmundovich, 1877–1926, Bolshevik, head of the Cheka. Married to Iuliia Isaakovna Gol'dman, d. 1904. From 1910 married to Sof'ia Sigizmundovna Mushkat, 1882–1968, social-democrat. They had a son Jaček, 1911. Feliks could rely on the support of his siblings.
- Emel'ianov, Nikolai Aleksandrovich, 1872–1958, Bolshevik, sheltered Lenin in 1917, 1932 arrested, sentenced to ten years in prison, exiled, released after Stalin's death. Married to Nadezhda Kondrat'evna, 1877–1961, Bolshevik, 1932 arrested, received the same sentence as her husband, released after Stalin's death. They had seven sons. Three of them, Aleksandr, Nikolai and Kondratii were arrested in 1934. Nikolai and Kondratii were shot in 1937. Aleksandr was imprisoned. Nikolai Aleksandrovich had three brothers Vasiliï, Ivan and Savva, all of whom were Bolsheviks.
- Enukidze, Avel Safronovich, 1877–1937, Bolshevik, Secretary of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR, member of the Central Control Commission, arrested and shot 1937.
- Ermakov, Pëtr Sakharovich, 1884–1952, Bolshevik, involved in the execution of the Romanovs. He had a family.
- Epstein, Anna, 1843–1895, member of the Chaikovskii circle and Land and Liberty, emigrated. Married to a fellow comrade, Dmitriï Aleksandrovich Klements, 1848–1914, member of the Chaikovskii circle and Land and Liberty. Could rely on the support of her sympathetic mother.

Ezhov, Nikolai Ivanovich, 1895–1940, Bolshevik from May 1917, chief of the NKVD, arrested and shot. Married to Antonia Titova from 1919–1930. From 1930–1938 married to Evgenia Feigenberg, 1930–1938, committed suicide. They adopted Natalia Khaiutina in 1932. She was placed in an orphanage, then sent to the Gulag. Ezhov's brother Ivan was shot; his mother Anna Antonovna and sister Evdokia Babulina survived.

Fedoseev, Nikolai Evgrafovich, 1871–1898, Marxist, was engaged to be married, but died before the marriage took place.

The Figner family

Father, Nikolai Aleksandrovich Figner, 1817–1870.

Mother, Ekaterina Khristoforovna Kuprianova, 1832–1903.

Daughter, Vera Nikolaevna Figner, 1852–1942, member of the Fritschi circle, leading figure in the People's Will, involved in the assassination of Alexander II, after 1917 was a leading figure in the Society of Former Political Prisoners and Exiles.

Daughter, Lydiia Nikolaevna, 1853–1920, member of the Fritschi circle, member of the All-Russian Social-Revolutionary (Moscow) Organization. Married to Sergei Grigorievich Stakhevich. They had four children.

Son, Pëtr Nikolaevich, 1855–1916, a mining engineer.

Son, Nikolai Nikolaevich, 1857–1918, an opera singer.

Daughter, Evgeniia Figner, 1858–1931, member of the People's Will, later worked for the Political Red Cross. Married a fellow political convict, Mikhail Petrovich Sazhin, 1845–1934. They had four sons.

Daughter, Ol'ga Nikolaevna, 1862–1919, socialist activist, then left the movement. Married to Sergei Nikolaevich Florovskii.

Fofanova, Margarita Vasil'evna, 1883–1976, member of the RSDRP, Bolshevik from April 1917, sheltered Lenin in 1917. Married to Vladimir Fofanov. They had two children: Galina and Sergei.

Fotieva, Lydia Aleksandrovna, 1881–1975, Bolshevik, after 1917 Secretary to the Council of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom).

Frunze, Mikhail Vasil'evich, 1885–1925, Bolshevik, Central Committee member from 1921. Married to Sof'ia Alekseevna Popova, 1890–1926, daughter of a People's Will member. They had two children: Tatiana, 1920; and Timur, 1942. Both were adopted by the **Voroshilovs** after Frunze and Popova's deaths.

- Garvi, Pëtr Abramovich, 1881–1944, member of the RSDRP, Menshevik, emigrated in 1922. Married to Sof'ia Samoilovna Fichmann, 1881–1958, social-democrat. His sister Roza was married to a fellow comrade.
- Gelf'man, Gesia Mirokhovna, 1852/55–1882, member of the People's Will, involved in the assassination of Alexander II, died of peritonitis after the birth of her child in prison. Common-law wife of People's Will comrade, Nikolai Alekseevich Sablin, 1849/50–1881, involved in the assassination of Alexander II, committed suicide before his arrest.
- Gol'tseva, N. A., member of the Going to the People movement, Menshevik. Married to Sergei Leonidovich Konkevich. They had a daughter, Irina.
- Golubeva, Mariia Petrovna, 1861–1936, People's Will member and Bolshevik, after 1917 worked for the Cheka and Central Committee. Married to Vasilii Semënovich Golubev, journalist. She had three children.
- Golubkov, Aleksandr Pavlovich, 1880–1945, member of the RSDRP and Bolshevik, doctor, after 1917, involved in Soviet healthcare provision. Possibly married to Maria Filippovna. They had a son: Pavel, 1914.

The Gorev family

- Father, Isaak Meerovich Gol'dman
- Son, Boris Isaakovich Gorev, 1874–1937, member of the RSDRP, Menshevik. He had a girlfriend, O.V. Neustroeva.
- Son, Mikhail Isaakovich Liber, 1880–1937, member of the Bund.
- Daughter, Iuliia Isaakovna Gol'dman, d. 1904. Married to **Feliks Edmundovich Dzerzhinskii**.

The Gorky family

- Maxim Gorky (born Peshkov), writer and Bolshevik supporter.
- Common-law wife, Ol'ga Kaminskaia.
- Wife Ekaterina Pavlovna Volzhina-Peshkova, 1887–1965, activist in the Political Red Cross. They had a son: Maxim Peshkov, 1897–1934.
- Common-law wife, Maria Fëdorovna Andreeva, actress and Bolshevik.
- Common-law wife, Mariia (Mura) Ignat'evna Budberg, 1891–1974.
- In 1902 Gorky adopted **Zinovii Mikhailovich Sverdlov**.

- Grachevskii, Mikhail Fëdorovich, 1849–1887, member of the People's Will.
- Groman, Vladimir Gustavovich, 1874–1940, Menshevik, after 1917 worked for the State Planning Committee (Gosplan). He had a son Sergei.

- Gurari, Vera Davidovna, member of the People's Will, then social-democrat.
- Harper, Samuel N., 1882–1943, American scholar of Russian history and politics.
- Hartman, Lev Nikolaevich, 1850–1913, member of Land and Liberty and the People's Will.
- Iakimova, Anna Vasil'evna, 1856–1942, member of the People's Will, SR and member of the Society of Former Political Prisoners and Exiles, worked for *Katorga i sylka* (*Hard Labour and Exile*). From 1881–1883 married to Martyn Rudol'fovich Langans, 1852–1883, member of the People's Will, hanged 1883. They had a son, Martyn. While in exile from 1892–1904 she married Moisei Andreevich Dikovskii, member of People's Will. They had a son, Andrei.
- Ignat'ev, Aleksandr Mikhailovich, 1879–1936, Bolshevik, served in WWI, USSR trade representative in Finland and in Berlin.
- Iremashvili, Iosif (Soso), 1878–1944, classmate of Stalin's, Georgian Menshevik, exiled abroad 1922. Could rely on the support of his sympathetic sister.
- Iudelevskii, Iankel' Lazarevich, 1868–1957, member of the People's Will, SR, emigrated to France. Married to Mariia Semënovna Sheffer, d. 1936, revolutionary. They had a son.
- Iuzhakova, Elizaveta Nikolaevna, 1852–1883, member of the revolutionary movement in Odessa. Common-law wife of Ignatii Antonovich Bachin, 1852–1883, revolutionary. They had a child. Bachin murdered Iuzhakova and then committed suicide.
- Ivanova, Sof'ia Andreevna, 1856–1927, member of the People's Will, later worked for the Political Red Cross. From 1879 married to **Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Kviatovskii**, 1852–1880. They had a son Aleksandr, 1880–1884. From 1888 married to Anton Stepanovich Boreish, 1858–1924, populist, member of the People's Will.

