

Introduction

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Historians agree on the unprecedented nature and extent of European and American women's participation in the Great War, although they often differ about the nature and duration of its effects on their economic, social, and political status. Some insist that the war had a lasting transformative impact, symbolized by the enfranchisement of women in Britain, the United States, Austria, and Germany shortly after the war's end. They point to the mass influx of women into public life, their new economic roles between 1914 and 1918, and their increased access to educational and professional opportunities. Others, however, see the war as reinforcing rather than permanently changing the patriarchal order and traditional gender ideologies. France, they point out, did not grant women the vote until 1944. Women were expelled from the workplace once men returned from the front; their access to new kinds of jobs often proved to be a temporary concession to wartime emergencies. The war's catastrophic mortality and declining birth rates resulted in renewed emphasis on women's essential identity as mothers and caregivers.¹ In short, historians have found it difficult to generalize about the war's lasting influence on Western women.

¹ Classic studies of women and the Great War include Margaret R. Higonnet and Patrice L.-R. Higonnet, "The Double Helix," in *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*, ed. Margaret R. Higonnet et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 31–47; Karen Hagemann, "Mobilizing Women for War: The History, Historiography, and Memory of German Women's War Service in the Two World Wars," *The Journal of Military History* 75, 4 (2011): 1055–93; Erika A. Kuhlman, *Reconstructing Patriarchy after the Great War: Women, Gender, and Postwar Reconciliation between Nations* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Mary Louise Roberts, *Civilization Without Sexes: Reconstructing Gender in Postwar France, 1917–1927* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); and the works of Susan R. Grayzel, including *Women's Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood, and Politics in Britain and France during the First World War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); *Women and the First World War* (London: Longman/Pearson Education, 2002, 2nd ed., Routledge forthcoming in 2022); and *Gender and the Great War*, coedited with Tammy M. Proctor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

In Russia, too, the Great War served as a powerful catalyst of change for women. On the positive side, the war accelerated improvements in women's status and opportunities that had begun to take place years before 1914, such as increased access to education and the professions, and the sporadic but inexorable expansion of their civil rights.² It inspired the creation and expansion of large numbers of voluntary and quasi-governmental associations for the purpose of carrying out functions critical to the war effort, such as aid to the wounded and support for soldiers' families. In addition to providing women with increased opportunities for public service and a channel to express their patriotism, such organizations provided women who possessed administrative talent and experience with opportunities to assume leadership roles. With the mobilization of 15 million men between 1914 and 1917, both urban and rural women became heads of their households, endowing them with unprecedented autonomy and authority, especially among the peasant majority. State separation allowances provided soldiers' wives and families with an unprecedented entitlement to government support. (See figure 1 in the gallery of illustrations following page 226.) As elsewhere in Europe, the war created labor shortages in field, factory, and service jobs that demanded women step into unfamiliar, often dangerous new occupations.³ The changes Russian women experienced during the war reached a symbolic climax in July 1917, when a new law guaranteed them full political rights, ahead of women in all other nations involved in the war except New Zealand and Australia.

But how lasting were the changes initiated by the war for the women in Russia? The Great War in Russia was prolonged by four more years of violent revolution and civil war, a "continuum of crisis" that intensified the world war's effects on Russia's demography, economy, and social and political structure to a greater extent than any other combatant nation. The gains in civil, political, and economic status that Russian women achieved must be measured against the demographic and economic catastrophes that befell their

² Rochelle Goldberg Ruthchild, *Equality and Revolution: Women's Rights in the Russian Empire, 1905–1917* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010), 212.

³ On women's expanding roles in wartime Russia, see Alfred G. Meyer, "The Impact of World War I on Russian Women's Lives," in *Russia's Women: Accommodation, Resistance, Transformation*, ed. Barbara Evans Clements (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 208–24; Melissa Kirschke Stockdale, *Mobilizing the Russian Nation: Patriotism and Citizenship in the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), especially 106–39; Laurie S. Stoff, *Russia's Sisters of Mercy in the Great War: More than Binding Men's Wounds* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2015); Anastasia S. Tumanova, *Obshchestvennye organizatsii: Rossiia v gody Pervoi mirovoi voyny (1914–fevral' 1917 g.)* (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2014). On the activism of working-class women fed up by inflation and shortages, see Barbara A. Engel, "Not by Bread Alone: Subsistence Riots in Russia during World War One," *Journal of Modern History* 69, 4 (1997): 696–72.

