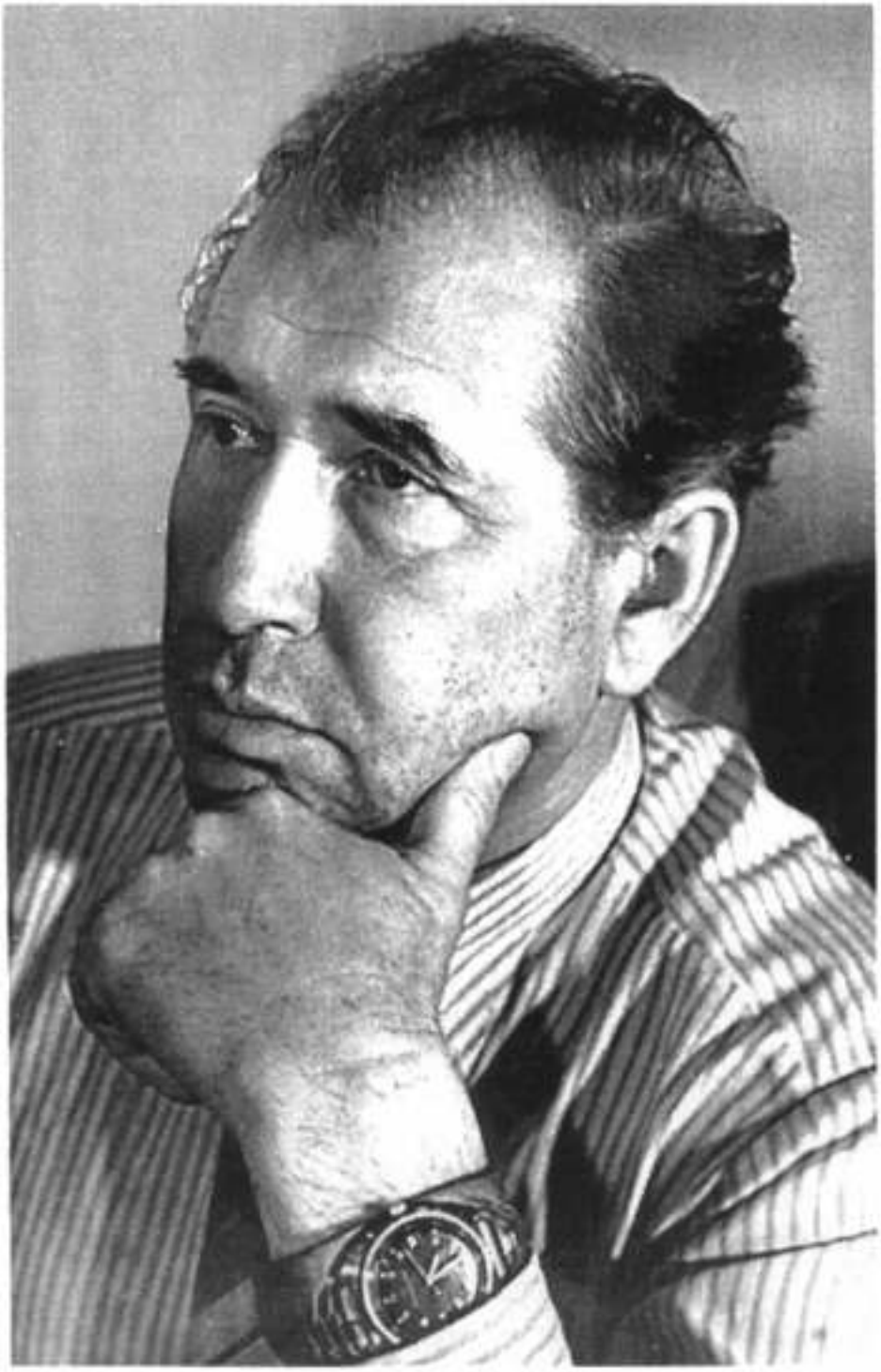
V. V. ALEKSEYEV



THE LAST ACT OF A TRAGEDY

The overthrow of the monarchy in Russia in the early twentieth century and the subsequent execution of the Emperor Nicholas II has dramatically changed the life of a great power and has made a tremendous impact on the course of world history. The distant echo of the events can still be heard reverberating throughout the planet. Thousands of authors have sought to explain the phenomenon but regrettably no adequate answers have yet been provided to the many cardinal questions raised. One of them deals with the circumstances involved in the assassination of the tsar and his family. For three quarters of a century there has been accumulated a voluminous body of literature nourished by the materials of the unfinished investigation, undertaken by order of the White Admiral Alexander Kolchak. Now that more and more top-secret Soviet archives are being made available, it is becoming possible to take a look at those tragic events as they were viewed from the side of the Reds.

In the offered publication, the paradoxes so typical of the life and death of the last Russian Emperor are examined and their interpretation in world literature — assessed. Unique documents, for the first time extracted from the archives of the former KGB, are published. The reader will be able to acquaint himself with telegrams dispatched by the Bolshevik leader Yakov Sverdlov and by Commissar Vasily Yakovlev who escorted the tsar's family to the place of their execution in Yekaterinburg; with his letters to Joseph Stalin; with official records of the Soviet Government meetings; with the Urals diary of the Empress Alexandra Fyodorovna. Of special interest and great emotional power are those truly blood-curdling pages of the most horrifying part (which have never been publicized before) of Yakov Yurovsky's confession, the man who organized and carried out the shooting; the notes of his closest associates are likewise included. You are invited to get a feel of the atmosphere surrounding the destiny of the Romanov family jewels. Much that is new and could hardly have been foreseen concerning the search for the remains of the slain is similarly disclosed, a number of rare photographs completing the picture. All this creates wider prerequisites for obtaining sufficiently substantiated answers to get the enigma of the XXth century finally solved.



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V. V. ALEKSEYEV

THE LAST ACT OF A TRAGEDY

(NEW DOCUMENTS ABOUT THE EXECUTION OF THE LAST RUSSIAN EMPEROR NICHOLAS II)

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FROM THE AUTHOR

Dear reader! You are holding in your hands one more book about mysterious death of the last Russian Emperor and his family. The present publication differs from all those that preceded it in that it will enable you to draw your own conclusions about this tragedy basing yourself on the numerous materials that have been extracted from Soviet secret archives actually for the first time. For ease of orientation, the documents are prefaced with a special part that enables to trace the basic pattern of unfolding events and to elucidate briefly their interpretation in world literature.



PART I

THE FALL OF THE MONARCHY

The Paradoxes of the Life and Death of Nicholas II

An amazing paradox of Russian history is that during the last two and a half centuries despite the harsh autocratic rule prevailing in the country, every second sovereign was forcibly deprived not only of his throne but also of his life. Thus Peter III was strangled; Catherine, who succeeded him, died on the throne and next to be killed was Pavel I. The same fate, in fact, befell every second tsar with the exception of Alexander I and Nicholas I. The last emperor Nicholas II, too, shared the same lot, though he had chosen to abdicate prior to the October coup.

The reason for this specific regularity should, perhaps, be sought in the historical situation obtaining in Russia in the second half of the 17th century, particularly during the Petrine epoch. Ever since then an uninterrupted struggle has been going on between the deep-rooted traditions of the past and latter-day innovations, a struggle which has lost none of its intensity to this day. The medial position of Russia, one of the largest world powers, at the meeting place of two civilizations — European and Asian — and the necessity it was constantly faced with of providing a rapid response to any change either in the East or in the West served to generate especially sharp polarization of opinion in society as well as conflicts within the ruling elite. Apart from this, the situation was compounded by the inertia the vast country had fallen into and the rather low level of political and cultural development of a considerable portion of its population. This could not but provoke popular rebellions, revolutionary upheavals, court conspiracies and coups d'etat. These might seem far removed from the mainstream of international life, but were bound to reflect it in the long run.

The beginning of the 20th century was marked by a series of important developments in Russian life, around which a fierce struggle began to be waged. On the one hand, Russia continued to be an agrarian country with a predominantly peasant population. Before World War I, its exports of grain exceeded those of Argentina, Canada and the USA. Its foreign trade, however, was not limited to this kind of shipments. Large quantities of butter, flax, eggs also constituted a considerable percentage of its exports [1]. Siberian butter alone sold abroad produced more gold, than the famous Siberian gold-mines.

On the other hand, the turn of the century saw a major upswing of industrial output in the Russian state. It ensured Russia foremost position in the world economy with respect to many of the most important indices. In the period between 1909 and 1913 the rate of industrial growth in Russia was 8,8%. For this particular index as well as for progressive increases in labour productivity this country was ahead of the USA [2]. Very few people today know that at the beginning of the century Russia held first place for oil extraction in the world.

Despite the contradictory character of the state policies of Nicholas II, favourable conditions were being created for the development of the country. Given a consistent and full implementation, the reforms initiated by S.Y Witte and P.A.Stolypin could have become that fertile soil on which the economy of the country might well have been thriving. Its relatively successful development enabled Russia already at that time, to have a positive balance of foreign trade and a stable hard currency. That is why it is really difficult to fully grasp the depth of its sudden fall into an abyss of economic catastrophe.

Contradictions in the political sphere began to make themselves felt. Upon ascending the throne, the new tsar, Nicholas II, to the great dissatisfaction of the liberal-minded stratum of the public, categorically declared himself in favour of the autocracy. However, no one did more than he himself to undermine the autocratic authority. It was he who supported the idea of representative power in the new period of Russian history in the form of a State Duma. It was he who permitted the functioning of the various political parties which ultimately unleashed a rabid baiting campaign against him resulting in an unprecedented split of society. Under the Manifesto proclaimed on

October 17, 1905 the citizens of Russia were granted the freedom of speech, the freedom of the press and the freedom of assembly. The inviolability of the person was also guaranteed. In a way, these freedoms may be regarded as a concession on the part of the shaken throne to the advocates of people's power but, objectively speaking, they testified to the first step toward a law-governed state. Possibly, he could have made a good tsar in the framework of a constitutional monarchy had he adopted without delay this form of government in the initial stages of the first Russian revolution.

A similar situation could also be observed in the realm of foreign policy. In an effort to beat down the revolutionary wave of 1905 with the help of the war with Japan, the tsar only succeeded in augmenting its scope. Unwilling to fight with Germany he, nevertheless, ultimately proved responsible for the horror of the ensuing shambles which came to be a prelude to the destruction of the monarchy and of his own personal ruin. All this happened at a time when, according to the evaluations of certain observers, Russia was close to victory. The fruits of which could have benefited not only Russia but also the Slav peoples of the Balkan Peninsula as well as the Christians of the Mediterranean area.

Sharp and sudden changes in the state government naturally tended to cause disquiet among those in the emperor's immediate circle and in the common people as well. A man of even and gentle disposition, Nicholas II would incline now to this, now to that point of view. These, not infrequently, happened to be diametrically opposite. It was largely this circumstance that accounted for the obvious contradictions in statements of home and foreign policy which often boarded on the paradoxical. Court intrigues were rife culminating in what came to be referred to as «Rasputinshchina». People took to the streets. The tsar was forced to abdicate the throne. It was an easy abdication with no resistance but rather a feeling of relief on his part. By taking this step Nicholas II wanted to demonstrate his earnest desire to prevent civil war. Instead, he only helped to precipitate its approach since the polarized political forces which had inherited his power were now clearly heading for an inevitable clash. In the final analysis, the tragedy of the emperor may be said to have consisted in the insoluble contradiction between his profound conviction of the

need to preserve the traditional mode of life in Russia, as symbolized to him by the father of Peter I, tsar Alexei Mikhailovich, on the one hand, and the diverse strata of society now set in motion, primarily, linked with social-democratic circles, on the other, the latter professing totally different values — more modern and less suited to the then Russian scene.

By his very nature, Nicholas II was an extremely contradictory figure. He enjoyed no popularity in his lifetime and earned the reputation of being a narrow-minded person, a «little colonel», a stubborn, yet weak-willed ruler. In reality, however, he was a highly educated, well-bred man with a fluent command of several foreign languages to his credit. His understanding of history, literature and military science was profound. He was distinguished by courage and rare personal charm, a kind, benevolent disposition with a whole-hearted devotion to his family. During the first world war, he and his wife Alexandra Fyodorovna were repeatedly accused of betraying Russian interests in favour of Germany. This, however, was not corroborated by the inquiry commission set up after the February revolution. Interestingly, the Bolsheviks who had shown far greater zeal in their attempts to prove the tsar's and his wife's complicity, themselves signed the humiliating peace treaty with Germany just a year after the emperor's abdication.

What still remains a big riddle is the relationship between the tsar and Russian society. It is a well known fact that he constantly strove to be closer to his people but totally failed of his purpose as the gulf between the royal family and society — including the court — kept steadily widening. The cause of this phenomenon is most often attributed to his inadequate solutions, the tsaritsa's bad temper and her German origins, the heir's illness and many other everyday circumstances. The problem is evidently much more complex. In our opinion, it largely consisted in the growing contradiction between the monarch's firm conviction that he was the Lord's anointed, invested with absolute power over his subjects, on the one hand, and the erosion of this understanding on the part of the people, on the other, an erosion which had been accelerated, in considerable measure, by the impact of the abolition of serfdom in 1861 as well as the reforms launched by Stolypin at the beginning of the 20th century and directed toward the total elimination of the remaining

survivals of serfdom. This newly-accepted scale of civil values seemed to have robbed the Russian autocratic system of some of its original sense and the resultant process of its gradual evaporation was seen to be logically paralleled by the waning of that mysterious awe which the power of the monarch formerly inspired. In those trying moments Nicholas II found himself deserted even by those who had been quite close to him.

It must be noted that the personality and the fate of Nicholas II are essentially tragic. According to P.Stolypin and P.Gilliard he invested with mystical meaning the very fact of his birth on the day of Job the Long-Suffering, considered himself doomed to severe ordeals, constantly expecting some woeful events to come about [3]. The destiny of Nicholas Romanov as indeed that of the whole country depended not so much on the emperor's character and world outlook as on the epoch in which he lived. This, in fact, predetermined to a great extent the contradictory nature of his decisions, which are perceived today as paradoxes of that period. It would be fair to say that the turn of the century saw Russia in the throes of searching for alternative ways to develop its future. Preposterous as it may sound, the very end of Nicholas II was nothing short of a paradox. That after his abdication, during an aggravation of the political situation in the summer of 1917, the Provisional Government deemed it necessary to remove him and his family to Tobolsk, away from the centres of the revolutionary movement, poses no questions. But what came later may be described as a whole series of riddles having a direct bearing on his tragic death, the disappearance of the remains as well as valuables and documents. This gave rise to a great number of versions. Some of them are utterly incredible and fantastic, especially those assertions according to which Nicholas Romanov is alleged to have spent the rest of his life under warm Abkhazian skies and reached a venerable old age to say nothing of the «miraculous» escape of his wife and children[4].

Most of the numerous publications, which came out recently, and which relate to the shooting of the tsar's family are virtually no more than reprints of old editions that had been formerly kept away on secret literature shelves. What we believe to be of crucial importance today, however, is not only an analysis of the new archival material but a fresh look at the circumstances

involved in that tragedy. The scope of an introductory article makes it difficult to provide a detailed analysis of relevant events. We, therefore, propose to dwell on the most important questions of principle, in considering which we can make use of earlier unknown documents.

Let us start off with the mission of Commissar V.Yakovlev (K.A.Myachin), which is wholly woven of riddles. According to his own reminiscences he got his appointment from the Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee Yakov Sverdlov, who said, «The Council of People's Commissars has resolved to move the Romanovs from Tobolsk to the Urals for the time being» [5]. Almost at the same time, on April 9,1918 another telegram over Sverdlov's signature was dispatched to Yekaterinburg: «Do not move him anywhere from Yekaterinburg unless you get a directive from us to that effect. Yakovlev is charged with the task of bringing Nicholas to Yekaterinburg alive with the aim of turning him over to Beloborodov or Goloshchyokin. Yakovlev has been issued with the most precise and detailed instructions. Do whatever is necessary. Talk the details over with Yakovlev» [6].

This telegram was found in the Central Archives of the Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service. Also kept there is a package of instructions that regulated every step of the tsar's family and its guard.

The removal of the family from Tobolsk to Yekaterinburg and the subsequent toughening of the conditions of their upkeep was ostensibly associated with the alleged preparation of a pro-monarchist plot with the aim of setting free the tsar and smuggling him out of the country. However, neither N.A.Sokolov, the Kolchak — appointed coroner, nor the Soviet scholars, for that matter, could ever prove that conclusively. N.A.Sokolov does quote numerous facts of increased attention towards the former tsar on the part of the monarchists during his Tobolsk incarceration but he stops short, of saying that the plot actually existed. He further maintains that «the removal of the Sovereign from Tobolsk was not linked with the Russian monarchists'desire to save him. They did not even know of this» [7].

In the meantime, on April 26, the former tsar and his royal spouse together with their daughter Maria were carried away from Tobolsk. The other members of the family were sent off to Yekaterinburg in the second half of

May. According to a number of Soviet and foreign historians their destination was Moscow, but, later, diametrically opposite opinions were ventured. Some hold, for example, that Nicholas II was to go there to face trial whereas others perceived this act as an attempt to use the royal family as a negotiating chip in the talks with the Germans.

Sokolov established that en route from Tobolsk to Yekaterinburg Yakovlev carried on intensive discussions with the former tsar. The coach-man driving them to Tyumen, said that Yakovlev had tried to «sound out» the tsar but the latter would not «commit himself». What were those discussions about? Peace with Germany? Romanov was manifestly opposed to it. That, evidently, accounts for their failure to understand each other. Be that as it may, it is precisely here that we may be having a new Romanov paradox. Those who had sought to capitalize most on their accusations against the Romanovs, and particularly the tsaritsa, imputing to them the betrayal of the country's interests and attempts to conclude a separate treaty with Germany, proved to be the very people to have done precisely this.

It is not entirely ruled out that the fate of the tsar's family, in one way or another, came to be connected with events involving the German ambassador Mirbach. What is more likely, (and this is directly confirmed by the above telegram from Sverdlov) is that the Soviet power in contrast to the Provisional Government was, in fact, delivering the family into the hands of the Urals bolsheviks, the most radically-minded revolutionaries at the time. What for? Probably, there were some specific considerations for this, considerations we have yet to discover. So far only one thing is absolutely clear — the family perished.

More than two months were to elapse before the tragedy struck. On April 27, Yakovlev put the Romanovs on a West-bound train. It soon became known that they would not be allowed any further than Yekaterinburg. The Commissar, then, ordered to turn the train back in an attempt to break through eastward, in the direction of Omsk for which he was shortly to be accused of betraying the cause of the revolution. Thus, on April 28, the Chairman of the Urals regional Soviet A.Beloborodov wired Sverdlov to say that: «having discussed the conduct of Commissar Yakovlev, the Regional Soviet of Workers and Peasants of the

Urals unanimously resolved to regard it as an openly treacherous act directed against the cause of the Revolution, as an endeavor with unknown aims to remove the former tsar beyond the confines of the Revolutionary Urals» [8].

The «Yakovlev turnabout» is well known in literature but the reader ought to be acquainted with just what stand Moscow took on the matter. On April 29 Sverdlov sent Beloborodov the following telegram: «Whatever Yakovlev is doing is in direct fulfilment of my order. Details by special courier. Issue no instructions concerning Yakovlev. He is acting in accordance with the directions he got from me today at 4 o'clock in the morning. Do not undertake anything without our consent. Trust Yakovlev completely. Again, no interference» [9]. Consequently, Yakovlev was fulfilling the will of Sverdlov and in his person, that of the central Bolshevik leadership. What is not clear, however, is the concrete objective it pursued —whether it really wanted to bring the tsar to Moscow, proceeding from its own specific considerations or it was, in fact, to engineer his annihilation by the Urals Bolsheviks?

Anyway, the Romanovs ended up in Yekaterinburg. A.Beloborodov sent V.Lenin and Y.Sverdlov a telegram to this effect: «Today, on April 30, at 11 o'clock, Petrograd time, I took over, from Commissar Yakovlev, the former tsar Nicholas Romanov, the former tsaritsa Alexandra and their daughter Maria Nikolayevna. They are all housed in a mansion with a guard posted over it. Wire your requests, explanations to me» [10]. Yakovlev himself just missed being arrested in Yekaterinburg but due to the support of Lenin and Sverdlov, who qualified his actions as correct, the Commissar retained his position [11]. However, six months later, he went over to the Whites and was lost sight of for some time. Later Yakovlev (Myachin) returned to Soviet Russia.

In Yekaterinburg the tsar's family was lodged in the house of engineer and entrepreneur Ipatyev. Apparently, the selected building was best suited for the purpose which fact, however, can not fail to bring to mind a certain fatal coincidence connected with the Romanov family. The matter is that three hundred years before, at the Ipatyev monastery near the town of Kostroma, Michael Romanov had been elected to the Russian throne thereby becoming the founder of the dynasty. Over the centuries, repeated attempts had been made to topple it. Beginning with A.Radishchev and the Decembrists, the idea of doing away with the tsar had been the keynote of Russian political life.

Omitting the details of many-year long political and scientific discussions on the subject, we would like to stress, however, that in the first half of 1918 this problem entered the stage of its practical solution.

A year had passed since the demise of the monarchy and the question of power was decisively resolved in favour of the Soviets, especially after the disbanding of the Constituent Assembly. Now the problem of the royal family was coming up. Under the circumstances it was hardly possible to let them go abroad peacefully and, besides, their foreign relatives did not seem to be insisting on it. At any rate, we know of no facts testifying to any decisive actions on their part which can be accounted for by the war-provoked split of Europe into two hostile camps when the ruling dynasties with which the Romanovs were tied by bonds of kinship found themselves fighting on opposite sides as enemies. Being aware of the Romanovs's image reaching its lowest point, the forces of the internal counter-revolution refrained from staking on them. The monarchist circles did try to take certain steps but to no avail. It was, indeed, a paradox that practically nothing had been done to try and save one of the mightiest monarchs of his time.

On July 17, 1918 the Presidium of the Urals Regional Soviet informed Lenin and Sverdlov that «a ramified White-Guard plot to abduct the former tsar and his family had been exposed... and compromising documents — found». These were promised to be published [12]. It is rather curious that this statement was made the day after the tsar and his family had been shot but up till now no documents have been made public.

Strange as it may appear, the physical extermination of the members of the Romanov Dynasty began not with the tsar but with his relatives. The first to be killed, just a month before the assassination of Nicholas II, was the Grand Duke Michael Romanov who had temporarily abdicated pending the final decision of the Constituent Assembly. This occurred in Perm, which, being far from Yekaterinburg, was in no way threatened in July by counter-revolutionary forces. Historians have yet to sort out the whys and wherefores of this murderous act and to substantiate, facts in hand, the motives of this series of shootings. It is obvious today that the threadbare references to the danger of capture by monarchists of the members of the royal family and to use them as a «living» banner of the counter-revolution no longer convinces anyone.

As is evident from the above-cited telegram of April 9, 1918 sent by Sverdlov, the fate of Nicholas II was being decided in the Centre. This question had been periodically discussed in the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (April 1,6) and in the Council of People's Commissars (May 2) [13]. About July 10, according to Yurovsky's evidence, the final resolution was adopted [14]. On the night of the 16-17th of July the shooting took place. Ten days later Yekaterinburg was captured by the Whites. A simple calculation will show that within this period the royal family could have been taken to Moscow and back several times.

The official version claiming that the tsar was shot because the counter-revolutionary forces had reached the approaches of Yekaterinburg carries little conviction, though the existence of such danger could not be ruled out. Any procrastination could indeed have made this potential danger a reality which, in its turn, might have led to unpredictable political consequences, i.e., the tsar could have become not so much a «living» banner of the counter-revolution as a symbol of a single and indivisible Russia and, therefore in favour of the continuation of the war with Germany. Manipulated by Kolchak fighting on the side of the Entente, he might also have opposed the conclusion of the Brest peace treaty. Such a development of events was unacceptable both to the Soviet Power and Kaiser Germany.

But what was Moscow's reaction to the events in Yekaterinburg? After hearing and discussing on July 18 the telegraphic communication about the shooting of Nicholas Romanov, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee passed a resolution approving the decision of the Urals Regional Soviet [15]. On the same day, the Council of People's Commissars attended by Lenin, Trotsky, Chicherin and other high-ranking government officials heard an unscheduled report by Sverdlov on the execution of the former tsar and adopted the following brief resolution: «For general information» [16].

As is known, it was officially announced that «the wife and the son of Nicholas Romanov are in a safe place». In reality, however, already on the 17th of July a telegram addressed to the secretary of the Council of People's Commissars Gorbunov was dispatched from Yekaterinburg to the following effect: «Tell Sverdlov that the same fate befell the whole family as its head. In

the official version the family is to perish while being evacuated»[17]. No further reports about the death of the family followed and Soviet diplomats succeeded in proving to their Western counterparts that the family had been spared. It should be noted, however, that as early as 1920s Sokolov published a decoded copy of the above telegram.

The shooting itself and the concealment of the corpses have, until recently, been a carefully guarded secret, though Yurovsky gave a fairly detailed description of these events as far back as 1920 and 1934 [18]. We would like to refrain from examining the subject in any detail here, since it, in itself, constitutes an object of independent research, abounding as it does, in numerous paradoxes hitherto unsolved. The main one of these is that even after the exhumation of the supposed remains of the tsar's family in summer 1991 near Yekaterinburg, various versions of their different location still persist. It is our firm belief therefore that multiple expertise by criminalists of the discovered remains should be supplemented by thorough historical expertise capable of proving or disproving allegations of any second place of interment. No small role in this can be played by a recovery of documents contained in that enormous trunk which Yermakov, one of the participants in the shooting handed over to the Commissariat for the Internal Affairs of Russia in 1918 [19].

The physical destruction of the royal family and the astute moves calculated to spread misinformation have not exhausted the series of existing contradictions. In fact, they continued even after their death. The question is, above all, of those royal family's valuables which most of the readers know practically nothing about. According to data furnished by J.Trewin, an Englishman, while leaving Tsarskoye Selo Alexandra Fyodorovna and the Grand Duchesses carried a total of one million rubles worth of valuables on them [20].We have grounds to believe that the sum is calculated in gold currency. During the Civil War it must have grown many times over with the soaring rate of inflation. Many of the articles represented unique works of art and could be regarded as a part of the country's national wealth.

What has become of those family valuables? No single answer can be supplied to this question today, until a sufficient amount of research has been done by the joint efforts of historians, art scholars and jewelery experts. Let us,

then, take the first step in this direction. So, while searching for documents concerning the shooting of the tsar we managed to unearth in the archives of the former KGB rather curious materials shedding light on the fate of these valuables which seem to have disappeared without a trace during the bloody events of the summer of 1918. In actual fact, most of them became the property of the Soviet power. Right after the shooting, a considerable part of the valuables was brought to Moscow by Yurovsky, the organizer of this murderous act. He transferred them to the Commandant of the Kremlin Malkov. The deed carries the signatures and the stamps of both parties.

Also discovered in the archives were inventories of gold and silver articles as well as numerous household utensils belonging to the royal family. The list of 60 gold items includes men's and ladies' watches and cigarette-cases. There is also the famous platinum case, inlaid with lilac-coloured enamel and mounted in a filigree gold setting, decorated with a diamond of the first water. The cigarette case bears the inscription «Petersburg 29 May 1897». Listed also are numerous gold chains, brooches, pendants and trinkets set with gem-stones, gold pencils with ivory handles. Of silver, are tea kettles, coffeepots, spoons, trays, mirrors, crosses and a cigarette-case with a polished ruby and sapphire lock adornment, dated 1903. The list of personal effects of the family contains sable, ermine and sealskin hats, muffs, mantles, dresses made of wool, silk and lace; skirts, shawls, veils, travelling rugs, guards officers' jackets, Circassian caftans, grey and black overcoats, carpets and blankets. [21]. Judging by how thoroughly and carefully these lists were compiled, Yurovsky wanted to stress that nothing of the royal property had been lost. More than that, the whole of it, absolutely intact, was to be deposited for safe keeping with the organs of proletarian dictatorship.

The second batch of valuables, larger in size, reached the cellars of the Moscow Kremlin by routes that had a strong flavour of a detective story atmosphere about them. This is corroborated by the Urals OGPU (United State Political Department) three-volume file on 21 persons, embracing the period from 1922 to 1941 [22]. It quotes data to the effect that prior to their departure from Tobolsk to Yekaterinburg Alexandra Fyodorovna had handed over a small leather suitcase with diamonds and gold to the local clergy.

According to one of the versions, it first fell into the hands of Alexei Vasilyev, priest of the Tobolsk Church of the Annunciation who had won the full confidence of the royal family and personally ministered to them. It was

also he who secretly carried out of the house under guard the heir's gold-mounted sabre with a handle of pure gold and kept it hidden for a long time in a flue. In 1929 Alexei, together with his wife Lidiya, left Tobolsk for Omsk to join their son Alexander. Alexei, however, died en route, at the station of Tara, and the remaining valuables passed into the care of his relatives.

According to another version, the valuables were handed over by the valet-de-chamber Terenty Chemodurov to Druzhinina, the mother superior of the Tobolsk Ivanovsky convent, who shortly before her death passed them on to her assistant, Marfa Uzhintseva. These versions evidently overlap at certain points because during the investigation conducted by the Sverdlovsk branch of the OGPU, the names mentioned in both these cases come up again at confrontations.

During her examination on November 29,1933 Uzhintseva testified that she and priest Vasilyev had always been welcome guests at the house where the royal family were accommodated. Before the Romanovs' departure for Yekaterinburg, Chemodurov had brought her a large package and asked her to deliver it to the mother superior in the Convent which she lost no time in doing. The valuables had been stored there until the Convent was closed in 1923. After that they found their way to her again. For purposes of greater safety she first placed them in a well and later buried the treasure in a grave at the Convent cemetery.

Worn out by the heavy burden of her dark secret Marfa began losing sleep and appetite. Finally overcome by despair she decided to drown the valuables in the river Irtysh. «Before carrying out my decision», she told the investigation, «I turned for advice to Vasily Mikhailovich Kornilov, a prominent figure in the local fishing industry, who was connected with our convent and whom I personally knew. When I told Vasily Mikhailovich of my decision he got terribly frightened and started flailing his arms at me. «God Almighty! What are you saying? When proper order and power are restored, they'll ask you to give an account and make you jump into the Irtysh to retrieve those valuables». I entirely lost my presence of mind and did not know what to do. Then I asked Vasily Mikhailovich to take the valuables for safe keeping with him... A few days after my talk with Kornilov I called on

him at his house bringing along two glass jars and two tuesoks [a birch-bark variant of an urn used by peasants for carrying fresh berries, honey, etc.]. I emptied the contents of the package into them, and this done, Vasily Mikhailovich and I descended downstairs into the cellar and there, the two of us, buried the valuables».

Kornilov left Tobolsk after some time. For about ten years different people lived in that house, including militia men who, incidentally, were also engaged in the search for those treasures, never, however, suspecting that they were actually walking on them. In the meantime, Marfa distressed on account of the fate of her cashe, could often be seen walking about that place until one day she was eventually tracked down and arrested by Cheka men in October 1933. They made her disclose the place where the valuables were hidden. The containers were opened and their contents spilled onto the table of the OGPU. Upwards of 150 articles included gold gems-ornamented diadems, pendants, bracelets, chains, numerous collars of diamonds, emeralds, rubies and pearls. Among them, perhaps, was the collar, which Commissar Voikov, the future ambassador to Poland, is believed to have snatched off the empress's neck with his own hands during those tragic events in Yekaterinburg

The press of different countries deplored the loss in the Urals of the famous brooch belonging to Alexandra Fyodorovna, a truly priceless treasure adorned with a 100-carat diamond. This brooch, however, comes first in the list of the confiscated valuables. Also listed are a royal coat-of-arms set with diamonds; a diamond crescent ornamented with five large 70-carat gem-stones and sprinkled with smaller medium-size diamonds, a unique gift to the tsar from the Turkish sultan; gorgeous panagias; crosses decorated with rare gem-stones; pins set with diamonds of 44 carats each; 36-carat diamond hairpins and many other jewels noted not only for their high value but for their great artistic worth as well.

The aggregate sum of the discovered jewelry totaled 3.270.793 gold rubles, a considerable figure for those times. We believe it is much higher if we fully recognize their superb artistic qualities. It is doubtful that Zverev and Borovskikh — appraisers invited by Cheka men — could have been equal to the task because judging by the documents drawn up by them, they

were less than literate. Zverev, the chief of the two, for example, could not even write his name and signed with three crosses. This was one more sad paradox in the tsar's history.

In all probability, the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (PCIA) had placed the valuables in the custody of the state. Therefore, the various speculations on the part of journalists intimating that the greater part of them had allegedly vanished across the ocean in those troubled times appear to be ill-founded. By the way, those things can easily be identified, because apart from the lists enumerating them all, the archives contain their photographs.

There were, of course, individual cases of stealing. For example, the search of Mikhail Letemin, one of the soldiers of the squad attached to the House of Special Purpose (the Ipatyev house) revealed that he had filched quite a few things belonging to the emperor's family including a camera, a silver cross, a bottle of perfume (open and used), a tin-box of fruit-drops and... a pedigree dog «Joy» by name, that very dog, incidentally, the heir Alexei would not part with. But no valuables had been stolen.

Part of the valuables was contributed to the local budget. On August 18, 1918 the Urals Regional Finance Collegium acquainted itself with the contents of two suit-cases containing things belonging to Nicholas Romanov and resolved: «Silverware weighing 1 pud, 6 pounds, 71 zolotnik, and articles of gold weighing 1 pound, 21 zolotnik, 84th part of a zolotnik shall be melted down and the value be added to the revenue of the treasury. Small change, in the sum of 7 rubles 97 kopecks shall be deposited in the People's bank as revenue of the treasury» [23].

To sum up this tragic period of history. The paradoxes of the reign of Nicholas II can be explained by the objectively existing contradictions of Russian reality at the beginning of the 20th century. When the world was entering a new phase of its development the tsar failed, through lack of will power and resolve, to bring the situation under control. The paradoxes of his death, by contrast, are a direct consequence of the arbitrary rule of the leaders of the regime established in October 1917. When pursuing their own political aims, they committed acts of lawlessness, ingeniously covering up their crimes with an ideological banner.

One cannot but agree with the opinion of M.K. Diterikhs, who wrote in the wake of the bloody events: «These were not just brutal murders perpetrated by an infuriated mob, by the rabble run amuck, for the Russian people took no part in them. Neither was this one of the executions of crowned persons known to the history of revolutions, for everything was accomplished without any trial and participation of the people» [24].

It would, perhaps, be more correct to view the drama of the Russian tsar's life in the context of world history in terms of its onward movement and principles of humanism in relation to man's personality. The English king was beheaded three hundred years ago, the French sovereign was guillotined one hundred years later and a little more that a hundred years later the Russian tsar was killed. The first two tragedies have long since become history with no recurring outbursts of class hatred on either side. Obviously time has come for us to adopt the same attitude in our treatment of the third tragedy as well, having previously said the whole truth about it in the interests of both genuine objectivity and the preservation of social consensus in our community.

Versions and Facts

A wave of responses swept the world following the tragic death of the royal family and no passage of time could entirely stem its tide ever since. More than that! The cardinal transformations taking place in Russia only served to make it surge the higher. What is important for us to do today is to sum up, if only in brief, what has been published hitherto. After separating false versions from true ones we should try to affirm the latter using the latest data available so as to comprehend correctly, in the light of new realities, what actually happened three quarters of a century ago.

The first important publications came out in the 1920s. These are books by R. Wilton [1], N. A. Sokolov [2], M. K. Diterikhs [3], P. Gilliard [4], S. S. Smirnov [5], T. Melnik-Botkina [6], which were published outside Bolshevik Russia. The authors largely used source material based on the Kolchak-inspired investigation into the shooting of the Romanovs as well as on their own observations. Almost similar in their ideological orientation were the

views held by V. Gurko, V Ivanova, I. Meier, Father Superior Serafim and others [7] who drew on the same sources of information without, as a rule, contributing anything new to them.

It was at about the same time that the first materials on this theme saw the light of day in Soviet Russia [8]. Most of them could be described as antipodal because while participating in the same events, their authors belonged to opposite camps. The named publications, nevertheless, have something in common. In the first place, their authors —living witnesses to, and direct participants in the events —stood at their source and, consequently, possessed valuable first-hand information and documents. They interpreted facts in a profound way without indulging in fantastic ideas, though they would always view them through the prism of their own political options. In the second place, virtually all those books, shortly after their publication, found their permanent place in special storage rooms and, as a result, were unaccessible in the USSR for more than half a century. It was not until the 1990s that a new edition found its way to the reader. We believe that a review, if only a cursory one, of the most important of them would be in place here.

The most substantive book was written by N. A. Sokolov, the coroner in charge of special cases at the Omsk regional Court. He was appointed by Kolchak to investigate the circumstances of the assassination of the tsar's family. The amount of work he had done in the Urals and in Siberia was truly enormous. He continued it abroad till the last days of his life. The author attached great importance to his work, considering it very important to the future of his Fatherland. However, he regarded it as being of jurisprudental value rather than a historical account. He wrote, «Never before have I thought myself to be a history analyst and much less do I want to lay claim to this role today» [9].

N. A. Sokolov has formulated a number of principal ideas concerning the shooting of the tsar's family which up till now have served as the base for many investigations on the given theme. Above all, it is his conclusion that all of the family had been shot. Such a conclusion had not only juridical but also political significance. It found energetic support with Kolchak as well as representatives of a number of European dynasties. At the present time it serves as the base for the further study of the supposed remains of the royal family, discovered in the summer of 1991 near Yekaterinburg.

Despite the lack of authentic Soviet documents N. A. Sokolov, nevertheless, came to the correct conclusion. «One must not think that Yekaterinburg willfully challenged Moscow and detained the sovereign on its own initiative. Signing with one hand Yakovlev's powers, Sverdlov with his other hand was signing something entirely different. No doubt it was Moscow that detained the tsar in Yekaterinburg. Sverdlov was just pulling the wool over the Germans' eyes, every time he referred to the invented pretext of Yekaterinburg's disobedience» [10]. Having collected a huge amount of evidence immediately relating to the shooting, Sokolov arrived at the irrefutable conclusion: «The fate of the royal family was decided not in Yekaterinburg but in Moscow» [11]. The validity of this conclusion is confirmed by the documents published by us.

The Sokolov investigation excludes the probability of the family or any of its members being moved to some other place on the ground that many of the most necessary things used by them had, in fact, remained in the Ipatyev house, i. e. all the heir's medicine, the icons with which Alexandra Fyodorovna would never part, in particular her icon of the Virgin of Fyodor. As Chemodurov testified, «To have deprived the Empress of this icon would have meant to have deprived her of life itself» [12].

At the same time we find it difficult to agree with all of Sokolov's judgments. While assessing commissar Yakovlev's behaviour — the latter had moved the tsar out of Tobolsk — he asserts, «Being hostile to the intentions of the Bolsheviks in regard to the tsar, he was a messenger of another, non-Bolshevik force» [13]. Our materials completely refute this point of view.

What also should be qualified as one of Sokolov's failures is his inability, or rather, impossibility to discover in those years the corpses of the victims. This made it impossible to prove that a crime had been committed, and to see the investigation through to its logical conclusion. The circumstance left the obtained evidence invalidated. In all probability, this task would have been accomplished if the military operations on the Eastern front had not disrupted the investigation process. The materials furnished by Sokolov are organically supplemented by M. K. Diterikhs's, who played an important role in the investigation of the assassination of the royal family. A combat General, commander of the Eastern front under Kolchak, he was whole-heartily devoted to the old regime and tried to do everything in his power to establish the real cause of death of the royal persons. His materials and conclusions are very

much the same as those of Sokolov. He is also of the opinion that all of the family had perished and that the decision to exterminate them came from Moscow [14]. The General qualifies the killing of the royal family and the other members of the Romanov house as «crimes — ideological, fanatic and diabolical — perpetrated behind the scenes, in secret and fraud» [15]. He puts the blame for those crimes on the wide representation in the organs of Soviet power of persons of Jewish nationality who had allegedly staged iniquities in relation to Christians in general and their top leaders in particular [16].

The distinctive feature of Diterikhs' work and its value lie in the fact that it provides a great deal of information on investigations preceding Sokolov's. In other words, it acquaints the reader with those assumptions and hypotheses which gained currency during the first days after the capture of Yekaterinburg by the Whites and the beginning of inquiries into the death of the royal family. For example, the wife of Pavel Medvedev, witness of the shooting testified from the words of her husband, that all-in-all 12 people were killed, including the tsar, the tsaritsa, the heir, all the duchesses and servants [17]. She also quoted some of the blood-curdling details which are confirmed by the most striking part of the confession made by Yurovsky, the organizer of the execution. It has been published for the first time in this book.

At the same time, alongside the discovery of real facts connected with the crime, a plethora of most incredible versions continued spawning — like mushrooms after a warm shower — versions not only of the tragic end but also of the «miraculous» escape of the august persons. As a rule, this information had as its main source witness-reports cited by Diterikhs as second-hand or even third-hand hearsay evidence on the model: someone has seen something and told something to someone. And no one should be really surprised at this «broken telephone line» because the main participants in the events had left with the Red Army units while the auxiliaries, in virtue of their limited possibilities, were able to report only what little there had been left of the testimony given by real witnesses. That was how the myth of the salvation of Anastasia or other sisters, Alexei and even Nicholas II was born [18]. As the corpses had not been recovered, there could be found no material proof of the crime. But the family did vanish and that was a fact! A nutrient medium was thus formed to nourish unbridled fantasies.

Diterikhs himself claims that Isaak Goloshchyokin, for example, separated the heads of the innocently slain from their bodies, put them into alcoholic solution for preservation and shipped them to Moscow in three heavy cases. To prove his point he makes reference to the fact that no teeth have been found at the site where the bodies were burned, though teeth, as is known, can hardly be consumed by fire [19]. But at that time no remains whatsoever had been discovered, to say nothing of the teeth, which makes it impossible to accept his argument. But at the site of interment opened near Yekaterinburg in 1991 there were found not only teeth but also skulls (see Part V of our publication). If it should be proved that the remains found there are those of the royal family the myth of the chopped-off heads will dissolve of itself.

British journalist R. Wilton, who worked side by side with Sokolov and Diterikhs and who took abroad with him one of the copies of the case being investigated by Sokolov, had made significant additions to the materials collected by the latter. As befits a man of letters, Wilton primarily sought to delineate the characters of the Romanov tragedy and he certainly succeeded with this task. He pays a great deal of attention to the portrayal of Nikolai Alexandrovich, Alexandra Fyodorovna and others. According to him the cause of the tsar's tragic end was due to his refusal to cooperate with the Germans. They were allegedly prepared to restore him or his son to the Russian throne to gain an opportunity to muster forces and defeat the Entente. He repeatedly referred to this thesis, adducing various proofs [20].

Following Sokolov and Diterikhs, Wilton vividly paints a chilling picture of the assassination of the royal family, of the concealment of its remains in the gully of the Four Brothers and of the massive disinformation on this score. As can be inferred from the context, he believes that all of the family of the former emperor died in Yekaterinburg and those who carried out the sentence were predominantly persons of non-Russian nationality.

Approximating in its character to the works mentioned above the publication of P. Gilliard is largely based on his personal impressions of those tragic events in which he took no direct part. Being the tutor of the heir Alexei, he wrote an interesting book about the royal family, though he had been observing the tragic developments from the side. Upon arrival in Yekaterinburg he was separated from the family and had to live in a railway car

at the station. Later he left for Siberia. He was in Tyumen when he learned of the shooting of Nicholas Romanov and returned to Yekaterinburg only after it was captured by the Whites. He lost no time in visiting places associated with the tragic death of the family and, as a result, he and his associate investigators succeeded in collecting a wealth of circumstantial evidence concerning those bloody events.

He closely examined the traces left by bullets and bayonets on the walls and floor of the basement of the Ipatyev house, looked at the family's charred belongings and talked to numerous eye-witnesses both in town and in the Koptyaki forest. Finally he came to the conclusion that it was not the emperor alone who had been killed. An observant psychologist, he could not but notice how cunningly the Bolshevik agents tried to lead the investigation astray, away from the search for the tsaritsa's and children's bodies. From his point of view they had partially achieved their goal since Kolchak-appointed investigator Sergeyev had lost much precious time and was, evidently, far from realizing that all the while he had been moving in the wrong direction [21]. When Sokolov headed the investigation, Gilliard was of great help to him and together they arrived at the conclusion that the likeliest place to look for the corpses was the Koptyaki forest. It was not at all fortuitous that the Bolsheviks had spent three days and nights there burning the clothes of their captives [22]. Gilliard states, referring to the files of the Sokolov-investigated case, that the German Kaiser was inclined toward the restoration of the monarchy in Russia on condition, that it took the side of Germany, but Nicholas II would not stoop to betraying his allies and the Yekaterinburg trap finally snapped shut [23]. According to Gilliard, the death of the family had been predetermined in Moscow. It was not mere chance that two days before the announcement of the execution Yurovsky had invited a priest to come to the Ipatyev house [24]. Judging by the textual material contained in the book, the author also upholds the «all-of-the-family-killed» version. He writes that the Grand Duchess Anastasia was stabbed to death with bayonets. In Omsk, he says, a young man who was trying to pass himself off as the heir Alexei, was presented to him. Upon failing to identify him as his charge, the tutor sadly remarked that chance had brought him in contact with one of the countless pretenders to the Russian throne [25].

T. Melnik-Botkina view point appears to be complementary to P. Gilliard's. Her memoirs mainly embrace the pre-revolutionary — partly the Tobolsk and episodically the Yekaterinburg — period in the life of the tsar's family. What is of special value, however, is that she gives a true appraisal of B. Solovyev's (Rasputin's son-in-law) share in the attempt to rescue the former emperor from his captivity in Tobolsk. As she maintains, Solovyev was playing a double game with both the monarchists and the Bolsheviks bent on promoting his own personal interests. Thus, in no way, did he contribute to the release of the royal prisoners [26]. Noteworthy is the fact that Melnik-Botkina was one of the first to bring up in literature the question of the fate of the tsar's valuables. She wrote, in particular, that the valuables had been handed over to Colonel Kobylinsky and to the Ivanovsky convent while part of them had been taken out of their settings and sewn up into the Grand Duchesses' clothes [27].

A book by P. M. Bykov that appeared in 1926 in Sverdlovsk should also be regarded as a response to the Western publications. In 1930 it was republished in Moscow but shortly afterwards the whole edition was stored away in a special type of depository. Being in 1917—1918 the first Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Yekaterinburg Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' deputies and a member of the Urals Regional Soviet, the author of the book was well familiar with the situation in the Urals at that time. He had at his disposal the most reliable information available. There is no denying that his narrative can be characterized by keen insight, wealth of content and vivid style. However not all of his conclusions and assessments of events can be taken as credible, primarily because they were based on the class approach, universally prevalent in those years. The destruction of tsarism and eventually everything connected with it, down to the murder of innocent children of the emperor's family was then extolled as the supreme expression of proletarian revolutionary character and, hence, of expediency.

Four fifth of the book is devoted to events involving the overthrow of the Romanov dynasty and their detention in Tsarskoye Selo and Tobolsk. His treatment of real facts is given in the light of ideas typical of the first post-revolutionary years. What seemed to flaw it even more was absolutization of the class approach and certain factual errors. It must be said that in

their later publications, history scholars managed to overcome this tendency to a considerable degree. We shall not dwell on this aspect of the question in detail because we are primarily interested in themes directly connected with the Yekaterinburg tragedy.

Bykov provides what might be regarded as significant information on this issue. He, in particular, ascertained that commissar Yakovlev had asked All-Russian Central Executive Committee (ARCEC) permission to bring the former tsar to Yakovlev's birthplace in the Ufimskaya province, and keep him in «concealment» in the mountains. This proposal was rejected [28]. At the same time, a number of participants in the 7th Urals regional conference of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) held on the eve of the arrival of Nicholas II in Yekaterinburg, came out in favour of the speediest possible execution of the Romanovs in order to foil any attempts to free them and thus restore the monarchy in Russia [29]. Bykov writes frankly that at one of its sessions the Urals Soviet declared they were unanimously in favour of the execution of Nicholas Romanov. However it did not want to take the responsibility without preliminary consultations with the Centre. It was, then, decided to send Goloshchyokin to Moscow to bring up the question of the Romanovs' fate in the Central Committee of the party and in the ARCEC Presidium. The latter proposed to hold a trial of the former tsar in Yekaterinburg at the end of July [30]. When Goloshchyokin returned to Yekaterinburg it became clear that there was no time left for holding a trial because the town might not be able to hold out much longer against the pressure of the Whites. It was then that the Regional Committee passed the decision to shoot the Romanov family without waiting for a trial. This was done. Finally the entire family of the tsar with all its accompanying retainers, 11 persons in all, were killed [31].

The approximate location of the site of the interment of the corpses was indicated in the book. This is the area of the Koptyakovskaya road (the Four Brothers Gully, Ganya's pit), exactly the same place which Kolchak-appointed investigator Sokolov had explored in an attempt to find traces of the crime [32]. The author sums up the bloody events with the following conclusion highly characteristic of the time: «Victory over the last defenders of monarchism enabled toiling Russia to drive the aspen stake in the grave of the Romanov dynasty even deeper and whatever measures the surviving flunkies of this house abroad are going to take, the dead shall never rise from their grave» [33].

Most of the following publications were just Western variations on the basic theme, varying in quality and in no way enriched with new materials. It was impossible to get them from Soviet Russia. The Western sources were almost exhausted. All this literature can be tentatively divided into two parts. The first one comprises works penned by representatives of the Russian emigration [34] while the second consists of materials developed by Western scholars and journalists [35].

Let us now look at the stand taken by the authors of both groups, basing ourselves on some of their concrete publications. The first group of books is made up of contributions by G. Botkin, P. Bulygin, S. Melgunov and D. Trewin as well as of reflections of Archimandrite Konstantin and S. Pozdnyshev. These are distinguished by the wealth of material they contain on the problem of great interest to us. The publication of Botkin is based on his personal thoughts of the Romanovs, statements of his own parents and impressions of his meetings in Europe and the USA, with the reputed tsar's daughter Anastasia. It roughly falls into two parts. Thus the account it contains of the life of the Romanovs deals with both the pre- and post-revolutionary periods, including their stay in Tobolsk and Yekaterinburg. Much attention too is devoted to the fate of Anastasia. The author is inclined to believe that after all, she did escape the shambles of the Ipatyev house with the help of a Red Army man, Chaikovsky by name. He was rumoured to have become her husband and fathered her child. Later Botkin would take her from Europe to the USA and he is known to have expressed regret at the failure of her relatives there to recognize her dynastic rights. This is all very interesting, of course, but it certainly lacks convincing proof.

P. Bulygin, as a member of the group investigating the circumstances of the death of the Emperor's family, paints in his work a most horrible picture of this massacre. To his way of thinking, it was carried out by «Hungarian criminals» and «Latvians». In this composite image he must have seen representatives of international communism led by people blindly devoted to V Lenin such as F. Goloshchyokin, P. Voikov and G. Safarov [36]. Lenin himself, as Bulygin states, «was a murderer while the others were only his hounds» [37]. Such a vehement statement cannot be justified by any evidence.

According to another version of the author, one of principal importance, the Germans had allegedly made an attempt to save the Romanovs by signing the Brest Treaty. This, too, is yet to be proved. One may agree with him that the Germans might have really wanted to sign the treaty if only because they wanted to prevent the spread of Russian anarchy to their own territory. But we can hardly accept as totally convincing the statement that «Wilhelm's government was planning to restore the Monarchy in Russia, and it was only fair to assume that the dynasty if it were to be so miraculously saved, could not remain hostile to its saviours» [38]. The Kaiser, perhaps, might have reasoned like this but Bulygin adduces no evidence to this effect. Neither does he quote from the text of the Treaty of Brest, simply because there were no such clauses in it. Besides, Nicholas II himself flatly rejected this treaty. In a major work by S. Melgunov entitled *The fate of the Emperor Nicholas II after his abdication*, a kind of historico-critical essay, different viewpoints put forward by N. Sokolov, M. Diterikhs, A. Kerensky, V Gurko, P. Bykov and others on events, connected with the death of the tsar's family are examined. In estimating the merits of a number of serious works, he, at the same time, notes that during the past years the subject in question has evoked a lot of comment on the part of direct and indirect witnesses and «there were mainly fantastic figments» in their testimonies [39].

