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## THE POPULIST-REVOLUTIONARIES AND THEIR STUNDIST UTOPIA

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*Они отыскивали в деревне ее собственную интеллигенцию. От религиозной неподвижности массы они ушли в изучение народных течений сектантства. <...> По их следам пошли потом только одни миссионеры*

*П. Милуков*

**I**n Tzarist Russia, while the “Going to the people movement” was taking place — in the early 70s of the 19th century — some of the Populist-Revolutionaries imagined that religious dissidents, *Raskol'niki* and Sectarians, would rise on purpose against the oppressive tzarist government. That was indeed no new idea. Kel'siev, Ogarev, Bakunin and, rather sceptically, Herzen already had it<sup>1</sup>. But there was practically no result. An Old Believer

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. M. Mervaud, Une alliance ambiguë: Herzen, Ogarev e les vieux-croyants, “Revue des Etudes slaves”, t. LXIX (1997), fascicule 1-2, pp. 119-134. See also Ju. Steklov, *Komedija s staroobrzjadcami, M.A. Bakunin ego zhizn' i dejatel'nost'*, t. II, Moskva-Leningrad, 1927, pp. 56-64.

candidly told Kel'siev that they would fight only in behalf of their faith: "Duchovnoe-duchovym, a mirskoe-mirskim; kesarevo-kesarevi, a bozhie-bogovi. My vedem s nimi bran', gde very kasaetsja, a v mirskie dela ix my ne me-shaemsja. V zhitijax net primera, chtoby xristiane buntovali, da i svjatye otcy tomu ne uchat"<sup>1</sup>.

In these very years of too far-fetched expectations Shchapov published his studies: the seed of social-political protestation is to be found in *Raskol*<sup>2</sup>. An error, an excess of interpretation. One of Leskov's heroes says: "Chto dumy-to nashi stojat? Dumy te so slov stroilis'. Slyshish' 'raskol', 'raskol', sila, protest, i vse dumaesh' otkryt' v nix nevest' chto. Vse dumaesh', chto tam slovo takoe, kak nuzhno, znajut i tol'ko ne verjat tebe, ottogo i ne doberesh'sja do zhivca"<sup>3</sup>.

Nevertheless, during the first half of the seventies, the Populist-Revolutionaries decided to have once more again reliance in a revolutionary and rebellious behaviour of the religious dissidents. They considered them to be hypothetical comrades, a kind of unaware socialists, of faithful allies among the peasants<sup>4</sup>. The growing number of religious dissidents - from ten to twelve million people-nourished their ingenious hopes<sup>5</sup>. They only had to convince them that all of them had to pursue a common aim<sup>6</sup>. Stepnjak-Kravchinskij wrote: "In those sects religion is no longer a shallow ritualistic observance. It is a living power, inspiring and informing all political and social conceptions of the sectarians; the greatest moral force moving our peasantry. But all these sectarian religions, being inspired by the complex influence of religious discontent, and political and social oppression, have no more or less strongly marked oppositionist (sic) and anti-governmental tendencies"<sup>7</sup>.

These young Revolutionaries, whose naivety was some years later underlined by A. Daudet in *Tatarine sur les Alpes* (1885), felt sure, that those peaceful Sectarians could really be trained to fight against tzarist power<sup>8</sup>.

They liked this idea. They studied the heretical movements, and they studied the Scriptures<sup>9</sup>. But they did it in a hurry. In their strategies they did not realize

<sup>1</sup> V.I. Kel'siev, *Ispoved'*, in *Literaturnoe nasledstvo*, t. 41-42, Moskva, 1941, pp. 331-333.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. Shchapov, *Zemstvo i raskol*, Sankt-Peterburg, 1862 and *Umstvennye napravlenija raskola*, "Delo", 1867, n. 10, pp. 319-349.

<sup>3</sup> N.S. Leskov, *Ovcebyk*, in *Sobranie sochinenij v odnadcati tomach*, t. I, p. 75.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. I. N. Xarlamov, *Shtundisty*, "Russkaja mysl'", 1885, n. 10, p. 144; and S.E. Lion, *Ot propagandy k terroru (vospominanija starogo revoljucionera)*, Moskva, 1925, pp. 25-26.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. L. Dejch, *Chozhdenie v narod*, Petrograd, 1920, p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. L. Dejch, *Odin iz pervyx nashix marksistov*, "Vestnik Evropy", 1911, n. 12, p. 100.