nation. The military and civil conflicts of the years 1914–22 turned millions of women into widows and refugees, orphaned their children, decimated their family networks, and ruined their household economies. (See figure 2.) As revolution swept over the country, concepts of citizenship, patriotism, and gender were redefined in ways that benefitted some women but excluded others. In the world's first socialist state, class identity determined women's access to the universal political rights they won in 1917, empowering working-class women but disenfranchising those labeled "bourgeois" and "former people," and turning hundreds of thousands of women and men into stateless refugees. Yet in the 1920s the workforce returned to a profile quite similar to its pre-Civil War profile, in large part due to high unemployment in the still recovering Russian economy.⁴ Anthony Heywood argues in his chapter in this volume that it was the "first five-year plans, not the Great War or civil war, [that] would become the watershed experience for women"—not only in the railroad workplace he studies, but across economic sectors.

War and revolution in Russia also challenged existing gender identities for both women and men, transforming some norms while reinforcing others. The perspective of gender is critically important for understanding this period of war and revolution in Russia. In her enormously influential article, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," Joan W. Scott defined this socially constructed concept as both "a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes" and "a primary way of signifying relationships of power." Investigating issues of gender would help explain the persistence of inequality between men and women, she believed, but also provide new perspectives on old questions such as the imposition of political power and "the impact of war on society." In the decades since Scott's article appeared, scholars have drawn on linguistics, cultural history, anthropology, and diverse theoretical perspectives, to explore relationships of power, and a host of other issues.⁵

⁴ Two influential studies of women, employment, and family roles in the fledgling Soviet state are Wendy Z. Goldman, *Women, the State, and Revolution: Soviet Family Policy and Social Life, 1917–1936* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); and Elizabeth Wood, *The Baba and the Comrade: Gender and Politics in Revolutionary Russia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997). An illuminating collection of primary sources is Sheila Fitzpatrick and Yuri Slezkine, eds., *In the Shadow of Revolution: Life Stories of Russian Women from 1917 to the Second World War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).

⁵ Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *American Historical Review* 91, 5 (1986): 1056, 1067, 1075. On the remarkable influence of this work, and the diverse approaches scholars of gender have come to employ, see Joanne Meyerowitz, "A History of 'Gender,'" *American Historical Review* 113, 5 (2008): 1346–56.

In Russia as elsewhere, the wartime roles women adopted—as frontline nurses, munitions workers, trench-diggers, as heads of their households, and even as soldiers—profoundly unsettled prewar gender expectations.⁶ (Figure 3.) The war's challenge to masculinity was no less powerful. Seven years of armed conflict diffused ideas of modern military masculinity more widely, even as its horrific costs tested some of the constitutive elements of that masculinity, such as personal courage, willingness to sacrifice, and fear of loss of honor.⁷ Millions of wounded men confronted the high economic, social, and emotional cost of war-caused injury and mutilation, which deprived them of independence and other attributes of civilian masculinity. For the more than two million Russian soldiers captured by the enemy, the experience of being a prisoner of war undermined their perceived manhood in other ways. Desertion from the army, an unthinkable violation of masculine conduct and comradeship, lost much of its status as taboo during 1917, when soldiers began returning home from the frontlines *en masse*.⁸ Gendered standards of masculine behavior also influenced those whose decisions sent Russia's young men to die on the battlefield. Men dominated the political realm, from the

⁶ Major works in English on Russian women soldiers in World War I are Laurie S. Stoff, *"They Fought for the Motherland": Russia's Women Soldiers in World War I and the Revolution* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2006); and Melissa K. Stockdale, "'My Death for the Motherland Is Happiness': Women, Patriotism, and Soldiering in Russia's Great War, 1914–1917," *American Historical Review* 109, 1 (2004): 78–116.

⁷ An indispensable review of the scholarly literature for Europe and North America is Robert A. Nye, "Western Masculinities in War and Peace," *American Historical Review* 112, 2 (2007): 417–38, especially 417–20, where he notes the range of combat, military, and civilian masculinities and also how permeable the boundary is between "the home front and the war front, between the putatively masculine domain of battle and the feminized sphere of domesticity and civilian life." A useful context on the problems confronting soldiers trying to re-enter society after the Great War is Maureen Healy, "Civilizing the Soldier in Post-War Austria," in *Gender and War in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe*, ed. Nancy M. Wingfield and Maria Bucur (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 47–69.

