

Family Networks and the Russian Revolutionary
Movement, 1870–1940

Katy Turton

Family Networks
and the Russian
Revolutionary
Movement,
1870–1940

palgrave
macmillan

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

ISBN 978-0-230-39307-3 ISBN 978-0-230-39308-0 (eBook)
<https://doi.org/10.1057/978-0-230-39308-0>

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017948289

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2018

The author(s) has/have asserted their right(s) to be identified as the author(s) of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Cover illustration: © Heritage Image Partnership Ltd/Alamy Stock Photo

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature

The registered company is Macmillan Publishers Ltd.

The registered company address is: The Campus, 4 Crinan Street, London, N1 9XW, United Kingdom

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My Ph.D. supervisor once advised me never to sign a book contract until my manuscript was finished. Naturally, I ignored this piece of wisdom and so must begin my acknowledgements with a sincere apology and thank you to the staff at Palgrave. They have been endlessly patient with my regular pleas for extensions, the need for which was only partially explained by the arrival of my two sons.

The writing of this manuscript was facilitated by numerous institutions, funding bodies and individuals. My thanks are due to the British Academy for funding several trips to Russia and to the USA to conduct archival research, as well as to the staff of the various archives and libraries I visited there, including RGASPI and GARF in Moscow, and the Hoover Institution at Stanford University, California. The School of History and Anthropology, now the School of History, Anthropology, Politics and Philosophy, at Queen's University, Belfast, also provided financial support and a wonderful collegial setting in which to research and write. I am grateful for the advice which my friends and colleagues in the School gave me while I worked on this book. The conferences of the Study Group on the Russian Revolution and the British Association of Slavonic and East European Studies have been inspirational places to present my ideas and seek comments on my research. I am very grateful for all the support I have had from my friends and fellow scholars of the Russian Revolution.

Lastly, my thanks are due to my own family network, Grant, my boys, the Moirs, Dorothy, my sister and her family, and my parents, for all their love and help. I could not have written this book without them.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION AND CLARIFICATION OF DATES

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

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

Belfast, UK

Katy Turton

CONTENTS

Joining the Movement	1
The Underground	31
Prison	71
Exile	91
Consequences: The Bolsheviks After 1917	121
Consequences: Families in Opposition After 1917	151
Conclusion	191
Biographies	197
Bibliography	231
Index	247

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁰Getzler, *Martov*, p. 3.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE VALUE OF STUDYING FAMILY NETWORKS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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