Melgunov supports the conclusion drawn by P. Bulygin that in Tobolsk Nicholas II was under German «surveillance». Here an old tried and tested remedy was used: this spy bore the stamp of Rasputin's approval. Moreover, German «tactical patterns» were so closely enterwoven with those of the Bolsheviks that B. Solovyev (Rasputun's son-in-law), by serving the former, of necessity, served the latter as well [40]. According to him, the tsar might have thought: «The Germans willing to install in Russia such an order as would enable them to get hold of its natural resources and thus to continue the struggle with its allies, want, by manipulating the tsar, to ensure the possibility for his son to take the power» [41]. Entering into a polemic with Gurko and other authors regarding the essence of the negotiations between the Bolsheviks and the Germans during the July crisis of 1918, Melgunov bluntly states: «Following the assassination of Mirbach the Germans were more concerned

with Ukranian bread and sugar and Caucasian oil than with the Monarch who should have been in the forefront of the national movement but instead was held in custody in Yekaterinburg» [42].

He holds that the fate of the royal family was inseparably linked with the permanent crisis the Bolsheviks were then going through. According to him, in the spring of 1918, the Soviet power began taking steps to prepare its evacuation to the Urals. Not only the gold reserve but the hostages as well, including the Romanovs, had been shipped off there too [43]. He infers from this that the Yekaterinburg and the Alapayevsk murders were bound by a single will.

The decision to shoot the tsar's family and its execution are examined on the basis of materials drawn from a drunken confession of P. Voikov made by him on the night of the New Year, 1925. At that time he was a Soviet plenipotentiary in Poland but, earlier on, he held the post of Commissar for Food in the Urals Soviet. Separate comments by the former chairman of the Urals Soviet A. Beloborodov were also made use of. These two sources contained the only published data emanating from direct participants of the bloody drama. It follows, therefore, that the decision concerning the shooting of the whole family was taken by the Urals Soviet after it had secured Moscow approval through their fellow-countrymen Yakov Sverdlov and Nikolai Krestinsky. The central authorities acted in this way because they feared that the tsar might fall into the hands of the Entente via the Whites and the Czechs [44]. The author examines some other standpoints but finally makes the only correct, as it seems to us, conclusion: «All these findings are equally fruitless because they are not founded on facts that can be verified» [45]. Even now, half a century later, it is still difficult to establish real facts and the question of who ordered the shooting is still open.

Melgunov is right in drawing attention to the fact that the scant and truncated official soviet information about the death of the royal family and the inability of the Kolchak-endorsed investigation to find the bodies of the slain could not but give birth to a series of myths about the miraculous rescue of some of its members, if not all of them. Probably he is making no mistake when he asserts that all those myths were deliberately circulated by Bolshevik agents to ease tension inside the country and mislead the world public. In the same context he treats the question connected with the tsar's

head which was allegedly brought to Moscow in alcoholic solution as part of the material evidence of the execution of the emperor [46]. No one, however, has ever succeeded in proving or disproving this version. Meanwhile rumours are being spread that the hunt for the head is still going on because it is believed that those who possess the head of the Russian autocrat, possess the world.

Winding up the examination of Melgunov's work we would like to note that while his analysis and criticism of the works of his predecessors is indeed quite thorough and detailed, he, unfortunately, fails to formulate his own alternative decision of this or that problem, evidently because, if we are to accept his opinion, we do not have enough sufficiently verified data for tackling those «mysteries» which fill the pages of that dramatic narration about the «last days» of the unfortunate monarch's and his family's stay in the «capital of the Red Urals» [47].

In connection with the 25th anniversary of the execution of the tsar's family, Harbin's *Bread Celestial* carried, in 1943, an essay by professor and priest K. Zaitsev, entitled *In Memory of the Last Tsar*. A quarter of a century later, in Jordanville (USA), the same text appeared in the form of a brochure under the name of Archimandrite Konstantin. It does not contain any new facts relative to the death of the emperor's family but does give an interesting interpretation of the event. «With the abdication of the tsar, with the throne deserted and the dynasty overthrown, with the tsar's family dying a martyr's death, Russia too has ceased to exist» [48], reflects the author. His view with regard to those who were instrumental in bringing about the death of the dynasty are not without interest. «With Bolsheviks, it's like water off a duck's back! But they only pronounced the last letter of a horrible alphabet which was not one of their own making» [49]. But it is not clear whose invention, after all, it was. However, the perspective is quite distinctly outlined: «It is not until Russia has gone through a process of spiritual revival that it will be able to return to the civilized world» [50].

It was also, at the same time and on the same occasion that S. Pozdnyshev wrote his essay *The Unfading Light*, the publication of which was delayed for 5 years because of the German occupation. His aim was to portray Nicholas II as a person, endowed with high intellectual and moral

qualities which manifested themselves in his attitude toward Country and the Orthodox church. According to the author, the sin of regicide has disgraced all Russian people and no amount of repentance nor deceitful apologies can ever atone for it. The book tells in detail how the 25th anniversary of the massacre was marked in different European cities.

The book by D. Trewin *The House of Special Purpose* was published much later than the above works but it also belongs to the category of publications which are based on the memoirs of those who, in one way or another, were involved in the Yekaterinburg tragedy. This work is an interpretation of the events based on the materials provided by Sydney Gibbes, tutor-guide to the tsar's children who, together with Sokolov, collected certain information on the death of the tsar's family and forwarded his materials to Europe. Trewin writes, apparently referring to Gibbes, that a box containing material evidence including thirteen drops of blood of the royal persons and a tsaritsa's finger immersed in alcohol was kept in the family burial-vault of the French general Janen [51]. Quoting millionaire Skidelsky, Trotsky's relative, he also reveals that the wife of the latter is known to have received, as a gift from her husband, a ring set with a light-blue diamond which had supposedly belonged to the tsar's daughter Tatyana [52].

Trewin subscribes to Sokolov's conclusion that the whole of the tsar's family died in Yekaterinburg and Moscow was largely responsible for that because it had been forced to yield to the Germans' pressure [53]. At the same time he cites numerous versions relevant to the miraculous escape of its individual members many of which are deliberate lies. So at the end of 1917 an American newspaper announced that Tatyana Nikolayevna had reportedly crossed the Atlantic and turned up in the New World. But in reality, at that very moment, she was sitting beside Gibbes in the drawing-room of the Governor's house in Tobolsk and reading that very paragraph about herself [54]. From this the author concludes that following the actual death of the family most incredible fabrications and fables concerning it assumed almost unlimited scope.

In a similar key, he considers the evidence of pseudo-Anastasia. In an attempt to prove that she had an intimate knowledge of the minutest details of the emperor's life and the life of his closest associates she said, for example, that Gibbes had a pronounced limp which was groundless assertion and of which he

wrote with much sarcasm to his friends [55]. Trewin sums up by saying that when inventions of this sort gain currency there is no stopping them. He is sure that nearly all of them have come from Yekaterinburg and found a favourable response among those who regarded the tsar as the Lord's anointed. That is why they believed that he just could not die and lose his legal right to the throne.

Of the publications of the second group we would like to point out as being most important such works as: *The Fall of the Russian Monarchy* by B. Pares, *Crown of Tragedy. Nicholas II* by N. Frankland, *Nicholas and Alexandra*, by R. Massie, *The Hunt for the Tsar* by G. Richards, *The Conspirator who Saved the Romanovs* by G. Null and *Le Dossier Romanov* by A. Summers and T. Mangold.

In his voluminous work B. Pares thoroughly and without omission of detail traces the development of the main events relating to the last reign, beginning with the accession of Nicholas II to the throne and ending with his abdication of it. But only a few pages of the epilogue, written on the basis of old materials belonging to the Russian emigration, are devoted to the death of the family. At the same time the author advances a number of considerations which deserve attention. He tries to explain the reason why the tsar was being moved westward largely by the German demands, as though the Germans could dictate their terms to the Soviet government after signing the Brest Treaty [56]. In Pares's opinion the former emperor might have entertained the idea that on reaching Moscow he would be taken out of the country to Sweden or probably Denmark where he had relations among the royal families [57]. It should be said in all justice that the author evinces a measure of perspecacity when he maintains that Commissar Yakovlev fulfilled Sverdlov's instructions and played no games of his own as regards the rescue of the emperor's family [58]. The shooting scene in the monograph under examination is rendered in a spirit characteristic of the widely known descriptions by Sokolov and Bykov. There are grounds for assuming that B. Pares inclines to the version according to which the whole of the family perished [59].

Though it has a striking title, N. Frankland's book has nothing new to offer in terms of information. It recounts well-known facts but makes one distinct conclusion: «No one, however, was for long in doubt that the fate of Nicholas and his son had been sealed on that terrible night in the middle of

July 1918. Nor can anyone doubt that they shared their fate with the Tsaritsa, whom, apparently, no one has dared or wished to impersonate, and the Grand Duchesses» [60]. The author was wrong only with respect to the fate of Y. Yurovsky who «after leaving for Moscow, seems never to have been heard of again. Apparently he disappeared as completely as he had intended the Tsar to disappear» [61]. In reality, as is evident from the materials of our book, he never disappeared anywhere but imparted to the world what he had perpetrated, albeit in absolutely secret form.

The well-known book by Robert Massie dealing with the Russian Emperor's family contains a wealth of material on Russian history but the last act of its tragedy is sketched rather schematically for lack of new information. Nevertheless separate conclusions made by the author merit attention. Moreover, they were accepted by his followers. «The Urals Soviet has never been in doubt as to what to do with Nicholas», wrote R. Massie. « Soon after his arrival in Yekaterinburg, the Soviet decided unanimously in favour of the execution. Unwilling to take this responsibility upon themselves, they sent Goloshschyokin to Moscow to learn the attitude of the central government... Goloshchyokin learned on his visit that the leaders had not yet decided what to do with the tsar; they were still toying with Trotsky's idea of holding a public trial at the end of July with Trotsky himself as a prosecutor» [62].

Meanwhile events of the Civil War accelerated their run and the Romanovs' fate had to be solved quickly. «On July 12, Goloshchyokin returned from Moscow — writes R. Massie, -and appeared before the Ural Soviet to declare that the party leaders were willing to leave the fate of the Romanovs in their hands. The commander of the Red military forces was asked how long Yekaterinburg could hold out against the Whites. He reported that the Czechs already had outflanked the city from the south, and that Yekaterinburg might fall within three days. Upon hearing this, the Ural Soviet decided to shoot the entire family as soon as possible and to destroy all evidence of the act» [63].

We find it possible to accept the proposed interpretation of how the decision concerning the fate of the tsar's family was arrived at, but we can hardly agree with his description of their death and the way their corpses were handled. The author claims they were completely destroyed by fire and acid [64] but the available documents do not corroborate this.

Guy Richards took upon himself the difficult task of proving the possibility of Romanovs' rescue from death. He adduces plentiful and often unique material and establishes that there is «Considerable evidence that all members of the family escaped secretly and by common agreement with the communists that their disappearance should be enveloped in an aura of execution by a firing squad. Considerable evidence that this version is widely accepted by surviving relatives of the family» [65]. G. Richards reminds the reader of the fact that Kolchak-appointed investigator Sokolov has proved the death of all the Romanovs in Yekaterinburg but maintains that « There is far more than a good chance that the Romanovs not only escaped from the Communists but from the death knell of Sokolov» [66].

Gary Null goes even further. He found conspirator Aaron Simanovitsch, the former secretary of Grigory Rasputin and «endowed» him with fantastic abilities as far as rescuing royal persons was concerned. He states that the German Kaiser did succeed in inserting a secret clause in the terms of the Brest Peace Treaty which allegedly guaranteed the release of the tsar's family, but the Bolsheviks failed to fulfill it [67]. Then Simanovitsch went to Berlin, reached agreement with Wilhelm II on joint action to secure Romanovs' liberation and thereupon left for Tyumen where the former Emperor was held captive at that time [68]. The conspirator allegedly gave commissar Yakovlev fifty thousand rubles to induce the latter to change the route of the train by diverting it from Moscow to the German border. It took them twenty hours to reach the western plains [69]. At this point we think we ought to interrupt the author's exercise of his extraordinary imaginative powers. In the first place, the train could not have arrived there so soon. It would have taken several days to cover a distance like that. In the second place, the train was diverted in the easterly direction, to Omsk, but not to the west, and more, not by Simanovitsch's but by Yakovlev's order. This had all been agreed with Bolshevik leaders in Moscow. (See Part II of our publication).

After the failure of his first attempt Simanovitsch decides to have another try. He manages to infiltrate his English accomplice Fox into the guard of the House of Special Purpose in Yekaterinburg where the tsar was kept. The latter makes a lightning career and two weeks later the Bolsheviks promote him to the rank of captain. What Fox does next is this. He gets the Commandant

of the town blind drunk, poisons a couple of guards in the House of Special Purpose, frees the tsar's family, gets them all into a truck and sends it off first to Odessa and then on to Poland. An hour after this «the woods surrounding the Ipatyev house rang with the reports of rifle shots» and a pail of human blood was splashed on the floor of the basement. Meanwhile, in a mine shaft a few miles away from the town, Simanovitsch made a bonfire, threw certain effects of the Imperial family and Botkin's false teeth in the pit. When the embers had ceased to glow, a couple of liters of sulphuric acid were poured over the ashes. In this sizzling puddle of acid and mud the chief conspirator tossed a handful of jewels. «They were gifts from Rasputin. Even in death he serves his Tsar» [70].

The author of this detective story does not seem to be embarrassed by the fact that the Ipatyev house was located in the very centre of the town and was surrounded not by woods but by a double fence closely watched not by two guards but by a large military contingent. Besides, blood stains could be seen not only in the basement room but also in the cars used to transport not the rescued Romanovs but their dead bodies. Simanovitsch's generous hand must have been the size of a giant's to hold several boxes full of the tsar's valuables, brought by Yurovsky to Moscow immediately after the shooting. Gary Null's statement that Nicholas II died peacefully in 1952 in Ciosanies, a small village in Poland, evokes a bitter smile [71]. A natural question arises: why did the Soviet government take responsibility for his shooting in 1918 and why did he have to die a second time in Georgia (Sukhumi) in 1957, as authors such as Null allege?

The work by A. Summers and T. Mangold is a significant step forward in the development of the question of the history of the Romanovs' death and opens a new stage in its interpretation. First of all, the authors found much new material that was unknown earlier. Second, they came up with an alternative interpretation of their own which differs significantly from the preceding one, based mainly on the well-known information of Sokolov and his assistants.

The authors depart from the official version that the entire family was shot. They make it their main concern to lift a veil of mystery that surrounded this affair for half a century and fed numerous legends. According to its significance they put the murder of the royal persons in Russia in the same row

with assassinations in Sarayevo and Dallas. Working for BBC, Summers and Mangold, as they themselves stressed, constantly found themselves « on the borderline between history and journalism». Undoubtedly history only stood to gain due to a happy combination of a whole number of factors. Many new documents were uncovered, Scotland-Yard employees shared their huge experience in interpreting them, living word of the journalist helped to bring home to the reader the full drama of a regicide as well as difficulties involved in a search for evidence.

In the first half of the 1970s the authors travelled widely all over the world and acquainted themselves with «letters, reports, evidence of witnesses, memorandums, in a word, with all that has since been uttered by kings and revolutionaries, prime-ministers and peasants» [72]. A quotation from a secret document made them go to the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and a Danish trace led them to a report of the secret service in Washington [73]. Yet the arguments they found there were still insufficient to enable them to make the final decision. Only much later did they stumble across documents they had been looking for all this time: a seven-volume file of primary testimonies of witnesses in the case of the Romanovs. It had served as the base for Sokolov when he was writing his book trying to call facts confirming his personal version of the death of the entire emperor's family.

In 1962, in the garret of a Paris antiquarian, negatives of photographs, pertaining to the Sokolov-led investigation and his notes were recovered, but the accompanying documents were missing. Pozdnyshev, an old tsar's general, said that the Germans had appropriated the dossier during World War II. The other set seemed to have fallen into the hands of neutral persons [74]. Apparently what is meant here is the copy belonging to the English journalist Wilson, the copy that Sokolov had handed over to Wilton prior to his departure from Siberia. It turned out that this copy was sold by Wilton's widow at Sotheby auction in 1937 and its traces were entirely lost. After a long and agonizing search it was ascertained that having changed many hands, the dossier was acquired by the Harvard University Library [75].

Its examination led Summers and Mangold to the conclusion that in preparing his fundamental work Sokolov abridged the primary material. He was consistent in using only that which accorded with his version of the entire

destruction of the tsar's family, carefully leaving out evidence to the contrary [76]. At the same time they «found new documents which clearly indicate that not all the Romanovs were exterminated in the Ipatyev house. These documents give grounds to believe that only two members of the family were killed in Yekaterinburg... This finding may explain why not a single corpse had ever been found» [77]. Moreover, Summers and Mangold deemed it appropriate to state that «most of the Romanovs were alive a month after the announcement that they were dead was made» [78]. This evidence was discovered in the original reports submitted by the Russian White Guards. These were kept secret but not destroyed [79]. In this connection the thought that the two investigators, Sokolov's predecessors, were shot comes to mind.

To confirm their conclusions the authors of the book under discussion try to tap another source which for a long time remained inaccessible to scholars. In 1936 a stranger turned up at the Hoover Institute, Stanford University, with a black hessian bag in his hands. He said he wanted to give the contents of the bag as a a gift on condition that it remained sealed up till January 1, 1950. Assurances received, the stranger handed over the bag and left never to come back again. When the term of the agreement expired, the bag was open and what they discovered in it was a dossier belonging to Nikander Mirolyubov, a professor of criminalistics, who held the position of prosecutor in Kazan and in this capacity supervised the investigation of the Romanovs' case under Kolchak. The dossier consisted of two files. One of them contained a note by Sokolov and several letters while the other — personal correspondence between Mirolyubov and his representative in Yekaterinburg, prosecutor Iordansky. The correspondence revealed some evidence of fundamental importance, never made public by Sokolov [80].

Summers and Mangold quote from a statement made by Captain Malinovsky who visited the Ipatyev house right after the shooting. «My work on the case has led me to the conclusion that the emperor's family is still alive. The Bolsheviks seem to have killed some other people in that room to simulate the killing of the emperor's family. Then, at night, they escorted them on a trip to Koptyaki in order to make it look more convincing that a real murder had been committed. They got them dressed like countryfolk and transported them to a different place after their own clothes had

been burned. This is what my own observations and cogitations make me think about. It seems to me that the German Emperial Court just could not permit such a crime» [81]. Malinovsky's statement allows the authors of the book to draw the following conclusion: «Germany was really deeply involved in the Yekaterinburg events» [82].

The book quotes the testimony given by Gleb, doctor Botkin's son to the effect that Prince Kuli-Mirza, the White Guards Commandant of Yekaterinburg, has shown him « a great number of secret reports according to which the Emperor's family was first taken to a convent in the neighbourhood of Perm and then transported further on to Denmark» [83].

While examining Sokolov's version, Summers and Mangold state that he supported the view that the entire family had perished. In our opinion, they adduce incontrovertible proof including, in particular, the telegram sent by Beloborodov from Yekaterinburg saying that the same fate befell the family as the tsar himself [84]. True, the authors appeal to the opinion of American advocate John O'Connor who considers this telegram, given the scope of disinformation at that time, to be rather conditional, since «whatever might then have been happening to the Romanovs was bound to raise political problems too difficult and too delicate to be probed in their entirety. The Bolsheviks, for example, might have shipped the Romanovs out of Yekaterinburg and turned them over to the Germans... This would have been highly humiliating both for the Bolsheviks and for the tsar» [85]. After subjecting this telegram to thorough analysis with the assistance of expert decipherers Summers and Mangold sum up: «Historians have never made any careful study of this document yet. Upon closer scrutiny it becomes clear that at best its authenticity is too doubtful to built a case on it alone, and, at worst, it may be just a fake» [86].

Nor do they exclude the possible falsification of a number of testimonies including even that of Pavel Medvedev, participant in the shooting, because according to some sources, the White officers wrested that evidence when he was suffering from typhoid fever, and, according to other — when they subjected him to tortures after which he soon died [87]. In confirmation of their version they refer to the dossier, handed over by Mirolyubov to the Hoover Institute. Three days after Medvedev's death the professor wrote that he questioned the trustworthiness of this report. Besides, the evidence provi-

ded by the warden of the prison where Medvedev was kept contains no record concerning his illness. The authors even doubt «whether the prisoner in question was really Medvedev» [88]. At least he «should be interrogated again» [89]. But Sokolov never got that chance because of the time he arrived Medvedev had already died.

Western critics do not doubt Sokolov's competence regarding the methods of inquest used both inside the Ipatyev House and in the area of the Four Brothers Gully. They reproduce his deductions concerning the shooting of a large group of people in the basement room, the transportation of the corpses to the mine shaft, the burning of these there, the presence of Goloshchyokin and Yurovsky at the site of the crime. They also quote from his summing-up of the case when he stresses that «the general conclusion with respect to this blood-curdling crime is based exclusively on the findings of a thorough juridical inquiry» [90]. In this connection a question arises as to whether the previous refutations of the «Dossier» authors are really tenable, in so far as they find no substantial objections against Sokolov's final conclusions.

Summers and Mangold have also done their bit in the matter of defining the primary cause of the Yekaterinburg tragedy as authoratative interference of the Bolshevik centre. According to their evidence, at a meeting of the Politbureau held in June 1918 Trotsky suggested holding a public trial in the case of the tsar. But Lenin believed that, given the situation of chaos reigning in the country, they should refrain from doing it. So this motion of Trotsky was rejected [91]. In the meantime, persistent rumours that the tsar was dead, began to circulate. On the 27th of June the Army commander R. Berzin addressed Moscow with an inquiry on this score. It was Lenin who replied to him ordering that the entire emperor's family be placed under his personal protection and he himself answer for its safety with his own head [92]. From this the authors of the book infer that «Lenin was personally interested in that nothing untoward should happen to the Romanovs»[93]. Replacement of Avdeyev, the Commandant of the House of Special Purpose, known to be addicted to liquor, by Yurovsky, a man of firm character, was welcomed by them as they thought that from now on, the Romanovs would be in reliable

hands. Thus the latter's future fate came to be linked «with that crisis which threatened to assume increasingly greater proportions after Mirbach's assassination. Understandably, it was important for Lenin to win a respite» [94].

The Germans, as is evident from the telegrams cited in the book, did not believe the report about the shooting of the tsar. The People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs Georgy Chicherin at his first meeting with the German side did not say anything about the fate of the family but mentioned for the second time that «the tsaritsa has been moved to Perm». From the point of view of the authors of the book, such line of conduct can be accounted for by their insufficient knowledge of the essence of the matter or their striving to preserve the Romanovs and use them as hostages in bargaining with Germany [95]. Six weeks after the disappearance of the Romanov family Karl Radek came up with an initiative to exchange the Romanovs for a group of Russian prisoners-of-war, though later he suggested exchanging them for some of the leaders of Polish social-democracy. Summers and Mangold infer from this that «Consequently, the family is alive. Radek was an expert on German affairs and as much a realist as Lenin. If the Romanovs — their main trump-card — were dead it would have been absurd to propose exchanging them for their comrades' freedom» [96]. More than that. The Germans had received reports from their agents assuring them that the women had left Yekaterinburg alive [97]. It was difficult to deny credence to information coming from the excellently organized German Intelligence Service.

Regarding Grigory Zinovyev as one of the chief and best informed Soviet leaders, the authors of *Le Dossier Romanov* refer to his statement asserting that the tsar is killed but the family lives in a safe place in one of the Siberian towns the name of which it is forbidden to disclose. Interestingly, the name of Felix Dzerzhinsky is also to be found on the list of the «co-saviours» of the royal family. In the authors' words, what he meant was that the women had not been killed in Yekaterinburg [98].

How are such statements to be treated? In all likelihood, we can speak here of a coordinated support of an official Soviet statement, binding on all those concerned, for exactly as long a time as there was need for it. At least after the revolution in Germany and its defeat in the first world war no more

such statements were made and soon it was officially recognized that the entire family had perished. The materials comprising our book treat of this question in detail.

Of no little interest is the appraisal given by the authors of *Le Dossier Romanov* of the international aspect of this tragedy. From their point of view only two countries — Britain and Germany — could have exercised a really important influence on the course of events. In so far as Germany was at war with Russia, Britain found itself in a more advantageous position, the more so because Nicholas II and George V were cousins and very intimate friends. In 1977 lord Mountbatten, the closest of the tsar's relatives still alive at that time, had the following to say about the role played by George V in the destiny of the Romanovs. «Oh, yes! During the first days he did have a talk about it with my mother. He certainly wished to grant him asylum in Britain but the government and the Prime Minister were opposed to it for political reasons and at that time of the war this was easy to understand. And I think it would have been very difficult to go against their will...» [99]. However the dossier has something to the contrary to reveal: it was George V and not his ministers who denied political asylum to the tsar. «It was not the extremists, nor the chicken-pox (the heir's illness — *V. A.)* that decided the fate of the family, Summers and Mangold say, but that somersault which the tsar's cousin, George V, performed by unexpectedly altering his stance on the question of granting political asylum... and not on account of the dangers involved in the trip but largely for political reasons» [100], but no one yet has publicly spoken about this matter.

While Kerensky and the British were arguing about the tsar's proposed departure for Britain, the Danish court applied to the German government for help to secure his rescue. Wilhelm II issued a special order instructing his armed forces to abstain from any attempts at hindering his entry which, however, never transpired for various reasons [101].

Meanwhile the Brest Peace Treaty between the Germans and the Bolsheviks had been concluded after which rumours began to spread that it allegedly contained a stipulation providing for the release of the tsar and his family. However on the basis of their meticulously performed investigation Summers and Mangold came to the conclusion that, officially speaking, no

such stipulation actually existed though they did not preclude the possibility of an oral agreement to that effect [102]. In his official statement the German ambassador Mirbach averred that «the fate of the tsar is the problem of the Russian people, while the Germans should be mainly concerned with insuring protection of their princesses — the tsaritsa and her sister Yelizaveta» [103]. It should be noted that certain circumstances indicate that in the most critical weeks of July 1918, the German emperor did take action to save the royal family. On July 5 Baron Alvensleben, a German diplomat, suggested to the members of the State Council of the Ukraine Prince Alexander Dolgorukov and Fyodor Bezak that they have a meeting. During their meeting he told them that « It is the wish of the Emperor Wilhelm to save Nicholas II at any price. He also informed them that rumours would begin to be spread somewhere between July 16-20 about the tsar's death... they would naturally be false... But it was necessary to spread them as widely as possible with the express aim of saving the tsar» [104]. It is not difficult to imagine the amazement of the Russian monarchists when these predictions materialized.

The authors of *Le Dossier Romanov* draw the following conclusion: «Germany was playing a very dangerous game... If Berlin knew for certain of the death of the tsar then we have grounds to conclude that the Germans' complicity in the crime committed by the Communists was a hard fact» [105]. Then, what is the matter, after all? It is really very difficult to unravel this mystery because the man who had been initiated into it, as Summers and Mangold claim, died in 1926 without ever sharing his knowledge with anyone.

In the course of many centuries, imposture has been a characteristic feature of Russian history but after the tragic death of the royal family in Yekaterinburg it assumed an international character. It was reported, now from Siberia, now from the Ukraine, now from Germany, now from the USA, now from Japan and China that someone of this family had been seen there. Many of them laid persistent claims to the Russian throne. That is why two chapters of this book are devoted to the «Romanovs-manufacturing industry». A crowd of journalists, it is reported, forcibly made their way aboard a passenger ship which had arrived in New-York in 1920 and «identified» the Russian tsar in the person of the ship's mechanic [106]. There are also many stories dealing

with the «miraculous rescue» of the tsar's children. On December 31, 1963, for example, a touching meeting was organized in the USA between Alexei and Anastasia [107]. The greatest success in all this mystification exercise fell to the lot of Anastasia who made her appearance on the Berlin scene at the beginning of 1920. What she related is this. When the shooting started in the basement of the Ipatyev house she hid behind one of her sisters and then lost consciousness. When she regained her senses, she found herself in the house of a soldier who had saved her. She had a son by him who died during her flight from Russia. A whole series of books and a Hollywood film were devoted to Anastasia's mysterious history by Western authors.

She may be said to have established a 20th century world longest-ever-lawsuit record which dragged from 1938 to 1970 without any ruling being given. The point is that, on the one hand, the judges thought it hardly possible to qualify Anastasia's death in Yekaterinburg as a historical fact, neither were they sufficiently convinced that Anna Anderson was the real Anastasia, on the other. Witnesses who testified against the identification were predominantly representatives of the Romanov House. Others who had been in frequent contact with the royal family recognized the claimant as being the Duchess Anastasia. Such testimonies were given by Tatyana Botkina, the daughter of the tsar's doctor; Mathilde Kschessinska, famous ballet-dancer and others. The same opinion was voiced by a group of crimialists who compared some specific peculiarities of individual parts of her body as well as her wounds and handwriting [108]. Describing the events of that July night in 1918 Anna-Anastasia declared, «What actually happened in Yekaterinburg is entirely different from what is being said today, but if I were to tell about it, people would think I'm crazy» [109].

A special chapter in the book, "A bundle of lie", is dedicated to the exposure of disinformation in the case of the Yekaterinburg murder. In this context the essay by P. Bykov is described in no other way than as an account complied on the basis of material borrowed from the dossier of Sokolov, stolen from the author in Berlin and transferred to Moscow [110]. Eventually there are grounds for a statement like that because part of the documents relating to the investigation conducted by Sokolov were kept in the former Archive of the

Institute of Marxism-Leninism attached to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Understandably, he himself could not have delivered them there. The authors are outraged by the fact that for a long time the murderers have been treated as heroes by the Soviet press.

The chapter dealing with Commissar Yakovlev's mission occupies a place peculiar to itself. It is little connected with the main events that took place in the Ipatyev house and their international repercussions but it does contain some curious facts, documents and thoughts which can not be entirely ignored. It is stated, for example, that «Nicholas was aware that the monarchists had been devising numerous rescue plans but he realized only too well they had no chance of success» [111]. In the second half of April, one of the initiators of these plans Boris Solovyev, the husband of Rasputin's daughter Maria, was arrested in Tobolsk and a few days later Vasily Yakovlev arrived at the head of 150 cavalrymen to fulfill his mission of removing the former tsar to Yekaterinburg. Who was this Yakovlev, whose will did he do, what aims did he pursue? These questions, beginning with coroner Sokolov, gave no rest to all those who tried to unravel the tight knot of the Romanovs' tragedy. Summers and Mangold too, failed to evade them, neither could they find a solution to them. They wrote that «Yakovlev was seen waving his three papers, according to which he had been entrusted with a mission of extraordinary importance and threatened to deal summarily with anyone who dared oppose him» [112]. There were many signatures at the bottom of each document including that of Sverdlov, which goes to show that the commissar was there to do the will of the Bolsheviks. This, however, did not prevent him from treating the tsar with due care and respect. He declared that he was even prepared to lay down his life for his security» [113]. As is known, the commissar tried to bypass Yekaterinburg to evade the delivery of Nicholas to the Ural extremists, for which he was pronounced traitor to the cause of the Revolution.

Summers and Mangold ask the question if he really was a traitor, then in whose favour? On the one hand they produce evidence of the fact that «he himself decided to save the tsar, knowing of the decision to shoot him» [114]. On the other hand, they do not entirely rule out the thought that there might have been behind him a supporting force, possibly even an outside force,

striving to restore the monarchy in Russia [115]. Later Yakovlev went over to the Whites and was seemingly lost sight of. Hence the inference that from the very outset he was opposed to delivering the tsar into Bolshevik hands. In reality, however, there are no grounds for such conclusions. From the very beginning Yakovlev had been a staunch and active Bolshevik who devotedly served his party and government being deputy to the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission chairman F. Dzerzhinsky. After his «fall» in the autumn of 1918, he returned to the fold of the Soviet power, got himself a job in the NKVD organs, but, as many people of his circle, was shot in 1938. You can convince yourself of this by reading our book (Part II).

Completing our analysis of the work by Summers and Mangold we can conclude by saying that it is certainly a weighty contribution to the solution of the mystery of the Romanovs' tragic end but it does not exhaust the subject. The authors themselves say that «for all their efforts they have failed to arrive at any final decision... *Le dossier Romanov* seeks to unravel the skein of a unique mystery and throw some light on what could have happened in reality to Nicholas, Alexandra and their children at that turning point in the country's history coincided with the summer of 1918» [116].

The book entitled *Letters from Captivity by Members of the Tsar's Family* published in New-York in 1974 belongs to the same series of publications. It comprises 227 letters by the Romanovs sent by them to different addressees during the sixteen months they spent in custody. Most of them were written by the tsaritsa and her daughters and only 6 by the tsar. The letters attest to the moral and spiritual make-up of their authors, containing personal evaluations of numerous events and people's character and describe the spiritual and physical suffering of the family. This is a rare historical source enabling the reader to take a look at those events as from within, so to speak. We must bear in mind that the authors were fully aware that all their correspondence was regularly checked and they were extremely careful in choosing their expressions.

Unfortunately, there are very few letters written by them in Yekaterinburg because of their comparatively short stay there. They mostly deal with their gruelling journey from Tobolsk to Yekaterinburg and the severe regime

reigning in the Ipatyev House. Part of them is recreated on the basis of memoirs belonging to those who were very close to the royal family. A. A. Tegleva, for example, cites an extract from a letter she received in Tobolsk: «Please, pack well the medicine chest. Consult Tatishchev and Gilliard about it because we seem to be missing certain things». «We understood, comments Tegleva, that they had some valuables stolen and the Empress was giving us instructions to take proper care of all valuable things» [117].

Each of the corresponding parts of the letters is accompanied with introductory articles and numerous comments. Though based on other authors' work they reflect the personal estimates of their compilers. We find them imbued with monarchistic ideas, loyalty to Orthodoxy and implacable hostility to the Bolshevik regime. According to the authors of the comments, the royal persons, ever since they were lodged in the Ipatyev house «had been in the hands of the Yekaterinburg criminal gang». Among it they number Shai Goloshchyokin, Yankel Vaisbart (Beloborodov), Yankel Yurovsky, Pinkhus Voikov and G. Safarov [118]. «If up till then — the compilers say — the path of the royal martyrs had been thorny enough, now it was a road to Calvary for them» [119]. They name Yankel Sverdlov as the person who masterminded the murder. In committing this crime he was helped by Grigory Apfelbaum (Zinovyev), Moses Uritsky, Lev Bronshtein (Trotsky). The role they were assigned to play consisted in giving the perpetrated murder the semblance of a willful act on the part of the Urals local authorities, thus clearing the Soviet government of all suspicion and responsibility [120].

From the commentary on the letters book we learn that on July 14 Goloshchyokin came back from Moscow and at 10:00 p. m. a meeting of the Regional Executive Committee of the Communist Party of the Urals and the Military Revolutionary Committee took place. At that gathering, on Sverdlov's instructions, a resolution on the shooting of the royal family was adopted. Its text was also published: « At the proposal of the Military Commissar and the chairman of the Military Revolutionary Committee, the meeting unanimously resolved to liquidate the former tsar Nicholas Romanov and his family as well as their servants» [121]. Further it was decided to carry out this resolution not later than July 18, 1918 and make comrade Y. Yurovsky, member of the Extraordinary Commission, responsible for the fulfillment of this task.

Thus, following Sokolov, the authors ascertain the adoption of a decision to liquidate the entire family. Thereupon they proceed to paint a gruesome picture of the butchery. This begins to be confirmed by modern Soviet sources which you will find cited in our publication. Of considerable interest from the standpoint of the present discussions concerning the canonization of the royal family is that part of the book where special stress is laid on «The great spiritual exploit of the Sovereign Emperor Nicholas Alexandrovich and his August Family. It shone with a bright light after the martyr's death, and the wide circles of Russian emigration fully realized this» [122]. From the middle 20s and onwards suggestions to place the Russian Emperor in the canon of saints started coming from Serbia. In 1936 at the ceremony devoted to the laying of the foundation stone of the temple-memorial in honour of the royal family in Brussels Serbian Metropolitan Dosifei said in part: «Serbia honours the Sovereign Emperor Nicholas II as a Saint...» [123]. In all countries where Russians constitute part of the population, in all churches attended by Russians, memorial services for the tsar's family are regularly held. Temple-Memorials have been erected in all parts of the world. The first to be built in memory of Nicholas II was the Brussels Temple of Job, the Pious Long-Suffering. Its founding took place in 1936 and consecration in 1950. Some majestic temples were constructed in Shanghai, San-Francisco and Monmorancy near Paris. In 1971 at the Bishop council of the Russian Orthodox Church abroad, the question of canonization of the royal martyrs was officially raised [124].

The book *Letters from Captivity by Members of the Tsar's Family* has something in common with the essay by the same author A. Alferyev entitled *Emperor Nicholas II as a Strong-Willed Man*. The author himself regards it as «Data for compiling a Hagiography of Saint Pious Tsar-Martyr Nicholas the Great Long-Suffering». The basic content of the essay gives grounds to consider it as an attempt to prove that as a statesman the Emperor was endowed with outstanding volitional qualities, that he maintained organic links with the Church and was noted for high moral standards. An extract from the death-bed conversation between Alexander III and his son Nicholas, which the author quotes, contains the principal idea of this part of the essay: «The autocracy created the

individuality of Russia. Should the autocracy fall, God forbid, then Russia too will crumble away together with it. The collapse of primordial Russian power will usher in an endless era of harrowing political instability and bloody internecine conflicts... Remember, Russia has no friends. Our hugeness is frightening. Avoid wars. In your internal policy, take patronage over the Church first of all. More than once did it save Russia in time of trouble. Consolidate the family because it is the foundation of any state» [125].

For obvious lack of material the author of the essay gives but a tentative outline of the royal family's thorny path to Calvary. He proceeds from the version submitted by R. Wilton in which the latter asserts that the order to shoot the Romanovs was given to Yakov Sverdlov by a group of the most influential American financiers of Jewish extraction, headed by Yakov Shiff, but he quotes no additional documents to that effect [126]. Alferyev considers the murder of the tsar's family to be a ritual rather than a political act. He writes, «Just as Christ, abandoned by everyone, was crucified on Golgotha for the sins of the whole world, so was the Sovereign, also abandoned by everyone, sacrificed for the sins of all Russia» [127]. In this connection he notes with satisfaction that in 1981 the Russian Orthodox Church abroad placed the tsar's family in the canon of saints [128].

The book by P. Paganuzzi *The Truth about the Murder of the Tsar's Family* published in 1981 in Jordanville (USA), sums up in a certain way this series of works [129]. It has a specific subtitle «Historico-Critical Essay». The author seeks to reconceptualize the Yekaterinburg tragedy using for this purpose hitherto unpublicized material collected by Diterikhs and Wilton. In this he perceives an advantage for himself over the preceding investigators and tries to give a rebuttal to conceptions untenable from his point of view. His polemic is predominantly directed against Soviet authors with M. K. Kasvinov being the main object of his criticism.

Demonstrating his extreme adherence to the monarchy he occupies a firm anti-Soviet and anti-German position. And it is from this position that he treats the key problems pertaining to the death of the royal family without, however, having recourse to any essentially new documents and advancing any new original hypotheses in this obscure matter, except, perhaps, for a few

details. Supporting Kerensky's opinion that the talks between the Kremlin and the Urals were entirely fictitious and the misdeed had been planned in Lenin's intimate circle long before the White threat became a reality, Paganuzzi adds, «Desire to revenge his brother Alexander who had been executed for taking part in an attempt on the life of the Emperor Alexander III might well have been the basic reason» [130]. Analyzing numerous Western publications dealing with the «miraculous» rescue of individual members of the royal family or even of the entire family, the author of the book under examination does not agree with them and unreservedly accepts, as he puts it, «the only real version» put forward by coroner Sokolov that the bodies of the killed, after a preliminary search for robbery purposes, were hacked into pieces, apparently with axes, and burned [131].

After the publication of P. M. Bykov's book and its subsequent withdrawal from general circulation, no attempts were made in the USSR, over a period of many years, to resume the study of the Urals tragedy. Official propaganda went on branding tsarism with shame, extolling the triumphant march of Soviet power and priding itself on the defeat of the counter-revolution in the Civil war. At the same time it did its utmost to conceal the truth about the tragic end of the tsar's family, relying, as they did, on the boastful statement made by P. Voikov, « The world shall never find out what we have done to them».

The early 70s saw an attempt to return to the events involved in the death of the royal family. In all likelihood, it was a response to numerous foreign publications on this question in connection with the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. In 1972-1973 the magazine *Zvezda* [*The Star*] printed a «narrative about the deeds and death of the last tsar from the Romanov dynasty» entitled *Twenty Three Steps Down* by M. K. Kasvinov [132]. Later, the book ran into several editions and gained wide popularity among the different strata of the population. It was read with much interest due to the author's fine literary style and many references it contains to numerous published and archival documents and research findings which saw the light of day ir Russia and abroad. It is one of the best known domestic publications dealing with the tsar's theme.

However, a manifestly tendentious credo is proclaimed by the author of the book on its very first pages, «The history of the downfall and ruin of the Romanov dynasty is one of the most favoured and constant themes of Western propaganda. It is for more than half a century that various pen-hacks, in the employ of their anti-Soviet masters, have been exploiting the history of the execution of the tsar's family, being tempted by the suitable, as it seems to them, opportunity to illustrate with this example «the horror» of revolution and «the cruelty» of the popular masses engulfed in it. An endless flow of this kind of output is daily rolling off the press of international reaction...» [133]. It must be said that all the book is written in the same vein. Even at the beginning of the perestroika period, when a radical revision of similar dogmatic stands was assuming ever greater scope, the book, nevertheless, continued to come out with an invariably large circulation.

Kasvinov, just as many other investigators of the Romanov case, is looking for a German trace which is only natural, considering that specific historical situation. But the question is how to identify it? Without any documented foundation he declares, « By the beginning of July the importunate demands of Berlin in favour of the Romanovs become increasingly impudent and provokative. Even the attempt on Mirbach's life is used by Kaiser for a manoeuvre in favour of the tsar's family. After July 6, Berlin advanced a provokative demand to allow a German battalion to be moved into Moscow allegedly for guarding the embassy. Later, however, Berlin announced that it was prepared to withdraw its demand in exchange for permission for the tsar's family to leave for Germany» [134]. This statement contains only one real fact, i. e. the demand for a German battalion to be allowed into Moscow. This may be accounted for by a purely diplomatic necessity while the point concerning the permission for the royal family to leave for Germany is yet to be proved.

The author seems to have failed to grasp the essence of the commissar Yakovlev's mission. He is quite blunt about it, «The adventure was a total fiasco. That reckless circling about over the Siberian railroads undertaken by a double-agent saboteur, who calls himself Yakovlev, came to nothing» [135]. On the contrary, it did end exactly as it had been planed in the Bolshevik centre in Moscow, and it is not altogether a worthy way to prove things by evoking the

spy-scare. Kasvinov deviated in no way from the traditional approach to the interpretation of the shooting in Yekaterinburg: There was no possibility for Moscow to organize a trial in the case of the Romanovs and it delegated the job to the Urals locals. The latter failed for lack of time and besides, a plot to free the tsar matured in Yekaterinburg and, to make things worse, regular units of the White Army were not far from the city ready to give him support. Under the circumstances, « seeing no other way out of the prevailing situation, the Executive Committee of the Urals Soviet adopted the following resolution: To execute the Romanovs, without waiting for a trial» [136]. The author does not question evidence pertaining to the non-existent plot, eschews the question of Moscow's stance in the matter of deciding the Romanovs' fate, and impassively, without any scholarly reflections, as though in passing states that the entire Romanov family were shot and that marked the end of a many-century old Russian dynasty, «Amid abandoned mines the corpses alternated with dry logs were arranged into stacks, splashed with kerosene and set on fire. When the flames died down, the remains were buried in a nearly bog» [137]. In the same casual and unemotional manner, as distinct from the wrathful attacks on the living Romanovs, the book tells of the shooting of Michael Romanov and other representatives of the family in Perm and the Alapayevsk Napolnaya school respectively. «Thus, all these scorn-inspiring reports can be summed up like this — fourteen representatives of the Romanov family met their doom in the Urals» [138]. The author is convinced that, «this was the last line of the last chapter of a three-hundred-long history of misdeeds wrought in Russia under the heraldic symbols of the Romanov dynasty». But was it not the same heraldry that witnessed the emergence of one of the most powerful states in the world? Was it not the same coat-of-arms that graced the standards of Russian warriors who covered themselves with glory in victorious battles? And Russian genius in science and culture, did it not shine under its protection?

At the end of same 70ies yet another attempt was made, less slavish and therefore less successful, or rather altogether unsuccessful, to return to the Romanov theme. At that time, the Urals periodical *Rifei* devoted to problems of literature and local history received an article by N. Lyoshkin with a request to print it. The article was entitled *The Last Journey of the Romanovs* and was

devoted to the mission of the mysterious Commissar Yakovlev. The author tried to give his own interpretation of this event, which did not deviate in principle from the prevailing ideology of the period. The author just made an attempt to trace how this virtually text-book truth became perverted «in a dozen distorting mirrors» [139]. But this was not permitted. The censorship banned the distribution of this publication. Only a few copies of it are available today. Ten years later, however, when «glasnost» was well under way, the article saw print in the collection of the same title [140].

In 1985 a rather thought-provoking book by Yu. Kurochkin entitled *The Tobolsk Knot* devoted to the search for the tsar's valuables came out. The author called it a novella which «does not claim to be a documentary chronicle». Therefore he «thought it possible to shift events in time and space, to liberally interpret relevant scenes and testimony of witnesses who may have already been dead, to mentally reconstruct facts which may have taken place but have not been registered documentally» [141]. While the book may be a success as far as requirements for a novella are concerned, it leaves something to be desired, however, in terms of historical grasp of events and their interpretation.

Judging by the text, the author is familiar with the material shedding light on the operation carried out by Urals Cheka officials in the early 30ies. Its aim was to try to recover the Romanov valuables in Tobolsk. But he tends to make a selective use of them, being often led merely by fancy, heavily compounded with ideological stereotypes characteristic of the stagnation period. However, several volumes of authentic protocols of interrogations of those who were known to have been hiding those valuables, have been preserved. They bring home to the reader the magnitude of that operation, its significance and the personal tragedy of people who found themselves involved in it. In themselves, these documents are much more complete and excite greater interest, to say nothing of their authenticity, than Yu. Kurochkin's work. The most important of them are quoted in the present book.

A radical change of attitude with respect to how the tsar theme should be treated occurred in the late 80ies and the early 90ies in the perestroika epoch. It started with magazine publications by prominent men-of-letters such as E. Radzinsky and G. Ryabov in *Ogonyok* and *Rodina* editions [142].

They were the first to make public some fragments of documents relating to the shooting in Yekaterinburg which previously had been carefully concealed. These blood-curdling revelations by Ya. Yurovsky, G. Nikulin and others had stunned the public. These gave a powerful fillip to reproduction in reprint of books previously published but stowed away into special storage rooms, and somewhat later publication of new works began.

The year 1991 was marked by an especially high «yield» when a whole series of books devoted to the tsar's family came out in central [143] and local publishing houses [144]. In the main, they were collections comprising, either in full or in part, earlier published works by N. A. Sokolov, R. Wilton, P. Bykov and others. Added to them later were fragments of reminiscences by Ya. Yurovsky, V Yakovlev, P. Yermakov as well as some archival documents and comments by modern historians. Regrettably, they contained, in essence, no new data or conclusions.

O. Platonov's book *The Murder of the Royal Family* was the only exception. It represents one of the first attempts on the part of Soviet writers to reconceptualize the main landmarks in the reign of Nicholas II and his tragic death. On the basis of extensive factual material, archival documents in particular, the author gives a fresh estimate of two opposing camps — the ruling (tsarist) and the revolutionary (Bolshevik) one. He provides more detailed information on the Urals tragedy. As distinct from the established historiographic tradition, the tragic death of the last Russian tsar is viewed not from a simplistic class standpoint but in a wider historical context.

While boldly breaking obsolete stereotypes, the author sometimes goes much too far. In his opinion, the assassination of the tsar's family « causative of the greatest disasters that ever befell our country and the world viz. bolshevism and fascism...» [145]. We apparently have here a case of wrong interpretation of causality where cause and effect are erroneously confused. Indeed, even a school-child knows that Bolshevism came into existence fifteen years before the death of the Romanovs. Without providing sufficient proof the author sets out to assert, «The decision to kill the tsar's family and the Romanov dynasty in general was taken by Lenin and Sverdlov» [146]. This might well have been the case but weighty evidence is needed to make such a categorical statement but it is not to be found in the book.

The next two publications *The Ruin of the Imperial House* by Yu. Buranov and V Khrustalyov [147] as well as *Revolution and the Fate of the Romanovs* by G. Ioffe [148], which appeared in 1992, make the impression of being much more solid and complete. The first book is written on the basis of much new material which is accentuated by the form of presentation. The authors employ a language of facts and figures, profusely quoting important data not infrequently received from historical personalities of great calibre. In contrast to many of their predecessors, they do not much repeat well-known facts, try to avoid ideological battles, focusing instead on concrete events having a direct bearing on the tragic death of the tsar and people close to him.

The authors give a detailed and unbiased description of almost epic events involved in the removal of the royal captives from Tobolsk and their transportation to Yekaterinburg. Besides, they make clear the essence of commissar Yakovlev's mission. Those parts of the book which are devoted to the developments in Yekaterinburg stand out from among the rest for novelty and freshness of ideas. In them they blast the myth of a plot nurtured by monarchists who ostensibly were going to redeem Nicholas II from the Ipatyev house. Events preceding the shooting and the shooting itself are delineated in great detail. The authors dismiss all doubt that permission for it was received from the Centre. Some thought-provoking material is contained in the chapter on the murder of the Grand Dukes.

The second book is the fruit of many-year-long effort on the part of the eminent Soviet historian G. Ioffe. It tells of the same events as the first one but in a more academic style. There are many new observations in it concerning the development of revolutionary events in Russia, the abdication of the tsar and his exile into Siberia. But what interests us more is his interpretation of events connected with Yekaterinburg. The author devoted much attention to attempts at redeeming the tsar from his incarceration in Tobolsk and persistent efforts on the part of Uralo-Siberian Bolsheviks to counter them. He, however, does not answer the basic question why, given that hectic agitation over the monarchist conspiracy, it did not amount to anything in practice.

G. Ioffe has revealed Yakovlev's secret. As might have been expected, he turned out to be an active Bolshevik, who was very close to Lenin and Sverdlov, and not a mysterious agent of foreign or monarchist secret services,

seeking to save the former tsar. He was instructed to fulfill a special assignment given him by the Bolshevik Centre, i. e. , to bring the tsar's family to the Urals. Quite a few tactical moves and dangerous collisions compounded his task but he fully succeeded in carrying it out.

G. Ioffe begins his analysis of the Urals tragedy with the death of Michael Romanov in Perm but he does not answer what we think to be one of the most crucial questions, i.e., who gave the order for it. It is not without foundation that he links the fate of Nicholas II and his family with the left social revolutionary revolt in Moscow, though no concrete evidence is provided to prove it. This, therefore, leaves the German trace in the Romanov affair, as was the case with Ioffe's numerous predecessors, only half way proved. But, on the other hand, he fully clarifies the technique used to produce falsified letters by a mythical officer, which, if we are to believe the organs of Soviet power, allegedly testify to the existence of a plan to rescue the tsar's family with the assistance of the Whites. Trying to solve one of the key questions of the Yekaterinburg tragedy, i. e. where and how the decision to kill the royal family was taken, the author comes to the following conclusion, «The Uralites, evidently, had the last word in the matter. For one thing, they were better informed about the real situation. They officially informed Sverdlov that they were prepared to assume full responsibility for the fate of the Romanovs and, what is most important, by this decision they saved Moscow having to take a politically compromising decision...» [149]. Like many of his predecessors the author also eschews the question where the remains may have been buried.

And it is not with all of the G. Ioffe's conclusions that we find it possible to agree, either. «To understand the tragic fate of the captives of the Ipatyev house is to try to understand and become fully concious of the historical path of Russia at the beginning of the 20th century» [150], writes the author. It would be all very well if it were really the case. In fact, everything is far more complex. Not only we, people of Russia, but the whole of the thinking world, are still baffled by the question as to what befell Russia at the turn of the 20th century, what was the cause of it and where it is moving now? The present attempt to erect a temple in memory of the slain in the Ipatyev house

is regarded by the author as «one more borderline deviding us» [151]. Of course, today our modern society is more politicized than it has ever been before and this danger can not be entirely ruled out. But by the looks of it, history has already passed its verdict. People want to know the truth and it can no longer be concealed. The sooner it is revealed and the more complete is its statement, the greater the possibility that people will receive it with understanding as a fact relegated to the limbo of oblivion but which, however, can and should be perpetuated.

