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
3. ‘Thank You, Dear Comrade Stalin, for a Happy Childhood!’, 1935–1953 93

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. Tobogganing, 1936. (Our Achievements magazine; Taylor Institution, Oxford)
3. Toy abacus, 1985. (Catriona Kelly)
4. Bombarded street, Leningrad, 1942. (Central Archive of Cinematic and Photographic Documents, St Petersburg)
5. Family of a rabbi, Ostrog, Volynya province, 1910s (An-sky Collection, Centre for the Study of Jewish History, European University, St Petersburg)
6. Two child victims of the Leningrad Blockade, June 1942. (Central Archive of Cinematic and Photographic Documents, St Petersburg)

Chapter 1: Free Spirits and Prodigies, 1890–1917

7. The Queen of the Firs. (Russian State Library)
8. Ivan Bilibin, The Tale of Tsar Saltan (1910). (Catriona Kelly)
9. 'The Fox and the Hen', by N.I.Tkachenko (c. 1910). (Catriona Kelly)
10. Valentin Serov, Portrait of Mika Morozov. (Russian Museum, St Petersburg)
11. Vasily Rozanov, 'Portrait of the Author's Children', Fallen Leaves (1913). (Taylor Institution, Oxford)
13. ‘A Gold Farthing is Little, But It’s Worth a Lot’. (Collection of Lindsey Hughes) 52
14. Nikolai Bogdanov-Bel’sky, At the School Door (1897). (Russian Museum, St Petersburg) 56
15. Tsesarevich Alexis in a sailor suit, c. 1914. (Sotheby’s) 58


16. Children present a ‘living newspaper’, mid-1920s. (David King Collection) 64
17. The Aeroplane Fund of the Red Army Soldier and Partisan, c. 1924. (Prints Gallery, Russian National Library) 68
18. There is No Knowledge Without the Book, No Communism Without Knowledge! (1930). (Prints Gallery, Russian National Library) 76
19. Children at an election meeting, 1929. (Our Achievements) 78
20. S. Fedorchenko, P. Pastukhov, Fairy Tale (1925). (Opie Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford) 82
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) 84
22. Vera Pestel’, Girl on a Divan (1922). (Russian Museum, St Petersburg) 85
24. The Girl Delegate, Lomonosov Porcelain Factory, early 1920s. (Sotheby’s) 92

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) 94
26. M. Shcheglov, Getting to Know Each Other, Our Achievements, 1936. (Taylor Institution, Oxford) 98
27. Stalin with Gelya Markizova. (Soviet Children, 1940) 106
28. Boy with two border guards and their Alsatian dog, Agniya Barto, At the Border Post (1937). (British Library) 109
29. V. Kanevsky, illustration to Sergei Mikhalkov’s Uncle Styopa (1936). (Opie Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford) 114
30. Children looking at a wartime wall newspaper. Press photograph, Leningrad, 1943. (Central State Archive of Film and Photographic Documents, St Petersburg) 116
31. Digging for victory. Press photograph, Leningrad, 1943. (Central State Archive of Film and Photographic Documents, St Petersburg) 117
32. Thank You, Comrade Stalin, for a Happy Childhood. Poster, late 1940s. (Print Gallery, Russian National Library) 122
33. Boris Vladimirkvy, In a Soviet Kindergarten (late 1940s). (Sotheby’s) 123
34. Aleksandr Reshetnikov, Bad Marks Again (1952). (Tret’yakov Gallery, Moscow) 126
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) 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
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)  

58. ‘Staroladozhskii’ Orphanage No. 1, Leningrad province, Volkhovo district, 1955. (Photographer: G. M. Dmitriev). (Central Archive of Cinematic and Photographic Documents, St Petersburg)  

59. ‘Staroladozhskii’ Orphanage No. 1, Leningrad province, Volkhovo district, 1955. (Photographer: G. M. Dmitriev). (Central Archive of Cinematic and Photographic Documents, St Petersburg)  

60. Children’s Home No. 44, Leningrad, 1955. (Central Archive of Cinematic and Photographic Documents, St Petersburg)  

61. Two children from Orphanage No. 49, Pushkin, Leningrad, 1956. (Central Archive of Cinematic and Photographic Documents, St Petersburg)  


63. Group of pupils at the orphanage, Leningrad, 1982. (Photographer A. V. Sovietov). (Central Archive of Cinematic and Photographic Documents, St Petersburg)  