⁸ An important study highlighting the nexus of military service, war, and masculinity in Russia is Josh Sanborn, *Drafting the Russian Nation: Military Conscription, Total War, and Mass Politics, 1905–1925* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2003). Also attentive to gender is the article by William G. Rosenberg, "Reading Soldiers' Moods: Russian Military Censorship and the Configuration of Feeling in World War I," *American Historical Review* 119, 3 (2014): 714–40. The most in-depth investigation of the frontline experience and mood of Russia's soldiers in the war is A. B. Astashov, *Russkii front v 1914–nachale 1917 goda: Voennyi opyt i sovremennost'* (Moscow: Novyi khronograf, 2014.) The classic work on the collapse of the Russian army in 1917 delves deeply into class and political views but is silent on gender: Allan K. Wildman, *The End of the Russian Imperial Army*, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980 and 1987).

Winter Palace and the Council of Ministers to the State Duma and the central committees of political parties of the right, left, and center. Yet few historians have turned their attention to Russia's hypermasculine political culture and its implications.

Even as scholarship on Russian women's history has flourished in recent decades, there is still remarkably little historical research on women and gender for the period 1914–22. An exception worthy of note is the study by Pavel Shcherbinin that surveys the influence of the military and war on women's lives in Russia through the long 19th century.⁹ Even this comprehensive work stops short of studying women in 1917 in any depth, however. The role of women in the 1917 Revolution continues to be largely ignored in even the recently published studies, as Susan Grayzel notes in her essay here. Another recent survey by Adele Lindenmeyr reflects on the persistent marginalization of women and argues for the usefulness of a feminist and gendered approach to studying the revolution.¹⁰

Our idea of trying to address these lacunae took root during a 2014 conference of the editorial board for the international publishing project "Russia's Great War and Revolution, 1914–22" (RGWR), held in the summer of 2014 at the University of Aberdeen. While outside our meeting room Scotland was

⁹ Pavel P. Shcherbinin, *Voennyi faktor v povsednevnoi zhizni russkoi zhenshchiny v XVIII–nachale XX v.* (Tambov: Iulis, 2004), especially 222–90 on 1914–17. See also Boris I. Kolonitskii's analysis of gendered representations of the imperial family, *Tragicheskaiia erotika: Obrazy imperatorskoi sem'i v Pervoi mirovoi voine* (St. Petersburg: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2010); Victoria Bonnell's exploration of gendered images in propaganda, *Iconography of Power: Soviet Political Posters under Lenin and Stalin* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); and Choi Chatterjee, *Gender, Festival, and Bolshevik Ideology, 1910–1939* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2002).

¹⁰ Adele Lindenmeyr, "Writing Women into the Russian Revolution of 1917," *Journal of Modern Russian History and Historiography* 13 (2020): 214–31. Foundational studies of women in Russia in war and revolution, in addition to Goldman and Wood, include Richard Stites, *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia: Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism, 1860–1930* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977); Jane McDermid and Anna Hilyar, *Midwives of the Revolution: Female Bolsheviks and Women Workers in 1917* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1999); and Barbara Evans Clements, *Bolshevik Women* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Three articles dedicated to three specific social groups are Beatrice Farnsworth, "Village Women Experience the Revolution," in *Russian Peasant Women*, ed. Farnsworth and Lynne Viola (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 145–66; Diane Koenker, "Men against Women on the Shop Floor in Early Soviet Russia," *American Historical Review* 100, 5 (1995): 1438–64; and Sarah Badcock, "Women, Protest, Revolution: Soldiers' Wives in Russia During 1917," *International Review of Social History* 49, 1 (2004): 47–70. Also attentive to gender in the village is Aaron B. Retish, *Russia's Peasants in Revolution and Civil War: Citizenship, Identity, and the Creation of the Soviet State, 1914–1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

preparing to vote on independence, the RGWR editors discussed adding new titles to the series. A consensus emerged that while aspects of women's experience of war and revolution were being explored in chapters scattered across various volumes, the perspective of gender—especially masculinity—was not well-represented in the series. (The relevant chapters published in previous RGWR volumes are identified in the bibliography at the end of this introduction.) The editors agreed on the need for one volume focused solely on women and gender.

