Contents

List of Illustrations viii
Acknowledgements xiv
Abbreviations and Conventions of Style xviii
Introduction 1

PART I: IMAGINING CHILDHOOD
1. Free Spirits and Prodigies, 1890–1917 25

PART II: CHILDREN ON THEIR OWN: Street Waifs, Orphanage Inmates
5. The Kindness of Strangers, 1890–1917 157
7. Children of the State, 1935–1953 221

PART III: ‘FAMILY CHILDREN’
9. Babyhood 287
10. Nursery Days 354
11. In Their Own Time 424
12. Years of School 495

Conclusion: “The End of Childhood”? 570

Notes 599
List of Further Reading 694
Index 696
Illustrations

The material here comes from a variety of genres and could be the subject of a 'sources study' in its own right. Not simply the obviously artistic images, but also the apparently documentary materials have their own specific representational ambitions. For example, the photographs now held in the Central State Archive of Cinematic and Photographic Documents in St Petersburg were mostly originally taken by LenTass news agency photographers for Soviet newspapers (and hence show very little of the human tragedy of the Blockade). Even family photographs have obvious ritual and commemorative functions and do not simply record the everyday. Thus, photographs as well as drawings and paintings are part of ideology on the one hand, and also of the practices of memory captured by the oral history that I have used, as well as in written memoirs.

Introduction

1. I'm Counting on You. Election poster, 2000 2
2. Toboggan, 1936. (Our Achievements magazine; Taylor Institution, Oxford) 5
3. Toy abacus, 1985. (Catriona Kelly) 7
4. Bombarded street, Leningrad, 1942. (Central Archive of Cinematic and Photographic Documents, St Petersburg) 12
5. Family of a rabbi, Ostrog, Volynya province, 1910s (An-sky Collection, Centre for the Study of Jewish History, European University, St Petersburg) 18
6. Two child victims of the Leningrad Blockade, June 1942. (Central Archive of Cinematic and Photographic Documents, St Petersburg) 20

Chapter 1: Free Spirits and Prodigies, 1890–1917

7. The Queen of the Firs. (Russian State Library) 42
8. Ivan Bilibin, The Tale of Tsar Saltan (1910). (Catriona Kelly) 42
9. 'The Fox and the Hen', by N. I. Tkachenko (c. 1910). (Catriona Kelly) 43
10. Valentin Serov, Portrait of Mika Morozov. (Russian Museum, St Petersburg) 45
11. Vasily Rozanov, 'Portrait of the Author's Children', Fallen Leaves (1913). (Taylor Institution, Oxford) 46

13. ‘A Gold Farthing is Little, But It’s Worth a Lot’. (Collection of Lindsey Hughes)

14. Nikolai Bogdanov-Bel’sky, *At the School Door* (1897). (Russian Museum, St Petersburg)

15. Tsesarevich Alexis in a sailor suit, c. 1914. (Sotheby’s)


16. Children present a ‘living newspaper’, mid-1920s. (David King Collection)


18. There is No Knowledge Without the Book, No Communism Without Knowledge! (1930). (Prints Gallery, Russian National Library)

19. Children at an election meeting, 1929. (Our Achievements)


21. Drawing by a child attending a village school run by the First Experimental Station of Narkompros, mid-1920s. (Russian Academy of Education Archive, Moscow)

22. Vera Pestel’, *Girl on a Divan* (1922). (Russian Museum, St Petersburg)


24. The Girl Delegate, Lomonosov Porcelain Factory, early 1920s. (Sotheby’s)

Chapter 3: Thank You, Dear Comrade Stalin, for a Happy Childhood!’, 1935–1953

25. *Thank You, Beloved Stalin, for a Happy Childhood!* Poster, 1936. (David King Collection)


27. Stalin with Gelya Markizova. (Soviet Children, 1940)


29. V. Kanevsky, illustration to Sergei Mikhalkov’s *Uncle Styopa* (1936). (Opie Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford)

30. Children looking at a wartime wall newspaper. Press photograph, Leningrad, 1943. (Central State Archive of Film and Photographic Documents, St Petersburg)

31. Digging for victory. Press photograph, Leningrad, 1943. (Central State Archive of Film and Photographic Documents, St Petersburg)

32. *Thank You, Comrade Stalin, for a Happy Childhood!* Poster, late 1940s. (Print Gallery, Russian National Library)

33. Boris Vladimirsky, *In a Soviet Kindergarten* (late 1940s). (Sotheby’s)

34. Aleksandr Reshetnikov, *Bad Marks Again* (1952). (Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow)
Chapter 4: 'Let There Always Be Sunshine', 1953-1991