Chapter 9: Babyhood

65. Hanging cradle, Nizhny Novgorod province, 1892. (David King Collection)  

66. Children and midwife, Jewish Pale, 1910s. (An-sky Collection, Centre for the Study of Jewish History, European University, St Petersburg)  


68. Babies ‘campaigning’ for better treatment from their parents. (David King Collection)  

69. Mothers, Don’t Kiss Your Babies on the Lips and Don’t Let Anyone Else Kiss Them! Poster, early 1920s. (David King Collection)  

70. Hygienic breast feeding, c. 1930. (David King Collection)  

71. Milk expressing station, Moscow, c. 1930. (David King Collection)  

72. Red Christening, 1920s. (David King Collection)  


74. Cot, working-class family flat, Leningrad, 1970s. (Private collection)
Chapter 10: Nursery Days


80. Izba interior, Smolensk province, 1890s. (David King Collection)

81. Selection of party cakes, as sold in the 1970s and 1980s. (Catriona Kelly)

82. Interior of a flat belonging to a working-class family in Leningrad, 1970s. (Private collection)

83. A day off in a working-class Leningrad family, 1970s. (Private collection)

84. Undressing children at a day shelter in Petrograd, c. 1920. (Central Archive of Cinematic and Photographic Documents, St Petersburg)

85. Dinner at the nursery, early 1920s. (David King Collection)

86. Setting the table in the nursery school, 1932. (Central Archive of Cinematic and Photographic Documents, St Petersburg)

87. Playtime, nursery school, Sverdlovsk, 1970s. (Private collection)

Chapter 11: In Their Own Time

88. Cat and Mouse game, E. A. Pokrovsky, *Children's Games, Mostly Russian* (1887). (Russian State Library)

89. Boys on a seesaw, Jewish Pale, 1910s. (An-sky Collection, Centre for the Study of Jewish History, European University, St Petersburg)

90. Boy smoking, Jewish Pale, 1910s. (An-sky Collection, Centre for the Study of Jewish History, European University, St Petersburg)

91. Model railway, Kuzmin'ki Leisure Park, Moscow. (Catriona Kelly)


96. Studio portrait of girl with teddy bear, Sverdlovsk, c. 1936. (Private collection)

97. Clay toy in the traditional style, 1970s. (Catriona Kelly; donated by the late John Simmons in memory of his wife)

98. Sports banner (trophy for victors in a school tournament), 1970s. (Catriona Kelly)
Chapter 12: Years of School

99. Father teaching his son to read, 1910s, William Barnes Steveni, *Things Seen in Russia* (1913). (Taylor Institution, Oxford) 496

100. Assembly hall of the former Elizavetinskaya gimnaziya, Moscow, photographed in the 1910s. (Museum of School No. 330, Moscow) 501

101. Corridor, Elizavetinskaya gimnaziya, Moscow, photographed in the 1910s. (Museum of School No. 330, Moscow) 502

102. Late 1890s design for the façade of a primary school. (Russian State Historical Archive, St Petersburg) 503

103. 1 September, Sverdlovsk, 1947. (Private collection) 511


105. School classroom, Leningrad, late 1920s. (Central Archive of Cinematic and Photographic Documents, St Petersburg) 520

106. Music lesson in the open air, Leningrad, 1936. (Central Archive of Cinematic and Photographic Documents, St Petersburg) 536

107. Ceremonial rally in drill formation (*lineika*), Pioneer camp, Sverdlovsk province, late 1940s. (Private collection) 550

108. New Year tree party, Leningrad Pioneer Palace, late 1940s. (Museum of the Palace of Children's Creativity (formerly Pioneer Palace), St Petersburg) 553

109. Propaganda photograph of Artek Pioneer camp, early 1950s. (David King Collection) 558

110. Octobrists, 1975, Leningrad. (Private collection, St Petersburg) 560

Conclusion: The End of Childhood?

111. Komsomol literacy campaign, early 1930s. (David King Collection) 571

112. Senior pupils, Elizavetinskaya gimnaziya, late 1910s. (Museum of School No. 330, Moscow) 572

113. Ballroom dancing, Leningrad Pioneer Palace, late 1940s. (Museum of the Palace of Children's Creativity, formerly the Pioneer Palace, St Petersburg) 585

114. Group of children, Home No. 13, St Petersburg, May 2004. (Catriona Kelly) 595