The two of us were immediately excited by the opportunity of identifying and bringing together in one volume new work in these critical but understudied areas. A word is in order about the organization of this volume. In planning this project as with all volumes in this series, we sought to make it an international collaboration. Our contributors include six historians from the Russian Federation, three from Great Britain, and ten scholars working in the United States. Another fruitful element of the process of organizing this book, observed as far as possible in other RGWR volumes, was to gather participants in a conference where the precirculated papers could be “workshopped,” thereby allowing authors to better identify common themes and issues. We were fortunate to be able to hold our workshop, “Women and Gender in Russia's Great War and Revolution,” at the University of Illinois Summer Lab in 2018. Presenters benefitted from lively discussions with fellow volume contributors and other scholars at the Summer Lab—by no means all Russianists—who attended various sessions. Our international contributors heroically agreed to participate virtually, sometimes at very uncivilized hours for them. Subsequently, three papers were added after the conference, along with the concluding overview essay by Susan Grayzel, a leading specialist on women and gender in the First World War.

We have organized the essays thematically rather than by chronology or region, dividing them into four sections corresponding to the broad themes of women and gender roles, masculinity and gender roles, individual stories of war and revolution, and memory. Part 1, “Her Proper Place? Women and Gender Roles in War and Revolution,” includes five essays that take up questions of the degree to which war and revolution changed women's gender roles in Russia, and for which groups of women. Did the biggest changes run along generational lines, or those of education or class? Similarly, in looking at the embrace of those changes or resistance to them, what are the fault lines, and how important are rural-urban divides? Finally, as noted at the beginning of this introduction, among the hardest questions for historians to address is the relative influence of war or revolution in effecting lasting change, and how enduring alterations to gender roles proved to be.

In the first selection in Part 1, Anthony Heywood draws on previously untapped Russian archival materials to examine the place of women on Russia's railroads. He investigates the whole hierarchy of railroad jobs, from janitorial positions to engine stokers to white-collar accountants. Despite significant upticks in both the numbers of women employed on Russian railroads, and the kinds of positions they were allowed to fill, Heywood concludes that in most areas of employment the gains made were neither as great as has been assumed, nor as long-lasting. Aleksandr Astashov's similarly archivally driven study of women working at or near the Russian front reaches many of the same conclusions. Women worked in much larger numbers at the front than has been appreciated: not only in the more publicly celebrated roles of nurses, but also in the tens of thousands digging trenches and performing other heavy labor previously done by men. But in his view, ingrained cultural norms meant that the work of most of these women—particularly the manual laborers—was neither well paid nor publicly esteemed.

The experience of peasant women is the focus of Denis Kozlov and Olga Davydova's article, "Emancipation 'Soviet-Style': Changes in the Status of Rural Women, 1914–27," which examines women's wartime roles in Kazan' and Tatarstan. They, too, chronicle less lasting change and more resistance to women's enhanced ability to make decisions about their farms and work during war and revolution: by the mid-1920s, when peace meant that men at last returned to their villages, many peasant women were happy to surrender their wartime agency in return for stability. Among the many contributions of this piece is its relatively rare focus on the agency of Tatar Muslim women, who were not part of the dominant ethnic and confessional group within the empire.

In "Lived Religion Gendered," Christine Worobec traces how the almost unnoticed prewar process of Orthodox women's empowerment in the day-to-day practice of religion was accelerated from 1914, as wartime conscription necessitated their assumption of parish roles traditionally filled by men. She then charts a contrary post-1917 trajectory, whereby the fiercely antireligious Bolsheviks downplayed Orthodox men's active piety in order to gender religious belief as feminine and "hysterical," and thereby render it unmasculine. In the final contribution to this section, "Women and the Early Soviet Press," Katie McElvanney focuses more firmly on the post-1917 period and on the smaller demographic subset of educated women. Her findings correspond in important ways to the others in this section: although opportunities for women greatly expanded after 1914, they were more circumscribed than we might have imagined and are characterized by the larger theme of "invisibility." Even where women fulfilled roles in places previously limited or closed

to them, the way they were represented meant most people would not even perceive that women were there.

