UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

Revolutionary Women in Russia, 1870-1917

a prosopographical study

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ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF ARTS
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REVOLUTIONARY WOMEN IN RUSSIA, 1870-1917
a prosopographical study

by Anna Hillyar

This thesis has been completed as a
requirement for a higher degree
of the University of Southampton

The aim of this prosopographical study of female revolutionaries in Russia was to examine the part played by women at different stages in the revolutionary process and their individual life cycles. The starting-point is 1870 because it was in that decade that the revolutionary movement reached mass proportions. The study stops at the end of 1917 when the Bolshevik party seized power and brought to an end the revolutionary activities of most former activists.

In the course of the research a biographical database for 1,200 women has been compiled which was analysed to establish patterns among female revolutionaries and to identify factors which united or divided them. Most of the data for the study was acquired from primary sources such as autobiographies and biographies, memoirs, document collections. Some of the best autobiographical material came from Moscow archives: Rossisiskii tsentr khraneniia i izucheniia dokumentov noveishei istorii (RTsKhIDNI), Gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv Moskovskoi oblasti and Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Okriabr'skoi revoliutsii i sotsialisticheskogo stroitel'stva Moskvy (TsGAORSSM). Finally, two biographical dictionaries/encyclopaedias were of special significance to the present study – *Deiateli revoliutsionnogo dvizheniia v Rossii*, edited by V.Nevskii and *Vsesoiuznoe obshchestvo politicheskikh katorzhan i ssyl'no-poselentsev*. They contained short biographical notes on hundreds of Russian women revolutionaries.

The dissertation is divided into five chapters. The introductory chapter explains my approach to the research and the use of statistical and other data in compiling the database, the use of primary and secondary sources and the work on the tables that appear in the main body of the thesis. Chapters two, three and four consider the lives of revolutionary women between 1870 and 1889, 1890 and 1904, and 1905 and 1917 respectively. These chapters include comparative analysis of groups of women as well as individual case studies in the set time periods. The concluding chapter asssesses the study's findings and compares them to those of Barbara Evans Clements' *Bolshevik Women* and Beatte Fieseler's *Frauen auf dem Weg in die russische Sozial-Demokratie*, both published in 1995. It also briefly considers the political activities of women under the new Bolshevik regime.

Overall, the study illustrates that women's involvement was more widespread and significant to the entire revolutionary movement than had been acknowledged so far. In particular, it shows that women workers as well as female intellectuals were capable of independent thinking and performing courageous acts. Some exceptional individuals from their ranks became role models for their younger or less experienced comrades.

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Acknowledgements

My thanks go to the institutions and the people who helped me over the years with this thesis. The History Department of the former LSU College provided support in the form of research grants and friendly advice. The College inter-library loan service and its dedicated librarians were generous with their time and effort especially in finding rare Russian sources. Staff in several Moscow archives, the State Russian Library in Moscow, the British Library and the Bodleian Library in Oxford were all very helpful.

My special thanks go to my supervisor, Dr Jane McDermid, without whose inspiration and personal example of a dedicated scholar this thesis would not have come about. I am grateful for her constant support, her remarkable patience, understanding, and her faith in me. I dedicate this thesis to her.

This thesis depended on the support and encouragement of my friends and former colleagues from the LSU College.

Finally I must also thank my family. My husband, Ken, for his helpfulness and reassuring when I felt tired and exhausted. My elder daughter, Katya, helped me with taking notes in the Moscow Archives and making final calculations for the database as well as putting final touches to the thesis. My younger daughter, Jacqueline, assisted me in typing when my fingers were no longer responsive and more importantly in translating some verses from Russian into English as well as giving her critical eye to their final versions.

ABBREVIATIONS AND GLOSSARY

Bolshevichka	female member of the Bolshevik party
Duma	the elected lower house of the Russian parliament
Chaikovtsy	members of Chaikov circle
Feldsher	a paramedic, medical orderly, doctor's assistant
Guberniia	a province
Katorga	penal servitude, hard labour
Kursistka (pl. kursistki)	female student at Higher Courses
Menshevichka	female member of the Menshevik party
Meshchanin	a male representative of Meshchanstvo
Meshchanka	a female representative of Meshchanstvo
Meshchanstvo	townspeople such as small businessmen, merchants
Narodniki	members of the 'going to the people' movement
Revoliutsionerka (pl. revoliutsionerki)	female revolutionary
Sluzhashchii (pl. sluzhashchie)	a white-collar worker
Sovet	council
Zemstvo	elected assembly of local government
DRDR	*Deiateli Revoliutsionnogo Dvizheniia v Rossii*
MBSSD	*Materialy dlia Biograficheskogo Slovaria Sotsial-Demokratov*
Okhrana	tsarist secret police
PSR	Socialist Revolutionary Party

RSDRP	*Rossiiskaia Sotsial-Demokraticheskaia Rabochaia Partiia* (Russian Social Democratic Labour Party)
RTsKhIDNI	*Rossiskii Tsentr Khraneniia I Izucheniia Dokumentov Noveishei Istorii*
Sosloviia	estates (official division of the population into social categories)
SR	member of the PSR
VOSB	*Vserossiiskoe Obshchestvo Starykh Bolshevikov* (All-Union Society of Old Bolsheviks)

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

It was the end of 1993 when I first started work on my PhD. The disintegration of the Soviet Union and the collapse of the regime associated with it were more than just a recent past. Different generations of Communists had been locked in struggle since the end of the Brezhnev regime in 1982 and arguably since the fall of Khrushchev in 1964. By the late 1980s, the old guard was still trying desperately to preserve one-party rule in the USSR. Within that party, however, the younger generation of Communists was openly accepting the failure of Marxist-Leninist theory, which underpinned the legitimacy of the system. While Gorbachev sought to preserve the system by means of reform and the old guard conspired to limit change, radicals rejected the system itself and talked of a new dawn in the history of the Russian people. Set against these historical events my choice of topic for the dissertation, a prosopographical study of revolutionary women (revoliutsionerki) between 1870 and 1917 was viewed and described by my Russian friends and acquaintances as 'outdated', 'irrelevant' and /or 'odd'. The reaction of workers in the Russian archives has been only slightly different. The word 'boring' has passed their lips on more than one occasion.

My friends in the west, in contrast, considered the idea fascinating. Western, and particularly feminist notions of the Bolshevik Party and the Communist regime it constructed are that lip-service was paid to the ideal of sexual equality, that the reality was patriarchy, and that women's role was that of self-sacrificing, subordinate helpmate. In addition, even when acknowledging a few exceptions, most female revolutionaries are assumed to have come from the upper classes, with the mass of lower class women only spasmodically participating in collective actions. Hence for western and Soviet historians alike, the action taken by female workers on International Women's day in 1917 is often seen simply as a spontaneous food riot rather than a conscious political action.

I had a particular interest in revolutionary women workers. Firstly, because with very few exceptions, such as Konkordiia Samoilova, Klavdiia Nikolaeva and Aleksandra Artiukhina they were largely presented as a group and not described individually. Hence the impression was that these women and their lives were of little interest or significance to the political events and the revolution that they helped to

bring about and to shape. Secondly, because there was considerably more research and published material on the upper class and intelligentsia women already in existence. The 1978 pioneering work of Richard Stites *The Women's Movement in Russia: Feminism, Nihilism and Bolshevism, 1860-1930* had concentrated on such women and was concerned with intellectual history.

The consideration Stites gave to the activities of revolutionary women, particularly Bolshevik, highlighted their absence from most histories of the social democratic movement in Russia. His impressions have been confirmed by subsequent research into the subject, such as: Barbara Evans Clements' *Bolshevik Women*, Cambridge, 1997; Beatte Fieseler's *Frauen auf dem Weg in die russische Sozialdemokratie, 1890-1917 (eine kollektive Biografie)* Stuttgart, 1995; John Markovic's 'Socialization and Radicalization in Russia, 1861-1917: an analysis of the personal backgrounds of Russian revolutionaries', PhD, Bowling Green University 1990; and Mark Scott's 'Her Brother's Keeper. The Evolution of Women Bolsheviks', PhD, University of Kansas, 1980. These studies, however, focused on Bolshevik women (Bolshevichki). In an attempt to place female Bolsheviks within the wider context of revolutionary women, this prosopographical study begins in 1870 and includes representatives from both the intelligentsia and the masses (peasants and working class but many more of the latter). The aim is to achieve as broad a picture of female revolutionaries as possible, to understand their motivation and assess their role, without sacrificing their individuality.

Though women were involved from the beginning of the development of Marxism in Russia, most histories of early Russian Social Democracy ignore them, focusing instead on the theoretical leadership, which was predominantly male, from Plekhanov to Martov and Lenin. Women's absence from that leadership may be taken as a sign of their relative insignificance in the history of the Social Democratic movement, since theoretical debates and divisions are so central for explanations of why the Bolsheviks came to power. Parallel with the absence of women is the relative absence of male workers, though the latter sometimes come into the picture at local level (such as Kaiurov in the Vyborg district of Petrograd in February 1917) or as temporary substitutes for absent leaders (such as Shliapnikov in Petrograd before the return of Kamenev and Stalin in 1917). Soviet histories of the origins of Lenin's Party tend to stress the role of the intelligentsia and their theoretical expertise, which is deemed essential to hold the workers' movement together and give it direction.

Western studies of early Russian Social Democracy which put factory workers centre-stage, such as Alan Wildman's *The Making of a Workers' Revolution* (1967) overlook women too, since the most politically conscious workers tended to be those with skills, who were predominately men, and since most women worked outside of factories. The focus in these works is often on the tension between workers and intellectuals, with the subtext that both are male. The aim is to show that, in its early stages, Social Democracy was a democratic movement, in contrast to Leninism. Such studies 'from below' are gender-blind, neglecting the efforts made by female intellectuals and workers, with the aid of a few at least of the male activists, to reach women workers, not only in factories, but in the service sector where most women were employed.

Another reason for considering the working-class movement in the later nineteenth century is to show that it had specifically Russian roots, and was not simply a foreign transplant by which intellectuals who spent long years in political emigration, such as Plekhanov and Lenin, applied western ideas in an artificial way. Apart from the implication that the 1917 Revolution was imposed on Russia, so that the Soviet period was a great mistake, or fraud, a diversion from the 'true' path of Russian history, this suggests that the interaction between Marxism and Russia was one-way. In either case, women are excluded from consideration. Yet since the Bolsheviks included sexual equality in their programme, however much they paid lip service to it in practice, the collapse of the Communist regime discredited 'women's rights' in the former Soviet Union. In all these interpretations, women are generally noted either by their absence, or by the support roles they filled, mostly in the background.

For my study I have used a variety of sources: autobiographies and biographies, memoirs, document collections, books, periodicals as well as archival material. The great majority of these sources were in Russian with a substantial amount of English language material and a few works in German. Some primary and many secondary sources are available in British libraries, such the British Library in London, the Bodleian Library in Oxford and Glasgow University Library. Access to the majority of primary sources was done either through the inter-library loan service or by personal visits to for example the Rossisskaia Gosudarstvennaia Biblioteka (the former State Lenin Library) in Moscow and the Tomsk State University Library in Western Siberia.

Right from the beginning I decided to record every name I came across during my research. The initial plan was to enter the data into a computer programme called *Idealist.* For a number of reasons beyond my control I had to abandon the use of *Idealist* and concentrated instead on keeping record cards. At that stage of its development, *Idealist* could not cope with the disparate nature of the data, and was too cumbersome to work with on screen. In addition, it was not sophisticated enough to identify patterns. I have amassed about one and a half thousand cards, some containing only a name, occasionally with one or two minor facts about the women. From the cards, I drew up a number of files.

Into the first file I added women's dates of birth and/or death when available. I proceeded by creating two new files, one holding names of women whose professions were known to me. This yielded over 1,500 individuals. My final file consisted of women for whom I had information about their party allegiance and/or revolutionary activities. This file numbered approximately 1,200 individuals. After comparing the three files I selected women whom I entered into a database of Russian revolutionary women between 1870 and 1917. I looked for the women on whom I had sufficient biographical information to be used in my statistical analysis. In order to present a broader picture of female revolutionaries I selected women from all periods under study representing different political parties or organisations. For the final period, between 1905 and 1917, I limited the selection to the three major parties: two factions (Bolsheviks and Mensheviks) of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (RSDRP) and the Socialist Revolutionary Party (PSR). Thereafter I concentrated my research on the women from the database.

The search for relevant literature began by looking at published secondary works on the subjects of Russian women and of the Russian revolutionary movement in general, as well as more specific studies of Russian women in the revolutionary movement. Among scholars specialising in the history of the Russian revolution or Russian women's history whose books I used are contemporary Russian and prominent Soviet historians like V.Balukov, N.Karpetskaia, A.Konstantinov, V.Nevskii, A.Pankratova, and leading Western historians like Barbara Evans Clements, Linda Edmondson, Barbara Alpern Engel, Beatte Fieseler, Richard Stites (mentioned above) and many others. Though over the years Soviet and Western historians have addressed the issue of women's involvement in radical activities most of them either focused on the lives of a very few individuals or spoke of women as 'a

group'. There have been biographies of a few prominent women, such as those by, for example, Jay Bergman on Vera Zasulich (1983), R C Elwood on Armand (1992), Robert McNeal on Krupskaia (1972) and Barbara Clements (1979), Beatrice Farnsworth (1980) and Cathy Porter (1979) on Kollontai. Other scholars, such as Barbara Alpern Engel (1994) and Rose Glickman (1984) examined the condition of working-class women, with the general conclusion that politics played little, if any, part in their lives. As far as the revolutionary movement was concerned, the impression was that little effort has been made to trace thousands of others, the so-called rank-and-file women revolutionaries who are invariably referred to as 'foot soldiers' with the few female 'officers' coming overwhelmingly from the intelligentsia. Even when the titles of books sounded extremely promising, in my opinion they failed to go beyond presenting familiar biographical information of a few well-known personalities, like for example Margaret Maxwell's *Narodniki Women (Russian Women Who Sacrificed Themselves for the Dream of Freedom)* or E. Pavliuchenko's *Zhenshchiny v russkom osvoboditel'nom dvizhenii (ot Marii Volkonskoi do Very Figner).*

When the work on my PhD was coming to an end two new works came out, which immediately attracted my attention. I am first of all referring to the work by the German historian Beatte Fieseler *Frauen auf dem Weg in die russische Sozialdemokratie, 1890-1917 (eine kollektive Biografie)* published in 1995 and secondly to Barbara Evans Clements' 1997 book *Bolshevik Women.* Both authors looked at several hundred individual women and though both applied prosopographical methods, they used different approaches in presenting their findings and analyses and the historical periods under their consideration were partially different to mine. As the title of her book suggests, Fieseler, a well-known German expert on Russian history, wrote a collective biography of Russian women active in the social democratic movement of 1890-1917. Using quantitative analysis she studied patterns of work performed by female revolutionaries and their positions in the party hierarchy, age, political experience, social origins, education, profession, and nationality. She also studied the process of radicalisation of Russian women's consciousness and motives that made them turn to social-democratic ideas. This collective portrait approach left Fieseler concentrating on the study of female revolutionaries as representatives of large groups and failed to present them as individuals, often with unique life histories and personalities. Understandably, she

wanted to shift attention from a few outstanding figures to the general female membership.

Clements looked only at members of one political party, the Bolsheviks, thus excluding significant number of female revolutionaries from other parties or movements. Though she included biographies of seven individual Bolshevichki, their number is in my view insufficient, given the fact that they came from her database of 545 women. Unlike Clements I did not want to create a 'pantheon' of Russian women revolutionaries. My aim was to throw light on the development of Russian female revolutionaries by incorporating prosopographical data in one work on as many female revolutionaries as possible. Clements included Zemliachka as one of her representative Bolshevik women, even while acknowledging that Zemliachka's violent nature rendered her unique among the sample. However, by placing Bolshevik women in the wider revolutionary context of female terrorism, that violence may be better understood. Nevertheless, the two studies were not only of great interest to me but also of significant help in forcing me to clarify my analysis in the ultimate stages of my work. I will be making references to both works throughout the dissertation.

Among recently published Russian language studies it is necessary to mention here several books on the histories of the Socialist Revolutionary and the Menshevik parties. They are O.Budnitskii's *Istoriia terrorisma v Rossii v dokumentakh, biografiakh i issledovaniiakh* from 1996, R. Gorodnitskii's *Boevaia organizatsiia partii sotsialistov-revoliutsionerov v 1901-11 g.g.* from 1998 and S.Tiutiukin's *Men'sheviki. Dokumenty i materialy. 1903-fevral' 1917* from 1996. Unlike the books by Clements and Fieseler on female Bolsheviks, these works fail to present a fuller picture of women SRs and Mensheviks and their role in the party, or to include much biographical material on them.

The most valuable information for my study came from primary sources, from which I was able to extract biographical data on hundreds of women socialists, who have been omitted or excluded from definitive studies into the history of the Russian revolutionary movement. This was a mixture of memoirs, autobiographical accounts and biographical dictionaries. No matter how brief, these sources contributed enormously to the overall volume of data on which I could construct a collective portrait. Some of them threw light on the more intimate details of women's lives. Among such works I want to single out Eva Broido's *V riadakh RSDRP* and *Memoirs of a Revolutionary.* Collections of autobiographies or short biographies, like *Na zare*

rabochego dvizheniia v Moskve and *Zhenshchiny v revoliutsii,* were of equal value in adding to my biographical and statistical information. Of course, there are limitations to accounts written after the Bolsheviks came to power and particularly after the late 1920s, which were primarily due to constraints of a political nature. All works published in the Soviet Union were subjected to severe censorship, and, with a few exceptions (such as Vera Figner) dealt only with female Bolsheviks. Those written by émigré revolutionaries were rare and many were influenced by the authors' personal experiences at the hands of the new Communist regime. Two biographical dictionaries/encyclopaedias were of special significance to the present study – *Deiateli revoliutsionnogo dvizheniia v Rossii*, edited by V.Nevskii and *Vsesoiuznoe obshchestvo politicheskikh katorzhan i ssyl'no-poselentsev.* The first work came out in several volumes between 1927 and 1933 and contains biographical data on thousands of Russian individuals who participated in the revolutionary movement starting from the 1820s through to the beginning of the twentieth century. Its major drawback stems from the fact that the work was never completed. Only people whose names begin with the first six letters of the Russian alphabet appear in the volumes with direct relevance to this study. Personal reminiscences and published memoirs used in my study came mainly from such journals as *Krasnaia Letopis', Minuvshie gody, Proletarskaia revoliutsiia* and *Rabotnitsa.* Many books containing biographies of Russian revolutionary figures appeared at the times of various anniversaries of the 1905 and 1917 revolutions, especially commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the latter. For the reasons stated above special caution and care was needed in the processing of information presented in those books. Since the collapse of communism, new biographical accounts have begun to emerge, like for example T. Kravchenko's semi-fictional account of the famous woman SR Mariia Spiridonova, *Vozliublennaia terrora.* Nevertheless, by cross-referencing facts taken from them I largely succeeded in deriving reliable information for my database.

Finally I want to explain my use of archival material. There are several archives holding databases or documents that can be described as of relevance to this research. The best known archives are located in Russia, Holland and USA. They are the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam, Rossisiskii tsentr khraneniia i izucheniia dokumentov noveishei istorii (RTsKhIDNI), Gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv Moskovskoi oblasti, Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Okriabr'skoi revoliutsii i sotsialisticheskogo stroitel'stva Moskvy (TsGAORSSM),

Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (GARF) in Moscow, and the Hoover Institute Archives in Stanford, California. The archives based in Holland and the USA have been widely used over a long period of time and their documentary materials have appeared in a number of historical works. The Moscow archives on the other hand contained documents that until recently, i.e. the last eight-ten years, were available only to a minority of researchers or not available at all. Faced with time and financial constraints, I decided to concentrate my effort on archival work in the Moscow archives. Like Barbara Evans Clements who also used it, I found the material in RTsKhIDNI most valuable, specifically fond 124 with its hundreds of autobiographies written by Bolshevik men and women wishing to join the All-Union Society of Old Bolsheviks. But unlike Clements who only included women from inventory I that contains autobiographies of Bolsheviks who had been accepted into the society, I looked at women from inventory II that in addition holds information on men and women who had been refused membership or expelled from the society. The first inventory includes names of 3,000 members, 326 of whom are women. The second one has 1,638 names, including 124 women's ones. The RTsKhIDNI also holds archives of famous Bolshevik individuals, such as Armand, Krupskaia and Samoilova, but they turned out to be only of limited value to me. The TsGAORSSM has archival material from municipal, police and gendarme records. This is a recently opened establishment and to get any information, no matter how small, a researcher has to allow five days for delivery. In addition, access is limited to five cases per request. The work there turned out to be very slow and frustrating. Limited data from it has been included into the present study.

Like so many researchers before me I found the lack of information about women's personal lives – e.g. whether they had been married or had any children – very disappointing and the search for even minor details time consuming. However, the more details I could glean on individual women, the more representative the prosopographical database would be, while the numbers of Bolsheviks could be set against the numbers of revolutionary women as a whole. In addition, however sparse, information on particular women would prevent the individual from being subsumed within the 'collective' biography. The amount of information on Bolshevik women is more abundant than on Narodniki, SR, Menshevik and unattached women. As my research shows, this is explained not only by the fact that the former belonged to the

victorious party in the Revolution of 1917 but also by the fact that the Bolshevik party attracted more women into its ranks than any other.

I support the view expressed by many scholars that official accounts of women's lives, including autobiographical accounts which were approved by the censor, have been tremendously affected by Communist control over the way the history of Russia had been portrayed in the Soviet Union. Like any work published since the early 1930s and until the late 1980s memoirs and biographies were subject to a strict state censorship. I agree with Barbara Evans Clements who suggests that:

> The Bolshevichki, as loyal party members, were fully acquainted with these standards, of course, and so they wrote to comply with them, practising self-censorship before the editors even began to edit.[1]

However, I believe that it would be wrong to disregard other, not less powerful, elements that affected both the quantity and the quality of the available information on both Bolshevik and other women. When considering first Bolshevichki we should accept that a certain number of the women must have made a conscious and a free choice to leave more personal facts out of their accounts. Some may have actively supported this approach. To deny this is to portray them as unwitting accomplices or innocent victims, which is misleading and to some degree offensive to their memory. After all, how many male revolutionaries left accounts of their personal lives?

In the early 1920s one of the first pioneers of social-democratic work among women workers, Vera Karelina, was asked to contribute to a book about the life of Leonid Krasin, a leading Bolshevik revolutionary. Not a Bolshevik herself, Vera Karelina concluded her reminiscence:

> Starting from 1890 I never lost contact with Leonid Borisovich until his last illness. We were not simply comrades with him and his wife, bonded by the same idea and work, but we later became close friends. I am not going to write about our consequent meetings and describe episodes of mutual work as you can't write about everything.[2]

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[1] B.Clements, *Bolshevik Women*, 16
[2] M.Liadov, *Gody podpol'ia (sbornik vospominanii, statei i dokumentov)*, 91-92

In this case, the decision against providing more information to the reader is particularly regrettable, as it would have thrown light on the development of the revolutionary movement in general, and on Bolshevik collaboration with non-party people in particular. It would also have made an invaluable contribution to the study of personal relationships between individual revolutionaries. It could have been a rare account of a long-term friendship between the Karelins, a working class family, and the Krasins, representatives of the Russian intelligentsia. This friendship remained unaffected either by the unsettled nature of a revolutionary life or by the fact that during the 1905 Revolution the Karelins became leading Gapon supporters whereas the Krasins joined the Bolshevik party. Karelina wrote several very brief memoirs devoted to the Gapon movement and to the very first social-democratic circles of women workers in the early 1890s. No matter how sparing, these memoirs are unquestionably precious to any scholar interested in the history of the movement and particularly the role played by women workers in it.

Another point that should be taken into consideration when discussing the factors that affected the quality of the primary sources is women's abilities and the opportunities they had to leave lengthy and comprehensive written records of their lives. Thinking of opportunities we should accept that those of the female revolutionaries who had died before the late 1950s were few and limited. Only then the life of the majority in the Soviet Union began to transform in the way that allowed people to 'revisit' their youth. This in turn means that only a small proportion of women revolutionaries could offer information about their personal experience, as only a few of them were still alive at the time.

In the case of accounts left by women workers it is often women's insufficient education that stopped them from leaving substantial evidence for historians. For many, their personal lives were so typical of fellow women workers that they saw no need to reiterate what was seen as common knowledge, or genuinely believed these facts did not deserve a special mention. To fill the void left by them I researched into the lives of ordinary women workers over the period under consideration in my thesis. Among works which contributed to my better appreciation of it are Barbara Engel's *Between the Fields and the City; Women, Work and Family in Russia, 1861-1914* and I.Kor's *Kak my zhili pri tsare i kak zhivem teper'*.

Writing accounts which would include details of underground existence pre 1917 could have endangered not only the lives of the authors but also the lives of their

relatives and comrades-in-arms. Like their male comrades, female revolutionaries were engaged in illegal and highly hazardous activities. The success of their work depended much on observing strict rules of anonymity and conspiracy. For instance, in 1905 while trying to escape police persecution and new arrests the prominent Mensheviks, husband and wife Mark and Vera Broido, lived together, but not openly as a married couple - he under an assumed name and she under her maiden name. Together with them in the same Petersburg apartment lived their three children and Vera's elderly mother. To prevent creating suspicion among their neighbours Mark was introduced as a distant relation of the family who was lodging with them for financial reasons. Undoubtedly it was not easy to keep the secret safe with young children around. Leaving anything written which could later be used by the police either to put pressure on a suspect, or as evidence in future prosecution cases was not an option to be taken up lightly.

For the purpose of this investigation I tried to cluster women from the general database into groups. Each group was to be united by a single category. One of the most obvious categories can be based on the female revolutionaries' party membership. After spending some months gathering the data, however, I decided against splitting the women along the party lines. I am of the opinion that by using party as the main denomination I can lose a substantial number of individuals, who never formally joined a political party or whose membership could not be established. Another possible category is that of social origin. I carefully thought about what groups should be created when using this approach. Among sub-categories there would be intelligentsia, middle class and working class and peasants. Yet such division is complicated by the lack of verifiable information or by conflicting information about the social origins of many women. Finally I resolved on a chronological approach. I concluded that this division would allow me to include the largest possible number of women into my database. On the one hand, I could analyse lives of women who had contributed to the revolutionary cause without supporting any one political party. On the other hand, women's social origins and party affiliation would be contained within the context of their entire life.

In her book Barbara Clements divided Bolshevichki along the lines of one of two possible generations, 'people who came into movement before 1917 and those

who became members during the period 1917-21.'[3] She explained this decision by the fact that those women who took up membership of the party before 1917, were formed by experiences different to the ones of the civil war generation. Based on that she concludes that the motives behind their decisions were different. Such an argument may be correct when we analyse only members of the Bolshevik party. After all the RSDRP(b) only came into existence in 1903 after the split of RSDRP into two factions at the third Party Congress in Prague, while many, especially in the rank and file, favoured collaboration and even reunification.

But even here I see a real need for introducing subdivisions to the first generation of Bolshevichki. It may be split chronologically into two periods: pre-1905 and post-1905. There are two reasons for this suggestion:

1. Though the 1905 Revolution had failed to bring down the tsarist regime it succeeded in what Soviet historians used to describe as the awakening of class awareness among greater numbers of Russian workers. In other words, the Revolution of 1905 brought much larger and more diverse groups of people into the revolutionary movement. It gave Russian people their first experience of democracy, however short-lived or partial.

2. The 1905 Revolution also highlighted in practice the difference in approaches between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks as to their aims and tactics. Until then their arguments were purely theoretical and debated abroad, away from the masses whose lives they were supposed to change for the better, and away from the rank-and-file of the party who unlike their leadership were largely confined to living in Russia, and who acted, of necessity, without reference to émigré theory.

Since the aim of the thesis was to undertake an intensive study of women in the Russian revolutionary movement over an extended period of time, to allow for the examination of the part played by women at different stages in the revolutionary process and their own individual life cycles, I divided the subjects of my study into three generations, or rather groups.

[3] B.Clements, *Bolshevik Women*, 14

Group one includes female revolutionaries who came into the movement between 1870 and 1889. The choice of the start date as 1870 is not based on any one historical event. Indeed, since the 1860s women had been actively campaigning for rights to education and work and rights to hold public office. Some scholars refer collectively to women of that decade as 'shestidesiatnitsy', i.e. women of the sixties. The priorities and tactics employed by them differed from the coming generations. It was the 1870s, which witnessed a new wave in the Russian radical movement and a big jump in the numbers of female participants in it. 1123 women's names had been recorded in *Deiateli revoliutsionnogo dvizheniia v Rossii* (DRDR) which constitutes 20 per cent of all names (5664) entered in that dictionary for the 1870s. By comparison the same dictionary recorded only 94 names of women of the 1860s, which represented only 5 per cent of the total figure (1655). So not only did women's participation grow substantially in absolute terms, but the increase in their activity was forging ahead faster than that of men. By selecting the year 1870 I could follow revolutionary and social developments over two decades in Russia and examine the way these developments shaped female revolutionaries' lives and personalities. At the close of the next decade a new era in the history of women's revolutionary participation was unfolding.

Group two comprises female revolutionaries who came into the movement between 1890 and 1904. The year 1890 saw the beginning of a new type of underground circles aimed at and run by women workers. Thus a different breed of Russian female revolutionaries was emerging. Women workers were no longer simply passive observers at clandestine meetings organised and managed by the radical intelligentsia. Such individual workers as Vera Karelina and Anna Boldyreva joined the ranks of fellow male workers and representatives from the intelligentsia, and took their propaganda and agitation work to the factories. They with scores of other women workers became proactive supporters of socialist ideas and ideals. By the end of 1904 numerous new circles sprang up all across the Russian Empire. Some of them were now run along party political lines, though in many cases with a high degree of co-operation between members of the different parties. In the run up to 1905 the majority of new recruits to the underground movement from the working class came as a result of their desire to improve their knowledge and to share their views with like-minded people. The newcomers from the intelligentsia were driven by a desire to put right the wrongs perpetrated by the tsarist regime and in some cases to punish its individual

representatives. The events of the 1905 Revolution and the years that followed highlighted the extent of women's involvement in the revolutionary movement.

Group three includes women who joined the movement between the two revolutions of 1905 and 1917. More and more individuals were becoming members of political parties by making a conscious and informed choice. They were no longer satisfied with being simply incidental or occasional participants in revolutionary activities. The initiation of women into revolutionary life has often been portrayed as coming through their acquaintance with or being related to male activists. During my research I found sufficient evidence which points to the fact that particularly from the early twentieth century, female revolutionaries were more likely to be influenced in their decision to become active participants of a radical group by their life experiences and ties with other women. The latter was particularly common in towns where there was a dynamic circle devoted to work with women workers. The group of women deputies of the 1905 Ivanovo Soviet, who will be discused in chapter four, is a prime example. After the 1905 Revolution women workers in particular were drawn into active politics more by other women than by men, reflecting partly a rise in political consciousness and partly urban working and living patterns. Skilled men in particular occupied a very masculine environment, working alongside and sharing accommodation with each other. I chose to end my research with the 1917 Revolution. In my view after that year, most women were joining establishment politics and not a revolutionary movement. Those few who tried the latter, such as Broido and Spiridonova, were purged.

Chapters two, three and four of my thesis follow the progress of women from each of the three groups. Each of these chapters sets the general developments in the revolutionary movement of the periods against the historical background. This is to complement the analysis of women's involvement in the movement. Without the general picture it would be difficult to appreciate the extent of their involvement and contribution. Case studies of individual female revolutionaries will be presented in addition to studies of some radical groups and political parties where women's participation was most felt. I hope that individual case studies of representatives from a whole spectrum of social groups and political parties in Russia will help to present a balanced picture. For the period of the 1870s and 1880s we are talking above all about the People's Will. Female revolutionaries' role in political assassinations and the appearance of the first women terrorists like Sofia Perovskaia will be discussed in the

second chapter. Brusnev's group in both St. Petersburg and Moscow, the Northern Workers Union and the emergence of the political parties such as the RSDRP and the PSR are my main focus on group analyses for the period of 1890 and 1904, the period under consideration in chapter three. Chapter four will deal with the remaining years from 1905 to 1917. The events of the three revolutions in Russia have been at the centre of historical research for Soviet scholars and Western experts on Russian history alike, though the latter paid considerably more attention to the February and October Revolutions of 1917. These revolutions and the people who took part in them will feature largely in the fourth chapter. Of particular interest to me were the first Soviets, especially in Ivanovo-Voznesensk and St. Petersburg.

Compiling biographical data allows the search for patterns among the revolutionaries that shed light on the social and geographical origins, on women's influence in the movement (through the positions they held in the various groups and parties) and on factors which may have affected the women's activity (such as work, education, family commitments). In my prosopographical study I concentrate on the following categories: dates of birth and death, social origins, marital status, educational and professional backgrounds, ethnicity and the women's revolutionary activity. After the initial stages of research and a brief consideration I decided against continuing research into female revolutionaries' religious beliefs. On the one hand, not enough factual data is available to use in a statistical analysis. On the other, women from the two main ethnic groups, Russians and Jewish, with the exception of only a tiny minority, belonged to the Russian Orthodox or Jewish faith. I will, however, discuss the subject of religion in individual cases where women's religious beliefs or upbringing played a formative role.

Finding names of women revolutionaries was probably the easiest part of my research. It was much harder to compile data on individuals that will supply adequate information for a prosopographical study. Even a list of names has its own pitfalls. Like in any country there is a long list of commonly encountered surnames. In Russia they are Ivanov, Smirnov and many others. When such surnames appeared in isolation from first names and patronymics it was not always possible to link a particular event or fact to a named individual. Different sources occasionally referred to the same female revolutionaries under different names. For instance, Anna Boldyreva appeared in some books under her maiden name of Egorova, which incidentally is also a very common surname. Another woman worker, Nagovitsyna-Ikrianistova, is occasionally

referred to by either the first (maiden) or the second (married) name. Some women feature only under a pseudonym and their real names could not be traced or linked to the pseudonym.

All too often I could not establish women's dates of birth and/or death. Frequently records of women in biographical dictionaries such as *Deiateli revoliutsionnogo dvizheniia v Rossii* (DRDR) gave only an approximate date of birth and had no entry for the date of death. The absence of the date of death can have a twofold explanation: either the women left the movement well before the 1920s or they may have still been alive at the time when the dictionaries were compiled. In some cases sources gave different dates. In certain instances it was possible to establish approximate dates by thoroughly analysing all available information about the women's lives. The recent openness of the Russian authorities revealed not only what happened to some individuals who had been purged during the 1930s and 1940s but equally gave confirmed or approximated dates of their death. Eva Broido and Mariia Spiridonova are among such individuals.

As mentioned above another area where the lack of information was particularly felt was their marital status and childbearing. Autobiographical accounts of Bolshevichki kept in Fond I of the All-Union Society of Old Bolsheviks (*VOSB*) became a good source for this area. One of the questions women had to answer in a standard questionnaire was about their dependants. Occasionally women went beyond mentioning children's names. We are much more likely to learn about female revolutionaries' marital status if their husbands were also involved in revolutionary activities or if the women had left their husbands after the latter failed to support their political aspirations, clandestine work or party allegiance. In certain cases the fact of the women's marital status can be established by what appears to be a double-barrel name, like Nagovitsyna-Ikrianistova. In reality the names are reflecting both women's maiden and married surname. In practice, the bona fide double-barrel names were a prerogative of the few from the long-established Russian nobility. Working class women and women *meshchanki* were not entitled to them. The existence of children generally becomes known from biographical accounts where female revolutionaries' absence from active political life was explained 'as family circumstances'. For instance the SR member S. Klitchoglu left the revolutionary movement in 1906 after she was left with three young children following the death of her husband. Children also feature in some cases as unwitting participants of their parents' illegal activities.

In her memoirs Eva Broido described her family life during the first Siberian exile. While Broido was working in the prison pharmacy during some days, her two daughters were sent to an open-style prison to be looked after by other female revolutionaries:

> It goes without saying that secret pockets and belts of the [girls'] dresses invariably hid letters for the prisoners, and the children. In general children brought a breath of carefree attitude and gaiety. It is not surprising that the comrades spoiled them frightfully and they liked to live there so much that every time they got ready 'to go to prison' as if for a celebration.[4]

Such a surprisingly upbeat description of the way parents' underground activities affected children's lives is rare if not unique. More often, revolutionaries depended on each other, or other family members, to care for the children during absences caused by political work or imprisonment.

When researching into the social origins of female revolutionaries I found that many women who wrote their memoirs after 1930 put the emphasis on their working class background and those who came from *meshchanstvo* would stress the financial hardship their families had to go through. This by no means suggests that I treated such information with scepticism or suspicion. It does mean, however, that extra care and effort had to be taken to verify the claims. It also means that each case study had to be treated on its merits. One of the *VOSB* members Dora Itkind[5] described herself as coming from a poor working class family. Yet her father was an office worker in a quarry and her mother was a housewife. Her sister, Mariia Itkind, also a *VOSB* member simply stated the occupations of her parents without trying to classify her social origin in a way then considered more politically acceptable.[6]

As in other areas of my research I had to look for additional proof on individual women after encountering contradictory data. Occasionally I was able to disregard some of the conflicting information. In the case of social origins the difficulty at times arises as a result of confusion over what information authors and

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[4] E.Broido, *V riadakh RSDRP,* 48
[5] VOSB database, *Fond #124, case 781*
[6] ibid., *case 782*

researchers based their findings on. For instance, one of the first women activists from the working class, Anna Boldyreva, was described by Nevskii as a *meshchanka* in his *Sovety i vooruzhennoe vosstanie v 1905 godu.* Yet all other authors as well as Boldyreva's biographical facts point to her peasant and working class origins. Her father was a soldier in the Russian army. She lived with her mother in a village, moving to Petersburg when Anna was seven. At the age of eight Boldyreva's mother sent her to enter an apprenticeship in the Maxwell textile factory. Boldyreva did, however, marry a skilled worker who was a *meshchanin.* In another example based on a father's occupation, the aforementioned Dora Itkind should be easily classed as a *meshchanka.* Reading her biographical account for the *VSOB* we learn that Dora began her working life as an apprentice in a small garment workshop at the age of 12. This is by no means an isolated example. In my thesis I described women's origins based on their father's occupations (which in my view is a more correct approach because that was the basis of contemporary social classification). In doing this I came across a different difficulty. Anna Budnitskaia, stated that she was a *meshchanka* coming from a working class family.[7] Unfortunately, I was unable to find other evidence or biographical material that would contain information about her father's occupation.

The majority of women who became subjects of my research were born after 1870, i.e. a few years after Russian peasants were granted freedom from servitude. Some of the former serfs having left their home villages succeeded in establishing small businesses and eventually entering a new social group, that of *meshchanstvo.* Glafira Okulova-Teodorovich's father was a peasant who became a successful owner of gold mines in Eastern Siberia. I.Nikitin in his book *Ikh zhizn' - bor'ba* informs his readers that the Didrikil sisters came from a working family. The head of the family is described as a serf later adding that he was a self-taught man who reached a position of a head forester and an estate manager. Similarly the first thing we learn about Praskov'ia Kuliabko's father is that he was a serf who after a long service in the Imperial Army became a cobbler and joined the ranks of *meshchanstvo.* This points to a certain fluidity in the post-emancipation society.

It was not always possible to establish women's nationalities, although generally, the information was available in autobiographical accounts. The

[7] ibid., *case 268*

biographical dictionary *Deiateli revoliutsionnogo dvizheniia v Rossii* occasionally recorded this too. When a nationality could not be traced I attempted to identify it via a study of their names. To do that I had to be sure that the surname was a maiden one as inter-marriages between men and women from different nationalities were not uncommon. Some names, providing two or better even all three components, which were known in full, were self-explanatory. For instance, Varvara Ivanovna Aleksandrova is an obviously Russian name while Abramova Haiai Abramovna is a Jewish one. The highest number of female revolutionaries was Russian followed by Jewish women. All other nationalities were represented to a considerably lesser extent: for instance, Elizaveta Berzin who was Latvian or Nina Aladzhalova from Armenia.

Women in the Russian Empire gained a right to higher education in the early 1870s. The first Higher Women's Courses were opened in St. Petersburg in 1878, whereas before that those seeking it had to go abroad or seek a right to attend Russian universities without the benefit of acquiring formal qualifications. The first female revolutionaries were also among the first women students or *kursistki* such as Sofia Perovskaia. Establishing the educational levels of lower-class women, however, proved more difficult. At times, the difficulty arose from the women worker's own interpretation of such terms as 'self-taught' and 'basic'. It would be natural to assume that latter would mean at least an elementary knowledge of the three R's. 'Basic' was how one of the Ivanovo Soviet deputies, the textile worker A. Smelova, described her educational level. According to a document dating to 1905, however, another person had to sign a petition on her behalf on the grounds of her illiteracy.[8] This might indicate that Smelova had had some schooling in basic literacy, but had then little use for such a skill in her work.

The analysis of female revolutionaries' educational backgrounds was closely linked to that of their professions and occupations. For instance if no information was available about their educational history but they were known to have worked as teachers or house tutors it was safe to infer that these women were educated at least to a secondary school level. Such an assumption was possible thanks to knowledge about the school system in imperial Russia and the educational prerequisites for obtaining a 'teacher' title. Some women were trained to perform more than one job.

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[8] A. Pankratova, *Revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie v Rossii vesnoi i letom 1905 goda,* 427-8

For example, a large proportion of midwives worked also as feldshers. Women revolutionaries were often forced to change their occupations because once accused of illegal activities they could no longer hold the post or find a job in the same profession. The hardest post to keep was a teaching one. As this was the most common profession among the Russian female intelligentsia, the laws on employing 'undesirables' affected many female revolutionaries. Women workers were less likely than intelligentsia to rely on party funds (even supposing they formally belonged to a party) to support them during periods of unemployment caused by their political activities. When sacked from their factories they had to move in search of new employers and to frequently change their jobs. All too often such change resulted in worse paid posts and/or unskilled labour. In 1907 E. Balashova, a textile worker by profession, had to work in a less well paid confectionery factory while in Moscow. When in 1907 M. Golubeva lost her job as textile worker in an Ivanovo factory and was forced to move to the suburbs of Moscow, she worked for many years as a laundress in an orphanage.

One of the most interesting areas of research was into the female revolutionaries' radical activities, from their first steps to their development over the years. Comparatively few women left full and detailed accounts of their progress. Such information is more readily obtainable about women from the intelligentsia than about women workers or peasants. Some are very precise when describing their work during the period which in Soviet times was hailed as vital to the eventual victory of the Bolsheviks, i.e. 1905-7 and 1917. The years in between are generally left unaccounted for. Police and court records provide further knowledge about women's involvement. Unfortunately this meant that in many individual cases we learned about activities directly linked to a particular prosecution and not about their overall involvement.

One of the most common tasks performed by revolutionary women was keeping safe houses. This task was dangerous and time and effort consuming. Even when both husband and wife were involved in underground work it was the wife who was ultimately responsible for the household duty. As one husband admitted, 'The burden of looking after the party *nelegaly* lay entirely on Dar'ia Ivanovna, my wife...'[9] Eight out of eleven women Soviet deputies from Ivanovo - on whom I was

[9] V.Balukov, *Deputaty pervogo Soveta,* 278

able to discover documentary evidence - had kept safe houses. In effect, such women shouldered a double and indeed often treble burden, combining political work, domestic responsibilities, and paid employment. Not surprisingly, after years of such activity, many became so sick or exhausted, they withdrew from the revolutionary movement, as Vera Karelina did in 1905.

Writing about their participation in the RSDRP some female revolutionaries described their work as that of 'a technical secretary'. This work involved keeping party branch or committee records, keeping communications open with other branches within and outside Russia, printing, transporting and distributing literature, organising group meetings. In short this work involved all spheres of managing an underground organisation. Most female party activists, including Lenin's sister Mariia and his wife Nadezhda Krupskaia, had done such work at some time. Like the keeping of safe houses, which was seen to fall in women's domestic sphere, the work of secretary is often deemed, and implicitly dismissed, as peculiarly suited to women who served the predominantly male leadership. Yet Lenin himself greatly valued such work not just as supporting his theoretical development, but also for securing the links between the émigré circles and the revolutionaries who remained in tsarist Russia. Of course, the job of secretary required a considerable level of education which most working class revolutionaries did not posses.

Although only a small minority of women workers joined trade unions, for many female revolutionaries work in a revolutionary group was complemented by a close involvement with the trade union movement. Trade unionism won recognition among Russian workers after the defeat of the 1905 revolution. With political parties in retreat the struggle for better pay and working conditions continued through trade union organisations. In 1906 Ivanovo's branch of the metal workers' trade union was set up in, and operated from, the Bolshevichka A. Smelova's flat. In 1907 her party comrade M. Lebedeva actively worked in the union of textile workers.

By the same token there were attempts to draw women into the revolutionary movement via initial involvement in the work of trade unions. In 1909 the newspaper *Rabochee delo* published an article entitled 'The Woman worker and trade unions' ('Zhenshchina-rabotnitsa i professional'nye soiuzy'). The article was written in response to the call of some tailors from a Moscow textile factory for the trade unions to oppose women's factory labour. In return the men promised to join the union *en masse*. The anonymous author argued against this approach:

> But the owners readily use women's labour not only because they are prepared to accept a lower wage but also because they are more submissive workers. The owners have tried on a number of occasions to use women in order to break a strike. ... The factory destroys the woman worker but at the same time it grants her one indispensable blessing: it makes her independent. The woman worker casts off those family chains, which shroud a housewife. The task of the trade unions is to help her cast off the chains with which she is bound by capital. The working woman's independence reinforced by the light of her knowledge and nourished by the solidarity of her organisation will continue to grow for the benefit of working class liberation. 1905 demonstrated that even a Russian woman worker is capable of a spirited struggle. Trade unions should rouse them for struggle, an organised struggle.[10]

It proved difficult to win women to the trade unions because of the continuous hostility of male workers, and because the majority of women did not consider unions would represent their interests. Most earned too little to afford the union dues, while those with domestic responsibilities simply did not have the time to spare for union, or political, activities.

Each of the following chapters will consider individual women and whole groups based on the above categories. When sufficient data exists on a single category for a given period a table will appear in the relevant chapter. Another type of table will include numerical information for several categories. Each table will then be analysed to present my findings. In the final chapter I will pull together information from all three periods and compare the findings. A comparative analysis of my findings with those of Clements and Fieseler will also be given in the conclusion. I have included tables and charts which present my findings within the main body of the text as well as in the appendices as in my view they constitute an integral part of my research.

[10] Moscow Archives, Fond 31, volume 3, case 978

As stated information from individual case studies will be incorporated into individual chapters. Nevertheless, not all life histories of female revolutionaries from my database could be included in such a way. An appendix with a further list of women accompanied by their mini-biographies will hopefully do justice to a greater number of them.

Finally concerning the transliteration, in general, I have used the Library of Congress system for transliterating the Cyrillic alphabet into English. The soft and hard signs in the middle and the end of the words are rendered as an apostrophe: Iaroslavl'. In some widely known names like Sofia Perovskaia they were omitted. A glossary of commonly used words is placed at the beginning of the study.

After the October Revolution the Soviet authorities changed geographical-administrative terms. In my thesis I used the pre-revolutionary classification for the administrative system and the terms are explained in the glossary. After the collapse of the Soviet Union many Soviet names reverted to the original ones. This made the task of identifying names of places easier. For example, the Soviet city of Leningrad is once again known as St. Petersburg. But I also refer to it as Petrograd as the city was temporarily known after the outbreak of the World War I. The Julian calendar and not the Gregorian one was used in referring to events in my thesis, as the latter was not adopted until February 1918 and chronologically my study ends in 1917.

CHAPTER TWO

FROM WORD TO DEED, 1870-1889

Much of the biographical information on the lives of female revolutionaries (revoliutsionerki) of the 1870s and 1880s, who are the focus of this chapter is derived from three particular sources. The most useful is volume 40 of the famous *Granat* encyclopaedia (*Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar' Granat,*) published in 1929. Next is *Zhenshchina v russkom revoliutsionnom dvizhenii, 1870-1905* (1927), in which the author S.Tsederbaum, himself a revolutionary who joined the Mensheviks after the split in the RSDRP, examines the activities of female revolutionaries. Finally, there is the collection of extracts from the biographies and memoirs of five revolutionaries of this period, *Five Sisters, Women against the Tsar* (1975), translated and edited by Barbara Engel and Clifford N.Rosenthal.

The history of the radical movement in Russia in the 1870s and 1880s is the history of the early progress in socialist theory and its practical application in the country. One of the first theoretical works to be written by a Russian revolutionary was S. Nechaev's *Katekhizis revoliutsionera* (*Catechism of a Revolutionary*). Nechaev, fully aware of the subversive nature of his work, put it into code to evade the censor. In his work 'the father of terrorism' expressed his views on the nature of the revolutionary's attitude towards other men and women in society. Nechaev identified five categories of men and put all women into a sixth category, which he subdivided into three.

> § 21 The sixth important category is women, who should be divided into 3 main types.
>
> The first are empty-headed, foolish and soulless, who may be made use of like the third and the fourth category of men. The others are passionate, devoted and able but do not belong among us because they have not reached a really practical and deeply revolutionary understanding. They should be used like men from the fifth category.
>
> Finally, there are the women who truly belong among us, in other words the really initiated who fully accept our programme. They are

> our comrades. We should view them as our most precious treasure, whose assistance is indispensable to us.[1]

This remarkable categorisation of women may well explain the way the early Russian male revolutionaries and many of the subsequent generations viewed women and their role in the revolutionary movement. On the one hand, women are treated as a separate group from men, with Nechaev identifying just three categories of women to men's five. On the other, some women are described as comrades whose assistance is vital to the success of the revolutionary cause. Based on these instructions the aim of my thesis should have been to consider life cycles of the second and the third category of women. But this will exclude one more type of Russian female revolutionaries. These are women who did not join a radical circle or take up formal membership of a political organisation, but nevertheless showed themselves capable of independent thought and action. As noted below this category included mothers who decided to support their children's' political work, even when their husbands did not approve, which is a caution to be wary of generalisations about wifely subservience to patriarchal authority.

Given the very feudal and patriarchal nature of Russian society in the first half of the nineteenth century we must not be surprised at the low numbers of women participating in the radical movement of the 1860s. The 94 women's names recorded in the *DRDR* for that decade were among the pioneers and role models for those who followed them. Towards the end of the 1860s the fight for women's equality, so far one of the main preoccupations of Russian female philanthropists, was becoming more closely associated with the developing revolutionary movement. The reforms of 1861 opened new possibilities for women who aspired to entry into higher education, even if not on the same terms as men, and to have the right to take part in public service. Hundreds of young women headed for big cities where they hoped to find better opportunities. Some left homes with the tacit approval of their parents. Others having failed to win such support went without their parents' consent on entering into a fictitious marriage. This was the sole way out for many young women as at the time according to the law of the land unmarried women could travel only with their father's consent. Communes were springing up in Petersburg and Moscow where

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[1] O.V.Budnitskii, *Istoriia terrorisma v Rossii v dokumentakh, biografiiakh i issledovaniiakh*, 51

women lived and worked together. These communes became a fertile ground for radical propaganda. Having tried a taste of freedom and inspired by rousing debates women felt ready to use their knowledge to improve the lot of the common people.