The original book by Anatoly Gryannik *Nicholas II's Will* completes the series of publications in the former Soviet Union about the death of the tsar's family. The book is presented by its author as «an essay with elements of political detective story» [152]. If we were to follow the author's self-appraisal then there would be no need for a historian to enter into a controversy with him. But we can not pass over in silence a number of facts and conclusions of principal importance.

The main idea of the book is that it was not the tsar's family that was shot in Yekaterinburg but its doubles (from different families) [153]. The author proceeds from the fact that in keeping with the terms of the Treaty of Brest, citizens of each of the contracting parties who themselves or their ancestors were born on the territory of the opposite side, shall be given the right, based on the agreement with the corresponding authorities, to return to their homeland within a period of ten years after ratification of the Treaty (the Treaty was ratified on March 26, 1918)» [154]. The former tsaritsa and her children were to enjoy this right. This made the Bolsheviks think about their fate. Moreover, the supplement to the Treaty of Brest concluded in August 1918 «specified the return of all property of German subjects, which therefore was also valid in the case of the property of the royal family, the property the Bolsheviks had already appropriated» [155].

Being guided by such premises Gryannik tries to prove that Soviet authorities just simulated the shooting and left the tsar's family alive. This happened when the Germans suffered a defeat near Marna on July 15, 1918 and completely lost strategic initiative, an event that rendered Germany inca-

pable of opening a second front (against Russia) [156]. In a situation like this the Bolsheviks seem to have shot the doubles and hidden the living Romanovs in a secret place, in order to be able to produce them, if necessary.

After a long series of ordeals they, allegedly, turned up in Georgia. «In the early 1920s, in Sukhumi, about 40 Romanovs and those close to them got assembled» [157], Gryannik imparts. It turns out that the entire family resided there under new names. Commissar Yakovlev was also there [158]. Nicholas II, under the assumed name of Beryozkin, lived to be 90 and died on February 6, 1957 [159]. Such a detective-like course of events totally disarms not only a strict scholar but also a credulous reader who asks the reasonable question:what are the proofs of this dazzling sensation? Although more than 200 pages are devoted to it, there are no real facts to speak of, no documents, no examinations, except for the testimony of casual persons and a combination of photographs of faces with an interval of more than half-a-century.

There are plenty of highly unexpected moves on the part of the author to be found in the book. For example, such as the attempts to connect the tsar's family rescue and the fears of German headquarters to publish documents about Lenin [160]; Jews saved the life of Nicholas II for fear of breaking the prophecy of David, «Do not touch those I have anointed» [161]; in Stalin times it was customary to keep silent because his mother was a Jew [162];after the 20th Congress of the CPSS in February 1956, when the anti-stalinist clique came to power, in September of the same year, Beryozkin fell suddenly ill and soon died [163]. If there really exists a certain connection between these events then it should be proved, not just postulated.

In general, Gryannik's book produced more questions and of a quite dubious nature at that, than answers. Raising the problem of the tsar's money — 400 mln. rubles allegedly deposited in foreign banks, he has this to say, «They may not have been shot because otherwise the money would have fallen into the hands of their relatives abroad» [164]. Or «on August 22, 1991 all the Romanovs would have gathered together in one of the towns of the country but on account of the putsch their meeting failed to materialize» [165]. The work has these errors of fact: Belkin instead of Doctor Botkin and Lednev instead of the boy by the name of Sednev [166].

Under the influence of radical transformations in Russia in connection with the on-going re-assessment of the most crucial periods of its history in the 20th century, a new wave of books devoted to the tsar's theme appeared on the foreign book market. The most important of them are books by N. Ross, M. Ferro, M. Zuliani and E. Radzinsky [167]. The book by N. Ross came out in 1987 in the *Posev publishing house* in Frankfurt. It represents a large volume of documents, mainly prepared on the basis of one of the three copies of the case investigated by Sokolov and taken out of Russia by General M. K. Diterikhs at the end of the Civil war. The General kept these documents in his house in Harbin up to 1937 when he died. Then his widow handed them over to one of the Western countries where today they belong to a private owner. Though the basic facts of this case were known before due to the publications by Sokolov and Diterikhs himself, a complete edition of them may present undoubted interest to the modern reader and enable him to come to his own conclusions about three-quarters-of-a-century old events founding them on authentic documents.

The interpretation of the fate of the royal family in the book *Nicholas II* by a noted French history scholar M. Ferro, considerably differs from other foreign and domestic publications. He is trying to examine the probability of the survival of the female part of the family. Comparison of Russian and foreign sources led him to beleive that Alexandra Fyodorovna and her daughters (with the exception of Anastasia) were evacuated via Perm into Central Russia and then some of them found themselves in Western Europe but were not recognized there by their relatives unwilling to jeopardize their own dynastic interests [168]. The author provides evidence to prove that the week (in the latter half of October, 1918) Maria Nikolayevna allegedly arrived in Germany, the same week, Karl Liebknecht was released from prison. «Is this a mere coincidence?», he quiered. «Or is this the very first exchange of hostages in the history of West-East relations!» [169]. It appears to him that in those concrete historical circumstances neither the Soviet, nor the White Guard, nor the West-European sides were interested in clearing up this question since the odium felt toward the Romanovs had a tangibly unfavourable effect. In order to ensure greater success in dealing with this complicated problem, Ferro recommends juxtaposing the material of Russian archives and that obtained

from similar foreign sources, mainly British, German, Spanish and Danish [170]. From our point of view while this method of wide frontal contrastive approach may not dot all the «i's» and cross all the «t's», it may, at least, significantly enrich our knowledge of, and ideas about one of the most important pages of Russian history.

The book by Italian authoress Mariolina Doria de Zuliani *The Tsar's Family. The Last Act of the Tragedy* is certainly interesting because in it, for the first time, the reader is offered combined information about the fate of the tsar's family tapped from Western and Soviet sources. The authoress of the book discusses the same range of questions as has been discussed in the works above, i.e., characteristic features of the tsar's family, the cause of its death and persons who perpetrated the crime; investigation of the heinous deed; disinformation; probability of rescue of individual members of the family.

Zuliani emphatically denies the existence of any plot on the part of the White Guards to rescue the emperor and qualifies the «officer» story as grossly fabricated misinformation [171]. She is not «aware of that supposedly «secret instruction» from Moscow» [172] and is inclined to consider as more probable the version saying that the decision on the shooting of the Romanovs was taken by the members of the Urals Soviet [173]. The authoress has not the slightest doubt about the authenticity of the telegram from Yekaterinburg to the Secretary of the Sovnarcom Gorbunov that stated that all of the family shared the same lot as its head [174]. According to her, news of the shooting «passed almost unnoticed: in Moscow people's reaction was indifferent and in the West too the press and the Ministers of Foreign Affairs did not pay much attention to it until afterwards» [175].

Zuliani does not believe in the rescue of some of the Romanovs and states that Anna Anderson (Anastasia) «became a mere tool in the hands of crooks largely interested in the inheritance of the Romanovs» [176]. She is one of the first scholars to try to shed light on the fate of the tsar's valuables. There is a story in the book of how Urals commissar Voikov himself snatched a necklace with a ring on it off the empress's neck [177]. Referring to film director G. Ryabov the author says that no traces of the Romanovs' valuables have been recovered either at the Diamond Fund, or at the State Depository of Valuables of Russia. She does not exclude the possibility that

they may have vanished abroad [178]. In Yekaterinburg or somewhere else in the world», she writes, «Alexandra Fyodorovna's well-known brooch is kept hidden, that piece of priceless jewelry with a diamond of 100 carats». [179]. The reader can find evidence of it in our book.

Published in 1992 in Moscow the book *Regicide in 1918* by M. Heifets, Jerusalem writer and historian, occupies a specific place among Western publications. He bases his publicistic work on a manuscript he discovered in the Archives of the Jerusalem Centre for the Study and Documentation of the West-European Jewry. The manuscript is attributed to Ber-Dov Brutskus, who held the post of Professor of Economy of Agriculture at the Jerusalem University in the 30s and took an active part in working out agrarian problems in Russia during the pre-revolutionary and early revolutionary years.

In Heifets's opinion, the main idea of the manuscript is that «Jewish people did not participate in this outrageous act» (the assassination of Nicholas II and his family — *V. A.*) [180]. There is every reason for the above-mentioned quotation to be used as an epigraph to the whole of the book and he himself actually places it in the title of one of the chapters. It should be said in all fairness that the Israeli author raises a key question of principle importance involved in the killing of the Russian tsar, since the question of its ritual character has been on the agenda for three-quarters of a century and even today many mysteries connected with this barbarious act could be traced as stemming from it.

Heifets produces some weighty proof against imparting a Judeophobic quality to the murder of the Romanovs. They are based on a reconceptualazation of many facts and their further justifiable clarification. But regrettably he has no new information to offer limiting himself solely to logical constructs which, however, are very important. In his view, those who are directly responsible for the death of the emperor's family are not the ones who did the actual killing (among them there were representatives of various nationalities) but the Bolshevik leaders — Lenin, Stalin and Sverdlov. Everything is quite clear, as far as the latter is concerned. Not so with the other two. Nobody, nor Heifets himself, for this matter, has ever substantiated this claim.

The big monograph by Russian author E. Radzinsky *The Last Tsar. The Life and Death of Nicholas II* published in 1992 in New-York can be considered the last in this series of publications so far. A result of many-year-long effort, it contains new documents, discusses events from modern points of view, without running into extremes which has often been the case in both Soviet and Western literature. The book is vividly written, makes easy reading and carries the reader away with it. Principally, the same events are traced here as in the literary extracts we have already quoted. But it leaves considerably fewer puzzling questions unanswered.

Radzinsky considers Commissar Yakovlev's mission to be a double game on the part of Sverdlov [181]. It was he who «proposed sending Yakovlev to Tobolsk to move the Romanovs out of there. Trotsky, who knew Yakovlev well also approved his candidacy» [182]. Answering Sverdlov's question about the plan of action Yakovlev replied that he would, «put the family on a train and start out in the direction of Yekaterinburg, so as not to provoke any hostility on the part of the Uralites. But once he was well out of Tyumen he would turn towards Omsk — eastwards. He would take the tsar's family to Moscow via Omsk, which was at odds with Yekaterinburg. Should circumstances intervene, he would take the tsar's family to his own Ufa, where there were people loyal to himself and where it would be quite simple to continue on with the family to Moscow whenever necessary» [183]. Sverdlov agreed, keeping a third plan in reserve — a possibility that Yakovlev could take the family to Yekaterinburg.

Radzinsky voices the supposition that Yekaterinburg Bolsheviks started to collect evidence of a «monarchist plot» from the very first days of the royal family's stay in the Ipatyev house, but no planning could be done «without Moscow, without... Lenin's and Sverdlov's permission» [184]. He says he found a telegram the Urals Bolshevik leader Goloshchyokin had sent to Sverdlov and Lenin via Zinovyev. It could allegedly be inferred from its text that there had been a preliminary agreement between him and Lenin concerning the fate of Nicholas II [185]. Though many knew of the existence of this telegram in Russia before, no such conclusions had ever been made. In our view Radzinsky's theoretical propositions appear to be quite interesting, but they, unfortunately, are founded only on logic but not on fact.

At the same time Radzinsky comes up with a rather interesting version. He claims, for example, that the order to shoot the tsar was given by R. Berzin, commander -in-chief of the Northern Urals-Siberian Front. But Goloshchyokin, just to play safe, decided to send an inquiry to Moscow and direct it to Petrograd's address of Zinovyev, who was known to be in favour of the execution. Further, the writer makes an unexpected reference to the reminiscences of a certain A. Akimov who, back in 1957, published an article in *Stroitelnaya Gazeta* [*Builders' newspaper*] under the title *On Lenin's Advice*. On the basis of this material he comes to the following conclusion, «When the Urals Regional Party Committee decided to shoot Nicholas's family, the Council of People's Commissars and Central Executive Committee wrote a telegram endorsing this decision» [186]. This new approach is noteworthy but it may not be entirely convincing for lack of official data.

The scene of the shooting, the concealment of the remains, the enquires started by the Whites, the appearance of Nicholas Romanov's children who have allegedly survived and other events associated with the tsar's history, are all described by Radzinsky on the basis of well-known documents. It should be stressed that he depicts everything thoroughly and in great detail with different personages repeatedly giving similar accounts of the nightmare they witnessed that night. All this is certainly very depressing. Making reference to a mythical guest of his whom he does not name, Radzinsky tries to sow doubt about the death of the entire family, thereby raising hope that two of them might have been rescued. He even endeavours to paint a picture of how it all might have happened [187]. This new departure is yet to be studied by scholars.

This brief analysis of a large body of domestic and foreign literature on the fate of the tsar's family enables us to present a wide spectrum of opinion on the given question and trace the transformation of views regarding the tragic events which occurred three quarters of a century ago. Notwithstanding the rich mosaic of thought, most of the authors tend to express deep regret about the past developments but only few of them are prepared to try to provide exhaustive answers to those numerous questions which have baffled historians since the death of the royal family. Traces of that crime have been so skillfully covered up that it is really very difficult to restore the picture today, more than half a century after. It is still not quite clear why the journey of the royal family

was interrupted half-way between Tobolsk and Moscow, what internal or external factors accelerated its tragic end, and who gave the order to that effect, where the remains lie concealed to this day and whether anyone has managed to survive. How could it happen that at the moment there was no political force in existence, either in Russia or abroad, capable of influencing the fate, if not of the whole family, then of its female members at least? And, lastly, where did the archives and the valuables of the Romanovs disappear? These are not just rhetorical questions, but important problems of national history at one of its most abrupt turning points. They have to be thoroughly researched and the conditions, we think, are quite mature for this.

The present book is a *new* step forward in this direction. It contains interesting material extracted from central and local archives which has been newly introduced into historical research. Much of this material has until recently, been absolutely inaccessible to historians. Documents and photographs from private collections are also to be found in the book. They make it possible to take a fresh look at the old versions and, with facts in hand, to prove or to disprove them, or, at least, to shed some more light on the dark pages of the Romanovs case.

Part II familiarizes the reader with new documents concerning the removal of the royal family from Tobolsk to Yekaterinburg. They reveal heated debates on this question both in the higher echelons of power and at the level of local administration. Of special interest are the recently deciphered telegrams by Sverdlov and Yakovlev which finally help to clarify the motives behind each of these men's actions. Specially selected original documents (letters to Stalin, Yezhov and Menzhinsky, petitions and appeals sent from the Solovetsky camp) truthfully characterize the personality of Yakovlev, entirely stripping it of its last vestiges of mystery.

Part III focuses on new documents relating to the shooting of the royal family in Yekaterinburg; instructions from the Centre, measures taken by the local authorities, their estimates of past events and international aspects of the fall of the Romanov House. For the first time the reader has the opportunity to see the Yekaterinburg tragedy through the prism of the personal views and experiences of such of its direct participants as: the Empress Alexandra Fyodorovna, commandant of the Ipatyev house Yakov Yurovsky, Cheka official Mikhail Medvedev, guards from the Detachment of Special Purpose.

Part IV contains a wealth of documentary data on the fate of royal valuables left in Tobolsk after the death of the Romanovs in Yekaterinburg. The reader will see lists of gold and silver articles, of furs and attire handed over by Yurovsky to Moscow Kremlin Commandant Malkov in 1918, an inventory of unique jewels found by Cheka officials in 1933 in Tobolsk as well as records of comparatively inexpensive household articles used by the tsar and later confiscated from rank-and-file participants in the shooting. Protocols of interrogations and confrontations will give the reader an awareness of the tragic destiny of people who took it on themselves to save those treasures. He will be afforded an opportunity, almost as in a detective story, to trace the ever changing whereabouts of the tsar's valuables, to share the joy of their recovery and the bitterness of irreparable losses. Possibly, someone in Russia or outside the country will be able to identify them through publications, descriptions or photographs of the former emperor's valuables which are to be found today either in museums or in private collections. This will be of great importance both from a historical and a cultorological points of view.

Part V concludes the book and tells of the search for the remains of the royal martyres. It is subdivided into two sections. The first section contains documents relating to the initial period of the investigation procedures which, like those undertaken by Sokolov, were not fully successful. Nevertheless they do provide some interesting material and afford a deeper insight into the essence of the Yekaterinburg tragedy. The second section, devoted to the search for the tsar's interment site in our days is more informative. Official notes and reports by G. Ryabov, A. Avdonin and V. Viner to the organs of internal affairs considerably facilitate the task of studying the various approaches to the solution of this problem, its basic phases and alternative ways of resolving it.

The presented documents were extracted from state, departmental and private archives and most of them are published for the first time. They were sought out in the State Archive of the Russian Federation, the Russian Centre for Modern History Documents Storage and Study, the Central Archive of the Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service, the Documentation Centre of Social Organizations of the Sverdlovsk Region, the Archive of the Sverdlovsk Department of the Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service, the Archives of the Office of the Public Prosecutor of the Sverdlovsk Region and

the private archive of V. V. Yakovlev's family. Participants in the search for the documents were Doctor of History M. N. Denisevich and Candidates of History K. I. Zubkov, L. A. Lykova, V. M. Khrustalyov and L. L. Yefimov.

Documents are published either in full or in extracts. If a text is reproduced in extracts then the preposition «from» is placed in the heading of the document. Textual flaws of no great importance (spelling mistakes, slips of the pen, omissions of letters and syllables etc.) as well as errors occurring in the spelling of names and geographical names have been corrected within the text without mention of this fact. Words omitted because of text damage and reconstructed on the basis of semantic content are enclosed in square brackets. Cases when restoration of a textual omission was impossible are marked with dots in square brackets.

Each document has its own or (if absent) editorial heading. Almost all documents are dated. If there is no date on a document then it is ascertained within the framework of the context and accompanying documents contained in the same archival file or collection of documents. This is mentioned in the notes on the text.

Each document's legend includes the name of the archive, number of the fund, inventory, file, page, information on authenticity. Ways of reproduction are not indicated in legends because most of the archival documents are typewritten originals and copies. The bulk of historical sources sought out in departmental archives is designated as «collection of documents».

Some documentary material (mainly telegrams) from Parts II and III was earlier published in part, in works by G. Ioffe, Yu. Buranov, V Khrustalyov, G. Ryabov, E. Radzinsky. In the present edition they are reproduced in full in confirmity with the corresponding archeographical processing rules.

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PART II

ON THE ROAD TO DEATH

No. 1

From Protocol No. 3 of the meeting of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (ARCEC) about the tsar's family guard in Tobolsk

April 1, 1918

Present: Y. Sverdlov, M. Pokrovsky, M. Vladimirsky, M. Spiridonova, [P.] Proshyan and V. Avanesov.

Heard: II. The report about the former tsar's guard: 1) about guard reinforcements, 2) about salary, 3) about machine-guns and grenades, 4) about the prisoners (Dolgorukov, Tatishchev, Gendrikova and the English teacher). (The oral report of the Special Purpose detachment delegate).

Resolved: I. To communicate the following instruction to the Special Purpose detachment guarding the former tsar: 1) To ask the detachment to perform guard duty until reinforcements are sent. 2) To order the detachment to remain at its post and not leave it in any case until reinforcements assigned by the ARCEC arrive. 3) Increase the watch over the prisoners and have the English teacher stay with the prisoners or break off contact with them until further notice. 4) Money for the detachment, machine-guns and grenades will be sent immediately with the detachment from the ARCEC.

II. To direct the commissar on military affairs to immediately form a detachment of 200 people (30 of them from the ARCEC partisan detachment, 20 from the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries) and send them to Tobolsk to reinforce the guard and, should the opportunity arise, transfer them immediately to Moscow. (The actual resolution is not to be made public in print.)...

Chairman of the ARCEC — Y. Sverdlov
Secretary of the ARCEC — V. Avanesov

State Archive of the Russian Federation (SARF). F. 1235. Op. 344. D. 36. L. 9. Original.

No. 2

From the protocol* of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee meeting about the royal family's transfer to the Urals

April 6, 1918

Present: M. N. Pokrovsky, Y. M. Sverdlov, M. F. Vladimirsky, A. I. Okulov, V. A. Avanesov, G. I. Teodorovich and the Military department executive A. S. Yenukidze.

Heard: The question of former tsar Nicholas Romanov.

Resolved: In addition to the previous resolution, to direct Comrade Sverdlov to communicate by direct line with Yekaterinburg and Omsk about assigning reinforcements to the detachment guarding Nicholas Romanov and about transferring all the prisoners to the Urals.

To inform the Sovnarcom about the actual resolution and to request its urgent execution.

Chairman of the ARCEC — Y. Sverdlov
Secretary of the ARCEC — V. Avanesov

SARF. F. 1235. Op. 34. D. 36. L. 31. Original.

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* No number.

No. 3

Telegram from ARCEC Chairman Y. M. Sverdlov to the Urals Regional Soviet about the royal family's transfer to Yekaterinburg*

April 9, 1918

Dear Comrades!

Today by direct line I notify you about Comrade Yakovlev's trip. We charge him to transport Nicholas to the Urals. We have decided to lodge [Nicholas] for now in Yekaterinburg. It is up to you to decide whether to put him in prison or to adapt some detached house. Do not move him anywhere from Yekaterinburg unless you get a directive from us to that effect. Yakovlev is charged with the task of bringing Nicholas to Yekaterinburg alive with the aim of turning him over to Chairman Beloborodov or Goloshchyokin. Yakovlev has been issued with the most precise and detailed instructions. Do whatever is necessary. Talk the details over with Yakovlev.

Friendly greetings Y. Sverdlov

Central Archives of the Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service. Collection of documents on the Romanov case. Original.

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* Text was written on the ARCEC form.

No. 4
Telegram from B. V. Didkovsky, Deputy Chairman of the Urals Regional Soviet, about the situation in Tobolsk

Moscow, Kremlin, Sovnarcom
(Three copies: Lenin, Sverdlov, the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party)

April 13, 1918

We ask you to resolve the Tobolsk issue at a special urgent meeting. In four-five days the road [...]*. It is necessary to ascertain the presence of Nicholas II and the others [...]* isolation of dealings. The sea way is open, [the way to China is open] too. [Because of] events in the east we might be late. At its meeting the Regional Soviet [...]* full power of action to Khokhryakov, Chairman of the Tobolsk Executive Committee and, if you agree, also to Comrades Zaslavsky and Avdeyev, our representatives from the Urals Regional Soviet. In Tobolsk there is disarray. There Omsk Commissar Demyanov refuses to obey the local executive committee. We are afraid of armed conflict between part of his detachment and Kerensky's soldiers on one side and, on the other side our Latvians and sailors. The chief of the guard puts obstacles in the way of the executive committee and our representative. We insist on an immediate change in the Tobolsk situation by moving to a safer position. We suggest the Urals or you select the place yourselves right away. Our detachment will provide transportation. If you agree, wire us. Copy to Tobolsk.

Urals Regional Soviet,
Deputy Chairman Didkovsky

SARF. F. 130. Op. 2. D. 1109. L. 14-17. Original.

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* Illegible in the document.

No. 5

Protocol of the meeting of the Special Guard Committee about the Nicholas II transfer under V. V. Yakovlev's command

Tobolsk April 22, 1918

Presiding: Matveyev, chairman, guard committee.

Yakovlev*. Announces his emergency powers regarding the Tobolsk prisoners: The Romanovs' guard, the local executive committee and all detachments in Tobolsk owe absolute obedience to him. The mandates of Soviet power, signed by Ulyanov-Lenin, Sverdlov and Avanesov are presented. In conclusion, Comrade Yakovlev declares that from now on not a single instruction changing the current situation may proceed without his knowledge. The life of the prisoners is guaranteed: Without Comrade Yakovlev's orders no one can stop protecting the former tsar's family, threaten their lives or carry them away to another place.

Aksyuta and Matveyev: Supplementing each other's remarks, they outline the position of the guard from the resignation of the Provisional Government's commissar to the present time. The cause of misunderstanding between the Tobolsk executive committee and the [tsar's] guard was the [guard's] steadfast adherence to the following principle: the power to change the status of the [tsar's] family belonged to Russia's central government, because the guard believes that the family is an object of concern not only to Tobolsk but to all of Russia.

A lot of commissars, who came from different places presented various demands. Dutsman claimed** Tobolsk's authority. Soon Demyanov and then Zaslavsky demanded to see the family and transfer the prisoners to a jail. Because that was not covered in the Sovnarcom's mandates, those demands were rejected. Then came word from Demyanov that, since the authority in the city belonged to the Tobolsk executive committee and since it also agreed to transfer [the family] to jail, he offered to discuss the issue with the guard within 36 hours; after that nothing would stop him from carrying out the task. That position made the guard's detachment nervous. They had to stay awake three nights. The house where the prisoners were kept would be left in the dark, and they were afraid it could not get electricity in time. That would cause difficulties for the guard. So the detachment occupied the power station.

By that time the guard's delegate Lukin came from Moscow, and he reported that Sovnarcom was sending Commissar Yakovlev to Tobolsk with a detachment and emergency powers. A confirming telegram soon arrived from the central executive committee. Therefore, [the delegates] took no action and waited for Sovnarcom's commissar who had the authority to resolve the impending clash between the detachments already there and those coming from Omsk and Yekaterinburg. In conclusion the speakers said, «Now we hope things will settle down, and now we ask for a solution our urgent financial problems. Sovnarcom promised to pay us a subsistence allowance of three rubles a day until we disband. That is in addition to the allowance the Volostnoi committee paid us until January 1 [1918] when it stopped paying. The salary has not been paid. Soldier's shirts and trousers were not distributed at the end of the period.»

Yakovlev responds that he will pay the allowance in line with Sovnarcom's resolution. After negotiations with Moscow he will pay the salary due. For that he proposed to make separate, detailed lists for the allowance and for the salary (salary according to rank and service awards). As for the shortage of trousers and shirts for the soldiers, Comrade Yakovlev suggested sending a special representative to the Tobolsk military-industrial committees to discuss the matter. A committee member asked what the guard should do further; all the old army units have been disbanded yet continue to live according to the old status. Comrade Yakovlev answered, that he would make an offer to those willing to serve in a new worker-peasant army (for a 150-ruble salary, free board and uniform).

On behalf of the committee the chairman expressed gratitude to Comrade Yakovlev for solving the financial issue and the impending conflict between the Red Army men and the guard. Then he closed the meeting.

Secretary of the Emergency Commissar Galkin

SARF. F. 601. Op. 2. D. 33. L. 20-20 ob. Original.

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* Here and further words, underlined in the document are italicized.

** The next word is crossed out.

No. 6

Emergency Commissar V. V. Yakovlev's telegram inquiry from Tyumen to ARCEC Chairman Y. M. Sverdlov

Moscow April 26, 1918. 20. 50.*

The route remains the old one or have you changed it? Inform Tyumen immediately. I am following the old route. I need your answer fast.

Yakovlev

SARF. F. 130. Op. 2. D. 1109. L. 54. Original.

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* Date received.

No. 7

Telegram from ARCEC Chairman Y. M. Sverdlov to Emergency Commissar V. V. Yakovlev

April 26, 1918

The old route. Report whether you are taking cargo* or not.

Sverdlov

SARF. F. 130. Op. 2. D. 1109. L. 54. Original.

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* Refers to the tsar's family.

No. 8

Telegraphic report from Emergency commissar V. V. Yakovlev to ARCEC Chairman Y. M. Sverdlov about the route

Tyumen April 27, 1918*

I have just brought a part of the baggage[1]*. I want to change the route because of the following crucial circumstances. Special persons came to Tobolsk from Yekaterinburg before me to do away with the baggage. The special purpose detachment rebuffed the effort. It almost ended in bloodshed.

When I arrived, people from Yekaterinburg hinted, that it was not necessary to take the baggage to the place. They were met with a refusal from me. I took measures to prevent them from taking [him] away. They asked me not to sit beside the baggage. That was a direct warning that they could do away with me too. Of course, I stuck to my mission to deliver everything safely, and I sat next to the baggage.

I knew that all the Yekaterinburg detachments pursued only one objective — to do away with the baggage, and I called Guzakov with the detachment. The entire route from Tobolsk to Tyumen was guarded by my detachments. Since they failed to achieve their objective in Tobolsk, on the road and in Tyumen, the Yekaterinburg detachments decided to ambush me near Yekaterinburg. They decided if I would not give up the baggage without a fight then they would massacre us.

I as well as Guzakov and all my detachment know all this from testimony of a man from the Yekaterinburg detachment whom we had arrested. We also know it from actions and facts we encountered. In Yekaterinburg all except Goloshchyokin have one desire — to put an end to the baggage by whatever means. The Red Army's forth, fifth and sixth companies are preparing to ambush us.

If this is not what the Centre wants, then it would be crazy to bring the baggage to Yekaterinburg. Guzakov and I as well suggest to move everything to the Simskii mining district where we'll defend it on both the right and the left flanks. I offer my services as permanent commissar in charge of defending the baggage right up to the liquidation. I declare on my own and Guzakov's behalf that we guarantee nothing at Yekaterinburg. It would be insane to send it there under the protection of those detachments. They had but one objective but could not achieve it because I took drastic measures. I have warned you, now you decide: either I take the baggage at once to the Simskii mining district; there in the mountains are places exactly suited to our needs; or I leave for Yekaterinburg. [Now have your say] ***. I do not guarantee the consequences. If the baggage falls into the wrong hands, it will be destroyed. If they are ready to wipe out me and my detachment, then of course the result will be the same. So, answer: I go to Yekaterinburg or through Omsk to the Simskii mining district. I wait for an answer. I am standing in the railway station with the baggage.

Yakovlev, Guzakov

SARF. F. 601. Op. 2. D. 32. L. 97-98. Original.

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* Date of V. Yakovlev's reminiscences.

** Refers to the tsar's family.

*** Crossed out in the document.

No. 9.

From negotiations by direct line between ARCEC Chairman Y. M. Sverdlov and Emergency Commissar V. V. Yakovlev about changing the route

Moscow April 27, 1918*

[Sverdlov] — Sverdlov speaking. Is Yakovlev there? (A pause). Tell me, are you too nervous, maybe your fears are exaggerated, and it is possible to keep the former route. I am waiting for an answer?? (A pause). Yes, yes, I read. (A pause). Clear enough. (A short pause). Do you consider it possible to go to Omsk and wait there for further instructions??(A pause). *Go to Omsk*, ** send a wire when you arrive. Report to the Sovdep Chairman Vladimir Kosarev, make everything in secret, I'll give you further instructions in Omsk. Move. (A pause). It will be done. All orders will be given. Good-bye.

SARF. F. 601. Op. 2. D. 32. L. 1. Original.

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* Date on accompanying documents.

** Italicized by the author.

No. 10

Telegraph report of ARCEC Emergency Commissar V. V. Yakovlev to F. I. Goloshchyokin, Military Commissar of the Urals Regional Soviet, about the intention of the Yekaterinburg detachments to capture the train with the royal family

Tyumen April 27, 1918

Your detachments have only one desire — to annihilate the baggage* which I am sent with. The guiding spirits: Zaslavsky, Khokhryakov and Kusyatsky**. They have taken a number of measures to carry it out in Tobolsk, and also on the way, but my detachments are still strong enough and they failed. I have a prisoner from Busyatsky's detachment who acknowledges everything.

I will say only this. It includes the following: The day before my departure Zaslavsky disappeared, it was said he was summoned to Yekaterinburg. He left to prepare the fifth [and] sixth companies near Yekaterinburg and to attack my train. That is their plan. Were you informed about this? It seems to

me that they are deceiving you. Their constant smiling while talking about you make me suspect that they are doing so. They decided that if I refuse to give them the baggage, they will kill our entire group along with me.

Of course, I am sure that I will wean these children away from their nasty intentions. But in Yekaterinburg there is a strong tendency among the detachments to annihilate the baggage. Do you guarantee to defend this baggage? Remember that the Council of [People's] Commissars swore to protect me. Answer me personally in detail. I am sitting in the station with the main part of the baggage, and as soon as I receive an answer, I am leaving. Prepare the place.

Yakovlev, Guzakov

SARF. F. 601. Op. 2. D. 33. L. 44-48. Original.

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* Refers to the tsar's family.

** Busyatsky is correct.

No. 11
Selection of Telegrams from Emergency Commissar V. V. Yakovlev from the Iyevlevo station

April 27, 1918*

1. Yekaterinburg. Pass this on immediately to Goloshchyokin, Didkovsky.

I have received information that your people — headed by Zaslavsky, Khokhryakov, leader of the detachments, and others — want to disarm us to take our baggage.** Take measures immediately or there will be a bloodshed. Inform Tyumen at once in full detail. Zaslavsky took off from Tobolsk on the sly and I had no time to arrest him. I am leaving Iyevlevo.

Yakovlev

2. Tyumen. To Salik for the leader of Guzakov's detachment.

Bring everything into military readiness. Organize a detachment of 30 men to meet us. We are leaving Iyevlevo.

Yakovlev

3. Tyumen. To Chairman Nemtsov.***

I request that you come out immediately to meet us at the Barki station. Prepare your detachments. I am leaving Iyevlevo prepared for combat.

Yakovlev

[Telegraph Operator] — Commissar Yakovlev has requested you to carry out all of this. [The answer from Tyumen] — Everything will be carried out immediately.

SARF. F. 601. Op. 2. D. 33. L. 41. Original.

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* Date on accompanying documents.

** Refers to the tsar's family.

*** The head of the Tyumen Soviet at that time.

No. 12

Telegraph order from the Urals Regional Soviet Chairman A. G. Beloborodov about V. V. Yakovlev's arrest and the royal family's return to Yekaterinburg*

No. 3507 April 28, 1918

On April 28th Special Train Number [Two], under the command of Commissar Yakovlev who was escorting the former Tsar Nicholas Romanov, left passing-track 18 of the Omsk railway. Commissar Yakovlev had orders of the All-Russian Sovnarcom to deliver the former tsar from Tobolsk [to] Yekaterinburg and to hand him over to the Soviet of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Deputies of the Urals region. According to the April 9 letter from ARCEC Chairman Sverdlov, the former tsar should not be taken to any other place without the direct order of the «Centre»; we did not receive such instructions.

Taking Nicholas Romanov away from Tobolsk, Commissar Yakovlev put him [on] the Tyumen train and headed for Yekaterinburg, but at the next passing-track he changed direction and turned the train [in] the opposite direction — [to] the east, [to] Omsk. Having discussed the conduct of Commissar Yakovlev, the Regional Soviet of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers of the Urals unanimously resolved to regard it as an openly treacherous act directed against the cause of the Revolution, as an endeavor with unknown aims to remove the former tsar beyond the confines of the Revolutionary Urals, despite the precise, written order of the central executive committee chairman. This is an act, that puts Commissar Yakovlev outside the ranks of revolutionaries. The Urals Regi-

onal Soviet suggests to all Soviet revolutionary organizations, especially the Omsk Sovdep, to take the most decisive and drastic measures, including the use of armed force, to stop the former tsar's train. Commissar Yakovlev has at his command up to about 100 armed men. Commissar Yakovlev should be arrested along with the people of his group who would oppose us. The whole escort should be replaced by new, totally trustworthy people. The prisoners, together with Nicholas Romanov, should be delivered to Yekaterinburg and handed over to the Regional Soviet. We suggest that you do not pay attention to various documents that Yakovlev will send and refer to, because all his previous steps are, without question, evidence of a criminal plan implemented by Yakovlev, possibly on assignment of other people. Regional committees, Communist-Bolsheviks, Left Socialist-Revolutionaries and Maximalists consider the execution of the regional soviet resolution mandatory for all party members.

We request that the measures taken and consequences be telegraphed immediately to the regional soviet in Yekaterinburg.

Urals Regional Soviet of Workers, Peasants, Soldiers Deputies
Chairman Alexander Beloborodov**

SARF. F. 601. Op. 2. D. 32. L. 40-43. Original.

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* The telegram was sent to Petropavlovsk, Omsk and stations Tatarskaya, Barabinsk, Chulymskaya, Novonikolayevsk.

** A. Beloborodov sent the telegram with the same text addressed to ARCEC Chairman Y. M. Sverdlov.

No. 13

Telegram from ARCEC Chairman Y. M. Sverdlov to the Urals Regional Soviet leaders confirming V. V. Yakovlev's authority

Moscow April 29, 1918

Whatever Yakovlev is doing is in direct fulfilment of my order. Details by special courier. Issue no instructions concerning Yakovlev. He is acting in accordance with the directions he got from me today at 4 o'clock in the morning. Do not undertake anything without our consent. Trust Yakovlev completely. Again, no interference.

Sverdlov

SARF. F. 130. Op. 2. D. 1109. L. 22. Copy.

No. 14

Telegram note about the train route from ARCEC Chairman Y. M. Sverdlov, transmitted to Omsk to ARCEC Emergency Commissar V. Yakovlev

April 28, 1918

Go back immediately to Tyumen. We have arranged things with the Urals people. Measures have been taken; guarantees have been given with the personal responsibility of the Regional Committee members. Hand over all the cargo * [in] Tyumen to the representative of the Urals Regcom **. That is mandatory. Go with them personally and render assistance to the representative [of the regional soviet]. The task is the same as before. You have accomplished the most important part. Get reinforcements in Omsk from Vladimir Kosarev, the chairman of Sovdep. I am sure al instructions will be carried out precisely. Greetings.

Sverdlov

SARF. F. 601. Op. 2. D. 32. L. 66-67. Original.

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* Refers to the tsar's family.

** So stated in the document.

No. 15

From the direct-line conversation between G. I. Safarov, Urals Regional Soviet Presidium member, and V. M. Kosarev, chairman of the Western-Siberian Soviet, about the train route

Yekaterinburg April 19, 1918. 00. 20

[Kosarev] — Kosarev.

[Safarov] — Safarov speaking. Where is the train No. 2?

[Kosarev] — Yakovlev has arrived with all his property * in Omsk. Now he is speaking with Moscow.

[Safarov] — We have already talked with Moscow too. The issue has been cleared up. Yakovlev should come back here** with all his property. This is the order of the ARCEC chairman and the Sovnarcom chairman. What about his arrival? Was there a clash?

[Kosarev] — Yakovlev turned out to be an old friend of mine. We quickly arranged things and went to talk with Moscow. There was no clash. On behalf of the Western-Siberian Committee of Soviets, I ask you, the Urals officials, not take separate action and in the current situation carry out exactly the order from Moscow.

[Safarov] — We have already arranged things with Moscow. Yakovlev, not we, must turn back the train immediately according to the order from Moscow. We consider the Western-Siberian Soviet's declaration inappropriate. What is Yakovlev's decision now?

[Kosarev] — Thanks to your totally rash decisions... ***

SARF. F. 601. Op. 2. D. 32. L. 34-36. Original.

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* Refers to tsar's family.

** Refers to Yekaterinburg.

*** The text stops here.

No. 16

Telegram from Urals Regional Soviet Chairman A. G. Beloborodov to Western-Siberian Soviet Chairman V. M. Kosarev about the direction of the train to Yekaterinburg

Yekaterinburg April 29, 1918. 12. 35 *

Military

Regarding the cancellation of today's telegram about Commissar Yakovlev's arrest, we inform you of the result of negotiations between the Chairman of Sovnarcom and the Chairman of the ARCEC: the issue of the train's movement back to Yekaterinburg has been cleared up. Yakovlev will get his orders from Moscow. We request to take measures to move the train back.

Chairman of the Regional Soviet Beloborodov

SARF. F. 601. Op. 2. D. 32. L. 73. Original.

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* Date transmitted.

No. 17

Telegraph order from Urals Regional Soviet Chairman A. G. Beloborodov about cancellation of the order to arrest V. V. Yakovlev, ARCEC Emergency Commissar*

Yekaterinburg April 29, 1918

Military. Special Order

Regarding the telegram about stopping and detaining Commissar Yakovlev: We inform you, that in negotiations between the chairman of the Sovnarcom and the chairman of the ARCEC [about] the train route, they clarified why Yakovlev turned the train to the east. The order to detain the train is canceled. Railroaders are asked to assist in moving the train to the west. Yakovlev will be given the confirming order from Moscow.

Chairman of the Urals Regional Soviet

SARF. F. 601. Op. 2. D. 32. L. 73-75. Original.

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* Addressed to: Chelyabinsk, Shumikha, Kurgan, Makushino, Petropavlovsk, Iselkul, Omsk, Tatarskaya station, Barabinsk, Chulymskaya station, Novonikolayevsk.

No. 18

Telegraph order from V. M. Kosarev, Chairman of the Western-Siberian Soviet of Workers and Military Deputies about cancellation of the order to arrest V. V. Yakovlev*

Omsk April 29, 1918**

Military. Special Order

Cancel immediately the telegram numbered 3507***, signed by Beloborodov and sent from Yekaterinburg on April 28 [1918]. It is the result of a gross misunderstanding. Yakovlev acts only by order of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. In this case his move toward Omsk was ordered by Chairman Sverdlov. That was confirmed to me personally on the direct line.

Chairman of the Western-Siberian Sovdep Kosarev

SARF. F. 601. Op. 2. D. 32. L. 57-58. Original.

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* Addressed to: Chulymskaya station, Barabinsk, Novonikolayevsk.

** Date on accompanying documents.

*** See Doc. No. 12.

No. 19

Instructions for the Reception and Delivery of Nicholas II from the Urals Regional Soviet to S. S. Zaslavsky, representative of the Urals Regional Soviet

April 29, 1918

Strictly Confidential

1. The actual order comes to you based on direct-line negotiations with **Comrade Sverdlov, Chairman of the Central Executive Committee**, Moscow*

2. In your activities you are guided by the following discussion, transmitted by direct line: **Sverdlov** (Moscow): «Can you agree with the following order to Yakovlev?: **Move immediately to Tyumen. Things are arranged with the Urals people — measures are taken, guarantees given. Hand over all cargo** in Tyumen to the representative of the Urals Regcom***. That is an order. You go along and render full assistance to the representative. The task is the same as before.** I suggest that under these conditions you can assume full responsibility. What do you say?

Beloborodov, Safarov, Didkovsky, Khotimsky, Preobrazhensky (Yekaterinburg): «Agreed».

3. Based on this conversation, you are the direct representative of the **Urals Regional Soviet.**

4. The detachment under the command of Comrade Bronitsky is at your disposal.

5. Your direct task is to move with the detachment from Yekaterinburg to Tyumen, where Commissar Yakovlev, moving the former tsar will be waiting for you; at Tyumen station present these instructions and your mandate to Comrade Yakovlev, and set a time with him to turn over the former tsar to you as the **Regional Soviet** representative; take charge of the former tsar from Comrade Yakovlev with a statement, that should be signed by you, Yakovlev and Timin, dispatched with you; after you take over, bring the people from your detachment to the rooms occupied by the guard, or, if you consider it possible, let certain former guards stay there. After accomplishing all this, give the order immediately to follow the train to Yekaterinburg station where the former tsar will finally be handed over to the **Regional Soviet**; you should bring the former tsar to Yekaterinburg **safe and sound** to the **Regional Soviet** command.

7. If troublemakers attack the train, the leader of the detachment Comrade Bronitsky will direct the defense of the train. He will have at his disposal all means of defense. You must inform him of these instructions.

8. Inform the Regional Soviet by telegraph about your arrival in Tyumen, transfer of the former tsar and departure of the train to Yekaterinburg.

9. Timin, dispatched with you, will replace you during your absence. ****

Central Archives of the Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service. Collection of documents on the Romanov case. Copy.

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* Italicized in the document here and on following pages.

** The family of Nicholas II.

*** So stated in the document.

**** No signatures.

No. 20

Resolution by the Presidium of the Urals Regional Soviet of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Deputies about V. V. Yakovlev's actions while transporting of Nicholas II from Tobolsk to Yekaterinburg

April 30, 1918

Having heard explanations from Comrades Yakovlev, Guzakov, Avdeyev and Zaslavsky, the regional soviet finds that Comrade Yakovlev's actions were caused by nervousness, suspicions and imagined conspiracies — all the product of his exaggerated fears and misunderstanding of the political mission entrusted to him. As for the accusations of Comrade Yakovlev in counterrevolution and betrayal of the revolution, the regional soviet positively rejects them.

Chairman of the Urals Regional Soviet A. Beloborodov

Acting Secretary P. Voikov

SARF. F. 601. Op. 2. D. 32. L. 118. Original.

No. 21

ARCEC Emergency Commissar V. V. Yakovlev's receipt of the transfer of his authority for moving Nicholas II and his family to the Urals Regional Soviet

Yekaterinburg April 30, 1918

I, commissar of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Deputies, have a special mission from both the Council of People's Commissars and the ARCEC to transport the

entire family of former Tsar Nicholas Romanov from Tobolsk to Yekaterinburg. Because of my departure to Moscow, I had no time to accomplish the whole task entrusted to me. I transferred only the tsar, the tsaritsa and their daughter Maria to Yekaterinburg. To successfully accomplish the objective entrusted to me, I transfer to the Urals Regional Soviet of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Deputies my authority to transport the former tsar's family to Yekaterinburg. Therefore, everyone I have left in Tobolsk must obey the regional soviet's orders as if they were given by me personally. The regional soviet's instructions will be signed by Comrade Beloborodov, chairman of the Regional Soviet. Here is his signature:

Chairman of the Regional Soviet A. Beloborodov

Emergency commissar of the Sovnarcom V. Yakovlev*

P. S. The paper left in the name of Kobylinsky is annulled by this document.

Emergency commissar of the Sovnarcom Yakovlev

SARF. F. 601. Op. 2. D. 32. L. 123-123 ob. Original.

* After the seal of the Urals Regional Soviet is a note by V. Yakovlev: «The seal above must be on the signatures of the documents cited above».

No. 22

Telegram from the Urals Regional Soviet Chairman A. G. Beloborodov to Sovnarcom Chairman V. I. Lenin and ARCEC Chairman Y. M. Sverdlov about Nicholas II's arrival in Yekaterinburg

Moscow April 30, 1918. 12. 55*

Military. Special Order

Today, on April 30, at 11 o'clock, Petrograd time, I took over, from Commissar Yakovlev, the former tsar Nicholas Romanov, the former tsaritsa Alexandra and their daughter Maria Nikolayevna. They are all housed in a mansion with a guard posted over it. Wire your requests, explanations to me.

Chairman of the Urals Regional Soviet Beloborodov

SARF. F. 601. Op. 2. D. 27. L. 6. Original.

* Date received.

No. 23

Telegraph note from ARCEC Chairman Y. M. Sverdlov to Urals Regional Soviet Chairman A. G. Beloborodov about the order of detention of Nicholas II

Yekaterinburg May 3, 1918. 23:50 *

I suggest you hold Nicholas in the strictest way. Yakovlev is in charge of moving the rest [of the family]. I suggest you send an estimate of all expenses including the cost of the guard. Give me details about new conditions of detention.

Chairman of the ARCEC Sverdlov

SARF. F. 601. Op. 2. D. 32. L. 136. Original.

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* Date received.

No. 24

Telegram from Ye. S. Kobylinsky* and P. M. Matveyev** to ARCEC Chairman Y. M. Sverdlov.

Moscow May 18, 1918. 3:51 a. m. ***

On May, 17 other members of Romanov's family were handed over to Plenipotentiary Khokhryakov. Our detachment has been replaced by the Urals people.

Kobylinsky, Matveyev

SARF. F. 601. Op. 2. D. 27. L. 7. Original.

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* Ye. S. Kobylinsky was the commandant of the Tobolsk governor's house.

** P. M. Matveyev was head of the detachment's committee for the tsar's family guard.

*** Date received.

No. 25

From the protocol of the meeting of the 1st and 2nd squads

May 3, 1919

...The report of Comrade Yakovlev.

«I will tell you, comrades», says the speaker, having mounted the platform, «how I brought Nicholas Romanov from Tobolsk to Yekaterinburg and became a traitor to the revolution».

The Central Executive Committee made a decision to bring Nicholas Romanov from Tobolsk, because his escape from there was possible. The Central Executive Committee chose Yekaterinburg as the place where Nicholas Romanov would stay.

Comrade Yakovlev was appointed to carry out this work. He went to Tobolsk with military groups and emergency powers of Commissar.

But before the CEC decided to bring Nicholas Romanov to Yekaterinburg, two organizations — the Yekaterinburg Regional Soviet and the Omsk Soviet — acted on their own initiative and tried to take Nicholas Romanov to a more secure place. That's why both organizations sent Red Army troops to Tobolsk at almost the same time. A special detachment of the most reliable, experienced soldiers guarded Nicholas Romanov. The special guard detachment had instructions from the CEC not to give Nicholas Romanov to anybody without its permission. The detachment was also told to be very careful and cool-headed if provoked by monarchist groups. When the Red Army detachments demanded to take Nicholas Romanov, the special guard detachment refused categorically. The atmosphere in the town was very tense. The Omsk and Yekaterinburg detachments claimed the right to the ex-Emperor and at the same time continued their pressure by every possible means. The special guard detachment assumed that they wanted to take Nicholas Romanov by force and was ready to resist them. On the other hand, Red Army detachments complained to the Government of People's Commissars that «guards» would not submit to the Soviet power. During the last weeks the discord almost grew to armed revolt. Information that Tobolsk had sent more detachments was received and the guards sent their delegation. The delegation threw some light on the situation in Tobolsk. Having arrived in the town, Yakovlev applied his powers over the detachments and demanded their complete obedience.

After getting acquainted with the situation in the town Yakovlev got the impression that the citizens of Yekaterinburg were out to kill Nicholas Romanov. His suspicions were confirmed by his talk with Zaslavsky, commander of the Yekaterinburg detachment. Knowing the purpose of Comrade Yakovlev's visit, he advised him to stay away from Nicholas Romanov, because there could be an accident along the way. The intentions of the citizens of Yekaterinburg conflicted with Comrade Yakovlev's duty. It was clear there would be a struggle. Comrade Yakovlev took every measure to win the guard's confidence. Consequently the

strength of the detachment increased. The CEC ordered Comrade Yakovlev to bring the whole family to Yekaterinburg. The son Alexei was so ill that he could only lie in his bed.

It was the season of bad roads, flooded rivers; it was impossible to carry out the CEC order exactly. That is why Comrade Yakovlev decided to take only Nicholas Romanov with him.

He ordered him to be ready to leave by a certain time. Nobody planned on the wife and the daughter accompanying Nicholas. When he was ready to depart, Alexandra Fyodorovna said in French, «I can't let him go alone. He might do something foolish». It left the impression that they still had hopes. We had to get to the nearest railway station with horses. A Yekaterinburg Red Army detachment was going ahead.

Beyond the Irtysh river Comrade Yakovlev was met by Guzakov who told about his meeting with Busyatsky and their discussion. Busyatsky was assistant commander of the Red Army detachment. He blabbed to Guzakov that they were going to kill Nicholas Romanov on the road. Comrade Yakovlev ordered Busyatsky to guard the procession from Tyumen to Iyevlevo and warned him that he would shoot the whole detachment if even one accidental shot was heard. In the village near the Tobolka river, where the detachment spent the night, a Red Army man from the Yekaterinburg detachment came to Yakovlev and told him about Busyatsky's plan to attack Yakovlev's detachment and kill them all along with Nicholas Romanov with machine-guns.

When the ex-tsar boarded the train in Omsk, Comrade Yakovlev went to a telegraph office and called Sverdlov. He told him everything. Sverdlov ordered him to go to Omsk. But Zaslavsky had disappeared from Omsk. He left a message to Comrade Yakovlev explaining the reason for his sudden departure: he had been ordered to go to Yekaterinburg immediately.

The departure of Zaslavsky proved he was going to ambush or encircle them on the way. Comrade Yakovlev called the military commissar Goloshchyokin and asked if he had called for Zaslavsky. Goloshchyokin answered that it was not necessary to call for Zaslavsky.

To deceive the Yekaterinburg plotters, Comrade Yakovlev passed Tyumen. At the nearest passing-track he stopped and went back to Omsk. As soon as it was known in Yekaterinburg that the train with Nicholas had turned

back, an express telegram was sent ordering the arrest of Commissar Yakovlev who was supposedly escaping with the ex-emperor. Commissar Yakovlev was proclaimed a traitor of the revolution. Having received the telegram from the regional soviet, the Omsk organizations arranged a meeting. They assembled about 2, 000 soldiers with machine-guns and artillery. But thanks to Comrade Yakovlev's precautions, a clash was prevented. In Omsk Comrade Yakovlev phoned Sverdlov and received an order to bring Nicholas Romanov to Yekaterinburg and give him to the regional soviet. Comrade Yakovlev happily arrived in Yekaterinburg to a ceremonial reception for the Omsk train and Nicholas Romanov. The plans of the Yekaterinburg plotters were completely exposed. They didn't dare commit their crime. They would give themselves away completely. Comrade Yakovlev handed over Nicholas Romanov in a ceremonial atmosphere and had Beloborodov, representative of the Regional Urals Soviet, receive the tsar.