The Ivanovskii family

- Brother, Vasilii Semënovich, 1846–1911, member of the Chaikovskii circle, emigrated.
- Sister, Aleksandra Semënovna, 1851–1917, member of Land and Liberty. Married to Sergei Andreevich Malyshev, 1853–1920, political exile.
- Sister, Praskov'ia Semënovna, 1852–1935, member of the People's Will, SR and terrorist, Married to Innokentii Fëdorovich Voloshenko,

1848–1908, member of Land and Liberty and the People’s Will, SR, after 1917 member of the Society of Former Political Prisoners and Exiles.

Sister, Evdokiia Semënovna, 1855–1940, involved in the revolutionary movement. Married to the writer Vladimir Glaktionovich Korolenko. They had two daughters: Natal’ia, Menshevik; and Sof’ia.

Brother, Ivan Semënovich, 1859, involved in the revolutionary movement.

Brother, Pëtr Semënovich, 1863, involved in the revolutionary movement, first arrested aged 13.

Isaev, Grigorii Prokof’evich, 1857–1886, member of the People’s Will.

Joffe, Adolf Abramovich, 1883–1927, member of the RSDRP, after 1917 he worked for the People’s Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, member of the 1920s opposition, committed suicide. Married to Berta Il’inichna Tsyapkina. They had a daughter, Nadezhda, 1906. Then married to Mariia Mikhailovna Hirschberg, 1896–1989. They had a son, Vladimir.

The Kaganovich family

Father, Moisei Gershkovich Kaganovich

Mother, Genia Iosifovna Dubinskaia, 1860–1933

Son, Izrail’ Moiseevich, 1884–1973, member of the Communist Party, worked for the Ministry of the Dairy and Meat Industry.

Son, Mikhail Moiseevich, 1888–1941, Bolshevik, after 1917 worked for the Control Commission.

Son, Iulii Moiseevich, 1892–1962, member of the Communist Party, Party career.

Son, Lazar’ Moiseevich, 1893–1991, Bolshevik, after 1917 member of the Orgburo, the Central Committee of the Party and member of the Politburo. Married to Mariia Markovna Privorotskaia, Bolshevik. They had a daughter, Maia 1917 and adopted a son, Iurii.

Son, Aron Moiseevich, member of the Communist Party, worked for the Ministry of Light Industry.

Daughter, Rakhil’ Moiseevna, d. 1926.

Kalinin, Mikhail Ivanovich, 1875–1946, founding member of RSDRP and Bolshevik, from 1919 Head of State, member of the Politburo.

- Married to Ekaterina Ivanovna Lorberg. They had five children: Valerii, 1904; Iuliia, 1905; Aleksandr, 1908; Lidiia, 1912; and Anna, 1916.
- Kamenev, Lev Borisovich, 1883–1936, member of the RSDRP, Bolshevik, Politburo member after 1917, formed triumverate with **Zinoviev** and **Stalin**, then a member of the opposition, defendant in the show trial of the Sixteen in 1936, shot. Married until 1927 to **Ol'ga Davidovna Bronstein**. They had two sons: Aleksandr, 1906, shot 1937; and Iurii, 1921, shot 1938. Then he was the common-law husband of Tat'iana Ivanovna Glebova, 1899–1937, shot 1937. They had a son, Vladimir, 1929. He was put in an orphanage. Kamenev's brother Nikolai was also shot along with his wife and son. Kamenev could rely on the support of his sympathetic parents.
- Kaminskaia, Berta (Beti) Abramovna, 1853–1878, member of the All-Russian Social-Revolutionary (Moscow) Organization, committed suicide.
- Kamo—see the entry for **Ter-Petrosian, Semën Arshakovich**
- Karakhan, Lev Mikhailovich, 1889–1937, member of the Mezhrainka or United RSDRP group, after 1917 was the Head of the Eastern Department of the People's Commissariat, Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, arrested and shot 1937. From 1909 married to Klavdiia Efremovna Manaeva, 1890–1978. They had a son, Mikhail, b. 1916. From 1918 married to Vera Viktorovna Dzheneeva, 1890–1972, actress. They had two children, Irina and Iurii. From 1930 married to ballerina Marina Timofeevna Semënova.
- Kerensky, Aleksandr Fëdorovich, 1881–1970, SR, Minister of Justice and War in the Provisional Government, Prime Minister, emigrated. Married to Ol'ga L'vovna Baranovskaia, 1884–1975. They had two sons, Oleg and Gleb, divorced 1939. Then married to Lydia Ellen (Nell) Tritton, 1899–1946.
- Kibal'chich, Nikolai Ivanovich, 1853–1881, member of Land and Liberty and of the People's Will, involved in the assassination of Alexander II, hanged.
- Kirov, Sergei Mironovich, 1886–1934, Bolshevik, after 1917 head of Leningrad Party organization, member of the Politburo, murdered 1934. Married to Mariia L'vovna Markus.
- Kollontai, Aleksandra Mikhailovna, 1872–1952, RSDRP member, then Menshevik, from 1915 a Bolshevik, People's Commissar of Social Welfare, leader of the Zhenotdel, member of the Workers'

- Opposition, diplomat. Married to Vladimir Ludvigovich Kollontai. They had a son, Mikhail, 1894. Then she had relationship with **Aleksandr Gavrilovich Shliapnikov**, 1885–1937, Bolshevik. Then she married Pavel Efimovich Dybenko, 1889–1938, Bolshevik. Could rely on the support of her sympathetic parents.
- Kosior, Stanislav Vikent'evich, 1889–1939, Bolshevik, member of the Politburo, had three brothers all of whom were active in the underground movement. Married for second time to Elizaveta. They had two sons: Vladimir, 1922 and Mikhail, 1924.
- Koval'skaia, Elizaveta Nikolaevna, 1851–1943, member of Land and Liberty, then the Black Repartition, organised the South Russian Workers' Union in Kiev, joined the SRs, after 1917 on the editorial board of *Katorga i syylka* (*Hard Labour and Exile*). Married to Iakov Ignat'evich Koval'skii, 1845–1917, a member of the student revolutionary movement. From 1902 married to Mechislav Man'kovskii.
- Kranikhfel'd, Sergei Nikolaevich, 1871–1914, social-democrat and Menshevik. Married to **Nadezhda Osipovna Tsederbaum**, 1875–1923. They had three children: Andrei Sergeevich Kranikhfel'd, 1902–1938; Liudmila, 1904–1990; and Viktoriia, 1905–1983. Sergei had two cousins in exile for their involvement in the People's Will.
- Krasikov, Pëtr Anan'evich, 1870–1939, social-democrat, Bolshevik, after 1917 worked for the People's Commissariat of Justice. Married to Viktoriia Przhigodskaiia. They had a son, Pëtr.
- Krasin, Leonid Borisovich, 1870–1926, social-democrat, Bolshevik, after 1917 People's Commissar of Foreign Trade. Married to Liubov' Vasil'evna Milovidova. They had three daughters: Liudmila; Ekaterina; and Liubov'. Then married to Tamara Vladimirovna Miklashevskaiia.
- Kropotkin, Pëtr Alekseevich, 1842–1921, anarchist and member of the Chaikovskii circle, lived in emigration but after 1917 returned to Russia. Married to Sof'ia Grigor'evna. Could rely on the sympathetic support of his brother, Aleksandr.
- Krylenko, Nikolai Vasil'evich, 1885–1838, father was a political exile, member of the RSDRP, broke briefly with the party, returned as a Bolshevik, after 1917 a member of the Council of People's Commisars (Sovnarkom), chairman of the Supreme Tribunal of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and 1931 People's Commissar of Justice, arrested and shot 1938. Married to **Elena Feodorovna Rozmirovich**, 1886–1953. From 1905 married to Zinaida Andreevna

Zhelezniak. They had four children: Irina; Marina; Sergei; and Nikolai.