It was in the 1860s that the Narodniki, or 'Populist', movement had first developed. In practice, the Narodniki were influenced by Marx's writings, as he was by Russian thinkers. Populists aimed to carry their propaganda to the people by working alongside them at factories and workshops. Men always outnumbered women in the revolutionary movement, and monopolised positions of leadership. Still, the proportion of female revolutionaries grew from around three per cent in the 1860s to just over twelve per cent in the 1870s, while some, for example, Perovskaia, shaped policy and initiated action. The female revolutionaries of the 1860s and 1870s as this chapter will show were recruited overwhelmingly from the upper-classes. Among the individuals of the 1860s who stood out was L.P.Shelgunova, daughter of a government administrator and wife of the talented propagandist N.V.Shelgunov . The revolutionary leaflet *To the Young Generation*, was written and distributed on her initiative and with her assistance. In Zurich, she kept a boarding house for political émigrés from Russia. Another, A.Dement'eva, was prosecuted for spreading radical propaganda. She helped to print and distribute her future husband's, P.Tkachev, leaflet *To Society* which publicised the demands of striking students and called for support from members of the Russian society. One of the first women to be tried for a political offence, A.Dement'eva spoke eloquently in defence of her actions.

The Moscow Circle and Chaikovtsy

The Social Democratic movement from the 1880s was concerned above all with urban, and especially factory, workers, so that its constituency was not only overwhelmingly male, but also a small minority of the Russian population, considering that industrialisation did not take off until the 1880s and 1890s. However, the intelligentsia who were radicalised by Alexander II's reforms of the 1860s had looked first to the peasantry, though when it proved too difficult to win peasant acceptance by direct contact, they turned to factory workers who, it was hoped, would serve as a conduit for revolutionary ideas through the ties they maintained with the countryside. Female radicals recognised that, as women, they suffered specific

disadvantages, not least in breaking from the patriarchal authority of their own families, but also in being taken seriously by the masses they tried to reach.

In the 1870s the revolutionary movement gained momentum. A great deal of what is known about it comes from police archives and is centred on political trials of the 1870s, especially two of them. These took place in 1877 and have become known in history as the Trial of the 50 and the Trial of the 193, the names reflecting the numbers of the accused. Sixteen women were tried during the first one. Just seven months later another 38 women were brought into the docks during the second trial. At both trials men and women alike stood accused of disseminating seditious propaganda.

Most of those who appeared at the Trial of the 50 belonged to the so-called Pan-Russian Social Revolutionary Organisation, frequently referred to as the Moscow Circle because the circle's activities were centred around Moscow and nearby industrial towns, notably Ivanovo-Voznesensk and Tula. Its members worked at 20 factories, conducting what they called 'peaceful propaganda' among industrial workers. This early effort of socialist propaganda had lasted for less than a year (1874-1875) before the police arrested most of the membership from as far afield as Moscow, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Kiev and Odessa.

The young women (all under the age of 30) who were brought to trial came either from aristocratic or well-to-do families. Fathers of five of these women were wealthy landowners while a wealthy factory owner was father to the two Liubatovich sisters. These women had received their initial education either at home or at school. Many had then sought a serious education which would make them self-supporting while enabling them to repay the debt which they considered they owed to the masses by working to improve their position, mostly as professionals but with a significant minority turning to revolution. At least twelve of them studied in Zurich where their initiation into revolutionary circles began. Once in Zurich the women joined radical study groups formed by members of the Russian colony. The idea of social revolution was frequently debated at the meetings. The Fritsche circle was one of such groups. It was a women's circle because, given their lack of a serious education until then, as well as their lack of experience in public debate, men tended to dominate in study groups. The Fritsche felt that women had to develop confidence and skills through study and debate among themselves, away from male competition and authority. Among its members were Sof'ia Bardina, Lidiia Figner, Olga and Vera Liubatovich,

Betia Kaminskaia and Alexandra Khorzhevskaia. It was while in Switzerland that the Fritsche women decided to return to Russia in order to take their propaganda to the people. As Vera Figner, sister of Lidiia, later wrote in her memoirs:

> Our circle in Zurich had arrived at the conviction that it was necessary to assume a position identical to that of the people in order to earn their trust and conduct propaganda among them successfully. You had to 'take plain living'- to engage in physical labour, to drink, eat, and dress as the people did, renouncing all the habits and needs of the cultured classes. This was the only way to become closer to the people and get response to propaganda;... [2]

In order to meet the demands of Alexander II's 1873 decree ordering his female subjects to end their studies in Zurich, the women had to return to their country and give up their hopes of becoming qualified doctors. Not all of the radicalised women agreed with the need to join the ranks of factory workers. But those who did, went shortly back home. Divided into small groups they departed from Moscow for other towns of the Russian Empire. Their enthusiasm was not sufficient, however, as in spite of wearing simple peasant dress the young women could not hide their innate elegance and soon attracted attention and suspicion from other workers. The female revolutionaries were not prepared for the unsanitary working conditions which they encountered in the factories and mills. Least of all were they prepared for such long hours of tedious and gruelling labour. The women could find no solace even in conducting propaganda, the reason for being there in the first place. They found the consciousness of their female co-workers was too low while the interest of male workers was lost the moment they understood that no 'fooling around' was permitted. The female revolutionaries had been impressed by the deep thirst for knowledge which they found among at least a few of the ordinary women workers, but it remained untapped not simply due to the latter's widespread illiteracy and absorption in the wretched problems of everyday lives, or even because of the swift political repression. The general apathy and occasional hostility of the female workers towards the revoliutsionerki reinforced the stereotype of the women as the greyest of the grey

[2] B. Engel & C. Rosenthal ed., *Five Sisters, Women against the Tsar,* 26

mass, giving the impression that any propaganda work had to be aimed more at neutralising the conservative influence on male workers, than drawing women into the labour movement as workers in their own right. Impatient of such backwardness, and themselves soon physically and mentally demoralised by factory work to which they were exposed for the first time, the intelligentsia soon gave up on the women. As Ivanovskaia admitted:

> Perhaps if I'd remained at the factory longer than two or three months I might have been able to get something going: a few girls were becoming interested in reading and had begun to drop in at my apartment, and in time I might have been able to propagandise and to organise them. But I found conditions at the factory too difficult and depressing to continue working there. [3]

This urban form of 'going to the people' was, like the preceding movement to the villages, quickly crushed by the authorities who staged two 'show trials' in 1877. In the Trial of the 50 just under a third of the accused were women, in the Trial of the 193, it was just under a fifth.

Table 1: ***Women who appeared at the Trial of the 50***

NAME DATES	ORIGIN	EDUCATION PROFESSION	MARITAL STATUS	SENTENCE
Aleksandrova-Natanson V.I. (1853-nd)	Gentry	Studied in Zurich	Married to a fellow revolutionary	Katorga (commuted to exile)
Bardina S.I. (1852-1883) committed suicide	Father –landowner	Studied medicine in Zurich		9 years of katorga; escaped abroad in 1880; (commuted to exile)
Batiushkova V.N. (1849-1892) committed suicide	Father – titular councillor		Fictitious marriage	9 years of katorga (commuted to exile)
Figner-Stakhevich L.N. (1853-1920)	Father –landowner	Studied in Kazan and medicine Zurich	Married	5 years of katorga (commuted to exile)
Gelf'man-Kolotkevich G. (1852-1882) died in prison	Father – wealthy merchant	Studied midwifery in Kiev	Married to a fellow revolutionary; had a child	2 years of imprisonment
Georgievskaia N. (1858-nd)	Father – priest			2 months of imprisonment

[3] ibid., 105

Khorzhevskaia (née Tsitsianova) A. (1854-1886) committed suicide	Princess	Studied in Zurich	Fictitious marriage	5 years of katorga; (commuted to exile)
Liubatovich-Morozova O.S. (1853-1917)	Father – factory owner	Studied medicine in Zurich	Married (twice?) to a fellow revolutionary; had a child	9 years of katorga (commuted to exile)
Liubatovich V.S. (1855-1907)	Father – factory owner	Studied medicine in Zurich		6 years of katorga (commuted to exile)
Medvedeva E.P. (1849-nd)				Exiled to Siberia for 16 years
Subbotina E.M. (1853-1930?)	Father – noble landowner	Studied in Zurich		Katorga (commuted to exile)
Subbotina M.M. (1854-1878)	Father – noble landowner	Studied in Zurich		Exiled to Siberia for 6 years
Subbotina N.M. (1855-1930?)	Father – noble landowner	Studied in Zurich		Katorga (commuted to exile)
Toporkova A.G. (1854-nd)	Father – workshop worker	Studied medicine in Zurich; teacher		4 years of imprisonment
Tumanova-Gamkrelidze E.B. (1854-nd)	Gentry	Studied in Odessa and Zurich	married	Six weeks of imprisonment
Vvedenskaia E.A. (1855-nd)	Father – priest			Two weeks of imprisonment

Thanks to the publicity this trial received in Russia a great deal of which was due to the high number of women involved (over 30 per cent), exceptionally full biographical information about the accused exists. In fact, Ol'ga Liubatovich left a written account of her life, the translated version of which appears in *Five Sisters, Women against the Tsar*. I was unable to establish only one date of birth, that of A. Khorzhevskaia. As it is known that all the accused were under the age of 25 with the exception of Batiushkova and Medvedeva who were 27, we may assume that she too was born in the early 1850s. It is necessary to make one comment here. Various sources give different years of birth for some women. For instance, in one source Batiushkova's is given as 1850 and in the other as 1849. But the difference in one year could not significantly affect my final analysis and I decided to opt for the most recent source. For exactly half of the women I was also able to enter the exact date of death with another two being known to be still alive after 1930. Four women died under the age of 40, one under the age of 50 and five lived over the age of 60. Four women lived long enough to witness the revolutionary events of 1917, among whom

were two of the Subbotin sisters. Three women took their own lives. Batiushkova committed suicide while serving her sentence in Tomsk and Khorzhevskaia died in St. Petersburg. The third, and arguably the best known woman from this group, is Sof'ia Bardina. She attracted the attention and sympathy of the Russian public with her passionate speech at the end of the trial. She had demonstrated her leadership qualities and strong conviction already in Zurich. Sof'ia was allowed to address the court as one of the organisation's leaders. In her final statement she declared:

> Whatever fate awaits me, gentlemen, I do not ask for mercy and do not wish it. You can persecute us as much as you like, but I am deeply convinced that such a broad movement, caused most likely by the spirit of the time, cannot be stopped by any means of suppression. ... Persecute us – you have the material strength for a while, gentlemen, but we have moral strength, the strength of historic progress, the strength of ideas; and ideas, alas, you cannot pierce with bayonets![4]

As mentioned above, there was a number of similarities in the biographical details of the female revolutionaries. One of such details is their educational background. Indeed, it was this factor that brought most of the women together to the revolutionary cause. In spite of an extensive search I drew a blank on the educational experience of six women. However, it is safe to infer that they were all literates for otherwise they would have been unable to conduct their propaganda. One of the main methods employed by the group was reading literature aloud to the gathered workers. At least five of the ten women who went to Zurich studied medicine there. None of them managed to complete the course preferring to return home with the aim of spreading propaganda among factory workers. The years spent in studies were not totally lost as the women could use their knowledge to support themselves by taking up professional work. For example, Ol'ga Liubatovich practised medicine in exile. Gesia Gel'fman studied midwifery in Kiev. At least one of them, A.Toporkova, also worked as a teacher. Once back in Russia the female revolutionaries began their work in factories. Only one, Vera Liubatovich, was chosen to stay in Moscow in order to co-ordinate the administrative side of the work. Unable to remain for any length of time at any one

[4] S. Tsederbaum, *Zhenshchina v russkom revoliutsionnom dvizhenii, 1870-1905*, 28

place, women and men from the Moscow Circle travelled under assumed names across central Russia and in the south. O. Liubatovich and A.Khorzhevskaia worked in Odessa and Tula, A. Toporkova, L. Figner and V. Aleksandrova were important to the organisation's work in Ivanovo-Voznesensk.

Verifiable information on marital status is available for seven women. Three – Aleksandrova, Gel'fman and O.Liubatovich – married fellow revolutionaries. S.Tsederbaum described O.Liubatovich as married twice and both times choosing men who shared her political beliefs. These marriages took place after the women had begun their radical activities. In two further cases – Batiushkova and Khorzhevskaia – the marriages were fictitious and occurred prior to the two women engaging in subversive work. Such marriages were not uncommon at the time among women seeking freedom from parental control and despotism. Having entered into such a union the 'couple' often remained celibate and went their separate ways. The case of Ges'ia Gel'fman differs from the others. She ran away from her home after her father, as it was customary in the Jewish community, had arranged a marriage for her. Later Gel'fman married a fellow revolutionary by whom she had a child. From O.Liubatovich's own accounts we know that she too had a child.

The women received different sentences reflecting the authorities' view of the gravity of the offences. The most severe punishment was reserved for the women who stood accused of organising and / or being a member of a secret society whose ultimate aim was the overthrow of the tsar. Six women were sentenced to various terms of hard labour, which were later commuted to lengthy exile terms. Among other prosecution charges was wilful dissemination of propaganda and Vera Liubatovich was also accused of resisting arrest. Only three women received comparatively light sentences. Tumanova was sentenced to six weeks in prison. Georgievskaia was to spend two months in prison and the lightest sentence was reserved for Vvedenskaia who had been simply accused of knowing of the organisation's existence. Almost all the women were deprived of their social privileges and rights to property. A number of those who were sent to Eastern Siberia escaped and tried to rejoin the revolutionary movement, including O.Liubatovich and S.Bardina. I shall explore the outcome of these attempts later in the chapter.

A close analysis of the sixteen women uncovers some interesting patterns which were repeated among other women in later trials. Despite a reputation for asceticism and single-minded devotion to the cause, family relationships were very

important for revolutionaries, men and women alike. For instance, among the accused there were two sets of sisters: Liubatovich and Subbotina. Female revolutionaries tended to marry men who came from the same circle or had similar political views.

In spite of the apparent ready availability and comparatively complete nature of the information available on the trial I did come across one interesting discrepancy. All historians who wrote about the case quote the figure 16 for the number of women accused at the trial. When I began compiling a list of all the names cross-referencing them against at least four different works I ended up with 18 names. For example, E.Pavliuchenko in her work *Zhenshchina v russkom osvoboditel'nom dvizhenii* (Moscow, 1988) talks about Praskov'ia Georgievskaia, a sister of Nadezhda, whom I have included into my database. Praskov'ia did not appear in any other source however. She was not mentioned in V.Sablin's *Protsess 50-ti* (1906) which contains a full list of the accused and their sentences. Having checked against all the other names in my list for the Trial of the 50 I spotted one probability - P. Georgievskaia may, in fact, be E.Vvedenskaia. Given the very different initials the two surnames could not belong to the same woman as her married and maiden name. Yet the women of the group had been known to use aliases and there is a possibility that Praskov'ia succeeded in keeping her anonimity to the very end of the trial. There are three factors which are in favour of this theory. The profession of the two women's fathers is 'a priest' and the age of the two women is given as 24. Vvedenskaia was sentenced to two weeks in prison while N. Georgievskaia, possibly her sister, was given a more severe two months' sentence.

The other person who features in all written work about the Trial of the 50 is Betia Kaminskaia. Like her comrades she had studied in Zurich and was a member of the Fritsche Circle, having gone to Switzerland with her friends, the Liubatovich sisters. Vera Figner wrote about Betia's experience of work in a paper factory that had left her exhausted both physically and mentally. It is a proven fact that Kaminskaia was arrested among other members of the Moscow Circle. But she was never brought to trial. In prison Kaminskaia fell seriously ill and became mentally unstable. Shortly after her comrades were sentenced Betia committed suicide by taking poison. I decided to include her into my general database and took her shared experience into account in my statistical calculations.

In all around 4,000 young city people most of whom were students, had sought to spread socialist ideas among the peasantry by 'going to the people' in 1874,

dressing as peasants, in some cases living in a village, in others moving from one village to another, trying, with minimal success, to win over the peasants to socialism. The response from the villages was largely indifference but there was also hostility and suspicion. Peasants could not understand why urban, upper class, educated men and women would give up their comforts to wander the countryside. The movement was soon crushed. Within a few months of the Trial of the 50 a much larger group of people appeared in court accused of conducting illegal propaganda. Among the accused stood 38 women.

I was able to find information on 17 out of 38 women who stood trial. It was not as full as on the women from the first trial. Nevertheless, I decided to draw up a table and to make a statistical analysis that could contribute to the better appreciation of female revolutionaries who took part in the early days of the radical movement.

Table 2: ***Women who appeared at the Trial of the 193***

NAME DATES	ORIGIN	EDUCATION PROFESSION	MARITAL STATUS	SENTENCE
Alekseeva-D'iakova OG (1850-1918)	Father - landowner		Married with two children	
Averkieva EI				
Breshko-Breshkovskaia (1845-1934)	Father -landowner	Professional revolutionary	Married with a child	5 years of katorga
Griaznova				Exiled
Iurgenson (Golovina)NA (1855-1943)	Father – junior courtier	Teacher		
Ivanova (Boreisho) SA (1856-1927)	Father - officer	Seamstress Type setter	married	Exiled
Kornilova-Moroz AI (1853-nd)	Father- factory owner	Studied midwifery in Vienna	Married to a fellow revolutionary	Exiled
Kuvshinskaia-Charushina AD (-1909)		Teacher	Married to a fellow revolutionary	
Lebedeva-Frolova TI (1850-1887)			married	
Leshern-von Gertsfel'd S A (1839-1898)	Gentry	teacher		
Perovskaia Sofia (1853-1881)	Father -officer	teacher		Acquitted
Pototskaia MP		Midwife; studied		

		in Zurich		
Sidoratskaia-Obodovskaia AIa				
Subbotina SA – (1830-1919)	Gentry	Studied in a private school	Married; 3 daughters	Exiled
Supinskaia EV				
Zarudneva LT				
Zavadskaia EF committed suicide				Acquitted

Of the nine women for whom I have dates of birth six were born in or after 1850. The oldest of the remaining three, S. Subbotina, was 47 during her trial. This means that the average age was just over 26, only three years more than the Moscow Circle members. From the information about their year of death we learn that five of them lived after the Revolution of 1917 with three – Breshko-Breshkovskaia, Iurgenson and Subbotina living to a remarkably old age. The social origins of the known eight indicate that the women tended to come from a privileged background. Like the Moscow Circle most of these women had a good education but only two, Kornilova and Pototskaia, were known to have studied abroad. The others received their education in Russia with three, Aleksandra Kornilova, Anna Kuvshinskaia and Sofia Perovskaia, attending the Alarchin Courses (preparatory courses for women seeking entry to higher education, opened in St. Petersburg in 1869). A circle for the study of political economy was set up by the course students, many of whom later became Chaikovtsy. One woman stands out from this group when we analyse the educational pattern. S. Ivanova was born into a well-off family. But as her father died before she reached the age of 16, Ivanova failed to secure enough funds that would allow her to train as a teacher or a midwife. For a while she worked in a seamstress' workshop but gave this job up in favour of working in a printing house. In other words, Ivanova was among those upper-class Russian women who had to earn their own living and whose job opportunities were severely limited due to inadequate education.

Six of the 17 were known to have been married and three of them had children. One, Kuvshinskaia, was married to a fellow revolutionary. In this category, S. Subbotina deserves a special mention. The mother of the three Subbotin sisters who were tried just a few months before her, she never joined any revolutionary circle. Yet from the very beginning of her daughters' involvement in radical activities she became their closest ally assisting them with keeping and distributing literature and

giving shelter to her daughters' comrades-in-arms. She was quoted as saying to them, 'You, the young ones, conduct your revolutionary cause, and I shall help you by finding funds.'[5] This exceptional woman spent three years in prison. She refused to seek pardon for herself and her daughters and instead followed one of them, Nadezhda, to exile in Tomsk. There senior Subbotina organised help for political exiles and was once again punished for this activity by being sent further away to Eastern Siberia. Of the 38 women tried during this case five were sentenced to katorga. Though Breshko-Breshkovskaia was not the first revoliutsionerka to receive such a sentence, she was the first one to serve it. Nine women were sentenced to imprisonment and the remaining twenty-four were acquitted. Among the latter was S. Perovskaia who just four years later would become the first Russian woman to be executed for her participation in the assassination of the tsar Alexander II.

In all 84 political trials were held during the 1870s. Ninety-five women were tried during them. The 35 women featuring in the two tables represent only a small number of female revolutionaries of the 1870s. The biographical analysis of this decade would remain incomplete without adding information about a sample of other women who were politically active during the period. In 1874 the Russian Minister of Justice spoke about 23 centres which were actively engaged in conducting radical propaganda among industrial workers. He named seven women who were suspected of heading some of them: Leshern, Subbotina, Tsvetkova, Andreeva, Kolesnikova, Breshkovskaia, Okhremenko. Apart from Subbotina, all the other women were representatives of the so-called Great Propaganda Society which came to be generally referred to as the Chaikovtsy Circle, the name taken after one of its male leaders. At the very roots of the Society were a number of independent circles founded at the end of the 1860s, notably a women's circle run by S. Perovskaia and the Kornilov sisters. This group concentrated their work in St.Petersburg, with women living in the industrial districts of the capital disguised as workers.

There were 22 women (21.5 per cent) among the Society's known 102 members. In 1873, the Chaikovtsy began their 'going to people' by sending their representatives not only to industrial towns but also to villages. The movement reached mass proportions but failed to survive beyond 1875. It also failed to convert peasants to their beliefs. Too many of the propagandists had been arrested and put

[5] E. Pavliuchenko, *Zhenschina v russkom osvoboditel'nom dvizhenii,* 231

into prisons to await a trial. During the Trial of the 193, members of the Great Propaganda Society made up more than half of the accused. There is one aspect which sets the two trials apart. The women at the first trial, the Trial of the 50, all came from one circle. The Trial of the 193 brought together women from different radical groups who were engaged in spreading propaganda both among urban industrial workers and the peasantry. Among these was a small group of women who were charged with working in the Myshkin printing house where illegal literature for the propagandists was produced.

Table 3: Female revolutionaries of the 1870s

NAME DATES	ORIGIN	EDUCATION PROFESSION	MARITAL STATUS	POLITICAL AFFILIATION
Armfeld NA (1850-1887)	Gentry	Studied abroad	Single	Osinskii Circle
Chemodanova-Sinegub LV		teacher	Married a fellow revolutionary	Chaikovka
Dement'eva AL (nd-1922)		doctor	Married to P.Tkachev	Social democrat and a close comrade-in-arms of Tkachev
Kornilova-Griboedova VI (1848-1873)	Father- factory owner	Alarchin Courses Teacher	Married	Chaikovka
Kornilova-Serdiukova LI (1852-1892)	Father- factory owner	Alarchin Courses student	Married	Chaikovka
Kovalevskaia MP (1849-1889)	Gentry		Married One child	Osinskii Circle
Koval'skaia (née Solntseva) E (1851-1943)	Illegitimate child of a nobleman; Meshchanka	Alarchin Courses and studies in Zurich	Married	Chaikovka
Rozenstein-Makarevich AM (1854-1925)	Father-merchant	Studied in Zurich	First husband a fellow Narodnik; Second and third-Italian socialists	Chaikovka
Shleissner-Natanson Ol'ga			Married a fellow revolutionary; two children	Chaikovka; Land and Freedom
Tomilova EKh			Married to a colonel	
Zasulich-Uspenskaia AI	Gentry		Married to a Nechaev circle member	
Zasulich-Nikiforova EI	Gentry		Married to a Nechaev circle member	

The sample list of 12 female revolutionaries shows similar patterns to those identified in the previous two tables. Exact dates of birth are available only in five cases but indirect references made to others indicate that they too were young women. For instance, the two Zasulich sisters were elder sisters of the more famous Vera but the age difference between the three was not very significant.

Two of the women, the Kornilov sisters, were from the family of a factory owner. Rozenstein's father was a wealthy merchant and the Zasulich sisters came from a gentry family. One notable exception is E. Koval'skaia. A product of a liaison between a wealthy landowner and a serf, at the age of seven she persuaded her father to grant her and her mother freedom. He later even helped her to buy the title of *meshchanka*. With the support of the money left to her by the father and the assistance of her future husband, Koval'skaia set up free courses for women. In 1869 she opened up literacy circles for women workers where they were taught basic skills and where socialist theory was explained to them. This is one of the first examples of a study circle aimed specifically at working women.

The educational experience of these women echoes that of other female revolutionaries from the 1870s with three attending the Alarchin Courses and/or doing a course in Zurich in their chosen professions of either teaching or midwifery.

All but one woman are known to be married. Six were married to fellow revolutionaries. A. Rozenstein was married three times. All three husbands were revolutionaries, two of whom were Italian socialists. Avoiding arrest Rozenstein left for abroad in 1877. For a while she lived in Switzerland with her second husband, the Italian socialist A.Kosta. Eventually she settled in Italy where she married for the third time. This time her husband became F.Turati, another leading Italian Socialist. At least two of the women, Kovalevskaia and Shleissner, had children.

There were a number of features in the female Chaikovtsy members which were similar to their counterparts from the Moscow circle. For instance, the average age on entering the movement of the Moscow Circle women was 21 and for the Chaikovtsy it was 24. So the majority was relatively young. An analysis of their social origin demonstrates that they came mainly from privileged groups of land-owning or propertied gentry. Women workers and female peasants were almost absent from them, which is really easy to understand since the freedom from serfdom was granted only ten years ago. There were individuals though who could be seen as 'a blend' of the two social extremes. E.Koval'skaia, a member of the Chaikovtsy group, was a

daughter of a serf mother and a landowner father, A.Toporkova's father worked in a workshop and S.Ivanova earned her living by working as a seamstress and type setter. The educational level of the women was generally the highest a Russian woman could achieve at that time. Literacy was vital for the type of revolutionary work performed by activists. Knowledge received by attending courses could lead women to teaching or medicine, the two professions that would later become the main source of female recruits into the movement for the next twenty to thirty years. With few exceptions the women were married, an indication that many were still largely dependent on men either financially or socially if not spiritually or mentally. Some women went on to have children but others were prevented by the revolutionary life style or made a conscious choice not to. Female revolutionaries performed the same work as their male comrades in the movement which include propaganda, agitation, production and distribution of illegal literature. As a result the punishment that women were apportioned seems to have been identical to men's. Women came into the movement via study circles playing a role of mutual initiators with their fellow students. It is not surprising then that in many cases whole groups of siblings were becoming involved in revolutionary activities and that when women had a choice they were more likely to marry a man from within the movement. Ethnically, with only few exceptions (e.g. G.Gel'fman), female revolutionaries were Russian.

The initial disappointment which most women must have felt after the failure of the first efforts in taking propaganda to the people and the shock of receiving terms of imprisonment or exile had a different effect on these women. For a number of them it led to health problems, including nervous breakdowns, while a significant minority committed suicide, like B. Kaminskaia, E. Zavadskaia and S. Bardina. Out of the women who worked in the Myshkin printing house only one, S. Ivanova, returned to the movement. But many others were determined to continue their work and struggle. Those who were acquitted took time to reflect on the way forward, like S. Perovskaia. Having served a part of their sentence, others tried to escape from their place of exile and rejoin the movement. This happened to S. Bardina.

These early efforts were short-lived, but the women had an enduring influence not only through their high idealism but also by their full participation in policy making and implementation. Vera Zasulich, who later became one of the founders of social democracy in Russia, commented towards the end of this century that in the 1870s female revolutionaries 'ceased to be exceptional' and that they achieved 'a

good fortune seldom attained in history: the possibility of acting in a capacity not of the inspirers, wives and mothers of men, but in complete independence, as equals with men in social and political activity'. [6]

The show trials of 1877 backfired on the government, with those in the dock, notably, Bardina, seen in heroic terms, while many of the accused were further radicalised by their harsh treatment at the hands of the authorities. Attempts to set up a new type of organisation had begun even before the tsarist government tried and sentenced the first groups of revolutionaries. The main initiators behind it were M. Natanson and his wife O.Shleissner, familiar to us from the Chaikovtsy Circle. By the start of 1877 'The Northern Revolutionary-People's Group' began its work. In 1878 it was replaced by Land and Liberty (*Zemlia i Volia).* A new form of politics, terrorism, developed alongside the work of spreading propaganda. The latter became increasingly difficult due to police harassment, while the brutal treatment of students in prison left their comrades feeling impotent. Vera Zasulich responded to the savage flogging of one student by attempting to assassinate General Trepov in St. Petersburg in 1878. The General survived and she was put on trial, but not only was Zasulich acquitted, she was lionised in the foreign press, and was taken as an exemplar by many in Land and Liberty. Within a year, there was a terrorist faction (Liberty or Death) which argued for targeting the tsar, in the hope that his death would serve as a catalyst for social revolution.

That strategy, however, was difficult to reconcile with the long-term work of propaganda, and Land and Liberty soon split into the larger People's Will (*Narodnaia Volia* – which attracted many of the female members of Land and Liberty, including Vera Figner) and a smaller Black Repartition (*Chernyi Peredel* - which Zasulich joined). Given how difficult it was to penetrate the world of factory workers, who lived in accommodation provided by the employers, and in view of the omnipresence of the secret police, the radical intelligentsia came to rely heavily on study circles to reach their audience. Hence the importance of the minority of mainly male skilled workers who alone could afford to rent flats outside the factories and buy books. The secret police's success in crushing such initiatives not only resulted in the continual loss to the nascent labour movement of relatively experienced leaders through imprisonment and exile, but led some to abandon the long road of propaganda and

[6] R.Kovnator ed., *Stat'i o russkoi literature,* 96

grassroots organisation for terrorism. Yet even those attracted to the People's Will continued to set up study circles and libraries and to preach the message that unity was essential.

From Propaganda to Terrorism

The 1870s began with hundreds of young people turning to propaganda. They often worked in small groups with only loose ties joining them into a large single organisation without any one group playing the role of a centre. These groups lacked the hierarchical structure which will characterise political parties of the future generations. This type of organisation did not allow for individuals to be singled out for a leadership role. Such a democratic structure was favourable to women. It is not surprising then that just ten years after being admitted into public life they were able to claim a place among the radical elements of Russian society.

Many of the women who feature in the annals of the history of the revolutionary movement in Russia in the 1880s had their first experience of radical action in the 1870s. Some featured in the political trials of the preceding decade, like S.Perovskaia, E. Koval'skaia and O.Liubatovich. Not all learned to adjust to the changing conditions and new emerging methods. In 1883 one of the heroes of the seventies, S.Bardina, having escaped from exile in the hope of rejoining the movement, found terrorist ideas and tactics unacceptable and after only a few years abroad, felt so alienated from the cause that she committed suicide.

Of the two organisations that emerged after the split in Land and Liberty, People's Will attracted more new recruits and through its terrorist acts it also gained more notoriety. The aim was to target the tsar, in the hope that his death would serve as a catalyst for social revolution. A smaller organisation within People's Will, formed to direct the terror campaign, was named the Executive Committee. Ten members out of a total of 29 were women: S.Perovskaia, M.Oshanina, V.Figner, A.Korba, A.Iakimova, T.Lebedeva, S.Ivanova, O.Liubatovich, N.Olovennikova and E.Sergeeva.

For my fourth table I selected 15 women who were active and influential during the first half of the 1880s though as the data shows the majority had entered

the movement during the preceding decade. In most cases, however, the early eighties were more definitive for the revolutionary development. Those names marked with * appeared in one of the previous tables.

TABLE 4: ***Female Revolutionaries of the 1880s***

NAME DATES	ORIGIN	EDUCATION PROFESSION	MARITAL STATUS	POLITICAL AFFILIATION
Bulanova-Trubnikova OK (1859-1943)	Gentry	Secondary school	Married Three children	Black Repartition
Figner-Filippova VN (1852-1942)	Gentry	Studied medicine in Zurich	Married	People's Will EC
*Gel'fman G (1852-1882)	Merchant	nd	Married Had a child	People's Will
Iakimova-Dikovskaia AV (1856-1942)	Father-village priest	Teacher	Married Had two children	People's Will EC SR
*Ivanova-Boreisho SA (1856-1927)	Gentry	Seamstress Type-setter	Married	People's Will EC
Ivanovskaia-Voloshenko PS (1853-1935)	Father-village priest	teacher	married	People's Will SR
*Koval'skaia-Solntseva EN (1851-1943)	Meshchanka	Alarchin Courses	Married	Black Repartition SR maximalist
Korba-Pribyleva AP (1849-1939)	Intelligentka	Alarchin Courses	Married	Chaikovka People's Will EC
*Lebedeva-Frolova TI (1850-1887)	nd	nd	Married	Chaikovka People's Will EC
*Liubatovich-Morozova OS (1853-1917)	Father-factory owner	Studied medicine in Zurich	Married Had a child	People's Will EC
Moreinis-Muratova FA (1859-1937)	Wealthy merchants	Cobbler	Married Had children	People's Will
Olovennikova EN. (1857-1932)	Gentry	Midwifery course	Single	People's Will EC
*Perovskaia S (1853-1883)	Gentry	The Alarchin Courses Teacher	Single	People's Will EC
Volkenstein-Aleksandrova LA (1857-1906)	Gentry	Midwifery course	Married Had children	Kiev group
Zasulich VI (1849-1919)	Gentry	Feldsher course	Single	Black Repartition, Liberation of Labour, RSDRP (m)

Before I start the analysis of the data I will present mini portraits of a selected few whose revolutionary acts or life histories left a deep impression on the socialist movement as a whole.

Vera Zasulich, whose act of terrorism is sometimes described as a signal to or a symbol of the 'red terror' experienced her first imprisonment with subsequent exile in 1871 at the age of 22. As noted above, her unsuccessful attempt to assassinate the Governor-General of St.Petersburg resulted in a sensational acquittal after a trial by jury in 1878. Unlike many of her predecessors, Zasulich did not study abroad and was trained as a feldsher at home. In the late 1870s, she came to St. Petersburg and began work in an illegal printing house. There she briefly turned to terrorism. Having played this crucial role in the history of the movement, she had to spend the next twenty-five years abroad avoiding arrest and spending most of her time in literary and administrative work for the Liberation of Labour Group, of which she was one of the founding members. In one of her letters to Lev Deich, her comrade from the group, she gave a sad description of her existence in Switzerland:

> I don't talk for months on end (or only to myself, in whispers) except in shops 'Give me a pound of this'. I go to Geneva once a month, sometimes less: I'd go more if I had to.
>
> So there is my life! I see no one, read no papers, and never think about myself.[7]

Women were among the first to take up arms against the state, both through acts of terrorism and in order to evade capture. For example, two women from Table 3, M. Kovalevskaia and N.Armfeld, who were members of the radical Ossinskii circle in Kiev (sometimes known as the Kievan Insurgents), used weapons to resist arrest. They were exiled to Eastern Siberia, where Kovalevskaia continued her fight against the authorities. L.Vol'kenstein (see Table 4) joined a Kiev circle at the age of 16. She later took part in the assassination of a Kharkov governor and had to flee abroad. On her return she was arrested and imprisoned in Shlusselburg Fortress for twelve years before being deported to Sakhalin Island.

Sofia Perovskaia joined People's Will after lengthy deliberations and doubts. She found it difficult to reject the ideals of the Narodniki movement. Some historians attribute this change of heart to Sofia's infatuation with Zheliabov, a fellow organisation member. M.Maxwell quotes one of Perovskaia's biographers as saying:

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[7] B. Engel & C. Rosenthal ed., *Five Sisters*, 93

> ...Sof'ya had an aversion to men (attributed to animosity towards her father), considering them morally and in all else inferior to women. Despite what everyone who knew her said was her loving nature, despite her easy camaraderie with her male Chaikovskists and Zemlya i Volya friends, the men she had lived with in false marriages for conspiratorial purposes, she had never been anything more than a committed party worker with any of them. It appears that in taking on the self-denying profession of dedicated revolutionary up to her twenty-sixth year, Sof'ya Perovskaia imposed on herself a celibate life. Then she fell in love, impetuously in love with a man who returned her ardour in full measure; the flaming intensity of this love deepened by the impending doom they both knew they faced. [8]

Once in the organisation though she had become one of its most active members. She was noted for her strong sense of duty and a demanding attitude in everything she did during her days as a Chaikovka. She was no less dedicated to the People's Will. Perovskaia was involved in plotting the assassination of the tsar from the very first to the very last day. She was the leader of the group which blew up the tsar's train near Moscow during one of the unsuccessful attempts. In 1881 she kept one of the safe houses and after the arrest of Zheliabov she took on the co-ordination and control of the operations. As V.Figner wrote later in her memoirs, 'But for Perovskaia's composure and unequalled careful planning and efficiency, the regicide may not have happened that day. She saved the day and paid with her life for it.'[9]

Vera Figner is sometimes described as being very close to Perovskaia in her character. When her father refused to give her permission to travel, Vera entered a marriage and persuaded her husband to go to Zurich where she studied medicine. As one of the Fritsche members, she was interested in the ideas of the Narodniki movement. Unlike the others, who also included her sister Lidiia, she at first refused to give up the course in order to join the 'going to people' movement. Vera later explained her decision:

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[8] M.Maxwell, *Narodniki Women*, 67
[9] E. Pavliuchenko, *Zhenschina v russkom osvoboditel'nom dvizhenii*, 237

> Was it really necessary I asked myself to become a factory worker, no matter what? Did I really have to renounce the position, the tastes and habits of members of the intelligentsia? But on the other hand could I in all honesty refuse to simplify my life completely, to don a peasant dress and felt boots like a peasant, or to cover my head with a kerchief and pick through foul-smelling rags in a paper factory? Would it be honest of me to hold a position as a doctor, even if I was also conducting socialist propaganda? Finally, would it be honest of me to continue studying medicine while the women around me – also the educated class - were abandoning their scientific studies and descending to the depths of our society for the sake of a great ideal?[10]

Figner returned to Russia in 1876 after the Moscow Circle fell into the hands of the police. Her subsequent attempts to convert the peasants by bringing propaganda to the countryside failed. Like the others before her, she encountered only hostility and suspicion. Faced with having to make a choice of whether to return to Zurich and complete her studies or stay behind, she chose the latter. In 1876 Figner became a member of Land and Liberty. She joined People's Will in 1879 and like Perovskaia became one of its leaders, initially running a group with Lebedeva in Odessa. In 1880, she kept a safe house in St. Petersburg where Executive Committee meetings were held and where bombs used in terrorist acts were manufactured. After many of the committee members were arrested, Vera worked on restoring the party by securing funds and seeking out new recruits. Eventually arrested in 1883 she was first sentenced to the death penalty which was later commuted to life imprisonment. The next twenty years were spent in solitary confinement in Schlusselburg Fortress.

According to Tsederbaum, Anna Iakimova was the third influential figure in the People's Will Executive Committee. Born and brought up in the family of a village priest she received her secondary education in a church school. Having passed her teaching examination Iakimova worked for over a year in a village school. One of her tutors was Anna Kuvshinskaia, a Chaikovka, who in Iakimova's own words influenced her future choices. After a spell in prison for agitation she worked for a while in a factory, for the 'educational experience', trying to get closer to workers.

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[10] B. Engel & C. Rosenthal ed., *Five Sisters*, 26-27

There she made her decision to join the revolutionary movement. Her way into the organisation was through the Liberty or Death organisation where she manufactured explosives. In 1881 Iakimova was arrested and exiled. Figner described her as 'amazingly brave, resourceful in danger and selflessly devoted to the cause'. [11]

Elizaveta Koval'skaia, was a founder member in 1880 of the Union of Russian Workers of the South, based in Kiev. Though she joined Black Repartition, she quickly left because she considered its attempts to fuse Narodism with Marxism unworkable. Instead she concentrated on organising workers and on acts of economic terror (assassinating local policemen and government administrators, rather than remote officials, however important). Although she managed to attract several hundred male workers to the Union, it was crushed by mass arrests in 1881, and she spent the next twenty years in prison and in exile in Siberia. She never abandoned her revolutionary work, but in the circumstances was limited to individual acts (such as hunger strikes) or escape attempts with a few comrades. On her release in 1903, she left Russia for Switzerland to return only in 1917. Both women show that the female influence of the 1880s was not limited to that of heroic symbolism.

Ol'ga Bulanova-Trubnikova came from a family with a long revolutionary tradition. Her maternal grandfather was one of the Decembrists, Ivashev. Her mother, Trubnikova was a famous philanthropist and feminist instrumental in setting up many women's societies in Russia. Their house was always open to radicals and revolutionaries alike. Before joining a radical group Bulanova took part in raising funds for political prisoners. She joined Black Repartition in 1880 after the arrest of the first group and the departure for abroad of the group leaders, such as Deich, Plekhanov and Zasulich. One of her tasks was to keep communications open between their leaders abroad and those who stayed behind. She also distributed literature. In 1882 she and her husband, a fellow Black Repartition member, were arrested and sent into exile. Bulanova had rejected terrorism in favour of propaganda. Elizaveta Koval'skai tried to combine terrorism with organising workers.

The female revolutionaries of the early 1880s who made their mark in the history of the Russian socialist movement did not differ from the female revolutionaries of the 1870s in their social origins. This is perhaps not surprising as for many their initiation into the movement also began at that time. They tended to be

[11] S. Tsederbaum, *Zhenshchina v russkom revoliutsionnom dvizhenii*,105

predominantly from the gentry or wealthy families. Their average age in 1880, around the time when they had to choose which party to join, was 26.2. Only three women who appear in Table 4 died before the twentieth century. Perovskaia was executed for her participation in the assassination of Alexander II. Gel'fman died in prison after being incarcerated for her part in the plot. T.Lebedeva died while serving her katorga sentence. And Volkenstein was killed during a sailors' demonstration during the 1905-7 Revolution in Vladivostok. Others, in spite of years spent in prisons or exile, lived considerably longer lives, all witnesses to the eventual victory of their radical cause, though they may not have approved of its Bolshevik manifestation.

Their privileged upbringing meant that in their majority they went on to higher educational courses, like their predecessors did before them. Only three women remained single. It is most likely that had Perovskaia and Zheliabin survived the assassination of the tsar they would have gone on to marry too, given the strength of their feelings for one another. Bulanova and Iakimova married while in exile, whereas Figner used her marriage to escape from home, separating from her husband when he refused to accept her commitment to the revolutionary cause.

At least six of those women had children. Bulanova had three while serving her sentence. Iakimova had two children. The first child came before her imprisonment, but in her memoirs she did not explain who the child's father was. The second was born in Siberia. In her memoirs Ivanovskaia wrote about the 'special' privileges which were granted to Iakimova on the account of her baby:

> ...since Iakimova had an infant, she was eventually granted certain privileges: they [the prison authorities] improved her food and allowed her to sew things for the baby. Although she was put in a separate building and given no books, caring for the child filled her time.[12]

Gesia Gel'fman who also gave birth to a child in prison was less fortunate. Arrested at the same time as the others involved in the regicide and sentenced to death, she received a temporary reprieve when the authorities learnt of her pregnancy. Shortly after the baby girl was born she was taken away from her mother. In spite of Gel'fman's relatives seeking to take care of the baby, the child was put into a

[12] B. Engel & C. Rosenthal ed., *Five Sisters*, 135

foundling home where she died. For her mother already suffering medical neglect in the prison it was a very cruel blow. She died before the authorities could carry out the sentence.

Perhaps one of the most poignant comments made about motherhood and a desire to serve a revolutionary cause came from O.Liubatovich. She left her baby girl with her friends abroad and came back to Russia with the aim of assisting in an escape attempt of her husband. When in Russia she learned of her baby's death during a meningitis epidemic in the south of France. She recollected feeling nothing but grief for a long time after that. This tragedy moved her to make the following statement:

> Yes, it's a sin for revolutionaries to start a family. Men and women both must stand alone, like soldiers under a hail of bullets. But in your youth, you somehow forget that the revolutionaries' lives are measured not in years, but in days and hours.[13]

None of the women who appear in Table 4 escaped reprisals. Those who failed to escape abroad were sentenced to lengthy imprisonment or katorga and exiled to Siberia. As stated above Table 4 is comprised of only a selection of women who were actively engaged in revolutionary work. Besides them there were dozens of others who made their contribution to radical causes felt. Like their female and male comrades-in-arms they too were captured and incarcerated. For instance, besides Zasulich and Bulanova, M.Krylova and M.Reshko belonged to Black Repartition. M.Krylova worked for several years in the organisation's printing house. She was eventually arrested and exiled. M.Reshko was one of the contributors to the party newspaper. When E.Koval'skaia founded her Union of Russian Workers of the South, she was helped there by Sof'ia Bogomolets. Coming from a privileged land-owning family she nonetheless was totally devoted to the revolutionary cause. When she was sentenced to a ten-year katorga Bogomolets had to leave behind a husband and a young child. She died in 1892 without having been able to return home.

A particularly distressing episode in the history of the exiled members of the People's Will occurred in 1889 and is known as the Kara Tragedy. One of the women who lived in that penal colony, N.Sigida, was subjected to such brutal physical

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[13] ibid., 195-6

punishment by the prison authorities, she died a few hours later. In protest three women prisoners, Kovalevskaia, Smirnitskaia and Kaliuzhnaia took their own life by poisoning. Two men followed their example.

'A Friend' but not 'a Comrade'

By mid 1880s the People's Will had been all but obliterated. The new groups, which began emerging towards the end of that decade, were leaning towards Marxism and called themselves social democratic organisations. These organisations, while based on different theoretical foundations, were closer to the Narodniki of the 1870s in the methods they employed to reach the people. In the early 1880s besides Koval'skaia's Union, both Land and Liberty and Black Repartition conducted propaganda at large metal works, but also in working class districts such as Vyborg, Nevskii and Vasil'evskii Island, all districts of Petersburg. Where Koval'skaia had used mass meetings to reach workers, Land and Liberty and Black Repartition organised in small circles. Setting a pattern for the 1890s, the circles which were established in the early 1880s concentrated on basic literacy and numeracy skills, with talks on socialist theory, the history of the labour movement in the west, as well as the conditions of the working class at home. By the mid 1880s the urban working class had taken on an enhanced importance in the eyes of the revolutionary intelligentsia, partly through the influence of Marxist ideas, partly through the practical experience of propaganda and organisations in the factories.

In 1883 Pavel Tochisskii, himself an intellectual who had become a skilled worker and who looked on the intelligentsia as temporary guests in the labour movement, established the Association of St. Petersburg Working Men. Tochisskii accepted help from students and intellectuals, but concentrated his efforts on building an organisation of workers for workers. Hence, his focus was the skilled male worker, whom he viewed as the 'natural' leader of his class. Perhaps, it was because his focus was so narrow, in terms of class, gender and skill, that his organisation lasted for four years until 1888, a remarkable achievement in the circumstances. Yet despite the low esteem in which he seemed to hold students, some female students, including his sister Mariia Tochisskaia, joined his circle. In his book *Zhenshchina v russkom osvoboditel'nom dvizhenii*, Tsederbaum describes Mariia as playing an active role in the Association of St. Petersburg Working Men. Tsederbaum also mentions a circle of

women from Laferm tobacco factory organised by her and her friends, Arkadakskaia and Danilova. Among factory workers attending the circle he names Anastasiia Andreeva, Volkova, Sofia Konstantinova and others. He makes no explanation who these others were. There is no further biographical data in the book on any of the women mentioned, except one comment about Danilova who is said to have fallen mentally ill while serving a prison sentence. However, volume V of *DRDR* has a reference to Anastasiia Andreeva, a woman worker engaged in the revolutionary movement of the period, according to which it was she who founded the circle for her fellow women workers in the tobacco factory at the end of the 1880s. It is possible then that Andreeva was an important member of the circle. Certainly, women from the factory were among the most active in the Petersburg strike movement of later years. The same volume has an entry for Liubov' Vasil'evna Arkadakskaia who was a member of Tochisskii's circle between 1885 and 1886. A search for information on other members, however, yielded no result.

Tochisskii laid the foundation for the Brusnev organisation of 1889-92, which is discussed in the following chapter, while his activities also served to encourage workers, such as the lithographer Aleksei Karelin (future husband of Vera Karelina whose political activities began in the Brusnev circles) to establish their own self-education circles.

Male workers drawn to study circles in the 1880s were atypical: literate, skilled, unmarried and teetotal. Most male peasant-workers were married, having left their wives and children in the village, whereas female peasant workers tended to be single (including widows) and marginal to the village economy. It was the men above all who maintained contact with their peasant roots. Since male and female workers in towns and cities lived separate lives –different jobs and accommodation – it was only by making special efforts that women workers could be reached. In view of the dangers of such activity, only when women were recruited to the factory labour force in large numbers would it be worth the extraordinary effort. Hence women were for the most part ignored by revolutionaries not just because they were women, but because the pervasive presence of police agents and the gendered division of labour meant skilled male workers were easier to contact than unskilled female workers. This also meant that the skilled male workers had limited access to and influence on the mass of unskilled, especially female, workers. The impression then is that the labour movement was overwhelmingly male. As the number of female workers increased,

however, and as they became central in key industries, most notably textile, the labour movement was forced to take women into account.

When I started work on the thesis I was aiming to find as many women workers who had been engaged in the revolutionary movement as possible. The research into the 1870s was disappointing in this regard. This was of no particular surprise to me but nevertheless it was a disappointment. I was hoping to uncover more interesting and promising material for the late 1880s, the period when the increasing speed of industrialisation in Russia meant more peasants, including women, were drawn into cities. My efforts were rewarded only to a small degree.

In addition to the information about the Laferm factory circle, Tsederbaum gives examples of a few wives of social democratic workers who were, or became revoliutsionerki. The first woman is Ekaterina Moiseenko, who was married to Petr Moissev. According to Tsederbaum, Ekaterina 'shared with [her husband] all the adversities' for many years. Peasant by birth, she followed her husband to the city where she began work in a textile factory. Married to a revolutionary she too was slowly converted to the revolutionary cause. Her political activities involved keeping a safe house and performing tasks for the organisation often with a risk to her own life. No details of the tasks are given but Ekaterina is known to have followed her husband into exile. In a similar way, another woman worker, S. Agapova, became a socialist. She too was married to a revolutionary worker whom she followed to Siberia. These women show that not every working man's wife was a drag on the labour movement.

But an example that stands out is that of Anna Vol'nova. Married to a Kharkov metal worker, she was described by one of her husband's comrade-in-arms, somewhat condescendingly, as a young and simple *meshchanochka* (a diminutive form of *meshchanka*). She is said to have treated her husband's comrades 'as a loving sister and a friend'. She always had food for them in the house and was ready to put them up whenever required. We learn that her husband taught her literacy. She performed tasks for her husband's organisation, although she did not belong to it. Her activities may have begun as just another wifely duty, but Vol'nova's political consciousness was raised nevertheless, and she too became committed to the cause of revolution. In spite of the fact that they had a child she insisted that a printing press should be set up in their house. No fear of reprisal could change her mind. She is recorded as saying:

> If I feel I can't stand [torture], I shall kill myself, don't worry... Don't try to change my mind: I won't leave... You think I do not understand anything. Do you think that if I go you won't be discovered? How can you cope without a woman? You can endure anything and I can't? I shall prove to you... I shall prove to you all.. that I am not afraid of any torture...[14]

To prove her point Vol'nova burnt herself with cigarettes on her chest. The couple were eventually arrested and sent to the penal colony on Sakhalin Island where she died.

I found this extract a striking example of a patronising, not to say derogatory, attitude of a male worker to the efforts of a woman, the wife of his comrade-in-arms. After informing us that Anna performed various tasks for the organisation in a manner no different and at times better than the men, Pankratov, her husband's friend, tells us that she 'of course' did not belong to the organisation. We can only assume that he meant she did not pay any dues as on the basis of what he had told us Vol'nova most certainly deserved to be called at least an 'honourable' member of that group.

Volume III of *DRDR* too has a reference to the Vol'novs. In 1883 I.Vol'nov and Pankratov set up an illegal printing house in Kharkov. Anna is described as helping the organisation. No dates of birth or death are available for her. The reference simply states that she died of tuberculosis on the island. Apart from Anna there is one other reference to a woman worker.