<sup>7</sup> S: Stepnjak (sic), *The Russian Storm-Cloud*, London, 1886, p. 16.

<sup>8</sup> See L. Dejch, *Odin iz pervyx nashix marksistov* cit., p. 105.

<sup>9</sup> See V.D. Bonch-Bruevich, *Izbrannye sochinenija*, Moskva, 1959, t. 1, p. 324.

any failure. Then they spread over the country, looking for and gathering those who already had had the courage of opposing the Orthodox clergy.

First of all, however, they settled the question of the many different sects in Russia. They preferred to involve the rather rationalistic sects — *Molokane*, *Duxoborcy*, *Subbotniki*, Stundists, etc. — that not only denied Orthodox dogma and ritual, while acknowledging only the Bible's authority, but moreover revealed their intentions to re-organize society following the principle of equality. Nevertheless they could not ignore the *Beguny*, a rather mystic group, that considered the Tzar to be the Anti-Christ, and therefore refused to pay taxes or to perform any service in behalf of the State<sup>1</sup>. Nor could they leave behind the old good *Raskol'niki*.

The Revolutionaries were bound up to the Ukrainian *Shtunda*<sup>2</sup>, because — as Xarlamov says — “v nej vidjat naibolee polnoe razvitie racionalisticheskogo priema religioznoj mysli i preimushshestvennoe preobladanie social'noj, ekonomicheskoy storony nad religioznoj”<sup>3</sup>.

Many of the Populist authors felt sure that Stundism were an autochthonous movement and therefore the last appearance of a certain Russian Rationalism, that had its origin as early as in 1300 with the heretic movement of *Strigol'nichestvo*. But those author's theory underestimated the great German influence on the group. They tried, instead, to point at the rebellious spirit they discovered — or imagined to discover — among Russian people<sup>4</sup>.

The strategy of I.F. Fesenko, one of the Populist-Revolutionaries, towards the Sectarians consisted in several different steps: “my dolzhny byli, rasselivshis', po sobstvennomu vyboru, sredi raznyx priverzhencev racionalisticheskix sekt, povesti sebja takim obrazom, chtoby sektanty ugovarivali nas prisoedinit'sja k ix veroucheniju. Ne poddavajas' ix uveshchanijam, chotja prjamo ix i ne otvergaja, my dolzhny byli, v svoju ochered', starat'sja privlech' ix na svoju storonu. Zatem, naibolee tolkovym i raspropagandirovannym nami chlenam etix sekt sledovalo otkryt' nashi istinnye celi i stremlenija. A tex, ko-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Dejатели SSSR i revoljucionnogo dvizhenija Rossii*, Moskva, 1989, p. 109. See also *A night with a Nihilist*, by W. Earl Hodgson, London, 1886 (printed for private circulation), p.14.

<sup>2</sup> Shtundizm (or Shtunda): Protestant Religious Sectarians flourishing in the Second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Ukraine, with some extension into Great Russia. On the Stundists see: A. Rozhdestvenskij, *Juzhnorusskij shtundizm*, Sankt-Peterburg, 1889; Aleksij, *Materialy dlja istorii religiozno-racionalisticheskogo dvizhenija na jube Rossii vo vtoroj polovine XIX stoletija*, Kazan', 1908 and *Religiozno-racionalisticheskoe dvizhenie na jube Rossii vo vtoroj polovine XIX stoletija*, Kazan', 1909; W. Goetsche, *Westliche Quellen des russischen Stundismus*, Kassel, 1905.

<sup>3</sup> I.N. Xarlamov, *Shtundisty* cit., p. 143.

<sup>4</sup> See Emel'janov, *Racionalizm na jube Rossii*, “Otechestvennye zapiski”, 1878, n. 3, pp. 208-224 and n. 5, pp. 206-230; A. S. Prugavin, *Religioznye otshchepency*, vyp. II, Moskva, 1906; I.N. Xarlamov, *op. cit* and others.

torye okazalis' by osobenno razvitymi, smyshlennymi, neobxodimo bylo napravljat', v kachestve samostojatel'nyh propagandistov i agitatorov, k drugim sektantam"<sup>1</sup>.