After a report, including evidence, Comrade Nevolin, a soldier of 4th company of the Red Army organized by the Urals Regional Soviet, had a word.

A detachment of 119 men with machine-guns went to Tobolsk. Busaytsky, assistant to the detachment's leader, said that the purpose of the trip was to bring one person, dead or alive, to Yekaterinburg.

After meeting Yakovlev in Tobolsk, the detachment joined him to accompany him to Yekaterinburg. Busyatsky called for all members of his detachment and informed them of Yakovlev's intentions. In his own words, Commissar Yakovlev said he intended to bring Nicholas Romanov to Moscow and send him abroad from there. Busyatsky proposed to take Nicholas Romanov away from Yakovlev and to disarm his detachment.

That's why he proposed to give machine-guns to his Red Army men. But the Red Army men considered such an action unacceptable. Another plan was worked out: go forward, ambush and shoot all the people in the train. In case of an investigation, the Red Army men would say there had been a misunderstanding, they didn't know their leaders' names and they didn't know what political organization the detachment belonged to. The detachment didn't agree with that proposal, either. Comrade Nevolin strongly opposed the action which Busyatsky proposed. In a village on the Tobolka river the train stopped for the night. Comrade Nevolin was in the watch near the house where

Nicholas Romanov stayed. When the watch went around the house, Busyatsky told me to go to bed. I could tell he was afraid of me, because I could expose the plan to Yakovlev. It became clear that Busyatsky would try to get rid of an unpleasant and dangerous witness by any means. Comrade Nevolin decided to escape from Busyatsky's detachment. Fortunately, a soldier from Yakovlev arrived. He went with him to Yakovlev's camp and told Comrade Yakovlev about the plot. He explained the danger which threatened to him. From that moment Nevolin was in Yakovlev's detachment and came to Ufa.

After Yakovlev's and Nevolin's reports the audience expressed its approval of their actions and thanked them for their reports by long loud applause.

Chairman*

Secretary*

Certified true copy*

Central State Archives of Bashkortostan. F. 954. Op. 1. D. 22. L. 103-105. Copy.

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* The signatures are absent

No. 26

V. V. Yakovlev's letter to the fighters, members of the underground organization 1* from the Solovetsky camp

Kem June 26, 1931

Comrades,

In this letter I bring to your attention the question of my motives in conversion to the Constituent Assembly supporters. I intended to discuss it only after my prison term ended. But contrary to my expectations and despite three years in prison, my confinement begins to drag on.

The years pass, the old guard of fighters gradually die out. (Dyakonov is dead, Cheverev poisoned himself, Zentsov was killed by bandits). And for me, I do not rule out the possibility that the Solovki may be my last resort. I begin to fear that my «crime», for which I was changed from a loyal Communist to a convict, could remain a black mark on my revolutionary record.

Even if my tactical mistake (labeled as a «counterrevolutionary deed») can not be shed completely as have all the other charges leveled at me by frivolous fantasizers as «crimes», then it should receive a different interpretation — **specifically, red, not black**[2]*.

In China I found out from the Soviet press about attempts by certain Communist Party members (who considered me buried once and for all), to spread all sorts of tall tales and legends about my terrible «crimes».

They accused me of intending to take the former tsar out of Russia and working for Kolchak and Denikin. They tried even to smear my revolutionary past. This hastened my decision to return to the USSR and appear before the court of the party in whose ranks I fought and will fight all my life. It forced me to concentrate principal attention on refuting these accusations.

It was necessary to prove that in the case of the Romanovs' transfer from Tobolsk to Yekaterinburg I was right and acted according to the orders from the Centre. I had proved this with documents: with telegraph tapes of my discussions, Tobolsk — Tyumen, Omsk — Moscow, the Kremlin. Unfortunately my documents (about 50 pieces) were not published in the party organs; and so all my friends and personal enemies are in complete ignorance on this issue.

The second principal issue: I had to prove the purity of my performance at work as a party member in China during the last years. The task is extraordinarily tough because the work (in 1919-1924) was illegal, and it was not always possible to keep records. But, as they told me at the OGPU [Unated State Political Department]: this aspect of my revolutionary activity was investigated in detail and given only favourable evaluations.

So all these soap bubbles from idle scribblers about my so-called counterrevolutionary activities burst at once when I returned to the USSR from China and presented documented facts.

But still there is one more point: my conversion to the Constituent Assembly supporters. Until now this issue has not been clarified. I did not attach great importance to this conversion and did not expect such drastic punishment. I hoped that after my release, if I could not clear myself completely of these charges, at least I could explain the motives for this action through documents. I am going to talk about this documentary evidence now.

First of all, Pyotr Guzakov should remember, in 1918 when he was my assistant army commander, we had our doubts about the success of a massive offensive during our struggle with the White Guards. Before leaving Samara we did not rule out the possibility of a shift from massive battle fronts to guerrilla warfare nor the possibility of the White Guards occupying Urals territory. The more I thought about it, the more I was convinced of the

impending need to go underground. As a result of that conviction, I gave orders to send two wagons of various arms (mainly machine-guns) to the Simskii district and hide them there in the ravines in case of a switch to underground actions. We sent the arms and hid them near the Simskii plant. It was done by local residents whom one can always find and check out.

So you see, I raised the issue of extending the battle in the White Guard's rear long before my conversion to the Constituent Assembly supporters, and I raised it not only in theory but in practice, too.

The second serious moment was the meeting of party fighters that took place several days before my departure to the enemy's rear. Comrades Krivov, Nemvitsky, Cheverev, Aleksakin, Dyakonov, Gr[igory] Zentsov, Yermolayev and others — more than ten people overall — were present at that meeting. You remember, the meeting took place in the city's garden pavilion. There I declared that the time for guerrilla warfare had come to the Urals; that is, the moment had arrived to switch to underground activity. It was essential that we, the fighters, move to the rear, and I personally decided to do it and go to Ufa, the region I knew best. At that meeting there were no other volunteers besides me. I stood alone with my opinion. (Later you also came to this conclusion and many of you served in the enemy's rear.) However none of the people present objected to my doing it independently.

With the agreement of the Ufa Soviet I received from corresponding organizations 5. 000 rubles, a carriage, a horse, documents (I believe, in the name of Krylov), **and I passed through the front to Ufa.**

The third: my three-month illegal stay in Ufa. During that time, from the moment I arrived in Ufa and to the last day when I joined to the supporters of the Constituent Assembly, **I lived in hiding with the old party member Vasily Gorelov**. I waited for messages from Sarapul from comrades-fighters to whom I gave the secret meeting place (Vladimir Alekseyev's). I did reconnaissance in the Ufimskii region, riding around with Gorelov's father as a honey buyer. This point is very easy to check. All you have to do is to contact Vasily Gorelov and all members of his family.

So the facts listed above prove irrefutably that my chosen **path is as clear and pure as it was before the underground period in Ufa and during underground life as well. Nobody will succeed in distorting or soiling it, whatever his malicious intentions might be.**

[And I ask you to confirm these facts in writing since you were participants yourselves.

Now the last issue: my appeal to the Constituent Assembly supporters — my conversion, for which I am serving a severe sentence in the Solovetsky Camp.

In my appeal to Comrades Stalin and Menzhinsky and then at the OGPU interrogation I explained that this was a political mistake I committed under the influence of the painful emotional discord.

Yes, I admit it. It was a mistake but a strategic mistake][3]*.

Citizen Oparin, in one of the issues of the journal **Bygone Urals**, explains my conversion as if it was «my payment» against the threat of execution upon the sudden arrest by the Czechs. The mendacity of that insinuation is blown away by my underground life at Vasily Gorelov's. Nobody arrested me until my open conversion. I came to the Constituent Assembly supporters of my own free will.

Now the question arises: Why did I do that ? I start with a description of the only offence against the party in my many years of revolutionary activities and how it happened. I must first point out one psychological trait of a Urals fighter that has developed in him during prolonged struggle and that often made him much more independent than the party assumes.

We, the fighters, did not always coordinate our combat activity with the party. We first had to consider a certain plan very thoroughly and secretly, then to expropriate something or to carry out a terrorist act. Only after, if the action was successful, did we get party sanction. [We were used to acting independently, conforming to the objective at hand][4]*. Our distinctive struggle and activity developed in us an extraordinary initiative. That is why **we often defied this or that decree from the party organization, and only our success saved us from expulsion from the party**.

That is why when I left Sarapul for the enemy's rear I was still sure that as a combat veteran I had the same carte blanche that I had always enjoyed in my battle with enemies during the hard years of tsarism. As for my work, I myself hardly knew what form would it take in the underground. Yes, it was difficult to address this point in advance. I knew only that there were the arms in the Urals, that I would recruit fighters and guerrillas from Simskii workers, and

all the rest would be in our hands. I decided to work out a detailed plan on the spot upon arrival in Ufa. But when I arrived there I found out there about a disaster in Sim: A traitor had given away the arms dumps, Sim people were terrified[5]* and scattered, and the party members remaining in Ufa went so deep underground that to talk with them about any fighting activity was out of the question. I received no messages from comrades-fighters from Sarapul. Nevertheless I still hoped that they would arrive. [Several days before my arrest, Aleksakin came to Ufa. He refused to see me][6]*.

(And, only after my conversion and several days before my arrest, did Aleksakin come to Ufa and refuse to meet with me.)

When I came out of my hiding at night [for reconnaissance] I saw the Constituent Assembly supporters rolling up their [belongings] and their organizations and preparing for evacuation. The city was filled with soldiers fleeing from the fronts. The Red Army was approaching Ufa and with its every strike the entire rear of the enemy shuddered and went into a horrible panic.

For three months I observed the agony of the Constituent Assembly supporters. Inaction oppressed me. I had not a single comrade to talk things over with. But I considered it impossible to come back and retreat in such a situation when you feel that one internal jolt will be enough to make the whole structure of the Constituent Assembly collapse. And at that moment I conceived a strike at the enemy's rear, exploiting his own apparatus for this objective. Alekseyev's broad relationships among the Constituent Assembly people gave me a hope that the plan would be implemented.

Thus I began a dangerous game. At my first appearance they could simply hang me, pretending that they believed in my declaration. When I arrived in Ufa and asked Comrade Alekseyev what would happen if they found me out he replied without a moment's hesitation, «You will be hanged». So the danger was great but it affected only me and did not threaten anybody else. **I started alone and did not involve a person in that reckless affair.**

The only thing that made me stop and think seriously before I took that fatal step it was this question: What would you, the fighters, think about it and how would the party appraise this step. But I knew many cases from our fighting experience that «nobody judges a winner». I rushed to implement my plan.

And if I managed to implement just a part of my plan, then the work itself would justify my action. And of course, I would not now be sitting in the Solovetsky Camp. But that time circumstances were against me and I suffered a failure.

Soon the Constituent Assembly supporters broke up. Kolchak's people arrested me. At the interrogation they warned me that my trick with the declaration would not work. My plan collapsed. They took me to Kolchak in Omsk who would deal with me. Only through Koshek's help did I manage to escape to China where I immediately went to work for the party and there another clean page of my revolutionary activity starts.

So rendering there the greatest help possible in the enemy's rear, **I sacrificed myself** (but not the others) when I decided to take that fatal step. And those who know me and my revolutionary activities of many years can not claim that I — who have lived my entire life in the struggle with the tsarist government, always serving in a responsible party battle post — could ever go over to the enemy to defend him in the final days, during his last gasp, as the struggle against him has been the aim of my whole life.

Here are the motives that made me to join the supporters of the Constituent Assembly.

Your current party position and especially your service position have made many of you skeptical of old comrades who have fallen on hard times. And the skeptics can say quite reasonably, «Yes, so it goes. We know about your life, it passed before our eyes along with your revolutionary activity. But your motives are not convincing. We have no facts that would allow us to even think about it without unpleasant consequences for us, let alone[7]* attempt to reassess your conversion to the Constituent Assembly supporters.»

[I agree with them because it is also difficult for me to prove and justify my actions. It is impossible to hold human nature in your hands and examine it. But they do not conceive me otherwise, either. What information do they have to qualify my conversion as betrayal? I wrote an appeal? But I did it to strike a blow at the enemy's rear!][8]*

And for me it is tough to prove my actions as there are no positive results of my conversion. There is only fact itself of the conversion which, of course, these skeptics interpret as betrayal. But where is their information that qualifies my conversion as betrayal? I joined the supporters of the Constituent Assembly? I wrote an appeal? But I did it to demolish the enemy's rear!

I did not deny and I do not deny now that it was a tactical mistake.

In this disputable issue, for some reason, many people accept as self-evident that there is as much to be «for» as to be «against».

But all my previous activity, the unique character of the Urals warrior, risk of my life and finally all my spade-work speak in favour of the former.

If my motives are not now convincing enough for skeptics, then only future history can straighten out this «vicious circle». But let's not speak about issues which can not be proved by facts and which we can only believe (if we correctly interpret my preceding actions). But where there's pure faith and intuition, there are also doubts. So let us leave this issue if skeptics **must have their doubts**.

Let us proceed to the facts and see what they can tell us.

Here they are summarized in brief form:

1. My underground revolutionary work for many years **exclusively for the Bolsheviks**.

2. My active participation in the October coup and in the **dispersion of the Constituent Assembly supporters at the culmination of their popularity**.

3. The stocking of weapons in preparation of battle in the enemy's rear.

4. The Sarapul meeting of the party fighters.

5. My life at the underground in Ufa before conversion to the Constituent Assembly.

6. The conversion to the supporters of the Constituent Assembly at the **moment of their collapse**.

7. My arrest after writing of the appeal.

8. My subsequent work in China.

With these facts in hand, you can follow my entire route from Sarapul to the doors of the Constituent Assembly, and you will see whether or not my mistake can be painted in dark colours.

So you can think whatever you want about my switch to the Constituent Assembly supporters. But consider seriously my life history, which you know since my childhood, and have the courage to bind the ends of my biography cut by my conversion (the last moment before the conversion and then the new period of my party work in China). Then you will see that Yakovlev had taken on too much; in his switch to the Constituent Assembly supporters he acted without sanctions from the fighters and the party. That is why I failed, but my behaviour was never guided by betrayal.

Concluding this letter, I repeat once again my request to confirm in writing the facts I have presented. They are very important to me and they put my behaviour in a much different light from that of my enemies.[9*]

V. V. Yakovlev's family archive. Copy.

[1*] The letter was addressed to: Vasily Aleksakin, Vladimir Alekseyev, Pyotr Guzakov, Andrey Yermolaev, Vasily Gorelov, Timofei Krivov, [Danil Sulimov — crossed out in the document], Stepan Tumanov, [Ryndin — crossed out in the document].

[2*] Here and elsewhere words underlined in the text are italicized.

[3*] Crossed out in the document.

[4*] Crossed out in the document.

[5*] So stated in the document.

[6*] Crossed out in the document.

[7*] «In favour of reconsideration» — is crossed out later.

[8*] Crossed out in the document.

[9*] «Yakovlev (Stoyanovich-Myachin)» — is crossed out later.

No. 27

Appeal to Comrade Menzhinsky, Chairman of the OGPU of the USSR, and Comrade Akulov, Deputy Chairman of the OGPU from the prisoner of the Solovetsky Camp K. A. Stoyanovich

Kem November 1, 1932

I am a worker, the son of a peasant. I have earned my leaving since childhood. Since 1904 I have been a member of the party. Until 1910 I worked in the Urals, organizing fighting squads of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Bolsheviks) (RSDWP(B)). I participated in at least twenty guerrilla raids. During many years I lived outside the law. Many times

I was in skirmishes with gendarmes. In 1910 I took part in organizing the Bolonskaya School. Outside the country I also worked for the party and unions. In 1917 I came back to Russia and took an active part in the October coup (as commissar of telegraph and telephone stations, deputy chairman of the All-Russian Cheka, etc.). Friction between me and the Urals people started after moving the Romanovs from Tobolsk to Yekaterinburg. Later I made the mistake of writing an appeal and going over to the Constituent Assembly supporters. But very soon I realized my mistake and in several months I was in China, already working again for the party. During the next 10 years I strictly adhered to the old Bolshevik path. In 1928 I came back to the USSR of my own free will, first to defend myself from slander but mainly to continue my work as before. But I was quickly arrested. I kept writing to Comrade Menzhinsky, who knows me for my party work and asked him to employ me in OGPU work. Now, after almost four years of confinement, I repeat as I did in the time of my return and arrest: I want to work, not to sit with my hands tied while titanic work is going on in the USSR.

It was necessary to test me. My 10 years in China demanded that I prove my personal integrity on the one hand and my politics on the other. These concerns must be sufficiently clear to you by now.

Although I lived several years with counter-revolutionaries, my political credo did not change. You certainly have had the opportunity to satisfy yourselves that it stayed the same as it was earlier when I was working for the party.

Why then are you still keeping me in the camp and not giving me a chance to once again play an active role in the construction of socialism ? Is it possible that my long confinement is dictated by an urgent need for the sake of the revolution? Then it would-be better to do away with me if you consider me dangerous. Only do not make a walking corpse of me. Can it be that my 25 years of revolutionary activity, my worker and peasant origin, a mistake that occurred almost 15 years ago, my work in China for ten years, the amnesty of 1927 and my return to the USSR of my own free will do not give me the right to mitigate my fate?

I have always been and remain a Bolshevik. I still want to commit myself completely to the glorious battle. I beg you to give me the chance. The attached autobiography will tell you how you can make use of me.

Yakovlev (Stoyanovich-Myachin)

V V Yakovlev's family archives. Copy.

No. 28

Appeal to Comrade Stalin, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), and Comrade Yezhov, People's Commissar of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD), from K. A. Stoyanovich

June 27, 1937

The former convict K. A. Stoyanovich (Yakovlev — Myachin) is writing. I was born in 1886 into a peasant family. When I was several months old I lost my father. In 1893 the family moved to Ufa. When I was 11 I started working as a stock boy in a store. Since 1905 I have participated in the revolutionary work. I was an active participant of the Ufa-Urals fighting organization and all its missions. Since 1907 I have lived outside the law. I was outside the country from 1907 to 1917 (Bolonskaya School; Belgium; Return via Germany).

I played a most active part in the October coup in Petrograd; later, in the Urals. I moved the tsar from Tobolsk to Sverdlovsk (as commissar of the move). In 1918 there was the retreat from Ufa to the Czechoslovak front and my underground return through the front, back to Ufa for my work in the rear.

This is not the right place and moment, in a letter, to discuss the true motives of my further step, but I offer the bare fact of my offence after the return to Ufa; that is, in Ufa I applied to the Constituent Assembly Committee with a letter of repentance and legalization. I did not work with the Constituent Assembly supporters. In two months, during the rout of the Constituent Assembly supporters, I was arrested by Kolchak's people and brought to Siberia. Then I escaped to China. There I lived until 1927. I did the same revolutionary work under the conditions in China as I had under tsarism. For my offence I suffered in China eight years of moral ostracism. When I returned to Moscow in 1927 I was sentenced to 10 years. Because of my exemplary labour record on the White Sea-Baltic Canal I was discharged ahead of time in 1933 with complete restoration of my civil rights. (The resolution of January 4, 1933.) For my mistake I bore a penalty of 13 years. This is my autobiography up to my discharge from the camp. Comrade Andreyeva*, who handled my affairs, knows all about it in detail. I stayed on to work in the NKVD camps system (Siblag — head of the Osinovskii Camp [...]** and the head of the Tomsk Distribute Centre). I was considered quite a good worker. Several times I received awards. My former superiors — Comrade Chudinov and Captain Podolsky can confirm this. However in 1936 persecution started which is incomprehensible to me. In September 1936,

during my holiday, I was fired, then hired again. Then in March 1937 I was fired for good without any explanation [...]** Now I have such a bad name that for three month I have not been able to get a job. Wherever I applied they hired me at once. But the day after they received the NKVD reference, they turned me down and would not talk to me anymore. If this is only self-preservation on the part of government department heads, then they have obviously forgotten the directives of the state and the party.

But if there is some other criminal charge against me at the NKVD (It is impossible to imagine that I could pay the penalty twice for the same crime.), then arrest me immediately and bring legal action again.

I believe that 13 years in prison, along with the internal wound that will never heal — recognition of my mistake in Ufa in 1918 — is more than enough to consider me reformed not only on paper but also in reality.

And if I was guilty when they tried me earlier, when I was convicted in court, then in my statement to the OGPU I declared to the party and the government that my punishment was fair.

I never was a double-dealer. During my entire imprisonment and further work, I honestly tried to make amends to you for my misdeed. I categorically declare that I am not guilty of anything for which I can be punished so severely as I am punished now. I ask you to give the urgent order to investigate my case and give me the opportunity to live and work. If I do not get from you the defense that I am hoping for, then everywhere and always I will be the object of endless persecution, hounding and banishment from the work place.

I ask you to defend me!

V. V. Yakovlev's family archives. Copy.

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* Head of the secret NKVD department. (Author's remark).

** Illegible in the document.

PART III

SHOOTING IN YEKATERINBURG

No. 29

From Protocol No. 107 of the Meeting of the Council of People's Commissars on keeping the tsar's family in Yekaterinburg

May 2, 1918

Chairman: V. I. Ulyanov (Lenin)

Present: Lenin, Shlyapnikov, Larin, Vinogradov, Vinokurov, Sereda, Rozin, Petrovsky, Latsis, Kozmin, Nevsky, Khodorovsky, Kritsman, Chicherin, Gukovsky, Sholomovich, Nogin, Smirnov, Pravdin, Rykov, Karakhan, Podbelsky.

Heard: 4. Unscheduled report by Sverdlov.

Resolved: To publish the following information of Sverdlov:

In November, as in December of last year, the question of the former tsar was brought up at the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee. The question was deferred because of a whole series of events. A month ago, a delegate of the former tsar's guard appeared at the ARCEC Presidium and reported that all was not right with the guard; part of the guard had run away, neighbouring peasants had been bribed. According to all information emanating from Tobolsk, there was no assurance that Nicholas Romanov would not get the opportunity to disappear from Tobolsk. Different messages have been received that preparatory steps in this direction had been undertaken by vario-

us monarchist groups. Acting on this information, the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets issued the order to transfer the former tsar Nicholas Romanov to a more secure place. This order has been carried out. Nicholas Romanov and his wife and one of their daughters are in Yekaterinburg, Perm Province. Supervision over them is entrusted to the Regional Sovdep of the Urals. *

SARF. F. 130. Op. 23. D. 13. L. 58-59. Copy.

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* Signatures are missing.

No. 30

From instructions to the detachment at the House of Special Purpose for safe guarding the royal family

Not earlier than May 1918*

Duties of the guard commander**

The guard commander is responsible for carrying out exactly the duties of the guard.

Guard commander posts sentries; reinforces them by order of the commandant; ensures that the guards do not to sleep at their posts nor speak with any of the prisoners, at their post or during rest time; removes sick persons from the lodging under guard.

Regime

The commandant bears in mind that Nicholas Romanov and his family are soviet prisoners and that the correct procedures are to be established where they are being held.

The people subject to these procedures are: a) the former tsar himself and his family; and b) those who will express their desire to share his situation.

Note: People covered by Point b, will be placed under guard by the regional soviet's decision.

From the moment of transfer persons mentioned in the p.... *** come under authority of the regional soviet all their personal freedoms are suspended. Independent dealings between the Romanovs and outsiders are also suspended.

Treatment of prisoners

The commandant definitely must be polite to the prisoners.

Conversations with the prisoners are limited to the following: 1) any possible oral statements from them; 2) announcements and orders from the regional soviet; 3) explanations to questions they ask about the procedures; 4) provisions, dishes and necessary articles; 5) medical concerns.

Any discussion of general political issues with any of the prisoners is not permitted.

The commandant must see that the guards never make any remarks to the prisoners in their presence.

The prisoners have no right to talk with the guards. If they make any such attempts, the guard must reply that talking is prohibited. For their part, the guards have no right to start conversations with the prisoners.

Admission of outsiders to see the prisoners

As a rule, all the meetings between outsiders and the prisoners are not permitted. However, if a meeting is allowed, permission must be in writing with signatures of the regional soviet presidium and should be confirmed by telephone or face-to-face.

If a meeting is allowed, the person involved and the duration of the meeting should be indicated in the permit. The commandant must be present at the meeting and see that the visitors do not give forbidden items to the prisoners. If any attempt is made to pass on such materials, the commandant must stop the meeting. At the meetings only language the commandant understands may be used. Upon any attempt to speak another language, the commandant must stop the meeting.

Instruction for the commandant of House of Special Purpose, serving as the place of imprisonment for former tsar Nicholas Romanov and his family

Main Principles

The commandant must remember that in holding Nicholas Romanov in custody, two main objectives must be pursued.

A. Reception and Commandant's Duties

1) The commandant is responsible to the regional soviet for safekeeping Nicholas Romanov and his family. If the former tsar or any person with him under guard escapes or is abducted, the commandant will be held fully responsible.

2) The guards in the house, must carry out without question all the commandant's orders, consistent with the established special regime. The commandant's orders to the guards come from the guard commander orally or in writing at his discretion.

3) The regional soviet is responsible to the Council of the People's Commissars for holding the tsar in custody. Supervision of the tsar's detention is mandated by the regional soviet and conducted by the chairman. Therefore, the commandant carries out only those orders that come from the chairman. The commandant must know the chairman of the regional soviet by sight; as for orders transmitted in writing, he must recognize the signatures of the chairman and members of the Presidium; and he must have an imprint of the regional soviet's special stamp for verification.

Walks

The Regional Soviet allows daily walks for a certain period. All prisoners must come out for walks together. Before the prisoners' come out, the commandant must reinforce the sentry with guards at all the corners of the walking yard and on the balcony.

The commandant must vary times for walks as much as possible within the limits of 12 noon and 4 p. m.

Correspondence

All prisoners' correspondence must be monitored by a person specially authorized by the Regional Soviet Presidium.

The prisoners give letters and telegrams they want to send to the commandant who must send them on to the person charged with examining correspondence.

Letters and telegrams addressed to the persons mentioned in point *** and received by the commandant directly, must be sent to the person responsible for examining correspondence.

The commandant must see that the prisoners can not evade these rules by giving letters to the guards at the House of Special Purpose to send outside.

The commandant must warn the prisoners that if such attempts are discovered and proved, they will be deprived of the right of correspondence.

Only Russian, French or German may be used in letters****

Central Archives of the Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service. Collection of documents on the Romanov case. Autograph.

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* Dated according to the content of the document.

** Words underlined in the document are italicized here and further.

*** So stated in the document.

**** The author is not determined.

No. 31

From the Book for registration of duties of members of the detachment of Special Guard charged with guarding Nicholas II

May 13-July 11, 1918

Duty. Commandant Sidorov.

May 13. 5 p. m.

I assumed duty in presence of regional soviet member Avdeyev, and Guard Commander Glamer. It took place during a walk by the following persons: Nicholas Romanov, Alexandra Romanova, Maria Romanova, Dr. Botkin. The others (Chemodurov, Sednev and Demidova) were in the house.

May 15

There were no incidents during my duty. But after changing the guard, 12 knives hidden in the yard were found. The people mentioned above, under my watch, were handed over. The windows were painted over.

Commandant of the House of Special Purpose *

Received by the commandant in the presence of Comrade Avdeyev*

May 17

During my duty from May 15 to May 17 there were no incidents or special reports.

Duty turned over to Comrade Avdeyev. *

May 20

Nicholas Romanov, the former tsar, requested work to do: to clean trash out of the garden, saw or chop firewood.

May 21

Maria Nikolayevna asked to send a telegram, her own, to Tobolsk and one from Chemodurov to Avdeyev. Personal request of Nicholas Romanov: to make hammocks for the children in the garden.

May 22

Romanov's family arrived at the House of Special Purpose. It consists of four (4) persons: Olga Nikolayevna, Maria Nikolayevna, Anastasia Nikolayevna, Alexei Nikolayevich and cook Ivan Mikhailovich Kharitonov, the boy Leonid Ivanovich Sednev with them...

May 25

Six walked around a lot at night and looked things over and listened.

May 28

Turned over 12 persons found in the House of Special Purpose*
Received*

May 29

Former tsar Nicholas Romanov's wash was sent to the laundry [....] ** receipt No. 956.

May 31

On behalf of the former tsar Nicholas Romanov's family, citizen Botkin asked to invite a priest for weekly services.

May 24 ***

Klementy Grigoryevich Nagorny, 32 years old, attending to former tsar Nicholas Romanov and serving Alexei Nikolayevich in the House of Special Purpose, has four hundred and eighty nine (489) rubles with him.

May 24 ***

Alexei Yegorovich Trupp, a lackey, 61 [years old], who came to the House of Special Purpose from Tobolsk with the former tsar's family, has 104 rubles with him.

310 rubles (three hundred and ten) were found in a search.

June 1

Personal request from citizen Botkin to find his suitcase that was sent from Tobolsk.

About 13 p. m. I received a statement from cook Kharitonov that there was something on top of the wardrobe in the room where Citizens Sednev and Nagorny had stayed previously. When I got there, it turned out that eight armed bombs were on top of the wardrobe Kharitonov had mentioned. Five of them were numbered 35, 73, 92 and were bottle-shaped. Another two had no numbers. Two bombs were round. One bomb, No. 11, was egg-shaped. The bombs were disarmed in the guard room. From further interrogation of citizens Kharitonov and Trupp the following was discovered: Because a new brick stove was being built in the room, where Kharitonov and Trupp were staying, they had access to the neighbouring unoccupied room. Kharitonov, wishing to clean up the dust in the room, found the bombs on top of the wardrobe and reported them to the guard room. I informed Comrade Avdeyev, commandant of the House of Special Purpose about it and he, in turn, informed Comrade Beloborodov, chairman of the regional soviet.

June 3

At Post No. 9 the guard Dobrynin fired shot accidentally while setting the bolt in the safety position. The bullet went into the ceiling and stuck there without causing any harm.

Permission from the regional soviet to invite priest Ivan with a deacon from Yekaterinburg's cathedral to serve Mass to the former tsar Nicholas Romanov.

June 4

Because Alexei Romanov's health was back to his normal condition, Dr. Derevenko was not admitted.

June 5

For the first time Alexei Romanov was carried out for a walk. It lasted one hour. During Dr. Derevenko's regular examination of Alexei Romanov in presence of Commandant Avdeyev, Nicholas Romanov's wife spoke German with her daughters despite the ban on foreign languages during Doctor Derevenko's visits. After that, Commandant Avdeyev gave a second warning.

June 6

Dr. Derevenko was not admitted. Alexei was carried out for a walk.

June 7

Dr. Derevenko was not admitted. Alexei was carried out for a walk.

According to Dr. Botkin's statement Nicholas Romanov was ill from varicose veins and stayed in bed since morning. They fed him in bed.

June 8

Dr. Derevenko was not admitted. None of the Romanovs came out for a walk.

June 9

Alexei was carried out for a walk. Derevenko was not admitted. Nicholas Romanov enjoyed his usual walk again. About midnight at Machine-gun Post No. 1 a bomb went off because of a guard's carelessness. There were no victims and damages.

June 10

The Romanovs' usual walk. Nicholas Romanov requested to open the windows to ventilate the apartment; it was refused.

June 11

The wash was brought from the laundry [...], per Receipt No. 956 and returned to the Romanovs. There was the usual walk. The internal guard was reinforced; 13 persons were added.

June 12

The Romanovs' usual walk. Dr. Derevenko was admitted. He revealed that rumours are afloat in the town that Alexei Romanov had been killed and buried last night. This statement was made before being received by the commandant.

June 13

The Romanovs' usual walk was canceled. Dr. Derevenko was not admitted.

June 14

There was the Romanovs' usual walk. Tatyana and Maria asked for photo equipment to finish making photographic plates, but, of course, the commandant refused. The guard commander reported that somebody had stolen his Nagan revolver on record at the House of Special Purpose and it was not found. The guard of Post No. 6 stopped two gymnazia pupils, the Telezhnikov brothers, who were taking photographs of the House of Special Purpose. After a search and interrogation they were sent to the Extraordinary Investigation Commission.

June 15

The usual walk for everybody, except Alexei and Alexandra Fyodorovna. Derevenko was not allowed into the house. Standing behind the fence he said, that he could send milk and eggs, if it was permitted. Since the guard is also in need of food, he was permitted to send it. Botkin asked for permission to write a letter to the chairman of the regional soviet on several questions, namely: to prolong the time of the walk to two hours, to open the windows shutters, to take out the winter frames and to open the entry from the kitchen to the bathroom, where Post No. 2 stands. He was permitted to write the letter and it was delivered to the regional soviet.

June 16

In the morning Botkin asked to see the priest, but since the priest that he had brought was busy, the request was declined. The usual walk. Derevenko was not admitted. He sent milk and eggs.

June 23

Former priests Anatoly Mevedin and Vasily Buymerov served Mass and Vespers for one hour and 15 minutes.

At 2. 30 a. m. at Post No. 3 there was a shot while guard Potkorytov was loading his rifle.

July 4

With Commandant Avdeyev at the head, the internal guard was changed. Comrade Yurovsky took over the duties of the commandant. Dr. Botkin came with a request to permit a priest to come to serve Mass on Sunday. He was told the request would be delivered to the regional soviet.

July 5

Nothing substantial happened all day.

July 6

The Colt machine-gun in the tower was replaced with a Maxim. The guard at Post No. 9 found a silver article, a «coffee pot» with an eagle on the front in the garden under a fire engine. Everything else is in order.

July 7

During the whole day of July 7 nothing happened.

July 8

No change.

July 9

During the whole day of July 9 nothing special happened except one thing: the guard at Post No. 5 stopped a fellow who replied rudely to the guard's order to move on. He was sent to the Extraordinary Commission.

July 10

All day nothing substantial happened.

July 11

Dr. Botkin asked to invite a priest to serve Mass, and he got a promise to do so. The rest is as usual.

July 12

Doctor Botkin asked to invite Dr. Derevenko and brought prescriptions with a request to buy medicine that had been delivered to him. A promise to invite Dr. Derevenko was also made.

SARF, F. 601, Op. 2. D. 24. L. 1-8 ob. Original.

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* The signature is illegible.

** Illegible in the document.

*** So stated in the document.

No. 32
From the diary of Alexandra Fyodorovna*

Yekaterinburg, Ipatyev house — May-July, 1918

May, 1**

Wednesday.... Remained in bed because of the enlarged heart, tired and headache. The others had soup and eggs brought. I had some good bread. Maria read me *Dukhovnoye Chteniye [Spiritual Reading]*...

May, 2

Thursday.... N***. read the Gospels for the day to us. Soldiers drank up all the water out of the samovar. Brought water for tea. Heart less enlarged. Wrote postcards. Maria did my hair. Remained in my bed in teagown.... Supper. We all 7 sat together. N. and Ye. S. [Botkin] took turns reading 12 Gospels. Wrote to the children...

May, 3

Friday.... N. read the Gospel and Job to us. Dressed at 1/2 and remained on my bed in teagown. At last brought their luncheon. Tea. Others walked for 1/2 hours. N. read to us *Velikoye v malom [The great in small]* and then the Gospels in the evening. Brought supper. Sednev prepared me vermicelli. Wrote to the children...

May, 4

Saturday.... Wrote to the children 8th time. N. read to us the Gospels and book. Brought their luncheon. N. had a bath. Sednev cooked vermicelli again for me. Had a bath. Nyuta too. Lay down again. Wrote to the children. The others went out for 20 min.... Priest and Diakon came and served matins — soldiers of the guard came too...

May, 5

Sunday.... Sednev prepared us luncheon. Warmed up yesterday's food, I was up too and then lay down again. Wrote to the children. The others walked a little.... N. read the evening Gospel to us. Supper. I had it with them...

May, 6

Monday.... Wrote to the Children. Lunched with the others like yesterday...

May, 7

Tuesday.... Wrote to the Children. N. read Gospel to us...

May, 8

Wednesday.... Snowed a little, wrote to the Children...

May, 9

Thursday. Wrote 14th time to children. Sun and clouds. Continue sleeping badly and having headache.... Every morning we have to get out of bed for the guard commander and commandant; who come to us if we are there. Sed[nev] prepared us vermicelli. At last brought the others their food. Maria and Nyuta washed my hair. Slightly snowing and then sun appeared...

May, 10

Friday. Told to get up as Com[mandant] wished to see us before changing the guard for 1/4 of an hour to look at the rooms. Yesterday they changed 3 times.... Again people came to ask how much money we

all have... and all have to write down the value and give it up to the Soviet to take care of... Played cards in Ye. S. 's room and talked with the guard head.

May, 11

Saturday. Bright sunshine, slept better. N. read the Gospel and lesson to us. Wrote 16th time to the Children...

May, 12

Sunday. Sunny and windy and clouds. Wrote postcard to the children No. 17. Only got tea. Headache continues... again and sleep very little.

May, 13

Monday.... N. read to us and we as usual played cards...

May, 14

Tuesday. Beautiful warm morning. Wrote 19th time to the children p. c.... Only let us now be out 1/2 an hour twice daily. N. read to us, played cards with M[aria]. Tea. N. read again. Supper. Cards. The guard changed after a week.

May, 15

Wednesday.... They were told not to go out this morning. An old man painted all the windows white outside, so only at the top can we see a bit of sky and it looks as there were a thick fog, not at all cozy. Lunched. Sed[nev] feels unwell. N. read to us. Were let into the garden for an hour. N. read again, we played patiences. Tea. Supper. Cards...

May, 16

Thursday.... Supper. 3 candles in glasses. Cards by light of one candle. Received coffee and chocolate from Ella. She has been sent out from Moscow and is at Perm (we read in the papers).

May, 17

Friday. Great heat, cup of coffee.... Three weeks today we left Tobolsk... wrote 22 time to the children and to Ella and Zinochka (did not send it)... Heard the children are already travelling. Tea. N. read to us. Supper by candle light again. Cards.

May, 18

Saturday... See the garden, grey, cold. Tea. I had my supper. Cards. Had a bath...

May, 19

Sunday.... Job the Long-Suffering.... Supper Could not find out whether the children left or not — got no letters from anybody. Cards.

May, 20

Monday. For the first time lunch was brought punctually. Guards and guards head changed after a week. Sat out over an hour. Tea.... The others had their supper. Played cards, nearly all the time by candle light as electricity... room was not turn. The Com[mandant] scratched off the paint covering the thermometer, so now can see again the degrees. A week no news from the children.

May, 21

Tuesday.... Heard children come probably tomorrow or Thursday....

May, 22

Wednesday.... Set out for an hour. Tea. N. read to us. No news of the children. Supper. Cards.

May, 24

Wednesday. Baby**** and I had our meals in our bedroom. His pains varied. Launched at 2. Vlad[imir] Nik[olayevich]***** came to see Baby and change his compress but in Avdeyev's presence so he could not say a word. Chemodurov left not feeling well...

May, 25

Saturday.... Vl[adimir] Nik[olayevich] came with Avd[eyev] and Com[mandant] 4 people of the committee looked in later. They look brought two children's trunks, only necessary trunk are brought up...

May, 26

Sunday. Everything covered by snow, bright. Baby had again a bad night, but spent a better day. Several times had the blue light, eat a little more. He lays in our room all day. Lunch was brought again late. Others went out a little... The Com[mandant] and... have been looking through all the children's things again. The swelling is a little less. No news of our people.

May, 27

Monday. Bright sunshine. Baby again had not good night, Ye. S. [Botkin] sat up part of the night so as to let Nagorny sleep. Lunch brought. Baby spent the night in my room. Vl[adimir] Nik[olayevich] did not come, don't know why.... At 6 1/2 Sed[nev] and Nagor[ny] were taken off to the

Reg[ional] Com[mittee] don't know the reason. The rest played cards with Baby. On the whole better, although at times very strong pains. Yevg[eny] Serg[eyevich] spent night with Baby.

May, 28

Tuesday.... They got their lunch only at 2. 25. They went out for an hour. Vl[adimir] Nik[olayevich] came at last, can't speak to him as Avd[eyev] always present. I asked when at last Nag[orny] will be let in again as I don't know how we shall get on without him. Avd[eyev] answers he does not know. We fear that will not see him or Sedn[ev] again. Baby suffered very much for a while... After supper Baby was carried in his bed to his room again. Pains stronger. We were in bed by 11.

May, 29

Wednesday.... Baby and I lunched in his room and then he came to our room, slept a little before Vl[adimir] Nik[olayevich] came (and a new commandant)...

May, 30

Thursday... No news of anybody. Played a little bezique with N. before going to bed.

May, 31

Friday.... Baby's night the same 36. 9 1/2. I remained in bed as feeling very giddy and eyes ache too.... Slight rain, others went out. Hammering hard, making wooden paling before Baby's window higher. V[ladimir] N[ikolayevich] did not let in as Avd[eyev] was not then. The others went out. Remained whole day with eyes shut, got worse.... Baby [temperature] 37. 6. After supper Baby was carried to his room with cramps in his knee again.

June, 1

Saturday. Night better. Early morning, sun. Came over to me before luncheon. I spent the day in bed, feeling week and nasty in the head. Baby [temperature] 37. 6, slept a little in the day. The others went out. Grey weather. Vl[adimir] Nik[olayevich] and Avd[eyev] came. After supper Baby was carried to his room. His head ached a little but he went quickly to sleep. The children washed handkerchiefs again.

June, 2

Sunday.... Mass. A new Priest...

June, 3

Monday. Baby had a good night [Temperature] 36. 5, was brought to our room before 11. Lunch came only at 2. The others walked... Very warm wind... Vl[adimir] Nik[olayevich] was not let in as Avd[eyev] was not there.... I went to bed at 10. Rained hard in the night.

June, 4

Tuesday. Baby slept well, but less so than the night before. Fine, bright morning. Baby spent the day in my room — appetite still not good. The others went out in the afternoon. Vl[adimir] Nik[olayevich] and Avd[eyev] came at 7. Knee much less swollen (3 cm.), he may be carried out tomorrow. I had a bath at 10. [Lenin] gave the order that the clocks have to be put 2 hours ahead (economy of electricity)... At 10 strong thunderstorm. The Committee has not given the permission for Alexei... as he is ill to be out as long as he likes, but we all get only an hour as before!!

June, 5

Got up at 6 1/2, not 8 1/2 Glorious morning. Baby did not sleep well, leg ached, Yevg[eny] Serg[eyevich] carried him out before the house and put him in my wheelchair and Tat[yana] and I sat out with him in the sun before the entry.... Back he went to bed as leg ached much of dressing and carrying about. Lunch only brought at 3 o'clock... putting yet higher planks before all our windows so that not more than the tops of the trees can be seen — then one will have the double windows taken out and at last we can open the windows. The others went out. Vl[adimir] Nik[olayevich] and Avd[eyev] came, made him again a plaster of Paris knee more swollen and hurts so again... Baby only went to his room at 10(8), too light to sleep. Played bezique. To bed at 11(9).

June, 6

Thursday.... M[aria] carried Baby out and put him on my long wicken chair for half an hour. O[lga] and I sat with him and after N. and the others 3 went out into the garden. Very hot, awfully stuffy in rooms. Vl[adimir] Nik[olayevich] did not come. Supper at 8 1/2 and then Baby was carried back to his room....

June, 7

Friday. Beautiful weather. N. remains the day in bed, slept badly two nights because of pains.... Lunch brought at 2 1/4. N. and Al. had theirs in bed in our room, tea and supper too. In the afternoon they slept a little. N.

[temperature] 37. 3. Al[exei] [temperature] 36. 7. Vl[adimir] Nik[olayevich] again did not come. N. felt much better in the evening, sat up a little. -N. [temperature] 34 1/2. N. began taking iodine 5 ml. Tatyana began reading aloud to Alexei *Crusaders* by Senkevich.

June, 8

Saturday. Grey morning but warm. N. slept very well, without awaking. 36. 6. Baby slept nicely. Baby was brought to us at 1. Lunch. N. sat up till 2 and then lay down again [temperature] 37. 2, Al[exei] [temperature] 36. 1. Vl[adimir] Nik[olayevich] again did not come, they say as that there were scarlet f. in his home and that he can't come before Thursday. Played cards with Baby. Tatyana read aloud to him. N. sat up to supper near Baby's bed.... Great... going on around us today since 3 days don't give us any papers to read; and made much noise in the night.

June, 9

Sunday. Glorious weather. N. [temperature] 36. 1. N. dressed and got up. Baby slept well...

June, 10

Monday.... Played cards with Baby, Tatyana read to us....

June, 11

Tuesday. Strong wind all night... Tatyana read to Baby and me. Rained a little...

June, 12

Wednesday... Vl[adimir] Nik[olayevich] came with Avd[eyev] but did not touch Baby as he is afraid before his quarantine is over...

June, 13

Thursday.... They told us no Priest could come on such a big holiday!! ... Avd[eyev] came and said to pack up as might have to leave any moment. Spent rest of day and whole evening packing. At midnight Avd[eyev] again came and said we should not leave before several days. Promised us Sednev and Nagorny for Sunday and Vl[adimir] Nik[olayevich] for the journey. Said the rest of ours and Valya had left 3 days ago for Tobolsk.

June, 14

Friday.... Vl[adimir] Nik[olayevich] and Avd[eyev] came. Supper and then Baby was taken back to his room. Now they say we shall remain, here, that they succeeded in catching the leader of the anarchists...

June, 15

Saturday.... Beautiful morning... Went out with Baby, T[atyana] and M[aria]. Tatyana read to us...

June, 16

Sunday. Fine morning. Again no service. Sat out with Baby, O[lga] and T[atyana]. Tatyana read to us. Lunched...

June, 17

Monday. Lovely weather.... Luncheon, prepared by Kharitonov — he has to cook our food now. Worked, very hot, stuffy as no windows open and smells strong of kitchen everywhere. Baby in my wheel chair going round the rooms. Man came with Avd[eyev] to see about the windows. Vl[adimir] Nik[olayevich] and Avd[eyev] came. Supper. Watched Kharitonov prepare for making bread...

June, 18

Tuesday. Beautiful weather. The children continued rolling and making the bread and now it is baking.... Lunched, excellent bread. Wheeled Baby into the garden and we all sat there for an hour — very hot, lilac bushes and small honey suckle, quite pretty... but as untidy as ever... Short thunderstorm, but very stuffy in rooms. Kind news send now milk and eggs for Alexei...

June, 19

Wednesday... Beautiful morning... Worked. T[atyana] read to me *Dukhovnoye Chteniye*. Baby was brought to our room. The Children help every day in the kitchen...

June, 20

Thursday.... Luncheon. Kharitonov made a macaroni tart for the others (and me) as no meat was brought. I cut N. 's hair. We all went out for an hour into the garden. Vl[adimir] Nik[olayevich] came. Tea. Played cards, worked. Tatyana read to me *Dukhovnoye Chteniye*. I had a sitting bath as could only bring the water for our kitchen. 4 weeks the children came....

June, 21

Friday. Glorious weather. Dressed earlier as 6 women came to wash the floors in all our rooms. After that Baby came over to us. Worked. Lunch. T[atyana] read to me *Dukhovnoye Chteniye*. Taught T[atyana] to do tatting. N. read Morskiye rasskazy [Sea stories] to Baby...

June, 22

Saturday.... People... came to see again about the windows...

June, 23

Sunday. Glorious weather. Went with T[atyana] to Ye. S. [Botkin] who had kidney colic and she made him an injection of morphine. Suffers very much... Two of the soldiers came and took out one window in our room, delicious air at last and one window no longer whitewashed. Had the great blessing of a real Liturgy and Vespers, first Mass since 3 months — simply on the table with all Images and lots of birch tree brunches. — The first old Priest officiated....

June, 24

Monday. Window open all night, good air, but so noisy. -19 1/2 [temperature] in the room. Baby since the morning wheeled about. Ye. S. [Botkin] slept well, better.... In the morning all and Baby went out for half an hour, Ye. S. [Botkin] remained in bed... All went out, only Maria stayed with me, I lay near our window, reading.... Vl[adimir] Nik[olayevich] came. Dined with all. Massaged Baby's leg and put on his compress. T[atyana] slept with him. I went to bed at 10, [temperature] 22 1/2 in the room and 21 outside.

June, 25

Tuesday. At 8 1/2 [temperature] 16 in the shade, 21 in the room. Baby slept well, was wheeled about through the rooms. Ye. S. [Botkin] had a good night, still in bed as feels week and all aches when gets up. Luncheon. All went out, T[atyana] remained with me, read *Dukhovnoye Chteniye*...

June, 26

Wednesday. Very hot again... Arranged things.... I went early to bed but slept only 3 hours as they made so much noise outside.

June, 27

Thursday. Early morning [temperature] 22 in the room. Arranged things all day, Ye. S. [Botkin] sat with me often, as can sit up now. Baby wheeled around. Lunched. Then the others went out, Olga remained with me. Vl[adimir] Nik[olayevich] did not come...

June, 28

Friday.... heat intense. 24 1/2 room [temperature]. In the sun in the morning there were 39 degrees. We heard... being told quite particularly to watch every movement at our window, they have become again most suspicious since our window is open and don't allow one to sit on the sill.

June, 29

Saturday. Very hot day again..... arranged things. Scarcely slept. Lunched. The others went out, Maria remained with me. Arranged medicine with Ye. S. [Botkin]..... Supper. Com[mandant] looked in to see if we were all there. I don't go out because of the heat and my heart.

June, 30

Sunday. Slept barely 4 hours... made so much noise. Alas can't have service. Arranged things...

July, 1

Monday.... Arranged things. Lunched. Others walked, Maria remained with me...

July, 2

Tuesday.... Now Avd[eyev] has to come morning and evening to see if we are all there. In the daytime came today to ask if I don't go out because of my health...

July, 3

Wednesday.... Everything as yesterday. T[atyana] stayed with me in the morning when they went out and O[lga] in the afternoon, played bezique together. Baby begins making movements with his leg. Very hot. Airless. Before supper M[aria] and Nyuta washed my head. I took a bath. In the night strong rain and thunderstorm.

July, 4

Thursday.... During lunch the [head of the regional committee] came with some men, Avd[eyev] is being changed and was get a new Commandant (who came once to look at Baby's leg, and another time our rooms) with a young helper who seems to be decent whereas the other vulgar and unpleasant. All the guard of inside left (probably one found out that they had been steeling our things out of the shed). Both men then made us show all our jewels we had on and the young one wrote them all down in detail and then they were taken from us (where to, for how long? why? I don't know) only left me my two bracelets... which I can't take off and the children one bracelet each which we gave and can't be removed, neither N's engagement could he get off. So the others only got out from 6-7. O[lga] remained with me....

July, 5

Friday. Spent the day as usual. The Commandant came with our jewels, before us sealed them up and left them on the table and will come every day to see that we have not opened the packet.

July, 6

Saturday.... Two women came and washed the floors. The others walked in the afternoon. Anastasia remained with me. Played cards with Baby and Ye. S. [Botkin] after tea. The Command[ant] brought N. his watch in leather case which he found in the service room, stolen out of N's trunk. Played bezique. Had a bath. Command[andant] is called Yurovsky.

July, 7

Sunday. Lovely morning, in the sun quite warm, in the shade only 8 [degrees] at 8 1/2. Spent the day as usual. In the afternoon I went out with the others for the first time, since a good while, nice air, not too hot. In the morning Ye. S. [Botkin] went out for the first time. In the evening there was a thunderstorm...

July, 8

Monday. Cooler. Nothing particular happened. The others went out for 1/2 hour in the morning and 1 1/2 in the afternoon, M[aria] remained at home with me.... Lunched only at 1 1/2 because they were arranging the electricity in our rooms, T[atyana] did my hair whilst they were working. Still no Vl[adimir] Nik[olayevich] though we daily ask for him. Baby eats well

and is getting heavy for the others to carry... they want to give us Nagorny back again. He moves his leg easier when making movements with Ye. S. [Botkin] after massage. Played bezique. Poured in the night.

July, 9

Tuesday. Day passed as usual. They went out twice, O[lga] stayed with me. Several showers. Still no Vl[adimir] Nik[olayevich].... don't read more then 5 m[inutes] because of eyes wh[ich] s ill ache. Played cards with Baby and Yevg[eny] Serg[eyevich] [Botkin] and bezique with N.