The case of Anna Vol'nova helps to some extent to understand why so little written evidence is available. Viewed as downtrodden and ignorant, workers' wives were looked down upon by these 'superior' male workers who tended to shun marriage as a distraction from the revolution. In spite of her obvious close involvement in the organisation, Anna is depicted as an appendage to her husband incapable of independent action. She may be 'a sister' and 'a friend' but not 'a comrade'. As Tsederbaum wrote:

> Many such courageous women gave direct and indirect help to the revolutionary movement. Unfortunately history has not preserved their

[14] S. Tsederbaum, *Zhenshchina v russkom revoliutsionnom dvizhenii*, 152

> names and these Anna Alekseevnas, wives and mothers of workers, inconspicuous and unknown left the scene, helping their husbands and sons and their comrades unnoticed. [15]

This attitude was to prevail for many years to come.

Two volumes of the DRDR have references to the 1880s. Volume III was fully devoted to the information on revolutionaries of that decade. Volume V had data on social democrats, who were active between 1880 and 1904. Natal'ia Grigor'eva, a worker herself whose activity I shall examine more closely in the next chapter, features in it as running a circle for women workers in Narva. *Materialy dlia biograficheskogo slovaria sotsial-demokratov (MBSSD)* gives Grigor'eva the following characteristic: 'GRIGOR'EVA, Natal'ia Aleksandrovna (Aleksandrova, Sadovskaia), born in 1865, *meshchanka*, literate, seamstress. One of the first women-workers who devoted herself to the working class movement.'[16]

During my research I collected information on 220 individual women who were known to be engaged in revolutionary work in the 1870s and 1880s. One hundred and fifty of these women were entered into my final database, including the six women workers mentioned above. Though the only information I discovered for the latter was their names and professions (Grigor'eva being an exception with more details of her life given in the next chapter) I believe their inclusion into my final analysis of women's social origins is important. Without even this small number of workers the picture will not be complete.

The chart on social origins (see below) visually demonstrates that by the end of the 1880s the composition of the female revolutionaries was more diverse than in the 1870s when women from the gentry and more privileged classes were an overwhelmingly dominant force in the movement. Representatives from all walks of life, including women workers, were entering the movement. At least in one case, N.Grigor'eva, we know that she continued to take part in carrying out propaganda among her co-workers. She and A. Andreeva are also examples of pioneering female workers who not only expressed interest in revolutionary theory but actively propagandised it by setting up the first circles directed at their fellow women workers.

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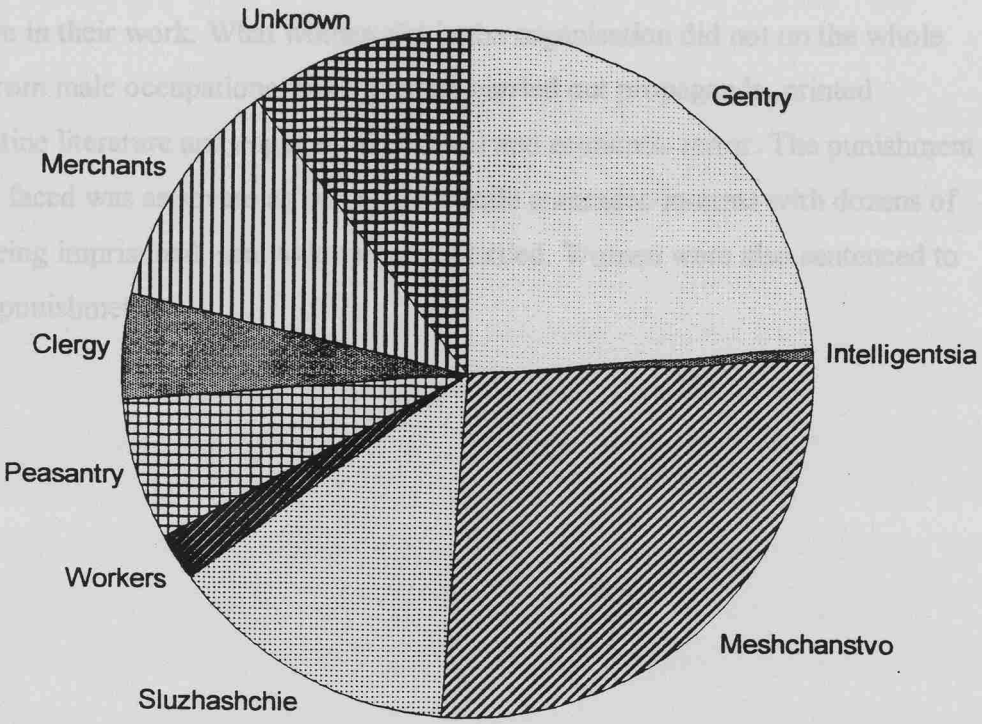
[15] ibid., 153

[16] Nevskii, *Materialy dlia biograficheskogo slovaria sotsial-demokratov, vstupivshikh v rossiiskoe rabochee dvizhenie za period ot 1880 do 1905,* 200

Chart 1: Social Origins of Revoliutsionerki of the 1880s



During my research I did not encounter any further evidence of such circles in the latter part of the 1880s. The prosopographical data on other women is generally full giving an overall picture of the type of female revolutionaries engaged in the radical movement between 1870 and 1889. The majority of them came from privileged backgrounds and had access to good education. Indeed it was through their association in colleges or institutes that many of them came to believe (if not desire) that there was a need to change the society they lived in. Most female revolutionaries were young and in their early twenties when they entered the movement. So was the only woman worker for whom I have the date of birth. Generally there was a strong family connection among these participants. The data contains many examples of siblings taking part in the work of one organisation. The family connection was also established through the marriages between female and male group members. The hazardous nature of their work which included subversive propaganda, underground printing and manufacturing explosives did not preclude women from having children,

though questions and doubts were raised in the minds of some over the rights and wrongs of such decisions. Special women-only groups did exist but invariably they joined forces with male groups (as a result of a mutual decision) to become more effective in their work. What women did in the organisation did not on the whole differ from male occupations. Both genders carried out propaganda, printed clandestine literature and engaged in political and economic terror. The punishment women faced was as severe as that of their male comrades-in-arms with dozens of them being imprisoned, sent to katorga and exiled. Women were also sentenced to capital punishment.

CHAPTER THREE

FROM PEOPLE'S WILL TO THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE, 1890-1904

By the 1890s there were effectively two labour movements: the minority of politically conscious activists who persevered through constant surveillance and repression which followed the assassination of the tsar, and the sudden, mass protest, as in the textile industry in the mid 1890s. The first incorporated revolutionaries who frequently acted in isolation and came to be known as *odinochki* (singular: a lone person). These people usually came from the educated classes and were the remnants of radical organisations who had somehow managed to escape arrest. There were also new recruits into the movement who continued to have faith in the use of terror as an effective tool for revolutionary struggle. Among them was Alexander Ul'ianov, the elder brother of the future Bolshevik leader Lenin. The second included factory workers who began to express their anger over the treatment that they received at the hands of their employers. Women were involved in both movements, but the gendered definition of spontaneity associates them above all with sudden and often violent disorder. Severe famine in 1891-93 meant that more and more peasants were flooding into industrial towns and cities in search of seasonal or permanent work. In his study of the Moscow working class at the beginning of the 1890s, Robert Johnson remarked that 'after almost thirty years of *kruzhki* [circles], pamphlets, leaflets, and underground agitational activity, the radical movement's main influence on workers remained indirect'.[1] Perhaps the role of the inspirational exemplar for workers was indeed more influential than that of the theorist.

Social Democrats and Women Workers

From the rise of the Social Democracy in Russia in the 1880s, the radical intelligentsia placed the stress on preparing the workers to learn to lead their own revolutionary movement by raising their intellectual and moral levels. In this process, in which the intelligentsia performed technical and advisory functions, workers' circles played a vital role. The Brusnev circles of 1889-92, set up first in St.Petersburg

[1] R. Johnson, *Peasant and Proletarian,* 119

and then in Moscow, exemplified these tactics. Initiated by Mikhail Brusnev, a student from a technological institute, the intellectuals who set up these circles did not expect to be in the vanguard of the revolution, but rather to service the workers' movement. Towards the end of its existence the entire organisation had around 200 members. These educational circles attracted mainly literate and highly skilled metal workers, and so were effectively men-only[2]. Yet although they constituted by far the majority of circle members, and Brusnev himself makes little mention of women in his memoirs except as wives of workers who were involved with his group, the Brusnevites did not limit themselves to men. There had already been evidence of emerging activity among women workers from the Laferm factory dating back to the late 1880s. As early as the winter of 1890-91, women workers were joining the Brusnev organisation in small numbers, and from there, with the help of male members and the intellectuals, women workers' own circles were established. These concentrated on the main female industry, textiles, but not exclusively, reaching out to non-factory employees, such as seamstresses and domestic servants, the latter in particular notoriously difficult to organise because of their isolated conditions of work and generally very low levels of literacy.

The leading women workers associated with the Brusnev organisation in St. Petersburg were Natal'ia Grigor'eva, Vera Karelina, Anna Boldyreva, Natasha Aleksandrova, Fenia Norinskaia, Masha Maklakova, Natasha Keizer, Tat'iana Razuvaeva and Elena Nikolaeva. A number of them, including Karelina and Grigor'eva, had been orphaned or abandoned as children and brought up in foundling homes which often had special arrangements with the city's large textile factories by which the girls would be taken on as workers. In his memoirs, the worker K.Norinskii asserted that those women set themselves the task of enlightening not only themselves, but also the environment in which they worked. Their keen desire to learn and growing political awareness, however, to some extent set them apart from the majority of female workers, who looked on them as *kursistki* (female students). The circle, to which Grigor'eva, Karelina and Boldyreva belonged, became instrumental in carrying out work among women, paving the way for other women-only circles. In the winter of 1840, there were four circles in Petersburg that centred on specific

[2] S.Mitskevich, *Na zare rabochego dvizheniia v Moskve: Vospominaniia uchastnikov Moskovskogo 'Rabochego Soiuza' 1893-95gg. i dokumenty,* 105-8, 158-60, and A. Pankratova, *Rabochee dvizehnie v Rossii v XIX veke.* Vol.3, p.2, 104-115

occupations, including printers and metal workers. Members were expected to form their own circles at their places of employment when prepared. By the end of 1890 there were at least twenty such circles with six or seven members in each, all connected to a central circle. The latter directed the various circles' activities which each had a representative on it.[3] Karelina and Boldyreva represented their circle, while Grigor'eva represented the Vyborg district. In 1891, Karelina organised another circle, the first for women only. She was put in touch with Fedor Afanas'ev, who was to go on to help her. In the Afanas'ev circle, the tutor for a winter of intensive study was the intellectual and later prominent Bolshevik, Leonid Krasin. He later described Karelina as 'a mature, literate, clever and very independent young woman, ardently aspiring to a role in public life.'[4] There were around twenty members of the women-only circle, whilst its educational work was carried out by female students, including L.Milovidova and A.Kugusheva, and intellectuals, such as Krasin, Mikhail Aleksandrov and his wife Ekaterina Aleksandrova. These women also shared accommodation, as Karelina recalled:

> We lived as a commune: money was paid into a common fund, we shared a common table, laundry and library. Everyone did the housework and there were never any quarrels or arguments. Young women in general played a large role in the organisation. We were young, healthy and lively, and we attracted male workers. Our meetings took on a social character. With many young girls love matches occurred.[5]

Indeed, Karelina met her husband, Aleksei, through the Brusnev circles. Of course, written years after the event, such a recollection may well romanticise her early revolutionary career, while the men of these circles were atypical of the male working class, being highly skilled and well-read, essentially the intelligentsia of their class. Rose Glickman argues that the respect which women enjoyed in the circle movement, which by its nature was open only to those actively seeking enlightenment, was not

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[3] E.Korolchuk and E.Sokolova, *Khronika revoliutsionnogo rabochego dvizheniia v Peterburge,* vol. 1, 152-153
[4] S. Tsederbaum, *Zhenshchina v russkom revoliutsionnom dvizhenii,* 157
[5] *Krasnaia letopis',* V. Karelina, 'Vospominaniia', 1922, no.4, p.12

sustained.[6] However, the women themselves persisted with the encouragement and support of their husbands. Marriage and motherhood did not stop these women continuing with their political activities. The general impression is that not only was there very little hostility to the involvement of women in the Brusnev organisation, but that the male workers encouraged and supported them. Karelina was not the only member of the Brusnev circle who met her future husband in that way. Fenia Norinskaia, Masha Maklakova, Natasha Keizer, Elena Nikolaeva and Pasha Zhelabina also married workers whom they met during circle meetings.

Frequent arrests of the leaders of the organisation did not stop workers from continuing with their political activities. These circles were divided into two categories: higher and lower. Workers from the higher circles were responsible for the organisational work and recruitment into the lower category ones. Intellectuals led the work in the higher category, but the aim of the organisation was 'to turn the members of the workers' circles into intellectually mature and politically conscious social democrats who could in everything replace propagandists from the intelligentsia.'[7] At least three of the women workers belonged to the higher group: Grigor'eva, Karelina and Boldyreva. They all represented their districts in the central circle and were charged to set up new circles. Their life stories are of great value for the history of female revolutionaries' participation not only because they were in the forefront of the movement but also because these women chose different paths along the revolutionary road that had opened up by the start of the twentieth century.

Natal'ia Grigor'eva (b.1865) was most likely introduced to revolutionary ideas in one of Petersburg's factories. By 1890 she was already 25 years of age and a seasoned revolutionary worker who had her first experience in a People's Will type organisation. In 1891-92 Grigor'eva was one of the most active participants of the Brusnev group, setting up new circles among workers in her Vyborg district. She was known to be close to one of the organisation's intellectuals Ekaterina Aleksandrova. In 1894 Grigor'eva was arrested in connection with activities of the so-called *Partiia Narodnogo Prava* (Party of People's Rights) and exiled for the next five years to Eastern Siberia. In exile she turned to the ideas of the socialist revolutionaries and on her release in 1901 she settled in Saratov where she became one of the activists in a local workers' group that united both social democrats and narodniki. Shortly after

[6] R. Glickman, *Workplace and Society, 1880-1914,* 179
[7] E.Korol'chuk and E.Sokolova, *Khronika revoliutsionnogo dvizheniia v Peterburge,* vol. 1, p. 153

that, she joined the Socialist Revolutionary Party (PSR). During the 1905 Revolution Grigor'eva was in Odessa working for the PSR. Her name appears in Odessa police records of imprisoned revolutionary activists.

Vera Karelina (b.1870) was one of the first female workers to join the hitherto exclusively male circles in the winter of 1890-91. She had already become acquainted with social democracy through her friendship with a railway worker who had given her books to improve her reading skills and political education, including Chernyshevsky's *What is to be done?* With Boldyreva, Karelina set up circles for women workers. By 1892 her educational level was such that Karelina considered herself a committed Social Democrat. In June 1892, she was arrested and spent the next three months in prison. On her release, two female intellectuals, Stasova and Serebriakova, helped Karelina join a midwifery course, but she was prevented from completing it because she was arrested again, in March 1893, spending another six weeks in prison, before being released and forbidden to live in the capital. She went to Kharkov where she continued her political activities, including organising women workers. On her return to St. Petersburg in 1895 she continued to take part in workers' circles. In the 1900s Vera was responsible for distributing social democratic literature among workers. In 1905 she was elected a deputy of the Petersburg Soviet representing the Petersburg Society of Factory Workers that is generally referred to as the Gapon Society (more about this organisation in the next chapter).

Anna Boldyreva (b.1869) lived in a village with her family until the age of eight when her mother took her to the Maxwell textile factory as an apprentice. There she participated in the strike movement. In her autobiography Boldyreva wrote about the strikes:

> Those who remember that time know that teenagers played an important role in strikes. ... In 1884 there was a strike at my factory... It lasted more than a month. The Cossacks and the police had thrashed us with lashes without any mercy and from that time the feelings of anger and hatred and vengeance towards all oppressors grew up in me.[8]

[8] VOSB, fond 124, case 131

In 1885 she began attending Sunday school. The school was noted for its teachers who were social democrats or *narodniki*. In 1888 Boldyreva joined a circle where one of the members was F.Afanas'ev and in 1890 she joined the Brusnev circle. After her first arrest in the early 1890s Boldyreva lost her job and was then exiled for three years. During these years she successfully passed a midwifery examination but was prevented from taking up a position because of her police record. For a while in 1894 she taught in a village school but was dismissed once again and exiled. She met and married her husband, a skilled worker, while in exile. During the 1905 Revolution she was elected a Bolshevik deputy of the Petersburg Soviet.

So within ten years of working closely in the pioneering workers' organisation the three women made choices which while keeping them in the revolutionary movement took them in rather different directions. Of the three, two, Karelina and Boldyreva, left some written accounts of their lives. Those accounts do not, however, clearly explain why, for instance, Boldyreva decided to join the Bolshevik party while Karelina became a leading member of the Gapon Society, seen by the Bolsheviks as a pro-government organisation. Nor do we know what led Grigor'eva towards the PSR. Some assumptions may be made based on the information available to us. All sources point to Grigor'eva's early leanings to the Populist movement, the precursor of the PSR. The MBSSD (*Materialy dlia biograficheskogo slovaria sotsial-demokratov*) records also indicate that she was influenced by the SR movement during her first exile to Eastern Siberia. Though in her memoirs Boldyreva explained why she joined the social democratic movement she did not elaborate on the reasons behind her decision to become a Bolshevik. While Karelina left interesting written recollections about her days in the Gapon Society she did not tell us what made her join it in the first place in spite of her close friendship with some leading Bolshevik party members such as L. Krasin and E.Afanas'ev. Nevertheless these three cases demonstrate that women workers were able to make independent decisions about their political careers and become active and influential among their fellow worker revolutionaries.

Of the three Grigor'eva was the oldest by five years and there was a one year gap between Boldyreva and Karelina. They were all from working class or recent peasant backgrounds, while Grigor'eva and Karelina spent some of their early life in a foundling home. Grigor'eva's and Boldyreva's fathers were soldiers in the Imperial Army. Karelina also wrote about living in a village as a foster child with the family of a soldier's widow. Both Boldyreva and Karelina were married. But while Karelina

stayed with her husband and the couple shared their political views working closely together in each organisation, Boldyreva soon left her husband who did not share her political aspirations. From her marriage Boldyreva had three children, Karelina had one, while Grigor'eva remained childless. Grigor'eva and Karelina received their initial education in the foundling homes and Boldyreva attended the famous Smolenskaia Sunday School for Workers in the Nevskaia Zastava district of St. Petersburg. (Sunday Schools in Russia dated back to 1859 and were set up to give working class people, who could not attend classes on other days, access to basic education.) Boldyreva and Karelina also attended midwifery courses trying to improve their professional career prospects though neither turned this training into a profession thereafter. All three were persecuted for their political activities and received several prison terms and exile sentences. During the 1905 Revolution Boldyreva and Karelina were elected to the Petersburg Workers' Soviet, a mark of recognition of their political influence and respect among their fellow workers. However, Karelina soon withdrew from the political scene, apparently for reasons of ill health. Grigor'eva continued her work for the PSR for a number of years after 1905. But of the three, only Boldyreva remained politically active up to and during the 1917 Revolution. I have not been able to find any records with the exact dates of their death. All that is known is that the three were still alive in 1930.

The information about other women workers who were members of the Brusnev group is considerably more fragmented. Tat'iana Razuvaeva was a deputy of the Petersburg Workers' Soviet in 1905 and like Karelina represented the Gapon Society. Norinskaia, Maklakova, Keizer, Nikolaeva and Zhelabina worked in a rubber factory. Keizer and Norinskaia were arrested in 1895 while the other female revolutionaries continued their active work in the Petersburg social democratic organisations right up to the 1900s. I could not find any more information on these revolutionary women workers.

Sunday Schools in working class districts played an important part in spreading social democratic propaganda among workers. Set up by the government to teach literacy to the growing numbers of the urban proletariat they attracted liberal and Marxist intelligentsia eager to impart their knowledge or recruit new members into their clandestine circles. A considerable number of Sunday school teachers were female students from women's higher courses. For example, among the female teachers of Smolenskaia Sunday school were N. Krupskaia, A. Iakubova, Z.

Nevzorova, L.Knipovich and P.Kudelli – all of them later became leading Bolshevichki. Other Sunday schools in which propaganda and agitation was directed at workers were the Glazovskaia and Obukhovskaia schools. Though officially the subjects permitted for teaching in Sunday schools were Russian language, mathematics, geography, history, and literature, the radical teachers also lectured basics of economy and about the agrarian issue. They supplied illegal literature to the workers. Later Krupskaia remembered the trust their students held in them sharing with them their personal feelings and doubts.

So who were these women that played an important part in shaping social democratic views among Petersburg workers?

Nadezhda Krupskaia (b.1869) came from an impoverished, democratically minded gentry family. Her father was an army officer who had been suspected of secretly sympathising with Polish insurgents in the early 1860s. In 1890 Krupskaia attended the Higher Women's (Bestuzhev) Courses in Petersburg. (Like the Alarchin Courses in the 1870s, they were opened for women in 1878 and had two faculties: Philology and Mathematics) There she joined a student circle led by Brusnev before beginning to teach in a Sunday school. In 1894 she met Vladimir Ul'ianov (Lenin) whose wife she later became. In 1896 she was arrested for membership of the Union of Struggle for the Liberation of Working Class (Union of Struggle) and exiled. In 1898 she joined the RSDRP and became one of the leading women Bolsheviks. She wrote extensively for the party press on women's and educational issues before and after the October Revolution.

Zinaida Nevzorova (b.1870) was one of three daughters (all of whom became Bolshevichki) from a teaching family. Like Krupskaia she was a graduate of the Bestuzhev Courses though she was a member of a social democratic circle in her hometown of Nizhnii Novgorod before coming to Petersburg. She joined the Union of Struggle in 1895 but was arrested in 1896 and exiled to Siberia. In Siberia she married G.Krzhyzhanovskii, also a member of the RSDRP and a Bolshevik. Between 1900 and 1905 she was an active agent for *Iskra*, the RSDRP newspaper.

Praskov'ia Kudelli (b.1859) was a daughter of a former Polish serf who after the abolition of serfdom became a doctor. In 1878 she came to Petersburg to attend the Alarchin Courses. Her first involvement with revolutionaries was through student Populist circles. In 1890 she became acquainted with Marxist theory and decided to work with workers in a Sunday school where she made the acquaintance of other

socialist female teachers. After her arrest in 1900 she went to Pskov where she supported the efforts of the *Iskra* organisation. In 1903 she joined the RSDRP (b).

So in contrast to the women workers from the Brusnev group the three women teachers came from more privileged, if not wealthy, families. The eldest of the three, Kudelli, had been involved in the Populist movement but did not take part in any terrorist acts. In her autobiography Kudelli, who described the poet Nekrasov as her first real political influence, recollected her early student days:

> Revolutionary views were growing stronger in me but I found terrorism *per se* instinctively repulsive.[9]

For Krupskaia and Nevzorova such early influence came from within their families. They became attracted to the social democratic movement during their student days and all three were professional teachers, turning later into professional female revolutionaries. Krupskaia and Nevzorova married fellow revolutionaries in exile (incidentally both couples were in Eastern Siberia at the same time and had close contacts). Kudelli remained single. None had children. Krupskaia, Kudelli and Nevzorova were active members of the Union of Struggle and later joined the ranks of the Bolsheviks after the split in the RSDRP in 1903. All three contributed to the Bolshevik party press, and Kudelli and Krupskaia were among the founding members of *Rabotnitsa* (*The Woman Worker*) in 1914 (revived after the February Revolution in 1917), a Bolshevik magazine specifically aimed at women workers. Like their counterparts from the women workers these female revolutionaries were arrested, imprisoned and exiled on many occasions. But Krupskaia, Lenin's closest ally, spent a long time working for the party abroad between 1903 and 1917. All three women lived on well after the October Revolution. So there is a clear difference in the social origins and in their political careers between these three Bolshevichki and the Brusnev group women, while Boldyreva's development took her from the latter to the Bolshevik Party.

The efforts to recruit more members from the working class, and in particular women, to the ranks of the Social Democrats were not limited to St. Petersburg. In 1891-92, for example, there were women's Marxist circles in Nizhnii Novgorod,

[9] VOSB, fond 124, case 1009

which involved a number of sisters, including O. and E. Chachina, M.and E. Dmitrieva, A. and N. Rukavishnikova, M. and O. Ivanitskaia.

In Ivanovo-Voznesensk Ol'ga Varentsova, a weaver's daughter (her father had his own small workshop), and professional revolutionary, set up her first study circles for women in 1892. The meetings used to take place in her flat. In 1895 this circle was incorporated into the Ivanovo branch of the Union of Struggle. The workers' circles which Varentsova had established were finally crushed by the police in 1896.

Several members of Varentsova's women workers' circle went on to conduct their own propaganda and agitation in their work places, and to join the social democratic movement. One of her students and circle members was Elizaveta Volodina, daughter of a textile worker and herself a seamstress, who joined the organisation in 1894. As an energetic and determined propagandist and organiser Volodina was co-opted into the work of the central circle and was made responsible for work among fellow women workers at her factory. Even before committing herself to the organisation, she had established the first women workers' circle there by the end of 1892. Daughter and mother seamstresses, Mariia and Ekaterina Iovlevy, were active members in the same organisation. Between 1896 and 1903 their flat was used as a safe house for meetings, clandestine literature and printing equipment. Another Ivanovo woman worker, Vera Zakharova, joined a social democratic circle in 1897. Elizaveta Andreeva, a *feldsher* from Ekaterinoslav, worked with women from the local tobacco factory and seamstresses from 1896.

In Moscow, Vinokurova, a midwife, established a circle for female students, which involved Sof'ia Muralova, Pelageia Karpuzi, Anfisa Smirnova, E. Petrova, L.Birant, M.Gorbacheva, N.Zheliakova and N.Kush. At that time, the seamstress Mariia Boie with her two brothers Konstantin and Fedor (both metal workers) were all active in workers' circles in Moscow. The Vinokurova circle developed links with circles of women workers in the textile mills and millinery workshops. The students taught women to read or improve their literacy skills through illegal literature. Until one of the circle members, Karpuzi, managed to get hold of a typewriter the women would copy works by hand for distribution or sale. They also raised funds for the movement, even organising lotteries with no prizes and on one occasion, a collection to help a fictitious dying female student.[10]

[10] S.Mitskevich, *Na grani dvukh epokh*, 97

Muralova had already been involved in a study circle in the town of Taganrog. One of the members, N.P.Perekrestov, who conducted propaganda among workers in a local railway depot, acquainted Muralova with female tobacco workers, who were eager to learn literacy. Muralova met regularly with them, teaching them to read and write. As their class literature they used to read political pamphlets. Within three months two of the seven workers in Muralova's circle were carrying out their own propaganda in the tobacco factory. Muralova herself still had no clear idea what socialism was, but she was convinced that the working class should lead the way. In 1893, she went to Moscow to continue such work. Rumours were rife that not only was there a strong workers' organisation there, but that Moscow workers were on the brink of a mass rising. At her first lecture she met Vinokurova and Smirnova, who soon invited her to join the female student circle. This is where Muralova's political education began in earnest. As yet there were no efforts specifically directed at women workers in Moscow. When the female propagandists realised that workers' wives and sisters were trying to prevent them from being influenced by atheistic intelligentsia, it was decided to infiltrate the Sunday schools for workers by taking posts as teachers. Muralova jumped at the chance to resume the work she had begun in Taganrog. In her classes she taught students through using examples based on their own life experiences pointing out to them the inequalities of the existing regime and stressing their hard working and living conditions.

By this time (1895), the Moscow Workers' Union had been formed but women were effectively debarred from entry because of their low educational level and lack of political preparation. Members of the Moscow Union were not at all typical of the city's workers, who were for the most part recent peasants with strong ties to the village. Muralova was particularly aware that many leading members of the Union were rather dismissive, even contemptuous, of women workers. Hence she resolved to continue her separate work among the latter. She and the other female intelligentsia had considerable success: by the spring of 1895 there were around 50 women workers organised in propaganda circles attached to the Moscow Workers' Union. In June, however, Muralova and most of the leading female propagandists were arrested. [11]

[11] S.Mitskevich, *Na zare rabochego dvizheniia v Moskve*,79-85,

Muralova had gone to Moscow in search of revolution. Others of her social class had less overtly political reasons for doing so. In 1892 Elizaveta Elagina, a daughter of a landowner, came to Moscow to continue her education and married a student. The Elagins both became involved in the work of social democratic circles. Prior to that Elizaveta had spent two years fighting famine and cholera in the villages of Central Russia, inspired by Populist ideals. Between 1896 and 1898 while studying at a midwifery course she carried out propaganda there.

A large part of the reasoning behind these efforts to recruit female workers, besides the fact that their numbers were growing, was a fear of their backwardness, that they would act as a drag on the labour movement, discourage their husbands from participating in it, and put the interests of their families over that of their class. Whatever the intentions of the intelligentsia, however, the women workers whose consciousness was raised set about spreading the new ideas themselves, in an attempt to draw their sisters into the labour movement. There did not, as yet, seem to be a fear that women-only circles would divide the labour movement, but rather there was a recognition that not only were literacy levels considerably lower among women than men, but also that the labour force was rigidly divided along gender lines, that women often took jobs outside of factories, and that as women they had specific needs. The Brusnev circles did not survive for long, having been repressed by 1892, but they had attracted a number of women workers who would continue to concentrate their efforts on organising their sisters, notably Vera Karelina in the 1905 Revolution, as well as female intellectuals who would later organise women workers for the Bolsheviks in 1917, such as Nadezhda Krupskaia. Although historical attention has been on Petersburg Brusnev had recognised that Moscow, where he moved in the winter of 1891 to take a job as an engineer with a railway company, was an important centre for political propaganda. The nature of the Moscow economy, which had a large textile base, meant that the Brusnev circles looked to weavers as well as metal workers. Despite the crushing of the Brusnev group there were extensive networks of circles in Moscow in the mid 1890s. As pointed out above there were female circles, but most circles were largely run by skilled male workers, rather than intellectuals. Then the focus of activities shifted from the education of a few workers (which, however necessary, was believed to isolate the recipients from their work mates) to agitation on the factory floor. What the politically conscious workers were determined to do was to overcome the divisions in their class which so damaged the labour movement.

In 1892, Sergei Mitskevich joined a group of Marxist intelligentsia in Moscow. He had already developed the view that the intelligentsia should adopt the leading role in the social democratic movement. Yet it was not until the following year that he made any contact with workers' circles, and then only through a chance meeting with a female intellectual who had propagandised railway workers. She introduced him to two members of an established workers' circle which consented to listen to his Marxist propaganda. Most of the workers' circles Mitskevich and his intellectual comrades addressed consisted of skilled metal workers, and the intelligentsia did not attempt to reach a wider audience among even male workers. Rather it was workers who did that, without reference to the intelligentsia. These Moscow workers believed that it was necessary to broaden the base of the social democratic movement to the less skilled and less developed workers, which entailed a huge effort to break down the labour hierarchy. In their view such divisions were harmful to the working class, which they were convinced had to be unified.

That meant that attention had to be paid to women workers. The Moscow textile industry was very labour intensive, since it could draw on a huge pool of cheap labour from the poor agricultural areas in the region. While the intelligentsia concentrated their efforts on skilled workers, Moscow's textile industry was overwhelmingly unskilled, relying on large numbers of women as well as children. The textile industry was long established in Moscow and contrasted sharply with the metal industry which depended on a core of highly skilled literate men. Given the division of labour between the sexes, the hierarchy of skill (which was monopolised by men), the fact that men and women not only worked in different jobs but lived separately, with men often grouping together and hiring a woman to cook and clean for them, it was very difficult for those male worker activists to reach working women. There was in any case a huge cultural gap between the skilled and the unskilled, and much suspicion held by the latter towards the former not only because politically conscious workers often refused to drink alcohol, but also because they were considered 'godless'. Even as the skilled worker tried to agitate among the unskilled, he often despaired of their passivity and conservatism (of male as well as female workers).

Despite these huge obstacles, workers' circles developed, and, independently of the intelligentsia, the members established a central circle to co-ordinate the movement which became the Moscow Workers Union. In the following year the

Union turned to mass agitation. The suspicion of even skilled workers towards the intelligentsia was largely class-based: that the intelligentsia were essentially bourgeois, that they did not treat workers as equals, and that ultimately they would betray the workers. The circles were overwhelmingly made up of male workers, partly because of the way the activists made contact with others, by using their skills to secure jobs in the 'male' metal and construction industries, setting up workers' circles and then moving on to repeat the process. Even in the female textile industry, it was the skilled male workers, such as pattern makers, who were drawn into the circles. Given the intense police surveillance, it was difficult to penetrate beyond the workshop. Still, they tried hard to agitate among the mass of workers by means of leaflets written in a style which would appeal to poorly educated workers, and starting from their everyday grievances. In all, the emphasis was on the need for unity and solidarity among workers, while the content of many of the leaflets could have been addressed to female as much as male workers, since concern over working and living conditions was common to both: 'Comrades, let us forget the quarrels and disagreements amongst ourselves, let us unite and establish funds and together hand in hand demand a reduction of the working day from our enemies.' The form of the address, however, was often explicitly masculine: 'Comrades, we get drunk and see how the capitalists rob us, how our blood is drunk.' [12]

One agitational leaflet addressed directly the issue of male hostility towards female workers:

> We must never separate male from female workers. In many factories in Russia women workers already constitute the majority of the workforce, and they are even more cruelly exploited by the factory owners. Their interests are no different from the interests of male workers. Male and female workers must grasp each other by the hand and together struggle for their liberation.[13]

The Union supported the establishment of a number of workers' circles, such as one run by Mariia Boie, the sister of a leading member of the Union, the metal worker Konstantin Boie. Given the very low level of literacy among women workers, such

[12] *Literatura Moskovskogo Rabochego Soiuza,* 71
[13] ibid.,68

circles were usually conducted by female students. Rather than attempt to infiltrate the factories as had been tried unsuccessfully in the 1870s, these women contacted workers through Sunday Schools, as Muralova did. From a starting point of as few as three textile workers, by the middle of 1895 as many as 50 women has been drawn to the circles, which affiliated to the Union.

In 1895, in St.Petersburg as a result of the confluence between several independent social democratic circles the Union of Struggle was established. The Union took its propaganda work from within the confines of study circles to the factories and mass agitation. There were four women among its 17 founding members: Krupskaia, Radchenko, Nevzorova and Iakubova. Krupskaia, Nevzorova and Iakubova were assigned to different Petersburg districts while Radchenko (who later joined the Mensheviks) and her husband were made responsible for the administrative affairs in the organisation, looking after the finances and technical work of the Union. More women joined the Union and took part in its activities. But their work is best described as that of 'foot soldiers' rather than 'party lieutenants'. The majority was either teachers or students, with a smaller number of women workers, who became responsible for the 'technical' issues in the organisation. Some were engaged in printing and distributing leaflets, others collected funds and donations. The male intellectuals were more involved in theoretical debates while male workers from the organisation were more responsible for the co-ordination of the practical work. In fact, as a result of many arrests among the ranks of active male and women workers, there were few of them left in St Petersburg by the end of 1895. But the new 'division of labour' was setting a pattern for the way the two genders would fare in the RSDRP, the party which would become the spiritual successor to the Union of Struggle.

Efforts to unite smaller social democratic circles were made elsewhere in the country. In 1895 Olga Varentsova founded a Workers' Union in Ivanovo-Voznesensk. It lasted until 1897 when its leading members, including Varentsova herself, were arrested and exiled for three years. On her return she was barred from living in Ivanovo and had to settle in Voronezh. With a group of other social democrats she came up with an idea to set up a larger organisation which could co-ordinate revolutionary work in all textile centres outside Moscow, such as Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Kostroma, Iaroslavl' and smaller industrial towns such as Shuia and Kineshma. The idea was to ease the pressure on smaller groups which often lacked

funds for wider and more rigorous propaganda work, and to provide these smaller groups with clandestine literature, set up a chain of safe houses both to print and store it as well as to provide shelter and false passports for comrades who needed them. The area was by now predominantly industrial but until the start of the twentieth century political activities had been highly localised and often ceased as a result of successful police operations which netted the agitators. To overcome this isolation, a decision was taken to invite representatives from all social democratic organisations in the area to Kineshma to inaugurate the new organisation which was to be known as the Northern Workers' Union. The first official congress of representatives from the four main districts took place in the summer of 1901, with Ivanovo being represented by the woman worker E.Volodina. At that meeting Varentsova was elected one of the Union leaders.

In Kharkov one of the leading social democrats was Evdokiia Sysoeva-Levina. In 1893 she joined a Marxist organisation which had developed from a number of study circles. Sof'ia Pomeranets-Perazich became a committed female revolutionary while studying dentistry abroad. In 1893 she returned to Kiev where she devoted her time and efforts to agitation in worker's circles, paying particular attention to women workers. After the revolution she recollected the difficult conditions in which she had to carry out propaganda among women:

> I remember one circle in Podol. Somebody introduced me to a woman worker from a seamstresses' workshop. Through her I was able to start a circle consisting of eight people. These were young Jewish women seamstresses forced to work under terrible conditions. They slept on the floor and ate in the room where they also had to work; the only time we had for our studies was when the workshop owners, a childless couple, went to see their friends. [14]

She also remembered another group of young women workers. When Pomeranets-Perazich came for the second lesson she saw several army cadets and officers drinking beer and vodka there. This scene brought her to the conclusion that to continue work with these frivolous young seamstresses would be a waste of time. A

[14] S. Tsederbaum, *Zhenshchina v russkom revoliutsionnom dvizhenii, 177-178*

woman worker from the Kiev social democratic organisation, Raisa Strazh, was more persistent. She used to help her fellow workers, with considerable success, to demand improvement in their pay and living conditions. She would take up a position in one of the less attractive workshops. After a while she would organise a strike among the workers and once the demands of the workers were met she would leave for another place.

The growth in intensity and changes in the methods of agitation and propaganda now employed by the social democrats in their approach to revolutionary activity among workers came to fruition in the mid 1890s, during the wave of strikes which affected the main industrial centres in the country. Nor was it simply isolated strikes in individual factories. Instead, there were general strikes in the textile industry, a major employer of female labour. Indeed, the more skilled and better organised metal workers, whom revolutionaries tended to see as the natural leaders of the labour movement, were much less militant in the mid 1890s than the more backward textile workers. During the 1896 general strike in Petersburg 30,000 textile workers took part. In 1898 the Maxwell factory workers went on strike not only with economic demands but also political ones, such as: freedom to strike and to hold meetings. These demands were included in spite of opposition from the Union of Struggle which believed that the workers were not ready for such action. According to eyewitness accounts, not only did women-employees participate, but also the wives of male workers were actively involved in the protest, encouraging their men, supplying them with firewood, boiling water for use as a weapon, and throwing stones and bricks at the police. Among those arrested for taking part in the strike were many women.

The strike movement, however, weakened as the economy entered a cycle of depression and unemployment increased at the end of the century. In addition, the authorities had succeeded in crushing the labour movement and severely disrupting the links which had been forged between it and the professional revolutionaries. Given the strength of the state, revolutionaries were forced to reconsider their organisational strategies. On the one hand, they continued to view skilled male workers as the key to the development of the socialist revolution. On the other hand, the strikes of the mid 1890s had shown that it was the less politically conscious unskilled workers who were at the forefront of the protest movement. Social democrats in particular were suspicious of spontaneous protest, partly because it was

so difficult to control, and partly because experience so far showed that it was not sufficient to undermine the tsarist regime, whose repression of such action was brutal.

Nevertheless, while the nascent workers' organisations had been crushed, workers did not simply submit to the superior force of the authorities. For example, in the summer of 1903 a wave of strikes had spread across the south of Russia. In Ekaterinoslav one of the most frequent speakers at gatherings of striking workers was Ekaterina Groman, a Bolshevik agitator, who had only recently arrived in town after running away from her place of exile in Siberia. Groman did not specifically target female workers, but the experience of protest and repression drew more of them into the revolutionary movement. For example, after taking part in one of the strikes a woman worker F.Rudakova was arrested and prosecuted for throwing stones at the police. Shortly after that, Rudakova joined the RSDRP. Groman was clearly an effective agitator, and had to move often to avoid arrest. She later travelled to Baku and Petersburg where she addressed workers meetings. As Eva Broido recalled in her *Memoirs of a Revolutionary* there were particular dangers for women in the Baku oil fields where there were very few women workers and where generally only Russian and Armenian workers brought their families. Broido met only one Armenian woman who was active in politics. If Broido had to venture out in the evening, she carried a gun and was accompanied by two or three male protectors. In such an extremely patriarchal society, she considered it against all the 'rules' of conspiratorial practice to send a woman to organise male workers. Still, while they would object to women taking a lead in politics, those workers in Baku's oil fields who attended classes accepted a female teacher.

In November of 1904, of the 400 workers out of 1,100 employed at one of the Serpukhovo factories of the Moscow Textile Mills Society who went on strike demanding better pay and working conditions, 350 strikers were women. Clearly, textile workers were militant, and some like Vera Karelina were also revolutionaries. However, on the whole female textile workers were hard to organise, and rarely managed to sustain a protest. Not only were they poorly educated and unskilled, they had few chances to improve their position because the industry relied on an extreme division of labour. They were capable of uniting and taking direct action over a particular grievance or when their patience had been too sorely tried. However, there was much less potential for a durable organisation. The few women workers who gained some education and became politically conscious, like Karelina and

Boldyerva, persisted in their efforts to organise their co-workers, but their biographies show that each time they made some headway, they came up against arrest, imprisonment and exile. The organisation of women workers was, therefore, not sustained, while its potential leaders were harassed.

Female Comrades

The research into the 1890-1904 period produced material on more than 500 women. As in the case of the previous period covering the years between 1870 and 1889 the data on some individuals was extremely sparse. For example, the information in many primary sources might contain only a passing reference to an individual female revolutionary and occasionally in addition a place or a name of the organisation she was attached to or had connections with. At times the search through related primary or secondary sources would yield more factual material. At this point I decided to make a mini-database on 100 female revolutionaries. I believed this figure would allow me to include a sufficient number of individual revoliutsionerki to build a broad picture of their experiences of life and revolutionary work for the period in question.

I started my search for the 100 revolutionary women by analysing references from the MBSSD biographical dictionary which was originally meant to provide information for the DRDR. The former was the first reference book on the period to which I gained access. The work is devoted to revolutionaries of the 1880-1904 period who had either been engaged in clandestine politics, or were merely suspected of being sympathetic towards the cause, and likely to provide support for radical activists. It was edited by V. Nevskii who was born in 1895 and joined the movement in 1895, leading a social democratic circle in Rostov-on-Don. Nevskii became an RSDRP member in 1898. After the October revolution he turned to writing and is considered to be one of the most prominent Bolshevik party historians. Bearing in mind Nevsky's obvious bias in interpreting the history of the revolutionary movement and the victory of Bolshevism, his work nevertheless provided useful information for this study. The dictionary, however, is unfinished and covers only the first five letters of the Russian alphabet. In addition, I had to deselect those individuals who had not been actively engaged after 1890. From this volume I made a list of 284 individual female revolutionaries.

The book which is referred to more frequently by scholars is volume V of the DRDR. This work was meant to provide an extensive biographical database on social democrats who had participated in the revolutionary movement between 1880 and 1904. The MBSSD, like the DRDR, has never been completed, and it included only the first three letters of the Russian alphabet and an uncompleted section for the fourth letter. However, the MBSSD was published in 1923 while the published volumes of the DRDR came out between 1928 and 1934, some five to ten years later, a respectable period of time for a group of historians working on updating the records to come up with new information. As has been pointed out already, the mid twenties to the early thirties were the years when a considerable amount of effort was made to compile a written history of the social democratic movement in Russia. A comparison of the two dictionaries brought information on an additional 41 female revolutionaries. The number is not as high as may have been expected but the comparison brought to light some interesting and even startling results. The MBSSD left out of its list such individuals as Evgeniia Bosh, Anna Vinokurova and Ol'ga Brichkina. I described the results as startling because the named individuals are now ranked among the leading Bolshevik women. The case of the omission of Anna Vinokurova, a textile worker, may be explained by the fact that she worked all her life in Kostroma and did not come to the attention of historians sitting in the capital. But this argument can hardly be used in the cases of Bosh and Brichkina. In fact, Barbara Clements included E. Bosh into her 'pantheon' as one of the 'most important political leaders among the Bolshevichki'.[15] The DRDR itself devoted two full pages to this revoliutsionerka. Ol'ga Brichkina, according to the DRDR, began her political activities in 1900 and joined the ranks of the Bolsheviks in 1904. After the February Revolution she became a secretary in the Moscow Soviet and until the early 1920s remained in the Soviet apparatus at the Central Committee level. To my regret I could not find an explanation for these remarkable omissions.

Next, by carefully sieving through archival materials and primary and secondary sources I found many more names of individuals who had not made it into either the DRDR or MBSSD. In all I was able to select 100 female revolutionaries for inclusion into my general database. As in the case of the revoliutsionerki of the 1870s and 1880s, I was looking for those whose biographical records were most complete

[15] B.Clements, *Bolshevik Women*, 14-17

and/or who had made a valuable contribution to the revolutionary movement: that is to say, they should have been active over a number of years within the time period under scrutiny in this chapter. I also decided that for the revoliutsionerki to be included into my final list they had to be mentioned in more than one primary source, should have varied social backgrounds and, if possible, represent one of the three main revolutionary parties at the time, i.e. RSDRP (b) or (m) or PSR. In most histories of the revolutionary movement, even if women are included, it tends to be only the minority who have contributed to the theoretical debates, such as Kollontai, or those who made an impact through a dramatic action, such as Perovskaia. Others, such as Vera Figner or Breshkovskaia, are deemed important more for what they symbolised than what they achieved. Spiridonova stands out because she became the leader of the Left SRs in 1917. Those women, and indeed men, who were absorbed in day to day organisational activities rarely get a mention. Yet it was these people who kept the movement going. In making the revolution, as distinct from constructing the revolutionary order after 1917, I consider the work of rank and file revolutionaries such as Anna Vinokurova to be of as great, if not greater, importance than the leading figures such as Kollontai. This is not to diminish the latter's contribution to the development of the revolutionary movement, but to set it in the wider context of the activities of the revoliutsionerki.

The revoliutsionerki from the mini-database belonged to the ranks of either prominent 'party officers' or 'foot soldiers', they could be either party theorists or technicians, or be simply engaged in day to day agitational activities. Out of 100 female revolutionaries that I selected for this chapter and who appear in Table 5, only 50 have a reference in either DRDR or MBSSD. The information about the remaining 50 female revolutionaries came from other sources. For instance, autobiographical accounts of 35 revoliutsionerki came from the database kept by the TsKhIDNI in Moscow in its Fond 124, that is from the members of the All-Union Society of the Old Bolsheviks, and one from Anna Boldyreva who had applied for its membership but had been refused. (I shall be returning to this fact in the concluding chapter). The abbreviations used are explained at the end of Table 5.