The Krzhizhanovskii family

Father, Maksimilian Nikolaevich Krzhizhanovskii.

Mother, Elvira Ernestovna Rosenberg, sympathetic to cause.

Son, Gleb Maksimilianovich Krzhizhanovskii, 1872–1959, member of the Union of Struggle for the Emancipation of Labour, member of the RSDRP, Bolshevik, after 1917 worked for the Supreme Economic Council (VSNKh). Married 1899 to Zinaida Pavlovna Nevzorova, 1869–1948 (see entry for **The Nevzorov siblings**).

Daughter, Antonina Maksimilianova Krzhizhanovskaia. Married to Vasili Vasil'evich Starkov, 1869–1925, member of the Union of Struggle for the Emancipation of Labour, after 1917 worked for the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade. They had two children: Tat'iana Lunts and G.V. Starkov.

Kuchin, Georgii Dmitrievich, 1889–1935, Menshevik, actively opposed the Bolsheviks after 1917, arrested and exiled, went abroad 1924, returned to Russia, arrested, imprisoned then exiled, shot 1935.

Kuibyshev, Valerian Vladimirovich, 1885–1935, Bolshevik, after 1917 member of the Politburo, chairman of the State Planning Committee (Gosplan). Married to Praskov'ia Afans'evna Stiazhkina, 1890–1962, Bolshevik. Then married to Elena Solomonovna Kogan, 1886–1937, Bolshevik, arrested 1937 and shot. His third marriage was to Galina Troianskaia (niece of Evgeniia Bogdanovna Gotlibovna Bosh, see entry for **The Maish family**). His fourth marriage was to Ol'ga Lezhava, 1901–1986.

Kun, Bela, 1886–1938/39, Hungarian Communist revolutionary who founded the short-lived Hungarian Soviet Republic, moved to USSR, worked for the Comintern and in publishing, arrested 1937, shot 1938. From 1913 married to Iren Gal. They had a daughter, Agnes, 1915.

Kurochkin, Vasili Stepanovich, 1831–1875, member of Land and Liberty, two brothers, Vladimir, 1829–1885, writer, and Nikolai, 1830–1884, poet and ship's doctor.

Kuskova, Ekaterina Dmitrievna, 1869–1958, one of the founders of the RSDRP, one of the founders of the Constitutional Democratic

- Party (Kadets), expelled from Soviet Russia 1922. Married to Sergei Nikolaevich Prokopovich, social-democrat then co-founder of the Kadets.
- Kuusinen, Otto Wilhelm, 1881–1964, leader of Finland's Social Democratic Party, Bolshevik, Comintern leader. Married to Siama Dahlström. They had six children: Aino, 1901; Hertta, 1904; Esa, 1906, worked at the Comintern, arrested in 1937; Rikka-Sisko, 1908; Heikki, 1911; and Taneli, 1913. Then married to Aino Sarola, worked at the Comintern, arrested and sent to the Gulag until 1955. Then common-law husband of Marina Amiragova. They had a daughter, Esa.
- Kviatkovskii, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich, 1852–1880, member of Land and Liberty and of the People's Will, hanged 1890. He had a son from his first marriage, Aleksandr, 1878–1926, Bolshevik. From 1879 married to **Sof'ia Andreevna Ivanova**, 1856–1927. They had a son, Aleksandr, 1880–1884. Kviatkovskii's brother Timofei was also a member of the People's Will.
- Lalaïants, Isaak Khristoforovich, 1870–1933, member of the RSDRP, Bolshevik, after 1917 worked for the Commissariat of Enlightenment (Narkompros). Married to Praskov'ia Ivanovna Kuliabko, RSDRP member and Bolshevik. Then married to Anna Safonovna, 1897–1970.
- Lande, Lev, Menshevik. He could rely on the support of his sympathetic father.

The Larin family

- Father, Larin, Iurii Mikhailovich, 1882–1932, social-democrat, Menshevik, after 1917 worked for Supreme Economic Council (VSNKh), could rely on the support of his sympathetic his uncle.
- Mother, Elena Grigor'evna, social-democrat.
- Adopted daughter, Anna Mikhailovna Larina, 1914–1996. Larina was abandoned by her father, then orphaned when her mother died, so she was taken in by her maternal aunt Elena and her husband Iurii Larin. Since both were active social-democratic revolutionaries, they left her with Elena's father to be cared for while they worked for the underground. Larina was imprisoned after the arrest of her husband **Nikolai Ivanovich Bukharin**.

- Latsis, Martyn Ivanovich, 1888–1938, Latvian social-democrat, member of the Military Revolutionary Committee, from 1918 worked for the Cheka, arrested 1937 and shot 1938.

- Lavrov, Pëtr Lavrovich, 1823–1900, populist, lived in emigration. Married 1847 to Antonina Khristianovna Loveiko. They had two step-children and four children.
- Lengnik, Fridrikh Vil'gel'movich, 1873–1936, member of the Union of Struggle for the Emancipation of Labour, member of the RSDRP, after 1917 worked for Supreme Economic Council (VSNKh), worked for the Central Control Commission, deputy chairman of the All-Union Society of Old Bolsheviks.
- Lepeshinskii, Panteleimon Nikolaevich, 1868–1944, RSDRP member, Bolshevik, after 1917 worked for the Communist Political Red Cross. Married to Ol'ga Borisovna Lepeshinskaia, 1871–1963, RSDRP member and Bolshevik, after 1917 became a biologist.
- Leshern, Sof'ia Aleksandrovna, 1842–1898, populist, participated in the Going to the People movement, died in exile.
- Liebknicht, Karl, 1871–1919, German socialist, founder with Rosa Luxemburg of the Spartacist League and the German Communist Party. Married to Julia Paradies, d. 1911. They had three children. Then married to Sophie Ryss, 1884–1964, member of the German Social Democratic Party, then of the the German Communist Party.
- Litkens, Aleksander Aleksandrovich, 1863–1941, doctor. Married to Aleksandra Oskarovna Greilikh. They had five children: Natal'ia; and Aleksandr, b. 1886, Bolshevik; Evgraf, 1888, Bolshevik, after 1917 worked for the Commissariat of Enlightenment (Narkompros); Vladimir, 1891; and Lydia, 1894. Then married to Vera Gavrilovna Aristova. They had two children: Galina and Vera.

The Liubatovich family

- Sister, Ol'ga Spiridovna, 1853–1917, member of the Fritschi circle, the All-Russian Social Revolutionary (Moscow) Organization and the People's Will. Married to Nikolai Aleksandrovich Morozov, 1854–1946, member of the Chaikovskii circle, Land and Liberty and the People's Will.
- Sister, Vera Spiridovna, 1855–1907, member of the Fritschi circle, the All-Russian Social Revolutionary (Moscow) Organization and the People's Will. Married to V.A. Ostashkin, b. 1854, populist, political exile.
- Sister, Tat'iana Spiridovna, 1859–1932, opera singer.
- Sister, Klavdiia Spiridovna, 1860–1924, theatre director and organiser.

Sister, Anna Spiridovna, 1882–1954, teacher.

Lokhov, Nikolai N., 1872–1948, active in the revolutionary movement in St Petersburg where he met Lenin, emigrated.

The Lunacharskii family

Father, Vasilii Fëdorovich Lunacharskii, lawyer.