Some of them preferred to gain the *Molokane*. M.A. Shaverdova and V.A. Danilov penetrated into the Caucasus. S.M. Stepnjak happened to find them on the way from Kazan' to Moskow, L.Dejch settled near the Astraxan'ka Community, and O. Aptekman met them in the Province of Penza. But none of them, not even Stepnjak, who can be considered one of the best Chajkovcy, succeeded in making the Molokans turn revolutionaries. All that Stepnjak achieved, was a kind of rather embarrassing veneration: due to the fact that he knew the Bible by heart, the Sectarrians allowed him to inquire and to teach them<sup>2</sup>. Aptekman, on the other hand, who was not so well up in theology, could not hold up against the *Molokane*<sup>3</sup>.

Lev Dejch, at last, could not but admitting the *Molokanin*'s obscurantism towards every kind of progressive ideas, resembling somehow the Orthodox peasants in spite of their ability to read and write. Concerning the wealthy condition of one of their brothers, they submitted themselves under God's will<sup>4</sup>. A *Molokanin* said: "Bog zaxotel i dal emu. <...> Gospod' luchshe nas s toboj znaet, komu skol'ko dat' nado"<sup>5</sup>.

Let us now see what happened to the ones who tried to teach elementary terms of socialism to Ukrainians Stundists. The heart of Stundism was located in the Southern regions of the Empire. M. Frolenko, I.V. Koval'skij, E. Breshko-Breshkovskaja, P. Rjabkov I.V. Drobjazin, F.N. Jurkovskij and many others went there.

Ivan Koval'skij, an ex-seminarist, acted up to his opinion and passed himself off as one of them. But one day, during their meeting, Koval'skij forgot to play his role, and turned to be the one he really was; he quitted praying and singing hymns and began teaching them the scientific origin of thunder, revealing himself a Chajkovec. The Stundists, filled with indignation about this sud-

<sup>1</sup> L. Dejch, *Odin iz pervyx nashix marksistov* cit., p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> See L. Shishko, *Sergej Mixajlovich Kravchinskij i kruzhok chajkovcev*, in *Sobranie sochinenij*, t. IV Petrograd, 1918, p. 157; V. Zsulich, *Sergej Mixajlovich Kravchinskij (Stepnjak)*, in *Vospominanija*, M., 1931, p. 85; F. Volkhovskij (sic), *The Russian Bayard*, "Free Russia", London, February I, 1896, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. O.V. Aptekman, *Obshchestvo "Zemlja i Volja" 70-x gg*, Petrograd., p. 174.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. L. Dejch, *Chozhdenie v narod* cit., pp. 15-31.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23

den metamorphosis, stood up and cried: “Kakie eto braty! Oni i v boga ne verujut!”<sup>1</sup>.

As M. Frolenko admitted, the only arguments the Stundists were interested in regarded the church and the interpretation of some passages of the Scriptures<sup>2</sup>. Anyway, there was no good in playing a role in order to convert them to socialism. M. Frolenko concluded as follows: “Eto byli chestnye ljudi, vernye, no kak bojcy dlja nas ne podxodili. Na nix možno bylo opirat’sja dlja propagandy, no dlja etogo nado bylo nachinat’ snachala i uzhe ne v kachestve bratov (sic), a v svoej obyknovnoj roli, roli revoljucionerov”<sup>3</sup>.

Madame E. Breshko-Breshkovskaja was the only one who succeeded in keeping them listening while encouraging them to react against the pope, who had persecuted them, as well as the police who had arrested them<sup>4</sup>. Most probably a great deal of the Sectarians, already tired and afraid of further persecution, would have accepted the revolutionary ideas; the final decision, however, was to be taken by the spiritual head of the Community called I. R. (Ivan Rjaboshapka) by E. Breshko-Breshkovskaja. Indeed, all the woman’s efforts were useless. Rjaboshapka’s disposition based on the Holy Scriptures: “Chto zhe delat’, na to volja bozhija, a my dolzhny molit’sja i skorbet’, ibo za grexi nashi Gospod’ nakazyvaet nas”<sup>5</sup>. The picture that Madame Breshko-Breshkovskaja gives us in his behalf is by no means that of a quiet and humble Stundist faithful to the Scriptures, but rather that of a rude and clever *kulak*, who tried to keep his flock in submission in order not to loose his hold on it.