Table 5: 100 Women Revolutionaries, 1890-1904

NAME DATES	ORIGIN	EDUCATION PROFESSION	MARITAL STATUS	PARTY AFFILIATION
Adamovich EN (1872-1938)	Daughter of a small landowner	Secondary Office worker	Unmarried	RSDRP (b) since 1898
Agrinskaia EK (1869-nd)	Daughter of a *sluzhashchii* (civil servant)	Secondary Teacher	Married	RSDRP (b) since 1898
Aksel'rod LI (1868-1946)	Gentry	Higher	Married	RSDRP (m) since 1904
Aladzhlova NN (1881-1964)	Daughter of a landlord	Higher Teacher	Single	RSDRP (b) since 1904
Aleksandrova EM (1864-1943)	Gentry	Secondary school	Married a fellow revolutionary	RSDRP (m) Since 1903
Aleksandrova NA (1866 – nd)	Daughter of a *sluzhashchii*	W H C Teacher/ office worker	Married and had a son	RSDRP (b) since 1902
Alilueva OG (1877-1951)	Daughter of a coach builder	Primary *Feldsher*	Married a fellow revolutionary; had children	RSDRP (b) since 1898
Andreeva EI (1873	Daughter of a *sluzhashchii*	Secondary *Feldsher*	Single	RSDRP (b) since 1897
Armand IF (1874-1920)	Intellegentsia	Higher Professional revolutionary	Married with chidren	RSDRP (m) since 1903, later (b)
Avaliani EE (1883	Small gentry	Seamstress	Married	RSDRP (b) since 1903
Aveide MO (1884-1919)	*meshchanka*	Professional propagandist		RSDRP (b) since 1904
Baiar LM (1878-1967)	Daughter of a peasant	Unskilled worker	Married with children	RSDRP (b) since 1904
Balashova ES (1878-nd)	nd	Worker	Married to a fellow revolutionary	RSDRP (b) Before 1905
Baranskaia LN (1871-1962)	Intellegentsia	Professional revolutionary	Married to a fellow revolutionary	RSDRP (m) since 1900
Belova OA (1883-after 1933)	Daughter of a peasant	Primary worker	Married with two children	RSDRP (b) since 1903
Belokopytova MN (1872-after 1930)	Intelligentsia	WHC Teacher		RSDRP (b) since 1901
Berdichevskaia M (1872-1905)	nd	*Feldsher*/midwife		RSDRP since 1900
Bezrukova EV (1877)	Daughter of a *meshchanin*	Secondary Teacher librarian	Married a fellow revolutionary; had a child	RSDRP (b) since 1902
Bitsenko AN (1875-1938)	Daughter of a peasant	Teaching Course		PSR since 1902
Bobrovskaia TsS (1876-1960)	Daughter of a *sluzhashchii*	Secondary Professional revolutionary	Married	RSDRP (b) since 1898
Bogdanova EN (1869-nd)	Daughter of a *meshchanin*	HWC Teacher and *feldsher*	Single	RSDRP (b) since 1905
Bogorad ML (1882	Daughter of a barber	Seamstress	Single	RSDRP (b) since 1905

Boikova LI (1871-)	Intelligentsia	Secondary Teacher	Married and had a daughter	RSDRP (b) since 1900
Boldyreva AG (1868-nd)	Daughter of a soldier	Secondary Worker	Married with three children	RSDRP (b) since 1897
Bondareva II (1887)	Daughter of a *meshchanin*	Higher Teacher	Married with a child	RSDRP (b) since 1903
Bosh EB (1879-1925)	Gentry	Professional revolutionary	Single	RSDRP (b) since 1901
Breshko-Breshkovskaia EK (1844-1934)	Gentry	WHC	Married with a child	People's Will PSR since 1902
Brichkina SB (1883-1967)	Daughter of an artisan	Secondary Professional revolutionary		RSDRP (b) Since 1902
Broido E (1878-1941)	Daughter of a *meshchanin*	Secondary pharmacist	Married with two children	RSDRP (m) since 1898
Bukhanova VR (nd)	Daughter of a peasant			RSDRP since 1901
Bush AV (1881-nd)	Daughter of a *meshchanin*	Higher doctor		RSDRP since 1904
Didrikil NA (1882-1953)	Daughter of a *meshchanin*	Secondary	Married a fellow revolutionary	RSDRP (b) since 1901
Didrikil OA (1878-1953)	Daughter of a *meshchanin*	Office worker	Married a fellow revolutionary Had children	RSDRP (b) since 1898
Dobruskina GN (1862-1945)	Intelligentsia	Bestuzhev Courses Teacher	Married	People's Will; PSR since 1901
Drabkina FI (1883-1957)		Midwife and proof-reader	Married a fellow revolutionary	RSDRP (b) since 1902
Elagina EA (1870)	Daughter of a gentry landowner	Higher	Married a fellow revolutionary; had children	RSDRP (b) since 1903
Elizarova AI (1864-1935)	Intelligentsia	WHC Professional revolutionary	married	RSDRP (b) since 1898
Fisher LV (1880-nd)	Daughter of a peasant	Self-taught midwife	Married a fellow revolutionary	RSDRP since 1900
Fofanova MV (1883-1967)	Daughter of river captain	WHC Teacher		RSDRP (b) since 1917
Fotieva LA (1881-1975)	Daughter of a *sluzhashchii*	Secondary *sluzhashchaia*	Single	RSDRP (b) since 1904
Genkina OM (1886-1905)	Intelligentsia	WHC doctor		RSDRP (b) since 1903
Gershevich AN (1884-nd)	Daughter of worker	*Feldsher*		RSDRP (b) since 1903
Gervasi AP (1865-1933)	Daughter of a fisherman	Secondary Teacher		PSR since 1902
Golubeva MI (1888-1970)	nd	Worker	nd	RSDRP (b) since 1903
Golubeva MP (1861-1936)	Daughter of a *sluzhashchii*	Higher Teacher/statistic.	Married with a child	RSDRP (b) since 1901
Gopner SI (1880-1966)	Daughter of a *meshchanin*			RSDRP (b) since 1903
Gordon PO (1873-)	nd	Secondary teacher		RSDRP since 1901
Gorshkova AN (1882-)	Daughter of a school	Higher Professional	Single	RSDRP (b) since 1902

	headmaster	revolutionary		
Grigor'eva NA (1865-nd)	Daughter of soldier	Self-taught worker		PSR since 1901
Karelina VM (1870-nd)	Illegitimate child	Secondary Worker	Married Had a child	Unattached
Karpova VS (1883)	Intelligentsia	Higher Teacher	Married with two children	RSDRP (b) since 1903
Karpusi PM (1870-1908)	nd	Secondary teacher	Married Had three children	RSDRP (b)
Kiriakina KI (1884-1968)	Daughter of worker	Worker		RSDRP (b) since 1901
Kirsanova KI (1888-1947)	Daughter of a *sluzhashchii*		Married had a child	RSDRP (b) since 1904
Knipovich LM (1856-1920)	Intelligentsia	Secondary Teacher		RSDRP (b) since 1897
Kollontai AM (1872-1952)	Gentry	Higher Professional revolutionary	single	RSDRP (m) since 1906, after 1915 (b)
Konopliannikova Z (1879-1906)	Daughter of a soldier	WHC teacher		PSR since
Kostelovskaia (1878-1964)	Daughter of a *sluzhashchii*	WHC Professional revolutionary	Married to a fellow revolutionary Had children	RSDRP (b) since 1904
Kostenina LM (1878)	Daughter of a *sluzhashchii*	Higher doctor	Single	RSDRP (b) since 1904
Krupskaia NK (1869-1939)	Gentry	WHC Teacher and professional revolutionary	married	RSDRP (b) since 1898
Kudelli PF (1859-1944)	Daughter of a priest	HWC Professional revolutionary	Single	RSDRP (b) since
Kuliabko PI (1898-1959)	Daughter of a *meshchanin*	Secondary *Feldsher* & teacher	Married a fellow revolutionary	RSDRP since 1898
Lebedeva MN (1882-1949)	nd	Worker		RSDRP (b) since 1904
Menzhinskaia LR (1876-1933)	Intelligentsia	Higher Teacher		RSDRP (b) since 1904
Nagovitsyna MF (1887-1966)	Daughter of a worker	Worker	Married Had children	RSDRP (b) since 1904
Nevzorova AP (1872-1926)	Intelligentsia	Secondary *Feldsher* Dentist	Married with a child	RSDRP (b) since 1902
Nevzorova SP (1868-1943)	Intelligentsia	WHC Teacher	Married a fellow revolutionary	RSDRP (b) Since 1898
Nevzorova ZP (1870-1948)	Intelligentsia	WHC Teacher	Married a fellow revolutionary	RSDRP (b) since 1898
Obukh VP (1871-1963)	Intelligentsia	Higher Teacher	nd	RSDRP (b) since 1898
Okulova GI (1878-1957)	Daughter of a gold dealer	WHC	married	RSDRP (b) since 1899
Pavlentseva PI (1886)	Daughter of a peasant	Factory worker	Single	RSDRP (b) since 1902
Rakitnikova II (1870-1965)	Daughter of a *sluzhashchii*	Secondary *Feldsher*	Married to a fellow revolutionary	PSR since 1902

Razorenova EA (1880-1965)	Daughter of a peasant	Worker		RSDRP (b) since 1903
Rozmirovich EF (1886-1953)	Gentry	WCH	Married had a child	RSDRP (b) since 1904
Samoilova KN (1876-1921)	Daughter of a village priest	WHC professional revolutionary	Married a fellow revolutionary	RSDRP (b) since 1903
Sergeicheva DI (1860-1929)	nd	Worker	married	RSDRP (b) since 1903
Shapovalova LR (1878-1934)	Daughter of a merchant	HWC Teacher	Married	RSDRP (b) since 1902
Slutskaia VK (1874-1917)	Daughter of an artisan	Higher dentist		RSDRP (b) since 1902
Smelova AI (1871-1939)	Daughter of a peasant	Worker	married	RSDRP (b) since 1903
Smidovich SN (1872-1934)	Intelligentsia	WHC Teacher	Married a fellow revolutionary Had children	RSDRP (b) since 1898
Soshnikova NK (1881-nd)	Daughter of a carpenter	WHC Teacher		PSR since 1905
Stal' LN (1872-1939)	Daughter of factory owner	Unfinished WHC professional revolutionary		RSDRP (b) since 1897
Stasova ED (1873-1966)	Intelligentsia	WHC professional revolutionary	Married	RSDRP (b) since 1898
Terent'eva NA (1881-after 1931)	Daughter of a merchant	WHC Teacher		
Ul'ianova MI (1878-1937)	Intelligentsia	WHC Professional revolutionary	single	RSDRP (b) since 1898
Vaneeva EN (1881	Daughter of a *sluzhashchii*	Higher	Married with a child	RSDRP (b) since 1898
Vanovskaia VV (1878-nd)	Intelligentsia	Higher doctor	Married a fellow revolutionary	RSDRP (b) since 1900
Varentsova OA (1862-1950)	Daughter of a *meshchanin*	WHC Professional revolutionary	Single	RSDRP (b) since 1897
Vasil'eva MA (1855-nd)	Daughter of a *meshchanin*	Secondary *Feldsher*		
Vasil'eva VA (1883-nd)		WHC teacher	Married a fellow revolutionary	RSDRP (m) since 1903
Velichkina VM 1868-1918)	Daughter of a priest	Higher doctor	Married a fellow revolutionary	RSDRP (b) since 1903
Vinokurova AP 1866	Daughter of worker	Self-taught Worker	Single	RSDRP (b) since 1904
Vinokurova PI (1871-nd)	nd	Secondary *Feldsher*		RSDRP since 1904
Vishniakova PI (1887-alive in 1959)	Daughter of a peasant			RSDRP (b) since 1904
Voinova KI (1884-nd)	Gentry	WHC Teacher		RSDRP (b) since 1904
Volodina EA (1875-1903)	Daughter of a worker	Primary worker	Married	RSDRP (b) since 1900
Voloshina EN (nd)	nd	*Feldsher*		RSDRP (b) since 1902
Voronina EP (1879-	Daughter of a peasant	worker	Married a fellow revolutionary	RSDRP since 1900

Zakharova VV (1867-nd)	Daughter of a peasant	Self-taught worker	Single	RSDRP (b) since 1898
Zemliachka-Samoilova RS (1876-1947)	Daughter of a *sluzhashchii*	Higher Professional revolutionary		RSDRP (b) since 1897

Before I present my analysis, I would like to explain the abbreviations which appear in the table and the way I entered the data. The 'nd' stands for 'no data', WHC stands for Women's Higher Courses, and the letters 'b' and 'm' after the initials RSDRP are common abbreviations for the words 'Bolshevik' and 'Menshevik'. Some women were educated abroad or simply stated that they had a higher education, and in those cases I used the word 'Higher' to describe their education. 'Secondary' means that the women had graduated from a *gymnaziia* (a grammar school), which allowed women to sit exams for a professional teaching certificate. The word 'single' appears in those cases when a specific reference to their bachelor status had been made in the primary sources. When information was available about children I entered it into the 'Marital Status' column. The year of joining the party is entered the way it appears in primary sources. However, most of the revoliutsionerki in this table would have started their work in the movement at least a few years prior to the year of joining a political party. In many cases chronological references to revoliutsionerki's affiliation to either Bolsheviks or Menshevks appear before the split in the party occurred. This was done to keep the table simpler and to indicate their later allegiance. For the same reason I kept the information about their party activities out and will discuss it later in the chapter. The terms used in the column denoting social origin can be found in the glossary.

Because of the nature of the sources, which were published after the Bolsheviks came to power, Bolshevichki are disproportionately represented in Table 5. For the purposes of this chapter, however, it is the biographical data on women who chose the path of revolution, rather than their particular political affiliation, which is of significance. Moreover, while the RSDRP split in 1903, Mensheviks and Bolsheviks were still regarded at two factions of the same party, at least until 1917. It was the revolution which ensured that these factions could not be united, while the PSR split into Left and Right SRs, with the former initially aligning with the Bolsheviks, the latter with the Mensheviks. In any case, historians tend to focus on ideological conflict within the revolutionary movement, between the narodniki and the social democrats, the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. Because of the

concentration on theoretical polemics, the ideological propagandistic and agitational relationships between the various revolutionary groups tend to be overlooked. An examination of the lives of revolutionary women highlights this interrelationship.

I started my analysis with the social origins of female revolutionaries. As has been explained in the introductory chapter, the origin has been identified based on their father's occupation. When this information was entered into a spreadsheet in order to plot a chart I used categories reflecting the social structure of society in Russia at the end of the nineteenth century. 'Gentry' refers to aristocrats and landed nobility, though many families had been impoverished by that time in part as a result of the abolition of serfdom in 1861 and in part as a result of the famine which affected Russia at the beginning of the 1890s. 'Intelligentsia' includes people who worked in the professions (like doctors and teachers) or the arts (thus Armand was put into this category). *Sluzhashchii* is a low ranking civil servant, an office employee, in other words performing work similar to a white-collar worker. *Meshchanin* is a broad term incorporating such occupations as artisans (e.g. coach builder in the case of Alilueva's father), small business owners and a number of other urban occupations. In the case of revoliutsionerki whose fathers were soldiers, I classed them as peasantry because it was the village that supplied the regular Russian army with recruits until the First World War, when hundreds of thousands of workers were drafted from cities and towns and not only peasants from the countryside. Table 6 shows how these categories are reflected in the social origins of the 100 revoliutsionerki.

Table 6: Social origins of the 100 Women Revolutionaries, 1890-1904

Social Origins	No women
Gentry	11
Intelligentsia	16
Sluzhashchie	13
Meshchanstvo	21
Peasantry	14
Workers	4
Clergy	3
Unknown	18
Total	100

The figures given in Table 6 are for the purpose of analysis of the given 100 revoliutsionerki and should not be seen as reflecting a general representation of different social groups among female revolutionaries in Russia at that time.

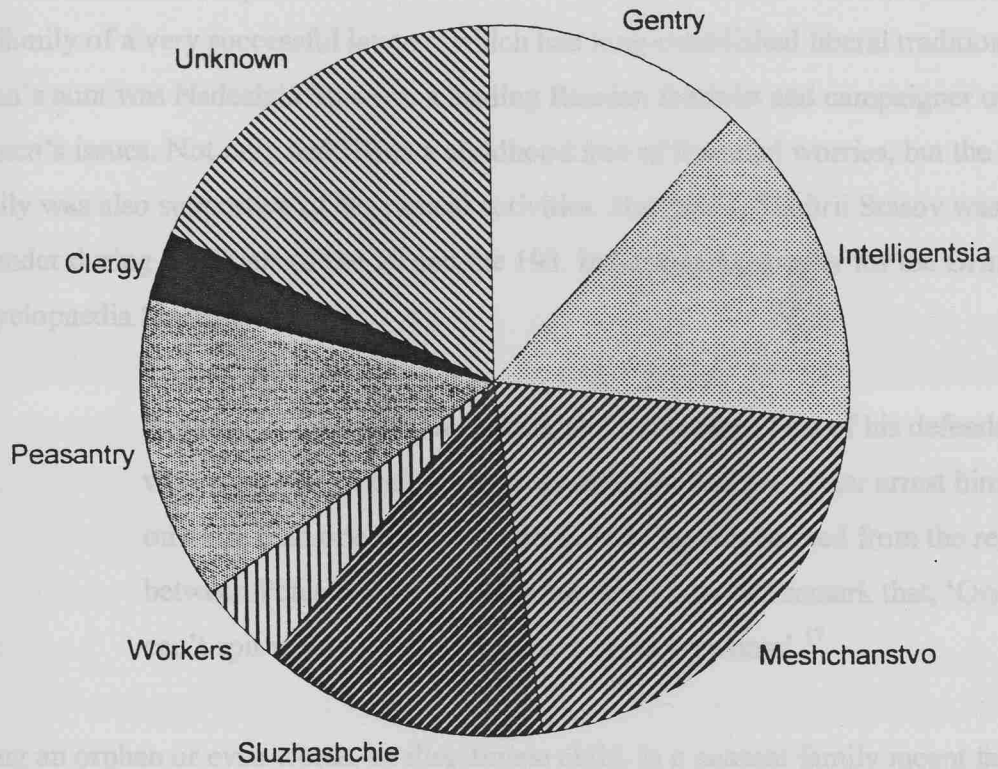
In Table 6 the known groups represented by the highest number of entries are *Meshchanstvo* and intelligentsia. The latter is closely followed by *Sluzhashchie,* peasantry and gentry. The lowest number of revoliutsionerki had fathers who came from either the clergy or the working class. In the case of 18 women no explanation of their fathers' occupation or a social origin was available. I looked at these women from the latter category in the hope I would be able to make assumptions regarding their origins. In each case I looked at the revoliutsionerka own profession. There was no information on Obukh's profession and as such no safe assumption could be made. In the cases of Balashova, Golubeva, Lebedeva and Sergeicheva, all four being textile workers, I could assume with a high degree of certainty that their fathers were most likely workers themselves, either also working for the textile or more skilled metal industry, or peasants from nearby villages. (I will examine the biographies of the four women in question in more detail when I discuss the role of revoliutsionerki in the 1905 Soviets in chapter four.) Besides, the four women all came from the Ivanovo region where the textile industry provided most employment opportunities to its working-class population. Seven remaining female revolutionaries were trained and/or worked as teachers, *feldshers* or midwives. I then looked at other women in Table 6 who had similar professions and whose fathers' occupations were known to me. This cross-reference showed that the women could have come from one of the three categories: *meshchanstvo, sluzhashchie* or intelligentsia. For instance, the father of Agrinskaia, a teacher, was a *sluzhashchii,* while the father of another teacher, Bogdanova, was a *meshchanin.* Similarly, *feldsher* Rakitnikova's father was a *sluzhashchii,* while Vasil'eva's father was a *meshchanin.* As a result of this examination for Chart 2 (see below) I entered the four women workers as coming from a working-class family and left the remaining ones in the category 'Unknown'.

A comparison of these figures with the findings for the revoliutsionerki of the 1880s indicates a shift in the female revolutionary's social origins towards the end of the nineteenth century and reflects a general trend in the Russian society towards a fusion of different *sosloviia* (*estates*). Though still a major source, gentry and *meshchanstvo* were no longer the main suppliers of new recruits to the revolutionary movement. With the proportion of *sluzhashchie* remaining almost unchanged, and the

percentage of the revoliutsionerki for whom I did not have data on their social origins, it was the peasantry and to a lesser extent workers that were turning their hearts and minds to the radical cause. In addition, this table contains a new category, 'Intelligentsia'. In fact, not only is it a new entry, but it also has more entries than either *shluzhashie* or gentry, which reflects a change in the nature of the social and economic structure of Russian society by the end of the nineteenth century. This social group emerged after a growing number of people, men and women alike, were turning to higher education and employment in medicine, education, engineering and the arts in the light of an increasing demand for such professionals from the expanding urban population, and from the local government bodies (*zemstva*) established in the countryside as part of Alexander II's reforms in the early 1860s. Some turned to work because they no longer had access to a family fortune, others had benefited from the 1860s reforms and were moving up the estate ladder. In 1897, for example, the first Russian census to be compiled showed that professional women made up four per cent of the female labour force.[16]

[16] N. Kechedzhi-Shapovalov, *Zhenskoe dvizhenie v Rossii i zagranitsei*,

Chart 2: Social Origins of the 100 Female Revolutionaries, 1890-1904



Personal accounts of female revolutionaries illustrate how varied was the experience that they had in the days of childhood and early adulthood, including revoliutsionerki who came from the same category of social origin. They are also proof that coming from a so-called privileged class was no longer a key to an early life free of financial concerns, especially in those cases when the male bread-winners in the family died while the revoliutsionerki were very young. For instance, Ekaterina Avaliani came from a genteel family in the Caucasus. An orphan, she was sent to learn sewing when she was only eight years of age. Nadezhda Krupskaia's father Konstantin Krupskii was a member of the nobility but having been orphaned as a child he was brought up in the care of the state. Krupskii died when Nadezhda was a teenager leaving her and

her mother having to become financially self-sufficient. The mother and daughter rented a large flat in St. Petersburg and began to rent out rooms to female students, telephonists, *feldshers* and seamstresses. The two women stayed almost inseparable until senior Krupskaia's death in 1915.

Another future prominent Bolshevik administrator, Elena Stasova, came from the family of a very successful lawyer, which had long-established liberal traditions. Elena's aunt was Nadezhda Stasova, a leading Russian feminist and campaigner on women's issues. Not only had Elena a childhood free of financial worries, but the family was also supportive of her radical activities. Her father, Dmitrii Stasov was a defender during the Trials of the 50 and the 193. In her autobiography for the *Granat* encyclopaedia Stasova wrote:

> Because of my radical activities, and the endless lists of his defendants, whom he used to bail, father was searched and put under arrest himself on more than one occasion, and in 1880 he was banned from the region between Petersburg and Tula after Alexander II's remark that, 'One can't spit without hitting Stasov, he is everywhere'.[17]

Being an orphan or even worse, an illegitimate child, in a peasant family meant facing considerably more hardship for an individual. Vera Karelina, one of such illegitimate children, was put into a foundling home by her mother as a baby. The place was known as a charitable establishment but according to Karelina, it was anything but that, with up to a 90 per cent death rate among its wards.[18] From the foundling home she was sent to a peasant widow, who had three children of her own, and where they all lived in poverty. Nevertheless, Karelina remembered her foster mother warmly as an exceptionally energetic and courageous individual who sent her to school to learn literacy and consequently developed in her a taste for reading.

According to the census of 1897, the level of literacy among Russian women was 13.1 per cent.[19] Girls from poor urban or peasant families rarely attended schools. Children, and in particular girls, were expected to help out at home and in the field or factories. When they were allowed to attend school, they rarely completed even the

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[17] *Granat,* vol. 41, 113
[18] E.Korol'chuk. ed., *V nachale puti,* 269
[19] L.Filipova, Iz istorii zhenskogo obrazovania v Rossii, *Voprosy istorii,* no.2, 1963, 211

three years of primary school, often being taken out after the first year with the parents considering that the bare knowledge of the three R's would be sufficient for a girl who was expected to spend most of her adult life working in unskilled jobs and taking care of her husband, children and in some cases ailing parents or parents-in-law. Indeed, women workers started their working life on average at 12-14 years of age. In some cases this threshold was even lower, as we could see from Boldyreva's autobiographical account. Two revoliutsionerki from Table 6, Alilueva and Volodina, attended a primary school. But whereas Volodina came from a working class family and could be seen as a typical example for the category, Alilueva came from *meshchanstvo* but was forced to curtail her studies after only three years at school to help her mother with running a household which included nine children, as she was the oldest child in the family. Only in 1911, already a married woman with children of her own and a Bolshevik party worker, was she able to return to her studies choosing to train as a *feldsher* and a midwife. Three women, Grigor'eva, Vinokurova and Zakharova described their education as 'self-taught'. Often self-teaching involved elder siblings who would teach women the alphabet, thus enabling them to read, if not to write.

Factory and Sunday schools were playing an increasing role in raising the levels of literacy among workers, and in particular, women workers. Factory owners did not necessarily set up such schools out of some charitable aims. A certain degree of literacy was necessary for women to perform particular semi-skilled jobs. But the opportunities for women were much more limited than for men and once a woman was married and had children she had little time for going to school even on her days off. However, the popularity of Sunday schools among women workers was growing. In 1896, there were 136 women-only Sunday schools out of a total of 472.[20] Nevertheless, the number was insufficient to allow more women in. Sunday schools as has been already demonstrated earlier in this chapter were also one of the channels used by the radicals to recruit new members to the revolutionary movement. Revoliutsionerka Anna Boldyreva began attending a Sunday school in 1885. At the time she was already 17 years of age and had worked in the Maxwell factory for the last nine years. Boldyreva described the school she attended as 'noted for its new

[20] ibid., 213

thinking with teachers who were either social democrats or *narodniki.*' In 1890 Boldyreva joined one of the workers' circles in the Brusnev organisation.

For the children of *meshchanstvo* and *sluzhashchie* there were better opportunities in education through the access that many of them had to secondary grammar schools, or *gymnasiia.* Although, girls were taught such subjects as Russian language and literature, mathematics and history, the latter three had a narrower syllabus in girls' schools than in schools for boys. Nineteen out of the 100 female revolutionaries received secondary education. They were usually daughters of *sluzhashchie, meshchanstvo* and intelligentsia. Of course, among them were also women from other social categories.

The most difficult level of education to obtain for a woman in Russia was the university one. In that respect the 100 revoliutsionerki from Table 6 cannot be seen as representing a typical Russian woman of the latter end of the nineteenth century as 33 per cent of them attended a higher educational course. Many continued to seek their higher education abroad. In 1901 there were 748 female students in Switzerland, 560 of whom were from Russia. In her autobiographical account for the VOSB Nina Aladzhalova wrote that she went to Berlin University to improve her education after a spell in St.Petersburg where she studied music. Another, Vera Velichkina, studied medicine in Switzerland in 1892. Incidentally, she was one of the doctors who treated Lenin in 1918 when he had been wounded in an assassination attempt, and later after he had a stroke. The situation with regard to access for women to higher education in Russia itself was improving to some extent. Apart from the Alarchin Courses in Petersburg noted for the high number of female members of the People's Will who attended them in the 1870s, other similar institutes were in existence in Russia. (Of the later generation of female Bolsheviks Praskov'ia Kudelli, as a student of the Petersburg Higher Courses, was attracted at first to Populist ideas.) Among them the Bestuzhev Courses which opened in St.Petersburg in 1878 made a substantial contribution to women's higher education in Russia as a whole. These courses were generally limited to women from well-off families. In 1902, 874 female students from the Bestuzhev Courses out of total of 967 came from a privileged background. The same was true of a similar course in Moscow, the Gerie Courses, with 688 out of 719 women representing the upper classes.[21] Like in the case of the Alarchin Courses, the

[21] ibid., 217

Bestuzhev Courses in St. Petersburg and the Higher Women's Courses in Moscow attracted the more radical constituency of the Russian society. Many of the female students from these courses joined social democratic or Marxist circles and went on to become leading female Bolsheviks, including A.Iakubova, Z.Nevzorova, M.Ulianova, N.Krupskaia and O.Varentsova, or in the case of L. Baranskaia (married Radchenko), Mensheviks. These women became teachers in Sunday schools while seeking a fuller realisation of their aspirations to a more liberal and democratic society.

N.Krupskaia started this search by writing a letter to the renowned Russian writer Leo Tolstoy in a response to his article in the newspaper *Novoe vremia (New Times)*. In his 1887 article 'To the Young Ladies of Tiflis', he talked about the ways young women could better apply their newly acquired knowledge. He suggested that they should translate foreign language literature into Russian, which could be used to educate peasant and workers. Krupskaia, who had personal experience of poverty, recognised that, compared to the lot of working class and peasant women, she was still in a privileged position. Given that less than 30 years before, her class had benefited from serfdom and that since their 'emancipation' many of the peasants had been impoverished, Krupskaia felt that she owed a debt to the masses. Tolstoy's suggestion did not meet the sense of urgency felt by socially conscious young women like herself. In 1889 she entered the Bestuzhev Courses in Petersburg and there met M.Brusnev whose organisation she shortly joined. From there Krupskaia went on to teach in one of the Smolny Sunday schools. About one thousand workers from the surrounding Pal', Maxwell and Thornton factories were students in the two men-only and one women-only schools.[22]

Other young Sunday school teachers were members of radical groups and involved many of their students in the work of social democratic circles and organisations they themselves belonged to. In the middle of the 1890s P. Kudelli's attention turned from Populism to Marxism. Under its influence she decided to become a Sunday teacher too. Among her students in the Smolny School was a future prominent Bolshevik Ivan Babushkin. There she made the acquaintance of Knipovich and Krupskaia. One of Krupskaia's Sunday school students, a Bolshevik leader from Ivanovo I.Balashov, wrote in his memoirs about the time he spent at school:

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[22] ibid., 218

> The first time I met Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaia was in 1896, in the Smolny evening school for workers in Petersburg. ...
>
> Workers from every single factory in the Nevskaia Zastava district were among the students of that school.
>
> It was not easy to combine 12 hours at work with study. ... But thirst for knowledge was so high that the workers paid no attention to these obstacles. ...
>
> The teachers, to be precise female teachers (the majority of our teachers were women) treated their students, who were often older than they, with great care. They were not paid for their work. They taught us out of love for the people, and we, the workers, felt deeply indebted to them for the knowledge they gave to us. [23]

Many revoliutsionerki were suspended from their courses or even banned from Petersburg or Moscow after participating in the student demonstrations that affected Russia particularly in the late 1890s and the early 1900s. This happened to Fotieva, Kudelli and Nevzorova. Avgusta Nevzorova became a student of a dentistry course in St. Petersburg in 1900. Within a few months of her arrival in the city she met with some social democrats and became engaged in clandestine work. In 1902 she was arrested, imprisoned for eight months and then deported from the capital to Kazan. It was in Kazan that she completed her training as a dental surgeon.

Like in the case of other Russian women, there were only a limited number of professions or job opportunities open to female revolutionaries. For the professional classes it was teaching and medicine, followed by office jobs and for those who could not attend a full course of a secondary school there were seamstress or other garment workshops. The women from working-class families usually had to follow in their parents' footsteps and join a factory where their mothers and fathers and also their siblings were working.

[23] S. Rubanov, ed., *Naslednitsa,Stranitsy zhizni N.K.Krupskoi,* 137-8

Table 7: ***Occupations of the 100 revoliutsionerki, 1889-1904***

Field	Number
Teachers	23
Doctors/dentists	7
Midwives/*feldshers*/pharmacists	11
Office workers/librarians	5
Seamstresses	2
Factory workers	7
Unskilled workers	1
Professional revolutionaries	16
Unknown	20
Total	106*

*As Table 5 shows in some cases women had more than one occupation.

The significance of teaching for women's professional development could already be seen through the example of Sunday schools and as such the fact that 23 revoliutsionerki had been engaged in this profession is not in the least surprising. In fact, the trend for teaching, at primary and secondary levels in particular, to be seen as a woman's occupation persisted into the Soviet period and remains to be true even for present day Russia. Another caring profession, medicine, also attracted many female revolutionaries. Although the number of doctors is only seven, taken in conjunction with the medical professionals at a lower level, such as midwives, *feldshers* (medical orderly, doctor's assistants), they make up the second highest number of entries.

At the beginning of the 1890s women were allowed to sit examinations for a *provisor* (pharmaceutical chemist) certificate. At that time the future Menshevik Eva Broido was only 15. She lived in a small town with her father, who had little interest in his daughter, so that Eva was left to take care of herself. This is how she described her teenage years and her reasons for turning to studies that could lead to professional qualifications:

> Such an atmosphere in the house, where I spent my early ... years, from the age of 11 to 14, developed in me not only a tremendous thirst for knowledge, due to haphazard if varied reading, but also an irresistible desire to break out of it, to stand on my own feet, to see the big wide world, so wonderful according to the books, and so terrible according my late brother's stories.[24]

To achieve that goal Broido, 15 at that time, prepared herself for the exam, which she needed to pass to be admitted to the university course. In this, she was helped by her second brother's friend and after a two-month university course she passed her examination. In order to earn some money to finance her course, she worked in a pharmacy 12-14 hours a day and studied at night. After three years at the university she became a *provisor.* Later, during her many years in Siberian exile, she continued to support herself and her family by practising this trade.

Some women had more than one occupation. The women workers Boldyreva and Karelina both trained as midwives and *feldshers* later in their life when they were mature and independent women. They were seeking to improve both the level of their education as well as their living standards and working conditions by acquiring better paid jobs. Nadezhda Stasova, Elena Stasova's aunt, helped Karelina to find a place in one of the Petersburg midwifery courses, in recognition of Karelina's contribution to the improvement of women workers' lot. Neither Karelina, nor Boldyreva, however, became practising medical professionals. In spite of getting the highest grades in her midwifery examination Anna Boldyreva was refused the certificate of qualification because of her *politicheskaia neblagonadezhnost'* (political unreliability). Vera Karelina was prevented from turning to midwifery by her active involvement in the revolutionary movement and by then already rapidly ailing health.

With the revolutionary movement on the increase and the emergence of political parties by close of the nineteenth century, an increasing number of revoliutsionerki were devoting their undivided attention and efforts to the revolutionary cause. The work in the movement was becoming a new occupation. Of course, there had been professional revolutionaries before. To a large extent such choice of a path in professional life was forced by the women's circumstances.

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[24] E. Broido, *V riadakh RSDRP,* p.12

Ekaterina Breshko-Breshkovskaia and Vera Figner spent many years behind prison bars before being released, and when they eventually came out they returned to the cause which deprived them of their liberty in the first place.

The doors of Vera Figner's cell in the Shlusselburg fortress opened for her only after 20 years of incarceration. However, unable to adjust to being a free person at last, and finding the persistent police surveillance unbearable, Vera resolved to start a new life abroad, where she turned to writing about the Russian revolutionary movement of the 1870-1880s , and in particular of her own experiences and those of her comrades in prison and exile.

In 1896, Breshko-Breshkovskaia, already 51 years of age, was allowed back to European Russia, though still barred from returning to the capital city and its provinces. Having spent the last four years travelling around Siberia and campaigning tirelessly for the revolutionary cause, she continued her crusade to liberate the people of Russia from their suffering at the hands of the tsarist regime. She was no longer young but just as passionate about the cause.

The new generation of the female revolutionaries were no less passionate or devoted. Some, like Stasova, Kollontai and Armand, who had family wealth behind them saw no need to divide their attention between the cause and the more mundane concerns of daily chores trying to earn a living. Most spent time in working for their organisations and trying to improve their knowledge of Marxist and other socialist theory, the main tool for devoted agitators and propagandists. Travelling from cities to towns and from towns to the countryside seeking out new recruits and avoiding arrests made the task of pursuing a career not simply difficult but also next to impossible. Most of the female revolutionaries began what was to become their career in the movement by combining the work they have been trained for or in applying the knowledge they studied with long hours of underground activities. Engaged in subversive and illegal operations those revoliutsionerki soon found it difficult to hold a salaried position for any length of time.

Occupations like teaching were not open to people with police records of political unreliability as Elizaveta Bogdanova found. In 1890, she graduated from the Moscow Teaching Courses. She went back to her home village in Penza guberniia and took up a position of a teacher in the village school. For her Populist propaganda activities among the peasants she was sacked without a right to teach again. After a long spell without work she eventually was taken on as a linen-keeper in a Penza

psychiatric colony. In the town she met with a group of social democrats and became converted to the movement. Bogdanova returned to agitation and propaganda and soon founded a circle among the colony orderlies and nurses and simultaneously taught them literacy. In 1901 she began attending feldsher courses in Saratov where she set up a circle devoted to the study of the revolutionary movement in Russia.

Mariia Ul'ianova was a graduate of the Gerie Courses in Moscow but hoped to continue her education abroad. The police confiscated her documents permitting foreign travel as a result of her revolutionary activities. Not wishing to be a financial burden to her family she set out to find a job which would take up the least of her time and effort and in addition would permit her to meet her comrades in relative safety. She started work as an accounts clerk for the Kazan railway authorities. With dozens of different people passing daily through the building it was a perfect cover for workers in the political underground who carried letters and parcels containing incriminating literature or documents to exchange them without arousing any suspicion. Nevertheless, the increasing load of party work and the return of her brother, Vladimir Lenin, from exile for whom she was a reliable and devoted conduit for keeping communications with other party members, took Ul'ianova back to Moscow and into the fold of professional revolutionaries.

In spite of pressures of a life in the revolutionary movement many of the 100 revoliutsionerki had married and also had children. Just like the female revolutionaries from the previous decades some were married to men with whom they shared political convictions and all the dangers, trials and tribulations of life in the underground movement. For them the marriages were a source of strength and support. The others unable to see a soul-mate in their spouses soon left their husbands, and at times children, behind and absorbed themselves totally in work for the organisation and the cause which they believed would bring happiness to the millions instead of a chosen few. Similar to the children of the narodniki, the children of the new generation of revoliutsionerki were born sometimes in prison or during political exile. In most cases, they had to endure hardship and deprivation, emotional as well as financial, caused by the life and goals chosen by their parents. The memoirs of Eva Broido's daughter Vera, *Daughter of Revolution, a Russian Girlhood Remembered* (1998), show that however much they admired their mother, Vera, her siblings greatly resented her frequent and prolonged absences.

Still, whether the revoliutsionerki came from the upper or lower social classes of Russian society, whether they belonged to the ranks of party officers or its foot soldiers did not affect the course of their marriages. If anything it is through this that we are able to see how 'ordinary' female revolutionaries' lives were.

Perhaps the most celebrated couple from the revolutionary history of Russia is that of Nadezhda Krupskaia and Vladimir Lenin, the famous leader of the Bolshevik party. Married in 1898, while in Siberian exile, the two revolutionaries stayed almost inseparably together. Many scholars devote countless pages analysing this remarkable marriage, never portraying it as a union of equals. Lenin's secretary, an efficient party worker and later an apparatchik, Krupskaia is depicted more through the life and work of her husband than as a revolutionary in her own right. Both the facts that her decision to get involved in the movement was made before she met Lenin, and that she published writings on women's issues and on education especially of young people, are generally neglected. Almost reminiscent of the way women workers' revolutionary endeavours are dismissed, Krupskaia's considerable contribution to the movement is minimised.

Besides them there were many more such marriages: Bolsheviks Konkordiia and Arkadii Samoilov, Elena Rozmirovich and Nikolai Krylenko, Mensheviks Ekaterina and Mikhail Aleksandrov (Os'minskii) and Eva and Mark Broido. The couple who decided to stay out of the mainstream political parties but made an invaluable contribution to the revolutionary movement as a whole and in particular to the workers' participation in it, were Vera and Aleksei Karelin. Another working-class couple example is Ekaterina and Semen Voronin who were active participants of the Northern Workers' Union at the turn of the century.

Of course, not all female revolutionaries had happy, if turbulent, married lives. Elena Stasova married Konstantin Krestnikov, a sympathiser of political causes but not a political being. Their marriage failed leaving Elena grieving over the loss of her beloved husband. Anna Boldyreva married her husband during a spell in exile. Several years along the road and with three children born to the couple, Boldyreva left her husband who was not prepared to accept or to follow his wife's revolutionary ideals.

To some extent, my research supports the view of Richard Stites in his *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*, that at least initially, the professional female revolutionaries were neither working class nor peasant, and that they started

with political theory and then made contacts with workers. In contrast, the revoliutsionerki who came from the working class began with the economics of their lives, and only a minority moved from protesting over particular grievances (mostly material, but including issues of personal dignity) to condemning the established order as the root cause of their exploitation. Even among the latter, only a few joined a political group and became full time revolutionaries. Working class women had to support themselves and their families. The Bolshevik Party in particular demanded a political apprenticeship which most working class women would have found difficult to fulfil, even considering just the restraints of time and education. Of those who did join a revolutionary organisation the fact that they had to continue in paid employment limited the scope of their activities. Stites acknowledges that there were exceptions to this general pattern but the impression is that they were few indeed.

However, this study shows that the development of revolutionary women was a good deal more complex. The women for the privileged classes came from a variety of backgrounds from the wealthy, such as Armand and Stasova, to the poor, such as Krupskaia. Their reasons for joining the movement ranged from the shock experienced in their first encounter with factory conditions, for example Kollontai, to an early interest in feminism, such as Armand. What they did in the movement also differed considerably. In contrast to most revoliutsionerki, Kollontai was interested in making a contribution to the struggle through her writing. From the end of her marriage (1897-98) and the beginning of her involvement in radical politics, Kollontai sought to combine her agitational activities with publishing on a variety of subjects and in a variety of forms, including theory, empirical research and fiction. In contrast, Krupskaia started as a propagandist a decade before Kollontai, who was three years younger than Krupskaia, entered the revolutionary movement. Krupskaia went on to become an able administrator who was acknowledged by contemporaries to be crucial to the survival of the organisation in the long years of political emigration. Yet while Kollontai is renowned as the leading Bolshevik feminist, Krupskaia's role is subsumed into her relationship to Lenin. Both these women spent considerable periods in emigration.

Kollontai appears to stand out among revolutionary women by virtue of her theoretical work and the fact that she did not fill the more mundane administrative functions. She is usually noted for her particular interest in the position of women workers, which is contrasted with other female revolutionaries, such as Bobrovskaia,

who considered such women too backward for her to make any special efforts to win them to the cause. However, a number of others listed in Table 5 were involved in doing precisely this, as has been shown. Such women could not be ignored for long, particularly after the 1905 revolution, as shall be seen in the next chapter.

Moreover, there seems to have been no serious fear among revolutionaries regarding the organisation of women-only groups until feminism became more focused on political rights in 1905. Eva Broido, who had translated August Bebel's *Women and Socialism* into Russian in the winter of 1899-1900, noted that after 1905 the idea of separate clubs for women was resisted by both female and male professional revolutionaries, since the fear was that such separatism would divide the working class. In 1917 Broido wrote a booklet *The Woman Worker*, which echoed the title of Krupskaia's first published work (1900). While the latter had been writing her propaganda pamphlet *The Woman Worker* in the winter of 1899, Lenin suggested that the programme of the recently formed RSDRP should include equal rights between women and men, which was agreed at the 1903 Congress. Though the party split at that congress, both factions agreed on this issue. However, the difficulties in preserving and building the revolutionary movement in general, and organising women workers in particular, continued. As will be seen in the next chapter, it was only at times of an upsurge in the labour movement, such as around the 1905 Revolution and on the eve of the First World War, that special attention was paid to women workers.

By the turn of the century the two political parties which were to play an instrumental part in the overthrow of the existing regime were formed, the *Rossiiskaia Sotsial-Demokraticheskaia Rabochaia Partiia* (Russian Social Democratic Labour Party) which by 1903 had two factions, Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, and the *Partiia Sotsial-Revoliutsionerov* (Socialist-Revolutionary Party). More women were being drawn to the revolutionary cause and its eventual success depended on them in no less a degree than on male participation. The revolutionary movement was gaining momentum, culminating in the dramatic events of 1905. These demonstrated that hundreds of intellectuals and as many workers, male and female, had firmly committed themselves to the movement; thousands more were sympathetic if not to the methods the revolutionaries employed then at least to their aims which promised to establish equality and justice in the country.

CHAPTER FOUR

WOMEN IN REVOLUTION, 1905-1917

While researching into this period I came across a biography of Mariia Alekseevna Chekhova (née Argamakova), 1866-1937, written by her daughter Ekaterina Chekhova in 1937. The biography is kept in Moscow's regional archives and relates in a simple but very moving way the story of Chekhova's life and work.

Mariia's mother died when she was six years of age and the girl was looked after by a succession of female relatives, first by her aunt, then her step-mother and finally by her grandmother. Chekhova, a graduate of the St. Petersburg Pedagogical Courses, became a dedicated educationalist devoting all her life to promoting educational and women's issues. In 1904 she set up the first and only pre-revolutionary club for Moscow workers' children. In 1905, she worked as a secretary to the newly established All-Russian Union for Women's Equality.

Besides Chekhova, among its founding members were Anna Miliukova and Ariadna Tyrkova, representatives of the liberal upper classes. The Union's Charter demanded universal suffrage, legal equality of the sexes (both for the urban and peasant population) and called for reforms in the educational system. The Union, which was feminist, did admit men to its membership. It published and distributed leaflets propagandising its aims and seeking support of new members. One of these leaflets, which came out at the beginning of 1906, addressed women workers and was included in Chekhova's biography. It reflected the general bitterness at the outcome of the revolution, and the particular grievance that the very limited concessions made by the tsar benefited men at the expense of the women who had struggled alongside them:

> We went together along the New Road,
> And lived together through the horrors of struggle.
> Why, then, did you get the laurels of glory
> But we are left to bear the Cross of Christ?[1]

[1] Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv Moskovskoi oblasti, Fond 2251, inventory3, case 17, p.34

There was no reference as to the origin or the author of this short verse but given the time of its appearance, its target audience and the subject matter, I saw it as a fine tribute to the women whose lives and revolutionary careers I will be discussing in this chapter.

Laurels of Glory and Cross of Christ

The year 1905 unfolded with the event which is frequently referred to as 'Bloody Sunday'. On January 9, thousands of workers in St. Petersburg marched in a peaceful protest to the Winter Palace, the residence of the tsar Nicholas II, to present him with a petition that contained their grievances. The marchers hoped to draw the tsar's attention to the plight of working class people. The demonstration was led by members of the Assembly of Factory Workers. This was the organisation led by Father Gapon, to which Vera Karelina had attracted around 1,000 women workers on a regular basis since 1904. Unprepared and frightened by such a mass action, the authorities' response was to order troops to open fire on the unarmed crowds, among whom were hundreds of children, teenagers and old people. By the end of the day scores of people were dead and many more were wounded. In the first instant, the events of that Sunday in January 1905 triggered a series of strikes and increased unrest in the country. Though it was in 1905 that the most momentous events of the revolution occurred, in a more general sense they became the catalyst for protests which carried on into 1907, unleashing long dormant forces.

My research into female revolutionaries, and in particular revolutionary women workers who were active in the social democratic movement in 1905, centred on the two capitals, St. Petersburg and Moscow, but particularly on Ivanovo-Voznesensk. The latter was not a random choice. At the turn of the century this provincial town (its population was about 80,000 people[2]) with surrounding villages was a centre of the country's textile industry, the so-called 'cotton realm', or as workers preferred to call it 'cotton katorga'. Similar to textile factories elsewhere in the country, women made up the majority of the workforce in the town's factories. In 1905, 26,770 people were employed in Ivanovo metal works and textile mills, of

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[2] V.Balukov, *Deputaty pervogo Soveta, biografii, dokumenty i vospominaniia*, 36

whom just over 11,000 (41 per cent) were women.[3] In fact, in some mills young women workers accounted for up to 70 per cent of their entire workforce.[4] By the eve of the revolution in February 1917, women constituted 62.3 per cent of all workers in Ivanovo-Voznesensk.[5]

There were precedents for the revolutionary actions of Ivanovo women workers. In 1893, a number of Social Democratic women organised both female students and workers. Olga Varentsova, originally from a merchant family, had graduated from a grammar school in Ivanovo-Voznesensk, and gone on to study in the Higher Women's courses in Vladimir and Moscow. Participating in radical student activities, she was first arrested in April 1887. When released from prison July 1888, she found herself unable to get employment as a teacher, and so gave private lessons rather than have to live off her parents. Returning to Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Varentsova set up a circle for women workers. The workers' circles which Varentseva had established were finally crushed by the police in 1896, but despite frequent arrests (17), spells in gaol (seven) and exile (four) she did not give up her revolutionary activity. She carried out agitation for the Northern Workers' Union and then for the RSDRP.

As shown in the third chapter, several members of Varentsova's women workers' circle went on to conduct their own propaganda and agitation in their workplaces, and to join the Social Democratic movement. The seamstress Elizaveta Volodina, for example, became a very energetic and determined propagandist and organiser. Like many other female activists, her flat was used as a 'safe house'. Volodina also headed a cell of radical workers in her factory, went on to become a leading member of the Northern Workers' Union, and then joined the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (set up in 1898), serving on its local Executive Committee. Often arrested, she was described in police documents as one of the stalwarts of the local political underground. Volodina admitted, when interrogated by the police, that she was a member of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk workers' union, and that she collected and donated money to assist people in administrative exile. Her comrade, Ekaterina Zimina, another seamstress, denied that she was a member of the union when questioned by the police, but admitted that she read illegal literature, which she

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[3] A. Shipulina, "Oni byli pervymi", *Voskhishcheniia dostoinye*
[4] M.Belov, *Rabochii klass i sovety*, 147
[5] V.Balukov, , *Zhenshchiny Ivanovo-Voznesenska v revoliutsionnom dvizhenii*,4-5

received from the female political exile, Anna Khriascheva, who also told Zimina about the workers' movement.[6]

What is interesting about Krhiascheva is that she came from a peasant background before going to work in a textile factory. From police accounts, she played an active role in drawing up her circle's programme of study, and was a popular figure with other workers.[7] Mariia Evdokimova, another member of a women workers' circle, was also active in the Northern Workers' Union. Her mother, E. Iovleva, never formally joined the Social Democratic Party, but she still allowed her flat to be used as a safe house and also distributed illegal literature. In 1903, Iovleva was arrested and exiled. Another worker from the women's circle, Masha Kapatsinskaia, was responsible for the safe-keeping and distribution of illegal literature, as well as for liaising between revolutionaries. A sales assistant in a bookshop where she also lived, Kapatsinskaia used her home and workplace to store materials and hide visiting radicals. Like Volodina, she was frequently detained by the police.

That such work was not limited to persuading female workers to permit their men to take part in the class struggle, and that women's contributions were not restricted to support roles was seen in 1897. That year, there was a general strike among the textile workers of Ivanovo-Voznesensk. Not only was the strike action sustained, lasting for over two weeks, and successful, forcing concessions from employers, but women workers such as A.G. Smirnova, D. Morozova, M. Odintsova, A. Poletaeva, A. Kisliakova and M. Golubeva, were among its instigators and organisers. Hence, the women workers of Ivanovo-Voznesensk did not simply take spontaneous action in the strike movement of the mid 1890s, and though the onset of economic depression brought it to an end, the underlying causes of their discontent remained. After just under a decade of depression, the women were once again prepared to take to the streets.

In the spring of 1905 a wave of localised industrial unrest culminated in a general strike of Ivanovo workers. During the course of it the very first Workers' Soviet in the country was established. The Soviet remained active from May 12, 1905 to June 27, 1905. 151 individuals were elected to represent striking factory workers, among whom there were at least 25 women (16.5 per cent of the total). Only one

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[6] *Rabochee dvizhenie v Rossii v XIX, tom iv 1895-1900, chast' ii 1898-1900*, pp.132-37
[7] ibid., 677

factory, the Kashintsev's Cotton Weaving Mill (number 12 in Table 8) elected more women than men to the Soviet, with seven female workers out of a total of eight deputies. On the one hand, judged against the overall number of factory women in Ivanovo, this figure shows a disproportionate representation of male workers in the Soviet. On the other hand, in such a patriarchal country where there was no history of democratically elected governments, even this number of women deputies should be viewed as an achievement worth special consideration.

Table 8: ***Distribution of workers deputies in Ivanovo-Voznesensk factories, summer 1905***

	TEXTILE FACTORIES	OVERALL NUMBER OF DEPUTIES	NUMBER OF WOMEN DEPUTIES
1	Bakulin's Cotton Spinning & Weaving Mill	5	1
2	Burylin's Cotton Spinning & Weaving Mill	12	3
3	Vitova's Printing Mill	3	-
4	Gandurin's Weaving and Printing Mill	3	-
5	Gandurins' Weaving and Printing Mill	10	2
6	Garelin & Sons' Weaving and Printing Mill	8	-
7	Garelin & Sons' Spinning, Weaving and Printing Mill	11	3
8	Griasnov's Printing Mill	6	-
9	Derbenev's Weaving and Printing Mill	10	3
10	Derbenev's factory	4	-
11	Zubkov's Weaving and Printing Mill	6	-
12	Kashintsev's Cotton Weaving Mill	8	7
13	'Kompaniia' Weaving Mill	18	2
14	Kokushkin & Marakushev's Weaving and Printing Mill	13	2
15	Kuvaev's Printing Mill	3	-
16	Novikov's Printing Mill & Dye-Works	2	-
17	Polushin's Weaving and Printing Mill	5	1
18	Fokins' Printing Mill	2	-
19	Shchapov's Weaving and Printing Mill	2	1
	TOTAL	131	25

The remaining 20 deputies on the Soviet came from iron and tool factories and, perhaps not surprisingly, were all men. As Table 8 indicates (and I plotted the data found in the most recent sources) 25 (16.5 per cent) of those deputies were women.

Comparatively full biographical information is available only on 91 deputies, i.e. just over half of them. I have been unable to find any clear explanation as to why there is no personal data on the other 60 deputies but assumptions may be made based on the available information. Most relevant books written on the subject date back to the 1920s, 1970s and early 1980s. The authors of the books from the 1920s and the early 1930s faced two considerable difficulties. The first one was highlighted by V. Nevskii in his book *Sovety i vooruzhennoe vosstanie v 1905 godu.* In it, he pointed to the lack of material on the 1905 Soviets, for instance on their composition, dates of their existence, activities, etc.[8] The second difficulty is related to the political struggle in the early period of the Soviet Union, with each party claiming more than its share of credit for the overthrow of the tsarist regime. The authors of books from the 1970s and 1980s have relied largely on memoirs that were written by the surviving deputies well after the 1905 revolution. At the time of their publishing any information which threw even a shadow of doubt on the leading role played by the Bolsheviks and gave favourable accounts of activities undertaken by other political parties, their members and sympathisers was deemed politically unacceptable and censored.

Only 70 deputies, i.e. 46.3 per cent, were known RSDRP (b) members[9]. This fact suggests that there was a high proportion of non-Bolshevik members on the first Workers' Soviet both among men and women deputies. In the first half of 1905 the Ivanovo RSDRP (b) comprised of 400 members, the majority of whom were men and only 16 (4 per cent) of whom were women.[10] Table 9 (see below) shows that in all 11 (44 per cent) women deputies belonged to the Bolshevik party and 10 had definitely joined it before 1905. The analysis of the numbers of Bolshevik men and women deputies emphasises the achievement of the latter, for just 15.6 per cent of male Bolsheviks, compared to 62.5 per cent of female Bolsheviks, from the local organisation were elected into the Soviet. As has been demonstrated in the previous chapter, in the years preceding the 1905 Revolution Ivanovo had strong links to the social democratic movement through its Northern Workers' Union and was in the forefront of the move to organise women workers into special women-only circles. The election of such a high proportion of female Bolsheviks to the Soviet meant this work was beginning to show results.