Mother, Aleksandra Iakovlevna Rostovtseva.

Son, Mikhail Vasil'evich, 1862–1920/29, musician.

Son, Platon Vasil'evich, 1867–1904, doctor, member of the RSDRP.

Married to **Sof'ia Nikolaevna Chernosvitova-Smidovich**, 1872–1934. They had a daughter, Tania.

Son, Iakov Vasil'evich, 1869–1929, lawyer.

Son, Anatolii Vasil'evich, 1875–1933, Bolshevik, after 1917 People's Commissar of Enlightenment at Narkompros. From 1902–1933 married to Anna Aleksandrovna Malinovskaia, 1883–1959, Bolshevik, sister of Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Bogdanov. They had a son Anatolii, 1911–1943. From 1922–1933 married to Natal'ia Aleksandrovna Rozenel', 1900–1962, actress. They had a foster daughter, Irina Lunacharskaia, 1918–1991.

Son, Nikolai Vasil'evich, 1879–1919.

Lutovinov, Iurii Khrisanfovich, 1887–1924, Bolshevik, after 1917 member of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions and of the All-Russian Soviet Central Executive Committee, member of the Workers' Opposition, committed suicide 1924.

L'vov, Mikhail Ivanovich, 1887–1937, SR, arrested and shot 1937. His wife, Nadezhda, died in childbirth in 1926.

The Maish family

Father Gotlib Bogdan Maish

Mother, Mariia Parfent'evna Krusser. After Gotlib's death, she married his brother Fëdor Maish.

Son, Aleksandr Gotlibovich, soldier and special investigator of the Lena massacre of 1912, Tolstoyan.

Daughter, Evgeniia Bogdanovna Bosh, 1879–1925. Bolshevik, after 1917, worked for the Cheka, member of the opposition of the 1920s. Married to Pëtr P. Bosh. They had two daughters: Mariia and Ol'ga.

Left marriage to join RSDRP. Then common-law wife of **Georgii Leonidovich Piatakov**.

Son, Aleksei Fëdorovich, d. 1918, sympathetic to cause.

Son Fëdor Fëdorovich, social-democrat and engineer.

Daughter, Elena Fëdorovna Rozmirovich, 1886–1953, Bolshevik, Constituent Assembly member, worked for the People's Commissariat of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection and the Central Control Commission. Married to Nikolai Vasil'evich Krylenko. Then married to Aleksandr Antonovich Troianovskii. They had a daughter, Galina.

Malenkov, Georgii Maksimilianovich, 1901–1988, Bolshevik from 1920, administrator for the Party, worked for the Orgburo. Married to Valeria Alekseevna Golubtseva, Bolshevik and daughter of **Ol'ga Pavlovna Nevzorova** (see entry for **The Nevzorov siblings**). They had three children: Volia, 1924; Andrei, 1937; and Georgii, 1938.

Malinovsky, Roman Vatslavovich, 1876–1918, Bolshevik, Bolshevik Duma member and Okhrana agent, executed 1918 by the Bolsheviks.

Martynov-Piker, Aleksandr Samoilovich, 1865–1935, member of the People's Will, Menshevik, member of the Communist Party from 1922. Married to A.R. Martynova. They had two daughters: Tat'iana, 1914; and Elena, 1917.

Menzhinskii, Viacheslav Rudolf'ovich, 1874–1934, member of the RSDRP, Bolshevik, in 1917 member of the Petrograd Military Revolutionary Committee, worked for the Cheka, then headed the OGPU. Married to Iuliia Ivanovna von Burzi, 1875–1947. They had three children. Then married to Mariia Nikolaevna Vasil'eva, d. 1925. They had one child. His third marriage was to Alla Semënovna Adova, 1907–1966. They had a son Rudol'f, 1927–1951. Menzhinskii's two sisters, Vera and Liudmila, both worked at the Commissariat of Enlightenment (Narkompros).

Miasnikov, Gavriil Il'ich, 1889–1945, Bolshevik, after 1917 member of the Workers' Opposition and opposition of the 1920s, arrested 1923, escape exile in 1928, emigrated to France, returned to the USSR 1944, arrested and shot 1945. Married to Dar'ia Grigor'evna. They had three children: Iurii, 1919–1942; Boris, 1923–1944; and Dmitrii, b. 1922.

Mikhailov, Aleksandr Dmitrievich, 1855–1884, member of Land and Liberty and the People's Will, died in the Peter and Paul Fortress.

- Mikoian, Anastas Ivanovich Mikoian, 1895–1978, Bolshevik from 1915, Central Committee member from 1923. Married 1921 to Ashken Lazarevna Tumanian, 1896–1962. They had five sons: Stepan, 1922; Vladimir, 1924; Aleksei, 1925; Ivan, 1927; and Sergo, 1929. They adopted the sons of Sergei Georgievich Shaumian, 1878–1918, Baku revolutionary, and Ekaterina Sergeevna Ter-Grigorian.
- Minor, Osip Solomonovich, 1861–1934, SR, emigrated 1919 and led the Political Red Cross. Married to Anastasiia Naumovna Shekhter.
- Moiseenko, Pëtr Anisimovich, 1852–1923, social-democrat, after 1917 worked for for the Commission for the History of the October Revolution and the Communist Party (Istpart). Married to Ekaterina Sazonova.
- Molotov, Viacheslav Mikhailovich, 1890–1986, Bolshevik, after 1917 candidate and full member of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet, from 1930 on the Council of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom), Commissar of Labour and Defense, member of the Politburo. From 1921 married to Polina Semënova Zhemchuzhina, 1897–1970, joined Communist Party in 1918, arrested 1948, imprisoned and exiled, released after Stalin's death. They had a daughter Svetlana, 1926–1989.
- Natanson, Mark Andreevich, 1850–1919, member of Land and Liberty, the People's Will, later SR, Left SR in the Bolshevik government. Married to Ol'ga Aleksandrovna Shleisner, 1850–1881. They had two children, who both died young. Then married to Varvara Ivanovna Aleksandrovna.
- Nechaev, Sergei Gennad'evich, 1847–1882, nihilist, author of *Revolutionary Catechism* (1869), died in the Peter and Paul Fortress. His sister Anna was also a nihilist.

The Nevzorov siblings

- Sister, Ol'ga Pavlovna, 1868–1943, member of 1890s Marxist circles in St Petersburg. Married to Aleksei Aleksandrovich Golubtsov, 1852–1924. They had three children: Valeria, 1901; Roman; and Viacheslav.
- Sister, Zinaida Pavlovna, 1869–1948, member of the Union of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Labour, worked for *Iskra*, Bolshevik. Married to **Gleb Maksimilianovich Krzhizhanovskii**, after 1917 worked for the Commissariat of Enlightenment (Narkompros).

Sister, Sof'ia Pavlovna, member of 1890s Marxist circles in St Petersburg, after 1917 worked for the Commissariat of Enlightenment (Narkompros).

Sister, Avgustina Pavlovna, 1872–1926, member of 1890s Marxist circles in St Petersburg, member of the RSDRP, after 1925 worked for the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

Brother, Pavel Pavlovich.

Nogin, Viktor Pavlovich, 1878–1924, member of the RSDRP, Bolshevik, People's Commissar for Trade and Industry in first Bolshevik government. Married to Ol'ga Pavlovna Ermakova, 1885–1977. They had two children. His brother-in-law was Viktor Alekseevich Radus-Zenkovich.

Norinskii, Konstantin Mikhailovich, 1872–1942, member of the RSDRP, Bolshevik. Married with three children.

Obukh, Vladimir Aleksandrovich, 1870–1934, member of the RSDRP, doctor, after the revolution worked in Soviet public health.