36. ‘We’ll Grow!’ Greetings card, 1957. (Collection of Lindsey Hughes) 135
38. Poster for the performance of a play, School No. 330, Moscow, 1958. (Museum of School No. 330, Moscow) 141
39. Cover of *Ogonek* magazine commemorating the sixtieth anniversary of the Pioneer movement, 1982. 145
40. Pioneer rally to celebrate the movement’s sixtieth anniversary, Leningrad, 1982. (Museum of the Palace of Children’s Creativity, formerly Pioneer Palace, St Petersburg) 151

Chapter 5: The Kindness of Strangers, 1890-1917

41. Children at a city market, W. Barnes Steveni, *Things Seen in Russia* (1913). (Taylor Institution) 160
42. Soup kitchen, Nizhni Novgorod province, 1892. (David King Collection) 165
43. Christmas party in children’s shelter, 1910s. (Central Archive of Cinematic and Photographic Documents, St Petersburg) 171

Chapter 6: Orphan Heroes, 1917-1935

44. ‘Children’s Friends, Return the Abandoned Child to the Ranks of the Labouring People’. Poster, 1920s. (Russian National Library) 194
45. Children’s Home, Moscow, early 1920s. (David King Collection) 199
46. Reception hall, Mother and Child Care Point, Leningrad. (Courtesy Polyclinic No. 8, St Petersburg/Leningrad) 204
47. Soup kitchen, Moscow, early 1920s. (David King Collection) 209
48. Collecting milk from a children’s food point, early 1930s. (Courtesy Polyclinic No. 8, St Petersburg/Leningrad) 217

Chapter 7: Children of the State, 1935-1953

49. ‘Family Members of Traitors to the Motherland’, identity photographs from an OGPU home, late 1930s. (David King Collection) (Private collection) 235
50. Amateur dramatics, Leningrad orphanage in evacuation, c. 1943. (Private collection) 242
51. Certificate awarded to an orphanage director for her work during the Blockade, 1943-44. (Private collection) 245
52. Leningrad orphanage in evacuation, c. 1943. (Private collection) 249
53. Mealtime, Leningrad orphanage in evacuation, c. 1943. (Private collection) 251
54. Reading outdoors, Leningrad orphanage in evacuation, c. 1943. (Private collection) 252
55. Baby home children at the seaside, 1940s. (Private collection) 252
56. Children on the climbing frame, baby home, Leningrad, late 1940s. (Private collection) 254

Chapter 8: Freedom and Punishment, 1953–1991

57. Hero of the Soviet Union Makhmut Safievich Aktuganov visiting the Pioneer group at Orphanage No. 80, Leningrad, 1954. (Central Archive of Cinematic and Photographic Documents, St Petersburg) 261
58. ‘Staraladozhskii’ Orphanage No. 1, Leningrad province, Volkhovo district, 1955. (Photographer: G. M. Dmitriev). (Central Archive of Cinematic and Photographic Documents, St Petersburg) 262
59. ‘Staraladozhskii’ Orphanage No. 1, Leningrad province, Volkhovo district, 1955. (Photographer: G. M. Dmitriev). (Central Archive of Cinematic and Photographic Documents, St Petersburg) 265
60. Children’s Home No. 44, Leningrad, 1955. (Central Archive of Cinematic and Photographic Documents, St Petersburg) 266
61. Two children from Orphanage No. 49, Pushkin, Leningrad, 1956. (Central Archive of Cinematic and Photographic Documents, St Petersburg) 266
63. Group of pupils at the orphanage, Leningrad, 1982. (Photographer A. V. Sovetov). (Central Archive of Cinematic and Photographic Documents, St Petersburg) 268

Chapter 9: Babyhood

65. Hanging cradle, Nizhny Novgorod province, 1892. (David King Collection) 290
66. Children and midwife, Jewish Pale, 1910s. (An-sky Collection, Centre for the Study of Jewish History, European University, St Petersburg) 296
67. Sterilising equipment, Zhuk, Mother and Child (1911). (Russian State Library) 300
68. Babies ‘campaigning’ for better treatment from their parents. (David King Collection) 316
69. Mothers, Don’t Kiss Your Babies on the Lips and Don’t Let Anyone Else Kiss Them! Poster, early 1920s. (David King Collection) 325
70. Hygienic breast feeding, c. 1930. (David King Collection) 327
71. Milk expressing station, Moscow, c. 1930. (David King Collection) 329
72. Red Christening, 1920s. (David King Collection) 333
73. Design for a child’s corner, Z. Michnik, The Child’s Corner in the Peasant Hut (1928). (Russian State Library) 335
74. Cot, working-class family flat, Leningrad, 1970s. (Private collection) 338
75. Collective farm crèche, early 1930s. (David King Collection) 341
76. Crèche in the Kirov Factory, Leningrad, 1950s. (Central Archive of Cinematic and Photographic Documents, St Petersburg) 345
77. Crèche at its summer dacha, Leningrad, 1950s. (Central Archive of Cinematic and Photographic Documents, St Petersburg) 350