According to ethnographer M.V. Muratov the Populist-Revolutionaries were unable to exert their influence upon the dissidents, who already had their own peculiar views elaborated after much suffering<sup>6</sup>.

The Stundists had indeed preferred a silent resistance and answered the revolutionaries’ proposals with their goodly submission. Stundist Timofej A. Zaic encouraged his brothers: “<...> a pjatie revoljucionery i studenty, anarxisty, socialisty - podostrekajut i broshjurami ugovorivajut chernorabochyj fabričnyj i derevenskij narod, chtoby pomogat’ im u drake s pravitel’stvom i s vojskamj, ubyvajut ministrov, prizidentov, korolej, carej i caryc, a te ix ubyvajut.

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<sup>1</sup> M. Frolenko, *Sobranie sočinenij v dvux tomach*, Moskva, 1932, p. 123. I. Kovalskij was the author of the article appeared on “Otechestvennye zapiski”(1878, n. 3, pp. 208-224 and n. 5, pp. 206-230) under the pseudonym of Emel’janov.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. M. Frolenko, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 123-124.

<sup>4</sup> E. Breshko-Breshkovskaja, *Vospominanija propagandistki*, “Byloe”, vyp. II (1903-1904), Rostov na Donu, 1906, p. 45.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. M.V. Muratov, *Dve intelligencii, Russkoe sektantstvo*, Moskva, 1919, pp. 24-32.

A Xristos jasno govorit: podnjavshyi mech' na mech' to vse pogybnem, to togda, konechno, i pravdy ne ostaetsja"<sup>1</sup>.

Now let us consider the reason for the failure. The failure was easily to be seen from the beginning. The Populist-Revolutionaries did not realize — or did not want to realize — the very facts that kept them separated from the religious dissidents and especially from the Stundists. Stressing on the points they had in common, they were unable to foresee their own failure. It is not by pure chance that in their memories the image of a propagandist — a Chajkovec or any other one — coincides with that of a religious preacher. Stepnjak wrote: “Tip propagandista semidesjatyx godov prinadlezhal k tem, kotorye vydvigajutsja skorej religioznymi, chem revoljucionnymi dvizhenijami. Socializm byl ego veroj, narod- ego bozhestvom”<sup>2</sup>.

Both of them, indeed, are animated by strong passion, by self denial, ready to sacrifice themselves in the name of an idea; to undergo torture as well as martyrdom. They shared a genuine gratefulness against each other: Ekaterina Breshko-Breshkovskaja felt at her ease with Stundist Stepan as if they were old friends. He in turn noted immediately that she was like him a seeker of the truth. Nevertheless, Xarlamov was right: the truth the Stundists were looking for, was not the same the Revolutionaries were pursuing: “Vse my staraemsja ‘sluzhit’ Bogu v duce i istine’; no nash dux, nash Bog, — eto daleko ne to, chto dux i istina sektantov; v nashix upovanijax, v sredstvax osushchestvlenija etix upovanij my s sektantami sojtis’ ne mozhem, potomu chto, v sushchnosti, my ljudi *raznych epoch*, s raznymi priemami mysli, s diametral’no-protivopolozhnyimi mirovozzrenijami, i nasha pravda pokazhetsja sektantam ino mesto, skazat’ po sovesti, ‘chuzhe vsjakoj lzhi’. V etom i vse delo”<sup>3</sup>.

In Stepnjak’s novel, *Shtundist Pavel Rudenko* (Genève, 1900), the old Stundist Ul’jana doubted whether the Revolutionary Valerian Petrovich might not be one of them: “Chudnoj takoj, govorjat? Bol’nyx lechit i nichego ne beret, a sam prinosit po malosti, koli komu nuzhno. Dobroj i prostoj. A v cerkov’, govorjat, nikogda ne chodit, pribavila Ul’jana shepotom. V izbu vojdet, shapku snimet i vsem ljudjam poklonitsja. A ikony ne klanjaetsja. I za stol sadit’sja — ne kres-tit’sja. Mne prishlo v golovu, uzhe ne iz nashix li? Cho-to pochozhe”<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> V.D. Bonch-Bruевич, *Materialy k izucheniju ruskogo sektantstva*, vyp. III, Moskva-Leningrad, 1909, pp. 49-50

<sup>2</sup> S. M. Stepnjak-Kravchinskij, *Podpol'naja Rossija*, in *Sochinenija v dvuch tomach*, Moskva, 1987, t. I, pp. 353-354.