Olitskaia, Ekaterina L'vovna, 1900–1974, SR, daughter of People's Will member Lev Stepanovich Olitskii, imprisoned and exiled for opposing the Bolshevik regime, released after 1953. Married with one child. Olitskaia's sister Anna was a Bolshevik.

Ol'minskii, Mikhail Stepanovich, 1863–1933, RSDRP member, after 1917 worked for *Pravda*, from 1920 head of the Commission for the History of the October Revolution and the Communist Party (Istpart). Married to Ekaterina Mikhailovna Dolgova. The couple divorced in 1903 when Mikhail became a Bolshevik and Ekaterina became a Menshevik.

Ordzhonikidze, Grigorii Konstantinovich (Sergo), 1886–1937, Bolshevik, after 1917 member of the Central Committee of the Party, chair of the Central Control Commission, member of the Politburo, committed suicide 1937. Married to Zinaida Gavrilovna Pavlutskaia, 1894–1960, imprisoned for ten years 1937. They had an adopted daughter, Eteri, 1923–2010. Sergo's brother Pavel was arrested and shot 1937.

Perovskaia, Sof'ia L'vovna, 1853–1881, member of the Chaikovskii circle, Going to the People movement, People's Will and terrorist, assassinated Alexander II, hanged 1881.

Petrovskii, Grigorii Ivanovich, 1878–1958, member of the RSDRP, Bolshevik, Bolshevik Duma representative, after 1917 s People's

Commissar of Internal Affairs, worked for the Cheka. Married to Dominika Fëdorovna. They had three children: Leonid, 1897–1941; Pëtr, 1899–1941; and Antonina, 1905–1968.

The Piatakov Family

Father, Leonid Timofeevich Piatakov, 1847–1915.

Mother, Aleksandra Ivanovna Musatova, d. 1917.

Son, Leonid Leonidovich, 1888–1917, chair of the Kiev Revolutionary Committee.

Son, Georgii Leonidovich, 1890–1937, Bolshevik, after 1917 a member of the opposition of the 1920s, member of the Central Committee of the Party, deputy chairman of the Supreme Economic Council (VSKNkh), 1937 arrested, tried and shot. He was the common-law husband of Evgeniia Bogdanovna Bosh (see entry for **The Maish family**), 1879–1925. They had a son, Grigorii Georgievich Proletarian-Piatakov, 1919–2011.

Son, Mikhail Leonidovich, 1886–after 1957, member of the Constitutional Democratic Party (Kadets).

Son, Ivan Leonidovich, d. 1937.

Son, Aleksandr Leonidovich, 1884–1937.

Daughter, Vera Leonidovna, 1897–1937.

Piatnitsky, Osip Aronovich, 1882–1938, member of the RSDRP, Bolshevik, after 1917 member of the All-Russian Executive Committee of Railway Workers, worked for the Comintern, arrested 1937, shot 1938. Married to Nina Semënovna Marshak (see entry for **The Rykov Family**), 1884–1938, shot 1938. Then married to Iuliia Iosifovna Sokolova, 1898–1940, arrested and imprisoned 1938, died in the Gulag. They had two sons: Igor, 1921; and Vladimir, 1925. Osip's brothers were also members of the Bolsheviks.

Pisarev, Dmitrii Ivanovich, 1840–1868, member of the Chaikovskii circle. His sister Ekaterina Ivanovna also a member.

Pleskov, Artur Abramovich, 1884–1937, Menshevik, after 1917 member of the Central Committee of the Menshevik Party, arrested several times in the civil war period, worked in the chemical industry, arrested and shot 1937.

Popov, Aleksandr Serafimovich, 1863–1949, involved with **Aleksandr Il'ich Ul'ianov**—see entry for **The Ul'ianov family**—in plot to

- assassinate Alexander III, member of the Communist Party from 1918, writer, after 1917 worked for *Izvestiia*. He had a son.
- Poskrebyshev, Aleksandr Nikolaevich, 1891–1965, member of the RSDRP, from 1930 head of the the Special Sector of the Central Committee of the Party. From 1919–1929 married to Iadviga Ippolitovna Stankevich, Polish revolutionary. Then married to Bronislav Metallikova, shot 1941. They had a step-daughter from Bronislav's first marriage Galina, 1932; and a daughter, Natal'ia, 1938. His third marriage was to Ekaterina Grigor'evna Zimin, b. 1916. They had a daughter, Elena, 1942.
- Potresov, Aleksandr Nikolaevich, 1869–1934, one of the founders of the RSDRP, Menshevik, opponent of the Bolshevik regime, emigrated 1925. Married to Ekaterina Nikolaevna Tulinova, 1872–1942, social-democrat, divorced 1902. They had a daughter, Vera, 1903.
- Preobrazhenskii, Evgenii Alekseevich, 1886–1937, member of the RSDRP, Finance Commissar and member of the Council of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom), member of the 1920s opposition, arrested and shot 1937.
- Radchenko, Ivan Ivanovich, 1874–1942, Bolshevik, after 1917 deputy People's Commissar of Foreign Trade, member of the Supreme Economic Council (VSNKh), arrested 1937, sentenced to 25 years in prison where he died. Married to Alisa Ivanovna. They had a son, Aleksei. Radchenko's brother was Stepan Ivanovich, 1869–1890, member of the RSDRP, left the movement 1906. Married to Liubov' Nikoalevna Baranskaia, social-democrat. They had two daughters: Evgeniia, 1894; and Liudmila; 1895.
- Radek, Karl Bernardovich, 1885–1939, member of the RSDRP, emigrated, returned to Russia after the October revolution, worked for the Comintern, member of the 1920s opposition, rehabilitated, 1937 arrested and sentenced to ten years in the Gulag where he died or was executed. Married to Rosa Radek, daughter Sof'ia Karlovna Radek. He had an affair with Larisa Mikhailovna Reisner, 1895–1926, a Bolshevik from 1918. Larisa was divorced from Fëdor Fëdorovich Raskol'nikov, 1892–1939, Bolshevik. She had an adopted daughter, Alësha Makarov.

The Ratner Family

Mother, Mariia L'vovna Ratner

Son, Grigorii Moiseevich, SR turned Bolshevik.

Daughter, Evgeniia Moiseevna, 1886–1931, SR, member of the Pre-Parliament in 1917, member of the Central Committee of the SRs, arrested and imprisoned several times, exiled. Married to Lev Moiseevich Elkind, SR. They had three children. Then married to Aleksandr Pavlovich Struzhinskii, 1892–1937/38, SR.

Son, Aleksandr Moiseevich, d. 1918, SR.

Rein, Raphael Abramovich, 1880–1963, Menshevik and Bund member, emigrated 1920, co-editor of *Sotsialisticheskii Vestnik*.

Reswick, William, b. 1890, SR. Married to Bessie Schwartz. They had two sons: Murray and Joseph.

Rozmirovich, Elena Fëdorovna—see the entry for **The Maish family**.

Rudnev, Vadim Viktorovich, 1874/79–1940, SR, emigrated 1919. Married to Vera Ivanovna Vinokurova, SR.

The Rykov family

Brother, Aleksei Ivanovich Rykov, 1881–1938, Bolshevik, after 1917 People's Commissar of the Interior, People's Commissar of the Post and the Telegraph, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom), Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council (VSNKh), Politburo member. Married to Nina Semënovna Marshak, 1884–1938, who had previously been married to **Osip Aronovich Piatnitsky**. She worked for the People's Commissariat for Health, was arrested 1937, shot 1938. They had a daughter, Natal'ia, 1916. Natalia spent 18 years in Gulag and exile.

Sister, Faina Ivanovna Rykova, social-democrat, married to Vladimir Ivanovich Nikolaevskii, 1888–1937, Menshevik (and brother to Boris Nicolaevsky, 1887–1966, Menshevik, and Aleksandra Nikolaevskaia, SR). She had two daughters, Galina, 1910–1984, and Nina, 1912–1981.