The focus switches from women to the experience of men in the second section of this volume, "Masculinity under Fire: Men and Gender Roles in War and Revolution," with four essays exploring settings as diverse as the living quarters of the Winter Palace and the squalid boarding houses for disabled Civil War veterans. The first selection, Ron Bobroff's "*En Garde! The Influence of Elite Masculinity on Russia's Decision for War in July 1914*," reconsiders why Russia's cabinet ministers fatefully advised the tsar to order full mobilization of the army during the 1914 crisis, despite realizing Russia's unreadiness for a continental conflict. He suggests that gendered notions of honor can better help us understand this seemingly incomprehensible advice. Steven Jug's chapter, "Reconnoitering Masculine Subjectivities among Soldiers and Officers on Russia's Fronts, 1914–17," based on close readings of officers' and soldiers' writings, is attentive to the way that Russia's deteriorating economy complicated men's ability to simultaneously carry out their obligations to their family and to their country. He posits that the rank-and-file soldiers' gendering of home and front may have transformed the traditional masculine values that served domestic order into the means of challenging the masculine duty of defending the nation, to the point of desertion.

In "Kerenskii as a 'Woman': The Delegitimization of a Politician in the Conditions of Revolution," Boris Kolonitskii analyzes the ways that Aleksandr F. Kerenskii's image was increasingly delegitimized from late spring 1917. By likening Kerenskii to a "tightrope dancer" (*kanatnaia tantsovshchitsa*) or a diva on a provincial stage, and his supporters to an overwrought, bourgeois theater audience, his critics gendered the formerly lionized leader as feminine, histrionic, and weak. Kolonitskii argues that these representations drew on and illustrate deeper cultural-political trends of 1917. The intersection of gender and class that he teases out is also apparent in the final piece in this section. In "Gendered Bodies on Trial: Exploring Litigation Strategies in the Early Soviet People's Court," Pavel Vasilyev investigates a 1920 criminal case involving the vicious stabbing of a veteran in Petrograd by a disabled fellow veteran. He shows how this "one-legged robber" ultimately secured a lenient sentence by invoking his working-class background and his gender-appropriate sacrifices serving in the Red Army, while simultaneously begging for sympathy for his suffering and compromised manhood.

Part 3 of our volume, "Prominent Women in War and Revolution," presents the biographies of three exceptional individuals. The stories are interesting in their own right, while also offering insights into the different ways women experienced tumultuous times and the reluctance with which many refashioned their personal and public identities. Perhaps not surprisingly,

Dowager Empress Mariia Fedorovna was the least inclined to change. As Galina Ulianova demonstrates, during the war the dowager empress continued to embrace her socially approved roles as honored widow, loving mother of the tsar, and energetic patroness of numerous charities. But by late 1916 even she realized the threat to the dynasty posed by the imperial couple's relationship with Rasputin; her inability to persuade her son of the need for concessions helped render her a mere witness to the revolution that would destroy her world.

The philanthropic activity of Socialist Revolutionary Ekaterina Peshkova, extending through war and revolution well into the Soviet era, followed a rather different trajectory. As Stuart Finkel shows, Peshkova had extensive experience as an activist and organizer, although she had nonetheless eschewed the limelight thrust upon her by virtue of being the ex-wife of renowned writer Maksim Gor'kii. The war and revolution provided her—along with countless other educated women—additional opportunities for leadership. But unlike other female wartime activists, Peshkova succeeded in maintaining a “significant if more circumscribed level of public activity” on behalf of political prisoners for several years after the Revolution.

The last piece in this section looks at the work of futurist artist Natal'ia Goncharova. Within months of the war's outbreak, Goncharova had produced a major cycle of prints, *Mystical Images of War*, even as her partner Mikhail Larionov, called up for military service, had returned from the front wounded and suffering from what is now called PTSD. In “The Art of Natal'ia Goncharova and the Great War: Modernism and Conflict in Russia,” David Borgmeyer makes a case for the deep impact of her experience of the war—including her empathetic portrayal of peasant soldiers as “poor bridegrooms of death”—well into emigration, in her iconic designs for the Ballet Russe. Our final section is “Gendered Perception and Memory of War and Revolution.” In her analysis of participants' accounts of the February Revolution, Katy Turton shows how gendered perceptions meant that even progressive men committed to women's liberation did not notice women participating in the events of February, or registered them only as bystanders or helpers rather than agents of change. These memories, in turn, by rendering women largely invisible, influenced how historians would construct the narrative of the revolution as a masculine project.