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[8] V.Nevskii, *Sovety i vooruzhennoe vosstanie v 1905 g.*, 6
[9] V.Bovykin, *Rabochii klass v pervoi rossiiskoi revoliutsii,* 128
[10] V.Balukov, *Zhenshchiny Ivanovo-Voznesenska v revoliutsii,* 15

Table 9: ***Women worker deputies of the first Workers Soviet, Ivanovo 1905***

Name **DOB-DOD**	**Party affiliation and year of joining**	**Links with other revolutionaries**
Balashova-Denisova ES (1878-1942)	RSDRP (b) since 1903	Husband - active revolutionary
Golubeva MI (1888-1970)	RSDRP (b) since 1904	Influenced by her brother and fellow women workers
Gruzdeva AK (n/d)	n/d	n/d
Kiriakina –Kolotilova KI (1884-1968)	RSDRP (b) since 1901	Influenced by her brother; husband also a revolutionary
Kokurina EI (n/d)	n/d	n/d
Kolosova AE (n/d)	n/d	n/d
Krupitchikova AM (1883-n/d)	n/d	n/d
Kuleva EA (n/d)	n/d	n/d
Kuveneva AE (n/d)	n/d	n/d
Kvasnikova EN (n/d)	n/d	n/d
Lebedeva-Razumova MN (1882-1944)	RSDRP (b) since 1904	Influenced by fellow women workers
Lepilova (Borisova) AI (1886-?)	RSDRP (b) since 1904	Influenced by her brother; her sister was also a member of a women's group
Magnitskaia TE (n/d)	n/d	n/d
Moskvicheva EA (n/d)	n/d	n/d
Naidenova AI (n/d)	n/d	n/d
Nagovitsyna-Ikrianistova MF (1887-1966)	RSDRP (b) since 1904;	Her 3 brothers – revolutionaries
Rabotina AV (n/d)	n/d	n/d
Razorenova EA (1880-1965)	n/d	Influenced by fellow women workers; husband also a revolutionary
Ryzhova AT (n/d)	n/d	n/d
Sarmentova MP (1887-1922)	RSDRP(b) since 1904	Influenced by fellow women workers
Sergeicheva-Chernikova DI (1858-1929)	RSDRP (b) since 1903	Husband also revolutionary
Skorokhodova NIa (n/d)	n/d	n/d
Smelova-Perlovich AI (1872-1939)	RSDRP (b) since 1904	n/d
Vol'nova A.I. (n/d)	n/d	n/d
Zimina MI (n/d)	n/d	n/d

Though in absolute terms the number of Ivanovo women deputies available for a prosopographical study is low, and some information is fragmented, in my view the

choice is justified on the grounds of the role they played in the 1905 Revolution as well as for the fact that they were in the forefront of the working class women's movement.

With the exception of one, Ryzhova, for whom accurate information does not exist, all women came from towns or villages of Vladimir or Kostroma guberniias. It would be safe to assume that Ryzhova too may have come from the area. Few men and women had a reason to travel far in search of employment from districts where jobs were available.

According to their own accounts, four women came from peasant families: Golubeva, Lebedeva, Razorenova and Smelova, while five: Balashova, Kiriakina, Krupitchikova, Lepilova and Nagovitsyna, came from working class families. In that they echo the experience of the Brusnev group workers: Boldyreva, Grigor'eva and Karelina, and indeed of the overwhelming majority of women workers in imperial Russia.

Apart from their political activities, these women deputies were no different to other women workers in Russia in other respects. According to their own accounts, Balashova, Golubeva, Krupitchikova, Lebedeva, Nagovitsyna and Razorenova began working in a factory at the ages of 14 to 16, while Lebedeva and Smelova started factory work at the age of 12. However, for many their working life began considerably earlier, as a nanny at the age of 10 or 11, as was the case for Balashova, Golubeva, Krupitchikova, Lebedeva and Sarmentova. Looking at the known dates of birth of the others as well as at statistical data on the average age of women joining the Russian labour market at the turn of the century it is reasonable to conclude that the same pattern may be applied to the majority of them. This assumption is further supported by the fact that the average age of these women when they were elected deputies was 24. To have become elected it was not sufficient to play an active role in local politics, but all deputies, men and women alike, had to be well known and respected among their fellow factory workers.

The choice of their profession in the textile industry may be described as natural. Not only was the textile industry the leading employer in the region, but also in the cases of many women workers they were simply following in the footsteps of their family members. For example, Lepilova worked at the factory with her siblings and women from Nagovitsyna's family were all employed at the same factory, as were the Balashovs. The educational level of these women was typical of women

workers at that time in Russia: Chernikova was semiliterate, Lebedeva taught herself basic literacy. Lepilova, Konovalova, Sergeicheva and Smelova could not write and other deputies had to sign Soviet documents on their behalf.

Researching into their marital status I was able to establish with absolute certainty that seven of them had been married: Balashova, Kiriakina, Lepilova, Nagovitsyna, Razorenova, Sergeicheva and Smelova. Balashova, Chernikova and Razorenova were already married by the time of the 1905 revolution and Razorenova already had two children by then. Other women married later, but nevertheless marriage before the age of 25 was a typical pattern for women in Russia at that time. Kiriakina and Lepilova married in 1907 and Nagovitsyna married in 1908. In the majority of cases their husbands were also their party comrades and in that they did not differ from many other female revolutionaries before or after them.

But it was not their marriage that brought Ivanovo women deputies into politics, rather it was politics that brought wives and husbands together. With the exception of Balashova and Chernikova, other women married their husbands after they had become political activists. Kiriakina married her husband Kolotilov in Moscow while on the run from a prison. Lepilova married Borisov, who was described as helping her in her revolutionary work (a refreshing change to 'she shared with her husband all the hardships of underground revolutionary work', which was a standard phrase in Soviet history books) and both were deported from Ivanovo as a result of their political activities in 1907. When describing their reasons for joining the revolutionary movement and the party, three women, Lepilova, Kiriakina and Nagovitsyna stated that their brothers influenced this decision. Lepilova's brother, Vladimir, was also a deputy of the Ivanovo Soviet in 1905, representing the same factory as his sister. In the case of Kiriakina, her entire family was involved in revolutionary work and the family home was used for the safekeeping of party literature. Nagovitsyna's family home was also used for safekeeping literature and printing machinery, as well as for holding clandestine meetings, while her three brothers were active RSDRP members. While marriage, especially to a fellow revolutionary, could be seen as a positive factor that provided both partners with the required support for, and understanding of, the complexity of an underground existence, it appears that some party managers viewed marriage as a handicap for a woman but not a man. For instance, in his memoirs of 1905 about life in the Moscow

RSDRP organisation, M.Bagaev wrote about his search for a suitable party member to work in an illegal printing house:

> ...F.Afanas'ev ... immediately sent for women party workers, Liza Balashova and Mariia Nagovitsyna, and suggested that I should make a choice, vouching for them both as reliable, self-possessed comrades suitable for important clandestine work. After talking to them I decided that Mariia Nagovitsyna was more suitable as she had no family constraints.[11]

Yet Liza's husband, Semen Balashov, was selected to perform various party tasks that took him away from his hometown and his wife. In spite of such scepticism from party managers, however, it is clear that women workers succeeded in developing a role independent of their husbands' party career. For instance, while retracing the lives of Elizaveta and Semen Balashov I was able to establish that on many occasions their family life had been disrupted because the two were living and performing party tasks in different cities.

For the majority of the Ivanovo revoliutsionerki their road into the party began from their involvement in women's circles. M. Ikrianistova, M. Sarmentova and M. Razumova made up the core of one such circle. The introduction to the circles was through their more 'mature' comrades, in the sense of their political development rather than their biological clock. This was the case for M. Razumova and M. Sarmentova who were drawn into the circle movement by A. Smelova and K. Kiriakina respectively. In her turn Razumova inducted new women into active political life. Recalling her first steps into revolutionary work Elena Razorenova stated: 'Under the influence of [M.N. Razumova and A.I.Smelova'] I began my participation in revolutionary activities, distributing leaflets and proclamations, agitating among women textile workers.'[12]

In the autumn of 1904, a special 'women's district' emerged in the town RSDRP organisation, a clear recognition of the growth in women's political activity and in their numbers. In spite of her comparative youth, Klavdiia Kiriakina, who was

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[11] V.Balukov, *Deputaty pervogo Soveta*, 202
[12] V.Balukov, *Deputaty pervogo Soveta*, 229

only 19 at the time, became the district leader. Among its members and Kiriakina's closest allies were E. Balashova, D. Chernikova, M.Golubeva, A. Krupitchikova, M. Lebedeva, the Lepilov sisters, M. Nagovitsyna, M. Sarmentova, D. Sergeicheva and A. Smelova. Describing clandestine meetings held by Ivanovo workers at the time, an undercover Okhrana (secret police) agent reported:

> I am simply amazed at the local workers' mood. One can see a sea of discontent in their conduct during out of town gatherings. Women are no less active than men the way they go about organising such meetings and expressing their protest.[13]

Only one woman, Sergeicheva, was over 40 and Smelova was over 30 when they formally joined the RSDRP. The average age of the others was 20. However, Sergeicheva's and Smelova's joining the party later in their life is explained by the fact that the RSDRP emerged as a party only in 1898. For instance, Sergeicheva wrote that she had joined a revolutionary circle in the late 1890s, so that she belonged to one of the first workers' circles in the country.

During the spring and summer of 1905 Ivanovo Bolshevichki performed a variety of tasks on behalf of the party and the Soviet. Balashova's role during the general strike was to co-ordinate links with suburban and out-of-town districts as well as the distribution of leaflets. Both tasks may be dismissed as routine. However, a police report singled her out as one of the most active distributors:

> The police department obtained information, which suggests that a Elizaveta Sergeevna, an Ivanovo-Voznesensk resident, is the main agent for transporting proclamations from the Moscow strike committee. While visiting cities of Riga, Orel, Revel', Libava, she is said to carry literature and weapons in simple market baskets covered on top with dry bread, apples and other goods....[14]

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[13] *ibid.*, 13
[14] ibid., 123

The response of Vladimir's gendarme officials confirmed the woman's identity as that of Elizaveta Balashova. Not many female revolutionaries felt comfortable or brave enough to address public gatherings, but deputies Kiriakina and Sarmentova were reported to have spoken at numerous meetings during the days of the Soviet. Golubeva's active role as a deputy and speaker was also highlighted in many contemporary police and gendarme reports.[15] The Soviet charged her with securing the well-being of the families of those on strike, collecting money for the striking workers' benefit fund from small traders. Like Kiriakina and Sarmentova, Nagovitsyna was an active agitator, she too collected money for the striking workers. Although the majority of the deputies on the Ivanovo Soviet were male, there is evidence that special consideration was given to supporting women during the strike, and one of the deputies, Anna Lepilova, was charged with work among women workers. She described her role in 1905 as supporting 'the fighting spirit among women the way I knew best'[16].

There are a few interesting observations that may be made as a result of my work with the documents and other primary sources on the Ivanovo Soviet. The first concerns the style of writing used in biographical and autobiographical accounts of the revoliutsionerki. Even when they wrote about themselves, they included few personal details concerning their relationships with their husbands and even less when when it came to their children.

Secondly, while researching into the role women workers played in it, I came across what I would describe as an example of male bias or an imbalance in the way male workers and their female counterparts are treated by the scholars of history of the revolutionary movement in Russia. As pointed out in chapter one, the woman deputy E.Balashova was just as active member of the local RSDRP group as her husband, Semen Balashov who was also an elected deputy of the 1905 Soviet, performing similar tasks to him. Both Balashovs transported clandestine literature and false travel documents for their party colleagues and had an identical party pseudonym, 'Wanderer' – or *Strannik* and *Strannitsa,* the two separate words reflecting difference in Russian noun genders. Nevertheless, in *Materialy dlia*

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[15] V.Balukov, *Deputaty pervogo Soveta,* 136S
[16] ibid., 201

biograficheskogo slovaria there is an entry only on her husband[17]. Furthermore, one of the more recent books on the Ivanovo Soviet highlights once again this gender bias, a characteristic of Soviet research into the revolutionary movement in Russia. I am referring to V.Balukov's book *Deputaty pervogo Soveta. Biografii, dokumenty, vospominaniia,* 1980. The book contains biographies of both revolutionaries. Yet one of the first facts you read about Elizaveta Balashova states that she was the wife and party colleague of S.Balashov, who in the stock phrase mentioned above 'shared with him all the hardship of clandestine revolutionary work and forced wandering'[18], while in his biography there is no reference to her at all. On the other hand, a lot of prominence and emphasis is given to his very close collaboration with I.Afanas'ev, his party mentor and friend. I would argue that there is enough documentary evidence pointing to Elizaveta's own significant input into the party activities.

Just as in the case of documents on the People's Will organisation, one of the difficulties I encountered was conflicting data. While scrutinising documents on the Ivanovo Soviet I found one, which mentioned women deputies, whose names I had not come across anywhere else. The document dated May 28, 1905 and signed by all 151 deputies was a joint declaration of all Ivanovo workers and was addressed to the Minister of Home Affairs, Bulygin. In it the workers aired their grievances and presented the government with their political and economic demands, including an eight-hour working day, freedom to strike, freedom of speech and invalidity pensions for workers. The document was reproduced in A.Pankratova's *Revoliutsiia 1905-1907 gg. v Rossii.*[19] Among the signatures there are 15 belonging to women. Eight of them were already familiar to me and they appear in various books written about the Ivanovo Soviet. They are E.Balashova, M. Golubeva, K.Kiriakina, A.Krupitchikova, M. Nagovitsyna, D.Sergeicheva, A.Smelova and A.Lepilova. During a closer analyses of the joint declaration I came to the conclusion that the name of a textile woman worker Matrena Soramantova must in fact be Matrena Sarmentova. The mistake must have occurred during deciphering of the original hand-written document. I then compared outstanding six names (i) from the declaration with the remaining 16 known to me (ii):

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[17] V.Nevskii, *Materialy dlia biograficheskogo slovaria,* 64
[18] V.Balukov, *Deputaty pervogo Soveta,* 121
[19] A.Pankratova, *Revoliutsiia 1905-1907 gg. v Rossii, dokumenty i materialy,* part 1, 427-428

(i) Ekaterina Elikhushina, Nastas'ia Miasnikova (Bubnova), Sharonova, E.Voronina, A.Shugina and A.Konovalova;

(ii) A.Gruzdeva, E.Kokurina, A.Kolosova, E.Kuleva, A.Kuveneva, E.Kvasnikova, M.Lebedeva-Razumova, T.Magnitskaia, E.Moskvicheva, A.Naidenova, A.Rabotina, E.Razorenova, E.Ryzhova, N.Skorokhodova, A.Vol'nova and M.Zimina.

From my further considerations I was able to exclude M.Lebedeva-Razumova and E.Razorenova of the second group, as sufficient data exists on them to rule out a probability that they signed this document under an assumed name. I then considered the possibility of further mistakes made during deciphering. I inferred that only one name from the first group could have been wrongly transcribed when written in poor longhand in Russian, which is Miasnikova that could be a corruption of Kvasnikova. However, the two surnames are preceded by very different initials, N and E. Later, while looking through the database of the All-Union Society of Old Bolsheviks I came across a Mariia Bubnova (her married name was Kvasnikova). Born in 1881 in Perm guberniia she worked as a teacher for three years before becoming a professional revolutionary. According to her own autobiographical account Bubnova came to Ivanovo only in 1906 where she worked in women's circles with Ikrianistova and Razumova. I came to the conclusion that Bubnova's name appeared erroneously, as a result of the difficulties in transcribing the handwriting of illiterate or semiliterate workers. Further research failed to bring any explanation as to the remaining five names on the document, the authenticity of which cannot be argued. One of the possible explanations is that the number 25 refers to the highest number of women deputies elected at any one time to the Ivanovo Soviet, and that a greater number of women may have served on the Soviet. David Lane found that the Soviet contained 28 women.[20] According to my research the number might have reached as high as 31.

I was also able to establish the names of five other revoliutsionerki who lived and worked in Ivanovo in 1905: Ol'ga Belova-Gavrilova, Anis'ia Kasatkina, Aleksandra Shorina, Mariia Kochetova and Vera Zakharova. In fact, in the 1930s Belova and Gavrilova, like their party comrades Nagovitsyna and Razorenova, joined

[20] D. Lane, *The Roots of Russian Communism: A Historical Study of Russian Social Democracy 1898-1907*, p.143.

the Society of Old Bolsheviks and left brief autobiographical accounts. Of the two Zakharova[21] was the oldest, born in 1867 into a peasant family. At the age of 16 she started work in a textile mill. Zakharova was one of the original members in Ivanovo workers' circles joining it in 1897 and she may well have belonged to Elizaveta Volodina's circle of women workers. She joined the RSDRP in the very first year of its existence, 1898, along with other circle members. The following year she was sacked from her factory for complaining about hard working conditions there. It was not the only time she lost her job as a result of her activities. Eight years later she found herself without a job after organising a strike at her factory. Zakharova's account was a representative sample from many Old Bolshevik Society members who came from a working class background. And even the tasks she performed for the party between 1900 and 1917 were typical for many rank and file party members: keeping a safe house, printing machinery and illegal literature and agitation among fellow women workers. Her absence from the active political scene in 1905 Zakharova explained by her illness, although she did keep weapons and literature in her house at the time. Belova's[22] account differs little from that of Zakharova's or other Ivanovo Bolsheviks, though we do learn two interesting facts about her life in 1905. Belova's father, a peasant originally, was employed by the local police (no explanation in what capacity) but after his daughter's arrest in 1905 he was dismissed. We also learned that on release Belova could not find a factory in the town that would take her on. Showing some entrepreneurial skill, she set up her own sewing workshop where she continued to carry out propaganda. In 1916 Belova took a one-year break in her party career which she explained as due to family reasons. No detailed explanation was offered, as to what the specific circumstances were, though it may have been a break to have children, for in 1925 she was a mother of two.

But women's role in the revolutionary movement was not always limited to distributing leaflets, collecting funds or simply agitating among women. On August 2, 1905 one factory timekeeper, a non-commissioned officer, wrote, ' ... Presently the aforesaid Smelova sends threats against me via other workers: to put me into a sack,

[21] TsKhIDNI, Fond 124, case 172
[22] ibid., case160

beat me up and throw me out... Drawing your attention to this fact I request assistance, because Smelova is constantly sowing discord and disorder.'[23]

The example and experience of the Ivanovo Soviet demonstrates that women workers were beginning to assume a more active political role for themselves.

The resistance of Ivanovo workers was finally broken at the end of June. But the unrest in the rest of the country was on the increase. Even the publication of the draft law on the establishment of the Consultative State Duma (the Russian equivalent of a state parliament) could not pacify the rebellious mood of the people. The strike movement took the form of nation-wide proportions at the beginning of October 1905. Women workers all across the country took a most active part in the 1905 strikes. Apart from demands for a shorter working day they demanded equal pay and better working conditions as well as medical services for expecting and new mothers and crèches. Their participation did not depend on membership or allegiance to any political party, though it is those who belonged or actively supported a party, especially the Bolshevik one, that came to some prominence. In fact, one of the most interesting features of the 1905 Soviets in general was the noticeable lack of a strong one-party political influence and/or dominance in them, in contrast to the female deputies.

As a result of the country-wide strikes new Soviets were set up in over 50 cities, towns and villages of the Russian Empire, including Kostroma (108 deputies)[24], Moscow (204 deputies)[25], Rostov-on-Don (some 400)[26] and St. Petersburg (562 deputies)[27]. In Kostroma 36 women textile workers, just over a third of all deputies, were elected to the Soviet.[28]

The Rostov Soviet was set up after the massacre of a meeting of striking workers, the overwhelming majority of whom were women, one day in November 1905. By the end of that day, the Soviet had been set up. V.Nevskii suggested that such a brutal origin left a special impress on the composition of the Rostov Soviet: in particular, women tobacco workers, members of strike committees, were elected members of the Soviet. According to him even the Soviets of textile districts, such as

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[23] ibid., 256
[24] V.Nevskii, *Sovety i vooruzhennoe vosstanie v 1905 g.*, 16
[25] ibid., 79
[26] ibid., 161
[27] ibid., 79
[28] *Zare navstrechu: Kostromskoi Sovet v 1905 godu,* 201-5

Ivanovo and Kostroma, did not have as many women deputies as the Rostov Soviet.[29] Among the women deputies were workers from small workshops and domestic servants. The Rostov Soviet had established an executive committee comprising of 13 members, one of whom was Elena Rudakova. In fact, it was not the first strike orchestrated by Rostov women workers. Previously, in March of 1905, 150 women milliners representing 12 out of 15 workshops in the town went on strike which resulted in a partial victory for the women.

The achievement of women worker deputies in Ivanovo, Kostroma and Rostov becomes more apparent when looked at in comparison with the Petersburg Soviet. This soviet was the initiative of the Mensheviks who were the main driving force behind it in the initial stage. It stayed in existence for 52 days in the months of October, November and December. By mid November there were 562 deputies in the Soviet representing some 250,000 workers from 147 factories, 34 workshops and 16 trade unions of the Russian capital city. 351 deputies came from the metal industry, 57 were from the textile industry and 54 deputies represented the interests of small workshop workers and trade union members.[30]

According to P.Kudelli, only seven women workers became deputies of the Petersburg Soviet[31]: A. Egorova-Boldyreva, A. Barkova, V. Bagrova, M. Ermolina, V. Karelina, T. Razuvaeva and M. Zvonareva; although contemporary sources put this figure at six. The most likely explanation lies in the fact that Vera Karelina remained active in the Soviet only in the first couple of weeks. She was elected on to the Soviet under the assumed name of Afanas'eva as at the time of elections she was not working. She and her comrade from the days of the Brusnev group, T.Razuvaeva, were leading members of the Gapon organisation, a fact that raised suspicions against them among the Bolshevik members, one of whom was another former Brusnev member, A. Boldyreva.

By many accounts Boldyreva was one of the most frequent and outspoken speakers at the meetings organised by the Soviet. She was unique not only because she was a woman but also because the majority of speakers were from the intelligentsia with only occasional speeches made by workers. Boldyreva was also

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[29] V.Nevskii, *Sovety i vooruzhennoe vosstanie v 1905 g.*, 68
[30] *ibid.*, 695
[31] P. Kudelli, *Rabotnitsa v 1905 g. v S.Peterburge,* 11 and Krivosheina, *Peterburgskii Sovet rabochikh deputatov v 1905 g.*, 695

elected on to the Executive Committee (which initially had 31 members and was later expanded to 50 to allow for representation of the wider interests of all workers) where she fiercely criticised the overwhelmingly male workers from the Putilov factory for refusing to support a general strike for an 8-hour working day:

> You have inured your wives to a comfortable life and therefore you are scared to lose your wage. But we are not afraid of that. We are ready to die to secure an 8-hour working day. We will fight until the very end. Victory or death! Long live the 8-hour working day!

Trotsky described this performance as 'a voice of hope, despair and passion... like an irresistible reproach and appeal.'[32] Karelina was also singled out for her heroic calls for a determined struggle.

In 1905 the combined workforce of St Petersburg was over 250,000 people with about 154,000 workers employed in large factories. Over 38,000 were women (24.3 per cent). At the same time, the average figure for the whole of Russia was 27.5 per cent, thus the concentration of women workers in the capital was lower than elsewhere in the country. Overwhelmingly the majority of them worked in the manufacture of clothes and footwear, textile and tobacco. According to the 1897 census only 35.2 per cent women workers (and 42.1 per cent male workers) in St. Petersburg were married while the same figure for the rest of Russia was 41.3 per cent (and 49.5 per cent for men). Figures on the educational level of workers showed that 40.8 per cent of women in St Petersburg (77.6 per cent men) had some level of education while for the entire country the figures were 34.9 per cent (to men's 59.9 per cent).[33]

The events of 1905 culminated in the December uprising in Moscow. Krasnaia Presnia, a working class district of Moscow, became the focal point of the 1905 revolutionary events in this second largest Russian city. Among the most active participants were workers of the 'Trekhgornaia Manufactura' factory. Many years later remembering those turbulent days, the woman worker E.Saltykova described how women took part in bringing down telegraph poles to use them in constructing

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[32] *ibid.*, 511
[33] S.Semanov, *Peterburgskie rabochie nakanune pervoi russkoi revoliutsii*, 31

barricades and how they enmeshed the entire surrounding area in wires. She performed the duties of a nurse tending to the wounded rebels while her husband was among the armed workers. They had to leave their two little children in the care of a young girl, not knowing whether they would ever see them again. The Saltykovs returned to their home in factory barracks two weeks later. During police reprisals her husband was arrested and shot, while her life was spared only because at the time of the arrest she was holding their baby. E.Saltykova was sacked from the factory and she had to rely on donations from other factory workers to bury her husband. Eventually she had to go to some friends in a village to support her two little children.

Many more women workers were involved in the 1905 Revolution. For some it was a continuation of their previous political activities, like in the case of the Ivanovo female deputies or the Petersburg woman worker Iraida Karaseva. Born in 1891, she witnessed the arrests of her father and brother, both of whom were revolutionaries, prior to the events of 1905. She described what happened that year as giving her 'stimulus and more revolutionary tempering'.[34] During the December uprising in Moscow in 1905 Karaseva was an active participant in the street demonstrations. In December that year her father became one of the victims of a punitive expedition, in a similar way to that of Saltykova's husband. Two months later Karaseva joined the RSDRP and became a party organiser at her factory. The years between 1909 and 1917 were spent in prisons and exile. When Karaseva was released after the February revolution she immediately returned to active party work in Moscow.

In contrast to Karaseva's story, Praskov'ia Dmitrieva's revolutionary awakening was almost accidental. Born in 1880 in St. Petersburg, she was only a baby when her mother died. Her plumber father sent her to a distant relative, unable or unwilling to bring the child up himself. At the age of nine, having studied for two years in a parish school, she became an apprentice in a tailor's workshop where she stayed for the next seven years. By then Dmitrieva was sixteen and the year was 1905:

> One day in 1905 in Leningrad [sic] I had occasion to go out where I joined a passing demonstration. By the Vosstanie Bridge some students were organising groups to help the wounded. For the next three days I

[34] ibid., case 823

> stayed out without going back home, going from street to street picking up the wounded. As a result I ended up with pneumonia, was found in a street and sent to the Obukhovo hospital. There was a separate wing for those found in the streets during the uprising where for the first time I met revolutionary workers. When I was finally released from the hospital I had to change my place of work. [35]

Dmitrieva joined an underground workers' circle where she stayed until 1908. She was a runner between the circle and the workers from the Pal' factory and the nearby army regiment. During the next three years she took part in mass meetings and workers' gatherings and distributed literature. In 1908 Praskov'ia joined the RSDRP. Shortly after she was arrested and exiled. On her return in 1910 to Petersburg she was unable to find a regular job. The years until 1917 were spent in commuting between Moscow and Petersburg, doing odd factory jobs and performing party tasks. In the February Revolution Dmitrieva was among the hundreds of women in the street and in October she joined her party comrades in following orders of their leaders.

Not only factory workers became involved in the revolutionary events. Among Rostov female deputies were women domestic workers, laundresses and other service sector workers, precisely those women generally considered impossible to organise. Their participation was proof that not only factory women workers were able to show initiative and were capable of organising themselves without necessarily having to rely on directives from the largely intellectual party leadership.

But of course, during those days it was not only women of the working class who were active participants, even if in some cases a woman's participation appeared to be almost accidental. Women of the intelligentsia, whether they were revolutionaries, feminists or philanthropists, also became involved in the conflict between the democratic forces and the conservative government. Members of the All-Russian Union for Women's Equality, which has been mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, took part in setting up and running canteens for the striking workers. Basically an urban organisation, it campaigned to recruit more members and set up branches in other towns. One such attempt in Voronezh failed after only 30 women

[35] VOSB, Fond 124, case 598

female office workers came to the first meeting. At the meeting E. Nagurskaia, a Bolshevik, severely criticised the Union's aims and branded them as incompatible with the interests of women workers.[36]

Another organisation dealing primarily with women's issues was the Women's Progressive Party, whose chairperson was the feminist physician Mariia Pokrovskaia. Unlike the Union it was a women-only organisation with a close interest in the position of working class women. This party too was campaigning for social reform in the country that would lead to equal pay for men and women and more protective legislation.

The last large women's organisation that worked actively on behalf of women's issues had already been in existence for the previous ten years. In 1905 its leader was Anna Shabanova. Unwilling to be associated with other political groups it used lobbying as its main weapon. All three of them, however, failed to secure electoral rights for women, when the first Russian Duma assembled in 1906. The women's response came not only from towns but also from the countryside. A group of peasant women from Voronezh guberniia sent a letter to the Duma deputies protesting their exclusion from the new assembly:

> We have learned from the newspapers that the Voronezh deputy Kruglikov stated in the Duma that a peasant recognised only one type of work for a woman - the one in the family. Kruglikov insists that peasant women themselves do not wish to have any rights. There is not a single elected woman to the Duma who could speak for all womenfolk, so how does he know? He is wrong in saying that a peasant woman does not wish to have any rights; did he ask us? We, the women from Voronezh uyezd of Voronezh guberniia, understand only too well that rights and land will not interfere with our work in the family and if some land could be allocated to each woman then many women's tears and reproaches aimed at them will be eliminated! A woman will no longer be a burden to a family... we want rights not simply for our own sake: those rights will allow us to stand up for our

[36] T.Sevast'ianova, *Revoliutsionerki Voronezha,* 10

husbands and children... We grieve for the lack of elected women in the Duma.[37]

The April elections to the Duma were boycotted by the two revolutionary parties, the Socialist Revolutionaries (PSR) and the Social Democrats (RSDRP). Established in 1901 the PSR is seen as the heir to the People's Will of the 1880s and is best known through the actions of its militant wing, the Combat Organisation that had unleashed a terror campaign on the country which lasted for the next ten years. Indeed, a whole number of former Narodniki joined it. One of the PSR's founding members and the force behind its theoretical teachings was Ekaterina Breshko-Breshkovskaia.

A. Iakimova-Dikovskaia was a PSR member between 1905 and 1907. Among Breshkovskaia's other former comrades-in-arms who decided to join the PSR was Praskov'ia Voloshenko (née Ivanovskaia) who turned to the SR movement in the early 1900s. After serving a twenty-year sentence in a penal colony Voloshenko was instrumental in setting up an SR printing house in Chita. She absconded from the colony in 1903 and on arrival in Petersburg joined the SR Combat Organisation. There, Voloshenko took part in organising the assassinations of the Minister of the Interior, Pleve (1904) and of the Governor General of Petersburg, Trepov. She was re-arrested in March of 1905 but released by a royal decree of 17th October. She continued to play an active role in the SR party though between 1906 and 1913 she was living abroad.

Some scholars believe that by 1905 half of the PSR membership was working class.[38] Unlike its predecessor, the SR movement appealed more to urban workers. In 1905 the Moscow Prokhorovskaia paper mill was described as an 'SR citadel' during the highest point in the revolution because its workers had close links with the countryside. In his memoirs one of the SR leaders, Chernov, referred to the Prokhorovskaia paper mill as a 'centre of SR agitation... that chose only SR members to its Soviet of Workers' deputies'.[39] Unfortunately, with the PSR party being the loser in 1917 any factual material on its members, and specifically the rank and file members with working-class and peasant backgrounds, is virtually non-existent. No

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[37] ibid., 8

[38] C.Rice, *Russian Workers and the Socialist Revolutionary Party through the Revolution of 1905-07*, 195

[39] *Partiia Sotsialistov-revoliutsionerov, Dokumenty i materialy, 1900-1922, vol. 1,* 193 and 658

the senior leadership focuses more on the SR male leaders than its female ones, with only a few notable exceptions, like Breshko-Breshkovskaia and Mariia Spiridonova.

Such reference books as *Uchastniki russkogo revoliutsionnogo dvizheniia epokhi bor'by s tsarismom* (a biographical dictionary of Russian revolutionaries, former exiles and penal colony prisoners) provide readers with only short sketches for each individual. (See Appendix Two) Among those included are several dozen of female SRs: Vera Anan'eva, a Tambov peasant born in 1885 and exiled in 1905 for her membership of the SR party; Nina Babakshvili, a daughter of Tiflis unskilled worker, was born in 1889 and arrested in 1909 after six years in the PSR; Ekaterina Babakina, a peasant from Samara guberniia, born in 1884, she was arrested after only one year in the party. All three women were sentenced to lengthy imprisonment and hard labour. We learn nothing about the indiviual's deeds, the reasons behind their harsh punishment or the reasons that put them on the road of terror. We have to rely on the information about those male, and occasionally female, revolutionaries, who did make it into the history books and were rewarded with the laurels of glory.

Between the Two Revolutions

The years that followed 1905 saw a gradual abatement of revolutionary activities in the country and the increasing intensity in the reactionary policies of the tsarist government. Many of the participants in the 1905 revolutionary upheaval and strike movement were either in prison, Siberian exile, underground or in the case of many leading party members in political emigration abroad. The terrorist acts carried out mainly by the members or supporters of the PSR persisted well into 1907. Anna Geifman in her study of revolutionary terrorism in Russia estimates that between 1905 and 1907 there were more than 9,000 victims and casualties of terrorist atrocities in the country.[40] These figures do not include the economic damage caused by expropriations or robberies. The most radical element of the PSR was its Combat Organisation (CO), which operated between 1901 and 1911. Appendix One contains a table with biographical information on the female members of the group. During that period there were 72 male and 19 female (20.8% of the total membership) members in

[40] A.Geifman, *Thou Shalt Kill. Revolutionary Terrorism in Russia, 1894-1917,* 21.

the CO.[41] As has been pointed out above primary source information is much less readily available for female Socialist Revolutionaries. Only very few left written memoirs about their past. Moreover, some scholars suggest that even those should be treated with great caution, not unlike the memoirs of some social democratic revolutionaries.

Mariia Spiridonova became a legendary figure in SR folklore. She was born in 1884 into an upper middle-class family in Tambov. At school she stood out not only because of her academic abilities but also because of her critical outspokenness and strong-willed nature. Like for many other revolutionaries Mariia's introduction to radical causes and eventual terrorist actions began from a study circle. Similar to other smaller places of the Russian Empire, representatives of Social Democrats and Socialist Revolutionaries worked together in agitating among workers and students. Spiridonova became more attracted to the latter. When a decision was taken in 1906 to revenge the high number of atrocities committed by Cossacks under General Luzhenovskii who led them in stamping out peasant revolts, the group did not have to appoint a member who could carry out the assassination: Spiridonova volunteered to do it. Mariia made no attempt to escape and was severely beaten by the General's guards. During the trial Spiridonova explained her action in a defiant way:

> Yes. I killed Luzhenovskii and I want to explain why. I am a member of the Socialist Revolutionary Party and my action is explained by the party's ideals. …
>
> I shall not speak of the attempts to 'calm down' peasants with reference to …[many] guberniias …; I shall give you just one example of an uezd and what one blood-thirsty 'worker', Luzhenovskii, did in it. I shall remind you of several villages, which he had visited. In the village of Pavlodar ten people were killed.
>
> They were tortured to death. They were tortured for four days. … in the same village 40 people were wounded. In the village of Berezovka Karp Klemanov, a peasant went crazy after being tortured; in the village of Peski, two went mad…

[41] R.Gorodnitskii, *Boevaia organizatsiia partii sotsialistov-revoliutsionerov v 1901-1911 gg.*, 235

> As commander he covered himself with glory. The trophies he laid at the feet of the bureaucracy were murdered peasants, ruined farms, raped women, and beaten children. ...
>
> The Tambov committee of the PSR, like the rest of the party, considers defence of the working masses, defence of their honour, and happiness, to be its main task; at present the party wants to achieve such political and economic conditions that will allow people to move freely towards socialism, ... when words like brotherhood, equality and liberty of the people will become a reality and not simply a dream. It was for the sake of human dignity, for the sake of the individual, for the sake of truth and justice that the Tambov committee and I sentenced Luzhenovskii to death. [42]

No doubt this speech of Spiridonova, like the speech of Perovskaia some 25 years earlier, did not fail to move individuals to similar acts without consideration of the terrible reprisals of the authorities. Spiridonova's death sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment.

But not everybody was in favour of terrorist acts. Workers were increasingly looking for ways other than armed struggle to try to bring about changes in their working conditions. One of such methods was through the trade union movement. Early attempts to regulate industrial relations had been made towards the end of the 1890s when the head of the Moscow secret police, Sergei Zubatov, set up organisations, which involved semi- skilled and unskilled workers. Women were represented mainly by workers from factories of the tobacco and confectionery industries. Long considered difficult to organise. These unions were shut down in 1902, once the police lost control to the members.

A trade union movement led by workers, however, emerged during the revolutionary days of 1905, first starting in big cities, like St. Petersburg and Moscow, and then gradually moving to other industrial centres in the country. One of the first unions to be set up was that of printing industry workers in St. Petersburg, in April 1905. The same month workers in the pharmaceutical establishments founded their own professional organisation. During the year such unions were set up in all major

[42] T.Kravchenko, *Vozliublennaia terrora,* 221-224

industries in St. Petersburg, including metal and textile. One of the main demands was the right to an eight-hour working day, although the workers from the tailors' union also included demands for equal pay. Women were in the minority in such organisations but a few featured prominently. One of the Petersburg women deputies in 1905 was Mariia Zvonareva, born in 1860, who had started her working life as a private tutor. Her father was a check-weighman working for the Nikolaev railway line in Petersburg. Mariia joined him there as an office clerk in the administration department of the company. In the autumn of 1905 she was actively recruiting new members to the trade union of the railway workers who then elected her to represent their interests in the Soviet. After a few months in prison in 1906 Zvonareva became a member of the governing board and a secretary of the Petersburg branch of the Society of Mutual Help of the Railway Workers.

Another Petersburg woman deputy, Valentina Bagrova, who had moved to the capital from Odessa, came into the Soviet from the shop assistants' union. She stood out among her fellow shop assistants, both male and female, with her excellent voice and an ability to lead union members. She was jokingly known among union members as Jeanne D'Ark.[43]

Other revoliutsionerki, the Bolshevichki Aleksandra Artiukina, Vera Slutskaia, Praskov'ia Kudelli, Tat'iana Liudvinskai and Konkordiia Nikolaeva also took part in in the trade union movement. For three years Aleksandra Artiukina worked in the Petersburg Trade Union Governing Board. Vera Slutskaia was active in setting up a party group within the textile trade union while Praskov'ia Kudelli actively campaigned for trade union issues on factory floor. Tat'iana Liudvinskai worked in the metal workers' trade union and Konkordiia Nikolaeva was a member of the governing board of the printers' trade union.[44]

As noted in chapter one, in 1906 Ivanovo's branch of the metal workers' trade union was set up in, and co-ordinated from, A. Smelova's flat, while in 1907, another Bolshevik woman worker, T. Lebedeva, became one of the founders of workers' co-operatives in her home town and was elected to the union of textile workers there.

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[43] P. Kudelli, *Rabotnitsa v 1905 godu,* 75-6, 85-6
[44] *Istoriia rabochego klassa Leningrada, 2nd ed.,* 125, 137-40

Not all attempts at setting up trade union organisations were successful. In 1906, efforts by laundresses in St. Petersburg to found their own union failed in spite of a spirited appeal from the members to all laundry workers in the capital:

> Comrade laundresses, all men and women are uniting in the trade union movement to defend their interests. The conditions of our work are very harsh. We toil between 15 and 18 hours a day in damp, cold, and very hot conditions and in the process lose our health prematurely. Our masters oppress and exploit us. We have endured enough. It is time for us to unite and join the struggle. That is why we, the undersigned, call on all our fellow workers to form a union of laundresses in order to strengthen our efforts for higher wages, a reduction in the working day, improvements in food and accommodation, and for respectful treatment.[45]

In contrast to the laundresses in Petersburg, Moscow's servants succeeded in setting up their union in November 1905 counting up to 300 members by the end of the first week. [46]

But the issue of women's participation in the labour market and the trade union movement did not have unanimous support among male workers, as the newspaper *Rabochee delo* highlighted in its article entitled 'The woman worker and the Trade Unions' in 1909. As noted in the first chapter, this article was written in response to the call from some tailors at a Moscow textile factory for their union to oppose women's factory labour. It explained the reasons behind factory owners' readiness to employ increasingly higher numbers of women not only because the latter were prepared to accept a lower wage but also because they were more submissive workers who would be used to break a strike. In terms similar to the pamphlet on women workers written for study in the workers' circles of the early 1890s (discussed in chapter three), this article described the shocking conditions of female labour, and the barely subsistence wages it could command. All this was pushing women towards prostitution and was turning her into the 'helpless toy of a

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[45] *Zhenskii Kalendar', 1906,* 391-2
[46] L.Lenskaia, 'O Prisluge', *Doklad chitannyi vo vtorom zhenskom klube v Moskve v fev. 1908 goda,* 20

foreman's lust'. Like the 1890s' pamphlet, this 1909 article explained that in order to strengthen the trade union organisations they needed to attract women into their ranks so that trade unions should rouse them for the class struggle.[47]

This divisive attitude of male workers towards women was a persistent concern to revolutionaries. All the efforts to organise women, however spasmodic, were not simply because they were seen as a drag on the labour movement. It was also recognised by revolutionaries that women not only had the right to work and to independence, but that they faced hostility from men, which could only weaken working class solidarity. Articles published in *Metallist'*, a newspaper aimed at metal workers, also expressed these concerns. Given the high numbers of women in the textile industry, the concern of the Moscow tailors for their jobs is understandable. The fears of workers in a sector as dominated by men as the metal industry would seem exaggerated, to say the least. Yet even before the war, the numbers of women entering this male sphere were increasing at a faster rate than those of men. From the beginning of the century, the numbers of women, though still small in comparison to men, had risen by a third, whereas there was only an eight per cent rise in the number of male workers.[48] An article published in *Metallist* in 1913 tried to convince male metal workers that they should accept women as partners in the class struggle:

> At the new Aivaz factory, women have begun to do metal work. This has produced a stunning impression on workers' circles. Slight irony has gradually passed into fear: the grey [unskilled] metal workers have begun to curse the babas [old crones] who get in everywhere and take work away from the men. To the conscious [male] worker has occurred the unhappy possibility of the lowering of the already too low rates [of pay], with the procession of the new 'barbarians' to the vices. Imagination has sketched the unlimited prospects of an expansion of female labour. The factory has already begun to seem alien, like an odious 'women's city' ...
>
> Capital always calls new strata of workers to the factory because it is advantageous to it. The same was observed at factories when the unskilled [male] worker ousted the trained [male] worker from almost all positions. The

[47] *Rabochee Delo,* 1909, issue 7, p.7-8
[48] *Metallist,* 10 Aug. 1913

> arrival of women at the vices was consequently inevitable. If not today, then tomorrow; if not in 1913, then in 1914. Machine tools are modernised, the division of labour proceeds all the more deeply and broadly; work is increasingly simplified; and consequently with every passing day capitalism's appetite grows for cheap, untrained labour, among whom are women. [49]

There was some success in at least denting the attitudes of suspicion and condescension of the male workers, so proud of their acquired skills, towards the unskilled and especially female labour. In 1913, two women were elected to the governing body of the metal workers' union. [50]

Recognising the increasing incidence of even basic levels of literacy among women workers, Social Democrats began to target publications at them. In 1914, on the eve of the First World War, two new newspapers were launched which were devoted to attracting more women workers to the social democratic movement and to raising their awareness of a wide range of social and political issues: *Golos Rabotnitsy (Voice of the Woman Worker),* a Menshevik publication, came out only twice but the Bolshevik journal *Rabotnitsa (Woman Worker)* saw seven of its issues published before it was closed down by the authorities. My search for copies of the Menshevik journal proved fruitless, but the story and copies of the very early issues of *Rabotnitsa* are widely available to those interested in the subject. Leading female Bolsheviks, like Nadezhda Krupskaia, Liudmila Stal', Inessa Armand and Lilina Zinov'eva were on its editorial staff working abroad, while Anna Elizarova, elder sister of Vladimir Lenin, and Elena Rozmirovich, Evgeniia Bosh's half-sister, were co-ordinating the publication from St. Petersburg. There was one more Bolshevichka, also an intellectual, involved in the work of this journal and who in the words on Clements' was 'the brain' behind the publication, Konkordiia Samoilova.[51] The idea of a separate journal for women was not supported by all in the Bolshevik party though Lenin gave his approval to these attempts. At times there were tensions between the émigrés and those who worked from Russia, but the first issue of the journal did come out in time for International Woman's Day in February 1914.

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[49] A. Zorin, *Metallist'*, 14 Dec. 1913, no.13, pp.2-3
[50] L.H. Haimson & C. Tilly (eds.), *Strikes, wars and revolutions in an international perspective,* p.397.
[51] B.Clements, *Bolshevik Women,* 103

Two women workers were co-opted onto the editorial staff of *Rabotnitsa:* Aleksandra Artiukhina and Klavdiia Nikolaeva. They were born within four years of each other, in 1889 and 1893 respectively. Klavdiia was a daughter of a Petersburg worker, who deserted his family, and a laundress. Her childhood was no different to the childhood of many girls from working-class families. At the age of eight she was already earning money as a baby-sitter. Although she managed to attend school for a while, in her youth, Nikolaeva was largely self-taught. Later, after training as a bookbinder, she began work in a printing company. This was quite an achievement for a young woman of her background to enter a relatively well-paid and male-dominated industry. By the age of 15 she was already an active member of the printers' trade union and in 1909 she joined the RSDRP. Aleksandra Artiukhina's family was also headed by her mother. Like Nikolaeva she too joined a trade union, for textile workers, into which she was inducted by her mother. In 1910 Artiukhina became a Bolshevik.

The mood in the country began to change with the decision to go to war in 1914. With many male workers being conscripted to the army, the weight of caring for the family, both financially and emotionally fell onto women's shoulders. The burdens of war had a negative material impact on the poorly prepared Russian economy and as a result the situation of the Russian population, men and women alike, both in urban areas and in the countryside was rapidly worsening. The position of soldiers' wives was particularly grave. An anti-war movement, at least among a sizeable proportion of the population, soon developed.

In the period between 1907 and 1917, revolutionary work was divided between the theoreticians and party leaders who tended to live abroad and the agitators and rank and file members who stayed behind. Some were forced to limit their work in the places of their exile, which was not always easy to carry on. Others, mainly workers, concentrated their efforts on trying to reach the uninitiated using more legal methods, such as trade union work, though they also continued their illegal propaganda and agitation efforts. For example, Anna Boldyreva was exiled in 1910 to Eastern Siberia. For the first five years she worked in a farm commune and later as a cook in a hospital and doing other odd jobs. In 1915 she was allowed to move to the town of Chita, where she returned to her propaganda ways, concentrating her efforts on the peasant population. Lidiia Kostenina, who had been an active revolutionary during the first decade of the new century, was working as a doctor in a zemstvo

hospital where she was unable to carry out any revolutionary work between 1910, after her arrest, and the revolution in 1917. Liia Shumiatskaia became involved in the revolutionary movement during the 1905 Revolution. Between 1906 and 1911 she and her revolutionary husband moved from one town to another setting up and managing underground printing houses. In 1911 trying to avoid arrest the couple emigrated to Latin America where they stayed until 1913 earning their living as factory workers. They returned home illegally in the summer of 1913. Her husband was soon arrested, and later sent to the front, while Liia was left with a young child. She returned to her revolutionary work only in 1917.

Some revolutionerki had opposed the war actively. In 1915 in Ivanovo, the former Soviet deputies Krupitchikova and Razorenova were active in the anti-war movement of the region. During one of the anti-war demonstrations, which they helped to organise, four women were shot dead, including the worker Matrena Lushnikova, another organiser of the protest. In 1916, the Union of Soldiers' Wives was set up. Among its active members were M.Shustova, M.Novikova, A.Melekhina, A.Gladysheva, N.Zhokhova, E.Sharova, E.Zakatova, L.D'iakova, O.Krutova and T.Zhitkova.[52]

Indeed, the level of assertiveness, if not of revolutionary fervour, was also noticeably on the increase among women peasants. Starting from the end of 1915 a wave of the so-called '*babii bunt'* (women's riots) swept through the countryside and continued into the summer of 1917. The women were angered by the delays in receiving their soldiers' wives' benefits, by increasing prices of basic necessities.

The eve of the revolution witnessed a rise in the numbers of women, especially young women, joining revolutionary activities. For instance, Dusia Alekseeva, a daughter of a street cleaner and a stocking-maker, who from the age of 11 worked as a dressmaker's apprentice. In 1905, at the age of 16 she was considered to be qualified. She went to Voronezh and joined the tailors' and seamstresses' trade union 'Needle'. Between 1905 and 1916 Alekseeva worked in a small workshop and combined it with a work in the trade union. It was only in 1916 that she decided to join the RSDRP[53].

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[52] *Voskhishcheniia dostoinye,* 'Na prikaznom mostu', 120-5
[53] T.Sevast'ianova, *Revoliutsionerki Voronezha,* 67-68

One Step Forward, Two Steps Back

The fact that the decision to join a political party was taken by Alekseeva in 1916 is not surprising as an increased number of demonstrations and disturbances were sweeping the country and women had become not simply a constant presence in them but were playing a more pro-active and militant role. Women's protests were centred on economic demands as well as reflecting a growing anti-war mood among the rest of the Russian population. In 1915, 450 female textile workers in one Petrograd factory stopped work and demanded an increase in wages. As a result of this action a ten per cent increase was awarded.[54] In 1916, there was a big rise in the number and intensity of demonstrations organised in the capital. At the end of that women workers from the Vyborg district of Petrograd organised an anti-war protest in the centre of the city, which had to be dispersed by mounted police.

The form which the protests of women workers took in 1917 followed the pattern of the 1905 Revolution, so that this section will contain less detail and fewer examples.[55] The revolution began in the capital on International Women's Day, 23 February (8 March). One of the organisers and leaders was the Bolshevik woman worker Mariia Vydrina. Her revolutionary career had begun in 1912 when she was a seventeen-year-old seamstress in a small Moscow workshop. She started by raising money for the Bolshevik newspaper *Pravda* and distributing illegal Marxist literature. In 1913, she was dismissed from her job for inciting her colleagues to strike. Two years later, Mariia joined the RSDRP. She stayed in Moscow until the second half of 1916 when she moved to Petrograd to become a driller in a mechanical factory. At the end of October she took part in a protest strike against the trial of sailors from the Baltic Fleet. This resulted in her losing her job once again, though she was shortly helped by party colleagues to find employment in another mechanical factory where she continued her agitation and propaganda, especially among women workers.

In April 1917, a brochure entitled *Revoliutsiia i zhenskii vopros (The Revolution and the Woman Question)* came out in Moscow. The author, I. Rusanov, while appraising the role played by women in the revolutionary movement in Russia since the 1870s, was, understandably, concentrating on their participation in the

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[54] *Voskhishcheniia dostoinye,* 'Na prikaznom mostu', 410-412

[55] See J. McDermid & A. Hillyar, *Midwives of the Revolution: Female Bolsheviks and women workers in 1917,* ch. 6

developments of that year and in the events leading up to it. He stressed that the growth in the numbers of women employed in factories was a significant factor in the rising political awareness of women and at the same time a change in the mood among them.[56] Indeed, while in 1914 the proportion of women in industry as whole was 26.6 per cent, after three years of war it had risen to 43.4 per cent. In 1917 over a million women were employed in factory work.[57] Even in the metal industry they were on the increase: whereas at the beginning of 1915 there were 3,233 female workers, by the end of that year the figure was already 15,903 and it continued to grow.[58]

Though the political parties took notice of the rise in female militancy, they underestimated both the extent of disaffection and unrest among women and their ability to control women's actions. This had become obvious by the end of February 1917.

At the beginning of 1917 the food supply situation in the capital continued to deteriorate. As of February 15-16 the consumers' union was told not to release flour or bread to workers' co-operatives or canteens. This move caused indignation among the capital's hungry residents and in particular among the women who had to stand in endless queues for bread and other food products. On February 23, meetings and gatherings took place at various factories in the city. Revolutionary agitators addressed those gatherings: members of the Inter-District Committee and Bolsheviks, including N.Agadzhanova, A.Itkind, and B.Ratner spoke at the metal factory *Novyi Promet, Staryi Lessner* and other factories. The speakers called on women workers to demonstrate against the tsarist regime but warned them against unorganised actions and suggested that all actions should be carried out exclusively on the instructions of party district committees.

The female speakers belonged to a circle that had been set up by the RSDRP(b) in Petrograd who recognised the growing importance of women workers to the labour movement. Twenty-eight-year-old Nina Agadzhanova, a member of the RSDRP since 1907, returned to Petrograd illegally in the late autumn of 1916 after

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[56] I.Rusanov, *Revoliutsiia i zhenskii vopros,* 21-24
[57] A.Rashin, *Formirovanie rabochego klassa v Rossii: istoriko-ekonomicheskie ocherki.,* 43
[58] *Rabochee dvizhenie v Petrograde v 1912-1917gg.,* 277

escaping from Siberian exile where she had been sent just a few months previously. By then Agadzhanova, a former Moscow Women's Higher Courses student, had worked for the party in Voronezh, Moscow, Ivanovo-Voznesensk and Petersburg, in a variety of positions, including executive secretary of *Rabotnitsa* in April-July 1914 and member of Petrograd and Vyborg Bolshevik party committees. In February 1917, under an assumed name of Klavdiia Dubrovskaia she started work as a machine operator at *Novyi Promet* where she joined her friend Mariia Vydrina in organising mass meetings at the factory.