Safarov, Georgii Ivanovich, 1891–1942, Bolshevik, after 1917 worked on the editorial board of *Pravda*, involved in the execution of the Romanov family, worked at the Comintern, member of the opposition of the 1920s, arrested in 1936 and imprisoned for five years, shot 1942. Married to Valentina Sergeevna Mortschkina, b. 1891.

Savinkov, Boris Viktorovich, 1879–1925, SR and member of the SR Fighting Organization, emigrated, returned to Russia in 1917, after the October revolution organized the Society for the Defense of the

- Motherland and Freedom, committed suicide. Married to Vera Leona Uspenskaia. They had two children: Viktor and Tat'iana. They were divorced 1908. Then married to Evgeniia Ivanovna Zil'berberg, sister of SR **Lev Zil'berberg**. They had a son, Lev. Boris Viktorovich's brother was Aleksandr Viktorovich Savinkov, social-democrat, committed suicide in 1905 while in exile.
- Schmidt, Nikolai Pavlovich, 1883–1907, member of the RSDRP, Bolshevik. His sister, Elizaveta Pavlovna was the common-law wife of Viktor Konstantinovich Taratuta, 1881–1926, Bolshevik. Elizaveta formed a legal marriage with Aleksandr Mikhailovich Ignat'ev, 1879–1936, RSDRP member, Bolshevik.
- Shapiro, Lev Grigor'evich, 1887–1957, Bundist, Menshevik, joined the Bolsheviks in 1918, worked for the Commissariat of Enlightenment (Narkompros).
- Shchedrin, Nikolai Pavlovich, 1858–1919, member of Land and Liberty and the Black Repartition, imprisoned in the Shlisselburg fortress, died in Kazan Psychiatric Hospital.
- Shelgunov, Nikolai Vasil'evich, 1824–1891, revolutionary and writer.
- Sher, Vasili Vladimirovich, 1883/4–1940, Menshevik, worked for the Supreme Economic Council (VSNKh), participated in underground opposition to Soviet regime, 1931 imprisoned for ten years. Married to Mariia Nikolaevna Orlova, b. 1887, Menshevik. They had a daughter.
- Shiriaev, Stepan Grigor'evich, 1857–1881, member of Land and Liberty, and the People's Will, arrested for attempt to assassinate Alexander II, died in the Peter and Paul Fortress. Could rely on support of his sympathetic mother. Married 1878 to Anna Dmitrievna Dolgorukova, 1857–1936, member of the People's Will. Anna later married Stepan's brother Pëtr Grigor'evich Shiriaev, d. 1899. Then Anna married Evgenii Aleksandrovich Dubrovin, political exile.
- Shliapnikov, Aleksandr Gavrilovich, 1885–1937, Bolshevik, after 1917 Commissar of Labour, leader of the Workers' Opposition, imprisoned 1935, shot 1937, relationship with **Aleksandra Mikhailovna Kollontai**, 1872–1952, Menshevik and later Bolshevik. Married to Ekaterina Voshchinskaia, b. 1900, arrested and imprisoned 1937. They had three children: Iurii; Irina; and Aleksandr. The children were sent to different orphanages in 1937, reunited briefly after WWII and rearrested 1948. Shliapnikov could rely on the help of his sympathetic mother Khioniia, and siblings, Anna, Mariia and brother Pëtr.

- Shipulinskii, F.P. (Lushin), 1876–1942, RSDRP, Menshevik. He was married.
- Shklovskii, Grigorii L'vovich, 1875–1937, member of the RSDRP, Bolshevik, after 1917 member of the Central Control Commission, arrested 1936, shot 1937. Married to Dvosia Zelikovna Gorelik. Shklovskii's brother Sergei was also a social-democrat.
- Shlikhter, Aleksandr Grigor'evich, 1868–1940, Bolshevik, 1917–1918 People's Commissariat for Food Supplies, then worked at the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. Married to Evgeniia Samoilovna, 1869–1943, Bolshevik, after 1917 worked for the Commissariat of Enlightenment (Narkompros). They had three sons.
- Shtein, Aleksandr Nikolaevich, 1881–1938, Menshevik, lived in Germany from 1906.
- Slětov, Stepan Nikolaevich, 1876–1915, SR, died in fighting with the French army in WWI. His sister was Anastasia Nikolaevna Slětova. She was married to **Viktor Chernov**.
- Smidovich, Sof'ia Nikolaevna, 1872–1934, member of the RSDRP, Bolshevik, after 1917 head of the Zhenotdel, member of the Central Control Commission. Married to **Platon Vasil'evich Lunacharskii**, 1867–1904. They had a daughter, Tania. Then married to Pëtr Germogenovich Smidovich, 1874–1935, member of the RSDRP, in 1917 member of the Moscow Military Revolutionary Committee and member of the Supreme Economic Council (VSNKh), member of the All-Russian and later USSR Central Executive Committee of the Soviet.
- Smirnov, Vladimir Mar'tynovich, 1876–1952, member of the RSDRP, after 1917 led the Swedish HQ of the Russian Telegraph (ROSTA) news agency, diplomat. From 1911 married to Karin Strindberg. Could rely on the help of his sympathetic mother, Virginiia Karlovna Niurgen.
- Smith-Falkner, Maria Natanovna, 1878–1968, member of the Communist Party, economist. Her brother was S.A. Falkner.
- Spandarian, Suren Spandarovich, 1882–1916, member of the RSDRP, Bolshevik. Common-law husband of Vera Shweitzer. Then married to Ol'ga Viacheslavovna Adamovich, 1879–1971, Bolshevik. They had a son, Stepan, 1906–1987. Suren could rely on the help of his sympathetic father.

The Stalin family

Father, Vissarion Ivanovich Dzhugashvili.

Mother, Ekaterina 'Keke' Georgievna Geladze.

Son, Iosif Vissarionovich Stalin, 1878–1899, member of the RSDRP, Bolshevik, after 1917, People’s Commissar of Nationalities Affairs, Party Secretary and leader of the USSR. From 1906 married to Ekaterina ‘Kato’ Svanidze, 1885–1907. They had a son, Iakov, 1907. From 1919 married to **Nadezhda Sergeevna Allilueva**, 1901–1932, committed suicide. They had two children: Vasili, 1921; and Svetlana Allilueva, 1926. They adopted Artëm Fëdorovich Sergeev, 1921–2008, when his father, Fëdor Andreevich Sergeev, was killed in 1921 and his mother, Elizaveta L’vovna Repel’skaia, was ill.

Stasova, Elena Dmitrievna, 1873–1966, Member of the Union of Struggle for the Emancipation of Labour, member of the RSDRP, Bolshevik, after 1917 member of the Central Committee of the Party. From 1905 married to K.A. Krestnikov. They separated in 1910. Could rely on the help of her sympathetic parents, Dmitrii Vasil’evich Stasov and Poliksena Stepanovna Kuznetsova. Her sister, Varvara, 1862–1943, was a musicologist and writer.

Steklov, Iurii Mikhailovich, 1873–1941, member of the RSDRP, from 1917, Bolshevik, member of the Petrograd Soviet, after 1917 editor of *Izvestiia*, arrested and imprisoned 1938, died in prison. He was married and had a son, Vladimir Iur’evich Steklov, 1910–1982. Vladimir was imprisoned during the Terror.

Stepniak-Kravchinskii, Sergei Mikhailovich, 1851–1895, member of the Chaikovskii circle, member of Land and Liberty, terrorist, emigrated 1881. Married to Fanny Markovna Likus.

Stomoniakov, Boris Spiridonovich, 1882–1940, member of the RSDRP, Bolshevik, worked for the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, the Soviet government’s trade representative in Berlin, arrested 1938, shot 1940.