Chapter io: Nursery Days

78. Baby walker, V. Zhuk, Mother and Child (1911). (Russian State Library) 355
79. Baby walker, G. Speransky, Advice to Mothers, 1952. (Russian State Library) 357
80. Izba interior, Smolensk province, 1890s. (David King Collection) 365
81. Selection of party cakes, as sold in the 1970s and 1980s. (Catriona Kelly) 392
82. Interior of a flat belonging to a working-class family in Leningrad, 1970s. (Private collection) 394
83. A day off in a working-class Leningrad family, 1970s. (Private collection) 395
84. Undressing children at a day shelter in Petrograd, c. 1920. (Central Archive of Cinematic and Photographic Documents, St Petersburg) 398
85. Dinner at the nursery, early 1920s. (David King Collection) 401
86. Setting the table in the nursery school, 1932. (Central Archive of Cinematic and Photographic Documents, St Petersburg) 402
87. Playtime, nursery school, Sverdlovsk, 1970s. (Private collection) 412

Chapter ii: In Their Own Time

88. Cat and Mouse game, E. A. Pokrovsky, Children's Games, Mostly Russian (1887). (Russian State Library) 426
89. Boys on a seesaw, Jewish Pale, 1910s. (An-sky Collection, Centre for the Study of Jewish History, European University, St Petersburg) 429
90. Boy smoking, Jewish Pale, 1910s. (An-sky Collection, Centre for the Study of Jewish History, European University, St Petersburg) 434
91. Model railway, Kuzmin'ki Leisure Park, Moscow. (Catriona Kelly) 437
93. A toy pedlar, St Petersburg, 1910s, W. Barnes Steveni, Things Seen in Russia, London, 1913. (Taylor Institution, Oxford) 443
96. Studio portrait of girl with teddy bear, Sverdlovsk, c. 1936. (Private collection) 446
97. Clay toy in the traditional style, 1970s. (Catriona Kelly; donated by the late John Simmons in memory of his wife) 449
98. Sports banner (trophy for victors in a school tournament), 1970s. (Catriona Kelly) 486
Chapter 12: Years of School

99. Father teaching his son to read, 1910s, William Barnes Steveni, Things Seen in Russia (1913). (Taylor Institution, Oxford)

100. Assembly hall of the former Elizavetinskaya gimnaziya, Moscow, photographed in the 1910s. (Museum of School No. 330, Moscow)

101. Corridor, Elizavetinskaya gimnaziya, Moscow, photographed in the 1910s. (Museum of School No. 330, Moscow)

102. Late 1890s design for the façade of a primary school. (Russian State Historical Archive, St Petersburg)

103. 1 September, Sverdlovsk, 1947. (Private collection)

104. Marusya's first day at school. Evgeny Shvarts, The Girl from Class One (1952). (Catriona Kelly)

105. School classroom, Leningrad, late 1920s. (Central Archive of Cinematic and Photographic Documents, St Petersburg)

106. Music lesson in the open air, Leningrad, 1936. (Central Archive of Cinematic and Photographic Documents, St Petersburg)

107. Ceremonial rally in drill formation (lineika), Pioneer camp, Sverdlovsk province, late 1940s. (Private collection)

108. New Year tree party, Leningrad Pioneer Palace, late 1940s. (Museum of the Palace of Children's Creativity (formerly Pioneer Palace), St Petersburg)

109. Propaganda photograph of Artek Pioneer camp, early 1950s. (David King Collection)

110. Octobrists, 1975, Leningrad. (Private collection, St Petersburg)

Conclusion: The End of Childhood?

111. Komsomol literacy campaign, early 1930s. (David King Collection)

112. Senior pupils, Elizavetinskaya gimnaziya, late 1910s. (Museum of School No. 330, Moscow)

113. Ballroom dancing, Leningrad Pioneer Palace, late 1940s. (Museum of the Palace of Children’s Creativity, formerly the Pioneer Palace, St Petersburg)

114. Group of children, Home No. 13, St Petersburg, May 2004. (Catriona Kelly)