Despite Bolshevik activists' attempts to control the actions of workers and their calls for discipline and patience, early on February 23 (March 8), International Women's Day, street protests began, led by female textile workers from the Vyborg district. Women workers from the *Ia.M.Aivaz* factory proposed to celebrate this day as the day for women's equality. They pointed out that a woman carried an excessive workload as while working in a factory she also had to care for her children. They asked their male colleagues to support their proposal. In spite of resistance from pro-war workers (*oborontsy*) the factory meeting decided to declare a strike and to send a workers' delegation to the administration to discuss the food-supply problem.

After holding their meetings, women from the *Nevskaia nitochnaia manufactura* moved towards nearby *Novyi Lessner*. Having penetrated the factory territory they called on *Novyi Lessner* workers to support their action. Under pressure from their young colleagues and passionate agitation of the women workers, the *Novyi Lessner* workers downed their tools and together with them headed towards the *Russkii Renault* factory.

Striking women workers of the Sampsonievskaia cotton-spinning mill took part in discharging workers from the Ludwig Nobel factory. I.M.Gordienko, a male Bolshevik activist working there, remembered:

> The gates of the 1st Bolshaia Sampsonievskaia manufacture were wide open. Masses of militant women workers flooded the narrow street. Those who noticed us began to wave their hands and shouted, 'Come on out! Down your tools!' Snowballs were thrown through windows. We decided to join the demonstration. A short meeting took place at the main office by the gates, and the workers went out onto the street. The women workers greeted the Nobel's workers with shouts of

> 'Hooray!' The demonstrators started for Bolshoi Sampsonievskii prospekt.[59]

In all over 100,000 people took part in demonstrations across the city. Demonstrators were not simply demanding bread and lower prices, for among their slogans was the following: 'Down with the war!' This was not a traditional bread riot. The women had clearly identified the tsarist regime as the cause of all their problems. Police reports record the arrest of women workers on 23 February 1917 for shouting at the police, 'You don't long have to enjoy yourselves –you'll soon be hanging by your heads!'[60]

While the professional revolutionaries were scrambling to gain control of the movement, the women workers developed their own tactics for spreading the strike to every sector of the war economy and the capital's infrastructure. The next day, 24 February, the first demonstration on Nevskii Prospekt, Petrograd's main thoroughfare, started at 11.00 a.m. Having gathered on Kazanskii Bridge a crowd of around 1,000 people made up predominantly of women and teenagers continuously shouted for about 20 minutes, 'Give us bread! We want to eat!' Other organised demonstrations of approximately 3,000 people reached Nevskii Prospekt at around 1.00 p.m.

More factories were joining the strike movement, which by then had developed into a general one, including 20,000 workers of the State Fuse Factory on Vasil'evskii island who went downed tools on 25 February. This action in particular was a shock to the authorities and military administration. Almost one third of all workers in the district were employed at that factory –20,000 people of whom 14,000 were men and 6,000 women.[61]

On March 1-2 the Petrograd bureau of the RSDRP issued a leaflet entitled *The Great Day*:

> The first day of the revolution – women's day, the Day of Women Workers' International ... And the woman ... raised the banner of the revolution. Glory to the woman worker! [62]

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[59] I.Leiberov, *Na sturm samoderzhaviia, Petrogradskii proletariat v gody pervoi mirovoi voiny i fevral'skoi revoliutsii iul' 1914-mart 1917 gg*, 118-119
[60] *Byloe,* Fevral'skaia revoliutsiia i okhrannoe otdelenie, 1918, no.1, 162
[61] I.Leiberov, *Na sturm samoderzhaviia,* 165
[62] ibid., 131

The demonstrators turned their attention from fellow workers to sailors and soldiers, with female revolutionaries actively campaigning to persuade troops to join the insurgents: they were penetrating barracks, distributing leaflets and organising meetings. Among such revoliutsionerki was Marta-Ella Lepin', better known under her party pseudonym Evgeniia Egorova, who was born in Riga in 1892 in a family of a Latvian joiner. By 1917 Egorova had been in the Bolshevik party for six years and spent a year in Siberian exile.

Soldiers were organised by revoliutsionerki also in Moscow. On 28 February, Bolshevichka Mariia Kostelovskaia assembled a group of 25 soldiers with whose help she occupied the Sytin printing house.[63]

Such assertiveness was shown by women not only in the towns but also in the countryside. The peasants were soon disillusioned with the Provisional Government which replaced the tsarist regime because it insisted on postponing land reform until after the war was over. They sought to impose their own solution. In the above mentioned article *Revoliutsiia i zhenskii vopros,* Rusanov tried to draw the attention of residents in Petrograd to the growing unrest among peasant women and in particular, soldiers' wives. He explained their resolute protests and behaviour by referring back to their experience of revolution in 1905, when the repression had been severe even for peaceful protests. The women were convinced that they had nothing to lose by taking direct action, for they knew:

> that the following day they would be thrown into prisons anyway whether they were making a peaceful protest or actively taking part in riots: hence the savagery of women's riots and their thirst to inflict on the old regime a severe wound by any means.
>
> Even the arrests of women peasants did not deter the others who continued the protests and agitated against the tsar's servants in order to lay the basis for a new movement capable of liberating them and in the victory of which they believed instinctively.[64]

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[63] *Geroi Oktiabria*, Moscow, 1967, 43
[64] I.Rusanov, *Revoliutsiia i zhenskii vopros,* 24

This uncommonly emphatic assessment of peasant women's involvement and their contribution to the collapse of the tsar's autocratic rule in Russia is supported by the description of such riots among women in Voronezh guberniia. In the early summer of 1917 the region witnessed riots led by soldiers' wives. It started when a request by 30 of them for a postponement to the partitioning of village land, until the return of their husbands from the front, went unheeded. Later 200 soldiers' wives gathered in the main *uyezd* town. First they scattered boundary posts, then they raided farmsteads of land-owning peasants, 'destroying their kitchen gardens, taking out window frames, doors and in some cases having entered houses they broke stoves, demolished or stole furniture, house implements and other property. Groups of women burst into properties initially encouraged by cries from men following them, 'Smash it, women, you won't be punished, your husbands are at the front.' [65] In another village a delay in paying soldiers' wives their war benefits gave cause for a women's riot. This latter one lasted three weeks.

Increasing dissatisfaction with the revolution and with the Provisional Government was also clearly felt in urban areas. Women found that after the collapse of tsarism, little had changed for the better in terms of their material conditions. The war continued and government reforms focused on political and civil rights, but did not ease, let alone solve, the food crisis. Queues for the basics grew longer, and as happened on the eve of the February Revolution, women discussed the causes of their grievances. By early summer, the strike movement had revived and was spreading to service sector employees when in May nearly 40,000 laundresses went on strike over poor pay and working conditions, still rife in their industry. Political parties began to pay closer attention to the actions taken by women workers, the majority of whom were as yet outside their influence and reach. For example, Aleksandra Kollontai, one of the leading female Bolshevik organisers, worked closely with the laundresses' strike committee. The laundresses' trade union was established later, in the summer of 1917, with the active participation of Sof'ia Goncharskaia, a miner's daughter from Ukraine.

The attempts to attract women to their organisations were made not only by Social Democrats but also by Socialist Revolutionaries. Their efforts were noticeable especially in those factories where women were in the majority. Realising the need to

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[65] T.Sevast'ianova, *Revoliutsionerki Voronezha. 49-51*

recruit more female members from among women workers to their ranks SRs no longer asked for membership dues from factory women who could hardly afford them at such a time of economic crisis but who were increasingly politicised. Such a method of recruitment was used at the Sampsoniev factory and in some cases led to women workers leaving the Bolshevik party to join the PSR. [66]

In July armed demonstrations organised by thousands of soldiers and sailors who, it was generally believed, were acting under the influence of the Bolsheviks, demanded that the newly established Soviets should take power from the Provisional Government in Petrograd. The demonstrations were crushed and the Bolshevik leadership was either arrested or went into hiding. This outcome had a disastrous effect on their credibility. V. Iakovleva, secretary of the Moscow Industrial Region Bureau (it included Moscow, Iaroslavl', Tver', Kostroma, Vladimir, Kaluga, and Orel guberniias) between February and October 1917, wrote about the change in the mood among workers after the July events which included a certain degree of hostility towards the Bolshevik party:

> There were a substantial number of incidents during which [Bolshevik] speakers were attacked. The numbers of Bolsheviks were seriously declining and in some southern guberniias [Bolshevik] organisations even ceased to exist. In such a political atmosphere we continued to live throughout July-August.[67]

In Iakovleva's words the situation began to improve only in August when workers rallied behind the Bolsheviks to defeat an attempted military coup. The Bolshevik organisation had its strongest support among workers in Ivanovo-Voznesensk in contrast to Kaluga, Tambov, and Riazan' where Mensheviks and SRs dominated factory committees and other revolutionary organisations. By the beginning of 1917, there were approximately 20,000 women workers in Ivanovo. Among the most active female revolutionaries were women deputies from the 1905 Ivanovo Soviet, including Matrena Razumova and Mariia Nagovitsyna, who were once again elected to the Town Soviet, and Dar'ia Sergeicheva and Elena Razorenova.

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[66] N.Karpetskaia, *Rabotnitsa i Velikii Oktiabr'*, 40
[67] *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia,* 1922, no.10, 302-6

In April 1917 Anna Boldyreva, still in Chita at that time, received a telegram from her former colleagues in the Maxwell factory asking her to return to Petrograd to represent them in the new Soviet. According to Boldyreva, when she returned there she had to make special efforts to raise the popularity of the Bolshevik party in the Nevskii district of the city where workers were siding more with Mensheviks and SRs. There were approximately 30 Bolsheviks in the district organisation, but they failed to gain the respect of the district workers due to their youth and lack of political experience.[68] Similar efforts to win over more workers from other political parties were made by the woman worker Ol'ga Belova in the suburbs of Moscow where as it has been noted above the situation was particularly severe.

The February Revolution had opened prison doors for many political prisoners and saw the return of political exiles from abroad and Siberia. Among those who were freed was Mariia Spiridonova. In May-June, she was one of the delegates at the third PSR congress where the party was split between those who wanted to ally with the Mensheviks and support the Provisional Government and those who agreed with Lenin that it was essential to continue the revolution. Spiridonova was among the latter. She became a leader of the party's left wing. At the same time other female SR members, Aleksandra Izmailovich and Irina Kakhovskaia, who took part in establishing the PSR Central Committee, also joined the left wing of the party. In his article 'Life as a Tragedy: Revolutionary Women in Russia' Sergei Podbolotov stresses the significant role played by the left Socialist Revolutionaries in 1917. He points out that on the one the hand, the Military Revolutionary Committee, responsible for organising military actions in Petrograd, was led by the left Socialist Revolutionary Pavel Lasimir, and on the other, the most popular party among the peasantry was the Socialist Revolutionary Party.[69]

Women in the Bolshevik party also played a variety of roles throughout 1917. Such leading members as Krupskaia, Kollontai, Kudelli, Nikolaeva, and Samoilova were party managers and organisers in city districts and combined these responsibilities with city-wide roles. However, women were more likely to perform support roles similar to the ones in the 1905 Revolution, transporting weapons, taking care of communications and caring for the wounded. Their role was no less vital than

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[68] TsKhIDNI, VOSB database, fond 124, inventory 2, case 131

[69] *Women in History – Women's History: Central and Eastern European Perspectives,* S.Podbolotov, Life as a Tragedy: Revolutionary Women in Russia, 93

that of the party leaders and armed workers. Women were fighting and dying alongside men in the Red Guards in the final days of October, yet they are rarely present in the historical accounts of the 1917 October Revolution.

Among them was Liusik Lisinova (Armenian born in 1897), one of the newcomers to the revolutionary cause, who had joined the RSDRP in 1916 as a student of the Moscow Commercial Institute. After the February Revolution Lisinova became the secretary of a Moscow District Soviet and was one of the founders of the Union of Working Youth. During the October events she was a messenger and a scout for the Moscow City Committee and was killed on 1 November 1917. The day before her death she wrote an unfinished letter to her parents:

> At last I am at home. I have just had some tea and am preparing for bed. I spent the entire day going from one meeting to another in different factories, organising the Red Cross in the Youth Union, and paying a visit to the Soviet of Workers' Deputies.
>
> The night is dark, it is raining, snowing and very windy, but I feel positive. Still, apprehension is nagging me at the moment.
>
> There is a stand off between the cadets and our Guards outside the Kremlin. The fight may break out during the night. ...[70]

In Petrograd the leading female Bolshevik, Vera Slutskaia suffered a similar fate.

Women, then, both as workers and professional revolutionaries, had been involved in the revolutionary process from the beginning. They were not simply the spark which lit the fire of revolution. The actions of women workers in February revealed a degree of self-organisation which, as previous chapters show, did not suddenly spring from nowhere. There was a history to women's protests, however interrupted. They had the experience of previous generations to draw on, and the continuity provided by the persistence of revoliutsionerki since at least the late 1880s in their efforts to draw female workers into the labour movement. An obstacle to this had been the fear of many revolutionaries, notably since 1905, of any separate organisation of women. It is interesting that such doubts and suspicions were raised

[70] V.Kondrat'ev, *Pis'ma slavy i bessmertiia,* 93-101

by the politicisation of the feminist movement in 1905. Yet in 1917 the gulf between feminists and women workers deepened because of the continuing support of the former for the war and tendency to dismiss the workers' preoccupation with bread as base materialism. While the Bolsheviks took up the demand 'give us bread!' first heard in February the feminist physician Mariia Pokrovskaia insisted that 'to repeat to the people that "the revolution will give you a better piece of bread" is to appeal to the worst part of the people'. [71]

Like the feminists, the Mensheviks and Right SRs alienated women workers by their continuing support for the war. Moreover, as far as the workers were concerned, the fact that both parties were in the coalition Provisional Government compromised them since their main counsel in a deteriorating economic situation was moderation. Bolshevik fortunes had certainly fluctuated throughout 1917, and the Left SRs seemed to make inroads into their base of support. But essentially to the workers there was little to distinguish between them since both parties held the same position: peace, bread and land to the peasants. The Bolsheviks in particular paid attention to the specific needs of women workers, while considerable numbers of Bolshevichki concentrated on organising them, publicising their grievances, and persuading the party leadership of the importance of such activities.

Nevertheless, while women continued to protest, the revolutionary process in 1917 drew many more male workers to the Bolshevik Party and Left SRs so that they greatly outnumbered the female members. Certainly, the Left SRs had a female leader in Spiridonova, but while she served as an inspirational figure, she never really addressed the woman question or made specific appeals to women workers. In any case, the victors of the October Revolution were the Bolsheviks. However essential the part played by women as workers and professional revolutionaries in that Revolution, men had become even more predominant in both the leadership and the membership of the Bolshevik party.

[71] M.Pokrovskaia, 'Revoliutsii i gumannost', *Zhenskii vestnik*, 1917, no. 5-6, 67-9

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

GENERALS, LIEUTENANTS AND SOLDIERS

By the end of my research I had collected hundreds of record cards and compiled a general file with approximately 1,200 names in it. For the reasons pointed out in the previous chapters, some of the names remained just that, although in the majority of cases at least some basic information was available. The quantity and quality of the biographical data was not affected by chronology. In fact, some of the best personal accounts, especially memoirs, belonged to a few Narodniki women active in the 1870s and 1880s, including Vera Figner, Ol'ga Liubatovich and Elizaveta Koval'skaia. Some of the least interesting works, but definitely most numerous, were devoted to women from the Bolshevik party, especially those who are acknowledged as leading female party leaders. Perhaps their active participation in a regime which aroused such contradictory and powerful emotions in people and had such a profound effect on the lives of millions, not only in their own country but also all around the world, has affected the way scholars and historians came to see and judge them. In a way, they were also affected by the very regime they helped to bring about and to secure, as in many cases their true feelings and thoughts were suppressed or censored in an attempt by the party apparatchiks to stamp out any dissent, fearing a threat to the regime's as well as their own survival.

There is a great volume of published and unpublished works available on the subject of the Russian revolutionary movement and increasingly scholars turn their attention to more specialist areas of and approaches to historical research, gender studies being one of them. Gender is indeed a useful tool of historical analysis, but too often it is used to explain a negative: for example, why there were not more women members or leaders in the revolutionary movement which is conceptualised almost without their involvement. Certainly knowledge about individual revolutionaries, especially the rank and file, and in the case of more recent revolutionaries, those who failed to support the Bolsheviks before and after the events of 1917 is still very limited. The purges of the 1930s first deprived many hundreds of thousands of such individuals of their freedom, and then ensured that their names disappeared altogether

from history books, perhaps for good. The years of Soviet rule did not simply obliterate names, they obliterated memories. In Chapter 4, I referred to the existence of Soviet-published books, which while claiming to contain biographies of the participants in the October Revolution, in fact, contained biographical accounts of Bolshevik party members only, and indeed only of those Bolsheviks acceptable to the regime. Moreover, even the titles of the books themselves set those people, who appeared on their pages, well apart from the rest of us. They were heroes, martyrs for the cause, and not simply dedicated and devoted individuals who were swept on to the centre stage of history by forces beyond their control, and who remained there as a result of the will or whim of other individuals. But even those who deserve our respect and recognition have been so frequently portrayed in a manner which is likely to alienate them from us. Russia's literary heritage is focused on works which have brought to millions of readers around the world the concept of *'dusha'* or 'soul', meaning the inner strength and beauty of a person. These officially recognised heroes of the revolutionary movement appear to be curiously devoid of that soul. Of course, the use of such a word as *'tverdokamennaia'* ('steadfast', literally meaning 'made of hard rock') as a laudatory term to describe Bolshevichki did nothing to endear them to subsequent generations. After all, can a rock have a soul?

I did not experience shortage of material in general, but I did find it difficult to locate material on specific individuals. Throughout my research I continued to look for information on revolutionary women workers, in particular Vera Karelina, who, I believe, deserves to be among the female revolutionary elite. But even at this point I do not have any data confirming her date or place of death, beyond the knowledge that an article written by her about the early days of the social democratic movement appeared in a journal in 1930. However, my aim was by no means to create a 'pantheon' to outstanding Russian revoliutsionerki, as Clements did with the Bolshevichki she included in her study *Bolshevik Women*. By means of a prosopographical study I was aiming to create a collective biography where individuals and their experience of life and revolutionary work will not be obscured by the dry figures of statistical analysis or put into the shadows by a few from the ranks of their comrades-in-arms, especially the ranks of 'party officers'.

From the very beginning I realised that given the limitations of time and resources, I would not succeed in tracking down every single female revolutionary who had contributed to the cause. I would not have achieved that even if I had limited

my research to a very narrow chronological band. It takes greater bodies of people and considerable financial resources to do that. I came to understand that I did not need to find every individual, no matter how deserving, to create a balanced impression of what a revoliutsionerka was. I did need, however, to find as many as possible and try to fill in the gaps in their individual biographies. I set out to look at women throughout the entire period of the history of the revolutionary movement in Russia for I was just as much interested in the development of the movement they helped to shape as I was in the developments of individual revoliutsionerki whose characters and life stories were shaped by that movement.

I concentrated my research on the following aspects of the revoliutsionerki's life: age (including dates of birth and death, time they entered the movement), social origins (included information on revoliutsionerki's parents and siblings), educational experience, occupations and professional experience, marital status and their children and finally, but no less importantly, their revolutionary activities.

There were a number of areas which I did not scrutinise specifically though I did collect information about them: revoliutsionerki's religious denomination and faith, and geographic origins. In studying female revolutionaries' lives, I soon came to the conclusion that while religion may have been important in their childhood, it did not influence women's decision to enter the revolutionary path.

Geographically, women's origins are extremely diverse and representative of the Russian state in the given time period. The overwhelming majority of revoliutsionerki came from the European parts of Russia and Ukraine. However, there is a substantial body of those who came from Poland, the Caucasus, Siberia and the Baltic states. For instance, Rahil Abramovich came from Kiev, Evgeniia Adamovich came from Poltava province, Ekaterina Aleksandrova came from Georgia, Nina Aladzhalova was born in Azerbaijan, Inessa Armand was born in Paris, Liubov' Aksel'rod was a native of Vilnius province, Anna Boldyreva was born in Tver' guberniia, Margarita Fofanova was born in Perm guberniia, Aleksandra Kollontai was born in Moscow, Nadezhda Krupskaia was born in St. Petersburg, while Konkordiia Samoilova was born in Irkutsk. The only provinces absent from the list are those in Moslem Central Asia.

I shall start my final analysis with the age. As has been demonstrated in the previous chapters, most revoliutsionerki joined the movement in their late teens or early twenties. I did not find any strong correlation between female revolutionaries'

social origins and the age at which they began their revolutionary work. The main difference lies in the place of initiation. For the women of intelligentsia it was their *gimnasiia* or Higher Courses days, while for women workers it was the factory floor; and at the beginning of this century their home was becoming increasingly more important not simply in shaping their beliefs but also in involving them in direct revolutionary work. The latter is especially true of women workers. For example, Klavdiia Kiriakina from Ivanovo became an activist before she reached the age of 16. Introduced to the social democratic movement by her elder brother, Klavdiia began by keeping and distributing clandestine literature, and attending illegal meetings. In 1901, at the age of 17 she was already a member of the RSDRP. Mariia Nagovitsyna, another woman worker from Ivanovo also joined the movement as a young teenager. Evgeniia Adamovich was only 15 when she joined a revolutionary student circle in her *gimnasiia*, while Feodosiia Drabkina was already carrying out tasks for the local social democratic organisation in Rostov when she was 15.

However, there were also considerable numbers of women who were late arrivals in the movement. Vera Zakharova was 30 when she first became attracted to a social democratic circle. At the same age Natal'ia Aleksandrova turned her attention to a Populist organisation. The woman worker Sergeicheva was 40 when she joined a workers' circle. Still, such examples were less frequent. In chapter 2, I looked at the age of Narodniki women and the age at which they were tried. The data showed that on average these female revolutionaries were under the age of 26 (see Table 2). B.Itenberg in his study of the 1870s revolutionaries made an analysis of 1,665 Narodniki. According to his calculations 27.5 per cent of them were under the age of 21, 38.4 per cent were between 21 and 25 years of age, 21.3 per cent were from the age group of 25 to 30 and only 13 per cent were over 30.[1]

Barbara Clements calculated that 25.8 per cent of the old Bolshevichki joined the party between the ages 15 and 19, 42.4 per cent between 20 and 24, 13.5 per cent between the ages 25 and 29, 6.2 per cent were in the age group of 30 to 34.[2]

In other words, even in comparing revolutionaries of two different generations we can see that the most common age for joining the revolutionary movement was if not static, then at least largely unchanged.

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[1] B.Itenberg, *Dvizhenie revoliutsionnogo narodnichestva,* 377
[2] B.Clements, *Bolshevik Women,* 34.

It is the life span of many revoliutsionerki that presented the most interesting 'discovery', with so many of them living on well into their seventies and eighties. From Table 1, E.Subbotina was 77 when she died, from Table 4 E.Koval'skaia was 92 and from Table 9 K.Kiriakina was 84. Bearing in mind that the majority of the revoliutsionerki spent years in imprisonment and exile, and ran constant risks to their own safety, these figures are certainly remarkable and are even more impressive as those tables show that such longevity was by no means an exception. Barbara Engels and Clifford Rosenthal gave the following summary of Elizaveta Koval'skaia's life after her imprisonment:

> During two decades of Siberian exile and imprisonment, Koval'skaia waged an unyielding struggle against the authorities: hunger strikes, two more escape attempts, a suicide attempt to call attention to prison conditions, a knife attack on a prison official who had administered corporal punishment to one of Koval'skaia's woman comrades. In 1903, twenty-three years after she was sent to Siberia, she was released and went abroad with her second husband.
>
> In Geneva, Koval'skaia joined the populist Socialist Revolutionary Party, but she quit within a month and formed a group of 'maximalists' – people who accepted only the 'maximum program' of the Socialist Revolutionary Party, which provided for the socialisation of all means of production, not just the land. Shortly before the October Revolution of 1917, she returned to Russia. Under the Soviet regime, she worked in the State Archives and served as a member of the editorial board of a journal devoted to the history of the revolutionary movement in Russia. She died in 1933.[3]

The 1992 edition of *Granat* gives her date of death as 1943.

The pattern of the social origins of female revolutionaries, however, did change, with increasingly more women from the working class and peasantry joining the movement from the beginning of this century and certainly after the 1905 Revolution. In 1922, an analysis of the social origins of Bolshevik women who joined

[3] B.Engel and Clifford Rosenthal, ed., *Five Sisters*, 248-9

the party between 1905 and 1922 was carried out. According to its findings, among women who joined it before 1905 (just 156 of them), there were 94 (60.2 per cent) women from intelligentsia and 44 (28.2 per cent) women workers. Only 4 (2.6 per cent) of women came from junior employees, which refers to people whose main occupation was that of a house servant, hospital orderly, or nurse. Leading up to the February revolution the percentage of women workers joining the party began to grow and among those who became party members in the period between 1914 and 1916 it reached 45.7 per cent. At the same time the number of junior employees was growing too: among those who joined before 1905 they made up 2.6 per cent while among those who joined between 1914 and 1916 the figure grew to 12.3 per cent. In the period which witnessed an upsurge in the workers' movement (1912-13), the proportion of women workers in the total recruitment reached 59.2 per cent. At the same time there was a fall in the numbers of women from the intelligentsia and those referred to as senior and middle-ranking employees who joined the party. Thus among those who joined during the First World War they constituted 24.6 per cent. After the February Revolution the proportion of women workers among party members had risen once again and was 45.6 per cent. At the same time the proportion of junior employees in 1917 was 15.3 per cent, while that of peasant women joining the party was only 1.8 per cent. The proportion of female intelligentsia and senior and middle employees continued to fall and in 1917 they made 25.1 per cent.[4]

The changes in the social make up of the women revolutionaries from my database, between 1870 and 1904, was reflected in the two charts I included into the thesis. It was not possible to make a comparison with B.Fieseler's tables of social origins not only because she had a different chronological division, before and after 1905, but also because she divided her women into the following five groups: a) nobility and merchants (2, or 4.5%); b) *meshchane* and *raznochintsy (sluzhashchie)* (26, or 59.1%); c) clergy (4, or 9.1%); and d) peasants and workers (12, or 27.3%). I consider the numbers on which she based these calculations for the post-1905 period (44) extremely low and unrepresentative, bearing in mind the fact that the mass movement dates back to this particular period. Moreover, in the post-1905 table there was no information on four of the revolutionaries which would bring the total in the table to 48. Yet Fieseler fails to include them in her final calculations which is

[4] E.Smitten , 'Zhenshchiny v RKP', *Kommunistka,* 8-10

surprising as they make up over eight per cent of her group. Indeed, given that data on many female revolutionaries is so fragmented, the exclusion of such a high percentage of individuals inevitably distorts the final results. It is also difficult to agree with Fieseler's decision to put peasants and workers into one group after 1905.[5] By that time, workers made up a considerable proportion of the Russian population, with at least two generations of workers in many families.

As has been pointed out above, the research into social origins frequently presented me with conflicting information, even within accounts written by the revoliutsionerki themselves. I have already highlighted the case of the two Itkind sisters. Such examples were not uncommon. For instance, in her autobiography Anna Bychkova at first gave her origins as a peasant, but later in her account she explained that her father had taught in a village school for over 17 years. In fact her father came from a peasant family and was an autodidact. At some point the entire family moved to Ekaterinburg where he became a *sluzhashchii* in a railway company. Bychkova does not give any data on what her father's occupation was when she was born, and based on the available information she can easily be entered into one of two different social groups: peasants or *sluzhashchie*.[6]

The educational level of women was directly linked to their social origins, with women workers and peasants having the lowest level of education and the women from the nobility reaching the highest levels open to Russian women. However, most female revolutionaries paid close attention to their education, constantly seeking ways to raise their standards. In this desire to improve themselves women from different social groups were united. Many women workers began their revolutionary life in study circles and Sunday schools where they went to learn basic literacy. In addition to the examples which had been cited before, there are many others. Nina Tret'iakova, born in 1893, worked for a few years as a teacher in a village school after completing her *gymnasiia* course in 1909. In 1912, Tret'iakova joined the RSDRP and spent the next year working in a clandestine printing house in Siberia which at the same time was a safe house for the Barnaul party group. She was arrested and exiled for two and a half years until 1915. From the autumn of that year

[5] B.Fieseler, *Frauen auf dem Weg*, 275
[6] RTsKhIDNI, fond 124, case 296

Nina became a head of a Barnaul district library and a Sunday school. In 1916 she went to the Moscow Higher Women's Courses.[7]

At this point it will be interesting to look at B.Fieseler's table which gave information about the educational levels of 374 women who joined the movement before 1905 and 48 women who joined the movement after 1905.[8] In the first group no data was available on 174 individuals and in the second, for two. According to Fieseler's data the remaining 246 revolutionaries all had at least some level of education. However, the information on female revolutionaries in my database (see table 8), which was based on women's own accounts demonstrated that there were many cases of women who did not posses even the very basic skills, at least at the time when they joined the movement, both in pre- and post-1905. There is a possible explanation: Fieseler's record of the women's educational level was based on their later life experience and not on the time they entered the movement or even the party.

Though women from the upper classes had better opportunities in education their personal experience was not always that much different to women from other social groups. Upper class women were sometimes prevented from attending schools or courses by their parents. Aleksandra Kollontai wrote that she was not allowed to attend *gimnasiia* because her parents were afraid of a possible negative influence from 'undesirable elements'. At the age of 16, after tutoring she received at home Kollontai sat her secondary level examinations and entered a private course where history and literature were read. Her parents did not allow her to become a student on the Bestuzhev Courses.[9]

Aleksandra Iakubova was born into a semi-literate family in 1888. Her father was a small trader who believed that his daughter needed only a very basic education. After three years in a primary school, Iakubova who wanted to achieve a much higher level, started secretly preparing herself for the secondary level certificate. It was the students who helped her with the studies who also introduced her to clandestine literature.

Indeed, one can sympathise with Kollontai's parents' sentiments about the 'dangers' of the Higher Educational Courses, especially the Bestuzhev ones. During their forty-year existence the Bestuzhev Courses saw many future female

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[7] ibid., case 1944
[8] B.Fieseler, *Frauen auf demWeg,* 277
[9] S.Vinogradov, *Sokrovishcha dushevnoi krasoty,* 232

revolutionaries among the students who attended them. They were founded in 1878 after a lengthy battle with the authorities conducted by the leading Russian feminists, including Nadezhda Stasova, Anna Filosofova, Mariia Trubnikova and Evgeniia Konradi, who fought tirelessly for women's right to higher education. As early as 1886 the secret police report informed the then Minister of Home Affairs:

> Without any exaggeration one can say that in the last five years there has not been a single more or less large revolutionary organisation that did not have Bestuzhev students in considerable numbers among them. Starting from the society 'Land and Liberty' and finishing with the latest attempts to organise and unite circles in St. Petersburg, the Bestuzhev female students took part in every revolutionary action; you meet them in the case of Polish social-revolutionary groups; and later in the 'Proletariat'; in the Red Cross of 'People's Will'; in the literary circles – Krivenko and others; in Vera Figner's and German Lopatin's organisations... approximately 140 female Course students in the last five years belonged to various revolutionary circles...[10]

Over 30 Bestuzhev students featured in the police documents on the Union for the Liberation of Labour. The name of one student became synonymous with mass student demonstrations. In 1897 Mariia Vetrova was arrested for her participation in the work of an underground printing house. After a month in remand she was confined to a solitary cell. Unable to cope with interrogations and prison incarceration Vetrova committed suicide by pouring kerosene over herself and then setting fire. She died four days later. The news of her tragic death moved thousands of students in the capital and other university cities to take part in protest marches called by Vetrova's fellow Bestuzhev students. In the autumn of 1906, A. Mamaeva and A. Venediktova, members of a revolutionary combat organisation, were executed on the orders of a court martial accused of inciting Kronstadt sailors to revolt. A year and a half later, in 1908, two students, Lidiia Sture and Anna Shuliatikova, were hanged for taking part in the assassination of the Minister of Justice Shcheglovitov. When in 1909 a questionnaire was circulated among the Bestuzhev students which contained the

[10] I.Brainin, 'Bestuzhevki', *Novyi mir, #9, 1974*, 243

following question: 'Which sociologist had the most influence on your philosophical outlook?' Eighteen per cent of all students, and 26 per cent of senior students, answered 'Karl Marx'.

The social composition of the Bestuzhev Courses in 1886 was: 13 per cent daughters of nobility, 42 per cent daughters of *chinovniki*, 22 per cent daughters of *raznochintsy* and the rest were daughters of merchants and the clergy. By 1905, 404 students came from the 'urban estates', 81 were daughters of peasants and the fathers of 21 per cent were of lower military ranks.[11]

Female revolutionaries' educational experience is invariably correlated to their professional one. It is not surprising to learn that women whose lives were so greatly affected by the knowledge and events from their days in secondary schools and higher courses, should choose teaching as their professional occupation. No doubt, in the case of those who had to work hard for their right to be educated, the desire to pass on their knowledge and assist others in similar positions also played an important part in making such a decision. The above mentioned Aleksandra Iakubova taught in a Sunday school in 1907 and later from 1913 to 1916 was a teacher in a village school. Besides imparting their knowledge of conventional school subjects these teachers were also influencing their students' political and philosophical views. For example, before Henrietta Dobruskina went to study at the Bestuzhev Courses in 1880, she was educated at home. One of her house tutors later became the terrorist Mlodetskii. In 1882 Dobruskina joined the People's Will and almost 20 years later, after 16 years in prison, she joined the PSR. Nadezhda Terent'eva, a merchant's daughter, while working in a village school in the early part of the 1900s was also distributing illegal literature among peasants.

The medical profession was another area where so many women found their calling. In fact, some of them combined teaching with medical careers. For instance, Praskov'ia Kuliabko (see Table 5). Appendix 5 contains a sample list of female revolutionaries with the names of their various professions and occupations, including: actress, bookbinder, bookkeeper, cashier, chemist, cobbler, cook, dentist, doctor, domestic, factory worker (confectionery, metal, tobacco, textile), feldsher, hosier, hospital orderly, journalist, lady-in-waiting, landowner, laundress, librarian, library owner, masseuse, midwife, milliner, nanny, nurse, office worker, printer,

[11] ibid., 246-7

professional revolutionary, proof-reader, sales assistant, seamstress, statistician, teachers (*gimnasiia,* lecturer, private tutor, village school), telephone operator, tram conductor, typist, warehouse worker, wine store manager. In all, over 40 various occupations.

The case-study of Tsetsiliia Bobrovskaia's professional career is of particular interest in this respect. She was born in 1877 in Warsaw, into the family of an accountant and started her working life in a small workshop specialising in manufacturing ties. As a twenty-year old she left for Zurich to study midwifery where she became a member of the Union for the Liberation of Labour. Having completed her course Bobrovskaia went to Kharkov to work as a propagandist in a workers' circle. There she also worked in an illegal printing house, kept a safe house and performed many other underground tasks. In 1900 she was arrested for the first time. From then on all her life was devoted to the revolutionary cause and after the revolution Bobrovskaia continued to work in the party apparatus. At the end of her life, referring to her initial medical training, she made the following comment, 'Throughout my life I did not have a single opportunity to deliver a baby.'[12] However, she did play a significant part in the gestation and parturition of the revolution.

About half of the above-listed occupations were quoted as those practised by the old Bolshevichki.[13] Just as Clements did, I list 'professional revolutionary' as an occupation. Life in the revolution had become not simply a cause for life but a type of profession, with women devoting all their time to underground work. In the twentieth century such examples were becoming more common. Sometimes this choice of occupation was enforced, as has been discussed in the previous chapters. But it was generally the upper and middle class revolutionaries who could remain engaged in underground work without turning to paid employment. Women workers were less likely to rely on party funds to support them during periods of unemployment caused by their political activities. When sacked from their factories they had to move in search of new employers and frequently to change their jobs. All too often such a change led to worse paid posts and/or unskilled labour. As noted in the first chapter, the textile workers Balashova and Golubeva, who belonged to the same revolutionary group in Ivanovo, both had to take much lower paid jobs in 1907, the former in a confectionery factory, the latter as a laundress in an orphanage. Indeed, Golubeva had

[12] L.Zhak and A.Itkind, *Zhenshchiny russkoi revoliutsii,* 137
[13] B.Clements, *Bolshevik Women,* 44

to leave Ivanovo, moving to the suburbs of Moscow. Similarly, Anna Stepanova, a pipe factory worker, lost her job after taking part in a wave of strikes in 1915-16 in Voronezh. The administration sacked her as one of the most active participants. For over a year after that Anna was unable to find other employment in the town and was eventually forced to take up a job as a cleaner at a local railway station.

In contrast to Barbara Clements and myself, Beatte Fieseler did not count 'professional revolutionary' among her list of female revolutionaries' occupations, either in the pre- or post-1905 period. There are arguments in favour of such an approach, as to survive almost all had to do some work, at least occasionally, including during the often long years of exile and emigration. However, I found Fieseler's classification of occupations for the two periods very narrow. In my opinion it does not give a sufficiently broad idea of women's professional experience. In the first period Fieseler divided occupations into four groups: a) intellectuals; b) students and school pupils; c) *sluzhashchie*; d) blue-collar and skilled manual workers. The second period is divided into five groups: a) intellectuals; b) students; c) school pupils; d) *sluzhashchie*; e) blue-collar and skilled manual workers.

Finally on the note of revoliutsionerki's professional experiences, as in all other categories there were so-called grey areas for any researcher attempting to do a statistical analysis of individuals' occupations or to present their final findings. As mentioned above, in her own words Bobrovskaia belonged to that category of trained professionals who never had an opportunity to practise their profession. It is not easy then to decide to which occupational category such an individual should belong. In the case of Bobrovskaia, it could have been: midwife, professional revolutionary, small garment maker or a combination of the above. Incidentally, in her book *Bolshevik Women* Clements described Bobrovskaia as a midwife without giving any further explanation.[14] So Appendix 5 of this thesis should not be treated as an exhaustive representation of the sample revoliutsionerki's occupations and occupational experiences but rather as a rough guide to both.

In the case of female revolutionaries who had to earn their living by way of salaried employment, the double burden of a working woman was increased considerably if she was married and particularly if she had children. The tables and case studies of various revoliutsionerki which appeared in the previous chapters are a

[14] ibid., 87

testimony to the female revolutionaries' amazing ability to balance such diverse activities, if not always successfully. The overwhelming majority of the women from my database, on whom I had information about their marital status, were married. In a high proportion of cases the women were married to their comrades-in-arms or party colleagues. As has been discussed before, the first meetings between future spouses took place both before and after they became involved in revolutionary work. This was true of all women irrespective of their social origin. In many cases the women married in spite of opposition from their families and friends. For instance, Pelageia Adamova recalled her marriage experience in *Revoliutsionerki Voronezha*:

> At the warehouse it was common for others to know whom a woman worker was marrying. My marriage to Dmitrii Leont'evich Butin caused a real stir. I was returning once from lunch when two women stopped me and asked if it were true that I was getting married. Then vying with one another they started telling me, "Why are you marrying him? He does not recognise the tsar, he has not crossed himself since he was a boy, and he does not take the sacraments. Your children will also be accursed unbelievers like him.[15]

Butina's family refused to come to her wedding and she lost her job at the warehouse after marrying her husband.

It was precisely while looking into revoliutsionerki's family lives that I was struck by their ordinariness. The gamut of their state of matrimony typifies people's general experiences in life. I came across cases of women being married against their will and of those who ran away to avoid such arranged marriages; women whose first unhappy experience did not stop them from going into marriage for a second, or even a third, time. There were those women who entered into fictitious marriages and those who had to leave men they loved. And of course, there were some who never married either because they did not believe in marriage or simply never met a man they wanted to marry. While the impression is that the marriages of revolutionaries were more egalitarian than those of non-revolutionaries, I did not find evidence of a questioning either of traditional gender roles or of sexuality.

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[15] T.Sevast'ianova, *Revoliutsionerki Voronezha,* 42-42

As a young impressionable woman Mariia Spiridonova met and fell in love with Vladimir Vol'skii, an active revolutionary, in Tambov, her hometown. At the time Vladimir was already married, but that marriage turned out to be a short-lived one. The work in the organisation brought Mariia and Vladimir closer together and eventually Vladimir proposed to Spiridonova. The night of his proposal was to be their last meeting for the next eleven years, as the following morning Vol'skii was arrested accused of PSR membership and a few days later Spiridonova carried out her terrorist act. When the two met again in April 1917 they still belonged to the same party but no longer shared the same political views: Vladimir was representing the right wing of the party, while Mariia stood on the left. Marria married another party colleague, Il'ia Maiorov, during her days of Soviet exile in 1923. However, Spiridonova's and Vol'skii's fate at the hands of the Bolsheviks was almost identical as they were both shot behind prison doors: Vladimir in the late 1930s and Mariia in 1941.[16]

According to Kollontai she went into her marriage as an act of protest against her parent's will. The union fell apart a few years later. Explaining her decision to leave her husband, Aleksandra wrote:

> We parted not because we no longer loved one another but because I felt oppressed and bound by the society from which my marriage to Kollontai could not save me... I did not leave Kollontai for another man. I was swept away by a wave of growing revolutionary unrest and events in Russia. [17]

The so-called arranged marriages were not simply a cultural phenomenon, for members of underground organisations used arranged engagements as a cover for their clandestine activities. Occasionally such engagements could and did develop into legal unions. The relationship between Krupskaia and Lenin started when the party appointed Krupskaia a 'fiancée' to Lenin who was in prison at that time so that he could receive visits and maintain contact with the organisation. The relationship between Zinaida Nevzorova and Gleb Krzhizhanovskii began in the same way. In

[16] T. Kravchenko, *Vozliublennaia terrrora,* 291-297, 385
[17] S.Vinogradov, *Sokrovishcha dushevnoi krasoty,* 232

both cases these arranged engagements turned into real marriages. In fact, both Nadezhda and Zinaida married their husbands in Siberian exile.

At the age of 18 Eva Broido married a young student of 22. In her memoirs she did not explain whether she was in love with him at the time. The couple stayed together for three years and had two daughters but it could not have been a happy union as Broido described those years as the 'most dismal years in [my] entire life'. She did follow her husband abroad where he was receiving medical treatment. In Berlin Broido read Bebel's *Zhenshchina i sotsialism (Woman and Socialism)* which was to have a profound effect on her as within three months Eva left her husband and after arranging for her daughters to stay with their grandmother she went to St. Petersburg. It was there that she met her second husband-to-be, a childhood friend and, as it turned out, future party comrade.[18] They did not marry immediately. The occasion, in fact, took place in a prison chapel where Mark Broido was waiting with a group of other party colleagues to be sent into Siberian exile. Eva and Mark could only be sure of being sent to the same place if they had a church wedding.

But even in this most conventional of institutions there were some very unconventional arrangements. While Mark and Eva were in Baku working for the Menshevik party they had to live apart and when several years later they returned to St. Petersburg, they shared an apartment but under different names. In both cases it was done for the reasons of conspiracy.

And like in the case of most couples the revolutionaries had children. As has been demonstrated by the examples of female revolutionaries from every decade, starting in the 1870s right through to 1917, children were born to them before, during and after their mothers took part in active revolutionary work. They had to share all the ordeals, hardships, hazards, dangers, and insecurities that underground work could bring for an individual. Yet, one gets an impression that some female revolutionaries did not always appreciate the strain their children were put under or the unhappiness of separation from the parents they must have experienced.

Many years after her revolutionary ordeals Eva Broido remembered her time spent in exile with feelings which at times verged on nostalgia. In one of the places of exile, she compared her two five- and six-year old daughters, getting ready for their daily visit to the prison, while she worked in the penal colony as a chemist, as getting

[18] E.Broido, *V riadakh RSDRP,* 16

dressed for a special occasion, a 'celebration'. She adds, without any hint of irony, that several years later in Petersburg when one of them was asked where they would rather live she replied, without hesitation, 'in prison'. Broido, however, fails to tell us how these girls felt when they were parted not only from their parents but also from one another some months later. The year was 1904, her husband had successfully escaped abroad leaving Eva with two girls behind (their baby son who was born in exile had already been sent away with Eva's elderly mother to Vilnius). Broido described herself as longing unbearably for 'liberty, real life and revolutionary work'. Having decided to make her dash for freedom, she arranged for one daughter to travel with a friend to some relatives in Moscow who would take her later to Eva's mother. The younger daughter was left in care of another comrade-in-arms and was to go first to Warsaw before also being sent to her maternal grandmother. Only a few weeks later when staying with her brother was Broido able to get some information about her daughters whereabouts: one was still in Moscow and the other in Minsk waiting for an opportunity to be sent on to Vera's home town. The children had to endure this separation from their parents for nearly two years.[19]

Breshko-Breshkovskaia left her baby son with his father before setting out on her revolutionary path. When finally released twenty years later she tried to make contact with him. By then Nikolai Breshko-Breshkovskii was a twenty-three-year-old aspiring writer. According to M.Maxwell, 'When he learned the returned prisoner was his mother, he turned from her in revulsion and made it clear he never wanted to see her again.'[20] The woman, who rejected her son as a baby in favour of pursuing a revolutionary cause, was now faced with the pain of rejection that so many revoliutsionerki's children must have felt.

The experience of being a revolutionary parent's child was not always negative and some of those children, or indeed grandchildren, grew up to join the movement themselves. Narodovolka Trubnikova was a granddaughter of Decembrist Ivashev. Liubov' Krivobokova, a social democrat from the 1900s, was born in a prison cell where her mother, a teacher was put for revolutionary activities. The mother died shortly after and Krivobokova was sent to live with her maternal grandfather, turning to the revolutionary cause herself after becoming a student of the Women's Higher Courses in Moscow.

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[19] ibid., 49-63
[20] M.Maxwell, *Narodniki Women,* 137

Nevertheless, feelings of love and care for their children could not have been alien to female revolutionaries. The following letter was written by Ol'ga Dilevskaia, a Bolshevik from 1903, to her friend and party comrade, A. Nogina, shortly before she was arrested by Kolchak's army in 1919:

> Aleksandra Nikolaevna!
>
> I am writing to you in the hope, that you will read this letter after my arrest. You will have to take care of Irina. I know you would have done so even without my request. Nobody knows what is going to happen. Here is the address of my relatives in Moscow: .....
>
> I just have one request to you: when I am no longer with you, please cuddle my daughter as I used to do, every morning and every night before she goes to bed. You may think I have spoiled her in this respect, but it is unbearable to think that she is deprived of tender caresses.
>
> I believe that in your heart there will be a place for affectionate love for her. That is all I wanted to say. These words are tame and barren, but there is no need to look for others.
>
> My feelings are so deep and personal that I find myself unable to convey them adequately.
>
> Feel them instinctively and love my Irina.[21]

Dilevskaia was executed three days later.

Though the letter was written in 1919, two years after 1917, the end year of my research, I use it here as an example and a very poignant message. After all revoliutsionerki's feelings are best heard and understood through their own words. This message also explains in part the dearth of such personal accounts of their feelings towards children, husbands, parents, and friends. Not every one feels capable of conveying such intimate emotions.

Families played an important part in supporting revoliutsionerki in their activities and in some cases in influencing their decision to become a revolutionary. Accounts of parental succour, both material and emotional, are well documented and

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[21] V.Kondrat'ev, *Pis'ma slavy i bessmertiia,* 185-188

written about. In the case of social democrats, there is a whole plethora of such exemplars: Eva Broido's mother; the Ul'ianovs' mother, four of whose children became revolutionaries – Aleksandr Ul'ianov, a Narodovolets who was executed for his part in the assassination of tsar Alexander III, Vladimir Lenin, Anna Elizarova and Mariia Ul'ianova; Nadezhda Krupskaia's mother; Elena Stasova's parents, and countless others. And of course, to this very group belong mothers of revolutionary workers who often remained nameless and are collectively, and more traditionally, referred to as the Gorky type, in a tribute to this revolutionary writer's novel *Mother.* Only a few names made their way into history books, one of whom is Ekaterina Iovleva, mother of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk revoliutsionerka Mariia Iovleva. From the earlier period, there was the mother of the Subbotin sisters who herself was tried during the Trial of the 193, and exiled. Mariia Trubnikova, the mother of Ol'ga Trubnikova and an early day feminist, refused to take part in the terrorist activities of two of her daughters as she believed that 'a great cause cannot be served by evil means'. She, nevertheless, allowed for her house to be used for the safekeeping of clandestine literature and for meetings of Narodovol'tsy: Sof'ia Perovskaia and Vera Figner were among those who had visited it.[22]

The importance of family connection is also demonstrated in the great number of siblings who took part in radical activities. The period of the 1870s and 1880s is especially revealing in this respect. The documents of the trials which took place at the time abound with names of particularly sisters who shared convictions if not ideas about methods to be employed in revolutionary work: the Figners, the Georgievskaias, the Kornilovs, the Liubatovich, the Subbotins and Zasulich (see Tables 1 and 2). This pattern of revolutionary sisterhood continued right through to the October Revolution: the Aksel'rods, the Didrikils, the Dilevskaias, the Izmailovich and the Nevzorovas (see Appendix 5). These lists may be easily extended. Examples of siblings' involvement among female revolutionaries from working class and peasant background are more common in the cases of sisters and brothers rather than simply sisters. Table 8 showed how many women workers cited their brothers as influencing their early revolutionary development, though I did come across accounts where women talked about influencing their sisters or mentioning them as attending the same workers' circles, as in the cases of the Voronezh worker

[22] E.Pavliuchenko, *Zhenshchiny v russkom osvoboditel'nom dvizhenii,* 106

Mariia Adamova and Anna Lepilova from the circle of women workers in Ivanovo (Table 9).

Being introduced to revolutionary propaganda and the life and work in the underground by one's siblings was certainly a common but by no means typical model of a female revolutionary's path. The social origin factor in the introduction to the radical movement has to be considered to a certain degree, in as much as reading various literature, or in more recent times following world developments through media sources, can influence most individuals. With a considerably higher percentage of well-educated female revolutionaries coming from upper and middle classes it is not surprising to learn that reading semi-legal and radical literature is mentioned as one of the early factors in their development of populist or democratic ideas. However, as women's memoirs testify, most of them were striving to improve not only their educational levels and professional knowledge but also their understanding of teaching which underpinned their beliefs and convictions.

Closely connected with that is introduction through student study circles which were a feature of student life both at secondary schools and higher educational courses. Sunday schools and workers' circles played a similar role in the life of women workers. In the case of the latter, at times such influences did come from the women's husbands but instances of this pattern is considerably less frequent than could be expected if we were to believe social democratic literature from the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, which describes women workers simply as illiterate, backward and suppressed. Too many scholars have just accepted this generalisation. The case studies of women workers which are in my database as well as women's participation in the events of the 1905 and 1917 Revolutions, prove that such assumptions cannot be used in describing all, or even the overwhelming majority of them.

Once in the movement women were involved at all levels of the revolutionary process: right from the moment of allowing their homes to be used for radical discussions and to the point of becoming leaders in their prospective organisations and parties. I have already mentioned some in the previous chapters of the thesis: safekeeping houses, literature, weapons; printing, transporting and distributing literature; agitating and propagandising; setting up and running circles; inciting to strike actions and demonstrations; *tekhnika* (keeping party records, seals, finance, communications) and theoretical and practical leadership (see also Appendix 5). Too

often some of the female revolutionaries' activities are being dismissed as trivial or insignificant. One of the most common tasks performed by revolutionary women was keeping safe-houses. This task was dangerous and absorbed a good deal of time and effort. Even when both husband and wife were involved in revolutionary activities it was the wife who was ultimately responsible for the related domestic duties. To repeat the admission of the husband of the revoliutsionerka and worker Chernikova: the burden of looking after the party's underground comrades 'fell entirely on Dar'ia Ivanovna, my wife...'[23] Eight out of 11 of those 1905 Ivanovo women deputies on whom I was able to discover documentary evidence had kept safe houses.