<sup>3</sup> I. N. Xarlamov, *Shtundisty* cit., p. 145. See also I.N. Xarlamov, *Idealizatory raskola*, “Delo”, 1881, n. 8, pp. 1-26 and n. 9, pp. 1-26.

<sup>4</sup> S. M. Stepnjak-Kravchinskij, *Shtundist Pavel Rudenko*, Sankt-Peterburg, 1906, p. 33.

Stundists and Revolutionaries had one other thing in common: both of them denounced the parasitic existence of the clergy, and both aimed for equality of all men, both had a strong desire for brotherhood. We must not forget that their motto “ravenstvo, svoboda i bratstvo” was similar to the slogan of the Revolutionary Circle of the *Dolgoshincy* (1872-1874). However, their methods concerning the up-building of the terrestrial paradise were different and could never match. The Revolutionaries said: “Chas razrushenija starogo burzhuaznogo mira probil... Novyj mir osnovannyj na bratstve vsekh ljudej, mir, v kotorom ne budet bol'she ni slez, ni nishchetyj, gotov uzhe vzniknut' na ego razvalinax. K delu zhe! Da zdravstvuet revoljucija, edinstvennoe sredstvo osushchestvenija etogo zolotogo ideala!”<sup>1</sup>

The Stundists, on the other hand, in order to change society, concentrated their efforts on improving the moral and ethic behaviour of the single members.<sup>2</sup> “Obshchestvennyj porjadok ne goden, shtundist eto znaet, no on ne ustranim, poka ne ispravit'sja chelovek, lichnost'. Ispravit'sja on, ispravjat'sja i zhiznennye porjadki”<sup>3</sup>

Their life style was beyond any reproach: they were no drunkards, they did not use bad language, nor did they tell lies or swear or steal, they used to be low-minded, patient and tolerant, honest and altruistic. Nikolaj Cakni, an ex-Revolutionary confirmed: “L'ouvrier et le paysan russes préfèrent la protestation, pour ainsi dire, passive et, au lieu de s'organiser en groupes militants et révolutionnaires, ils tendent à fuir le gouvernement actuel et les lois sociales; ayant fondé leur idéal sur les lois de la morale chrétienne, le droit naturel de l'homme, ils forment des group religioso-socialistes qui ne luttent pas contre la société actuelle, mais qui prechent le perfectionnement moral de l'homme, et ne demandent qu'une chose, — qu'on les laisse vivre à leur guise”.

All they wanted was to serve their Master according to the Holy Scriptures. The Stundists' desire was to be allowed to gather in order to read the Bible, to celebrate weddings and baptism, and to bury their dead ones. They wished their believes to be acknowledged and would endure any hardship for their Lord. They accepted meekly any kind of punishment and when sent into exile, showed the spirit of a missionary. A Stundist said: “Ved', i v Sibiri ljudi zhivut, a dlja boga Gospoda mozžno vse delat”<sup>4</sup>.

There is one more thing the Revolutionaries did not notice: the Stundists during their meetings never quitted praying in behalf of the Tzar (Rom. 13: 1,7;

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<sup>1</sup> S. M. Stepnjak-Kravchinskij, *Podpol'naja Rossia*, in *Sochinenija* cit., p. 349.

<sup>2</sup> Xarlamov, *Idealizatory raskola* cit., p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> N. Tsakni (sic), *La Russie Sectaire*, Paris, 1888, p. 234.

<sup>4</sup> I.N. Xarlamov, *Shtundisty* cit., p. 13.

1. Peter 2: 13,14)<sup>1</sup>. Like all other religious dissidents they retained the old Russian spirit of faithfulness towards the Tzar. It is said that two Stundists, convinced that only the Tzar would save them from unjust persecution, went as far as S. Petersburg hoping to be able to speak to their sovereign<sup>2</sup>. The story goes that a Stundist woman, a certain Anna Ganicheva, also went to the Capital in order to ask the Tzar to share the land with all his peasants<sup>3</sup>.