July, 10

Wednesday. Sunny morning. Went out in the afternoon 3-4 1/2 with the others, ideal weather... 2 days others have no meat and live upon Kharitonov's Tobolsk remaining meagre provisions. Took a bath. Bezique. They still find excuses not to bring Vl[adimir] Nik[olayevich].

July, 11

Thursday.... Command[ant] instead to see us all at 10, but kept us waiting 20 m[inutes] as was breakfasting and eating cheese won't permit us to have any more, any cream. Workmen turned up outside and are putting up iron railings before our only open window! Always afraid of our climbing out no doubt or getting into contact with the sentry. Strong pains continue. Grey weather...

July, 12

Friday. Bright sunshine-in the afternoon there were several showers and short thunderstorms. The others went out twice, M[aria] remained with me. I spent the day on my bed and got into it again at 9 1/2. Lovely evening. Every day one of the girls reads to me *Dukhovnoye chteniye*... Constantly hear artillery passing, infantry and twice cavalry during the course of the week. Also troops marching with music — twice it seems to have been the Austrian prisoners who are marching against the Czechs (also our former prisoners) who are with the troops coming through Siberia and not far from here now. Wounded daily arrive to the town.

July, 13

Saturday. Beautiful morning. I spent the day as yesterday lying on the bed, as back aches Others went out twice. Anastasia remained with me in the afternoon. One says Nagorny and Sednev have been sent out of this

province, instead of giving them back to us. At 6 1/2 Baby had his first bath since Tobolsk. He managed to get in and out alone, climbs also alone in and out of bed, but can only stand on 1 foot as yet. 9 3/4 I went to bed again. Rained in the night. Heard three revolver shots in the night.

July, 14

Sunday. Beautiful summer morning. Scarcely slept because of back and legs. Had the joy of a Mass — the young Priest for the 2nd time. The others walked. O[lga] with me... Tea... Played a little bezique in the evening... Took a bath. Went to bed.

July, 15

Monday. Greyish morning. Later sunshine. Lunched on the couch in the big room as women came to clean the floors, then lay on my bed again and read with Maria.... They went out twice as usual. In the morning T[atyana] read to me *Dukhovnoye Chteniye*. Still no Vl[adimir] Nik[olayevich]. At 6 1/2 Baby had his second bath. Bezique. Went to bed 10 1/4.... Heard the report of an artillery shot in the night and several revolver shots.

July, 16

Tuesday. Grey morning, later lovely sunshine. Baby has a slight cold. All went out 1/2 hour in the morning, Olga and I arranged our medicines. T[atyana] read *Dukhovnoye Chteniye*. They went out, T[atyana] stayed with me and we read... Every morning the Command[ant] comes to our rooms, at last after a week brought eggs again for Baby. Supper. Suddenly Lyonka Sednev was fetched to go and see his uncle and flew off, wonder whether it's true and we shall see the boy back again. Played bezique with N. 10 1/2 to bed. 15 degrees.

SARF F. 640. Op. 1. D. 326. L. 55-93. Autograph.

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* Translator's note: the diary was written by Alexandra Fyodorovna in English.

** Dates are according to the New Style.

*** Here and further Nicholas II.

**** Here and further the heir Alexei.

***** Doctor Derevenko.

No. 33

Telegram from Copenhagen from the editors of the newspaper National Tidende to V. I. Lenin*

July 16, 1918. 13. 27 **

Rumours here going that the ex-szar has been murdered. Kindly, wire facts.

National Tidende

Note on the telegram form: «National Tidende. Kjobenhavn.

Rumours not true ex-czar safe all rumours are only lie of capitalist press. Lenin.

16/7 — 16:00»***

Russian Centre for Modern History Documents Storage and Study (RCMHDSS). F. 2. Op. 1. D. 6601. L. 1.

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* Translator's note: the telegram and the note were written in English. The spelling is original.

** Date received.

*** Inserted by hand on the telegram form. Lenin's signature is not there.

No. 34

Telegraph report from the Executive Committee of the Urals Regional Soviet to Sovnarcom Chairman V. I. Lenin and to ARCEC Chairman Y. M. Sverdlov

July 17, 1918

The Presidium of the Regional Soviet of Workers' and Peasants' Government is on the line. It concerns the enemy's advance on Yekaterinburg and the disclosure by the Extraordinary Commission of a major White Guard plot to abduct the former tsar and his family. The documents are in our hands. According to the resolution of the Regional Soviet Presidium on the night of July 16 * Nicholas Romanov was shot. His family was evacuated to a safe place. Because of this we have issued the following announcement: «Because of the advance of the counter-revolutionary bands on the Red capital of the Urals and the possibility of the crowned butcher eluding the people's justice (a plot has been uncovered involving the White Guards, attempting to abduct

him... , and compromising documents have been found that were to be published), the Regional Soviet Presidium, carrying out the will of the revolution, resolved to execute the former tsar Nicholas Romanov on the night of July 16, 1918. This sentence has been carried out. Romanov's family was kept with him under guard and in the interest of public security, evacuated from the town of Yekaterinburg. — Regional Soviet Presidium». We ask your sanction for editing this [document]. The documents of the conspiracy are being sent without delay by courier to the Council of People's Commissars and the ARCEC. We are waiting on the line for notification. We urgently ask for an answer. We are waiting on the line.

SARF. F. 601. Op. 2. D. 27. L. 8-9. Original.

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* So stated in the document.

No. 35
Extract from Protocol No. 1 of the ARCEC Presidium meeting about the shooting of Nicholas II

July 18, 1918

Heard: The report about the shooting of Nicholas Romanov. (The telegram from Yekaterinburg.)

Resolved: After discussion, the following resolution was accepted: The ARCEC, in the name of Presidium, recognizes the Urals Regional Soviet's decision to be correct. To instruct Comrades Sverdlov, Sosnovsky and Avanesov to compose the appropriate announcement for the press. To publish about the documents of the former tsar Nicholas Romanov (diary, letters etc.), that ARCEC has. To instruct Comrade Sverdlov to create a special commission to sort out and publish these papers.

Chairman of the ARCEC *
Secretary of the ARCEC V Avanesov
Note: «To Comrade Sverdlov.»

SARF. Op. 2. F. 601. D. 27. L. 14. Original.

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* No signature.

No. 36

From Protocol No. 159 of the Council of People's Commissars meeting about the shooting of the royal family

July 18, 1918

Chairman: Vladimir Ilich Ulyanov (Lenin).

Present: Gukovsky, V. M. Bonch-Bruevich, Petrovsky, Semashko, Vinokurov, Solovyov, Kozlovsky, Galkin, Smirnov, Daub, Svidersky, Pravdin, Trotsky, Popov, Altfater, Stuchka, Rykov, Nogin, Sklyansky, Pestkovsky, Nevsky, Sereda, Podbelsky, Skomyakov, Yuryev, Bryukhanov, Nikolayev, Milyutin, Popov (statistician), professor Smirnov (for the point No. 8), Chicherin, Karakhan.

Heard: 3. Special announcement by the ARCEC Chairman Comrade Sverdlov about the shooting of the former tsar Nicholas II according to the sentence of Yekaterinburg soviet and about ratification of this sentence by the ARCEC Presidium...

Resolved: Accept for general information... *

SARF. F. 130. Op. 23. D. 17. L. 62-63. Copy.

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* No signatures.

No. 37

From the letter of A.A. Ioffe, the Russian plenipotentiary in Germany to V.I. Lenin about possible consequences of Nicholas II's execution

June 24, 1918

...something is being done with the former tsar. I know nothing. Kulman spoke about this yesterday, and I told him I had no information, I had little doubt he would be killed, as there is an anti-Germany attitude in the Urals and the tsar is considered to be a German. The uprising of the Czech Legion reinforced this attitude. It would result in the inability to manage the situation, and there would be a people's reprisal. He tried to prove that it could harm us terribly. I have been trying to prove that we should not be blamed, that the guilt should fall on the Germans. In the event that something actually did happen it is essential that we publish completely convincing information, **proving our nonparticipation.*** This is utterly necessary...

RCMHDSS. F. 5. Op. 1. D. 2134. L. 18-19. Original.

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* Underlined in the document.

No. 38

A.A. Ioffe's note* to People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs G.V. Chicherin about the reaction in Germany to the shooting of Nicholas II

July 20, 1918

Today all the newspapers carried the news that on July 16 Nicholas Romanov had been executed according to the order of the soviet government in the Urals. The reports said that it was no longer denied in Moscow and it seems to be confirmed in Soviet circles there. All newspapers express their indignation about the alleged murder; Woll's Bureau reports in a restrained tone that, according to the information from Moscow on July 16, Nicholas Romanov was killed in Yekaterinburg upon the advance of Czechoslovaks to whom the local soviet did not want to leave the former tsar alive. What information about the fate of Nicholas Romanov do you have?

RCMHDSS. F. 2. Op. 1. D. 6674. L. 9. Original.

* Transmitted by direct line.

No. 39

From A. A. Ioffe's note * to G. V. Chicherin about the reaction in official German circles to the shooting of Nicholas II

July 21, 1918

...At the same time Von Bushe informed me, that it seemed the former tsar had been murdered [in] Yekaterinburg according to the local Soviet order and that Sverdlov had justified it in his speech and had read the extract of the *Pravda* article. There the murder had been explained and the expression «imperialism of outlaws» had been used referring to Germany which has drawn protests. Having pointed out that this murder would damage us badly in the world, he asked officially to see to protecting the lives of the former tsaritsa and the children. I did not respond to anything, because I did not know the situation, and I declared that I would take it under consideration.

RCMHDSS. F 2. Op. 1. D. 6674. L. 8. Original.

* Transmitted by direct line.

No. 40

From Y. M. Yurovsky's account of the tsar's family's shooting at the Old Bolsheviks' meeting in Sverdlovsk

February 1, 1934

...It was suggested that a trial be organized if time allowed. But as has already been said earlier, from the beginning of July the front had come closer and closer and finally it was 35-40 versts away. That brought the inevitable closer.

It was a question of great political importance, and it could not be settled without permission from the Centre. The situation at the front depended not only on the Urals but also on the skills of the Centre (at that time the Red Army's centralization was becoming more and more concentrated *). Communications and conversations with the Centre on that question never ceased. By about July 10 it was already decided what to do if abandoning Yekaterinburg became inevitable. Of course that is the only reason why [the idea of] an execution without a trial was considered until July 16 and Yekaterinburg was finally abandoned on July 25-26. The evacuation of Yekaterinburg was carried out in an entirely orderly and timely fashion. On about July 10-11 Filipp [Goloshchyokin] told me it would be necessary to liquidate Nicholas and to prepare for it.

As for the methods of liquidation, we had no experience in such actions. We had not been involved in them earlier. So no wonder that there was a lot of haste in implementing the action. That was especially complicated by various dangers and [our] nearness of the front. Some Comrades suggested the safest and quietest time to carry out the action was at night while they were asleep in their beds. That seemed to me to be awkward, and I said we should think over how to do it and prepare for it.

On July 15 in the morning Filipp [Goloshchyokin] arrived and said that it was necessary to carry out the liquidation the next day. We would remove the little cook Sednev (a boy of about 13) and send him to his former homeland or to the central part of the RSFSR. We were also ordered to execute Nicholas and to announce it officially. As for the family, maybe it would be announced* but nobody yet knew when or how. So a certain caution and only a few absolutely reliable people were required.

The same day, the 15th, I began the preparations as it was necessary to do everything quickly. I decided to use as many men as there were people to be shot. I gathered them. I told them what was happening, that everybody should prepare for it, that as soon as we received the final orders we had to do everything skillfully. It must be said that executing people is not so easy as it might seem to some. It does not happen at the front but in a «peaceful» situation, so to speak. And those were simply not bloodthirsty people, but people who were fulfilling a heavy duty of the Revolution. That is why it was no surprise when, at the last moment, two of the Latvians refused. They could not take it.

On the 16th in the morning I dispatched the little cook, the boy Sednev, under the pretext that there would be a meeting with his uncle who had come to Sverdlovsk. It caused anxiety among the prisoners. Botkin, the usual intermediary, and then one of the daughters asked about Sednev — where, why and for how long he had been taken away — because Alexei missed him. Having received an explanation, they went away apparently calmed down. I prepared 12 revolvers and designated who would shoot whom. Comrade Filipp [Goloshchyokin] told me that a truck would arrive at midnight; the people coming would say a password; we would let them pass and hand over the corpses to them to carry away and bury. At about 11 o'clock at night on July 16 I assembled the men again, handed out the revolvers and announced that soon we had to begin liquidating the prisoners. I told Pavel Medvedev he had to check the guard outside and inside thoroughly. He and the guard commander had to keep constant watch over the area around the house and in the house where the external guard was stationed and to maintain communications with me. I also told him that at the last moment, when everything was ready for the execution, he had tell the guards and the others in the detachment not to worry about any shots they might hear from the house, and not to leave the premises. If there were any unusual amount of unrest, he was to notify me through the established line of communications.

The truck did not arrive until half past one. The extra wait caused some anxiety — waiting in general, and the short night especially. Only when the truck had arrived (or after telephone calls that it was on the way) did I go to wake the prisoners. Botkin slept in the room nearest to the entrance. He came out and asked what the matter was. I told him he had to wake everybody,

because there was unrest in the town and it was dangerous for them to remain on the top floor. I said I would move them to another place. Gathering everybody consumed a lot of time, about 40 minutes. When the family had dressed, I led them to the room in the basement that had been designated earlier. It must be said here that when Comrade Nikulin and I thought up our plan, we did not consider beforehand that, one, the windows would let out noise; two, the victims would be standing next to a brick wall; and, finally, three (It was impossible to foresee this.), the firing would occur in an uncoordinated way. That should not have happened. Each man had one person to shoot and so everything should have been all right. The causes of that disorganized firing became clear later. Although I told [the victims] through Botkin that they did not have to take anything with them they collected various small things — pillows, bags and so on and, it seems to me, a small dog.

Having gone down to the room (At the entrance to the room, on the right, there was a very wide window.), I ordered them to stand along the wall. Obviously, at that moment they did not imagine what awaited them. Alexandra Fyodorovna said, «There are not even chairs here.» Nicholas was carrying Alexei. He stood in the room with him in his arms. Then I ordered a couple of chairs. On one of them, to the right of the entrance, almost in the corner, Alexandra Fyodorovna sat down. The daughters and Demidova stood next to her, to the left of the entrance. Beside them Alexei was seated in the armchair. Behind him Dr. Botkin, the cook and the others stood. Nicholas stood opposite Alexei. At the same time I ordered the men to go down and to be ready in their places when the command was given. Nicholas had put Alexei on the chair and stood in such a way, that he shielded him. Alexei sat in the left corner from the entrance, and so far as I remember, I said Nicholas approximately this: His royal and close relatives inside the country and abroad were trying to save him, but the Soviet of Workers' Deputies resolved to shoot them. He asked: «What?» and turned toward Alexei. At that moment I shot him and killed him outright. He did not get time to face us to did get an answer. At that moment, disorganized, not orderly, firing began. The room was small, but everybody could come in and carry out the shooting according to the set order. But many shot through the doorway. Bullets began to ricochet, because the wall was brick. Moreover, the firing intensified when the victims' shouts arose. I managed to stop the firing but with great difficulty.

A bullet, fired by somebody in the back, hummed near my head and grazed either the palm or a finger (I do not remember) of somebody. When the firing stopped, it turned out that the daughters, Alexandra Fyodorovna and, it seems, Demidova and Alexei, too, were alive. I think they had fallen from fear or maybe intentionally, and so they were alive. Then we proceeded to finish the shooting. (Previously I had suggested shooting at the heart to avoid a lot of blood.) Alexei remained sitting petrified. I killed him. They shot the daughters but did not kill them. Then Yermakov resorted to a bayonet, but that did not work either. Finally they killed them by shooting them in the head. Only in the forest did I finally discover the reason why it had been so hard to kill the daughters and Alexandra Fyodorovna.

After the shooting it was necessary to carry away the corpses, but it was a comparatively long way. How could we do it? Somebody came up with an idea: stretchers. (We did not think about it earlier.) We took shafts from the sledges and, it seems, put sheets on them. Having confirmed they were all dead, we began to carry them out. It was discovered that traces of blood would be everywhere. I said to get some smooth woolen military cloth immediately and put some of it onto the stretchers and then line the truck with it. I directed Mikhail Medvedev to take the corpses. He was a Cheka man then and currently works in the GPU. He and Pyotr Zakharovich Yermakov had to take the bodies and take them away. When they had removed the first corpses, somebody said (I do not remember exactly who it was.) that someone had taken some valuables. Then I understood that evidently there had been valuables in the things that they brought with them. I stopped the removal immediately, assembled the men and demanded the valuables be returned. After some denial, two men returned the valuables they had taken.

After I threatened the looters with shooting, I removed those two and ordered Comrade Nikulin (so far as I remember) to escort the bodies, having warned him about valuables. I first collected everything — the things they had taken and other things as well — and I sent all of it to the commandant's office.

Comrade Filipp [Goloshchyokin], apparently sparing me (My health was not very good.), told me not go to the «funeral», but I worried very much about disposing of the corpses properly. So I decided to go personally, and it turned out that I did the right thing. Otherwise, all the corpses would wind up in the hands of the White Guards. It is easy to imagine how they would have exploited the situation.

After instructions were given to wash and clean everything, at about three o'clock or even a little later, we left. I took several men from the internal guards. I did not know where the corpses were supposed to be buried, as I have said, Filipp Goloshchyokin had assigned that to Comrade Yermakov (By the way, it seems it was Pavel Medvedev who told me that night that he had seen Comrade Filipp, when he was running to the team. Comrade Filipp was walking back and forth all the time near the house, apparently because he was anxious about how everything would turn out.) Yermakov drove us somewhere at the Verkh-Isetsky Works. I was never at that place and did not know it. About at two-three versts (or maybe more) from the Verkh-Isetsky Works, a whole escort of people on horseback or in carriages met us. I asked Yermakov who those people were, why they were there. He answered that he had assembled those people. I still do not know why there were so many. I heard only shouts: «We thought they would come here alive, but it turns out they are dead.» Also, it seems about three-four versts farther our truck got stuck between two trees. There where we stopped several of Yermakov's people were stretching* out girls' blouses. We discovered again that there were valuables and they were taken them. I ordered that men be posted to keep anyone from coming near the truck.

The truck was stuck and could not move. I asked Yermakov, «Is it still far to the chosen place?» He said, «Not far, beyond railroad bed». And there behind the trees was a marsh. Bogs were everywhere. I wondered, «Why he had herded in so many people and horses. If only there had been carts instead of carriages.» But there was nothing we could do. We had to unload to lighten the truck, but that did not help. Then I ordered them to load the carriages, because it was already light and we did not have time to wait any longer. Only at daybreak did we come to the famous «gully». Several steps from the mine where the burial had been planned, peasants were sitting around the fire, apparently having spent the night at the hayfield. On the way we met several people. It became impossible to carry on our work in sight of them. It must be said, the situation had become difficult. Everything might come to nothing. At that moment I still did not know that the mine would not meet our needs at all. And those damned valuables! Just then I did not know that there was so much of them or that the people Yermakov had recruited were unsui-

table for this project. Yes, it was too much! I decided it was necessary to disperse* the people. I found out we had gone about 15-16 versts from the city and had driven to the village of Koptyaki, two or three versts from there. We had to cordon the place off at some distance, and we did it. I selected some men and told them to spread out over a certain area. Besides that, I sent an order to the village to keep everybody out, explaining that the Czech Legion was not far away, that our units had assembled here and that it was dangerous to be here. I ordered the men to turn back anybody to the village and to shoot any stubborn, disobedient persons if that did not work. Another group of men was sent to the town because they were not needed. Having done all of this, I ordered [the men] to load * the corpses and to take off the clothes for burning, that is, to destroy absolutely everything they had, to remove any additional incriminating evidence if the corpses were somehow discovered. I ordered bonfires. When we began to undress the bodies, we discovered that there was something on the daughters and on Alexandra Fyodorovna. I do not remember exactly what she had on, the same as on the daughters or simply things that had been sewed on. But the daughters had on bodices almost entirely of diamonds and [other] precious stones. Those were not only places for valuables but protective armor at the same time. That is why neither bullets nor bayonets got results. By the way, only they had guilt in their dying agony. The valuables turned out to be about one-half pud. Greed was so great that on Alexandra Fyodorovna, by the way, there was simply an enormous piece of round gold wire, turned out as a sheer bracelet and weighing about one pound. All the valuables were ripped out immediately, so that it would not be necessary to carry bloody rags around with us. Valuables discovered by the White Guards were undoubtedly related to those sewed into other things. After burning, they remained in the ashes. Several diamonds were handed over to me the next day by Comrades who had found them there. How did they overlook the other valuables? They had enough time for it. Most likely they simply did not figure it out. By the way, one has to suppose, that some valuables will be returned to us through Torgsin [«Trade with foreigners» stores], because they were probably picked up by the peasants of the Koptyaki village after our departure. The valuables had been collected, the things had been burned and the completely naked corpses had been thrown into the mine.

From that very moment new problems began. The water just barely covered the bodies. What should we do? We had the idea of blowing up the mines with bombs to cover them, but indeed nothing came of it. I saw that the funeral had achieved nothing and that it was impossible to leave things that way. It was necessary to begin all over again. But what should we do? Where should we put the corpses? About at 2 p. m. I decided to go to the town, because it was clear that we had to extract the corpses from the mine and to carry them to another place. Even the blind could discover them. Besides, the place was exposed. People had seen something was going on there. I set up posts, guards in place, and took the valuables and left. I went to the regional executive committee and reported to the authorities how bad things were. Comrade Safarov and somebody else (I do not remember who.) listened but said nothing. Then I found Filipp [Goloshchyokin] and explained to him we had to transfer the corpses to another place. When he agreed, I proposed to send people to raise the corpses at once, while I looked for a new place. Filipp [Goloshchyokin] summoned Yermakov, gave him a tongue-lashing and sent him to retrieve the corpses. At the same time I ordered him to take bread and food because the men were hungry and exhausted, not having slept for about 24 hours. They had to wait for me there. It turned out to be difficult to get to the corpses and lift them out. The men got very exhausted doing it. Apparently they were at it all night because they went there late.

I went to the town executive committee, to Sergei Yegorovich Chutskayev who was its chairman at the time to ask for advice. Maybe he knew of a place. He proposed a very deep abandoned mine on the Moscow high road. I got a car, took someone from the regional Cheka with me, Polushin, it seems, and someone else and we left. But one-and-a-half versts away from the appointed place the car broke down. The driver was left to repair it, and we went on foot. We looked over the place and decided it was good. The only problem was to avoid onlookers. Some people lived near the place and we decided to come and take them away to the town and after the project let them come back. That was our decision. We came back to the car, but it had to be towed. I decided to wait for a passing car. A while later some people rode up on two horses. I stopped them. The fellows seemed to know me. They were hurrying to the plant. With great reluctance they gave us the horses.

While we rode another plan took shape: burn the corpses. But nobody knew, how to do it. Polushin seems to have said he already knew that because nobody really knew how it would come out. I was still considering the mines on the Moscow high road and then transportation. I decided to get carts. The plan came to me at the thought of failure in burying them by groups in different places. The road leading to Koptyaki is clay near that gully. If we buried them there without onlookers, not even devil would find them. To bury them and to drive by with the string of carts would result in a mishmash and that would be that. So there were three plans. There was nothing to drive, there was no car. I went to the head of the military transportation garage to find out if there were any cars. There was a car, but it was the chief's. I forgot his surname; it turned out he was a scoundrel and, it seems, he was executed in Perm. Comrade Pavel Petrovich Gorbunov, who is now deputy chairman of the state bank, was the manager of the garage or deputy chairman of military transportation, I do not remember which. I told him I needed a car urgently. He said, «I know what for. » He gave me the chairman's car. I drove to Voikov, head of supply in the Urals, to get petrol or kerosene, sulphuric acid, too (to disfigure the faces) and, besides that, spades. I got all that. Being a friend of the commissar of justice in the Urals region, I commandeered ten carts without drivers from the prison. Everything was loaded on and we drove off. The truck was sent there. I stayed to wait for Polushin, the main «specialist» in burning who had disappeared somewhere. I waited for him at Voikov's. I waited for him in vain until 11 p. m. Then I heard he had ridden off on horseback to come to me but he fell off the horse, hurt his foot, and he could not ride. Since we could not afford to get stuck with the car again, I rode off on horseback about midnight with a comrade (I don't remember who.) to the place where the corpses were. But I also had bad luck. The horse hesitated, dropped to its knees, and somehow fell on its side and came down on my foot. I lay there an hour or more until I could get on the horse again. We arrived late at night. The work extracting [the corpses] was going on. I decided to bury some corpses on the road. We began to dig a pit. At dawn it was almost ready, but a comrade came to me and said that despite the order not to let anybody come near, a man acquainted with Yermakov had appeared from somewhere and had been allowed to stay at a distance. From there it was

possible to see some kind of digging because there were heaps of clay everywhere. Though Yermakov guaranteed that he could not see anything, another Comrade (not the one who had spoken to me) began to demonstrate that from where he had stood it was impossible not to see.

So that plan was ruined too. We decided to fill in the pit. Waiting for evening, we piled into the cart. The truck waited for us in a place where it seemed impossible to get stuck. (The driver was Zlokazov's worker Lyukhanov.) We headed for the Siberian high road. Having crossed the railroad, we transferred the corpses to the truck, but it soon got stuck again. We struggled* for about two hours. It was almost midnight. Then I decided that we should do the burying somewhere around there, because at that late hour nobody actually could see us. Only the watchman of the passing track saw several men, because I sent them for ties to cover the place where the corpses would be put. The explanation for needing ties was: The ties had to be laid for a truck to pass over. I forgot to say we got stuck twice that evening or, to be precise, that night. Having unloaded we climbed out and got hopelessly stuck a second time. About two months ago, I was looking through the book by Sokolov, the preliminary investigator of the extremely important cases under Kolchak, when I saw a photo of those stacked ties. It was mentioned that ties had been laid there to let a truck pass. So, having dug up the entire area, they did not think to look under the ties. It is necessary to say that all our men were so tired. They did not want to dig a new grave. But as it always happens in such cases, two or three men started working, then the others began. A fire was made and while the grave was being prepared we burned two corpses: Alexei and Demidova, who apparently was burned by mistake instead of Alexandra Fyodorovna. The pit was dug near the fire. The bones were buried, the land was leveled. A big fire was made again and all the traces were covered with ashes. Before putting the other corpses into the pit we poured sulphuric acid over them. The pit was filled up and covered with the ties. The empty truck drove over the ties several times and rolled them flat. At 5 — 6 o'clock in the morning, I assembled everybody and stated the importance of the work completed. I warned everybody to forget things they saw and never speak about them with anybody. Then we went back to the town. Having lost us, the fellows from the regional Cheka, such as Comrades Isay Rodzinsky, Gorin and somebody else, arrived when we had already finished everything.

In the evening of the 19th I went to Moscow with my report. I have delivered the valuables to Trifonov who was a member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Third Army at that time. Beloborodov, Novosyolov and somebody else seemed to have buried the valuables in the basement of a worker's house in Lysva. When the commission of the Central Committee came to the liberated Urals in 1919 to organize Soviet rule, and I also came here to work, the valuables were dug up again by Novosyolov and another person (I do not remember who exactly.), and N. N. Krestinsky brought them back to Moscow. In 1921 or 1923 I worked at the State Depository of Valuables of the Republic, putting the valuables in order. I saw that one of Alexandra Fyodorovna's pearl strings was valued at 600, 000 gold rubles.

In Perm, where I sorted out the former tsar's things, a lot of valuables were discovered again. They had been hidden in various things including black underwear and various possessions comprising more than one carload.

Documentation Centre of Social Orgainzations of the Sverdlovsk Region (DCSOSR). F. 41. Op. 1. D. 151, L. 10-22. Original.

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* So stated in the document.

No. 41

From the memoirs of Cheka man G. I. Sukhorukov, who took part in disposing of the royal family's corpses

April 3, 1928

... Having been in Kusvinsky works for several days, we received orders to go to Yekaterinburg to form [...]*. From the remainder of our battalion about 35 [men] were selected for the detachment with the Urals regional Cheka, where I was also enlisted. Several days later, on July 18-19, about 12 men (including me) were selected and told: «Comrades! A secret of state importance is entrusted to you. You must die with it. If somebody does not justify our confidence, woe to him!» Lukiyanov **, Fyodor (if I do not confuse the surname), the Urals regional Cheka chairman said: «Today we must go to bury Nicholas Romanov's family. They have been shot... » At night we drove to the Verkh-Isetsky works in carriages. I do not remember exactly how many people were there, but I do remember many of them. 1. Yurovsky, the town commissar. 2. Our commissar Pavlushin, Gorin and Rodzinsky from the Cheka; I do not remember the surname of a Magyar in a grey suit which he later burned with

sulphuric acid; Yermakov. From the Red Guards were my countryman Fyodor Tyagunov who was killed on the Denikin front, Aleks. Bozhenov, Nikolai Vladimirovich Pospelov, his brother Ivan (They seem to be in Perm now.), Nikolai Samoilov (He studies to become a Red professor in Moscow.), Mikhail Veselkov (He works at the Sverdlovsk GPU.). All of them were the workers from Lysva. An Estonian Kyut was subsequently a commander of a machine-gun platoon in my detachment and was taken prisoner by Kolchak along with the machine-gun unit. Kilzin also an Estonian, was also commander of a machine-gun section in my detachment and he was killed serving at Novopainsk in the Okhansky district. Dmitry Ponomaryov, a Lysva worker and Guryev — both were also taken prisoners. Workers from Verkhne-Turinsk were Petrov, Alek. Ryabkov, Ryabkov's sister is working in the Regional Workers Peasants Inspection now, it seems. (Probably she has her husband's surname now.) Yasha, I forgot his surname. Ryabkova and I know him.

In the morning we arrived at the mines where the corpses were. Near the mine there were ashes without fire. The boys began to root in the ground assuming the tsar's clothes had been burned there. Some found a lot. For example, Pospelov found two big diamonds set in platinum. Sunegin found a diamond ring, and so on.

The time went by. The work was urgent. It was necessary to begin digging up the corpses. Mounted and unmounted patrols were set up everywhere, and the work began. Vladimir Sunegin was the first who went down with a rope in his hand. At first we began to extract the firewood, whole logs. Then the work got tedious, and we decided to take the corpses out directly. I came down to help Sunegin and the first thing we came across was a leg of the last Nicholas. He was removed successfully, and then all the others. To be precise, it can be said that everybody was naked, except for the heir, who had on a sailor shirt but no trousers. After the removal the bodies were put near the mines and covered with tents. We began to discuss what to do with them. At first we decided to dig a pit right on the road, do the burial and level the ground again. But the soil turned out to be stony, and the job was abandoned. We decided to wait for the cars and drive the cargo to the Verkh-Isetsky pond.

In the evening the trucks came. The corpses were loaded onto carts. We transferred them from the carts into the trucks again and left. Not far was something like a bridge made of ties, and the last truck about to pass over, got stuck. All our efforts [to move the truck] were unsuccessful. We decided to

remove the ties, dig the pit, put the corpses into it, pour sulphuric acid over [the bodies], fill in the pit and replace the ties. All that was done in such a way that if the White Guards found the corpses, they could not guess from the number that it was the royal family. We decided to burn two corpses on the fire and did so. For our «sacrificial altar» we got the last heir. The second body was the youngest daughter Anastasia. After the corpses were burned, we scattered the ashes, dug a pit in the centre, shoveled in all the unburnt remainders, made a fire again on the same spot and finished the work.

We arrived in Yekaterinburg on the second day tired and angry. That night I left as commander of an escort to accompany to the Perm Cheka Elena, daughter of the Serbian king and wife of one of the Great Dukes. With her was the Serbian mission, Colonel Medichee, his lackey and about 20 representatives of the Sverdlovsk bourgeoisie. I delivered all of that illustrious gathering successfully. Having arrived in Perm, I got the newspaper *Uralskii rabochi* (It seems to be from July 22.) and read about the execution of Nicholas II and his family...

Sukhorukov

DCSOSR. F. 41. Op. 1. D. 149. L. 215, 219-221. Original.

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* Illegible in the document.

** Lukoyanov is correct.

No. 43

From the memoirs of M. A. Medvedev (Kudrin), a participant in the royal family's shooting

December 1963

On July 16 (new style), 1918 in the evening, there was a partial session of the Regional Urals Soviet in the building of the Urals Regional Extraordinary Commission on the struggle with the counter-revolution. It was located in the American Hotel of Yekaterinburg (now Sverdlovsk).

When I, a member of the Yekaterinburg's Cheka, was summoned to this session, I saw familiar Comrades in the room: Alexander Georgievich Beloborodov, chairman of the Soviet of Deputies; Georgy Safarov, chairman of the Regional Committee of the Bolshevik party; Filipp Goloshchyokin, military commissar of Yekaterinburg; Pyotr Lazarevich Voikov, member of the Soviet; Fyodor Lukoyanov, chairman of the Regional Cheka. I also saw my friends, members of the Urals regional Cheka board:Vladimir Gorin, Isay

Idelevich (Ilich) Rodzinsky. (He is now a recipient of a merit pension and lives in Moscow.) and Yakov Mikhailovich Yurovsky, commandant of the House of Special Purpose (the Ipatyev house).

When I came in, they were deciding what to do with former tsar Nicholas II and his family. Philipp Goloshchyokin made a report about the trip to Y. M. Sverdlov in Moscow. Goloshchyokin failed to receive sanction from the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the execution of the Romanovs. Sverdlov had consulted V. I. Lenin, who spoke of bringing the tsar's family to Moscow for an open trial of Nicholas II and his wife Alexandra Fyodorovna, whose betrayal during the First World War was too costly for Russia.

«It must be an All-Russian trial only! With publications in press, » Lenin insisted to Sverdlov. «It is necessary to count what human and material losses to the country were caused by the autocrat during his reign. How many revolutionaries were hung? How many people died in penal servitude and in a war nobody needed! He must answer for that, facing all the people! Do you think that only an ignorant peasant has faith in the «kind tsar-father» of our country? Not only they, my dear Yakov Mikhailovich! How many years ago did our progressive Petersburg workers go to the Winter Palace with icons in hands? Only about 13 years ago! It is this incomprehensible Russian credulity that must be discredited at the open trial of Nicholas the Bloody... »

Y. M. Sverdlov tried to put forth Goloshchyokin's arguments about the danger of moving the royal family by train through Russia, where counter-revolutionary rebellions were flaring up constantly in the towns and about the difficult situation on the fronts near Yekaterinburg, but Lenin stood his ground:

«So the front is falling back. What of it? Moscow is far behind the lines now, so evacuate them to the home front! And we will organize their trial here for the whole world».

On parting Sverdlov said to Goloshchyokin:

«Filipp, tell the Comrades that the ARCEC does not give official sanction to an execution».

After Goloshchyokin finished the description, Safarov asked the military commandant how many days he thought Yekaterinburg could hold out? Goloshchyokin answered that the situation was precarious, because poorly armed detachments of the Red Army were retreating, and in two, three or five days at most Yekaterinburg would fall. A painful silence reigned. Everyone under-

stood that to evacuate the tsar's family from the town not just to Moscow but in a northern direction meant to give the monarchists the opportunity they had been waiting for to kidnap the tsar. To a certain extent the Ipatyev house was a fortified point. There were two high fences around it, a system of external and internal guards from the workers and machine-guns. Naturally, such strong protection could not be assured in a moving car or carriage — all the more so outside town.

To leave the tsar to the Admiral Kolchak's White armies was out of the question because such a «favour» would create a threat to the existence of the young Soviet Republic, surrounded by a ring of enemy armies. On hostile terms with the Bolsheviks, because he regarded them as betrayers of Russian interests after the Treaty of Brest, Nicholas II would become the banner of counter-revolutionary forces outside and within the Soviet Republic. Admiral Kolchak, holding a long-cherished faith in the kind intentions of the tsars, could attract to his side Siberian peasants who had never seen landowners, never knew what serfdom was and therefore had not supported Kolchak, who was spreading landowners' laws in [previously] annexed territories (thanks for the rebellion of the Czech Legion). News about the tsar's «rescue» would increase tenfold the forces of embittered kulaks in the provinces of Soviet Russia.

We, the members of the Extraordinary Commission, remember very well the attempts by Tobolsk's clergy with Bishop Hermogen at the head to free the royal family. The situation was saved, thanks only to the resourcefulness of my friend, the sailor Pavel Khokhryakov, who arrested Hermogen in time and brought the Romanovs to Yekaterinburg in the custody of the Bolshevik Soviet. Because of the deep religious conviction of people in the province, it was impossible abandon even the remains of the tsar's dynasty to the enemy. The clergy would immediately use that in a «sacred miraculous relic» fabrication which would also become a very good banner for Admiral Kolchak's armies.

But there was another factor that decided the Romanovs' fate, and not Vladimir Ilich's wish.

The Romanovs' relatively free and easy life (The mansion of the merchant Ipatyev was not like a prison at all.) caused quite understandable indignation among the workers in and around Yekaterinburg in such an uneasy time when the enemy was near the town. At gatherings and meetings at the Verkh-

Isetsky Works, the workers said frankly, «Hey, Bolsheviks, why are you fussing over Nicholas? It is time to be done with it! Or we will knock your Soviet to pieces!»

Such a mood made it very difficult to create Red Army units. Even at that, the threat of massacre was formidable by itself, because the workers were armed and their words and deeds were as one. Other parties also demanded to shoot the Romanovs immediately. As far back as the end of June 1918, social revolutionary Sakovich and left social revolutionary Khotimsky (He became later a Bolshevik, died during the time of the Stalin personality cult and was rehabilitated posthumously.) who were members of Yekaterinburg's Soviet, insisted at its session on the Romanovs' immediate execution and charged the Bolsheviks with inconsistency. And Zhebenev, leader of the anarchists, cried out to us in the Soviet, «If you do not annihilate Nicholas the Bloody, we will do it!»

Without sanction of the ARCEC for an execution, we could say nothing in reply. Delay without explanation embittered the workers more. To postpone the decision about the Romanovs' fate in wartime would undermine the people's confidence in our party more and more. Therefore, the Bolshevik faction of the Regional Urals Soviet finally gathered to decide the fate of the tsar's family in Yekaterinburg, Perm and Alapayevsk. (The tsar's brothers lived there.) It was up to us: Either we lead the workers to the defense of Yekaterinburg or it will be done by the anarchists or Social Democrats. There was no third way.

During the last one or two months, some «curious people» constantly hung around the fence of the House of Special Purpose. They were generally shady characters from Petersburg or Moscow as a rule. They tried to hand over notes and provisions. They sent letters in the mail that we intercepted; all contained assurances of devotion and proposals of services. We, members of the Cheka, had the impression that there was in the town an organization of White Guards which was trying to make contact with the tsar and his wife. We forbade admission to the house even for priests and nuns who had brought food from the nearest nunnery.

Monarchists came in secret to Yekaterinburg to release the captured tsar when the opportunity arouse. At the same time the family itself was ready to be kidnapped at any moment and missed no opportunity to make outside

contact. The members of Yekaterinburg's Cheka discovered this readiness rather easily. Beloborodov, Voikov and Rodzinsky, a member of the Cheka, wrote a letter on behalf of a Russian officer organization which declared Yekaterinburg's impending surrender and proposed that they be ready for an escape at night on a certain date. Voikov translated the note into French and Isay Rodzinsky, who wrote in a very good hand, made a good copy of it in red ink. The note was handed to the tsaritsa by one of the guards. The answer didn't keep us waiting. A second letter was written and sent. Observation of the rooms showed that the Romanovs spent two or three nights dressed, all ready to escape. Yurovsky informed the Regional Urals Soviet about it.

Having discussed all the circumstances, we decided to strike two blows that night: to liquidate two secret monarchist officer organizations that could stab the units defending the town in the back (Cheka member Isay Rodzinsky was selected for this action); and to liquidate the royal family of Romanovs.

Yakov Yurovsky proposes having mercy on the boy.

«What a boy? The heir? I am against it!» I retort.

«No, Mikhail, we must take away the kitchen boy Lyonya Sednev. Why must he be killed? He only played with Alexei.»

«And what about other servants?»

«From the very beginning, we proposed they leave the Romanovs. Some of them went away and the others said they wished to share the monarch's fate. Let them share it...»

It was resolved to save the life of Lyonya Sednev only. Then we began to discuss whom from the Urals Regional Extraordinary Commission we should select for the Romanovs' liquidation. Beloborodov asks me. «Would you take part?»

«I was convicted and imprisoned by Nicholas II's order. Certainly, I would».

«It is necessary to have a representative of the Red Army». Filipp Goloshchyokin says. «I propose Pyotr Zakharovich Yermakov, the military commissar of Verkh-Isetsk».

«It is accepted. And who from your people will take part, Yakov?»

«I and my assistant Grigory Petrovich Nikulin», Yurovsky answers. «So there are four persons: Medvedev, Yermakov, Nikulin and I.

The session ended. Yurovsky, Yermakov and I went together to the House of Special Purpose, went up to the second floor to the commandant's room. Grigory Petrovich Nikulin was waiting for us. (He is now recipient of a merit pension and lives in Moscow). We closed the door and sat for a long time, because we did not know where to begin. Somehow we had to keep the Romanovs from finding out we planned to shoot them. And where could we do it? Besides, there were only four of us while there were 11 people among the Romanovs including the doctor, cook, lackey and parlourmaid.

It was hot. We could think of nothing. Maybe bombard the rooms with grenades when they fall asleep? But that is no good at all, because the explosion would be heard all over town and everybody would think Czechs had burst into Yekaterinburg. Yurovsky proposed a second option: stab them in their beds. The duties were assigned: who must kill whom. We waited until they fell asleep. Yurovsky went to the rooms of the tsar, tsaritsa, grand duchesses and servants several times, but all of them were awake. They seemed to be alarmed because the boy-cook had been taken away.

It was past midnight. It became cooler. At last the lights were out in all the rooms. Evidently they were asleep. Yurovsky came back to the commandant's room and proposed a third option: Wake the Romanovs at midnight and to ask them to come downstairs under the pretext that anarchists are preparing an attack on the house and that bullets might accidentally hit the second floor where the Romanovs lived. (The tsar, the tsaritsa and Alexei were in the corner room and the daughters were in the adjoining room with windows facing Voznesensky Lane.) There was no real threat of an anarchist attack that night; shortly before, Isay Rodzinsky and I had raided the anarchist headquarters in the mansion of engineer Zheleznov (the former Commercial Assembly), and we had disarmed the anarchist groups of Pyotr Ivanovich Zhebenev.

We chose a room on the ground floor near the storeroom: only one barred window (the second from the corner of the house) faced Voznesensky Lane, ordinary striped wallpaper, vaulted ceiling, dim electric lamp hanging from it. We decided to park a truck in the yard outside the house. (There was a fence between the yard and the prospect and the lane.) and to start up an engine before the shooting to drown out the shots in the room. Yurovsky told the external guards not to worry about any shots that might be heard inside the

house. Then revolvers were given to the Latvians from the internal guard. We considered it essential to enlist them for the operation so that some members of the Romanov family would not be shot in front of the others. Three Latvians refused to take part in the execution. Pavel Spiridonovich Medvedev, who was the guard commander returned their revolvers to commandant's room. Seven Latvians remained in the detachment.

Long after midnight Yakov Mikhailovich went to the rooms of Doctor Botkin and the tsar and asked them to dress, wash and be ready to come downstairs to the shelter in the basement. For about an hour after they got up the Romanovs got organized. At about 3:00 in the morning they were ready. Yurovsky suggested we take the remaining five revolvers. Pyotr Yermakov took two revolvers and put them in his belt. Grigory Nikulin and Pavel Medvedev took revolvers for themselves too. I refused, because I already had two revolvers: in a holster was an American Colt and in the belt was a Belgian Browning. (Both are historical guns. I have until now a Browning N 389965 and a Colt 45-caliber, a government model «C» N 78517.). Yurovsky first took the last revolver (There was a ten-round Mauser in his holster.), but then he handed it to Yermakov who put the third revolver in his belt. We could not help smiling at his warlike appearance.

We went up to the second floor. Yurovsky went to the tsar's apartments. Then he came back. Behind him, in single file, were: Nicholas II (He carryed Alexei in his arms; the boy was a haemophiliac; he had hurt his leg somewhere and could not walk on his own.); after the tsar came the tsaritsa, drawn up in her corsets, rustling her skirts; she was followed by her four daughters (among them I knew by sight only the youngest, plump Anastasia and the older Tatyana whom I would have been to kill under [Yurovsky's] plan to stab them. But I got the tsar himself from Yermakov); after the girls came the men: Dr. Botkin, the cook, the lackey and the tsaritsa's maid, a tall woman carrying white pillows. There were stuffed bear with two stuffed bearcubs on the stairway. For some reason all the people were crossing themselves, stepping over the stuffed animals before arriving downstairs. Pavel Medvedev, Grisha Nikulin and seven Latvians (Two of them had rifles with bayonets behind their backs.) followed them down the stairs. Yermakov and I completed the procession.

When everybody had entered the lower room (There was a very strange layout of entrances, and so we had to first come out into the internal yard and then re-enter the mansion.) it turned out to be very small. Yurovsky and

Nikulin brought three chairs, the last thrones of a dynasty condemned to death. The tsaritsa sat on one with a pillow near the right arch. The three elder daughters stood behind her. For some reason the youngest daughter Anastasia moved away to the housemaid who leaned against the frame of the locked storeroom door. The chair for the heir was placed in the middle of the room. To the right of it sat Nicholas II. Dr. Botkin stood behind Alexei's armchair. The cook and the lackey respectfully moved away to the arch pillar in the left corner and stood along the wall. The light of the lamp was so dim, that two women by the closed door look like silhouettes, and only two big pillows are showed white in the housemaid's hands.

The Romanovs were absolutely calm. There was no suspicion. Nicholas II, the tsaritsa and Botkin studied me and Yermakov attentively, because we were new people in the house. Yurovsky took Pavel Medvedev aside, and both went out into the neighbouring room. Now Grisha Nikulin was to my left, opposite the heir Alexei. The tsar was opposite me. On my right was Pyotr Yermakov. There was an empty space behind him where the Latvian detachment would stand.

Yurovsky came in rapidly and took his position near me. The tsar looked at him curiously. I heared the stentorian voice of Yakov Mikhailovich.

«I ask you all to stand up!»

Nicholas II stood up calmly, like a military man. Reluctantly, Alexandra Fyodorovna got up from her chair; her eyes flashed angrily. The Latvian detachment came in and lined up directly in front of her and the daughters; five men were in the first row and the two men with rifles were in the second row. The tsaritsa crossed herself. It became so still that everyone could hear through the window a car engine rattling in the yard. Yurovsky made half a step forward and addressed the tsar.

«Nicholas Alexandrovich! Attempts by your sympathizers to save you have failed! So, at a very difficult time for the Soviet Republic » Yakov Mikhailovich raised his voice and waved his arm energetically. «... we have been given the mission to end the Romanov Dynasty!»

The women cried out, «My God! Oh! Ah!» Nicholas II whispered «My God! My God! What is this?»

«This!» said Yurovsky, pulling the Mauser out of his holster.

«So we will not be taken anywhere?» asked Botkin in a toneless voice.

Yurovsky wanted to reply, but I was already squeezing the trigger of my Browning to send the first bullet through the tsar. Simultaneously with my second shot came the first volley from the Latvians, and my Comrades on the left and on the right fired. Yurovsky and Yermakov fired almost point-blank at Nicholas II's chest. With my fifth shot, Nicholas II fell heavily to the ground onto his back.

The women shrieked and moaned. I saw Botkin fall. The lackey sank near the wall and the cook went to his knees. The white pillow had moved from the doorway to the right corner of the room. In the haze of smoke a figure from the group of screaming women hurled herself at the closed door. But she fell, struck down by bullets from Yermakov who was already firing the second revolver. Bullets could be heard ricocheting off the pillars. Lime dust was flying. You could not see a thing in the room because of the smoke. The shooting continued, now at the fallen silhouettes, scarcely visible in the right corner. The shouts died away, but the shots still thundered. Yermakov was using his third revolver. We heared the voice of Yurovsky.

«Stop! Stop the firing!»

Silence. Our ears were ringing. A Red Guard was wounded in the finger and the neck maybe by a ricochet. Or maybe in the fog of gun powder he was grazed by bullets from Latvian rifles in the second row. The blanket of dust and smoke was thinning out. Yakov Mikhailovich named me and Yermakov representatives of the Cheka and the Red Army to certify the death of every member of the royal family. Suddenly in the right corner of the room, the pillow moved slightly, a woman cried out in joy, «Thank God! God has saved me!» Swaying, housemaid, still alive stood up. She had been covered by the pillows and the bullets got stuck in the down. The Latvians had already used up their cartridges. Then two men stepped over the bodies to housemaid and killed her with bayonets. At her final cries Alexei, who was slightly wounded, came to, and began to moan frequently. He was lying on the chair. Yurovsky went up to him and fired the last three bullets from his Mauser. The boy, silent, slowly dropped to the floor at his father's feet. Yermakov and I felt Nicholas's pulse. He was dead, riddled with the bullets. We examined the others and finished off Tatyana and Anastasia who were still alive with the Colt and Yermakov's revolver. Now all of them were dead.

Pavel Spiridonovich Medvedev, head of the guard, came up to Yurovsky and told him that the shots were heard in the yard. He brought Red Guards from the internal guard to carry away the bodies and take the blankets

that would be used to carry them to the car. Yakov Mikhailovich told me to take care of moving the bodies and loading them on the vehicle. Nicholas, lying in a pool of blood, was put on the blanket first. The Red Guards carried the emperor's body into the yard. I followed them. In the adjoining room I saw Pavel Medvedev, deathly pale, and vomiting. I asked him if he was hurt, but Pavel stayed silent and waved his hand.

Near the truck I met Filipp Goloshchyokin.

«Where were you?» I asked.

«I walked in the square and listened for the shots. They could be heard.»

He bent over the tsar.

«The end of the Romanov Dynasty, right?! Yes...»

The Red Guard brought out Anastasia's lap dog on a bayonet. When we passed the door to the upstairs, we heard a long piteous wail in the leaves. It was the last salute to the Emperor of all Russia. The dog's corpse was thrown beside the tsar.

«Dogs die a dog's death, » said Goloshchyokin contemptuously.

I asked Filipp and the driver to stand by the car while the corpses were carried out. Somebody brought a roll of smooth woolen military cloth. One end of it was spread out over the sawdust in the back of the truck. We began to put the victims on the cloth.

I accompanied every corpse. Now they had made something like stretchers from thick poles and blankets. In the room during packing I noticed some Red Guards taking off rings and brooches and putting them into their pockets. When all the corpses were in the truck, I advised Yurovsky to search the packers.

«We will take care of it», he said and ordered everybody to go upstairs to the commandant's room. He assembled the Red Guards and said, «I advice you to put all valuables from your pockets, that you took off the Romanovs, on the table. I will give you half a minute to think it over. Then I will search everybody and if I find anything, you will be shot on the spot. I will not permit looting. Understand?»

«But we only took them as souvenirs of this event», the embarrassed Red Guards mumbled, «so they would not go to waste.»

In a minute a pile of gold objects grew on the table. There were diamond brooches, pearl necklaces, wedding rings, diamond pins, gold watches of Nicholas II and Botkin and other things.

Soldiers went to clean the floors in the basement rooms. I went to the truck, counted the bodies once more. All 11 were accounted for. I covered them with the free end of the woolen cloth. Yermakov sat with the driver. Some guards with rifles climbed into the back of the truck. The truck started to move out through the wooden gates of the outer fence, turned right anc carryed the Romanovs' remains along Voznesensky Lane through the sleeping city and out of the town.

Outside Verkh-Isetsk, several versts from the village of Koptyaki, our car stopped in a big glade where we could see the black mouths of pits. We made fires to warm ourselves because the people in the back of the truck were chilled to the bone. Then we took turns pulling the clothes off the corpses and moving them to the abandoned mines. Yermakov sent Red Guards to the road to keep out anybody from the neighbouring village. The victims — first the Romanovs, then servants — were lowered with ropes down the mine shaft. The sun was already rising when we began to throw the bloody clothes into the fire.... Suddenly, something brilliant sparkled on a brassiere. We stamped out the fire and began to pick valuables out of the ashes and soil. In the lining of two other brassieres were seven diamonds, pearls, some coloured precious stones.