Revolutionary women not only matched their male party colleagues in revolutionary skills but also at times excelled them. For instance, when one of the Chernikov's illegal lodgers failed to make a metal casting for the press on which they had to print party leaflets, Dar'ia Chernikova, a textile worker by profession, taught the two men the valuable technique. And though both Chernikovs joined RSDRP in 1903 it was only Dar'ia who was elected into the Soviet in 1905. Chernikov spoke about his wife's determination to carry out revolutionary work in the face of danger and adversity. At the time they were harbouring a clandestine printing house in their home. When Chernikov reminded her that the penalty for this was katorga she retorted, 'So what! What difference does it make where we will die? You find it difficult to walk now, another year and your legs will refuse to carry you and you will die of starvation.' [24]

In subversive and clandestine organisations where the overriding aim was to overthrow the established political and economic system, and where the state had a high level of success in suppressing them, no work or action should be simply categorised, and implicitly dismissed, however routine or mundane. Besides, even when different members of such organisations are ranked as symbolic generals, lieutenants and foot soldiers, the question still has to be asked: How many armies can history name where the outcome of a war depended solely on the officers?

During my research I came across numerous cases of women workers' active participation in revolutionary movement. There were too many of them for each one to be mentioned in the thesis and I had to select some from the database for use as exemplars when presenting factual information. My findings indicate that these

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[23] V.Balukov, *Deputaty pervogo Soveta*, 278
[24] ibid., 279

women, especially after 1905, were more likely to enter the movement because of their personal convictions and life experience than the influence of the male members of their family or male fellow workers. The type of the material which provided me with this data brought me to the conclusion that there are still names to be uncovered but for this it is necessary to visit the local archives of every Russian town and city, a task for a group of researchers, rather than an individual one.

To bring this thesis to a conclusion I will recall the cases of three women workers who began their revolutionary work in one circle, attached to the Brusnev organisation, which is believed to be behind the very first women workers-only circle in the history of social democratic movement in Russia.

Born within just a few years of one another, Anna Boldyreva, Natal'ia Grigor'eva and Vera Karelina were among the first women workers to join the workers circle operating in St. Petersburg. For Grigor'eva it was a continuation of work she began as a follower of a People's Will type organisation. Vera and Anna went on to set up their own circles. A few years and several arrests later, at the beginning of the 1900s, the three were still in the revolutionary socialist movement. But by then the change in their personal political outlook was beginning to show. Grigor'eva, after a few years in Siberian exile, turned to the PSR whereas Karelina and Boldyreva remained influenced by social democratic ideas. The former, however, took a more independent stand organising and agitating among workers, notably women workers, without relying on theoretical and practical direction from the RSDRP, whereas Boldyreva become an active Bolshevik. During the 1905 Revolution, Grigor'eva fought in Odessa, where we lose further mention of her. At the same time Boldyreva and Karelina were elected into the Petersburg Soviet, the former representing the Bolsheviks and the latter as a leading Gapon Society member. Boldyreva continued her work for the RSDRP (b) well into the 1920s while Karelina effectively retired from active political life due to ill-health.

All three pioneering women workers died in virtual obscurity despite their outstanding contribution to the revolutionary movement. There was also a cruel irony in the fact that though Boldyreva remained true to the Bolshevik cause to the very end, and in spite of her many years of service to the party, in 1934 she was denied membership of the All-Union Society of Old Bolsheviks. She had been denounced by another member of the Society for 'behaviour incompatible with Communist ideas and a discredit to the Party'. The crime the sixty-six-year-old Boldyreva stood

accused of, turned out to be publicly complaining of the high price of bread and the lack of grease on beef.[25]

This study of the social origins of female revolutionaries shows patterns which reflect those of their male comrades, while although women remained in the minority, their numbers nevertheless grew significantly, particularly for the Bolsheviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries. Michael Melancon has found that the PSR differed little from the RSDRP in terms of the proportions of workers and hereditary workers recruited. [26]From his analysis of 986 male social democrats, David Lane concluded that a significantly higher proportion of the Mensheviks came from the intelligentsia, that they were several years older, and had more party experience, than the Bolsheviks, but that the latter had more chance for moving up the party ranks.[27] Beatte Fieseler noted a slightly higher proportion of female members (15 percent) in the PSR than in the RSDRP, but pointed out that social democratic women nevertheless by far outnumbered socialist revolutionaries.[28] At the fifth congress of the RSDRP, the female delegates for the Bolsheviks outnumbered those for the Mensheviks by five to one.[29] Few revoliutsionerki entered the elite of the leadership of the movement, but while the majority remained rank and file agitators, a significant number played important middle level roles, notably that of secretary which, in the conditions of the political underground, was crucial to the continuation and effectiveness of the organisation. Most secretaries were well educated, but being associated with a revolutionary circle raised the levels of education of many more women workers. The desire for education may have been a factor in drawing women to the revolutionary movement, and their choice of group may have depended on what party operated locally. Nevertheless, the dangers which even the mildest association with revolutionaries entailed meant that the women had made a conscious decision to join. Family commitments often meant that revoliutsionerki had to curtail or interrupt their political activities, but having a family did not preclude such work. Perhaps the fact that only a minority of working class women were able to become professional

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[25] TsKhidni, Fond 124, inventory 2, case 131

[26] Michael Melancon, 'The Socialist Revolutionaries from 1902 to 1907: Peasant and Workers' Party', *Russian History/Histoire Russe*, spring 1985, vol.12, no.1, pp.2-47.

[27] David Lane, *The Roots of Russian Communism: A Social and Historical Study of Russian Social Democracy 1898-1907*, pp.20-51.

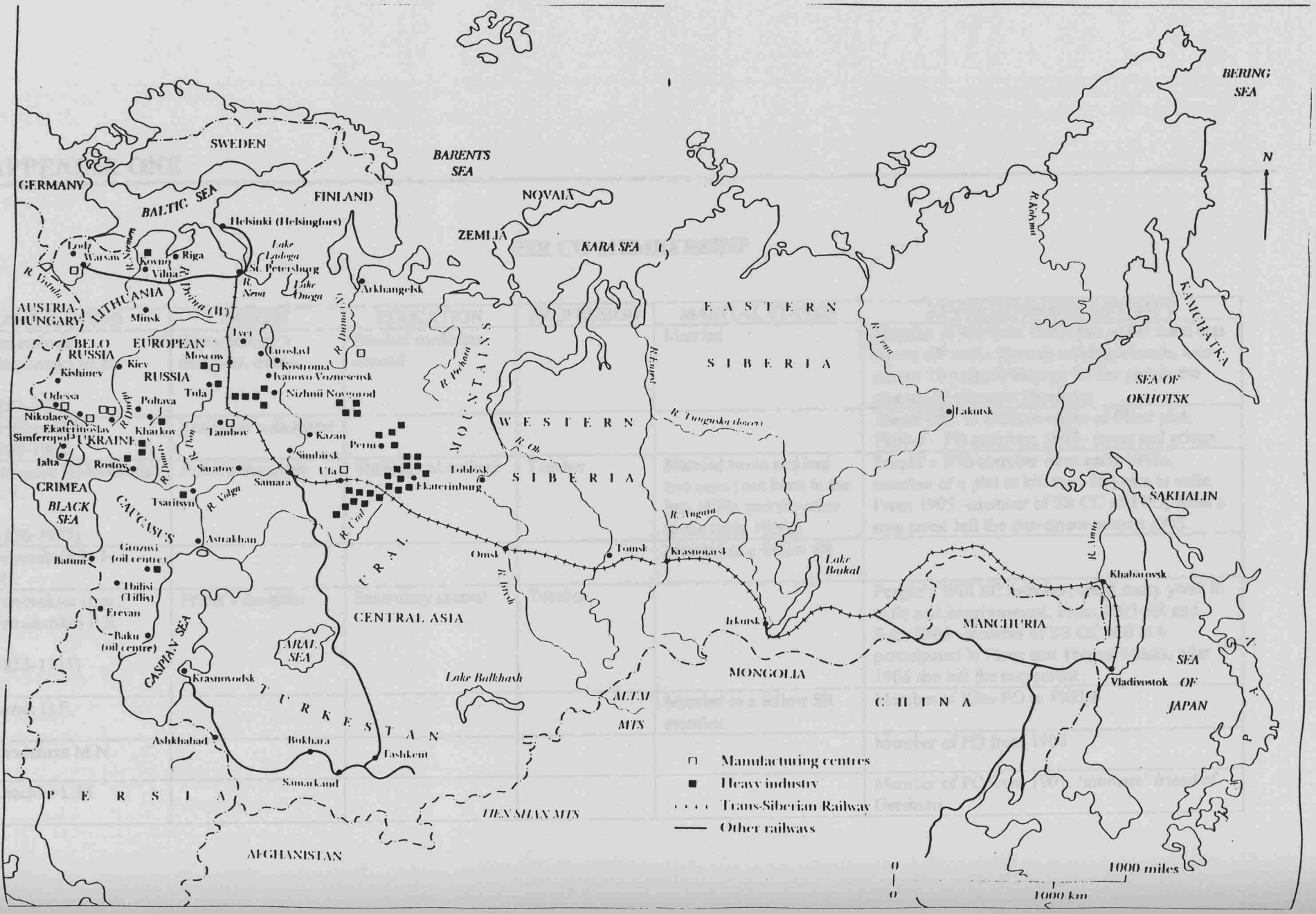
[28] B. Fieseler, 'The Making of Russian Female Social Democrats, 1890-1917', *International Review of Social History*, 1989, vol.34, pp.193-226: 196

[29] R.C. Elwood, *Russian Social Democracy in the Underground: A Study of the RSDRP in Ukraine, 1907-1914*, p.67.

revolutionaries, because of their economic position and domestic responsibilities, has led to the underestimation of their contribution to the movement. This study has hopefully set women firmly within the revolutionary process

Finally, Fieseler claims that memoirs of social democratic women do not contain political discussions which explain their choice of revolutionary organisation, but that is a very weak basis for her conclusion that it was ethical and moral, rather than ideological, reasons which guided their decision. [30] This study shows that, like their male counterparts, women chose the path of revolution for a variety of reasons, and did not, stereotypically, decide on the basis of emotion rather than intellect, anymore than men became revolutionaries for rational reasons alone. Women did not wait in the wings of the Russian revolutionary movement, they helped set the scene, and while few played leading roles, their participation was nevertheless crucial for the eventual collapse of the old order.

[30] Fieseler, 'The Making of Russian Female Social Democrats', pp.219-20



The Russian Empire, 1914

APPENDIX ONE

PSR CO MEMBERSHIP

NAME & DOB/D	ORIGIN	EDUCATION	PROFESSION	MARITAL STATUS	REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY
Benevskaia (Stepaniuk) M.A. 1883-ND	Army officer's daughter; noble	Studied medicine abroad		Married	Member of FO from 1906; part of her hand was blown off while she was making a bomb; was sent to 10 years in katorga for her part in the plot to kill Moscow Governor.
Brilliant D.B. 1880-1907	Merchant's daughter				Joined PSR in 1902; member of Pleve plot; 1904-5 – FO member; 1905 –arrest and prison.
Iakimova (Dikovskaia) A.V. (1856-1947)	Priest's daughter	Theological college	Teacher	Married twice and had two sons (one born in the late 1870s and the other in the early 1900s)	People's Will member from early 1870s; member of a plot to kill tsar; 20 years in exile. From 1905 –member of SR CC and FO; After a new arrest left the movement around 1907.
Iurkovskaia Iu.F. ND				Married to a fellow SR	
Ivanovskaia (mar. Voloshenko) P.S. (1853-1935)	Priest's daughter	Secondary special	Teacher		People's Will EC member; spent many years in exile and imprisonment. From 1903-SR and from 1905 –member of SR CC and FO; participated in Pleve and Trepov's plots; after 1906 she left the movement .
Kazak D.E.				Married to a fellow SR member	Member of Kiev FO in 1903-6
Khudatova M.N.					Member of FO from 1906
Kliachko L.M.					Member of FO from 1901, 'intimate' friend of Gershuni

Klimova N.S. 1885-1918	noble	St. Petersburg Higher Courses			Joined revolutionary movement in 1904, from 1906 –SR maximalist and FO; left movement 1912 after 3 years of katorga
Klitchoglu S.G. 1876-1928	Civil servant's daughter	Bestuzhev courses & Medical Institute	Teacher	Married with three children	From 1893- People's Will, from 1897 – SR; active in setting up of Russian PSR; 1902-3 – Saratov, Kharkov & Kiev, lead Pleve plot group. 1904-6 – arrest & exile; left the movement on death of her husband
Lapina E.M. 1876-1909	Merchant's daughter		Dentist		Active propagandist; 1902- *Red Banner* newspaper; 1902-3 – leader of Kiev SR, member of CC. From 1905 – member of FO; committed suicide after being suspected of collaboration with police.
Lazarkevich (née Efrusi) S.O. ND				Married to a fellow SR	FO member 1909
Lebedeva (Shebalina) M.O.					From 1903 – member of SR CC
Leont'eva T.A. ND			Lady-in-waiting to tsarina		From 1904 –member of FO; passed on information on well-known people arrested in 1905 and taken abroad by her family in1906
Levinson P.A. ND					FO member from 1906
Popova V.P. ND					FO member in 1907-9
Prokof'eva M.A. ND	From a family of old believers				Active SR terrorist from 1902; joined FO in 1906; died abroad of TB after 1910
Remiannikova L.A.					She aided Gershuni in 1901-3
Seliuk M.F. (1872-ND)	Merchant's daughter	Secondary and Bestuzhev courses	House tutor	Married to a fellow SR	From late 1890s – Saratov SR; From 1903 – member of SR CC; left active revolutionary work after 1905
Sevast'ianova A.A. 1883-1907	Civil servant's daughter; noble	Grammar school	Feldsher		1900-1 – active SR; from 1905- FO; was hanged for throwing a bomb at Moscow governor's carriage

Shkol'nik M.M.					Member of FO in 1903-6
Zilberberg K.K.				Married to a fellow SR	Member of FO in 1903-6
Zilberberg E.I.				Married twice, second time to B. Savinkov (possibly sister of Zilberberg L.I., husband of the above)	Member of FO in 1909-11

APPENDIX TWO

PSR MEMBERSHIP

NAME & DOD/B	ORIGIN	EDUCATION	PROFESSION	MARITAL STATUS	REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY
Adamson A.A.					Died while serving 15 year katorga sentence
Argunova (née Pavlova) M.E.			Teacher	Married to a fellow SR	Active in 1900-1. After exile in 1901 escaped abroad.
Azanchevskaia S.V. (1874-1951)					SR, 1908-1917 lived abroad, after that left SR; after 1921 left politics
Azef L.G (née Menkina)				Married to SR CO leader Azef	Worked For SR abroad
Benevskaia (Stepaniuk) M.A. 1883-ND	Army officer's daughter; noble	Studied medicine abroad		Married	Member of FO from 1906; part of her hand was blown off while she was making a bomb; was sent to 10 years in katorga for her part in the plot to kill Moscow Governor.
Bitsenko A.A. (1875-1938)	Peasant	Graduate of a teaching course	Teacher		Joined PSR in 1902. Member of a flying CO, death penalty for assassination of a general was commuted to life katorga. 1917 – left SR, 1918 joined RKP(b). In 1938 accused of membership of SR terrorist group and executed.
Breshko-Breshkovskaia (née Verigo) E.K. (1844-1934)	Noble	Educated at home	Teacher/ professional revolutionary	Married a teacher but left him and her young son after he refused to join her.	From 1873 – People's Will; 20 years exile; in early 1902 joined PSR and CC SR; 1908-17 – exile, 1919 emigrated abroad.
Brilliant D.B. 1880-1907	Merchant's daughter				Joined PSR in 1902; member of Pleve plot; 1904-5 – FO member; 1905 –arrest and prison.
Briullova-Shaskol'skaia N.V. (1886-1937)	Noble	Bestuzhev courses and 3 years abroad	Teacher	Married to a member of Russian Labour (Trudovaia) Party	Joined SR in 1910, also collaborated with SD and Labour Party; after the February Revolution – member of SR district committee and after October party spokesperson on nationalities. Executed in 1937.

Brodskaia K.				Married to a feldsher	Member of SR southern group; participant of Stolypin's terrorist act
Dmitrieva V.					SR writer, no other activity
Durnovo-Efron E. (ND-1910)					Member of PSR Executive Committee and active maximalist. Arrest in 1907 and escape abroad; committee suicide.
Emel'ianova L.S.					Joined SR in 1902 in Petersburg; participant of Stolypin's terrorist act and expropriation acts
Ezerskaia L.P.					Assassinated Governor of Mogilev; member of CO
Fedorova M.					Joined PSR in 1905. Member of a terrorist brigade. Executed.
Frumkina F.M. (1866-1907)	Meshchanka		Midwife		After a spell in the Bund she joined PSR. Active in 1900s. Attacked gendarme head with a knife and was sentenced to 11 years of katorga, escaped, new arrest and new attack on a prison head. Executed.
Ghervasi A.P. (1865-1933)	Fisherman's daughter		Teacher		1902-1906 PSR organiser in the Caucasus; 1906 – Moscow, after an arrest in 1907 escaped abroad.
Iakimova (Dikovskaia) A.V. (1856-1947)	Priest's daughter	Theological college	Teacher	Married twice and had two sons (one born in the late 1870s and the other in the early 1900s)	People's Will member from early 1870s; member of a plot to kill tsar; 20 years in exile. From 1905 –member of SR CC and FO; After a new arrest left the movement around 1907.
Ianchevskaia (Grebneva) V.L. (1890-ND)	Father - worker		Midwifery student		1907- member of a PSR flying CO; 1908-1917 – exile; after 1917 – member of VKP(b)
Iurkovskaia Iu.F. ND				Married to a fellow SR, Grigor'ev	
Ivanovskaia (mar. Voloshenko) P.S. (1853-1935)	Priest's daughter	Secondary special	Teacher		People's Will EC member; spent many years in exile and imprisonment. From 1903-SR and from 1905 –member of SR CC and FO; participated in Pleve and Trepov's plots; after 1906 she left the movement.

Izmailovich A.A. (1878-1941)	Noble Father - general	Petersburg Higher Women's Courses			Joined PSR in 1900. From 1905-7 – member of a flying CO; 1906-17 – katorga, after October – left SR
Izmailovich E.A. (sister of the above) (n/d-1906)	Noble Father - general				Member of a terrorist brigade, after 1917 - left SR
Kagan A.	Merchant's daughter				Member of SR southern group; participant of Stolypin's terrorist act
Kaidanova O.			Teacher		PSR member, wrote pamphlet *Woman's Lot*
Kakhovskaia I. K. (1888-1960)	Noble	Petersburg Higher Women's Courses			Joined Bolsheviks in 1905, secretary of a Petersburg district committee. In 1906 joined SR. 1908-14 – katorga where she was joined by her mother. 1914-17 – worked in crèche for soldiers' children. From 1917 once again with left SR. arrested and exiled by the Soviet authorities.
Kazak D.E.				Married to a fellow SR member	Member of Kiev FO in 1903-6
Kharchenko M.A.(Nashamburgskaia) (1885-ND)	Peasant's daughter	Village school	Seamstress		1904-8 – PSR, member of CO; 1908 –arrest and 1911-1917 katorga and exile; after 1917 remained unattached.
Khrenkova S. (ND- 1908)			Teacher	Married with three children	1905 – arrested for membership of a terrorist brigade and in 1908 immolated herself in a prison.
Khudatova M.N.					Member of FO from 1906
Klapina Z.V. (1885-ND)	Father – shop assistant	Student			1905-7 active PSR member; 1907 arrest, 1909- escaped abroad until 1917, after that unattached
Klebanova B.A.					Member of CO from 1906
Klement'eva (Ukhina) M.I. (1889-ND)	Father – civil servant	Educated at home	Seamstress		1906-7 PSR and active member of Seamstresses' union, 1907 –arrest, 1910 –escaped abroad until 1917, unattached thereafter
Kliachko L.M.					Member of FO from 1901, 'intimate' friend of Gershuni
Klimova N.S. 1885-1918	noble	St. Petersburg Higher Women's Courses			Joined revolutionary movement in 1904, from 1906 –SR maximalist and FO; left movement 1912 after 3 years of katorga

Klitchoglu S.G. 1876-1928	Civil servant's daughter	Bestuzhev Courses & Medical Institute	Teacher	Married with three children	From 1893- People's Will, from 1897 – SR; active in setting up of Russian PSR; 1902-3 – Saratov, Kharkov & Kiev, lead Pleve plot group. 1904-6 – arrest & exile; left the movement on death of her husband
Konopleva L.V. (1891-1940)					Member of CO and CC after 1917
Konopliannikova Z.V. (1879-1906)	Father – soldier, mother - peasant	Teacher trainng college	Teacher/ professional revolutionary		Joined SR in 1902. Hanged For assassinating a colonel; second woman to be executed For a political crime
Lapina E.M. 1876-1909	Merchant's daughter		Dentist		Active propagandist; 1902- *Red Banner* newspaper; 1902-3 – leader of Kiev SR, member of CC. From 1905 – member of FO; committed suicide after being suspected of collaboration with police.
Lats M.I.					Member of SR southern group; participant of Stolypin's terrorist act
Lazarkevich (née Efrusi) S.O. ND				Married to a fellow SR	FO member 1909
Leont'eva T.A. ND			Lady-in-waiting to tsarina		From 1904 –member of FO; passed on information on well-known people arrested in 1905 and taken abroad by her family in 1906
Lepesina A.I. (1864-ND)	Father - draymen	Educated at home	laundress		Odessa PSR. Arrested in 1907 and exiled until 1917, thereafter unattached
Levinson P.A. ND					FO member from 1906
Lurie R. (1884-1908)					Joined SR after a spell in Bund in 1904; member of a terrorist brigade, 1908 – left For abroad, there she committed suicide at the age of 24
Markova A.M.		Petersburg Higher Women's Courses			Joined through N. Klimova; sentence to 10 years of katorga
Metel'nikova T.P. (1887-ND)	Father -worker	Primary classes of a grammar school		Married	1903-4 and 1906 – member of SR and CO; 1907 –arrest and katorga; escaped abroad in 1908 till 1917 , unattached

Myshetskaia M.	Princess				Participant of expropriation acts
Popova (Ovsiannikova) K.E. (1888-ND)	Father - peasant	Educated at home	Seamstress		Joined SR in 1906, in 1908 – sentenced to 4 years of katorga, after 1917 – unattached
Popova V.P. ND					FO member in 1907-9
Prokof'eva M.A. ND	From a family of old believers				Active SR terrorist from 1902; joined FO in 1906; died abroad of TB after 1910
Rakitnikova (née Altovskaia) I.I. (1870-1965)	Father-civil servant, mother - midwife	Trained to be an assistant of a physician	House tutor/Feldsher	Married to a fellow SR (one of SR leaders) children	Member of People's Will in 1890s. From 1900 in PSR. 1902 – CC member; 1906 exiled to Siberia, 1908-1917 lived abroad and worked in *Labour Banner*. After 1919 left active political life.
Rasputina A.					Hanged for participation in terrorist acts
Ratner E.M.		Graduate of Higher Courses			In CC SR from 1918
Rogoznikova E.P. (1886-1907)					Member of Flying CO. In 1907 assassinated a head of Central Prison Authority and was hanged.
Rudneva L. (1880-ND)					Joined SR in 1905. 1911 killed a prison inspector. After arrest and sentence escaped abroad where she died.
Sagaiduchenko (Novikova) P.M. (1888-ND)	Father - peasant	Secondary school	Factory worker		1906-7 worked in a clandestine SR printing house; 1908 –exile, after 1917 unattached
Seliuk M.F. (1872-ND)	Merchant's daughter	Secondary and Bestuzhev Courses	House tutor	Married to a fellow SR	From late 1890s – Saratov SR; From 1903 – member of SR CC; left active revolutionary work after 1905
Sevast'ianova A.A. 1883-1907	Civil servant's daughter; noble	Grammar school	Feldsher		1900-1 – active SR; from 1905- FO; was hanged for throwing a bomb at Moscow governor's carriage
Shkol'nik M.M.					Member of FO in 1903-6
Shuliatikova O.					Member
Sletova A.				Wife of Chernov, SR leader	Worked For them mainly abroad
Soroka (Dorofeeva) L.M.					

Soshnikova (Stepanova) N.K. (1881-ND)	Father –carpenter		Teacher		1902-5 – member of a student revolutionary circle, 1905 joined 1905, organised her own circles. 1906-8- active propagandist. 1909 – 1916 – katorga, unattached thereafter
Spiridonova M.A (1884-1941)	Noble	Grammar school	Office worker	Married a fellow SR,Maiorov, in 1925	1906 shot dead a colonel, sentenced to death but commuted. Released in 1917, leader of left SR
Struve L.	Noble	Petersburg Higher Women's Courses			Sentenced to death For plotting to kill Minister of Justice
Suvorova (Varaksina) P.P. (1888-ND)	Father – unskilled labourer	Primary school	Nanny		1905-8 – PSR working in a clandestine printing house; after arrest and exile she joined VKP(b) after 1917
Sviatova (Koroleva) A.M. (1888-ND)	Father - blacksmith	Educated at home	Seamstress		1905-7 SR in Petersburg and Moscow, technical work and kept a safe house; after 1908 – several arrests and exile; after 1917 - unattached
Terent'eva N.A. (1881-after 1931)	Merchant's daughter	Moscow Higher Women's Courses	Teacher		Joined SR in 1904. Member of Moscow and Petersburg SR; participant of Stolypin's terrorist act. 1907-17 – katorga.
Tiunina (Gussak) A.V. (1886-ND)	Father - peasant	Educated at home	Seamstress		1905-8 – PSR member, distributed literature, 1910 – exiled, after 1917 - unattached
Volkenstein O.					SR writer, wrote pamphlet *Woman Voter*
Zilberberg K.K.				Married to a fellow SR	Member of FO in 1903-6
Zilberberg E.I.				Married twice, second time to B. Savinkov (possibly sister of Zilberberg L.I., husband of the above)	Member of FO in 1909-11

APPENDIX THREE

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES on Selected Female RSDRP Members

Abramovich Rahil Abramovna (Rufina Aleksandrovna, mar. Tiutriumova), 1865-1920 born in Kiev, Jewish. Abramovich was a graduate of Bestuzhev courses. She was a professional revolutionary. Her first arrest came in 1886 after which she was sent to Kazan. In 1887 Abramovich went to Paris where she attended Paris University and worked in Marxist circles. She returned to Petersburg in 1897, was imprisoned for 2 years and then exiled for 5 years to Eastern Siberia. Between 1915 and 1917 Abramovich worked for various social-democratic organisations including the Bolsheviks. After 1917, already a member of RKP, she worked for Narkompros. She committed suicide in 1920 after her son's death of typhoid.

Adamovich Evgeniia Nikolaevna, 1872-1938 born in Poltava province. Her father was a landowner. She was a graduate of Tartu University. Adamovich joined the revolutionary movement in 1892. In 1893 came her first arrest. She became a member of RSDRP in 1903. In 1912 she was a secretary of Kharkov RSDRP (b). Between 1913 and 1917 Adamovich was in internal exile, first in Pechora and then in Yakutsk provinces. On her release in February 1917 she returned to Petersburg where she worked as secretary in Vasilii Ostrovskii district party committee and in the culture and edication department of the State Duma. During the 1917 Revolution Adamovich worked in Petrograd VRK. Her post-revolutionary work centred on education and party history.

Agadzhanova Nina (Nune) Ferdinandovna (mar. Shutko), 1889-1974 born in Yekaterinodar into a merchant family. There she studied at teacher training courses. She joined the RSDRP (b) in 1907. For the party she worked in Voronezh, Orel, Moscow, Ivanovo-Voznesensk and Petersburg. In 1914-15 she was a member of Vyborg party committee and one of the editors of 'Rabotnitsa'. During the 1917 Revolution Agadzhanova worked in Petrograd and Vyborg RSDRP (b). During the Civil War she worked underground in southern Russia. Later she worked as a senior secretary of the Byelorussian VRK and a diplomat. Agadzhanova wrote script for Eisenstein's 'Battleship Potemkin'. She was imprisoned five times and exiled twice.

Aksel'rod Liubov' Isaakovna 1868-1946 (party name 'Orthodox') born in Vilnius province to a land-owning family. In the 1890s she studied abroad. She joined the revolutionary movement in 1884. In 1903 she joined RSDRP (m). From 1887 to 1906 Liubov lived abroad. Orthodox was a well-known Menshevik theorist and philosopher. In 1917 she was a member of the Menshevik CC.

Aladzhalova Nina Nikitichna, 1881-1964 born in Nakhichevan-on-Don to a wealthy family. In 1897 she graduated from Rostov music school and in 1900 passed exams to become a governess. Aladzhalova joined RSDRP in 1902. Her party work was mainly in the Caucasus. She worked as a Sunday school teacher and a propagandist (1903-5), participated in setting up an illegal printing house (1906), manufactured bombs and explosives, organised escapes from prisons. 1904-1906 Aladzhalova was a technical

secretary of the Caucasian Joint RSDRP Committee. Between 1906 and 1912 she lived abroad for medical reasons but continued her party work there. In 1916 Aladzhalova helped to establish the Dress-makers' and Tailors' Trade Union. After the February Revolution she was elected Bolshevik deputy to the Soviet in the Caucasus. She was imprisoned several times. Aladzhalova worked for the party (zhenotdel, party collegiate) until 1940.

Andreeva Mariia Fedorovna (nee Yurkovskaia), 1868-1953 born in Petersburg. Mariia joined the RSDRP in 1904. She was a professional actress. In 1905 she edited the Bolshevik newspaper *Novaia Zhizn.* From 1906 to 1913 she lived abroad gathering funds for the party and helping to transport illegal literature into Russia. She was Gorky's common-law wife.

Armand Inessa Fedorovna (nee Steffen, party name – Elena Fedorovna), 1874-1920 born in Paris to an artist's family. Her father was English and her mother was French. Her initial education was at home and later she attended Brussels University. Armand joined the RSDRP in 1904. 1905-7 she worked for the party in Moscow. As a professional revolutionary she worked both in Russia and abroad. She died of cholera and was buried in Red Square in Moscow. She was arrested, imprisoned and exiled on many occasions. In 1917 she was one of the party organisers in Moscow.

Artiukhina Aleksandra Vasil'evna, 1889-1969 born in Vyshnii Volochek into the family of a weaver. She joined the RSDRP in 1910. Aleksandra was trained as a textile worker. After the February Revolution she headed zhenotdel in Vyshnii Volochiok where she was active also during the October Revolution. After October 1917 she was the head of the zhenotdel in Tver province. In her later career Atiukhina headed department of women workers and peasants of the CC RKP (b), and was one time editor of *Rabotnitsa.* She was many times arrested and exiled.

Aveide Mariia Oskarovna (mar. Bushen), 1884 – 1919 born in Viatka into the family of a Polish exile. She graduated from a gymnasium and taught from home. She joined RSDRP in 1904 in Perm and was a participant of the 1905-7 Revolution in the Urals. She was a member of Ekaterinburg party committee and was one of the organisers of Ekaterinburg soviet. Aveide was one of the organisers of an illegal printing house in Yekaterinburg and worked for the RSDRP committee as a professional propagandist. In 1908 she worked for the party in Samara. She was arrested on several occasions. After the February Revolution Aveide worked with youth in Samara and headed Samara agitation group. She died fighting the Kolchak army during the civil war.

Avilova Mariia Aristarkhovna, 1898-1964 joined the Bolshevik party in 1916. During 1917 she worked in a Petrograd district party committee rising to the rank of a secretary in September that year. In October 1917 Avilova headed Red Guards units. After the revolution she worked for various party organisations including Lenin's secretariat between 1918 and 1919.

Baiar Elizaveta Martynovna, 1879-1967 joined the party in 1904. Her activities centred on Riga, Latvia where her work included distributing illegal literature and safekeeping arms cache.

Barisova Raisa Borisovna 1890-1966 (party name 'Rashel') joined the party in 1912. Between 1912 and 1915 Barisova worked for Dvinsk party group. In 1917 she was a party executive in Saratov.

Bosh Evgeniia Bogdanovna (Gotlibovna) 1879-1925 (some of her party names were Irina, Yaponka, Nina Pavlovna) born in Kherson gubernia. Her father was a German and worked as a mechanic at the Black Sea. Bosh joined the RSDRP in 1901. She was actively involved in reconstructing the party organisation in Kiev after 1909 and in 1910 became its secretary. In 1912 Bosh was exiled to Siberia from there she escaped abroad in 1914, returning only after the February Revolution. She was elected a member of the Kiev RSDRP Committee and the Soviet. From April 1917 she became chairman of the Kiev region party committee. Bosh participated in the anti-Provsional Government uprising. In December 1917 she was elected a member of the Ukrainian Central Executive Committee and chaired the Department of Home Affairs in the Soviet Government. Until 1922 she was one of the leading party activists in Ukraine when she had to retire due to a serious illness. In 1925 Evgeniia Bosh committed suicide.

Brichkina Sof'ia Borisovna, 1883-1967 began her working life at the age of 13. She joined the revolutionary movement in 1900 and in 1903 became an RSDRP member. In 1906 she was arrested. In 1917 Brichkina was a secretary of the Moscow Soviet. Her active role in the party continued until 1949.

Brodskaia Sarra Akimovna, 1887-1967 joined the revolutionary movement in 1905. Four years later she joined the RSDRP working in Odessa, Kiev. Between 1909 and 1915 she was imprisoned. On her release Brodskaia became a Bolshevik party underground worker in Kiev and Moscow. She was arrested once again and exiled to Siberia. After the February revolution she worked as a secretary of Sokol'niki district party organisation in Moscow. Brodskaia retired from active party work in 1955.

Broido Eva 1876-1941 born in Vilno. She was first married at the age of 18. From this marriage she had 2 children. In 1900, with Boris Savinkov and her future husband Mark Broido, Eva started the Socialist Group in St. Petersburg. In the space of just one year Broido was imprisoned four times and later exiled. In 1905 she worked for Mensheviks in Baku as a propagandist and agitator. That same year she was imprisoned for three years. After her release Broido worked for the Menshevik publication *Luch*. In 1912 she joined the Menshevik Organisational Committee and in 1917 Menshevik Central Committee. She left Russia in 1920, returning in 1927 on behalf of the Menshevik delegation in exile. She was arrested 1927-28, and executed in 1941.

Cherniak (nee Todorskaia) Ruzia Iosifovna, 1900-1937 born in Poland. Her father was an office worker. She began her revolutionary life in 1914 working in the social democratic movement. In March of 1917 Cherniak became a Bolshevik and a technical secretary of Moscow party committee. During October 1917 she acted as a messenger between Red Guard detachments and the party revolutionary committee. After the revolution she did party work in the army. In 1937 she was arrested and died in prison.

Danilova Appolinariia Prilidianovna, 1894-1967 a Russian, she joined the party in 1916. During the October revolution she worked for the party in Petrograd.

Deriabina Serafima Ivanovna, 1888-1920 (party names: Ivanova, Sima), a Russian, she was born in Yekaterinburg. In 1904 Deriabina joined the Bolsheviks. In 1914 she became member of Petersburg RSDRP Executive Commission. After the February Revolution she was a member of Samara City Soviet. In the period between the revolutions Deriabina worked for the party in the Urals and Povolzhie. After the October Revolution she was appointed to Samara RSDRP regional and executive committees as a kommissar of publishing affairs. In 1920 Deriabina died of tuberculosis.

Dodonova Anna Andreevna, 1888-1967 a Russian, she was in the Bolshevik party from 1911. Dodonova was a graduate of the Moscow Higher Courses for Women. There she participated in social-democratic work, for which she was arrested. After the February Revolution Dodonova became a secretary of Moscow City Soviet. In October and November of 1917 she worked as a secretary of the VRK.

Drabkina Feodosiia Il'inichna 1883-1957 (party name - Natasha) a Russian, she began her revolutionary activity as a propagandist among workers in 1900 but did not join the RSDRP formally until 1903. In the 1905 Revolution she was a member of the Bolshevik military organisation in Moscow and during the December uprising she delivered weapons to Moscow. In 1906 Drabkina worked as a secretary of Narva party organisation in Petersburg and later as a secretary of Petersburg RSDRP city organisation. In 1914 she was exiled to Vilno and then to Yekaterinburg. In 1917 Drabkina she worked in the secretariat of RSDRP CC and the VRK, as well as in the editorial staff of "Pravda", "Izvestiia" in Petrograd.

Dubrovinskaia Aleksandra D. a participant of the 1905 revolution in Siberia. From July of 1917 she worked in Krasnoyarsk RSDRP regional bureau.

Efimova G. a Russian textile worker from Ivanovo-Voznesensk who joined the Bolshevik party in 1917 and worked as a propagandist at her factory party committee.

Egorova Evgeniia Nikolaevna (real name Lepin' Marta-Ella), 1892-1938 born in Ruine (Latvia) in the family of a Latvian carpenter. She was trained to become a seamstress. One of Egorova's early revolutionary tasks was as a courier of party literature from abroad to Riga. She joined the Bolshevik party in 1911 in Moscow. In 1915 she was exiled to Siberia from where she returned illegally to Petrograd on a passport of one of her fellow exiles. There, Egorova participated in setting up an underground publishing house for *Pravda*. In the October Revolution she worked in Vyborg district revolutionary headquarters and closely collaborated with Krupskaia. After the revolution Egorova headed the agitation department in the Petrograd regional committee. She continued to work for party organisations after the revolution. She was arrested (and executed?) in 1937.

Elizarova Anna Il'inichna (nee Ul'ianova), 1864-1935 a Russian, she was born in Simbirsk, into the family of a school inspector. Like her brothers, Aleksandr Ul'ianov and Vladimir (Lenin), Anna was a professional revolutionary. In 1883 she graduated from the Bestuzhev courses (teacher training). Her first arrest came in 1887 in

connection with her elder brother's revolutionary activities for which he was executed. In 1898 Elizarova joined the RSDRP. Among her party activities was propaganda, membership of various party committees and on the editorial staff of various party publications, e.g. *Pravda*, *Rabotnitsa*, *Tkach*. She was arrested and exiled on many occasions. In 1917 she was in Petrograd. Anna was married to a fellow revolutionary Mark Elizarov.

Fikhman Sofia (mar. Garvi) joined the Mensheviks after the split in the RSDRP and became one of the contributors to the Menshevik press. She was one of the leading 'liquidators' in St. Petersburg. In 1917 Fikhman was a member of the right Menshevik group.

Flakserman G.K. worked in the secretariat of the CC RSDRP during 1917. The first meeting of this committee to discuss the issue of the socialist uprising took place in her flat on October 23, 1917. Flakserman was married to a fellow-revolutionary N.N.Sukhanov who became a Menshevik in May 1917.

Fofanova Margarita Vasil'evna, 1883-1976 born in Perm guberniia into the family of a river captain. From 1910 she studied at Petersburg agricultural courses. Previously she taught at a village school. Though Fofanova did not join the RSDRP formally until 1917 she actively participated in revolutionary work from the start of the century. Her first arrest came in 1903. On party business she worked in Archangelsk, Simferopol, Ufa. After the February revolution Fofanova was elected as a deputy of the Petrograd City Soviet. Her flat was used by Bolsheviks who returned to the city from prison, exile and emigration. Lenin stayed there during the July events and in October of 1917. Together with Krupskaia she worked in the educational department of the Vyborg soviet. During the October events Fofanova worked in Smolny.

Fotieva Lidiia Aleksandrovna, 1881-1975 joined the RSDRP in 1904. During preparations for the October uprising she worked in the Vyborg Committee of the RSDRP and in the editorial staff of *Pravda*. Between 1918 and 1924 she worked as Lenin's personal secretary. Her party secretarial career continued until 1930. Thereafter Fotieva worked in Lenin's State Museum in Moscow.

Glieser Polina Samoilovna, 1898 – alive in 1959 joined the RSDRP in 1917. She was a participant of the October events in Moscow. After the revolution she worked in Moscow women's and later in trade union organisations.

Gopner Serafima Il'inichna, 1880-1966 born in Kherson. She studied law at the Odessa Women's Courses and literature in Paris University. She joined the RSDRP in 1903. In 1905-7 she was a member of Ekaterinoslav RSDRP committee. Gopner carried out party propaganda in Nikolaev, Kiev and Odessa. Her first arrest came in 1905. Between 1910 and 1916 she lived and worked abroad. She came back to Russia after the February revolution and was elected a soviet deputy and a member of RSDRP Ekaterinoslav committee. Until 1930 Gopner held a number of executive positions in the party in Ukraine concentrating her activities on the party press.

Grundman Elza Iakovlevna, 1891-1931 born into a family of poor peasants in Kurliand. She joined the party in 1906. During the October revolution Grundman was

in Petrograd and among the first Bolsheviks to enter the Winter Palace. After the revolution she continued her party work in the army and VChK. She was arrested and imprisoned 4 times.

Gurvich Yevgeniia Adolfovna, born in 1861 Jewish, her early revolutionary activity was in Narodnaia Volia and Bund. Her first arrest came in 1898 and was followed by exile to Siberia in 1900. From there she fled abroad and returned to Russia only in 1906 to work for the Mensheviks. In 1917 Gurvich was a member of the Executive Committee in Minsk Soviet.

Iakovleva Varvara Nikolaevna, 1884-1944 born into a petty bourgeois family. She studied at the Women's Higher Courses in St. Petersburg. Iakovleva joined the RSDRP in 1904. She was a participant of the 1905-7 Revolution in Moscow. One of her party tasks was carrying out social democratic propaganda among workers. She was exiled on several occasions in 1910 and 1913. Having escaped from Siberian exile she was re-arrested and sent to Astrakhan. On her return to Moscow Iakovleva was co-opted into the work of the Moscow Region Central Committee as a secretary. She was also one of the members of the organising committee for Moscow October uprising. She died in imprison after her arrest for allegedly supporting Trotskyists.

Ikrianistova M.F. (party name Truba) joined the RSDRP in 1904. She worked as a textile worker in Ivanovo-Voznesensk. In 1905, during the 1905 Revolution she was elected into the first Soviet. In 1917, she was once again a member of Ivanovo-Voznesensk Soviet.

Ivanitskaia O.P. elected to Moscow District Committee of the RSDRP April 1917.

Kalinina Ekaterina Ivanovna, 1882-1960 worked as a weaver in her early life. Since 1905 Kalinina was active in the revolutionary movement. She was a member of the Petersburg soviet in the February revolution but did not join the RSDRP formally until March of 1917. She was married to one of the Bolshevik leaders, Mikhail Kalinin.

Kim Aleksandra Petrovna (mar. Kim-Stankevich) 1885-1918 the first Korean woman to join the RSDRP. Though her formal membership did not start until 1917, she carried out revolutionary work among workers in the Urals between 1914 and 1917. Kim was one of the founders of the Union of Korean socialists.

Kolesnikova (Drobinskaia) Nadezhda Nikolaevna, 1882-1964 daughter of a white-collar worker, a graduate of Moscow Teacher Training Courses, Kolesnikova joined the RSDRP in 1904. In December of 1905 she participated in the Moscow uprising. Between 1907 and 1916 she worked in the Moscow and Baku party organisations. After the February Revolution Kolesnikova worked as a secretary of Moscow okruzhkom RSDRP. In August of 1917 with her husband Zevin Ya.D. she moved to Baku where she continued her revolutionary work.

Kollontai Aleksandra Mikhailovna, 1872-1952 born into the family of a general in Petersburg. She was a student of Zurich University and later continued her studies in Great Britain. Kollontai became active in the revolutionary movement from 1896. Among her early work were propaganda and agitation, management of a workers'

circle in Petersburg. During the 1905-7 revolution Kollontai worked in an illegal Bolshevik printing house and with women workers. She was one of the initiators of the Society for Mutual Help to Women. In 1906 Aleksandra Kollontai joined the RSDRP, first on the side of Mensheviks. In 1915 she joined the Bolsheviks. After the February Revolution she was elected to the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet and a member of the VRK. She also worked on the editorial staff of *Rabotnitsa*. After the Revolution she headed the women's department until she joined the Workers' Opposition. From 1923 she was an ambassador, mainly in Scandinavia.

Korovaikova V.A. joined the RSDRP in 1905 while working among workers of Ivanovo-Voznesensk. She was arrested and exiled on many occasions. In April 1917 Korovaikova was elected a member of Ivanovo-Voznesensk Town Committee of RSDRP and became a secretary of the Executive Committee of the town soviet.

Kostelovskaia Mariia Mikhailovna, 1878-1964 born in Ufa into the family of a junior civil servant. She attended Women's Higher Courses in Moscow. In 1903 she joined the RSDRP. During the Revolution of 1905-7 she worked for the party in the Crimea and Petersburg. In the period between 1906 and 1910 Kostelovskaia lived in Finland from where she organised illegal border crossings for her party comrades. From 1916 and throughout 1917 she was one of the party senior organisors in the Red Presnia district of Moscow. Prior to the 1917 Revolution Kostelovskaia was arrested and imprisoned on several occasions.

Krupskaia Nadezhda Konstantinovna, 1869-1939 born in Petersburg into the family of an officer. During the early 1890s she studied at the Bestuzhev courses and taught at a Sunday evening school. Krupskaia was one of the first propagandists in the early women workers' groups. She joined the RSDRP in 1898. Her whole life was devoted to revolutionary activities. She was arrested, imprisoned and exiled on many occasions. Between the two revolutions of 1905-7 and 1917 Krupskaia spent a considerable amount of time abroad working for the party. She was a secretary for *Iskra*, *Vpered* and *Proletarii*. Krupskaia devoted a lot of her time to working with and writing about women and youth issues. She was married to Lenin.

Kudelli Praskovia Frantsevna, 1859-1944 joined the RSDRP in 1903. She was arrested and exiled on several occasions. A lot of her work was for party publications. For example in 1912 she worked for 'Pravda'. In 1914 she actively participated in the setting up of 'Rabotnitsa' and later became one of its editors. Kudelli returned to Petrograd in early March of 1917.

Lisinova (Lisinian) Lusik Artemevna, 1897-1917 joined the RSDRP in 1916. After the February Revolution she worked as a secretary of Zamoskvoretskii district soviet. Lisinova was one of the founders of Soiuz Rabochei Molodezhi. She was killed during the October uprising in Moscow and buried in the Red Square.

Liudvinskaia Tatiana Fedorovna, 1887-1976 joined the RSDRP in 1903. After the February revolution she worked as a party representative in Bogorodsk uezd committee. Liudvinskaia was one of the founders of Red Guard detachments. During October 1917 she a member of VRK in a Moscow district.

Malinovskaia Elena Konstantinovna, 1869-1942 became a RSDRP member in 1905. In March of 1917 she set up and headed the Cultural and Educational Commission at Moscow City Soviet.

Markina Anna Karpovna, 1880-1922 born in Tula in a peasant family. After her mother's death Markina moved to Moscow where she first worked as a home help. From 1900 she worked at a stocking factory. She taught herself literacy. In 1905 Markina became a member of the RSDRP and one of its technical secretaries. In October 1917 Markina worked at the Moscow revolutionary headquarters where she headed a supply department. She was married.

Menzhinskaia Ludmila Rudolfovna, 1876-1933 daughter of a history professor. After graduation from a girl's high school Menzhinskaia studied for three years at a teacher training course and worked for a number of years as a teacher. In 1904 she joined the RSDRP. In 1905 she worked as a secretary of the party Petersburg Committee. During 1905 events she kept and transported weapons for the party members. Between 1912 and 1914 Menzhinskaia was one of the regular contributors to *Pravda*. In 1914 she worked on the editorial staff of *Rabotnitsa*. After the February Revolution she worked as a secretary of the RSDRP Central Committee and at Petrograd Committee.

Menzhinskaia Vera Rudolfovna, 1872-1944 sister of Menzhinskaia L.R. She attended the same school and courses as her sister and also taught at a Sunday school. Between 1905 and 1907 Vera worked as an aid to N. Krupskaia. Just like her sister she contributed to *Pravda*. After 1915 she engaged mainly in agitation work. In 1917 she worked at the RSDRP Central Committee secretariat.

Nevzorova (mar. Krzhizhanovskaia) Zinaida Pavlovna, 1870-1948 born in Nizhnii Novgorod into the family of a teacher. In 1894 she graduated from Petersburg Higher Women's Courses. She became actively involved in revolutionary work form her student days. In 1898 she joined a social democratic group. In 1896 she was exiled to Siberia. After the split in the RSDRP Nevzorova sided with the Bolsheviks. After the February Revolution she worked in the Moscow Region Soviet. She was married to a fellow revolutionary Menzhninskii.

Nikolaeva Klavdiia Ivanovna, 193-1944 born in Petersburg into a working class family. Klavdiia was trained as a book binder. She joined the RSDRP in 1909. Soon after she was arrested. After the February Revolution she worked on the editorial staff of *Rabotnitsa*. At the same time Nikolaeva was a member of the First Petrograd party district committee.

Novgorodtseva (Sverdlova) Klavdiia Timofeevna, 1876-1960 (party name – Olga) born into a merchant family. Klavdiia was well educated and worked for a time as a teacher. Her social democratic activities began in the late 1890s. She joined the RSDRP in 1904 and became a member of Ekaterinburg RSDRP committee. Novgorodtseva was arrested and exiled on many occasions. In 1906 she was imprisoned for her participation in the 1905 revolution in Perm. After the February revolution she headed the Bolshevik publishing house 'Priboi'. She was married to a fellow Bolshevik Yakov Sverdlov.

Obukh Varvara Petrovna, 1871-1963 joined the RSDRP in 1894. Varvara started her revolutionary activities in the Petersburg League for Liberation of Working Class. She worked for the party in Moscow and Kiev until 1916. In 1917 she became a member of the Bolshevik faction in Moscow Soviet. In 1930 Varvara retired from the party work.

Okulova (married Teodorovich) Glafira Ivanovna, 1878-1957 (party name – Zaichik) born into the family of a gold dealer. Glafira was a graduate of the Moscow Teacher Training Courses. In 1899 she joined the RSDRP. In 1900-2 Okulova was a member of Ivanovo-Voznesensk RSDRP and an *Iskra* agent in Samara and Moscow. From 1902 to 1905 she lived in exile in Yakutsk. During the revolution of 1905 and for the next three years Okulova lived and worked in Petersburg. After 1908 she gave up active party work. However, in 1911 she followed her husband, a fellow revolutionary to exile in Eastern Siberia. The February Revolution found her in Krasnoiarsk where Okulova was elected on to the Soviet and the regional RSDRP bureau. After participating in the revolutionary events and the Civil War she devoted her life to more party work and education.

Ostrovskaia N.I. member of a revolutionary regional committee in the Crimea in 1917.

Pavlova G.M. member of the RSDRP since 1906. She was married to a fellow revolutionary. During the First World War their flat was used by the party Central Committee for clandestine work. In 1916 it became party headquarters where they kept the party seal and archives. During the October revolution Lenin used it for meetings with other party leaders.

Pekarzh-Krassovskaia Ianina M. member of the Krasnoiarsk party committee during the 1905-7 revolution. From July 1917 Pekarzh became a member of the Krasnoiarsk RSDRP district bureau. After August of that year she was promoted to the Pan-Siberian party organisation which co-ordinated work of 17 Siberian organisations and some 5,000 party members. During the Civil War she with her husband and two children were imprisoned by Kolchak's counter-revolutionary army and later executed.