Struve, Peter Bergardovich, 1870–1944, Marxist, member of the RSDRP, one of the founders of the Constitutional Democratic Party, emigrated during the civil war, Married to Nina Aleksandrovna. They had a son, Gleb, 1898–1985.

The Subbotina family

Father, Dmitrii Pavlovich Subbotin.

Mother, Sof’ia Aleksandrovna Subbotina, 1830–1919, widowed young, populist.

Daughter, Evgeniia Dmitrievna, 1853-after 1930. Married to Vladislav Kozlovskii.

Daughter, Mariia Dmitrievna, 1854–1878.

Daughter, Nadezhda Dmitrievna, 1855-after 1930.

All three sisters were members of the Fritschi circle, then the All-Russian Social Revolutionary (Moscow) Organization and the People's Will. Their mother was also involved in the People's Will.

Sukhanov, Nikolai Nikolaevich, 1882–1940, SR, joined the Mensheviks May 1917. Married to Galina Konstantinovna Flakserman-Sukhanova, 1888–1958, member of the RSDRP, Bolshevik, after 1917 involved in publishing. Galina's brother, Iurii Nikolaevich, 1895–1995, was a Bolshevik and engineer.

Sukhomlin, Vasilii Vasil'evich, 1885–1963, son of Vasilii Ivanovich Sukhomlin, 1860–1938, and Anna Mikhailovna Gal'perina, both exiled members of the People's Will, SR, emigrated, returned to Russia in 1917, worked for the SRs, emigrated 1918, but continued to be an active SR, moved to USSR in 1954.

Sukloff, Marie, real name Mariia Markovna Shkol'nik, 1885–1955, SR, exiled, then emigrated to Geneva, returned to Russia a terrorist, exiled, emigrated, returned to Russia after 1917, joined the Bolsheviks.

The Sverdlov family

Father, Mikhail Izrailevich Sverdlov, d. 1921, sympathetic to revolutionary cause, cousin to **Genrikh Grigor'evich Yagoda's** father Gershon Filippovich.

Mother, Elizaveta Solomonovna, d. 1900.

Daughter, Sof'ia Mikhailovna, 1882–1951, daughter Ida Leonidovna Averbakh who married **Genrikh Grigor'evich Yagoda**.

Son, Zinovii Alekseevich, 1884–1966, adopted by Maxim Gorky, pre-1917 worked in the USA, member of the Foreign Legion.

Son, Iakov Mikhailovich, 1885–1919, member of the RSDRP, Bolshevik, from 1917, member of the Central Committee of the Party, after the October Revolution, Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive of the Soviet. Married to E.F. Schmidt. They had a daughter, E.Ia. Sverdlova, 1905. Then married to Klavdiia Timofeevna Novgorodtseva, 1876–1960. They had two children: Andrei, 1911–1969; and Vera, 1913.

Son, Veniamin Mikhailovich, 1887, married to **Vera Aleksandrovna Dilevskaia**.

Daughter, Sara Mikhailovna, 1890–1914.

Son, Lev Mikahilovich, 1893–1914.

Teodorovich, Ivan Adol'fovich, 1875–1937, member of the RSDRP, Bolshevik, after 1917 People's Commissar for Food. Married to Glafira Ivanovna Okulova-Teodorovich, 1878–1957, Bolshevik. They had a son, Konstantin, 1907–1964.

Terent'eva, Liudmila (Lila) Deent'evna, 1862–1883, member of the People's Will, died in the Peter and Paul Fortress. Her two brothers were also active in the movement and subsequently exiled.

Ter-Petrosian, Semën Arshakovich (Kamo), 1882–1922, member of the RSDRP, Bolshevik. From 1920 married to Sof'ia Vasil'evna Medvedeva. Could rely on sympathetic support from his aunt and sisters.

Tikhomirov, Lev Aleksandrovich, 1852–1923, member of the Chaikovskii circle, Land and Liberty, and the People's Will, 1888 left the movement, emigrated, returned to Russia. Married to Ekaterina Dmitrievna Sergeeva. They had a child.

Tomskii, Mikhail Pavlovich, 1880–1936, revolutionary activist, Bolshevik, after 1917 Politburo member, head of the State Publishing house, committed suicide. Married to Mariia Ivanovna Efremova, Bolshevik, imprisoned for 10 years, d. 1956. They had three sons: Mikhail, arrested and shot; Viktor, arrested and shot; and Iurii, 1921–1997, imprisoned for ten years, exiled for nine, rehabilitated.

Trotsky, Lev Davidovich—see entry for **The Bronstein family**

The Tsederbaum family

Father, Osip Aleksandrovich Tsederbaum, 1839–1907, sympathetic to movement.

Mother, Revekka Iul'evna Rosental', sympathetic to movement.

Son, Moritz Osipovich, died young.

Son, Iulii Osipovich Martov, 1873–1923, leading figure in the RSDRP and the Mensheviks after 1903, opponent of the Bolsheviks, left Russia in 1920. He was engaged (but never married) to Polina Osipovna Gordon.

Daughter, Nadezhda Osipovna Tsederbaum, 1875–1923, Menshevik. Married to **Sergei Nikolaevich Kranikhfel'd**, son, Andrei, 1902–1938, Menshevik and active opponent of the Soviet regime, in prison and exile, shot in 1938.

Daughter, Lydia Osipovna Dan, 1878–1963, member of the RSDRP, Menshevik, exiled abroad 1922. Married to Dr Kantsel, social-democrat. They had a daughter who remained with the Kantsel family. She was then the common-law wife of **Aleksandr Viktorovich Savinkov**, d. 1905. Then she was married to **Fëdor Il'ich Dan**, 1871–1947. They had a daughter, d. 1917.

Son, Sergei Osipovich Ezhov, 1879–1939, Menshevik, actively opposed the Soviet regime, in prison and exile, shot 1939. Married to Konkordiia Ivanovna Zakharova, 1879–1938, in prison and exile, died in exile. They had a son, Iulii, 1907, shot.

Son, Vladimir Levitskii, 1883–1938, member of the RSDRP, Menshevik, actively opposed the Soviet regime, in prison and exile, died in exile. Married to Vera Izrail'evna Vul'fovich, d. 1957. They had a daughter, Evgeniia, 1914–1992. Then married to Aleksandra Sergeevna Dobrokhotova, 1879–1937. They had a son, Lev, 1927, persecuted by regime.

Daughter, Margarita Osipovna, b. 1889, regularly persecuted by the Soviet regime.

Daughter, Evgeniia Osipovna Iakhnina. She had a daughter, Iuliana.

Tsereteli, Iraklii Georgievich, 1881–1959, Georgian social-democrat and Menshevik, in 1917 member of the Executive Committee of the Soviet, Minister of the Interior in the Provisional Government, emigrated 1923. Could rely on the sympathetic support of his father, Giorgi Tsereteli.

Tsiurupa, Aleksandr Dmitrievich, 1870–1929, member of the RSDRP, Bolshevik, after 1917 People's Commissar for Food Supplies, Chairman of State Planning Committee, family of seven.

Ul'ianov, Ivan Ivanovich, 1908–1970, Member of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviet, soldier in the Red Army. He had two brothers in the army.

The Ul'ianov family

Mother, Mariia Aleksandrovna Ul'ianova, 1835–1916.

Father, Il'ia Nikolaevich Ul'ianov, 1831–1886.

Sister, Anna Il'inichna Ul'ianova, 1864–1935. Married 1889 to Mark Timofeevich Elizarov, 1863–1919. In 1913 they adopted a young boy, Georgii Iakovlevich Lozgachev, 1906–1972.

Brother, Aleksandr Il'ich Ul'ianov, 1866–1887.