A vehicle rattled down the road. Yurovsky and Goloshchyokin drove up in a car. They looked into the mine shaft. At first they wanted to cover the corpses with sand, but Yurovsky said to let them sink into the water at the bottom. Nobody would search for them there anyway, because it was an area of abandoned mines and there were many shafts. To be on the safe side we decided to destroy the upper part of the shaft (Yurovsky had brought a box of grenades) but we had second thoughts. Explosions would be heard in the village and the destruction would be noticed. So we just covered the mine with old branches, boughs and rotten planks found near by. Yermakov's truck and Yurovsky's car started back. It was a hot day. All the people were very exhausted. Everybody was fighting sleep. Nobody had eaten anything for almost 24 hours.

The next day, July 18, 1918, The Urals Regional Cheka heard that all Verkh-Isetsk was talking about Nicholas II's execution and corpses that had been thrown down a deserted mine near Koptyaki. What a secrecy! Very likely, some participant in the burial told his wife in confidence, and then the wife passed it on and so it spread all over the district.

Yurovsky was summoned to the Cheka board. It was decided to send Yurovsky and Yermakov in a car to the mine that night to pull out all the corpses and burn them. My friend, Isay Idelevich Rodzinsky, a member of the board was assigned to the operation from the Urals Regional Cheka.

And so, the night of July 18-19, 1918 arrived. At midnight a truck with Rodzinsky, Yurovsky, Yermakov, Cheka people, a sailor Vaganov, other sailors and Red Guards (There were six or seven men altogether.) drove to the area of the abandoned mines. In the back of the truck were barrels of petrol and boxes containing bottles of concentrated sulphuric acid to disfigure the corpses.

All that I can tell about the operation of the reburial I got from my friends: the late Yakov Yurovsky and Isay Rodzinsky who is now in a good health. His detailed memories must certainly be written, because Isay is the only one in that operation who is still alive and who can identify the place where the Romanovs' remains were burned. It is necessary to record the memories of my friend Grigory Petrovich Nikulin, who knows the details of Grand Dukes' liquidation in Alapayevsk and Grand Duke Mikhail Alexandrovich Romanov's in Perm.

They drove to the mine. Two sailors — Vaganov and somebody else — were sent down to the bottom of the shaft where there was a small ledge. All the victims were pulled out of the water and up to the top by ropes tied to their legs. They were laid down side by side on the grass. As the Cheka members sat down to rest it became clear how misguided the first burial had been. A ready-made «miraculous relic» was there in front of us: The ice-cold water had not only washed away the blood completely but had also frozen the bodies so that they looked alive. There was even colour in the faces of the tsar, the girls and the women. Undoubtedly, in such a refrigerator, the Romanovs could be preserved in that excellent state for more then a month, whereas, I must point out, the downfall of Yekaterinburg was only several days away.

Day was breaking. The first carts moved slowly along the road from Koptyaki to the Verkh-Isetsky market. A security detachment of Red Guards were sent to block the road from both directions. They explained to the peasants that there would be a roadblock for some time, because criminals had escaped from prison and the district was surrounded by soldiers searching the woods. Carts were turned back.

There was no ready plan for reburial. Nobody knew where to take the corpses and hide them. So it was decided to try to burn at least several victims to reduce the number to fewer 11. The bodies of Nicholas II, Alexei, the tsaritsa and Doctor Botkin were selected, drenched with petrol and set on fire. The frozen corpses smoked, stank and hissed, but they did not burn at all. Then it was decided to bury the Romanovs' remains somewhere. They loaded

all 11 corpses into the truck (Four corpses had been partly charred.), drove out onto the Koptyaki road and turned toward Verkh-Isetsk. Not far from a crossing (probably over the Gorno-Urals railway — the locality should be pinpointed on a map by I. I. Rodzinsky), in a low, marshy area, the truck got stuck in the mud. It could not move forward or backward. Try as they might, they made no progress. Planks were brought from watchman's building at the railroad crossing, and the truck was pushed out of the swampy pit with a great deal of effort. Suddenly someone had an idea (Y. M. Yurovsky told me in 1933 that it was Rodzinsky's idea.): That pit right there in the road would be an ideal secret grave for the Romanovs!

The pit was deepened to black peat water. And there the corpses were lowered into the marshy quagmire, drenched with sulphuric acid and covered with soil. The truck brought a dozen old saturated rail ties from the crossing. Planking was laid above the pit. The truck drove over it several times.

The ties were pressed into soil and got dirty as though they have been always lying there.

And so in that marshy pit the last members of the House of Romanovs that had tyrannized Russia for 305 years, found their deserved rest! The new revolutionary power did not make exceptions for the crowned thugs of Russia: They were buried as Russia's highwaymen of yore had been — without a cross or tombstone. Thus the eyes of the people passing over this road to the new life would not catch sight of it.

That same day Y. M. Yurovsky and G. P. Nikulin drove to Moscow via Perm with the information for Lenin and Sverdlov about the Romanovs' liquidation. Besides the bag of diamonds and other valuables they carried all the diaries and correspondence of the tsar's family, photographic albums about the family's stay in Tobolsk (The tsar was a photography enthusiast.) and the two letters written with red ink by Beloborodov and Voikov to draw out the tsar's family's intentions. According to Beloborodov, those two documents would now prove to the ARCEC that there was an officers' organization set up to carry away the royal family. Alexander was afraid that Lenin would make him answer for the arbitrary execution of the Romanovs without ARCEC sanction. Besides, Yurovsky and Nikulin had to personally tell Sverdlov about the situation in Yekaterinburg and the circumstances that forced the Urals Regional Soviet to liquidate the Romanovs.

Beloborodov, Safarov and Goloshchyokin decided to announce that only Nicholas II had been shot and that the family had been hidden in a safe place.

On July 20, 1918 in the evening I saw Beloborodov who told me that he had received a telegram from Sverdlov. It said that at a July 18 session the All-Russian Central Executive Committee approved a resolution by the Urals Regional Soviet concerning the liquidation of the Romanovs. I embraced Alexander, and we congratulated one another. It meant that our predicament was understood in Moscow and that, consequently, Lenin approved of our actions. That same evening at a session of the Urals Regional Soviet Filipp Goloshchyokin publicly announced for the first time the execution of Nicholas II. There was no end to the audience's rejoicing. The information put the workers in high spirits.

A day or two later in Yekaterinburg's newspapers the news appeared that Nicholas II had been shot according to the people's verdict and that his family had been taken out of the town and hidden in a safe place. I do not know the true aims of Beloborodov's maneuver, but I suppose the Urals Regional Soviet did not want to tell the inhabitants that women and children had been shot. Probably there were some other reasons, but neither I nor Yurovsky (I met him often in Moscow in the early 1930s, and we talked a lot about the Romanovs' story.) were aware of them. Anyway, that deliberately false information in the newspapers inspired tales about the rescue of the tsar's children, Anastasia's escape abroad and other legends that are still alive.

So the secret operation on Russia's deliverance from the Romanov Dynasty came to an end. It was so successful that neither the secret of the Ipatyev house nor the place of the tsar's family burial were revealed to this day.

Medvedev

RCMHDSS. F. 588. Op. 3. D. 12. L. 43-58. Original.

No. 43

From the deciphered record of G. P. Nikulin's conversation in the Radio Commission about the royal family's execution

Moscow May 12, 1964

... — Our situation was very difficult. Yurovsky and I were waiting for the end. Certainly, we understood the end had to come. So, one fine day... yes, July 16, in the morning Yurovsky said me: «Well, Sonny, I've been summoned

there, to the Presidium of the Executive Committee, to Beloborodov. I will go and you stay here». Then three or four hours later he came back and said: «So, it was decided. Tonight... The town has just now announced a state of siege. Tonight we must carry out the liquidation... liquidate everyone.»

The question was how. There was a directive: do it without noise, do not advertise it, do it quietly. How? Well, we had several different ideas. Maybe go up and simply shoot each one in bed.

— When they be sleeping?

— Yes, when they be sleeping. Or call them to an inspection in one of the rooms and throw bombs in there. The last version appeared, to my mind, to be the best: summon them and say the house was being defended against an expected attack. They were to come down to the cellar for their own safety. So, at about 11:00 at night when we... Yurovsky went to Botkin and woke him. They had gone to bed at 11:00, maybe a little bit later. They had certainly gone to bed early. I woke him and told him what was happening. «Of course, we will defend the house. Would you ask the family to come downstairs?» Just before the shooting began, some people came to help us, for instance, Mikhail Alexandrovich Medvedev. He was working in the Cheka then. He seems to have been a presidium member, I do not remember exactly now. And Comrade Yermakov who behaved rather improperly and assumed the main role for himself. Afterwards, he said it was he who had done it on his own without any help. When he was asked, «So, how did you do it?» he said, «Well, easily, I just fired, that is all. » Indeed there were eight executioners: Yurovsky, Nikulin, Mikhail Medvedev, Pavel Medvedev was the forth, Pyotr Yermakov was the fifth. I am not sure, that Ivan Kabanov was the sixth. And I do not remember the names of two others.

When we came down to the cellar, we realized we should have put chairs there. There was Alexei, you know. He could not walk and it would be necessary for him to sit down. Well, that had to be done immediately. When they came down to the cellar they began to exchange puzzled glances. Immediately the chairs were brought and Alexandra Fyodorovna sat down. The heir was set down and Comrade Yurovsky said something like, «Your friends are attacking Yekaterinburg, and therefore you are condemned to death. » They did not even grasp what was happening. Nicholas said only, «Ah!» At that moment came our volleys — the first, the second, the third. Well, some of them, so to speak, did not seem to be killed. So we had to finish off some of them...

— Do you remember who was not dead?

— Well, it was those... Anastasia and the one covered with a pillow, yes, Demidova. Demidova used the pillow as a shield. We had to pull the pillow off to kill her.

— And what about the boy?

— The boy was right there... he was still 'noving. They finished him off quickly.

I believe, that for our part we showed humanity. Then, you see, I fought in the Third Army's 29th Infantry Division, I figured if I were taken prisoner by the White Guards and they treated me in such a way, I would be happy. Because they generally treated us atrociously.

— How long did the whole operation last?

— Well, you see, first, it took them a long time to get ready. Why? I will tell you. The operation took about two hours. Yes, it took them an hour and a half to get ready. Then, after they came down, everything was finished in half an hour. There was a truck waiting in the yard. By the way, its engine was running to, how should I say, make things inaudible. We carried the corpses out in blankets into the truck.

— So, all the residents went into...

— All of them, all 11 people, except for a little boy, Sednev.

— The little cook?

— Yes, the little cook. We removed him in the morning of the 16th to the guards' building. Then, later, we let him go to his village. All 11 people were shot. So, when I often, well, sometimes recounted my memories, it was usually in the sanatorium. You rest. People come up, say, «Say, look, tell us your stories». So, I agreed, but on condition that a reliable group of Comrades, members of the party were assembled. They asked this question: «Why all of them? Why?» Then, I explained why. First of all, to have no pretenders to anything.

— Yes, any member of the dynasty could become a pretender.

— Well, yes, if even a corpse had been discovered, obviously, some relic would be created from it, you see, and some kind of counter-revolution could be formed around it.

— The following question arises often: «Were Vladimir Ilich Lenin, for instance, Yakov Mikhailovich Sverdlov and other of our leading central comrades aware of the tsar's family's execution beforehand?» It is difficult to say, if they were aware beforehand or not, but I think that insofar as Beloborodov,

that is to say Goloshchyokin, went to Moscow twice for the negotiations about the Romanovs' fate, it follows there were talks about it. Besides, Bykov and I were aware that there was to be a trial of the Romanovs supposedly, at first, in a broad way, a kind of national trial, but then, when all sorts of counter-revolutionary factions were surrounding Yekaterinburg all the time, the question about organizing of such revolutionary trial had come up. But it was not carried out. The trial as such did not take place, and as a matter of fact, the execution of the Romanovs was carried out according to a resolution by the Urals Executive Committee of the Urals Regional Soviet...

RCMHDSS. F. 588. Op. 3. D. 13. L. 17-19. Original.

No. 44

From the deciphered conversation with I. I. Rodzinsky in the Radio Commission about the royal family's execution

Moscow May 13, 1964

— Would you tell us about the note made with red ink. The original documents were, so to say, buried in the archives.

— Ah, the correspondence I carried on with Nicholas. Yes, of course, in the archives, undoubtedly, I think, the documents, I do not know, where they show it, in the Museum of the Revolution, apparently. There, apparently, are two letters I wrote in French with my signature... in a foreign language. Russian officer. With red ink, I remember it as it were now. Two letters were written, we wrote them. That is how it was decided. That was several days before, of course, all those events. We decided in any case to begin a correspondence in a certain way that a group of officers, on that score, that liberation was approaching, so they directed them so they would be ready, so that... and so on. And they were really organizing according to those letters. You see, two aims were pursued. On the one hand, the documents about preparation, at that time they were necessary, because, hell, in case of... For that time, for some period, apparently it was really necessary to have evidence that a rescue had been prepared. But now what is the good of talking, the documents actually exist. It is necessary to say that apparently no rescue was organized. The other side would be happy if it turned out. But, apparently, they were occupied with other things, more with organizing a counter-revolution, than with finding the tsar's family.

— Would you answer one more easy question about the note. Would you say Beloborodov and Pyotr Lazarevich had anything to do with this note or not?

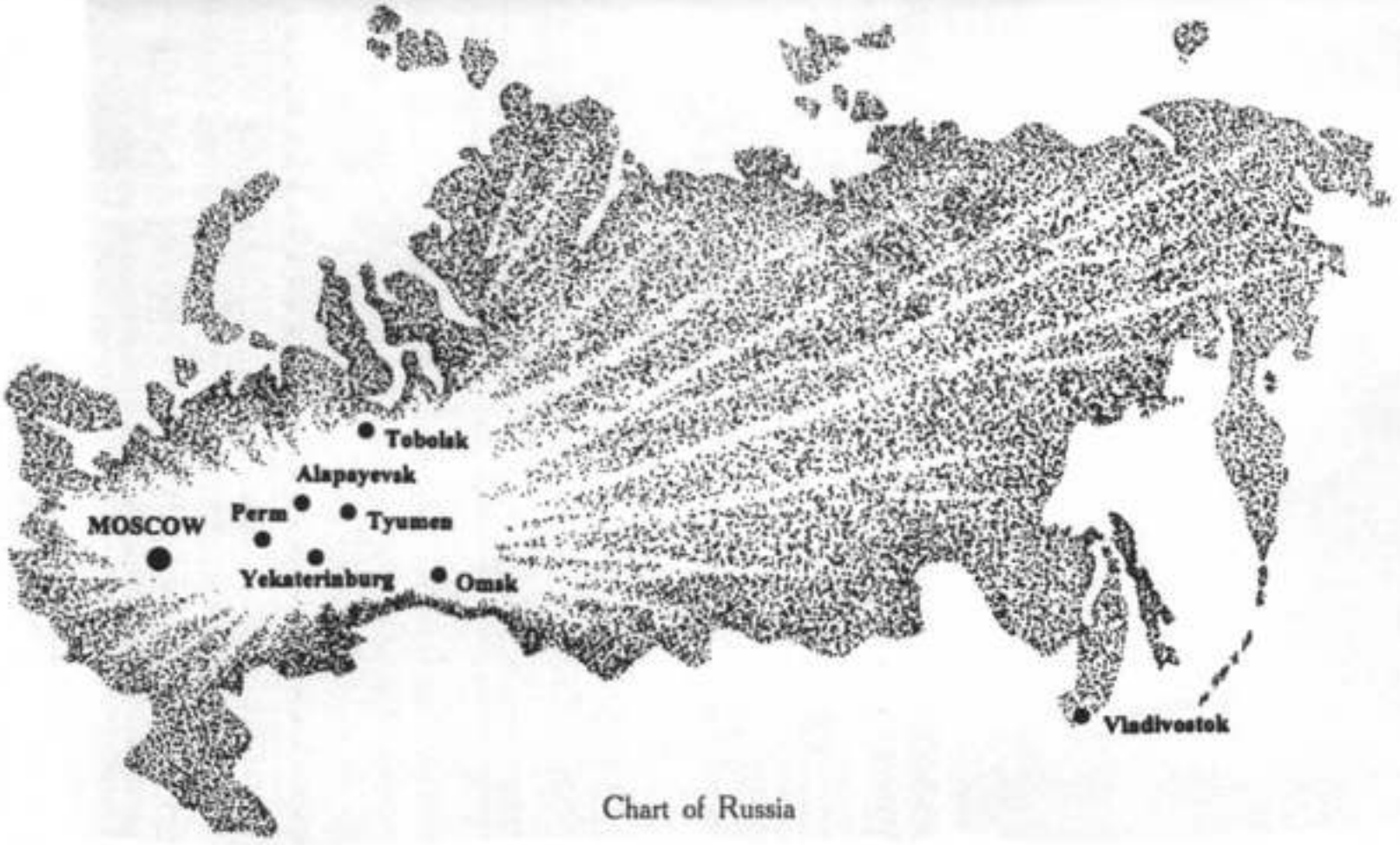


Chart of Russia



The Emperor Nicholas II



The Empress Alexandra Fyodorovna



Cesarevitch Alexei



The Grand Duchesses



The Emperor's Family



Nicholas Romanov visiting military camps in the South Urals



The Grand Duke Nicholas Alexandrovich (future Nicolas II) in Orenburg (May, 1890)



Michael Romanov (in the centre)



Physician-in-ordinary Ye.S.Botkin



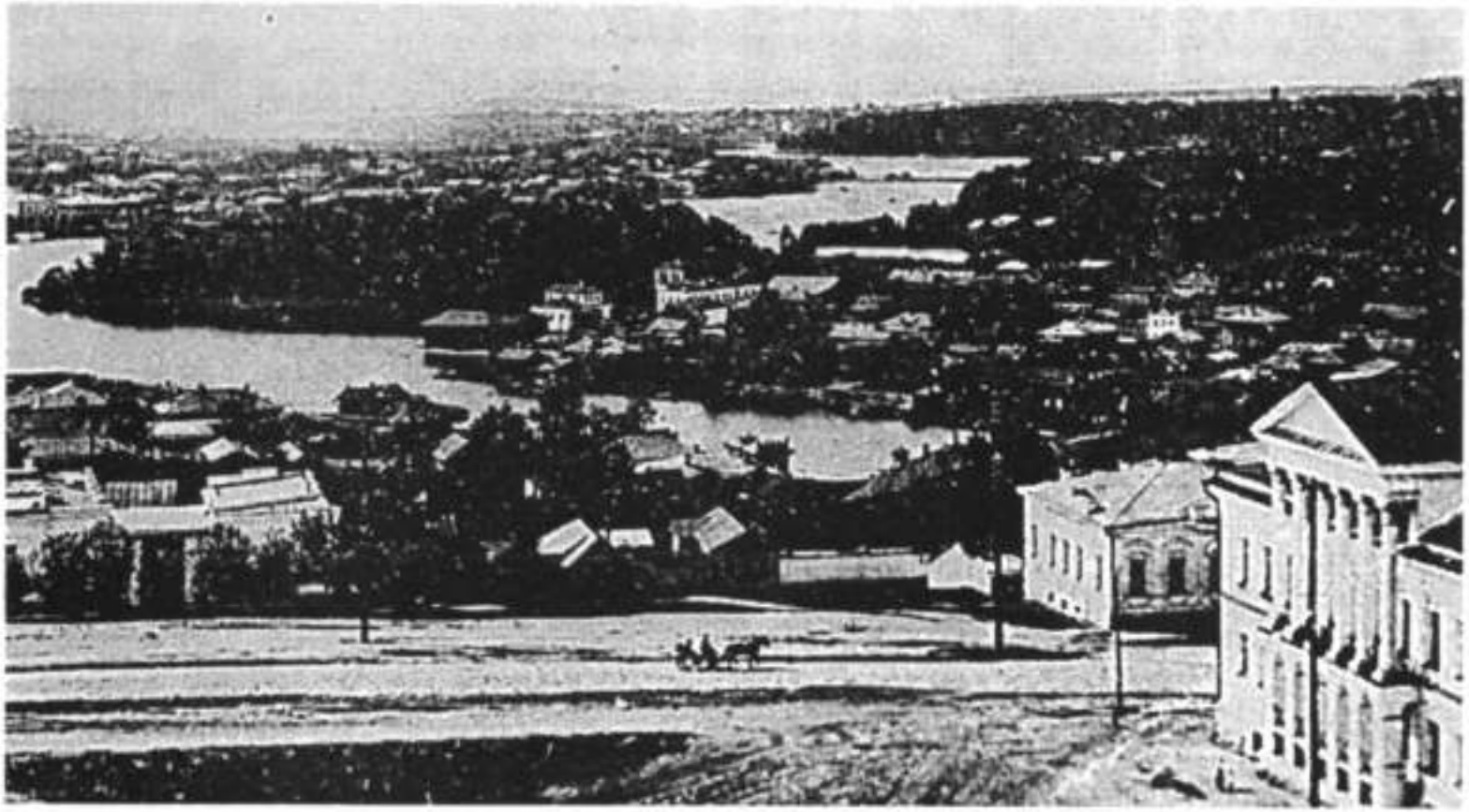
Parlourmaid A.S.Demidova



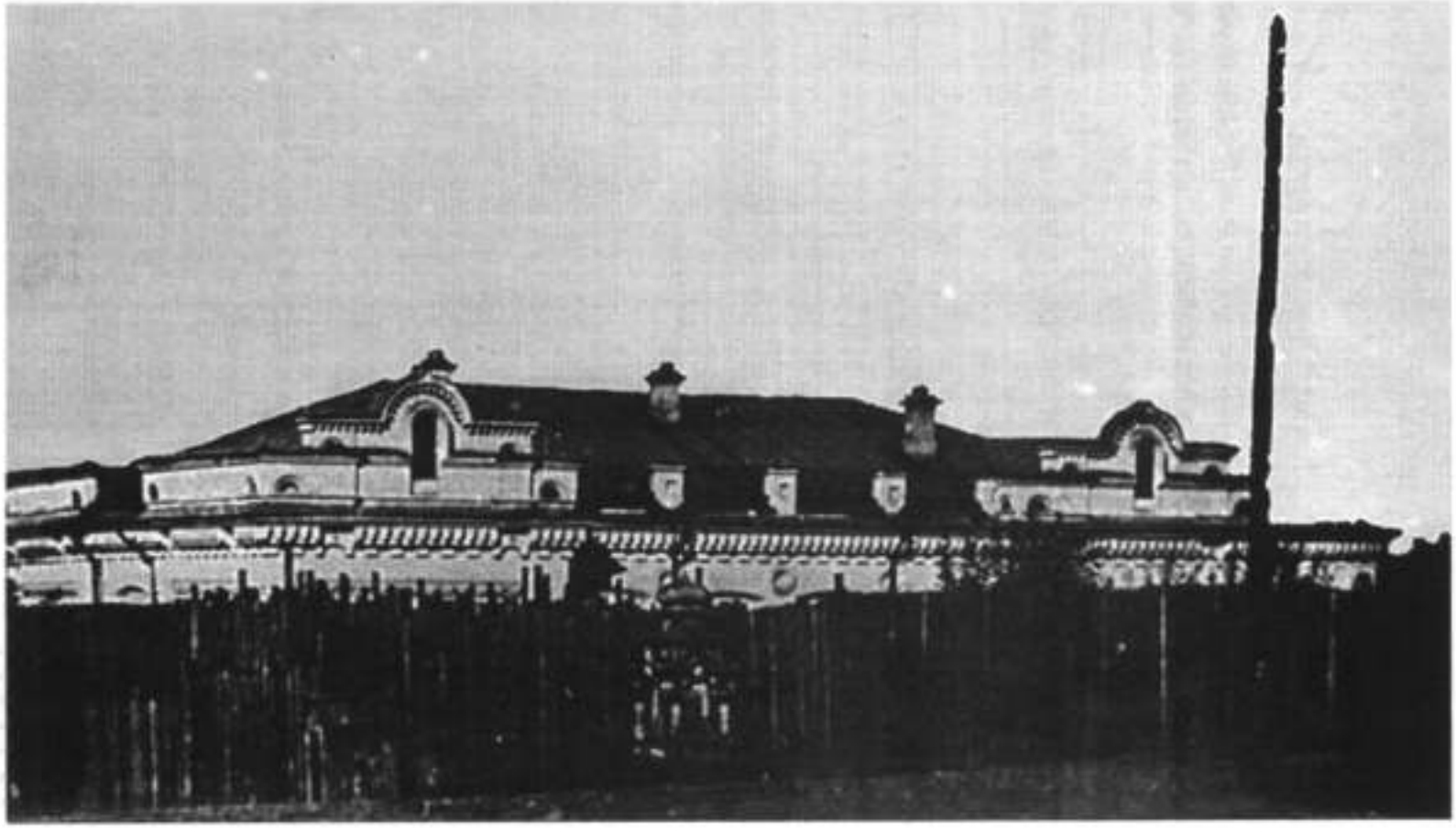
The tsar's family near the train on their way into exile



Taking a walk near the Governor's House in Tobolsk



Yekaterinburg, 1918. In the left-hand bottom corner - the Ipatyev House.



The Ipatyev House in Yekaterinburg. 1918



ТЕЛЕГРАФЪ ВЪ МОСКВѢ

ТЕЛЕГРАММА

ПРИДСЕДАТЕЛЮ СОВНАРКОМА ТОВ ЛЕНИНУ

ПРИДСЕДАТЕЛЮ М. Ц. СВЕРДЛОВУ

ЕКАТЕРИНБУРГА ОБ У АППАРАТА ПРЕЗИДИУМ ОБЛАСТНОГО СОВЕТА РАБОЧАГО КРЕСТЬЯНСКАГО ПРАВИТЕЛЬСТВА ТОЧКА

Служебные отвѣтка

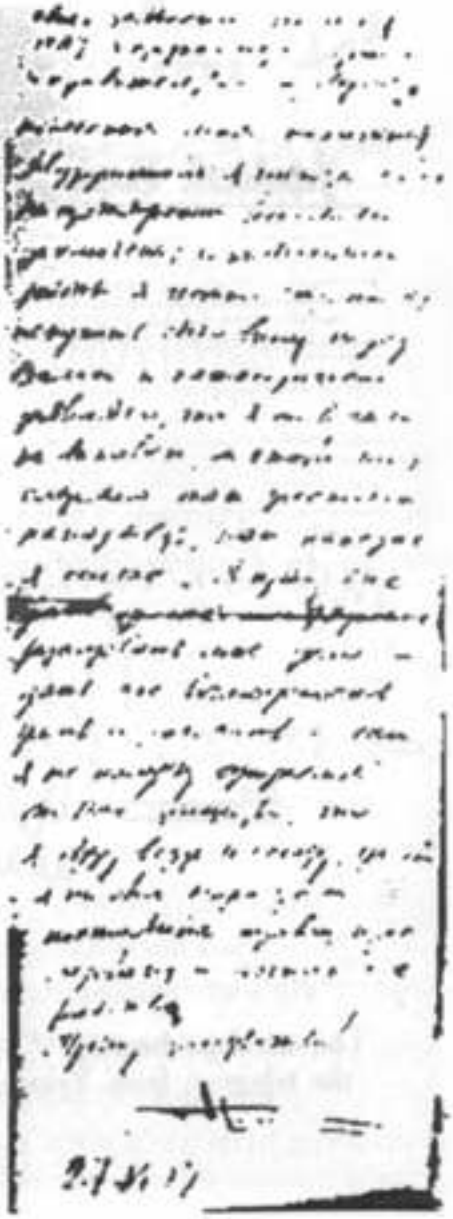
ВВИДУ ПРИБЛИЖЕНИЯ НЕПРІЯТЕЛЯ К ЕКАТЕРИНБУРГУ И РАСКРЫТИЯ ЧРЕЗВЫЧАЙНОЙ КОМИССИЕЙ БОЛЬШОГО БЕЛОГВАРДЕЙСКАГО ЗАГОВОРА ИМЕВШАГО ЦЕЛЬЮ ПОХИЩЕНИЯ БЫВШАГО ЦАРЯ И ЕГО СЕМЬИ ТОЧКА ДОКУМЕНТЫ В НАШИХ РУКАХ ТОЧКА ПОСТАНОВЛЕНИЮ ПРЕЗИДИУМА ОБЛАСТНОГО СОВЕТА В НОЧ НА ШЕСТНАДЦАТОЕ ИЮЛЯ РАЗСТРЕЛЯН НИКОЛАЙ РОМАНОВ ТОЧКА СЕМЬЯ ЕГО ЕВАКУИРОВАНА В НАДЕЖНОЕ МЕСТО ТОЧКА ПО ЕТОМУ ПОВОДУ НАШИ ВЫПУСКАЮТСЯ СЛЕДУЮЩЕЕ ИЗВЕЩЕНІЕ ТОЧКА ВВИДУ ПРИБЛИЖЕНИЯ КОНТР РЕВОЛЮЦИОННЫХ БАНД КРАСНОЙ СТОЛИЦЕ УРАЛА И ВОЗМОЖНОСТИ ТОГО ЧТО КОРОНОВАННЫЙ ПАЛАЧ ИЗБЕЖЫТ НАРОДНАГО СУДА ОКОВКИ РАСКРЫТ ЗАГОВОР БЕЛОГВАРДЕЙЦЕВ ПЫТАВШИХСЯ ПОХИТИТ ЕГО И ЕГО САМОГО И НАЙДЕНЫ КОМПРОМЕНТИРУЮЩІЕ ДОКУМЕНТЫ

The telegram informing of Nicholas II's execution



The envelope bearing V.I.Lenin's signature confirming his getting the telegram from Yekaterinburg on the morning of Romanovs' execution



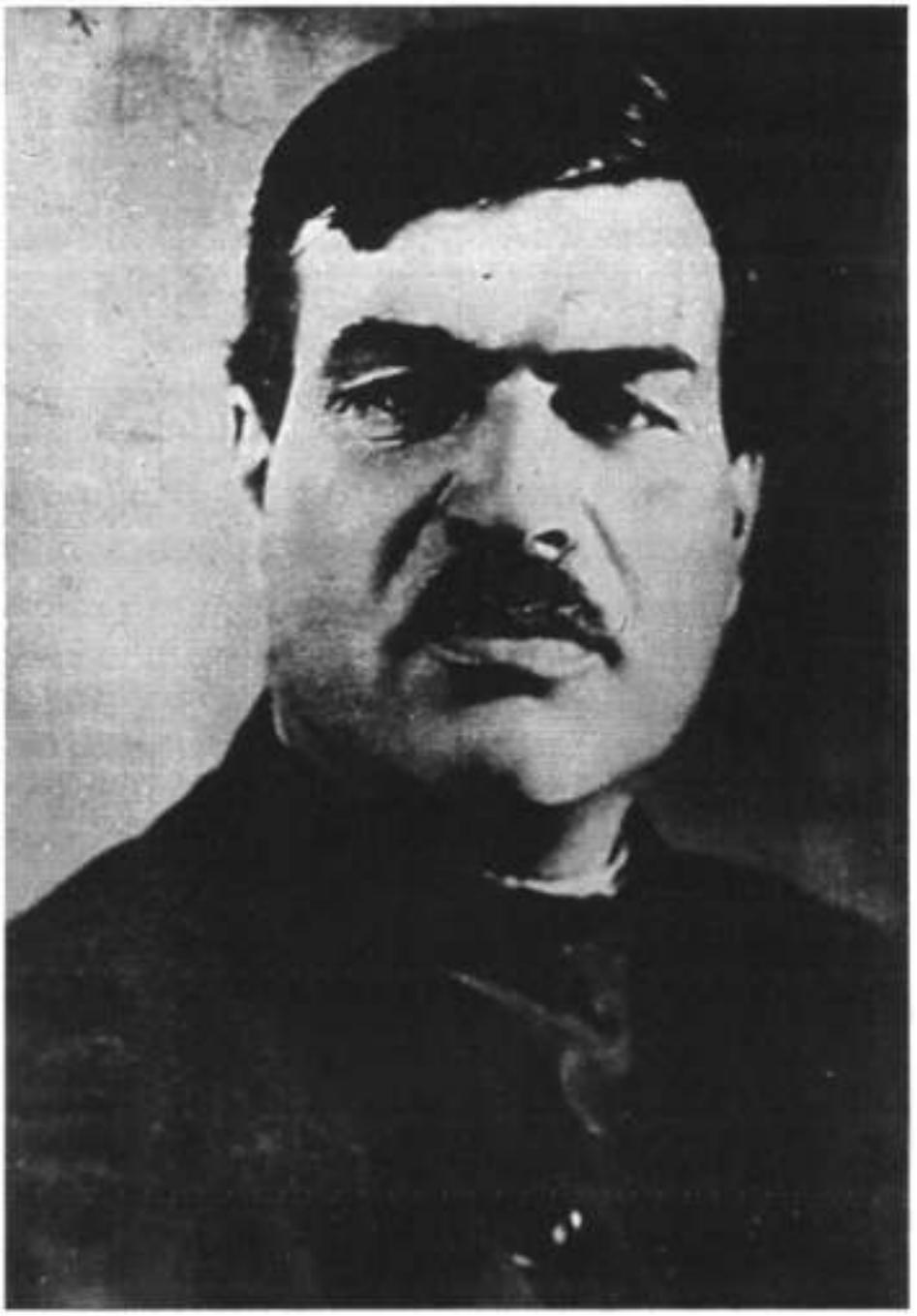


Commissar V.V.Yakovlev.

The page from Commissar Yakovlev's letter to Stalin and Yezhov



The members of the Presidium of the Urals Soviet: N.G.Tolmachyov, A.G.Beloborodov, G.I.Safarov, F.I.Goloshchyokin



Ya.M.Yurovsky - Commandant of the House of Special Purpose



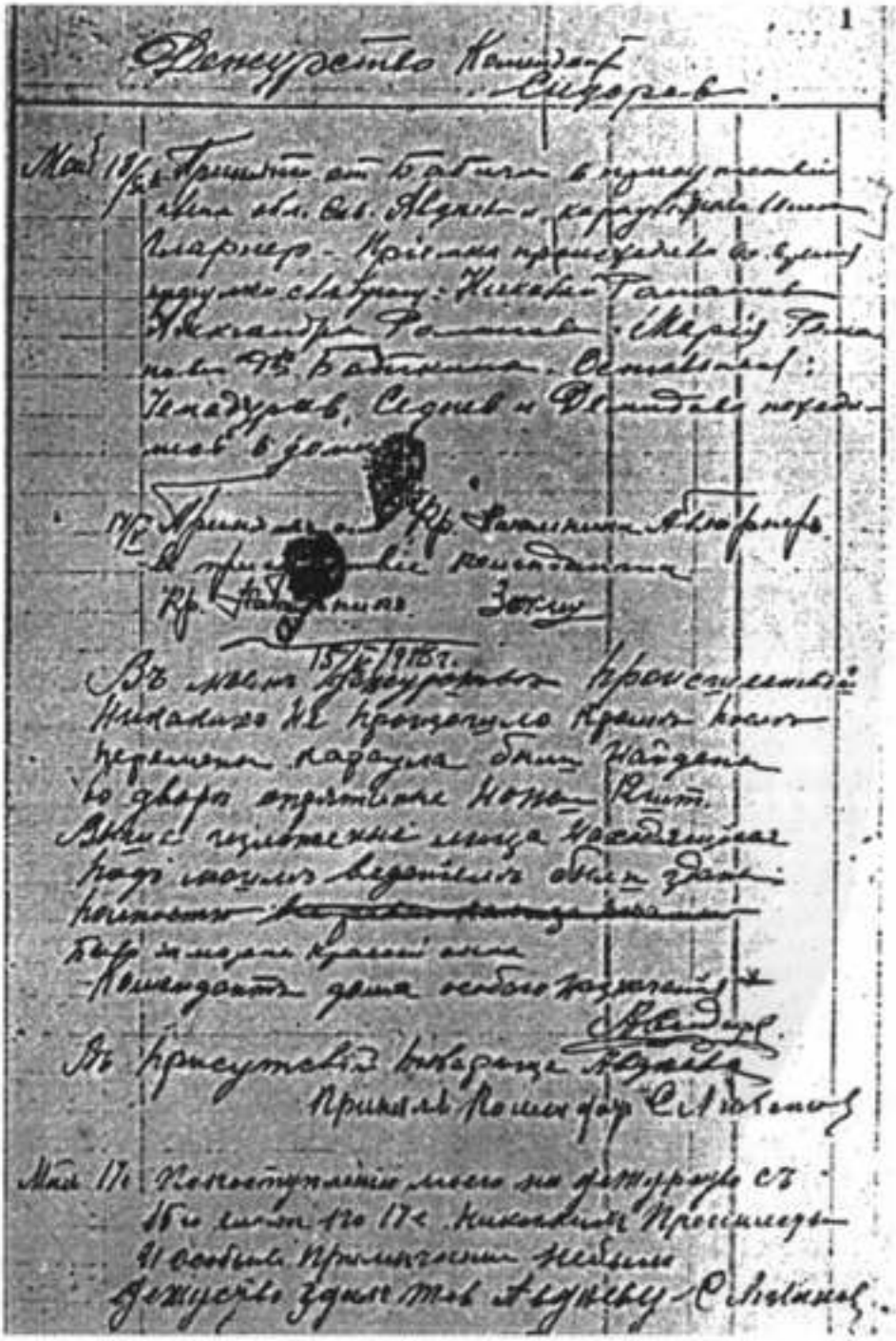
G.P.Nikulin - Deputy Commandant of the House of Special Purpose



Commissar P.Voikov



Commander-in-Chief of the Northern Ural-Siberian Front
Reinhold Berzin



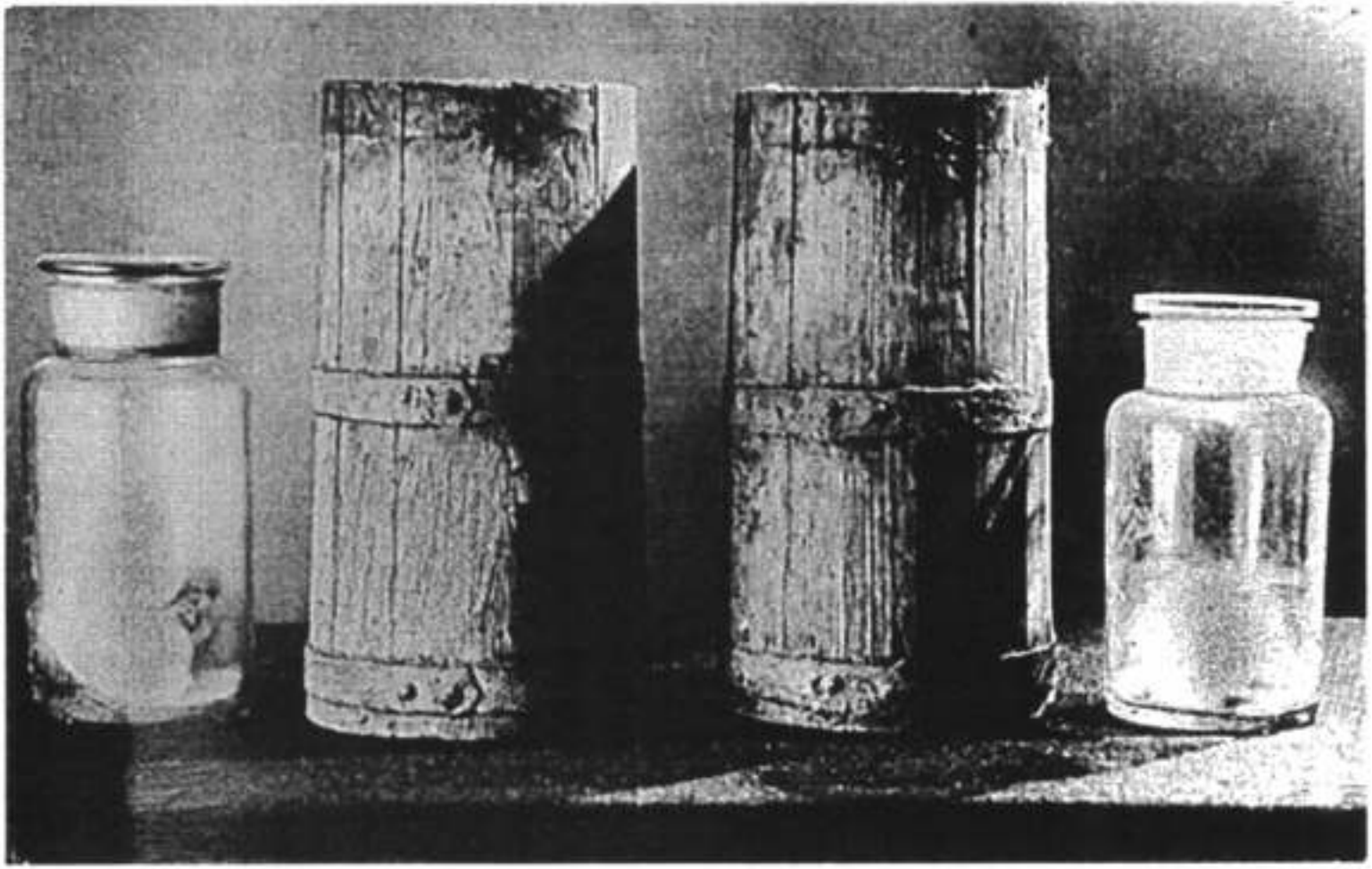
From the Book for registration of duties of members of the detachment of Special Guard charged with guarding Nicholas II and his family



Coroner Nikolai Sokolov with his family



The house of the fishing business owner V.M.Kornilov in Tobolsk in the cellar of which the valuables of the tsar's family were discovered



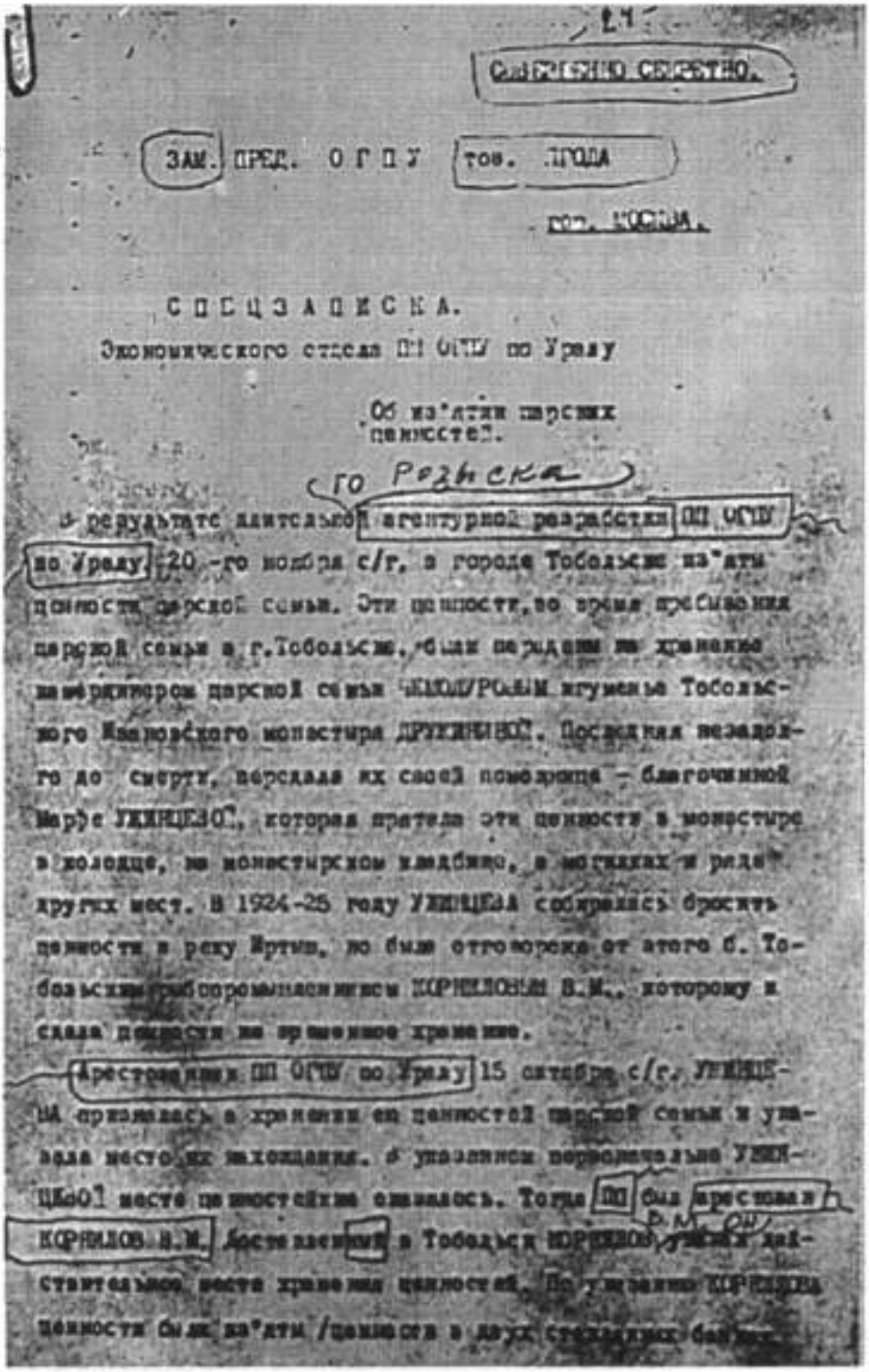
The glass jars and tubs in which the Romanov valuables were kept



The Urals Cheka officials who uncovered the Romanov jewelry



A. Vasilyev, priest of the Tobolsk Church of the Annunciation
who kept the emperor's treasures hidden in a secret place



СОВЕРШЕННО СЕКРЕТНО.

ЗАМ. ПРЕД. О Г П У тов. ЯГОДА

гор. МОСКВА.

С П Е Ц З А П И С К А.

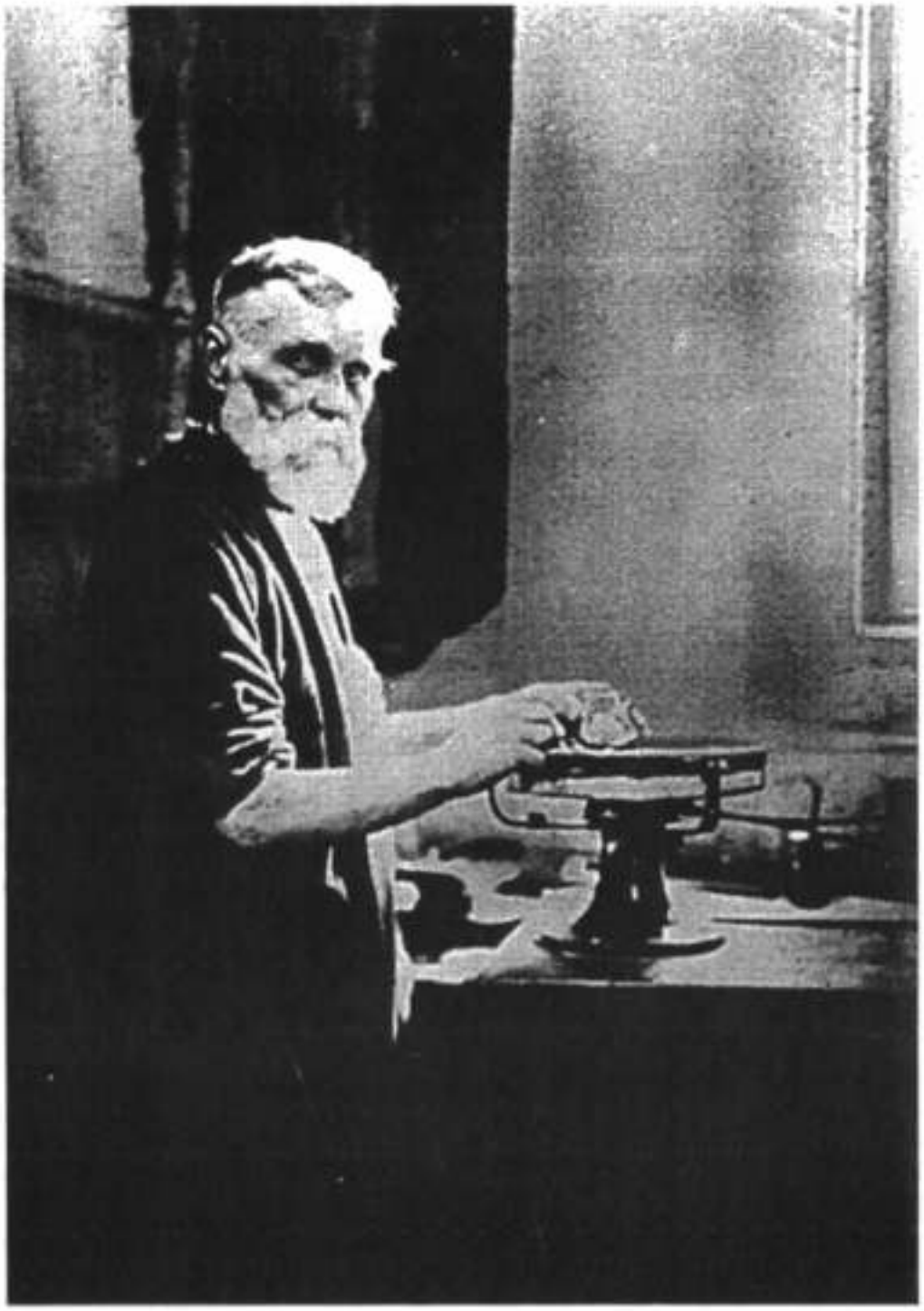
Экономического отдела ПП ОГПУ по Уралу

Об из'ятии царских ценностей.

В результате длительной агентурной разработки ПП ОГПУ по Уралу 20-го ноября с/г, в городе Тобольске из'яты ценности царской семьи. Эти ценности, во время пребывания царской семьи в г.Тобольске, были переданы на хранение камердинером царской семьи ЧЕМОДУРОВЫМ игуменье Тобольского Ивановского монастыря ДРУЖИНИНОЙ. Последняя незадолго до смерти, передала их своей помощнице - благочинной Марфе УЖИНЦЕВОЙ, которая прятала эти ценности в монастыре в колодце, на монастырском кладбище, в могилках и ряде других мест. В 1924-25 году УЖИНЦЕВА собиралась бросить ценности в реку Иртыш, но была отговорена от этого б. Тобольским рыбопромышленником КОРНИЛОВЫМ В.М., которому и сдала ценности на временное хранение.

Арестованная ПП ОГПУ по Уралу 15 октября с/г. УЖИНЦЕВА призналась в хранении ею ценностей царской семьи и указала место их нахождения. В указанном первоначально УЖИНЦЕВОЙ месте ценностей не оказалось. Тогда ПП был арестован КОРНИЛОВ В.М. Доставленный в Тобольск КОРНИЛОВ В.М. он указал действительное место хранения ценностей. По указанию КОРНИЛОВА ценности были из'яты /ценности в двух стеклянных банках.

The special note from the OGPU concerning the tsar's jewelry



Borovskikh, appraiser of the emperor's treasures

О. Г. П. У.

ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКИЙ ОТДЕЛ П.П. ОГПУ ПО УРАЛУ
(наименование органа)

и делу №

ПРОТОКОЛ ДОПРОСА

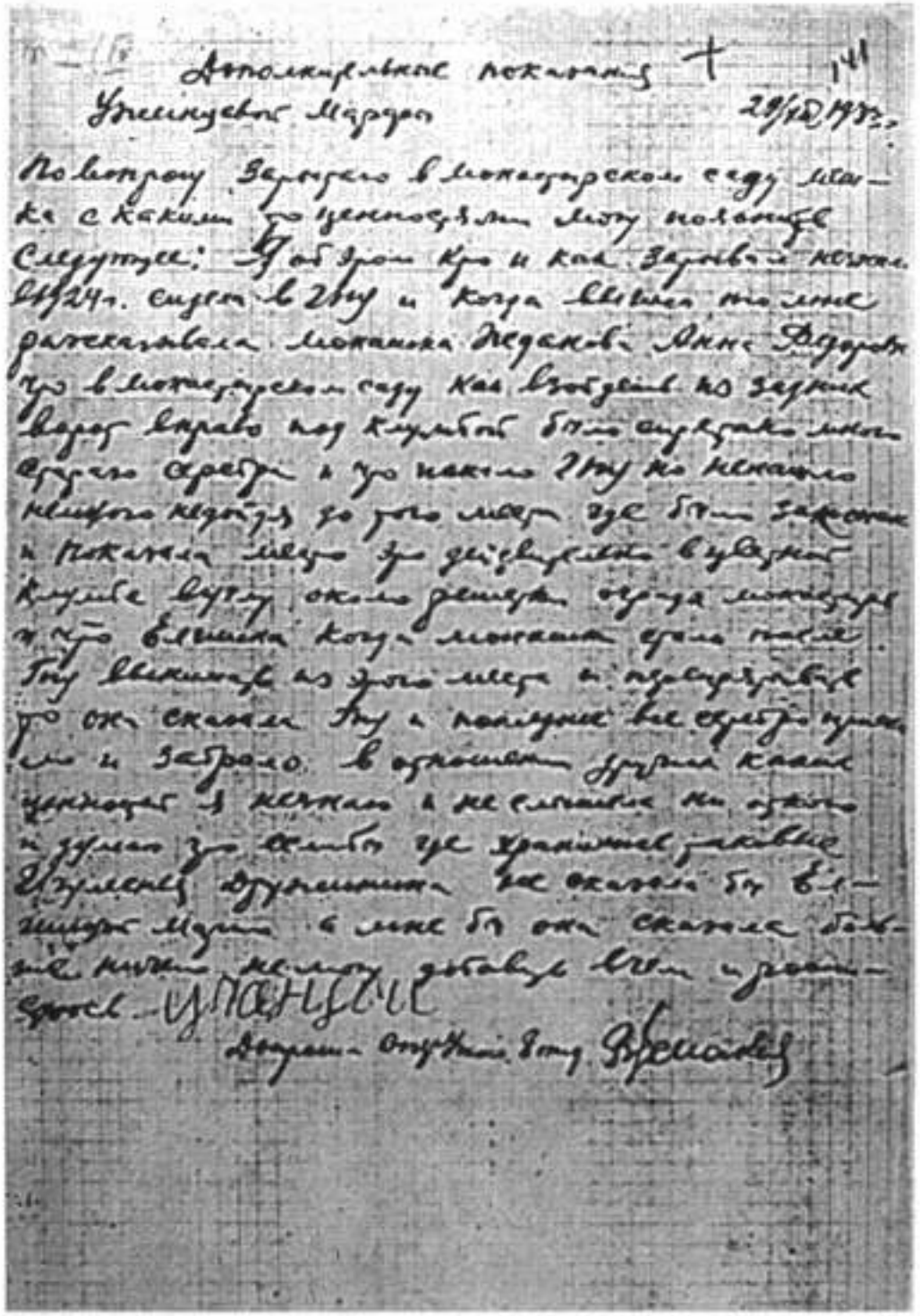
193 3 г. ноября мес. 29 дня, в Зам. Нач. ЭКО ПП СЧАСТЛИВЦЕВ

рашивал в качестве обвиняем гражданина(ку) УЛИЩЕВУ

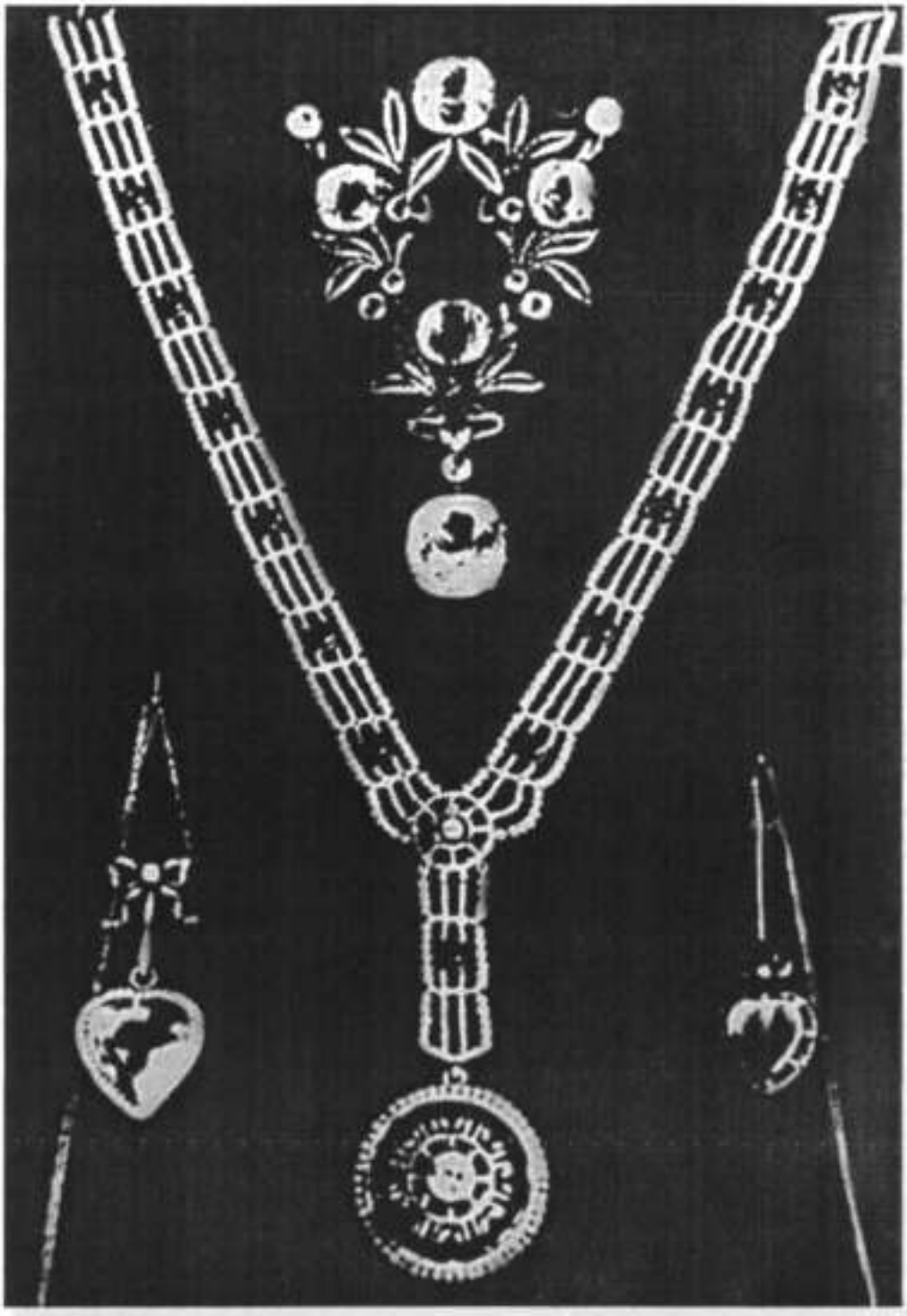
и на первоначально предложенные вопросы он(а) оказал(а)

1. Фамилия УЛИЩЕВА
2. Имя, отчество Марфа Андреевна.
3. Возраст (год рождения) 1875 г.р.
4. Происхождение (откуда родом, кто родители, национальность, гражданство или подданство)
с.Книжниково,б.Тобольского уезда,той же губ.родители-крестьяне, Русские;гр.СССР.
5. Местожительство (постоянное и последнее)
гор.Тобольск,Нало-Сибирская улица,д.№-11.
6. Род занятий (последнее место службы и должность)
Нанимаюсь на сезонные с/х работы.
7. Семейное положение (близкие родственники, их имена, фамилии, адреса, род занятий до революции и последнее время) Одинокая; имею брата УЛИЩЕВА Павла Андр. - 65 л.
8. Имущественное положение (до и после революции допрашиваемого и его родственников)
Родители имели зажиточное крестьянское хозяйство.Брат имел мужную торговлю в г.Тобольске.
9. Образовательный ценз (первоначальн. образования, средняя школа, высшая, специальн. где, как и т. д.)
Нигде не училась,почти неграмотна.
10. Партийность и политические убеждения
б/п.
11. Сведения об общественной и революционной работе

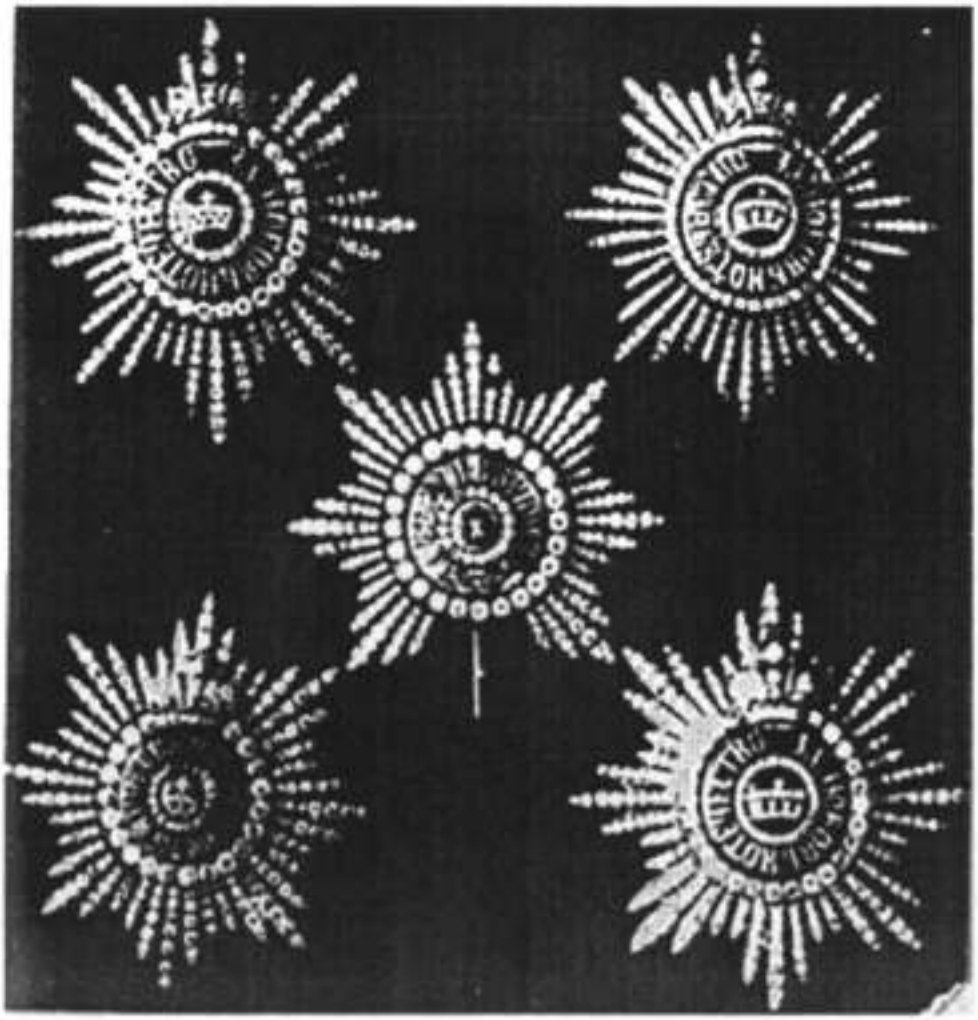
An interrogation protocol



Additional testimony of Marfa Uzhintseva



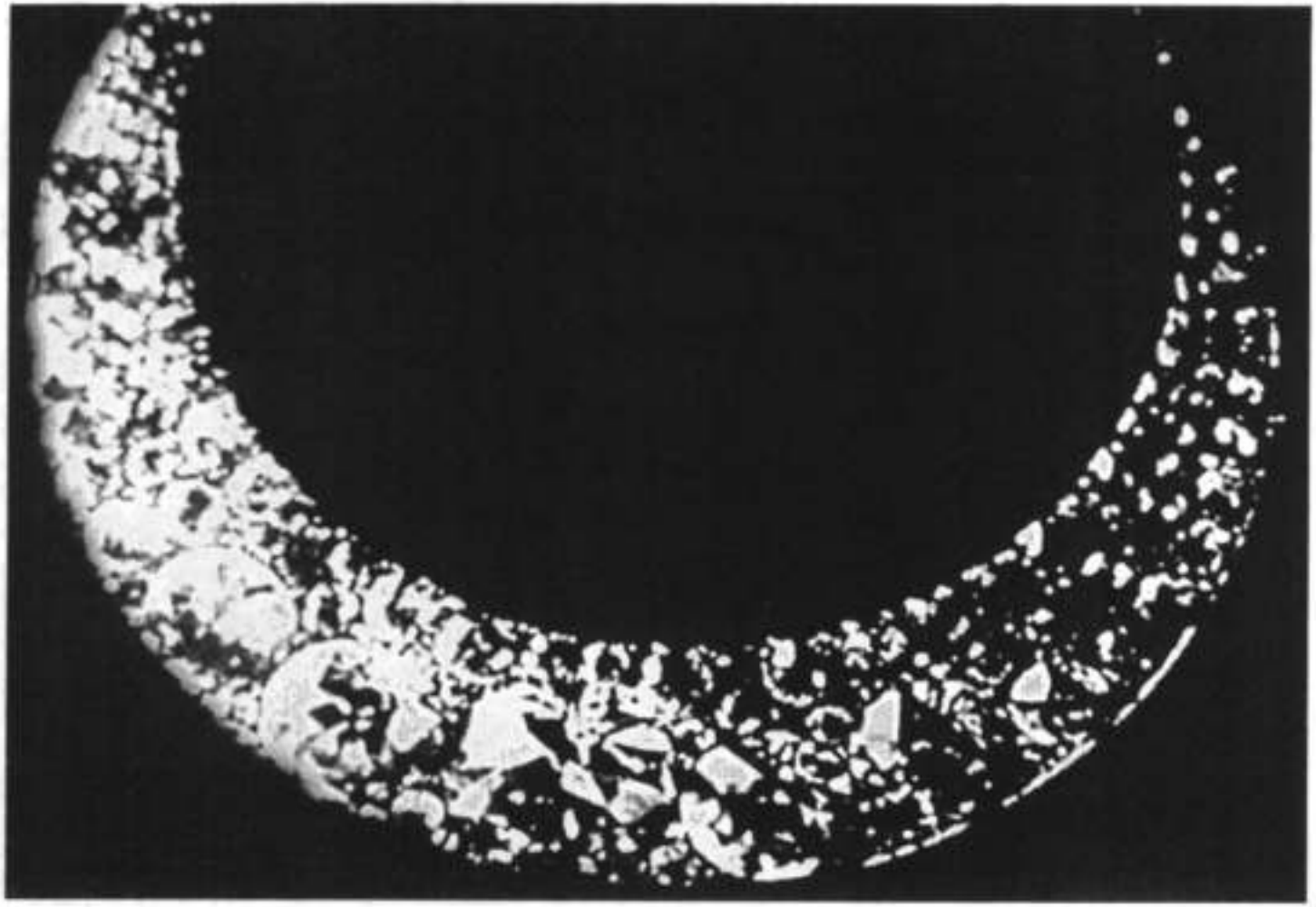
A precious pendant and medallions (unique photo of the 1930ies)



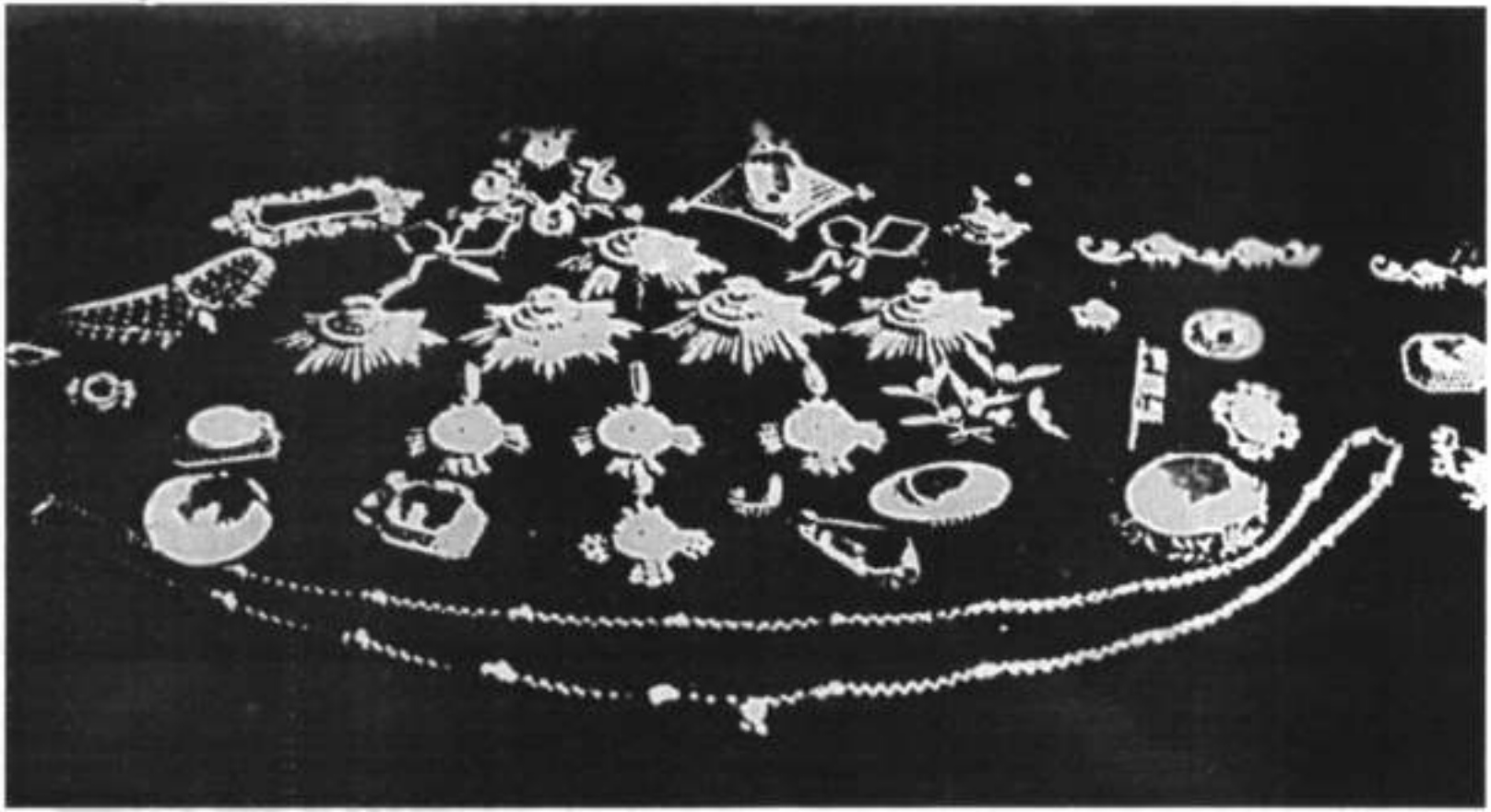
The Stars of Andrei the First-Called Orders



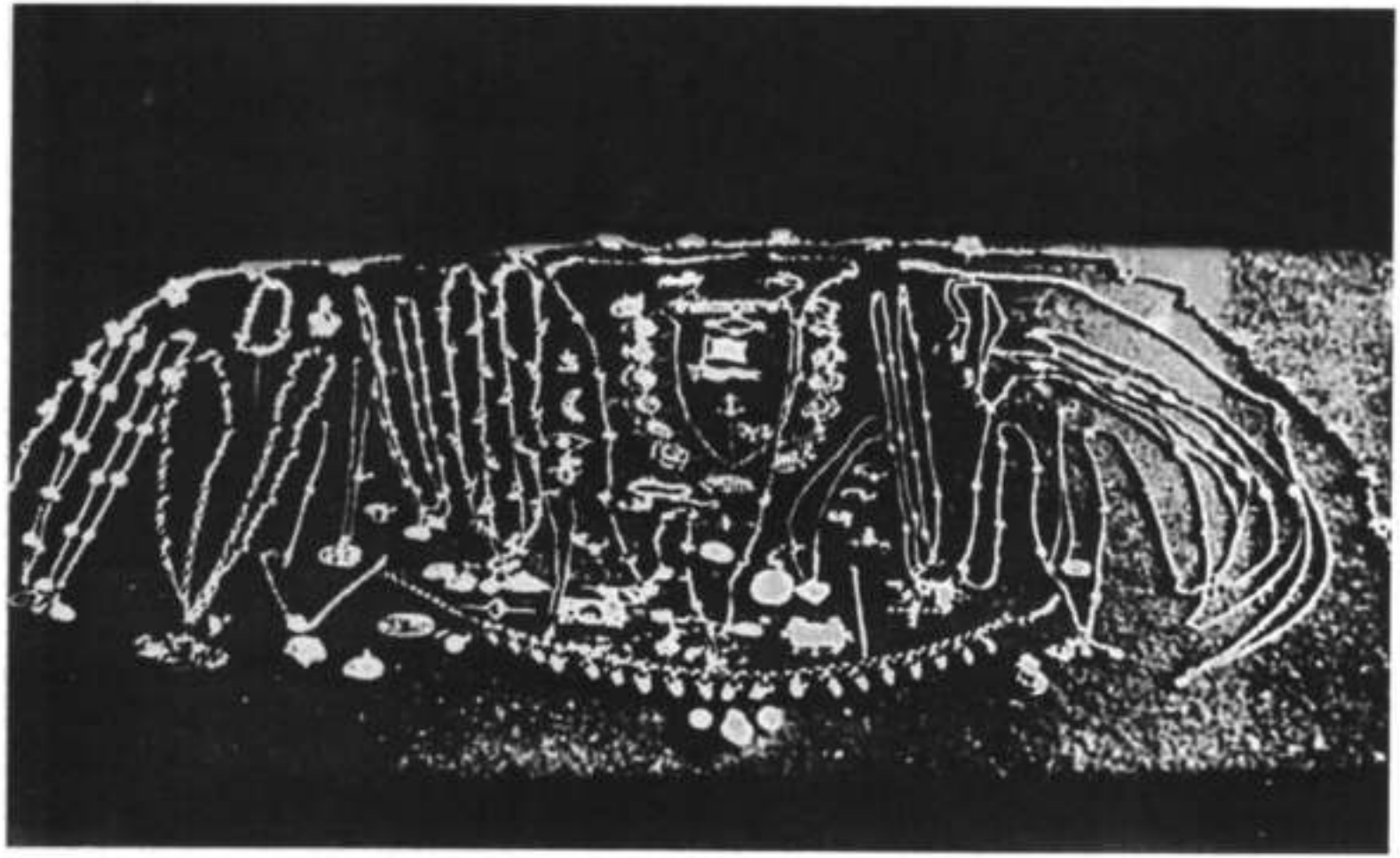
The diamond brooch with a stone in the middle (100 carats)



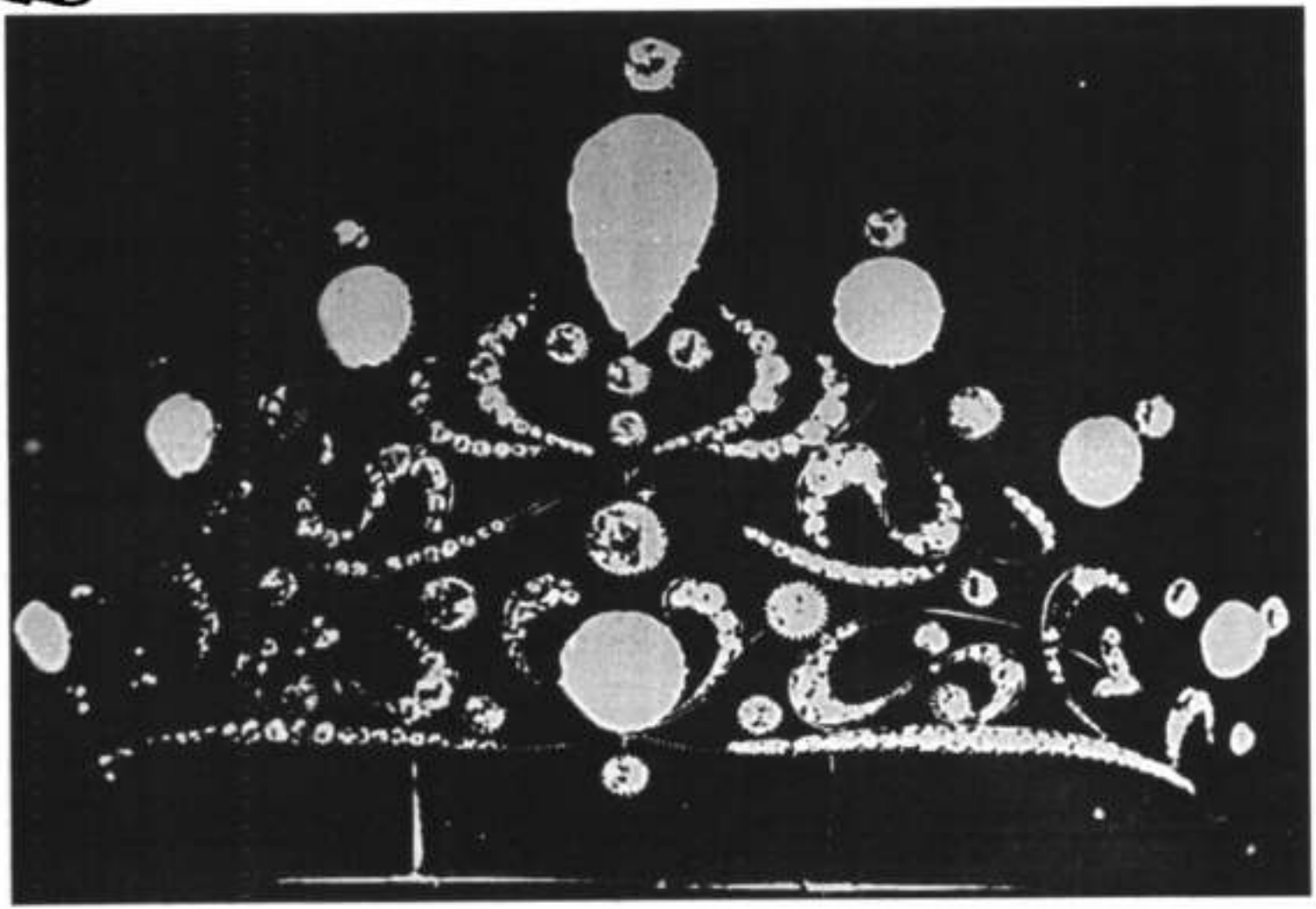
The diamond crescent with five big stones (70 carats each)



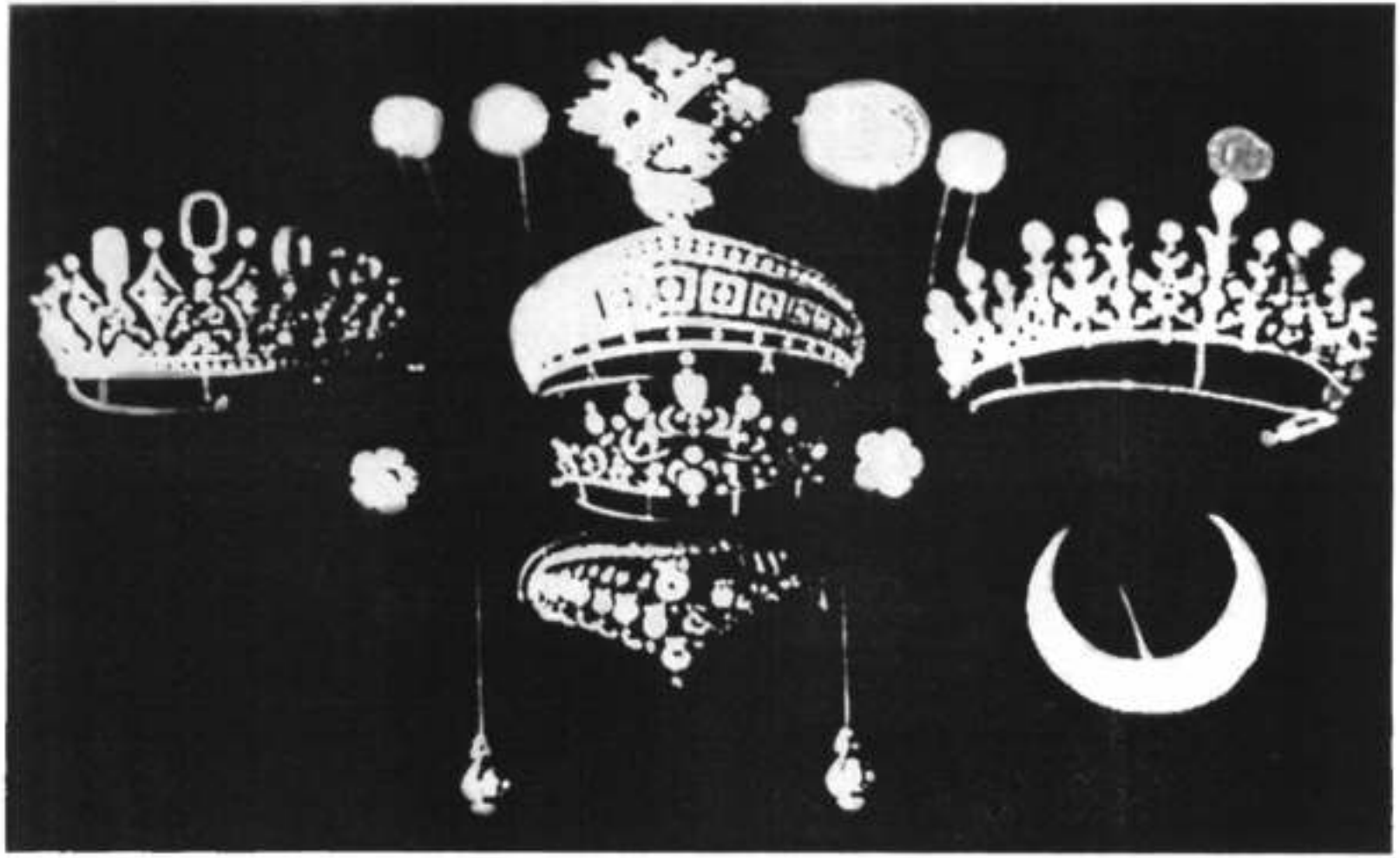
General picture of medals, panagias and brooches



Tsar's jewels on the table of Soviet Cheka officials



Diamond diadem



Romanovs' diadems



Pulling down the Ipatyev House on September 16, 1977



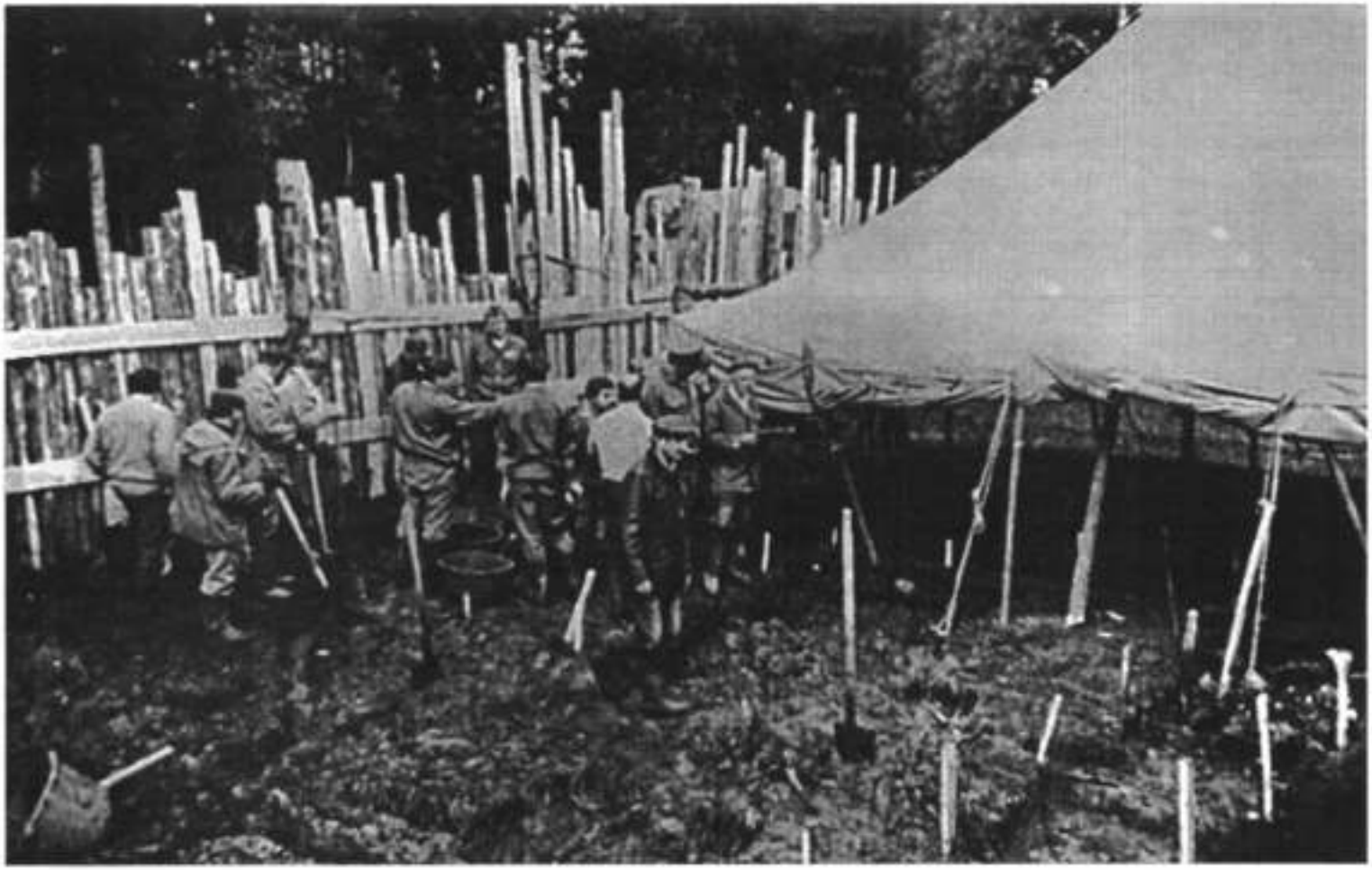
Yekaterinburg, 1995. To the left, is the Chapel put up in the name of the Reverend New Martyr Yelizaveta Fyodorovna. To the right, the cross at the place of the demolished Ipatyev House.



The road to Koptyaki



The site where the supposed remains of the tsar's family have been found



1991. The archaeological dig at the supposed site of the interment of the tsar's family



The laying of the first stone of the Church on the Blood of all the Saints who shone in the Russian land



The religious procession to the place of the execution (1992)

— Ah, yes, they did. I forgot to mention it. Those letters were written not only by me. It was the other way. So, we usually worked together, Beloborodov, Voikov and me. I was a representative of the Urals Regional Cheka. Moreover, Voikov was the food commissar of the region...

So, we decided it was necessary to prepare such and such a letter. The text was taking shape then and there. We made up the text to prompt them to answer. Voikov dictated in French and I wrote it down. So the handwriting in the letters was mine. As I recall, the second time we also passed on two letters through someone in the internal guard. There were two lines of guards. So the man was from the interior one. There were two fences, a comrade in the interior was specially selected to pass on [the letter].

— Ah, he handed it to the tsaritsa or...

— I think to her, the tsaritsa. The tsaritsa was the mistress there.

— Were there any letters from there or not?

— I do not remember now. In any case no. There were none from there. No, there were no letters from there.

— How many days before the shooting were the letters sent?

— A week before it, it seems, a week or a week and a half before...

So, the following occurred with the burial, that is, with concealing the traces. A ridiculous thing came of it. The absurdity was the following. It seemed from the very beginning it was necessary to decide where to do it. The affair after all was too serious. Besides, if the White Guards discovered those remains, do you know what would they do? A religious relic. The religious marches. They could exploit the ignorance in the countryside. Therefore the question of hiding the traces was even more important than the execution itself. I ask you, what's to shooting people down? It is not difficult. It did not matter what titles they had. After all, concealment was the most responsible thing so that no traces remained, so that nobody could use them for counter-revolutionary aims. It was the most important. But nobody thought about it. And this action was somehow concentrated in Yermakov's hands. What a Comrade. He seemed to be a local person, to know everything, how to hide things, but nobody asked where he intended to hide the bodies. He did not work at our Cheka. He was known as a local person and the local administration apparently decided that he knew what, where and how. That's why we used him and, you know, the results were terrible. By the way, during the shooting Goloshchyokin was walking along the fence of the house to find out if anybody could hear what was going on there.

Yes, so it was necessary to hide [the bodies]. Where? Bury them? That was nonsense. It was possible to unearth them, to follow the fresh tracks. So what to do drop them into the mines. They should have understood beforehand that it was not a good way because it would be known they were shot here and the mines would somehow be checked. And they would find [the corpses]. And here's what came of it. Everything was done according to the instructions of that same Comrade Yermakov. We took [the bodies] to a certain mine...

Two men were sent on reconnaissance. But we arrived on bad horses. Yurovsky and I talked it over and decided that he had to go and report first what had been done and second that we had decided it was necessary bring kerosene and sulphuric acid without fail. So it fell on us to handle things. And then the food for the group. And he left. And he came back with a truck and brought all these bottles with sulphuric acid and a lot of kerosene, and something else that was very inflammable. He came back late. And we took turns guarding the road and went to the village. By the way, those investigator had evidence from the village. We went there to drink milk. By the way, it was said there was a raid on criminals. It was the only village near by, there was nothing more.

Yurovsky came back. Some time later our scouts arrived and also reported that they had found an abandoned mine somewhere in a ravine. The mine was deep, because they went down into it and said there was a bog on the bottom and it would suck [the bodies] in. We prepared weights there. Then we decided to burn some of them and to put the others into the mine or to burn all of them. Anyway we would disfigure everybody. Then try to identify anyone! It was important for us that there would not be 11 bodies, because it was possible to identify the grave according to this. Well, so what? So people had been shot and thrown down [the mine]. But who? The tsar or who?

So, we loaded them on the truck, all this pile, and decided to follow the directions of those comrades, who had been out on reconnaissance. We went with heavy hearts, not knowing if there would be any cover. We argued. Maybe we should just burn all of them and to hell with it. We considered it. Well, we would do it somehow. At least we were on the way.

But there something unexpected happened. Suddenly our truck got stuck in a rut. It turned out a quagmire was there. Night was coming on. We moved a little. We tried to pull the truck out, and barely did so. Then we had a bright idea which we implemented. We decided we could not find a better place. Immediately we dug up the quagmire. God knows, it was deep. So, we laid out some those folks and we poured sulphuric acid over them, disfigured everybo-

dy, and then we threw them into the quagmire. There was a railroad not far. We got rotten railroad ties, laid a span over the bog itself. The ties were laid out like a small bridge over the quagmire. Near it we began to burn the rest.

Well, I remember Nicholas was burned, Botkin also, I cannot say for sure now. That's the way my memory is now. How many bodies did we burn? Four or five or six people were burned. Whom, I do not remember exactly. Nicholas, him I remember for sure. Botkin and, as I recall, Alexei. And, it is true, I must tell you, a human body, oh, when it is burning the smell is terrible. Botkin was fat. We burned them for a long time, poured kerosene on them and burned them, used something powerfully active, put wood under them. We spent a lot of time on it. During the burning I even went to the town, reported there and came back. It was night already when I arrived in the Berzin's car. In such a way, so to speak, we did away with them.

— You kept the women separate, didn't you?

— No, some of the women also went there. And since we had already dropped a number into the marsh, they would not find when they searched all the mines, all the mines...

Well, in a word, it was then in a theater. A meeting was held there. We all came. We were interested to hear the reaction. So the maximum number of people from our organization came and took their places. I was there also. The regional organizations opened the meeting. Goloshchyokin made a report.

I must say, the people assembled there were a random group — ladies in bonnets, average people. There were no workers because of the time. I do not know why the meeting was organized that way, I can't say. But in any case that was it. The impression the assembled people made was this: The Philistines had come.

I told you there were ladies in bonnets. Moreover, some were in tears. We watched. Clearly, that's how it was. Somebody did not believe it. They said the Bolsheviks lied about the execution. We heard that after the meeting. They did not believe that they could kill the tsar. I must say that when Goloshchyokin made his report at the meeting he suddenly said the phrase «from Nicholas to the little one», which, of course, he should not have said. But the people apparently did not catch it. It was a talk about Nicholas, not about his family.

Well, and at the plants they knew only about Nicholas. The information was received with enthusiasm. That moment was used widely in propaganda activity, mainly, to create Red Army units. It inspired great revolutionary enthusiasm. We

spent another eight days in Yekaterinburg. I must tell you, we left Yekaterinburg and nobody shot at us. The enemy was organized in such a way, that while we were still in the town Kolchak's people were already quartered there...

— Isay Ilich, maybe you have heard: Did Yurovsky have a talk with Lenin then? Did.he write a report for him?

— As for Yurovsky, that's the way it was. After the shooting, the commandant of the House of Special Purpose was summoned to Moscow. I know it. I can not say now that it was Lenin or Dzerzhinsky who summoned him. But it is not important, strictly speaking. The fact is that he was summoned to give a report. I only saw him in 1936.

After that I did not see Yurovsky. When I visited him he already had heart disease. A year later he died. I wanted to talk to him about it, but I was just passing through Moscow at that time. I was secretary of the regional party committee in the Caucuses and did not have time to talk. But I have no doubt that when he was in Moscow (he remained here in Moscow) he became a member of the AREC Presidium. After that it is perfectly clear that the matter did not end with an oral report. A document with his signature must be somewhere, with his interpretation of all the circumstances. It could not be any other way.

I can not imagine that they did not demand an explanation from him. Where it is, I do not know. I was also looking for my own documents for pension, because when I was arrested in 1937 nothing was saved. In 1940 I was lucky somehow and was set free. I was not convicted, but my case was under investigation for three years. They let me go at last, but my documents were not returned. I looked all over for my documents and I specifically referred to the documents of Yurovsky that had to be somewhere. With great difficulty I found my documents. In the Yekaterinburg Archives they found a copy of a certificate on my name. It was in a file with photographs of the House of Romanovs.

RCMHDSS. F. 588. Op. 3. D. 14. L. 23-25, 31-35, 41, 45. Original.

PART IV

THE ROMANOVS' VALUABLES

No. 45

List of gold articles handed over by Y. Yurovsky, commandant of the House of Special Purpose to Kremlin Commandant P. Malkov*.

1) Gold man's watch, Pavel Bure No. 88964 14-carat gold — 1.

2) Lady's gold ellipsoid-shaped watch, no hallmark — 1.

3) Lady's gold chain with 5 rubies — 1.

4) Man's gold chain of gold coins, with it: a big catch — ring, 1 trinket with a smooth sapphire, 1 gold egg with a crown, 1 white trinket, 1 gold flat trinket with the inscription «sepores mais», 1 trinket — a heart with a ruby, 1 small locket with the date 1905 and initials O. H. (a chain of russian coins of Catherine's time in the value of 10 rubles, without a hallmark.)

5) 1 man's gold chain of turtle shell with a big catch ring, 1 flat gold trinket with the date May 6, 1884, letters С. П. Б., 1 gold trinket with printed mat, a small cross with the date April 8, 1904 with initials А. Ф., 1 gold French trinket, a trinket — pencil. (The chain is gold, some trinkets have no hallmark.)

6) 1 short gold chain with the gold medal of Georgy the Triumphant. (The medal is without a hallmark.)

7) 1 lapel gold chain with trinkets: a flat one with the date 1890-91, a gold key, 2 small gold ones, 1 with a ruby with Х. В., 1 gold sankis zhaboy**, 1 with letter А., 1 with white enamel and the date 1903, 1 horseshoe, inside there is an inscription with uncut diamonds, 1 chrysopras trinket, 1 with eagles.

8) 1 gold chain shatelaine with uncut diamonds, enamel and golden-smoky topaz, 18 — carat gold, with the date 1912 and initials Е. Л. К. А., 1 gold wind-up key.

9) 1 gold chain shatelaine with uncut diamonds, with goldish-emerald enamel, the date December 6, 1909, Livadiya, 1 trinket with Andrey's ribbon.

10) 1 tobacco case with lace, monogram, French letter N, the date 1898, uncut diamonds on edge of lid and inscription inside — Sevastopol, Livadiya, 1898.

11) 1 gold tobacco case with lace, monogram, initials and crown on the lid and diamond of lemon colour on the lock.

12) 1 platinum cigar-case with lilac enamel in a gold open-work setting with diamond of clear water in the lock and inscription: Petersburg May 29, 1897.

13) 1 gold tobacco case in yellow enamel frame with small uncut diamonds on lock, inscription [...]*** 1975 г.

14) Gold frame with portrait of Al[exandra] Fyod[orovna] with red enamel.

15) 1 gold brooch with rubies and chrysolite, one of the latter was lost.

16) Gold frame, star-shaped, with white and yellow enamel with portrait of Al[exandra] Fyod[orovna].

17) Purse for silver coins of 15 and 10 kopecks in value, gold, in black setting (no hallmark).

18) 1 trinket in gold setting with inscription: Monplaisir 1830 (no hallmark).

19) Gold trinket with red enamel (no hallmark).

20) [A trinket] — egg, Ural stone of lilac colour.

21) [A trinket] — cross with red enamel.

22) A trinket with a crown.

23) [A trinket] Faith, Hope, Love.

24) 2 gold settings for earrings with halo.

25) Small egg of red enamel.

26) Gold ring with inscription: Varvara.

27) 2 gold dates*** 1896 and 1914.

28) A gold pen with inkstand with inscription: Victorik.

29) The same.

30) Gold pencil with ivory handle.

31) Gold pen.

32) 1 ivory cigar case with the mark of Al[exandra] F[yodorovna].

33) 1 Black flat man's watch.

34) Man's blue steel watch with jumping digits.
35) Black, open, table clock No. 235.
36) Coral string.
37) 2 beads strings of emerald colour and a blue one.
38) Gold chicken with egg.
39) Gold box with small egg.
40) Small box with small twig on cover.
41) Small cat with egg.
42) Gold pencil.

The things listed above received ****

Kremlin Commandant — Malkov

The things listed above handed over****

House of Special Purpose Commandant — Y. Orlov (Yurovsky)

SARF. F. 601. Op. 2. D. 41. L. 1-2. Original.

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* The date of transfer of the valuables is not noted.

** So stated in the document.

*** Illegible.

**** Here and further inserted in the documents by hand.

No. 46
List of silver *

1) 1 silver teapot.	No. 35
2) 1-»-»-	No. 28
3) 1-»-»-	No. 36
4) 1-»-»-	No. 26
5) 1-»-»-	No. 6
6) 1-»-»-	No. 34
7) 1-»-»-	No. 32
8) 1-»-»-	No. 19
9) 1-»-»-	No. 27
10) 1 coffeepot -»-»-	No. 36
11) 1 big pitcher	No. —
12) 1 cream jug	No. 19

13) 1-»-»- No. 21
14) 1 silver sugar basin No. 35
15) 1-»-»- No. 5
16) -»-»-»-»- No. 19
17) 2 silver candlesticks with the letter A.
18) Ladle with fractured handle.
19) 1 funnel
20) 1 coffeepot No. 26
21) 1 inkstand with silver lid.
22) 1 small basket for visiting cards.
23) 1 triangular ashtray with inscription: Sevastopol, Cruiser Moscow, May 6, 1886.
24) The same with autographs of the entire family.
25) 1 knob.
26) 1 four-place frame.
27) 1 cigar case with Andrey's flag.
28) 1 cigar case, Livadiya November 14, 1911. Alix.
29) 1 cigar case with smooth ruby, sapphire in the lock, date 1903.
30) 1 perfume vial.
31) 1 collapsible icon with cross overhead, red enamel.

Silver

1) 1 teapot No. 41.
2) 1-»- No. 36
3) 1 sugar basin No. 3
4) 1-»- No. 75
5) 1 mirror in a sil[ver] frame
6) 1 teapot No. 1
7) 1-»- No. 3
8) 1-»- No. 6
9) 1 slop basin No. 5
10) 1 milk jug No. 9
11) 1 slop basin No. 2
12) 1 sugar basin No. 100

13) 1-»- No. 55
14) 1 milk jug No. 13
15) 1 teapot No. 9
16) 1-»- No. 7
17) 1 milk jug No. 7
18) 1 tray No. 7
19) 1 tray No. 13
20) 1 No. 10
21) 1 No. 60
22) 1 No. 17
23) 1 No. 35
24) 1 -»- No. 51
25) 1 No. 12
26) 1 -»- No. 30
27) 1 -»- No. 55
28) 1 No. 98
29) 1 -»- No. 62
30) 1 -»- No. 41
31) 1 No. 59
32) 1 sugar basin No. 3
33) 1 milk jug No. 31
34) 1 coffeepot with date 1902

The things listed above received

Kremlin Commandant Malkov

The things listed above handed over

House of Special Purpose Commandant Y. Orlov (Yurovsky)

SARF. F 601. Op. 2. D. 41. L. 3-3 ob. Original.

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* The heading of the document.

No. 47
Silverware*

1) 3 big silver ladles.
2) 8 tea strainers with handles.

3) 4 sugar tongs.
4) 6 small sugar basins numbered 254, 39, 341, 140, 321, 48.
5) 1 tea strainer with a hook.
6) 1 small teapot with initials A. Ф.
7) 1 the same sugar basin.
8) 1 the same cream jug.
9) 1 wine cup.
10) 1 small glass.
11) 1 napkin ring.
12) 6 dessert spoons.
13) 1 biscuit dish.
14) 1 biscuit dish No. 87.
15) 1 tea spoon.
16) 1 collapsible icon.
17) 1 enamel frame with portrait of A[lexandra] F[yodorovna].
18) 1 the same with portrait of M[aria] F[yodorovna].
19) 1 the same of Romanov family.
20) 1 gold buckle with uncut diamonds.
21) 1 round frame with enamel.
22) 1 the same with the gold thin rim and pink enamel.
23) 1 figured item** for a calendar.
24) 1 gold cross and small gold icon.
25) 1 small round frame.
26) 1 the same.
27) 1 the same with heart.
28) 1 the same in white enamel.
29) 1 gold paper knife with enamel.
30) 30 trinkets with gold settings.
31) 1 icon in silver setting.
32) 1 copper cross.
33) 1 fastening hook for shoes.
34) 2 silver crosses.
35) 1 gold trinket with enamel.
36) 3 gold dates, November 3, 1896, 1914, November 26, 1904.
37) 1 silver wineglass with blue enamel.
38) 1 Pavel Bure sea clock.

39) 1 pocket watch in a case.
40) 1 silver coach clock with date 1894.
41) 1 small coach clock in a case.
42) 1 piece of silver ***.

The things listed above received

Kremlin Commandant — Malkov

The things listed above handed over

House of Special Purpose Commandant — Y. Orlov (Yurovsky)

SARF. F. 601. Op. 2. D. 41. L. 5-5 ob. Original.

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* The heading of the document.

** So stated in the document.

*** Inserted by hand.

No. 48
Key A. 45*

1) 2 muffs of astrakhan fur.
2) 3 boas of sable fur.
3) 4 muffs of sable fur.
4) 1 astrakhan fur cap.
5) 1 rabbitskin cap.
6) 4 boas of ermine.
7) 1 man's grey sheepskin cap.
8) 1 white sheepskin small carpet.
9) 2 silk light-grey costumes.
10) 1 grey woolen dress.
11) 3 indigo woolen dresses.
12) 4 knitted silk jacket[s].
13) 2 silk brown blouses.
14) 1 knitted red skirt.
15) 2 beige chocolate — coloured costumes. **
16) 4 sable cuffs.
17) 4 cashmere costumes.
18) 4 astrakhan fur jackets, large.
19) 4 sealskin hats.
20) 3 astrakhan fur caps.

21) 4 ermine muffs.
22) 4 velvet caps with goat's fur trimmings.
23) 2 beaver caps.
24) 2 sable collars.
25) 4 ermine collars.
26) 5 sable necks.
27) 2 white boas with the heads.
28) 2 grey goat fur throat-wraps.
29) 4 ermine muffs.
30) 2 red costumes trimmed with sable.
31) 1 grey downy boa.
32) 3 the same muffs.
33) [...]*** grey velvety muffs.

The things listed above received

Kremlin Commandant — Malkov

The things listed above handed over

House of Special Purpose Commandant — Y Orlov (Yurovsky)

SARF. F. 601. Op. 2. D. 41. L. 6. Original.

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* The heading of the document.

** So stated in the document.

*** Illegible.

No. 49
Key. Box No. 4*

1) 1 grey Circassian caftan [man's long outer garment].
2) 1 black felt cloak.
3) 2 black cadet's greatcoats.
4) 2 soldier's blouses.
5) 1 Guard's pea jacket.
6) 1 pair of trousers with it.
7) 1 red Circassian caftan.
8) 1 the same, white.
9) 1 the same, cream-coloured.