In their dealings with the Stundists the Revolutionaries showed utterly uncertain feelings, staggering between admiration and anger. The only one who was able to register a positive outcome concerning his activities among the Stundists, was a certain S.E. Lion: he succeeded in telling them about Marx, he read Lasalle's subversive writings, and the revolutionary Tales *Xitraja mexanika* and *Skazka o chetyrex brat'jax*<sup>4</sup>. It sounds quite strange that Bishop Aleksij, the Stundists' relentless enemy, attached a high importance to the propaganda of the Socialists; he asserted that the Stundists would owe their ideas of equality to the influence of Socialist leaflets<sup>5</sup>.

To tell the truth it used to be the same outcome that already achieved regarding the Orthodox peasant: i.e. total indifference. A couple of years later, in 1876, A.D. Mixailov writes in the program of "Land and Liberty": "Sblizhenie i dazhe slijanie s vrazhdbnymi pravitel'stvu sektami religiozno-revoljucionnogo karaktera, kakovy naprimer beguny, neplatel'shciki, shtunda i pr."<sup>6</sup>. It was one more defeat.

The Revolutionaries' memories show their hopes and failures of the Secularians. Stepnjak confessed: "I will also add, among Russian Nihilists there were many, and the writer of these pages among them, who hoped that those discontented masses might be induced by our propaganda to some active protest. Such attempts, and they were many, extended our sphere of propaganda, but had no serious result. (...) But their *destructive* power is, I dire say, *nil*. They have displayed an enormous power of passive resistance and self-sacrifice, but there is no way to influence them to an active revolutionary protest against their power"<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Aleksij, *Religiozno-racionalisticheskoe dvizhenie* cit., pp 262-270.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Michael A. Morrison, *Brother Felix*, in "Living Age", n. 223, Dic., 1899, pp. 841-845.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. D.I. Skvorcov, *Sovremennoe russkoe sektantstvo: ocherki, stat'i i issledovanija*, Moskva, 1905, p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. S.E. Lion, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Aleksij, *Religiozno-racionalisticheskoe dvizhenie* cit., p. 420; see also Aleksij, *Materialy* cit., pp. 300-302.

<sup>6</sup> *Revoljucionnoe narodnichestvo 70x gg. XIX veka, t. II: 1876-1882*, pod redakciej S.S. Volka, M.-L., 1965, p. 32. See also *Pis'ma narodovol'ca A.D. Mixajlova*, sobral P.E. Shchegolev, M., 1933, p. 115 e 133.

<sup>7</sup> S. Stepnjak (sic), *The Russian Storm-Cloud* cit., p. 17.

In these memories Stundists and Sectarians have their place in the background, like minor characters of a bold adventure with a tragic end. An adventure the Stundists never forget. Some of them remembered as late as the beginning of the 20th century Koval'skij and Breshko-Breshkovskaja<sup>1</sup>.

All that Stundists and Revolutionaries were able to share - as Franco Venturi stated - were the prisons and the halting-places on their march into the exile. It happened exactly the way Tolstoj described in *Voskresenie*: Revolutionaries and religious dissidents travel shoulder to shoulder without speaking. They appreciated each other, but did not match. Exactly as in Stepnjak novel *Shtundist Pavel Rudenko*. Exactly as in a real story of a revolutionary without name:

“On the way to Kiev, two men in chains and with shaven heads were placed in our railway carriage; the wives accompanied them, one with four children, the other with three; the eldest boy was twelve years old. The appearance of the prisoners instantly attracted our attention; both of them had fine faces, and there was a quiet straightforward look about them, which impressed us pleasantly. On seeing us, they at once asked us what we were, and when we answered, “Socialists”, their faces brightened and they held out their hands to us, calling us brothers. They were members of a sect of Stundisty or Evangelists”<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. V.D. Bonch-Bruевич, *Izbrannye sochinenija*, t. I, p: 175

<sup>2</sup> *A Journey under Arrest*, (“The Society of Friends of Russian Freedom”, Pamphlet n. IV), London, 1892, p: 31.