Brother, Vladimir Il'ich Ul'ianov Lenin, 1870–1924. From 1898 married to Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaja, 1869–1939, member of the RSDRP, Bolshevik, Secretary of the Bolshevik Party, after 1917 worked for the Commissariat of Enlightenment (Narkompros), member of the Supreme Soviet. Nadezhda's mother was Elizaveta Vasil'evna Krupskaja.

Sister, Ol'ga Il'inichna Ul'ianova, 1871–1891.

Brother, Dmitrii Il'ich Ul'ianov, 1874–1943. From 1902 married to Antonina Ivanovna Neshcheretova. From 1916 married to Aleksandra Fedorovna Karpova, They had two children: Viktor, 1917–1984; and Ol'ga, 1921–2011.

Sister, Mariia Il'inichna Ul'ianova, 1878–1937.

Aleksandr Ul'ianov was executed in 1887 for his part in a plot to assassinate Alexander III. Ol'ga Ul'ianova died at the age of 20, before she could participate in the revolutionary movement. All the other Ul'ianov siblings participated in the RSDRP and became Bolsheviks, working for the Soviet government after the revolution. Anna worked for the Department for the Protection of Childhood and later for Commission for the History of the October Revolution and the Communist Party (Istpart), Mariia was the Executive Secretary of *Pravda*, and Dmitrii worked for the People's Commissariat of Public Health. Lenin was the leader of the Bolsheviks and then Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom). Il'ia Nikolaevich died before his children became fully involved in revolutionary activities, but Mariia Aleksandrovna was sympathetic to the cause and supported her offspring in their work. Mark Elizarov participated in the movement in the pre-revolutionary period and later became the Commissar for Ways of Communication.

Unshlicht, Iosif Stanislavovich, 1879–1938, social-democrat, Bolshevik, member of the Petrograd Soviet, member of the Petrograd Military Revolutionary Committee, worked for the Commissariat of Internal Affairs, deputy chairman of the Cheka, Deputy People's Commissar for Military and Naval Affairs, shot 1938. Married to Stefania Arnol'dovna, 1880–1947.

- Usievich, Grigorii Aleksandrovich, 1890–1918, Bolshevik, died in battle in the civil war. Married to Elena Feliksovna Kon, 1893–1968, who was born to political exiles: Feliks Iakovlevich Kon, 1864–1941, member of the People's Will and then the Polish Socialist Party, joined the Communist Party in 1918; and Khristina Grigor'evna Grinberg, 1857–1942; she was a member of the People's Will, member of the RSDRP, then after 1917, a literary critic. The Usieviches were on the sealed train with Lenin.
- Valentinov, Nikolai Vladislavovich Vol'skii, 1879–1964, Bolshevik, then Menshevik, after 1917 worked for Supreme Economic Council (VSNKh), emigrated 1930. Married to Valentina (she inspired his party name of Valentinov).
- Vilenskii, Vladimir Dmitrievich, 1888–1943, social-democrat, after 1917 editor of *Katorga i sylka* (*Hard Labour and Exile*). Married to M.M. Vilenskaia.
- Vlasik, Nikolai Sidorovich, 1896–1967, soldier and police officer, from 1919 worked for the Cheka, Commander of Stalin's bodyguard.
- Voroshilov, Kliment Efremovich, 1881–1969, member of the RSDRP, Bolshevik, during 1917 member of the Petrograd Military Revolutionary Committee, member of the Cheka, commander in the Red Army during the Civil War, People's Commissar of the Military and Navy, member of the Politburo. Married to Ekaterina Davidovna (Golba) Gorbman, 1887–1959, Bolshevik. They adopted three children: Pëtr, 1914, Tat'iana Frunze, 1920, and Timur Frunze, 1923. Tat'iana and Timur were adopted after the deaths in 1925 of **Mikhail Vasil'evich Frunze** and his wife Sof'ia Alekseevna.
- Vorovskii, Vatslav Vatslavovich, 1871–1923, Bolshevik, from 1919 head of the State Publishing House, diplomat, murdered by a former White guard. Married to Iu.A. Tolochko, who died shortly after her husband's murder.
- Yagoda, Genrikh Grigor'evich, 1891–1938, anarchist then Bolshevik, after 1917 worked for the Cheka and the GPU, director of the NKVD, arrested in 1937, tried and shot. Married to Ida Leonidovna Averbakh, 1905–1938, Bolshevik, daughter of **Sof'ia Mikhailovna Sverdlova**, shot 1938. They had a son, Genrikh (Garik), 1929. He was placed in an orphanage. Yagoda was also in love with Gorky's daughter-in-law Nadezhda Peshkova (Timosha). One of Yagoda's sisters, Rozaliia, remained an anarchist, she and Yagoda's parents were imprisoned in the Gulag; two other sisters Esfir Znamenskaia and Liliia were shot; one, Taisa, escaped execution.

- Zemliachka, Rozaliia Samoilovna, 1876–1947, member of the RSDRP, Bolshevik, military commissar during the civil war, oversaw the Red Terror in the Crimea. Could rely on the help of her sympathetic mother. Her siblings were also activists.
- Zenzinov, Vladimir Mikhailovich, 1880–1953, SR, in 1917 member of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet, delegate to the Constituent Assembly, member of Komuch, the anti-Bolshevik Committee of the Members of the Constituent Assembly, emigrated. Could rely on the support of his sympathetic parents.
- Zetkin, Clara, 1857–1933, German communist, leading figure in the Second International. Married until 1914 to Georg Friedrich Zundel. They had a son, Constantine.
- Zhdanov, Andrei Aleksandrovich, 1896–1948, Bolshevik, after 1917 worked in the political department of the Red Army, Secretary of the Leningrad Party, member of the Orburo and the Politburo. From 1917/18 married to Zinaida Aleksandrovna Kondrat'eva, 1898–1973. They had a son, Iurii, 1919–2006. Iurii married Svetlana Allilueva, Stalin's daughter, in 1949.
- Zheliabov, Andrei Ivanovich, 1851–1881, member of Land and Liberty, leading figure in the People's Will, involved in the assassination of Alexander II, hanged. Married to Ol'ga Semënovna Iakhnenko. They had a son, Andrei.
- Zhordania, Noe Nikolaevich, 1868/69–1953, Georgian social democrat and Menshevik, in 1918, led the independent government in Georgia, emigrated after the Soviet invasion of Georgia. From 1904 married to Ina Koreneva, 1877–1967, Menshevik. They had four children: Asmat; Nina; Redjeb; and Andreika. Could rely on the support of his sympathetic father.
- Zil'berberg, Lev Ivanovich, 1880–1907, leading figure in the SRs, terrorist, hanged. Married to Ksenia Ksenofontovna Panfilova, 1882–1955, SR terrorist. They had a daughter. Ksenia emigrated and lived with Zil'berberg's sister Evgeniia who was married to **Boris Viktorovich Savinkov**. Zilberberg's brother Vladimir was also a revolutionary.

The Zinoviev family

- Father, Grigorii Evseevich Zinoviev, 1883–1936, member of the RSDRP, Bolshevik, after 1917 leading Party figure in Petrograd/Leningrad, Politburo member, formed triumverate with **Kamenev** and **Stalin** then a member of the opposition, defendant in the show trial of the Sixteen in 1936, shot.

First wife, Ol'ga Naumovna Ravich, 1879–1957, member of the RSDRP, after 1917 member of the opposition of the 1920s, arrested and imprisoned several times, released 1954.

Second wife, Zlata Ionovna Lilina Zinoviev, 1882–1929, member of the RSDRP, Bolshevik, contributor to *Rabotnitsa*, after 1917 leading figure in Soviet childcare policy, member of the left opposition, worked for the Commissariat of Enlightenment (Narkompros), died of natural causes. They had a son, Stepan, 1908–1937, arrested and shot.

Third wife, Evgeniia Iakovlevna Lasman, 1894–1985, imprisoned and exiled until 1954.

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