More than a million citizens of Russia fled or were driven from their country by war and revolution. Harbin, China was a vibrant center of that massive emigration. In “Two Émigré Poets on War and Revolution: Gender Fluidity and Heroic Rhetoric in the Poetry of Arsenii Nesmelov and Marianna Kolosova,” Olga Volkova explores themes of loss and displacement—of home, country, and gender roles—in the context of Harbin. She shows how

Arsenii Nemeslov drew on his own memories as a soldier in both the Great War and the Civil War to challenge the traditional trope of military-heroic masculinity, while Marianna Kolosova made an idealized female warrior part of her conservative émigré patriotism. The final piece in this section turns our gaze forward to the Putin era. In “Gendered Memory of the Civil War in Contemporary Russia,” Karen Petrone analyzes the limited attention to the role of women in the Russian Civil War, within the context of a larger disinclination by Russians to remember that divisive conflict. She then focusses on two widely divergent subjects—the murder of the imperial family in 1918 and several women who employed violence themselves during the Civil War—to explore the durability of gendered depictions of women as the victims of violence, and men as those who perpetrate it. The volume concludes with the overview essay by Susan Grazyel, who situates its findings within the broader context of the global experience of the Great War.



No single volume could offer comprehensive coverage of the topics of women and gender for a period as vast and complex as Russia’s Great War and Revolution. As editors, we have had to accept that even selective coverage of what we consider the most salient issues was not always possible. For example, despite the fact that Great Russians constituted slightly less than 50 percent of the population of the Russian Empire as of 1914, only one of the essays in this volume—that of Davydov and Kozlova, on peasant women in Kazan’ and Tatarstan—provides extensive coverage of a non-Russian ethnic group.¹¹ There is less coverage of the critical Civil War years than would be ideal. Thanks in part to the marked hostility of official Russian culture in the Putin era to questions concerning “nontraditional” sexual identity and orientation, most scholars have been deterred from working on these topics, which meant we were unable to recruit someone to write an essay on sexuality for this volume.¹²

¹¹ The historical scholarship on women who were not ethnically Great Russian is not vast; among the works which include discussion of the period of the war and revolution are Marianne Kamp, *The New Woman in Uzbekistan: Islam, Modernity, and Unveiling under Communism* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006); and Irina Astashkevich, *Gendered Violence: Jewish Women in the Pogroms of 1917–1921* (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2018).

¹² On sexuality and its perception in this period, see Gregory Carleton, *Sexual Revolution in Bolshevik Russia* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000); Dan Healey, *Homosexual Desire in Revolutionary Russia: The Regulation of Sexual and Gender Dissent* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), and *Bolshevik Sexual Forensics: Diagnosing Murder in the Clinic and the Courtroom, 1917–1939* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2009); and the first section of Ol’ga Zhuk, *Russkie amazonki: Istoriia lesbiiskoi sub-*

Nevertheless, we are proud of the positive contributions these essays make to the understudied issues of women and gender in Russia's Great War and Revolution. This volume brings to light the wartime work and ordeals of tens of thousands of women trench diggers and railroad workers, and the new responsibilities assumed by peasant women left to fend for their families and manage their farms in deteriorating economic conditions. Its scope extends beyond the two capitals, taking in soldiers' voices from the front, gendered émigré visions from Russian Harbin, as well as village views from the Volga. It crosses boundaries of class and education, and of faith and ideology, as it explores masculine codes of honor among elite diplomats, women artists and the war, the aid network organized by prominent socialist Ekaterina Peshkova, and the mobilized piety of humble believers facing revolutionary challenges. We hope this volume will encourage other scholars and stimulate new research that will help fill in the gaps and identify new areas to be investigated. By exploring the nature and durability (or, more often, instability) of changes to gender roles effected by war and revolution, we seek to restore to view large swathes of the "invisible" population—women and men whose experiences, aspirations, and agency have been minimized, misconstrued, or simply overlooked—and hope that the essays here allow readers to hear their voices.

kul'tury v Rossii, XX vek (Moscow: Glagol, 1998). A study that concludes on the eve of World War I is Laura Engelstein, *The Keys to Happiness: Sex and the Search for Modernity in Fin-de-Siècle Russia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992). For treatment of views on sexuality—and gender—in Putin's Russia, see Valerie Sperling, *Sex, Politics and Putin: Political Legitimacy in Russia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); and the chapter "Gender Troubles" in Eliot Borenstein, *Pussy Riot: Speaking Punk to Power* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020), 65–75.

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