Pilatskaia Olga Vladimirovna, 1884-1937 joined the RSDRP in 1904 and was a member of the 1905 uprising in Moscow. After the February Revolution Olga became a party organiser in a Moscow district. During October days she worked on the revolutionary committee of that district. After the Revolution Pilatskaia worked in the Moscow regional Cheka (the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for the Struggle against Counter-Revolution and Sabotage), and was a secretary of an agitation department before moving to Ukraine in 1922 where she continued party work in different capacities.

Platova E.S. a textile worker who was active in the 1905 Revolution in Kostroma guberniia. In 1917 she worked in Ivanovo-Voznesensk where she was elected to the first Soviet. Platova was one of the first organisers of orphanages and crèches. In 1919 she went to the front.

Podvoiskaia Nina (Antonina) Avgustovna, 1882-1953 joined the RSDRP in 1902. Between 1903 and 1904 Podvoiskaia worked for the party in Iaroslavl', Nizhnii Novgorod, Moscow, Perm and Petersburg. During the 1905 Revolution Nina helped to set up armed squads in Kostroma. In 1906 she was arrested and exiled to Tobolsk. From there she escaped abroad and returned to Russia in 1908 to continue her party work in Kostroma and Petersburg. After the February Revolution Podvoiskaia worked in the secretariat of the Petrograd RSDRP committee. During October 1917 she worked in the Petrograd revolutionary committee. Thereafter Nina worked for the party in various organisations. She was married to one of the Bolshevik leaders, N.I. Podvoiskii.

Poliakova E.M. a textile worker from Ivanovo-Voznesensk. She joined the party in 1916. In 1917 she was elected on to Ivanovo-Voznesensk Soviet and in 1919 she volunteered for the front.

Pomerantseva Aleksandra Vladimirovna, 1871-alive 1959 joined the RSDRP in 1903. Before 1917 Revolution she worked for the party in the Crimea, Orel, Briansk, Nizhnii Novgorod, Moscow. In 1917 she was one of the party organisers in Siberia where she was a member of the Pan-Siberian party bureau. In 1918-1920 she was captured and imprisoned by Kolchak's counter-revolutionary army. She continued her party work on release.

Ravich Sara Naumovna 1879-1957 (pseudonim Olga) born in Kharkov, and joined the RSDRP in 1903. She worked for the party in Kharkov, Petersburg and abroad. In 1917 she was a member of the Petrograd VRK. Sara was the common-law wife of a leading revolutionary Zinoviev.

Razumova Matriona Nikolaevna one of the participants and organisers of the 1905 strike movement in Ivanovo-Voznesensk. She was elected to the first ever Soviet the same year. During that revolution Matriona transported weapons between her town and Kostroma for the strikers. In 1907 she kept a safe house and acted as a communications link for the Bolshevik party committee and an illegal printing house. In 1917 she was once again elected to Ivanovo-Voznesensk Soviet.

Rekstyn Anna Ivanovna, 1894-1967 joined RSDRP officially in 1917 but had became active in the revolutionary movement in 1916. During the October uprising, she organised women-workers into fighting cells in one of Moscow working class districts.

Rozmirovich Elena Fedorovna, 1886-1953 (party pseudonyms – Galina Troianovskaia, Evgeniia) born into a noble family in Kherson guberniia. She was a graduate of a high school in Elizavetgrad. Elena joined the party in 1904. She worked as secretary of the Bolshevik faction in the Fourth Duma. In 1910 she was exiled abroad and returned in 1913. Her work included the editing of such party publications as *Pravda* and *Rabotnitsa*. Until 1916 she worked for the Moscow party committee but in June of that year she was arrested and this time exiled to Siberia. In February next year she became a member of the Irkutsk party committee. On her return to Petrograd in March of 1917 she worked as a member of the All-Russia Central VRK Bureau and carried out propaganda in the city garrisons. At the same time she worked

on the editorial staff of *Soldatskaia Pravda*. During October days she worked from Smolny.

Samoilova (nee Gromova) Konkordiia Nikolaevna, 1876-1921 (party name – Natasha) born in Irkutsk, into the family of a village priest. In the 1890s she graduated from the Higher Women's Courses in St. Petersburg, where she first became involved in the revolutionary movement. Konkordiia joined the party in 1902. During the 1905-7 revolution she worked for the party among workers and peasants in Odessa, Moscow and Baku. Between 1908 and 1912 she was imprisoned and exiled several times. In the period between 1912 and 1914 Konkordiia worked as a secretary on the editorial staff of *Rabotnitsa*. In 1914 she was arrested at one of the editors' meetings. During 1917 she was one of the prominent party activists and orators. After the October Revolution Samoilova chaired the Petrograd Commission on work with women-workers. She died of cholera while working on a party agitation steamer.

Savel'eva Aleksandra Vasil'evna, 1886-1964 joined the party in 1904. She worked as a party propagandist in Moscow, Petersburg, Ekaterinoslav, Tsaritsyn, Sormovo and Nizhnii Novgorod. Between 1908 and 1912 she lived abroad avoiding arrest but continued to work for the party and helped to smuggle party literature into Russia. When at home Aleksandra was arrested on many occasions. During 1917 she worked in Nizhnii Novgorod, first in the Presidium of the local RSDRP Committee and as an editor of the Bolshevik newspaper *Internatsional* and later in October in the VRK.

Sheina (nee Poldushkina) Pelageia Fedorovna, 1885-1964 joined the party in 1905. She was active in the revolutionary events of 1905-7. In 1909 Pelageia was arrested and exiled to Saratov. Between 1911 and 1917 she worked for the party in Samara.

Shustova M.A. a textile worker from Ivanovo-Voznesensk, who in 1917 joined the RSDRP and was elected into the city Soviet.

Sinitsyna T.A. a textile worker, and a member of Ivanovo-Voznesensk city Soviet in 1917.

Slutskaia Vera Klimentievna (Berta Bronislavovna), 1874-1917 born into the family of a Minsk artisan. She was trained as a professional dentist. Vera began her revolutionary activities in 1898. In 1901 she became a member of the Bund, the Jewish socialist organisation. In 1902 she joined the RSDRP. After participating in the revolution of 1905 she emigrated abroad and returned to Russia in 1908 to work for the Bolshevik party in Petersburg. Between 1909 and 1913 she lived and studied abroad. After the February revolution she worked in a Petrograd district Soviet and was a member of the city RSDRP committee. After April 1917 Vera worked as a secretary of a Petrograd district VRK. Slutskaia was arrested, imprisoned and exiled on several occasions. She died in a combat during Kerensky-Krasnov insurrection against the Bolshevik seizure of power.

Smidovich Sofia Nikolaevna, 1872-1934 daughter of a lawyer, Sofia was trained as a teacher. She joined the RSDRP in 1898. She worked as a party propagandist in Moscow, Tula, Kaluga and Kiev. During 1917 she was a secretary of the Moscow region party bureau CC. Sofia was arrested and exiled on many ocasions.

Sokolovskaia Sofia Ivanovna, 1894-1938 (party name – Svetlova Elena Kirillovna) joined the RSDRP formally only in 1915, but from 1903 she was an active participant of the student revolutionary movement in Chernigov, Ukraine. After the February revolution Sofia became a member of Chernigov Soviet and Regional Revolutionary Committee.

Spiridonova Mariia Aleksandrovna, 1884-1941 born into the minor nobility in Tambov. She joined the PSR in 1906. In 1906 she assassinated Tambov's Deputy Governor, G.N. Luzhenovsky. For that she was sentenced to death which was commuted to life katorga. After the February Revolution she returned to Petrograd and became one of the founder members of the Left SR Party, advocating coalition with the Bolsheviks in November 1917. She was repeatedly arrested and imprisoned by the Bolsheviks from 1918 and was eventually condemned to death by military tribunal.

Stal Liudmila Nikolaevna, 1872-1939 born into a Jewish family in Ekaterinoslav. She joined the RSDRP in 1898. Stal left her higher educational studies before completing her course. She was arrested and exiled on many occasions. Between 1907 and 1917 she lived and worked for the party abroad escaping arrest and internal exile. After the February Revolution she acted as a party agitator in Petrograd. From August 1917 Liudmila worked as an editor of *Proletarskoe delo*, a Kronstadt newspaper, and as a member of the party Executive Committee.

Stasova Elena Dmitrievna, 1873-1966 (party name – *Absoliut*) born into a noble family. Her father was a leading Petersburg lawyer. Elena graduated from the women's higher educational courses. In the 1890s she taught at a Sunday school. Stasova joined the RSDRP in 1898. Between 1904 and 1906 she worked as a secretary of the RSDRP Northern Bureau, Petersburg Committee and Russian Bureau CC. During the 1905-7 Revolution she organised transportation of party literature from Geneva. In the period between 1907 and 1912 she worked in Tiflis. She was exiled to Eastern Siberia in 1913 and returned to the centre in 1916. After the February Revolution she became secretary of the RSDRP CC. Stasova was one of the active organisers and participants of the October Revolution.

Subbotina Lidiia I. a participant of the 1905-7 Revolution. In 1917 she was a member of the Krasnoiarsk RSDRP committee.

Sulimova Mariia Leontievna, 1881-1969 joined the RSDRP in 1905. After the February Revolution she became a technical secretary of the Petrograd RSDRP Committee and worked in the VRK. V.I. Lenin was hiding in her flat during July events of 1917. From August 1917 she worked in RSDRP Central Committee.

Sveshnikova (mar. Vydrina) Mariia Nikolaevna joined the RSDRP in 1915. Until 1916 she lived in Moscow where she worked as a textile worker. During the October Revolution she worked as a party propagandist in Petrograd.

Tiranina M. a worker, she was a member of the Orekhovo-Zuevo Soviet in 1917.

Trofimova Tatiana a worker, she joined the RSDRP in 1917. In August 1917 she was one of the activists in the Bolshevik election campaign in Ivanovo-Voznesensk.

Troitskaia Elena Ivanovna, 1897-alive in 1959 joined RSDRP in 1916. She was an active participant in the revolutionary movement of 1917 in Moscow.

Turin Milda, 1891-1920 born into the family of a Latvian factory worker in Latvia. On the death of her mother she, still a child, worked as *batrachka* at a farm. Later Milda moved to a town to work at a factory. In 1915 she was exiled to Siberia for participation in the strike movement. After the February revolution she returned to Moscow where she worked as a party branch secretary.

Ulianova Mariia Ilinichna, 1878-1937 born in Simbirsk, the daughter of a school inspector. She graduated from various courses at home and abroad, including Brussels University. Mariia joined the RSDRP in 1898. From that moment and until 1917 she worked for various RSDRP branches in Moscow, Kiev, Saratov, Petersburg/ Petrograd and abroad, with frequent instances of arrest and short imprisonment and exile. She then spends a year abroad. After the February Revolution she was elected into the RSDRP CC. From March 1917 she worked on the editorial staff of *Pravda*.

Varentsova Olga Afanasievna, 1862-1950 joined the RSDRP in 1893 (party names – Mariia Ivanovna and Ekaterina Nikolaevna). She was born into a weaver's family in Ivanovo-Voznesensk (her father was a former serf who had his own small weaving factory). Olga was a graduate of Moscow's Higher Women's Courses. In the 1880s she was an active student revolutionary. She organised and ran study circles for women-workers in Ivanovo-Voznesensk. In 1901-2 Varentsova was a member of the RSDRP CC and secretary-in-chief of the Northern Workers' Union. Between 1903 and 1917 she worked for the party in Astrakhan, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Moscow, Petersburg, Vologda and Yaroslavl that also included executive roles. On many occasions she was arrested and imprisoned. In October of 1917 she was a member of troika which headed the Bolshevik's fight against counter-revolutionaries.

Velichkina Vera Mikhailovna (mar. Bonch-Bruevich), 1868-1918 daughter of a leading Moscow doctor (or priest?). She studied medicine in Zurich and became a doctor. Her involvement in the social democratic movement began on her return to Russia in the 1890s. Vera joined the RSDRP in 1903. In 1905 she worked for the Duma SD faction. Prior to the October Revolution Velichkina wrote for various party publications, including *Vpered*, *Proletarii*, *Pravda* and *Zvezda*. After the February Revolution she worked as a secretary on the editorial staff of *Izvestiia*, and *Rabotnitsa*, and was a member of a Petrograd district party committee. In October of 1917 she worked in the medical department of Petrograd VRK. After the Revolution Velichkina was active in setting up the Soviet health system.

Veselova A.M. a worker, she joined the RSDRP in 1917 and was active in the Tver party organisation.

Vishniakova Praskovia Ivanovna, 1887-1961 born in Krasnodar region into a peasant family. She joined the RSDRP in 1903. Her revolutionary life centred around the south of Russia, namely Ekaterinodar. She was arrested and exiled on numerous occasions. In 1917 she was the only woman-member of the Ekaterinodar RSDRP Committee.

Voronova Pelageia Yakovlevna, 1892-alive in 1959 joined the RSDRP in February of 1917. In October of 1917 she was a party activist in Ivanovo-Voznesensk.

Zapevalova E.E. a textile-worker from Ivanovo-Voznesensk, she joined the RSDRP in 1917 as an active trade unionist.

Zaretskaia S. began work for the RSDRP at the turn of the century. She was a talented orator and propagandist. During her revolutionary life Zaretskaia was arrested and imprisoned on many occasions. She was a member of the Menshevik Central Committee in 1917.

Zelikson (mar. Bobrovskaia) Tsetsiliia Samoilovna, 1876-1960 born in Vitebsk guberniia, daughter of a white-collar worker. She joined the RSDRP in 1898. In 1904 she was a member of the Baku party committee. In 1905-7 she was a participant of revolutionary events in Moscow, working as a member of a district committee and then as a secretary of the regional bureau. Tsetsiliia was a party propagandist and organiser working in different parts of the country, e.g. Kharkov, Tver, Tiflis, Baku, etc. In 1917 she worked for Moscow Bolshevik party Committee.

Zemliachka (nee Zalkind) Rozaliia Samoilovna, 1876-1947 (party names – Demon and Osipov) born in Mogilev, daughter of a wealthy Jewish merchant. She was educated in a gymnasium. She joined the RSDRP in 1896. She was arrested and imprisoned on several occasions. From 1903 Rozaliia was coopted into the RSDRP CC. During the 1905-7 Revolution she was a secretary of Moscow Bolshevik committee. In 1909 Zemliachka worked as a secretary of Baku party committee. From 1915 she worked for Moscow city and regional party committees. In October of 1917 she headed a Moscow district party organisation.

APPENDIX FOUR

Archive #124
All-Union Society of Old Bolsheviks (VSOB)

The archive contains two lists (inventories) with personal case studies between 1922, the ASOB foundation year, and 1935, the year when it was disbanded. The second list contains names of people who were refused entry into the society or whose applications arrived after it had been disbanded. The first list has 2259 names in all, of which the following are female, arranged according to the Russian alphabet:

1.	Abolin' Inna Ia.	1 (inventory number)
2.	Abolin' Ekaterina Iu.	2
3.	Avaliani-Shiriaeva Ekaterina E.	8
4.	Agrinskaia-Romanenko Elizaveta K.	14
5.	Adamovich Evgeniia N.	15
6.	Aladzhalova Nina N.	28
7.	Aleksandrova Natal'ia A.	30
8.	Alekseeva Ekaterina A.	37
9.	Allilueva Ol'ga E.	40
10.	Andreeva Evgeniia I.	53
11.	Anson Elizaveta P.	61
12.	Artiukhina Aleksandra V.	83
13.	Aurin-Urbatsan Ol'ga A.	94
14.	Bavlentseva Pelageia I.	110
15.	Barkhatova Lidiia N.	130
16.	Baskir Riza V.	133
17.	Baiar Liza M.	146
18.	Bezrukova Ekaterina V.	152
19.	Belaia Ekaterina I.	155
20.	Belova-Gavrilova Ol'ga A.	160
21.	Berzin' Elizaveta L.	172
22.	Bertse Paulina Iu.	177
23.	Beshenkovskaia Mariia S.	180
24.	Birgel' Al'vina Ia.	184
25.	Bits Anna I.	195
26.	Blium Lina I.	205
27.	Bobrovskaia Tsetsiliia S.	212
28.	Bogdanovich Elizaveta N.	221
29.	Bogorad Mina L.	226
30.	Boikova Lidiia I.	230
31.	Boimenblit Anna E.	231
32.	Bondareva Ida I.	234
33.	Bondarenko Anna M.	235
34.	Borman Paulina F.	242
35.	Brodskaia Sarra A.	253
36.	Bronshtein Vera S.	255
37.	Brusilovskaia Mariia V.	258
38.	Brutser-Pel'she Luiza I.	259

139.	Krupskaia Nadezhda K.	993
140.	Krustynson Marta M.	994
141.	Krustyn'son Emiliia M.	995
142.	Kudelli Praskov'ia F.	1009
143.	Kuz'mina-Filippova Anna N.	1023
144.	Kulagina-Uaichenko Polina M.	1029
145.	Kuliabko Praskov'ia I.	1034
146.	Kuchmenko-Paramonova Anna N.	1044
147.	Lagutina Stepanida V.	1054
148.	Lazo-Grabenko Ol'ga A.	1055
149.	Landsman Mil'da O.	1061
150.	Lapteva Ol'ga M.	1062
151.	Lebedeva Vera P.	1083
152.	Lebedeva-Oliger Mariia A.	1084
153.	Levenson Liudmila Tat'iana M.	1088
154.	Levina Mariia G.	1090
155.	Levinskaia Tamara I.	1091
156.	Lezhava-Chichinadze Elizaveta M.	1096
157.	Leiman Dora P.	110
158.	Leitman Elena Ia.	1101
159.	Lelgolv Marta Ia.	1103
160.	Lepa Natal'ia K.	1113
161.	Lepeshinskaia Ol'ga B.	1114
162.	Listova-Lisbaron Vera M.	1130
163.	Loginova Zinaida A.	1139
164.	Lola Evgeniia S.	1142
165.	Luss Ekaterina A.	1148
166.	Liudvinskaia Tat'ian F.	1155
167.	Muzikas-Lulla Anna I.	1169
168.	Malinovskaia Elena K.	1183
169.	Malova Esfir' A.	1186
170.	Markus Sof'ia L.	1208
171.	Markhlevskaia Bronislava G.	1216
172.	Matison Anna M.	1227
173.	Matison Rozaliia M.	1228
174.	Matushevskaia Bal'ibina Ia.	1230
175.	Melent'eva Serafima V.	1253
176.	Milevskaia Bogdana P.	1270
177.	Miliutina Mariia V.	1277
178.	Minchina (Kleitman) Ol'ga I.	1284
179.	Miram (Pess) Al'ma Ia.	1285
180.	Mislavskaia Mariia D.	1293
181.	Mikhailova Nadezhda I.	1301
182.	Mitskevich Olimpiada N.	1308
183.	Movshovich Mariia S.	1313
184.	Muralova Sof'ia I.	1345
185.	Musina Khristiana P.	1349
186.	Naneshvili Vera Pavlovna	1362
187.	Nevel'son Sof'ia A.	1368
188.	Nevzorova (Lozovskaia) Avgusta P.	1369

189.	Nevzorova (Shesternina) Sof'ia P.	1370
190.	Nikifirova Anna N.	1382
191.	Nikolaeva Klavdiia I.	1386
192.	Novikova Pasha	1393
193.	Nogina Ol'ga P.	1401
194.	Obolenskaia Raisa V.	1404
195.	Obukh Varvara P.	1407
196.	Odyn' Emma M.	1414
197.	Ozol Anna M.	1415
198.	Ozol Emiliia D.	1417
199.	Ozolnek Tsetsiliia K.	1419
200.	Okulova (Teodorovich) Glafira I.	1422
201.	Osha Mariia Ia.	1435
202.	Pavlova Mariia G.	1437
203.	Paradnaia-Panteleeva Liudmila G.	1451
204.	Patlykh Ol'ga I.	1456
205.	Pervukhina Aleksandra N.	1463
206.	Prevoznikova-Gorskaia Iuliia P.	1464
207.	Petrova Aleksndra P.	1489
208.	Pilatskaia Ol'ga V.	1499
209.	Pindrik Liubov' P.	1503
210.	Pinus Serafima M.	1504
211.	Pirotskaia Anna N.	1507
212.	Piskunova Ekaterina I.	1512
213.	Plusnina Natal'ia I.	1518
214.	Povarova-Vasil'eva Klavdiia M.	1520
215.	Podlipaeva Agla A.	
216.	Podvoiskaia (née Didrikil') Nina A.	1525
217.	Podnek-Palkina Marta Iu.	1529
218.	Pozner Sof'ia M.	1531
219.	Poish El'sa Iu.	1532
220.	Polonskaia Liia G.	1541
221.	Poliakova Evdokiia M.	1548
222.	Pomerantseva Aleksandra V.	1549
223.	Ponomar' Aleksandra M.	1550
224.	Popova Elizaveta N.	1556
225.	Pravdina Elena A.	1563
226.	Przhedetskaia Stefaniia B.	1568
227.	Prokhorova-Bugrova Aleksandra I.	1573
228.	Pul'st (Boiar) Liubov' P.	1575
229.	Rastopchina Mariia A.	1595
230.	Razumova (Lebedeva) Matriona N.	1589
231.	Rivlina Elizaveta I.	1609
232.	Rozhanskaia-Vol'syein Fania I.	1622
233.	Rozenbaum Sof'ia M.	1626
234.	Rozovskaia Anna D.	1630
235.	Romas Elena S.	1636
236.	Ruben Emma P.	1649
237.	Rubtsova Ol'ga P.	1654
238.	Rumba Elizaveta Kh.	

239.	Rudnitskaia Mariia I.	1660
240.	Rusanova Kapitolina M.	1665
241.	Rybinskaia Anelia F.	1672
242.	Ryzhanskaia Evgeniia M.	1675
243.	Rykova (Marshak) Nina S.	1679
244.	Riabkova Neonila N.	1682
245.	Savel'eva (Gusarova) Aleksandra V.	1690
246.	Savkova Tat'iana M.	1693
247.	Sadina-Chernavina Anna V.	1698
248.	Sapozhnikova Vera A.	1710
249.	Saraeva (Zubkova) Mariia S.	1712
250.	Sakharova Praskov'ia F.	1717
251.	Sverdlova Mera G.	1719
252.	Sergeeva Anna A.	1742
253.	Serdiukovskaia Khasia L.	1746
254.	Serzhant-Staune Marta K.	1748
255.	Silina Evdokiia Ia.	1754
256.	Simanovich Lidiia D.	1756
257.	Sirota (Nakoriakova) Anna I.	1761
258.	Skobeeva-Bazanova Mariia V.	1767
259.	Skobennikova Mariia I.	1769
260.	Skovno Rahil' A.	1771
261.	Skranda Elizaveta E.	1778
262.	Slovatinskaia Tat'iana A.	1782
263.	Slavinskaia Anna A.	1783
264.	Smidovich Sof'ia N.	1782
265.	Smirnova Praskov'ia A.	1801
266.	Smirnova Sof'ia L.	1802
267.	Smitten Elena G.	1803
268.	Sokolova Evdokiia A.	1816
269.	Sokolova Elena D.	1817
270.	Sokolova-Solov'eva Natal'ia V.	1818
271.	Sokolovskaia Elena K.	1820
272.	Sol'ts Esfir' A.	1829
273.	Stal' Liudmila N.	1845
274.	Stasova Elena D.	1849
275.	Stepanova Pelageia S.	1857
276.	Stiazhnina Pana A.	1877
277.	Subbotina Lidiia I.	1878
278.	Sverdlova (Novgorodtseva) Klavdiia T.	1394
279.	Talakvadze Sof'ia S.	1899
280.	Tarasova Liubov' M.	1904
281.	Terlikova Valentina V.	1920
282.	Tille Alisa M.	1924
283.	Timofeeva-Reingold Mariia T.	1926
284.	Tikhomirova Mariia V.	1929
285.	Tokareva Aleksandra N.	1933
286.	Tret'iakova Nina V.	1944
287.	Troitskaia Sof'ia A.	1948
288.	Uvarova Elizaveta N.	1960

289.	Ul'ianova Mariia I.	1965
290.	Ufimtseva Mariia N.	1978
291.	Ushatskaia Marria I.	1981
292.	Fedorova-Suvorova Mariia A.	1995
293.	Filetova Ol'ga I.	2009
294.	Fisher Liubov' V.	2012
295.	Fel'dman Roza A.	2015
296.	Fotieva Lidiia A.	2023
297.	Frelikh Anna A.	2026
298.	Freiberg Paula F.	2028
299.	Frishman sal'ma I.	2030
300.	Khodakova Sof'ia B.	2046
301.	Khudash-Morozova Appolinariia V.	2055
302.	Khutulashvili Dzhavaira A.	2057
303.	Tseitlin Mariia S.	2060
304.	Tsetkin Klara B.	2063
305.	Chesnokova Aleksandra F.	2096
306.	Chudak Berta M.	2110
307.	Chutskaeva-Poliakova Dina Kh.	2116
308.	Chuchina Aleksandra V.	2118
309.	Shalaginova Ekaterina P.	2122
310.	Shapovalova Lidiia R.	2126
311.	Shvarts-Trubina Anna V.	2130
312.	Shveitser Vera L.	2136
313.	Sheina Pelageia F.	2143
314.	Shillert Elizaveta F.	2160
315.	Shlikhter Evgeniia S.	2170
316.	Shotman Ekaterina F.	2178
317.	Shteiman Elena E.	2182
318.	Shtromberg Zel'ma I.	2184
319.	Shugal'-Vasil'eva Sarra N.	2188
320.	Shumiatskaia Liia I.	2195
321.	Eder-Ezhova Mariia K.	2212
322.	Erglis Marta R.	2221
323.	Iakovleva Varvara N.	2243
324.	Iakubova Aleksandra M.	2245
325.	Ianson-Braune Anna Ia.	2250

VSOB Female members expelled from the society:

1. Berzin' Evgeniia Ivanovna
2. Gassel'berg Anna Aleksandrovna
3. Levchenko Elizaveta Ivanovna
4. Martens Nadezhda Aleksandrovna
5. Osinskaia Sof'ia Stanislavovna
6. Perepelitsa-Rozenberg Serafima L'vovna
7. Pozner Anna Georgievna
8. Khersonskaia Ekaterina Pavlovna

VSOB Female members who have been refused membership:

1. Abramova-Shestopal Klara Semenovna
2. Alekseeva Elizaveta Pavlovna
3. Ana'ina Paulina Karlovna
4. Birova Antoniia Iur'evna
5. Blok El'ma Iosifovna
6. Boldyreva Anna Gavrilovna
7. Briantseva Ekaterina Iosifovna
8. Vishnevskaia Taisiia Semenovna
9. Vlasova Mariia Prokof'evna
10. Gel'man-Ermakova Mariia Moiseevna
11. Gerotskaia Nina Andreevna
12. Godunova Natal'ia Grigor'evna
13. Gordeeva Nadezhda Alekseevna
14. Grigor'eva Aleksandra Petrovna
15. Grinberg Paulina Karlovna
16. Grunt Sof'ia Abramovna
17. Dal'niaia-derman Sof'ia Iakovlevna
18. Dzirkal Aneta Ottovna
19. Zhul'kovskaia Elena Andreevna
20. Zarnitskaia-Lapina Iuliia Mikhailovna
21. Ivanova Marina Finogenovna
22. Kalinina Asia Davydovna
23. Kassesinova Feodosiia Petrovna
24. Katenina Lidiia Mikhailovna
25. Kachaunova Lidiia Alekseevna
26. Kizel'stein Liia Mirovna
27. Kolevatova-Kostareva Aleksandra Ivanovna
28. Kocharovskaia Anna Semenovna
29. Kravchenko-Barsova Elena Konstantinovna
30. Lalova Aleksandra Abramovna
31. Lats Anna Ianovna
32. Lebedeva Pavlina Dmitrievna
33. Levi Elizaveta Abramovna
34. Mednik Ekaterina Ivanovna
35. Mendeleeva Iuliia Aronovna
36. Mikhailova-Stern Sof'ia Samoilovna

37. Mikhailovskaia Aleksandra Evgen'evna
38. Mishkina Vassa Iudishna
39. Nel'zina Ekaterina Ivanovna
40. Odolina Al'vina Karlovna
41. Pravdivtseva Raisa Iosifovna
42. Ruman Emiliia Mikhailovna
43. Rozanova Olimpiada Ivanovna
44. Riazanova (Bystritskaia-Gorsueva) Elizaveta Viktorovna
45. Savel'eva Aleksandra Timofeevna
46. Sergeeva Elizaveta Isaevna
47. Sikuler Fanna Markovna
48. Silinskaia Nadezhda Nikolaevna
49. Sak Evgeniia Iakovlevna
50. Sokolinskaia Evgeniia Lazarevna
51. Solov'eva Nadezhda Nikolaevna
52. Somova Valentina Ivanovna
53. Spiro Varvara Mendeleevna
54. Starikova Tat'iana Ivanovna
55. Steppen Margarita Andreevna
56. Tallent Elena Matveevna
57. Tenenbaum Edda Karlovna
58. Ranger-Raikina Berta Abramovna
59. Khabas Rashel' Osipovna
60. Khavkina Sarra L'vovna
61. Chudovskaia Mariia Khachanovna

APPENDIX FIVE

List of selected occupations of revolutionary women, 1870-1917

Ablova (née Lovtsova) Ol'ga A., dressmaker and midwife
Abramova Anna, student
Abramova Mariia V, peasant
Abramova Haia A, seamstress
Abyasheva Irina L, worker
Abramovich Rahil A, (Tiutriumova), student and professional revolutionary
Adamova (mar. Nersesova) Tamara A, student
Adamovich Evgeniia N, midwife and professional revolutionary
Adamskaia Ekaterina K, peasant
Adasinskaia (née Ponomareva) Klavdiia I., teacher
Afanas'eva N.E, worker
Agafonova Natal'ia F, midwife
Agrinskaia (mar. Romanenko) Elizaveta K, private tutor
Aizenberg Hana-Rahil G, midwife
Aizenstat (née Levinson) Liubov' R, student
Akimova Taisiia M., student
Akramovskaia Valentina P., chemist
Akromovskaia (née) Vasil'eva Anna S., teacher
Aksel'rod Ida I., student
Akselrod Liubov' I, student and professional revolutionary
Aladzhalova Nina N, student and professional revolutionary
Aleksandrova (née Dolgova) Ekaterina M, professional revolutionary
Aleksandrova L.S., student
Aleksandrova (née Volkenstein) Liudmila A, feldsher
Aleksandrova (née Veselova) Mariia S., teacher
Aleksandrova (mar. Merman) Nadezhda A, tutor
Alekseeva Anna M, factory nurse
Alekseeva Evgeniia N, student and library owner
Alekseeva Lidiia N, feldsher-midwife
Alekseeva Mariia, seamstress
Alekseenko-Serbinova (mar. Pussep) Marfa M, midwife
Al'tshuler Vera G, office worker
Al'tshuler Berta L, seamstress
Anan'eva (née Ponomareva) Vera A., student
Anan'ina (mar. Borodzich) Lidiia I., teacher
Anan'ina (mar. Deich) Mariia A, feldsher-midwife
Anan'ina Vera P, student
Andreeva Anna M, feldsher-midwife
Andreeva Anastasiia, tobacco factory worker
Andreeva Mariia F, actress
Andreeva Nadezhda P, teacher
Anikeeva Praskov'ia G, factory worker
Anina Anna A, seamstress

Annaraud Elizaveta-Charlotte K, dentist
Anshelovich Brockha G, milliner
Anshkenevich Anna-Ekaterina G, teacher
Antushevskaia Anna Ya, nurse
Argunova (née Vigileva) Ol'ga D, tutor
Arkhangel'skaia Nadezhda A, student
Armand (née Steffen) Inessa F, professional revolutionary
Armfeld Natal'ia, student
Arnol'd (née Gorenko) Evgeniia A, doctor
Arsen'eva Raisa G, seamstress
Artiukhina Aleksandra V, professional revolutionary
Artsimovich Ol'ga V., manager of a wine store
Arshavskaia Frida M., midwife
Asnes Beilia, masseuse
Aveide (née Bushen) Mariia O, professional propagandist
Averkieva (Talalaeva) Vera A., student
Avrasheva Fanni (Feiga) D, hosier

Babaeva (mar. Stavrovich) Antonina A., teacher
Babaeva Zinaida G, midwife
Babakina (née L'vova) Ekaterina V., teacher
Babochkina Antonina P, worker
Babushkina (mar. Lavrusevich) Efgeniia K, student
Bagaeva Anis'ia T., domestic
Balabanova Anzhelika I, professional revolutionary
Balakireva (mar. Dolgova) Ol'ga A, midwife
Balashova Elizaveta S, worker
Balashova (née Borisovskaia) Ol'ga A, teacher
Balukhina Mariia I, peasant
Barabanshikova Elizaveta L, meshchanka and student
Baraeva (mar. Anan'eva) Aleksandra V, peasant
Baranova (née Serlina) Tat'iana N., worker
Baranskaia Nadezhda N, student
Baranskaia (mar. Radchenko) Liubov N, professional revolutionary
Barg Raisa R, midwife
Barkhatova Lidiia N, feldsher
Barkova Praskov'ia A, factory worker
Barteneva (née Bronevskaia) Ekaterina G, land-owner
Basova Liudmila A., teacher
Belova Ekaterina A., teacher
Belova Juliia M, midwife
Benediktova A, student
Benevskaia-Stepanok Mariia A., student
Benevskaia M, student
Berdichevskaia (mar. Timofeeva) Fanni G, medical student
Berlizova Aleksnadra A., landowner
Berger Mariia G, masseuse
Bessmertnaia Mariia I, peasant

Bezrukova Anna G, student
Belopol'skaia Klara A., worker
Belousova Efrosiniia G, peasant
Belousova (née Iatsemirskaia) Ol'ga V., teacher
Berdichevskaia Mar'ia L., feldsher-midwife
Berdichevskaia Polina L, doctor
Berkovich Feiga G., feldsher
Beschenko (Kameristaia) Anastasiia A., professional revolutionary
Bibergal' Ekaterina A., professional revolutionary
Biriukova Elizaveta I, midwife
Blekhshmidt Mariia A., tutor
Bobkova Pelageia Ia., worker
Bobrikova Dar'ia A, textile worker
Bobrovskaia Matrena L., worker
Bobyleva Zinaida N., teacher
Boldyreva (née Egorova) Anna G, worker
Bogdanova (née Sokolova) Anna S., student
Bokaushina Mariia M., student
Bokova Antonina I.,
Boldyreva (née Egorova) Anna G, worker
Boldyreva (mar. Filatova) Larisa I, feldsher
Bolotina Ans'ia D, student
Bosh Evgeniia B, professional revolutionary
Bovshever Feiga Ia., midwife
Breshko-Breshkovskaia Ekaterina K, professional revolutionary
Brisker Tema I., midwife-masseuse
Brodskaia Sarra A, professional revolutionary
Broido Eva (née Gordon, first mar. Edel'man), pharmacist
Bronner Lidiia (Elena?) B., doctor
Bronstein (née Sokolovskaia) Aleksandra L., midwife
Brovarskaia Revekka A., midwifery student
Brylia (née Voznesenskaia) Aleksandra A, nurse
Bubnova Vera A., peasant
Budarina Pelageia E., feldsher
Budinova (Budina-Budzinskaia) Inna A., teacher
Bukhanova (née Moiseeva) Varvara R., peasant
Buiko Mariia S, teacher
Bulanova (née Trubnikova) Ol'ga K, medical student
Bulatova (née Bazhanova) Anna P., seamstress
Burchevskaia Lidiia, worker
Burtakova Dina, worker
Bush (mar. Panova) Anna V., tutor
Bystritskaia Klara L., doctor

Chamova Evdokiia P, worker
Chekmenskaia Kseniia M, worker
Cherniavskaia (Bokhanovskaia) Galina F., tutor

Dal'nia (Derman) Sof'ia Ia, writer
Dan Lidiia O, professional revolutionary
Danilova Ekaterina I, teacher
Danilova (née Plotnikova) Praskov'ia L., student
Danovskaia (Spivak) Antonina A, lathe operator
Dantsig Sora N, midwife
Davidovich (mar. Ginsburg) Anna A, midwife
Davidson Anna L, midwifery student
Davydova (Reingol'd) Anna A, office worker
Davydova (née Zvezdochetova) Ol'ga A, teacher
Deich Sof'ia G., doctor
Deliatitskaia Mariia Ai., teacher
Didrikil' Mariia A., accounts clerk
Didrikil' (mar. Kedrova) Ol'ga A, office worker
D'iakova Ekaterina A., tutor
D'iachenko Elizaveta L, feldsher and midwife
Dikovskaia (mar. Milovzorovz) Ekaterina D, feldsher
Dikstein Sofiia L, student
Dmitrieva M.F, student
Dmitrieva (mar. Ershova) Valentina I., doctor
Dmitriukova Kaleriia I, factory teacher
Dobrokhotova Vera P, student
Dobrotvorskaia Elizaveta I, teacher
Dobrovol'skaia Mariia I, feldsher and pharmacy assistant
Dobruskina (mar. Mikhailova) Genrietta N, tutor
Dodonova Anna A, student
Domanskaia Josephine I, tutor
Domanskaia Konstantsiia I, music tutor
Drabkina (Guseva, née Kapelevich) Feodosiia I, midwife and proof-reader
Drybina Anna F, tutor
Drybina Ol'ga F, dentist
Dryzlova Ol'ga V, medical student
Dubrovina Marfa I, student
Dubrovinskaia Aleksandra D, feldsher
Dukhanina Klavdiia I, student
Dunaevskaia Mariia D, midwife
Dushman Katia Iu, seamstress
Durnovo (Efron) Elizaveta P., tutor
Dvorkina Gnesia Sh, dressmaker
Dymshits (mar. Kositskaia) Rahil I, dressmaker
Dzerzhanovskaia Ol'ga M, tutor and office worker
Dziugas-Zalevskaia Ol'ga K, milliner

Efimova G, textile worker
Egorova (real Lepin') Evgeniia N, seamstress

Egorova (née Poliakova) Anna A,
Elizarova (née Ul'ianova) Anna I, professional revolutionary
Essen (née Deshina) Mariia (Zinaida) M, teacher and professional revolutionary
Evdokimova Efrosin'ia A, librarian

Flakserman Galina K, read law at a university
Fofanova Margarita V, teacher

Galkina (mar. Terletskaia) Sof'ia N, office worker
Galkovskaia (mar. Mel'nikova) Anna A, feldsher
Galkovskaia (née Kernozhitskaia) Mariia V, teacher
Gal'perin (née Cherikover) Polina V, dentist
Gavrilova Anna E, seamstress
Gavrilova Ol'ga, factory worker
Galakhova Mariia K, peasant
Gal'berstadt R, medical student
Gamzagurdi (mar. Nikol'skaia) Ol'ga Ia, teacher
Gantseva (née Belkina) Mariia I, seamstress
Gavrilova (Belova) Ol'ga A., worker
Gdovskaia (mar. Krivitskaia) Mariia I, student
Gedrovich (mar. Koval'skaia) Evgeniia P., student and laundress
Gel'man B, masseuse
Gel'fer Leia L, pharmacist
Gel'fman Gesia M., midwife
Genkina Surra A., dressmaker
Gershevich Aleksandra N., feldsher
Gerd Juliia I, student
Gervasi Anna P, teacher
Ginsburg Sof'ia Sh, dentist
Ginsburg Sof'ia M., teacher
Ginsburg Ida A, dentist
Gitnik Basia W, midwife
Glazkova (mar. Zbukareva) Elena E, cook
Goldina Doba B, milliner
Goldina Pesia I, milliner
Gol'dman (née Ginsburg) Mania, dressmaker
Gol'dman (mar. Lurie) Ol'ga I, midwife
Gol'dman Sura M, midwife
Goldman Iuliia I, student
Goliak Faina V, feldsher
Golikova (mar. Knuniants) Elizaveta V., student
Golovanova Zoia A., dressmaker
Golubeva (Iaseneva) Mariia P, teacher
Golubeva Matrena I, textile worker
Gopfengauz Mariia G, midwife
Gopner Serafima I., professional revolutionary
Gorbacheva Mariia Kh, midwife

Gordon Polina O, teacher
Goriacheva Nadezhda A, tutor
Goriacheva (Kotova) Mariia A, tutor
Gorinovich (née Andruschenko) Nadezhda N, student
Gorkovenko Evdokiia I, worker
Gorodetskaia Pesia N, milliner
Gorovits Gol'da I, librarian
Gorovits Revekka I, dentist
Goviadinova Mariia Ia, feldsher/midwife
Goviadinova (mar. Pinegina) Avgusta Ia, feldsher
Gozhanskaia Nekhama M, doctor
Goziker (née Sarina) Aleksandra I, medical orderly
Grabenko Ol'ga A., student
Grand Sara-Milia L, midwife
Grenman (mar. nobleman Pazukhin) Sofiia I, midwifery student
Griaznova Klavdiia A, tutor
Griaznova (mar. Slonova) Mariia V, dressmaker
Grigor'eva (Aleksandrova, Sadovskaia) Natal'ia A, seamstress
Grinberg (mar. Kon) Khristina G., cobbler
Grinstein Sheina Ia. dressmaker
Gromozova Liudmila K.
Gruzdeva Anna K, textile worker
Gubareva (née Sedakova) Nadezhda I., midwife
Gubarovskaia Anis'ia, feldsher
Guseva (née Kalachevskaia) Vera K, feldsher

Iakimova (Dikovskaia) Anna V, teacher
Ikrianistova (Nagovitsyna) Mariia F, textile worker
Il'ina Ol'ga F, textile worker
Ivanova A.I, worker
Ivanova (Kuz'mina-Rozhanskaia) Matrena E., dressmaker
Ivanovskaia Praskov'ia S, teacher
Iurgenson-Golovina Nadezhda A., student

Kaidanova O, teacher
Kalinina (née Novgorodtseva) Ekaterina I, weaver
Kalmykova Aleksandra M, teacher
Kaminskaia Berta A, worker
Karaseva Iraida U, textile worker
Karavaikova Vera A, professional revolutionary
Karelina (née Markova) Vera M, textile worker
Karmina-Evlanova Mariia E, seamstress
Karpusi Pelageia M, teacher
Keiser (née Stepanova) Natal'ia, worker
Kharchenko (Nashamburgskaia) Mariia A, seamstress
Khlopova Tatiana, worker
Khrenkova Sofia, teacher

Khrusheva-Elagina Agaf'ia A, seamstress
Kiriakina (Kolotilova) Klavdiia I., textile worker
Klement'eva-Ukhina Mariia I, seamstress
Klitchoglu S, student
Knipovich Lidiia M, teacher
Kolenkina (Bogorodskaia) Mariia A, teacher
Kollontai Aleksandra M, professional revolutionary
Kolosova Anna E, textile worker
Kolpakova Anna, student
Konopliannikova Zinaida, teacher
Koroliova Vera S, seamstress
Korshunova Margarita I, factory worker
Koshkina-Vas'kevich E.V, seamstress
Kostareva A.I., nurse
Kriukova, tram conductor
Krupitchikova Appolinariia M, worker
Krupskaia Nadezhda K, teacher and professional revolutionary
Ksenofontova Aleksandra S, worker
Kudelli Praskov'ia F, professional revolutionary
Kuliabko Praskov'ia I, teacher
Kuleva Elena A., textile worker
Kurkina M.N, textile worker
Kupriianova Nadezhda V, medical student
Kustova Domasha L, textile worker
Kuveneva Aleksnadra E., textile worker
Kuvshinskaia (mar. Charushina) Anna D, teacher

Larina Marusia, worker
Lazurkina Dora A, student
Lebedeva Anna A, worker
Leont'eva Tania, lady-in waiting
Lepesina Anastasiia I, laundress
Lepilova Anna I, textile worker
Liaburb Zhanna-Marie, teacher
Lisenkova (née Mikhailova) Elizaveta P,
Listova Vera M, teacher
Lisinova Liusik A, student
Litinskaia Mariia I, medical student and nurse
Liubatovich Ol'ga, worked at a factory
Liukshina Natal'ia V, worker
Lukovkina Dar'ia, textile worker
Lushnikova Matrena G, worker

Magidova Ol'ga, worker
Maklakova Masha, worker
Malaeva Mariia G, worker

Malinovskaia Elena K,
Mamaeva A, student
Markina Anna K, worker
Markovskaia S, printing apprentice
Menzhinskaia Liudmila R, teacher
Menzhinskaia Vera R., teacher
Miasnikova (mar. Bubnova) Mariia, professional revolutionary
Monina O.M, textile worker
Moskvina Nina M, student

Naidenova Aleksnadra I, textile worker
Nevzorova (Krzhizhanovskaia) Zinaida, teacher
Nikolaeva Elena, worker
Nikolaeva Klavdiia I, bookbinder
Norinskaia Fedosiia N, worker
Novikova Pasha, textile worker
Novitskaia Ekaterina N, teacher and statistician

Ogruzkina (Avrekina) Mariia A, seamstress
Okulova (Teodorovich) Glafira I, teacher
Orekhova Varvara M, seamstress

Parviainen Lidiia P, worker

Platova E.S., textile worker
Podlipaeva, worker
Podvoiskaia (née Didrikil') Nina A, statistician
Poliakova-Iakovleva Mariia F., worker
Poliakova E.M., textile worker
Popova-Ovsiannikova Kseniia E, seamstress
Poslavskaia-Feigelman Elizaveta E, worker
Postnikova Ekaterina, worker
Preiss Ekaterina, student
Pribyleva (mar. Korba) Anna P, student
Pylaeva Elizaveta N, worker

Rastopchina Mariia A, teacher
Razorenova Elena A, textile worker
Razumova (Lebedeva) Matriona N, textile worker
Razuvaeva Tatiana, priniting worker
Rekstyn Anna I, worker
Riskind Ekaterina, midwife
Rodionova Aleksandra I, tram conductor
Rozmirovich Elena F, professional revolutionary
Ruleva-Mel'nikova Natal'ia Vasil'evna, hosier

Sagaiduchenko-Novikova Pelageia, worker
Sakh'ianova Mariia M, student
Salova (mar. Iatsevich) Neonila M, tutor
Samoilova (née Gromova) Konkordiia N, student
Sarmentova Matrena P. textile worker
Savchenko Melan'ia G, worker
Savina K., worker
Seliuk Mariia, student
Sergeeva Yuliia P, worker
Sergeicheva (Cherniakova) Dar'ia I., textile worker
Shibanova Praskov'ia P., worker
Shoikhet Matlia E., seamstress
Shul'ga Sof'ia I., teacher
Shuliatikova O, teacher
Shuliatova A, student
Shumiatskaia Lidiia I, feldsher
Shustova M.A, textile worker
Sinitsyna T.A, worker
Slutskaia Vera K, dentist
Smelova (Perlovich) Anna I, textile worker
Smidovich Sof'ia N, teacher
Smirnova Klavdiia M, teacher
Sokolova Elena D, midwife
Sokolovskaia Sof'ia I, student
Solin-Alekseeva Emiliia A, telephone operator
Soluianova Natalka, student
Soshnikova-Stepanova Nadezhda K, teacher
Spetsova-Vasil'eva Mariia F, worker
Spiridonova Mariia A,
Stal Liudmila N, student
Starostina Marusia, worker
Stasova Elena D, teacher
Stepanova Pelageia S, cashier
Sulimova Mariia L, worker
Suvorova-Varaksina Pelageia P, nanny
Suvorova-Fedorova Mariia A, worker
Sverdlova (née Novgorodtseva) Klavdiia T, teacher
Sviatova-Koroleva Anastasiia M, seamstress

Tagunova-Suzdal'tseva Valentina I, student
Tamanova-Zorina Efrosin'ia S, teacher
Tarasova Ekaterina P, worker
Tarasova Liubov' M, seamstress
Tepponen (née Bulantseva) Emma A., seamstress, sales assistant, cashier
Tiranina M, worker
Tiunina-Korobkova Elizaveta V, seamstress
Tiunina-Gussak Aleksandra V, seamstress

Tkatchuk Mariia N, worker
Tokarenko Anna I, telephone operator
Tokarenko Elena I, telephone operator
Tokareva Aleksandra N, worker
Toporkova Anna G, teacher
Trofimova Tat'iana, worker
Troitskaia Nina I., student
Tumanova (mar. Gamkrelidze) Ekaterina B, student
Turin Mil'da, worker
Ul'ianova Mariia I., office clerk, teacher, professional revolutionary

Val'ter Klara, dentist
Vaneeva (née Trukhovskaia) Dominika V, teacher
Vannovskaia (née Iakovenko) Vera V, doctor
Varentsova Olga A, professional revolutionary
Vasil'eva (née Romenskaia) Ekaterina A., dressmaker
Vasil'eva (née Kozlovskaia) Glafira N., worker
Vasil'eva (née Shumiatskaia) Klavdiia M, dressmaker
Vasil'eva Manefa V., feldsher
Vasil'eva Serafima , worker
Vasil'eva (mar.) Varvara A., student
Vavilova (mar. Matveeva) Anisiia A, tutor
Veintrub Brocha L, milliner
Veinstein Rosa Ia, midwife
Veisman Ita E, dressmaker
Velichkina (mar. Bonch-Bruevich) Vera M, doctor
Velichkina Klavdiia M, tutor
Veller (née Maleeva) Aleksandra V., student
Ventsel' (née Rostovtseva) Nadezhda Ia, student
Vetvinova Taisiia N, teacher
Verigo (mar. Chernevskaia) Mariia S. medical student
Vershinina (mar. Pecherskaia) Serafima P., student
Veselova A.M, worker
Veselova Praskov'ia F, midwife
Vetrova M.F, teacher
Vilenchik Sof'ia M. dentist
Vilenchik Fania M, dentist
Vinogradova Aleksandra F, tutor
Vinogradova Anastasiia A., midwife
Vinokurova Anna P, worker
Vinokurova (née Kalugina) Pelageia I, midwife
Vishniakova Praskov'ia I, peasant
Vitte (mar. Bulgakova) Ol'ga G, feldsher
Voinova Raisa V., teacher
Vol'fenzon Fania S, doctor
Volgina Anna M., village teacher
Volkenstein Ol'ga, journalist
Volkova Anna A, office worker

Volkova Ekaterina G, teacher in a midwifery school
Vol'nova Anna I, textile worker
Volodarskaia (née Pustovoitova) Genia D, dressmaker
Volodina (mar. Kuldina) Elizaveta A, dressmaker
Volonikhina Natal'ia V., workshop worker
Voloshina Elizaveta N, worked in a wine cellar, later became midwife
Volkonskaia Sof'ia N, doctor
Volkova (mar. Kolegaeva) Evdokiia A, midwife
Volkova (mar. Voinova) Elena K., teacher
Volynskaia (mar. Makedonova) Rita N, feldsher
Vorob'eva (mar. Ivanenkova) Pavla I, teacher and midwife
Voronina (née Mokrousova) Ekaterina P, textile worker
Vostretsova Anastasiia N, teacher
Voskresenskaia (mar. Voronets) Zinaida I, midwifery student
Vyshinskaia (mar. Nadezhdina) Elizaveta I, feldsher
Vyshinskaia Mariia I, teacher

Zagainaia Sof'ia K., teacher
Zakharova V.V, worker
Zalkind (mar. Bramson) Mina M, student
Zamogil'maia Polina, worker
Zapevalova E.E, worker
Zaslavskaia (Manucharova) Mariia G., midwife
Zasulich Vera, teacher
Zatsepina Zinaida S., office worker
Zemliachka (née Samoilova) Rozaliia S, professional revolutionary
Zhelabina Pasha, worker
Zhelvis (née Tikhomirova) Anna N, office worker
Zhiriakova (mar. Montsevich) Mariia I., teacher
Zhiriakova Ol'ga I., milliner and dressmaker
Zhiriakova Nadezhda I., teacher
Zhulkovskaia (mar. Flerova) Valentina A., student
Zoroastrova (mar. Kapger) Anna A., office worker

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