10) 1 Circassian caftan of blue cloth.
11) 1 soldier's cloth blouse.
12) 1 pair khaki trousers.
13) 1 Nicholas's greatcoat, grey.
14) 1 black cloth cloak.
15) 1 black flannel sailor's jacket.
16) 1 red silk shirt.
17) 1 red Circassian caftan.
18) 1 khaki cloth trousers.
19) 2 blue trousers.
20) 1 trousers with braid.
21) 1 Guard's pea jacket.
22) 1 grey sheepskin papakha [tall Astrakhan hat].
23) 1 grey Astrakhan papakha.
24) 1 white lambskin papakha with a braid.
25) 1 black large lambskin papakha with red bottom.
26) 1 bathrobe.
27) 1 knitted child's blanket.
28) 1 downy blanket with inscription: Ataman**.
29) Of all the Cossack Army**.
30) 14 pairs of summer sailor's trousers.
31) 4 sailor's bodices.
32) 2 summer canvas costumes.
33) 1 cotton blanket.
34) 4 pique bedspreads.

The things listed above received

Kremlin Commandant Malkov

The things listed above handed over

House of Special Purpose Commandant Y. Orlov (Yurovsky)

SARF. F. 601. Op. 2. D. 41. L. 9. Original.

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* The heading of the document.

** So stated in the document.

No. 50

Al[exandra] Fyod[orovna]'s carry-all with golden monogram on the front*

1) 15 various vials and jars with silver lids, one is double, 5 articles with initials T. H., 10 articles [with initials] A. Ф.

2) 1 secret lantern.

3) 1 silver spoon for medicine.

4) 1 travelling silver ink pot.

5) 1 matchbox.

6) 1 tape measure.

7) 1 thermometer.

8) 1 horn box.

9) 1 powder case.

10) 1 glove straightening appliance.

11) 1 toothbrush.

12) 1 pulverizer.

13) 1 silver toilet washbasin.

14) 1 small wooden hummer.

15) 1 notebook (gold pencil handed over with gold items).

16) 1 nickel soapdish T. H.

17) 1 spirit lamp for curling irons heating T. H.

18) 2 spirit lamps without initials.

19) 2 hairbrushes A. Ф.

20) 1 album for needlework.

21) 1 comb in a case.

22) 1 case for pomade with automatic feed.

23) 1 manicure set.

24) 2 toilet sets with 17 toilet articles.

25) 1 red shoe.

26) 1 blotting pad with paper and envelopes.

27) 2 silver buckles with enamel and pearls.

28) 1 small metal knife.

29) Yellow and blue pencil.

30) 1 toilet silver box, gilded, engraved.

31) 1 silver gilded monogram with eagle.

The things listed above received

Kremlin Commandant Malkov

The things listed above handed over

House of Special Purpose Commandant Y. Orlov (Yurovsky)

SARF. F. 601. Op. 2. D. 41. L. 21-21 ob. Original.

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* The heading of the document.

No. 51
Statement*

August 18, 1918

The Urals Regional Finance Collegium, acquainted with the contents of two trunks containing the belongings of former tsar Nicholas Romanov and according to the document drawn up by Comrades P. Galanin and Odintsov, have resolved:

Silverware weighing 1 pud, 6 pounds, 71 zolotnik, and articles of gold weighing 1 pound, 21 zolotnik, 84th part of a zolotnik shall be melted down and the value be added to the revenue of the treasury. Small change, in the sum of 7 rubles 97 kopecks shall be deposited in the People's bank as revenue of the treasury.

To combine the things itemized in the additional list with the things in the two trunks and send them to Moscow at the disposal of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviet of Workers', Peasants' and Army Deputies.

Chairman, Regional Commissar of Finances**

Members of the Collegium***

SARF. F. 130. Op. 2. D. 1109. L. 8. Original.

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* The heading of the document.

** The signature is illegible.

*** The signatures are illegible.

No. 52

Inventory of things belonging to Nicholas II found at the home of M. I. Letemin, member of the royal family's Guard detachment*

1) Camera	1
2) Box with sixteen plates (negatives).	16
3) Box with seventeen plates (negatives).	17
4) Notebook for 1917 with inscription: «To my dear Alexei from Mama. Tsarskoye Selo».	1
5) An account book.	1
6) A cross of yellow metal, perhaps gold, with the image of «St. Alexei» on one side and «Jesus Christ» on the other.	1
7) Silver cross with inscription: «St. Pimen's».	1
8) Icon «St. Alexei, the Moscow Metropolitian» in silver frame, the image is decorated with gems of various colours.	1
9) Shell rosary.	1
10) Glass tureen.	1
11) Two small buckles in silver frame surrounded by white shining stones.	2
12) Vial with small quantity of perfume.	1
13) Metal thermometer.	1
14) Two stearin candles.	2
15) Two wax candles.	2
16) One metal spirit lamp.	1
17) Two scissors.	2
18) Empty vial (Sindikona).	1
19) Two small buttons with state emblems.	2
20) Four small buttons with shining white stones.	4
21) Six simple black buttons.	6
22) One light coloured button without stone.	1
23) Pepper can.	1
24) Ball of white threads.	1
25) Black pin set.	1
26) Two scraps of paper with needles.	2

27) Box with eight electric lamps. 1
28) Small birch bark box with semolina. 1
29) Pillow with pins. 1
30) Broken mirror. 1
31) Clasp penknife for opening envelopes. 1
32) Travelling box with copper-bound corners. 1
33) Tarpaulin hand gripsack with corners upholstered in yellow leather. 1
34) Broken metal knife. 1
35) Pair of white gloves. 1
36) Glass soap dish. 1
37) Can with fruit drops. 1
38) Eleven big white envelopes. 11
39) Three small envelopes. 3
40) One copper bell. 1
41) Can with small holes. 1
42) One tea glass. 1
43) Small birch bark box with semolina. 1
44) Two small envelopes. 1
45) Pair of steel tongs. 1
46) One red pencil. 1
47) One toothbrush. 1
48) One hairbrush. 1
49) Two paint brushes. 2
50) One brush for gum arabic. 1
51) One man's comb. 1
52) One box with wicks. 1
53) One spirit lamp. 1
54) One glass jar. 1
55) One tin lid. 1
56) Lady's black silk umbrella with ebony handle and silver hood and inscription: «Anya» 1891. 1
57) Porcelain jar. 1
58) One tea glass and two tea saucers. 3
59) Two small plates. 2
60) One faience cover. 1

61) Two padlocks with four keys. 6
62) One empty tin box. 1
63) One tin box half filled with rice. 1
64) One linen shirtfront with coat of arms. 1
65) One man's unbleached linen shirt. 1
66) One velvet multicoloured tablecloth with red tassels. 1
67) One unbleached sheet with a mark cleaned out. 1
68) One cambric sheet with mark «...»,
the tsar's crown is over the letters
and numbers 72/95 are below. 1
69) One thin silk violet pillow with a bow in the middle. 1
70) One feather pillow with three pillowcases,
the upper is white cambric with the mark «А. Ф.»,
a crown is over the letters, numbers 42/94 are below,
second is silk, pink. 1
71) One white knitted tablecloth — thick. 1
72) One white knitted tablecloth — thin. 1
73) One small knitted doily. 1
74) White lace for sheet. 1
75) Four white knitted tableclothes. 4
76) Four knitted small tableclothes. 4
77) One crimson knitted tablecloth. 1
78) Unstitched linen white pillowcase. 1
79) One white linen coverlet for pillow with lace. 1
80) Small knitted doily. 1
81) Man's black lace-up boots. 1
82) Lady's cream-coloured shoes, with the mark «М»
on one of them. 1
83) One thin leather belt. 1
84) Two little caps. 2
85) Wooden box with twenty-three metal toys. 23
86) Things found on sewing-machine:a notebook,
a note with address 142, Kuznechnaya Street,
Vasse Stepanovne Isakovoi. 1

87) Note in the form of a will: «After my death hand over all the items below to my two brothers», etc. altogether eight lines. 1

88) In Letemin's apartment a dog of former Emperor Nicholas II was found, purebred, male, brown with white spots, named «Joy».

In addition, in the apartment were found:

Nine porcelain plates 9

And during a personal search of Letemin, money in banknotes were found:

Five hundred-ruble notes No. 062416-062-420 5

And three twenty-five ruble notes No. 54263-542765 3

And forty-ruble token — Letimin's salary. Total (five hundred seventy five rubles) 575 rubles were confiscated from Letimin.

Kirsta, head of the Criminal Investigation Department. Pleshkov, assistant head. Witnesses: Prokopii Ivanovich Kulakov, Yekaterinburg; Nikolai Nikitich Bobkov, Yekaterinburg, residing at 71 Vasnetsovskaya Street. Assistant Prosecutor Belozersky.

Certified true copy:

Acting Head of the Criminal Investigation Department**

SARF. F. 601. Op. 2. D. 51. L. 5-6 ob. Original.

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* Date was not ascertained.

** The signature is illegible.

No. 53
Comrade YURINS*

December 27, 1931

I will tell you about a necklace. In 1922-24, during my stay in Tobolsk, there was a development at the former Ivanovsky nunnery (about 7-8 km. from Tobolsk) where they found many hidden things (concealed in the graves, belfries, nunnery walls). A lot of them belonged to the royal family (linen, dishes, Rasputin's correspondence, etc.). It was all found with the help of the nuns among whom there was antagonism which helped the GPU. It was

determined that there was a hidden necklace of the tsaritsa, hidden by the former mother superior Druzhinina (She died under arrest.) and the other one, a very old nun, who had taken the vows of schema; beyond that no one. All that was verified. The nun (who had taken vows of schema) confirmed this and even brought the vessel where the necklace was kept. But she did not give away the necklace because she had been told by mother superior Druzhinina to die rather than to give up the necklace. That made the matter to drag on. I passed it on when I left the GPU in 1926. It is advisable to check this and renew the work, to try searching for it. I believe it is possible to find it. You should try to ask the new mother superior about the necklace. (I don't remember her name, but it is in the files.) She is very sly and perhaps she knows. By the way, she helped expose the hidden items, but perhaps she was being cunning. I had that opinion of her, and I followed her all the time. The PR OGPU in the Urals was once interested in this case, so the information should be at the Tobolsk GPU. It was drawn up by Ignaty Kuznetsov, he was the informant plenipotentiary at that time. And that is all. Maletsky.

Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service. Sverdlovsk Department Archives. Collection of documents « The Romanovs' valuables». V 1. L. 29. Copy.

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* The heading of the document.

No. 54

From the Urals Plenipotentiary Representatives (PR) of the United State Political Department (OGPU) description of the people who kept the tsar's valuables, now under heavy guard*

Top Secret

In 1918, while the former tsar's family the Romanovs stayed in Tobolsk, a former priest of the Tobolsk Church of the Annunciation Alexei Vasilyev was invited to the Romanovs' house on the recommendation of Bishop Varnava. He performed church ceremonies for the royal family, and was their confessor during the preliminary exile. He could enter the prisoners' quarters. Rather soon this A. Vasilyev won the confidence of the royal family and he had great authority with them.

Finally, before the transfer of the former tsar's family to Tobolsk, they got worried about preserving their valuables — diamonds, gold and other articles. Former tsaritsa Alexandra Fyodorovna directed Vasilyev to take a suitcase with diamonds and other valuables. Assisted by Colonel Kobylinsky, who was the head of the tsar's Guard, and Nicholas Romanov's servant Alexander Petrovich Kirpichnikov, Vasilyev took the valuables out of the house under guard in the leather suitcase. With his wife and son Alexander he hid them from the people in power. Later A. P. Kirpichnikov took from the premises under guard a sword in a gold setting with a handle of pure gold. It was left in Alexei Vasilyev's care. He hid it in a chimney, and, after searches, he moved it and hid it under the porch of the Church of the Annunciation.

During the previous existence and the second arrival of Soviet power, the valuables were kept in 1921-22 in the leather suitcase by a peasant Yegorov from the village of Batina, Tobolsk District. He told Paulina Mezhans, a former maid of the Romanovs, that Vasilyev had returned the valuables. In 1929-30 Alexei Vasilyev and his wife Lidiya Ivanovna left Tobolsk and went to Omsk to their son Alexander who had left Tobolsk in 1922-23. During the trip Alexei Vasilyev died at Tara Station and the valuables were kept by his wife Lidiya Ivanovna and his son Alexander Alekseyevich residing in Omsk. They have sold some of the valuables, for example, diamond rings and bracelets. Several articles were also sold to the former Tobolsk merchant Konstantin Ivanovich Pechekos, a big trader who bought gold coins and gold objects from other people. Two-three years ago he escaped to Omsk and still has all the valuables. Special informant «Litva» and Paulina Mezhans and Marfa Uzhintseva, a nun of the Ivanovsky nunnery involved in the case confirm all this.

Head of the Economics Department (ECD)
of the Urals PR OGPU — Samoilov
Head of the ECD 8th Department — Shumkov

Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service, Sverdlovsk Department Archives. Collection of documents «The Romanovs' valuables». V. 1. L. 56-57. Original.

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* The date was not ascertained.

No. 55

Extract from the record of the Paulina Kasperovna Mezhans interrogation by the Operations Plenipotentiary of the 8th Department of the Tobolsk PR OGPU

October 31, 1933

...When the tsar's family was in Tobolsk and Colonel Yevgeny Stepanovich Kobylinsky headed the Guard I knew the tsar's family had very many valuables that were not left in Leningrad but were taken to Tobolsk. As soon as the Guard was changed, Colonel Kobylinsky helped the tsar's family a lot in everything. For instance, he admitted nuns from the nunnery. I remember Marfa Uzhintseva very well. She brought milk, eggs and other provisions and communicated with the lady-in-waiting Gendrikova. Once the mother superior of the Ivanovsky Nunnery visited the royal family, and the priest of the Tobolsk Church of the Annunciation Alexei Vasilyev (I don't remember his patronymic.) was always well received at the house. He performed church services and ceremonies. The family was fond of him; he was their confessor. He promised that soon there would be another coup d'etat and the monarchy would again be established. He said that he would arrange all that with his sons. Alexander Petrovich Kirpichnikov also enjoyed a lot of confidence. I remember that at the end of 1917 and the beginning of 1918 the tsar's family started to worry about their valuables. Tsaritsa Alexandra Fyodorovna and tsar Nicholas Alexandrovich ordered someone to take away and hide the diadems (that is, the royal family crowns — Alexandra Fyodorovna's and her daughters') and a number of other diamond articles and jewelry. I had a good look at Alexandra Fyodorovna's crown. It was all of diamonds. Some of the jewelry was taken out of the prisoners' house by A. Kirpichnikov and the priest Vasilyev. Another part of gold and diamond articles was entrusted to Colonel Kobylinsky, who took them away and should left them with Maria Fyodorovna or other relatives of the royal family.

Alexander Petrovich Kirpichnikov was very well informed about that and he knows where these valuables are now. In my presence Alexander Petrovich Kirpichnikov took out a sword in a gold setting with the handle of pure gold wrapped in linen. The tsar's daughters had put on his neck pearl-necklaces that he also took out of the prisoners' residence, but I don't know

what he did with them. At that time the lady-in-waiting Gendrikova told me they should be sent to the mother superior at the nunnery for safekeeping. Later I found out from the priest Vasilyev himself that he had hidden the tsar's sword in Tobolsk. At first it was buried somewhere, and then it was hidden under the porch of the Church of the Annunciation. The priest Vasilyev personally told me about that while the Whites were staying in Tobolsk. The lady-in-waiting Gendrikova told me that Colonel Kobylinsky was given a box with the tsar's diamonds...

Interrogated by *

Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service, Sverdlovsk Department Archives. Collection of documents «The Romanovs' valuables». V. 1. L. 45-45 ob. Original.

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* The signature is illegible.

No. 56
From Marfa Andreyevna Uzhintseva's testimony

November 5, 1933

...I admit that in my first testimony I said Chemodurov hid the tsar's valuables and showed me approximately where they were. I misinformed you. Actually things were like this: The valet Chemodurov gave the tsar's valuables to me. I have been keeping them for about seven or eight years in various places at the cemetery, at the former Ivanovsky Nunnery. I was worried about carrying and hiding them as I was constantly worried that someone might find them and steal them. When we nuns were turned out of the nunnery, the situation became even worse. I began to talk with a former fishing business owner whom I often helped with housekeeping. He was a very reliable person who was personally acquainted with the mother superior and who had his own house in Tobolsk. He was Vasily Mikhailovich Kornilov, and it seemed he could somehow help me to hide the valuables. He refused at first but later agreed. Supposedly he had buried them at those house where on October 29 and October 30 we made [the excavation], that is, at the house of A. M. and V. M. Kornilovs in Tobolsk on Dekabristov Street. He himself, and not Chemodurov as I testified earlier, showed me approximately where they were kept, exactly where we have been searching. But they were not there despite

our thorough search, and a person might say they had been removed. So I decided to tell the whole truth, hoping to find Vasily Mikhailovich Komilov who buried them and evidently took them somewhere. He escaped from Tobolsk and as far as I know he was in Sverdlovsk. Now he is probably in Kazan. This person is reliable, and he would not spend or do something else with them, that is, he will keep them. I do not know his exact address, and I also do not know if he has any relatives in Tobolsk. It seems he does not correspond with anyone and has no one.

He himself buried those valuables in 1926-27. Why did I not admit that it was he who buried them and not Chemodurov? Only because I was afraid and did not want to bring trouble to him. First of all, he was afraid to receive and safeguard the valuables and, second, he is honest. I did not want to let him down. I thought that I could get by without him. Finally, I decided to tell you the truth and ask you not to take action against him. I can not add anything, and here I sign. Marfa Uzhintseva.

Interrogated by: Operations Plenipotentiary of the ECD 8th Department*

Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service, Sverdlovsk Department Archives. Collection of documents « The Romanovs' valuables». V 2. L. 50-50 ob., 51. Original.

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* The signature is illegible.

No. 57

From the Urals PR OGPU reference to people who kept the tsar's valuables, and are under heavy guard*

Top secret

...Before the revolution and afterward, during the New Economical Policy (NEP), Komilov was in Tobolsk, engaged in the fish industry and in 1924-25 in the fish trade. On commission from a nun of the Ivanovsky Nunnery he took the tsar's valuables that included two diamond crowns, a number of other big diamonds and gold crosses. He kept them in Tobolsk buried under his own house on Dekabristov Street. All his family participated in hiding the valuables. Being a fishmonger-merchant, he was dispossessed as a kulak in 1928-1929.

He left with his family from Tobolsk to Sverdlovsk and then with the wife to Kazan. The son is in Sverdlovsk. He has been keeping all the tsar's valuables as well as his own until now, and his family is involved in this.

Marfa Uzhintseva, the currency keeper and the nun of the Ivanovsky Nunnery confirms this.

Head of ECD of the Urals PR OGPU — Samoilov
Head of the ECD 8th Department — Shumkov

Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service, Sverdlovsk Department Archives. Collection of documents « The Romanovs' valuables». V 1. L. 52. Original.

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* The date was not ascertained.

No. 58

From the record of the interrogation of Vasily Mikhailovich Kornilov about the tsar's valuables by Operations Plenipotentiary Maksevich of the ECD 8th Department of the Urals PR OGPU

November 11, 1933

...As for the valuables, in 1924-25, I do not remember when exactly, the nun Marfa Uzhintseva came to me. Several times she asked me to hide something. Then I agreed, and she brought some bundles wrapped in cotton and paper inside two glass jars. I did not examine them but put the jars in wooden barrels and Marfa Uzhintseva and I buried them about 1 1/2 meters deep in the cellar under logs. I did not look at them or take them, and I believe if she did not take them they are still there. I did not confess at first because I thought that she might have them because she told me it would not be for a long time. Moreover, she kept house for us sometimes. I left Tobolsk in about 1928 and I had no conversations with her on the subject. I did not care about them, because I even did not know what exactly was hidden in those barrels. I can not add anything else on the issue and here I sign. Kornilov.

Interrogated by — Maksevich

Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service, Sverdlovsk Department Archives. Collection of documents «The Romanovs' valuables». V. 1. L. 63-63 ob. Original.

No. 59

Special note from the Economics Department of the Urals PR OGPU to OGPU Deputy Chairman Comrade Yagoda about the recovery of the tsar's valuables in Tobolsk

Not earlier than November 20, 1933*

Top Secret

The long search resulted in the recovery of the royal family's valuables on November 20 this year in Tobolsk. The tsar's family valet Chemodurov gave the valuables to Druzhinina, the mother superior of the Tobolsk Ivanovsky Nunnery for safekeeping during the family's stay in Tobolsk. Not long before her death, Druzhinina gave them to her assistant, a nun Marfa Uzhintseva, who hid the valuables in the nunnery's well, churchyard, graves and other places. In 1924-25 Uzhintseva was going to throw the valuables into the Irtysh river but V M. Kornilov, the former Tobolsk fishing business owner, dissuaded her from this and she gave him the valuables to keep temporarily.

On October, 15 this year, Uzhintseva confessed to possessing the tsar's family valuables and showed us their whereabouts. The valuables were not found in the place Uzhintseva had originally indicated. Then V M. Kornilov was brought to Tobolsk. He showed us the real location of the valuables. The valuables were recovered. (Two glass jars of valuables in wooden tubs had been buried in the cellar of Kornilov's home.)

Among the valuables recovered are: 1) a 100-carat diamond brooch, 2) three hairpins with diamonds of 44 and 36 carats, 3) a crescent with diamonds up to 70 carats. (According to certain information this crescent was a gift of the Turkish sultan to the tsar.), 4) diadems and other things of the tsar's daughters and the tsaritsa.

According to a preliminary evaluation by our experts, the total value of the items is three million-two hundred seventy thousand-six hundred-ninety-three gold rubles (3, 270, 693 rubles). **

Urals PR OGPU*** Reshetov

Head of the ECD PR OGPU*** Samoilov

Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service, Sverdlovsk Department Archives. Collection of documents «The Romanovs' valuables». V. 1. L. 24-25. Copy.

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* Dated according to the contents.

** See note to document No. 60.

*** No signature.

No. 60

Statement

On November 20, 1933 we, the undersigned appraisers Zverev and Borovskikh, evaluated the valuables below, shown to us in the presence of ECD PR officials Maksevich and Borodin whereupon it was found:

No.	Valuable denomination	Quantity	Value	Total
1	Diamond brooch 100 carats	1	1, 200, 000	1, 200, 000
2	Diamond crescent with 5 big diamonds up to 70 carats	1	310, 000	310, 000
3	Diamond hairpins, 36 carats each	2	350, 000	700, 000
4	Diamond pin 44 carats	1	700, 000	700, 000
5	Diamond necklace with pearls and ruby pendants	1	50, 000	50, 000
6	Tsar's diamond emblem with big diamonds 8 carats	1	22, 000	22, 000
7	Diamond pins for headdress	2	3, 500	7, 000
8	Diamond brooches-bows	2	3, 000	6, 000
9	Diamond brooch with a pearl twig	1	8, 000	8, 000
10	Hairpins with diamonds and pearls	2	10, 000	20, 000
11	Diamond diadem with big middle diamond of 8 carats and others of small size	1	25, 000	25, 000
12	Diamond diadem with pearls	1	25, 000	25, 000
13	-»-» with kuntzite stones	1	2, 000	2, 000
14	-»-» with almandin stones	1	5, 000	5, 000
15	-»-»with turquoise	1	7, 500	7, 500
16	Diamond hairpin	1	1, 000	1, 000
17	Diamond medals	5	5, 000	25, 000
18	-»-» panagia	2	2, 000	4, 000
19	-»-»	2	1, 500	3, 000
20	Pendant with diamonds and double gems	1	9, 500	9, 500
21	Brooch with diamonds	1	1, 500	1, 500
22	Gold chain with emeralds	1	3, 000	3, 000

23	-»-» with pearls and diamond pendants	1	2, 500	2, 500
24	-»-» with pearls and small trinkets	1	1, 500	1, 500
25	Pendant -»- with medals, roses and pearls	1	1, 500	1, 500
26	Gold chain with small turquoise and trinkets	1	120	120
27	Twisted chain with petals of pure gold and diamonds	1	150	150
28	Gold chain with emerald dross, pearls and diamonds	1	250	250
29	Gold chain with amethyst cabochon and pendants	1	150	150
30	-»-»with small medals and pendants	1	200	200
31	-»-» with big pearl, turquoise and trinkets	1	150	150
32	Lady's waistband with amethyst and moonstone	1	100	100
33	Lady's enamel watch with gold coloured chain	1	50	50
34	Lady's watch with engraved monogram «T.H.» with pearl chain	1	50	50
35	Gold necklace with little bells	1	50	50
36	-»-» with pearls, open-work	1	150	150
37	-»-»of aquamarine, with diamonds and pearls	1	2, 500	2, 500
38	Pendant with diamond portrait and small-pearl chain	1	2, 500	2, 500
39	-»-»with a diamond of 5 carats, amethyst * and pearl weave	1	6, 000	6, 000
40	Brooch with a diamond and a beryl	1	2, 000	2, 000
41	Necklace with small diamonds and amethysts	1	1, 200	1, 200
42	Bracelet with diamonds and amethyst	1	800	800
43	Pendant with chain of diamonds and kuntzite stone	1	600	600

44	-»- with platinum chain with shorls and chrysoprases	1	150	150
45	Diamond band	1	600	600
46	Pendant with gold chain and 4 small hanging bells	1	200	200
47	Cross with pearls and emeralds	1	100	100
48	Pendants with platinum chains	9	100	900
49	Pendant with hanging cross and mounted gems	1	700	700
50	Brooch in form of twigs studded with diamonds and aquamarine	1	800	800
51	Hairpins with small diamonds	4	250	1000
52	Watch in bracelet with diamonds, rusty	1	200	200
53	Pin in form of anchor with diamonds	1	300	300
54	Pendant with moonstone	1	80	80
55	-»- studded with diamonds and aquamarine	1	100	100
56	-»- with a small diamond and aquamarine	1	120	120
57	Pendant — globe with shorls, with diamonds	1	130	130
58	Aquamarine trinket	1	40	40
59	Studs with moonstone	3	10	30
60	Small trinket with agate	1	20	20
61	-»- lily of the valley with moonstone	1	15	15
62	-»- studded with diamonds	1	80	80
63	-»- and an amethyst	1	60	60
64	Studs with diamonds	2	35	70
65	Platinum trinket with date 1912	1	20	20
66	Cross with aquamarine	1	40	40
67	National brooches	4	5	20
68	Brooches — fascist symbol	1	5	5
69	-»- medal-shaped	1	15	15
70	Trinket — fascist symbol	1	2	2
71	-»- with monograms «Т»	2	5	10
72	-»- «А.Ф.»	1	5	5
73	Silver -»- with monogram	3	—	5
74	Various pins	3	2	6

75	Trinket with roses and rubies	1	30	30
76	Red medical crosses	2	2, 50	5
77	Gold pencil with pearl	1	15	15
78	Trinket with a monogram and a sapphire	1	10	10
79	Gold coin of 7 rubles, 50 kopecks	1	7-50	7-50
80	Gold cross with alexandrite	1	5	5
81	Gold trinkets	2	5	10
82	Pendant with emerald bas-relief of woman, with diamonds	1	7, 000	7, 000
83	Pearl pinhead studded with diamonds	1	2, 000	2, 000
84	Pearl pendants	3	1, 200	3, 600
85	Brooch of gems with diamonds	1	2, 500	2, 500
86	-»- with gem of golden rock crystal studded with diamonds	1	2, 000	2, 000
87	-»- aquamarine studded with diamonds and roses	1	800	800
88	-»-, round, of aquamarine and studded with uncut diamonds	1	800	800
89	Pendant of colourless amethyst with diamond	1	700	700
90	Aquamarine brooch inside rim with small diamonds	1	200	200
91	-»- of aquamarine, triangle with diamonds	1	300	300
92	-»- with emerald, ellipsoid, studded with diamonds	1	300	300
93	-»- of agate with small diamonds	1	100	100
94	-»- zetrin, studded with diamonds	1	120	120
95	-»- of amethyst with diamonds and two pearls	1	250	250
96	-»- with colourless amethyst and studded with diamonds	1	200	200

97	-»- of beryl with diamonds	1	150	150
98	-»- with colourless amethyst with diamonds in form of marquise	1	400	400
99	-»- with a moonstone in form of heart with small diamonds	1	175	175
100	Pendant from small pearls	1	700	700
101	Brooch with small emeralds and diamonds	1	500	500
102	Amethyst brooches studded with diamonds	2	150	300
103	Brooch with small aquamarine of ellipsoid form with diamonds	1	75	75
104	-»- with rubies, square and diamonds	1	250	250
105	-»- with three small crowns with sapphire and garnets	1	120	120
106	-»- with 4 moonstones and studded with diamonds	1	75	75
107	Quadrangular brooch with an inner small crown with pearls and small diamonds	1	60	60
108	-»- with two small clasps with amethyst and studded with diamonds	1	45	45
109	-»- in form of cross with almandin gems and studded with diamonds	1	85	85
110	-»- agate studded with small roses	1	40	40
111	-»- of sapphire	2	15	30
112	-»- round, enameled with small pearls and studded with diamonds	1	60	60
113	-»- shorl	1	20	20
114	-»- with oblong aquamarine and roses	1	120	120

115	-»- with three pendants — cornelian, garnet and amethyst	1	60	60
116	-»- with image of flag	1	3	3
117	Pendant with sapphire, diamonds, uncut diamonds	1	175	175
118	Brooch with a round aquamarine	1	300	300
119	Cut blue aquamarine, ellipsoid	1	300	300
120	Pendant of aquamarine in form of pear, studded with diamonds	1	180	180
121	Chain bracelet with three rubies and diamonds	1	2, 500	2, 500
122	Platinum bracelet with three aquamarines in form of heart and 2 kuntzite stones and small pearls	1	250	250
123	Bracelet with small emeralds cabochon, one pearl and studded with diamonds	1	50	50
124	-»- with four aquamarines	1	35	35
125	-»- with turquoise and studded with diamonds	1	50	50
126	-»- with agate	1	30	30
127	-»- with amethyst	1	55	55
128	-»- with two rubies	1	250	250
129	-»-, gold, ordinary form	2	10	20
130	-»-, gold, engraved «Alexandra» studded with uncut diamonds	1	500	500
131	-»- Chain bracelet with trinket 1914	1	10	10
132	Bracelet ordinary, iron	2	—	—
133	Gold locket	1	5	5
134	[...]** with emeralds and studded with diamonds, one of them is platinum	2	325	750
135	-»- with diamond and rubies	1	500	500
136	-»- with ruby	1	500	500
137	-»- with aquamarine and small uncut diamonds	1	50	50
138	-»- with two sapphires and diamond	1	75	75
139	-»- with agate and small			

	uncut diamonds	1	20	20
140	-»- with diamond	1	150	150
141	Waistband from small pearls with 11 big rubies, studded with diamonds and rubies	1	75, 000	75, 000
142	Silver panagias with gold chain	2	200	400
143	Silver -»- with gold chain and gems	1	300	300
144	Silver panagia with gems	1	100	100
145	Mother-of-pearl-»- with silver chain	1	50	50
146	Silver -»- with pearls	1	150	150
147	Silver -»-	1	25	25
148	Crosses -»- with gems	3	150	450
149	-»-»-	1	80	80
150	-»-»-	1	75	75
151	Mother-of-pearl -»-	1	25	25
152	Silver -»- with gems	1	180	180
153	A gold chain with Father Superior's Cross	1	100	100
154	Small silver icons	5	—	—

TOTAL according to our experts' appraisal 3, 270, 693 rubles 50 k[opecks]. ***

Appraisers 1. Zverev**** 2. Borovskikh

Officials ECD 8th Department,

Urals OGPU Operations Plenipotentiary Maksevitch

Plenipotentiary Borodin

Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service, Sverdlovsk Department Archives. Collection of documents «The Romanovs' valuables». V 1. L.2-6. Original.

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* Inserted by hand.

** Illegible.

*** There is a mistake in the document. 3, 270, 793 rubles 50 kopecks — according to the recount.

**** Three crosses instead of a signature.

No. 61

From the record of the interrogation of Marfa Andreyevna Uzhintseva by Schastlivtsev, deputy head of the Economics Department of the Urals PR OGPU

November 29, 1933

...in 1917 when I was working at the church in town, rumours were flying in Tobolsk that the tsar's family would be brought to Tobolsk. In August 1917 the tsar's family actually was brought there and was put up in the former General-Governor's house. I remember on the day of the family's arrival or the day after the priest of the church Alexei Vasilyev came and told me to select choristers for the tsar's family. I went at once to the nunnery to tell the mother superior. She selected four lay sisters, and they went to the house where the tsar's family was. As far as I remember the house was under heavy guard, headed by some officer, probably Colonel Kobylinsky.

After a while the priest Alexei Vasilyev and I started to communicate rather closely with the tsar's family and people in their immediate surrounding. Alexei Vasilyev became the family confessor and I took care of everyday necessities, delivered eggs, etc. That is how my contacts with the family's bartender and their valet began. In spring 1918, in March or April, the tsar, the tsaritsa and one of the daughters were taken away from Tobolsk. In May of the same year the other members of the family were taken away. Before that **the tsar's valet Terenty Ivanovich Chemodurov had come*** to the church and given me a big parcel asked to pass it to the mother superior at the nunnery. Handing over the parcel, Chemodurov said that valuables of the tsar's family were in it, I had guessed that myself. At once I went to the nunnery to the mother superior and gave her the valuables wrapped in cotton-wool material and paper. **The mother superior kept the valuables until the spring of 1923 when the nunnery was closed**. During the closing the mother superior hid the nunnery's valuables and told the nuns to resist the authorities when they came to confiscate the valuables. When the mother superior found out that she could be arrested for that, she gave me **the royal family's valuables and asked me to keep them until the «real rule», as she put it, was established**. I took the parcel, wrapped a towel around it tightly and lowered it into a well in the nunnery s kitchen-garden. Soon I was arrested and spent 18 days in prison. In prison I worried very much about the valuables. I was afraid that they would be damaged in the well water. As soon as I was discharged, I rushed to the nunnery to the

kitchen-garden to the well and fished out the valuables. **Then I buried them in a grave at the nunnery's graveyard**. However, I could not calm down. I was in constant fear that someone would steal them. I lost sleep, my appetite, my memory. I was exhausted and I decided to throw **the valuables into the Irtysh river. Before doing it I sought advice from Vasily Mikhailovich Kornilov, the local fishing business owner**, who was associated with our nunnery and whom I knew. When I told him about my decision he got very upset and waved his hands at me. «What are you saying?! **When proper order and true power are restored, they'll ask you to give an account and make you jump into the Irtysh to retrieve those valuables»**. I lost my bearings and did not know what to do. Then I asked Vasily Mikhailovich to keep the valuables. At first he refused, but then he agreed to keep them temporarily. Several days after our conversation I came to Kornilov's apartment with the valuables and two glass jars and birch bark boxes. I put the valuables into the jars and birch bark boxes and went down to the cellar with Vasily Mikhailovich. There we buried them.

It seems that it was in 1925. I do not remember for sure. After some time Kornilov left Tobolsk. New tenants whom I did not know moved into his apartment. For some time militia men lived there. All the time I worried about the valuables. I was afraid that they might be damaged or stolen. I came quite frequently to Vasily Mikhailovich's apartment, looked around and thought about the valuables. I worried especially about the valuables in the spring (I do not remember the year.) when the Irtysh rose above its banks and flooded the yard of the house where the valuables were.

This year in October I was arrested by the OGPU and taken to Sverdlovsk. Here I confessed to keeping the royal family's valuables and together with Kornilov I showed the place where they were buried. The confiscated valuables are all the tsar's valet Chemodurov gave me to keep. Neither I nor Kornilov nor anybody else took any of those valuables. I do not know if the tsar's family had any valuables besides those I was keeping.

Written in my own words, read to me, true: Uzhintseva

Interrogated by: Deputy Head, ECD,
Urals PR OGPU Schastlivtsev

Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service, Sverdlovsk Department Archives. Collection of documents « The Romanovs' valuables» V 1. L. 137-139. Copy.

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* Here and further words underlined in the document are italicized.

No. 62

Marfa Andreyevna Uzhintseva's additional testimony

December 29, 1933

About a bag of valuables buried in the nunnery's garden I can clarify the following: I did not know anything about it — who had buried it or how. In 1924 I was in the GPU and when I came out, the nun Anna Fyodorovna Zhdanova told me that if you entered in the nunnery's garden by the back gates you would find a lot of the old silverware under the flowerbed on the right. She said that the GPU had searched for it but had not found it. She showed me the place. It was really in the flowerbed in the corner near the lattice of the nunnery's fence. When the nuns changed the hiding place again, Yelshina told the GPU and they came and took all the silverware. I have not heard about or know about any other valuables. I believe if there were any, mother superior Druzhinina would have told me, not Maria Yelshina. I can not add anything, and here I sign.

Uzhintseva

Interrogated by Operations [Plenipotentiary] of the 8th Department*

Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service, Sverdlovsk Department Archives. Collection of documents «The Romanovs' valuables». V 1. L. 141. Original.

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* The signature is illegible.

No. 63

Record of interrogation of Alexander Alekseyevich Vasilyev

July 7, 1934

From the Romanovs' things I have a belt, two ashtrays with the tsar's emblem, one table plate, one teacup and a saucer. I have never had any other things. As for the personal valuables, we had only some articles; for instance, two rings, a brooch, two chains, earrings and studs. Some of them were sold at the torgsin [trade with foreigners store]. As for other Romanovs' valuables I know that my father has only one sword. According to him, the sword was valuable. I do not know any other details. According to my mother Lidiya Ivanovna, I know he told her that the sword was last hidden near a slab or under a slab near the church's entry. She assured me the sword had to be there until now. My father searched for it and could have missed it because he

was drunk. After that time he did not look for it. As for other valuables, such as those in the Romanovs' suitcase, my mother said she had asked Ivan Petrovich Yegorov about the valuables during a funeral supper in 1929. The conversation was the following: Mother asked if Alexei Pavlovich had left any valuables. Allegedly I. P. Yegorov said no. I do not know any other details. I can say nothing more about this. Written in my own words, correct and read by me. Here I sign.

Vasilyev

Interrogated by *

Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service, Sverdlovsk Department Archives. Collection of documents «The Romanovs' valuables». V 3. L. 37-37 ob. Original.

* The signature is illegible.

No. 64

Record of interrogation of Alexander Alekseyevich Vasilyev

August 8, 1934

Besides the testimony I gave earlier about hiding the Romanovs' valuables, I can say the following: Based on the facts I am totally convinced that my father really had the Romanovs' valuables. His attitude toward the Romanovs and the authority he enjoyed proved it. Because the valuables had been taken, I believe that someone in our family has them. Most important, I am deeply convinced my mother Lidiya Ivanovna has them. Because of her fanaticism, I feel she will tell you with the pressure from her children. The facts suggest that my mother, though living with me conceals a lot from me. I will take the initiative to find the Romanovs' valuables and hand them over to the proletarian state. Written in my own words. Correct. Read by me.

Vasilyev

Interrogated by*

Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service, Sverdlovsk Department Archives. Collection of documents «The Romanovs' valuables». V 1. L. 70. Original.

* The signature is illegible.

No. 65
From the Sverdlovsk region PR OGPU reference to the people who kept the tsar's valuables

August, 1934*

Top Secret

...In 1918 during the Romanov family's stay in Tobolsk, church rites and prayers for the tsar's family were performed in their house by Alexei Vasilyev, priest of the Church of the Annunciation. Thanks to his monarchist zeal, Vasilyev enjoyed a lot of authority and the total confidence of the Romanovs. When the tsar's family was moved from Tobolsk to Sverdlovsk, the tsaritsa A. F. Romanova personally entrusted A. Vasilyev to take out a suitcase with diamonds and goldware weighing no less then one pud and to hide it.

During the first days of the White Army's defeat in the Urals and establishment of Soviet power in 1919, Vasilyev, with the agreement of his wife Lidiya Ivanovna, gave the suitcase with those valuables to the peasant Yegor Ivanovich Yegorov to avoid revealing the tsar's valuables he has been keeping. The latter gave the valuables back to the Vasilyevs after some time. The Vasilyevs immediately hid the valuables in Tobolsk.

In 1930 after a long illness, A. Vasilyev died and all the valuables were concealed by the Vasilyev family according to testimony by Alexander Alekseyevich Vasilyev whom we have arrested. However he does not identify a specific person, and states only the following:

«I know very well that my father took the «Romanov» valuables, and I'm convinced that my mother keeps them. But I believe that she would give them up only if my brothers and sister Yelizaveta demanded her to do so».

The facts of the concealment of the former tsar's family valuables by the Vasilyevs are also confirmed by the Vasilyev's brother Alexander Alekseyevich, by Yegor Ivanovich Yegorov, by the Romanovs' housemaid K. M. Kobylinskaya, by Nicholas Romanov's personal clerk Kirpichnikov.

Assistant Head, the Sverdlovsk region
ECD PR OGPU — Yermolayev

Head, 6th Department, ECD PR — Shumkov

Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service, Sverdlovsk Department Archives. Collection of documents «The Romanovs' valuables». V. 1. L. 74-76 ob. Original.

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* Dated according to the accompanying documents.

No. 66

Record of interrogation of the accused Lidiya Ivanovna Vasilyeva

August 28, 1934

Question: Your children mention that the tsar's valuables were really given to your husband Alexei Vasilyev. No doubt after your husband's death you should have inherited these valuables. Tell us where are they hidden?

Answer: I do not deny that the valuables were indeed given to my husband Alexei by the tsar's family. He kept them in a secret from me and did not give them to me before his death. So I do not know where they are hidden now. Written in my own words, true, read by me.

Vasilyeva

Interrogated by *

Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service, Sverdlovsk Department Archives. Collection of documents «The Romanovs' valuables». V. 2. L. 240. Original.

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* The signature is illegible.

No. 67

From Alexander Petrovich Kirpichnikov's testimony

November 9, 1933

...I know personally that Alexandra Fyodorovna herself managed all the valuables and it was she who hid them. I assume the main part was kept by Colonel Kobylinsky, then by the valet Volkov who is now somewhere in Leningrad and I think by the former priest Vasilyev. He is dead but his mother and sons are in Omsk. The family must have some of the tsar's valuables. Moreover, under Kolchak, according to his personal order, they were searching for the heir Alexei Nikolayevich's sword. It was supposedly gold but I never saw it. I was also asked by Kolchak's police about the tsar's valuables and about papers Nicholas II could have left. And I told them that I did not know anything and that he could not charge me with anything because I was only a clerk. I do not know anything and can add nothing more. I have read the record, hereby I sign.

A. Kirpichnikov

Interrogated by

Operations Plenipotentiary of the ECD 8th Department*

Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service, Sverdlovsk Department Archives. Collection of documents «The Romanovs' valuables». V 1. L. 60-60 ob. Original.

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* The signature is illegible.

No. 68

Alexander Petrovich Kirpichnikov's additional testimony

November 12, 1933

I admit that in my previous testimony I did not tell you that I had participated in removing and hiding the former tsar's valuables. Indeed, before the tsar and his family left from Tobolsk for Yekaterinburg, I personally carried out a sword of yellow metal on instructions from the tutor Pyotr Andreyevich Gilliard, who attended to the heir Alexei. I do not know if it was gold but it shined. He asked me to take it out of the house under guard and to give it to the priest Alexei Vasilyev. I carried it out in a long box. I came to the priest Vasilyev's apartment and gave it to him. Nobody was at home then. He took it to the bedroom and put it under a pillow. Later he told me there was a partition in his bedroom so he put it in the partition there. Since it was upholstered with wood lath on both sides, they did not find the sword during the searches. I do not know where is it now. I think it is now with his sons. He trusted his sons Alexander and Yegor most. He did not trust his wife because she was an imbecile and could blab. He had a frequent visitor from the Tobolsk post-telegraph office.

Besides the valet Chemodurov gave me the valuables that belonged to him personally. There were many of them; he had received awards and had three gold watches, pendants, bracelets - all with diamonds. He asked me to pass them on to Nagorny. When he came back from Yekaterinburg I returned them to him. I do not know what he did with them because his wife died soon after. But there were no valuables of the tsar, only his personal things.

Besides, when I was in Yekaterinburg with the tsar's family before the execution, I had taken about 15 spoons of German silver and some tableware with emblems and serviettes. I have nothing else.

A certain Sergei Ivanovich Ivanov who was the tsar's daughters' attendant knows more about all the details of the tsar's diamond valuables. He was putting everything in order and knows exactly what the valuables were and where they are. I did not see it myself but heard from our employees' talks that a very expensive diamond crown was brought from Leningrad. But what did he do with it? I suppose that it is with the valet Volkov or Colonel Kobylinsky. I think Sergei Ivanovich Ivanov could say something about this. He lived in Tyumen until 1930-1931.

As for the pearl necklaces, I actually saw them with the Duchesses but I did not take them. They did not tell me to and I do not know where they are. The servant Yermolai Gusev also attended to the tsar's family. Now he is in Tomsk in the financial department. He knows where Volkov is now and what he took with him. He also knows the role of the maid who came but was not admitted in the tsar's family's house. She was a certain Utkina who was connected with Volkov, the nunnery, Hermogen and the priest Vasilyev. I have heard that she is hiding some valuables. If it is not Utkina (Maybe I have confused the names.), then it was Nikolayeva. You should find both of them, and you will get a lot out of them. I can not add anything else on the issue and hereby sign.

A. Kirpichnikov

Interrogated by *

Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service, Sverdlovsk Department Archives. Collection of documents «The Romanovs' valuables». V. 1. L. 69-69 ob. Original.

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* The signature is illegible.

No. 69

Alexander Petrovich Kirpichnikov's additional testimony.

December 22, 1933

I confess that at first I could not recall the letter that I brought to Hermogen that you asked me about. Now I recall that there was indeed such an item. The matter was as follows: In March 1918 before the Romanovs' removal to Yekaterinburg, the valet Chemodurov called for me and gave me a big parcel with five sealing-wax seals on it. He told me to give it to Bishop Hermogen because a commissar had come and was going to conduct a search. I took the parcel, wrapped it in newspapers, passed easily through the guard and brought it to Bishop Hermogen. But when I gave him the parcel he said he was in the same situation and was about to be arrested. But he said he would try to hide it. When I told him that I was ordered to take the parcel back when the Cheka people came, he replied, «All right, come and take it». He gave me a two-page letter to give to Nicholas Romanov. I brought it to Chemodurov and he passed it on to Nicholas Romanov. After several days Chemodurov gave me the letter from Hermogen and told me to give it back to him and to bring back the parcel that I had passed on to Hermogen. I was

curious and read the letter. So far as I remember Hermogen asked Nicholas Romanov to stand firm and not to surrender to the Bolsheviks. If the Bolsheviks in Yekaterinburg ordered him to sign any commitments he should not sign them, because Russia would then be enslaved by the Bolsheviks. I do not remember anything else. After that I went to Hermogen for the parcel. When I got there I found Hermogen was gone, arrested for organizing a religious procession in the city with a cross and banners. So I had to see Deacon Demyan who told me the parcel was on the hill next to the cathedral, where a mother and her daughter lived*. It had been given them for safekeeping because all secret documents had always been hidden with that family. Even Hermogen himself had hid from searches and arrests there. When I came to that family's house (I do not know the name or the surname.), I told the woman there who I was and that I had to take the parcel. She gave it to me and I brought it back to Chemodurov. I could not deliver the letter written by Nicholas Alexandrovich to Hermogen because of his arrest, and I gave it to the nun Aksyonova to keep. I also left her a book with a description of Peterhof's fountains. I can not add anything else, and here I sign.

A. Kirpichnikov

Interrogated by Operations Plenipotentiary of the 8th Department**

Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service, Sverdlovsk Department Archives. Collection of documents «The Romanovs' valuables». V. 2. L. 130-131 ob. Original.

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* The mother and her daughter are the Kazakovs — Yelizaveta Alexandrovna and daughter Yekaterina Dmitriyevna. The mother died in spring 1933 and the daughter resides in Omsk. Aksyonova also resides in Omsk. (Note in the document).

** The signature is illegible.

No. 70
Alexander Petrovich Kirpichnikov's testimony

January 31, 1934

In addition to my previous testimony about the necklace (string of pearls) I can add the following: In 1918 in late February or in March the lady-in-waiting Baroness Buxhoeveden (I do not know her first name or patronymic.) and the parlourmaid Nikolayeva (I do not know her first name or patronymic.) came to Tobolsk. They came to move into the Romanovs' house. But the

Guard detachment did not admit them and they found private lodging in Tobolsk. Buxhoeveden and Nikolayeva lived in Tobolsk until the Romanovs were taken to Sverdlovsk. Then, when the Romanovs were taken away and soon executed, Buxhoeveden and Nikolayeva left Tobolsk. While living in Tobolsk, Nikolayeva was connected with Alexandra Fyodorovna and Bishop Hermogen through A. N. Volkov, but I do not know what the connection was. Buxhoeveden had the same connection through Volkov and the lady-in-waiting Countess Gendrikova. During the parlourmaid Nikolayeva's stay in Tobolsk I was at her apartment twice. The first time she was out and the second time I gave her a small paper parcel I had wrapped containing the necklace (the string of pearls). Olga Nikolayevna, who gave me the necklace, ordered me to do it. So far as I remember I did not give Nikolayeva anything else. I was also at Baroness Buxhoeveden's apartment and dimly remember that I brought her something given to me by the Romanovs' daughters. However I can not say exactly what it was because they gave it to me wrapped. As far as I know Buxhoeveden went abroad and Nikolayeva supposedly lives in Leningrad. I can not testify anything else. Written in my own words, true, read by me, here I sign.

A. Kirpichnikov

Interrogated by*

Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service, Sverdlovsk Department Archives. Collection of documents «The Romanovs' valuables». V. 1. L. 128-128 ob. Original.

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* The signature is illegible.

No. 71

Record of interrogation of Alexander Petrovich Kirpichnikov

March 8, 1934

I am altering my previous testimony about the pearl necklace and testify the following: In my testimony I said that I gave the pearls to the parlourmaid Nikolayeva. At the confrontation held with Nikolayeva I saw I was wrong. I gave the pearls not to V. V Nikolayeva but to Anna Pavlovna Romanova. I am sure of it, and I confirm again that indeed I did give the parcel with the pearls to A. P. Romanova in her apartment because I had brought it there. At

that time A. P. Romanova resided in a private apartment on Svoboda Street. I have nothing else to say. Written in my own words, true, read to me and here I sign myself.

A. Kirpichnikov

Interrogated by*

Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service, Sverdlovsk Department Archives. Collection of documents «The Romanovs' valuables». V. 2. L. 106. Original.

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* The signature is illegible.

No. 72
From the Urals PR OGPU reference to the people who hid the royal family valuables

Not earlier than January 1934*

Top Secret

A. P. Kirpichnikov was the personal clerk at Nicholas Romanov's court and during the tsar's family exile in Tobolsk he was Nicholas II's most frequent proxy. He passed the parcel with five wax seals from Nicholas Romanov to the former Bishop Hermogen in Tobolsk for safekeeping. He also took away the heir Alexei's gold sword and gave it for safekeeping to Alexei Vasilyev, former confessor of the tsar's family in Tobolsk. Nicholas Romanov's daughter Olga Nikolayevna put on A. P. Kirpichnikov's neck a very big pearl necklace, and he took it out of the house where the prisoners stayed. Although he does not deny that he took the necklace away he can not remember where is it or who has it. In addition, although he had flatly denied several months that he had received a parcel from Nicholas Romanov and given it to Hermogen, he was exposed by direct evidence in personal confrontations with others who had possessed the valuables. He confessed that it was all true and that the parcel is supposedly with the former nun N. P. Kozlova in Tobolsk. The investigation and findings of January 13, 1934 showed of that Kozlova died. According to intelligence, Natalia Ivanovna Kirpichnikova fears that her son Vasily Alexandrovich might give away all the secrets if he is arrested.

The information from the investigation definitely shows that Kirpichnikov always concealed the tsar's family valuables. It is also true that A. P. Kirpichnikov was actively involved in the counterrevolutionary uprising and

seizure of power by the local bourgeoisie in Tobolsk in 1920-1921. He fought with weapon against the Soviets in the trenches (with lance and gun). We have concluded that Kirpichnikov obviously had no intention of giving up the tsar's valuables to the Bolsheviks whom he hated.

Head of the Urals ECD PR OGPU — Samoilov
Head of the ECD 6th Department — Shumkov

Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service, Sverdlovsk Department Archives. Collection of documents «The Romanovs' valuables» V. 1. L. 112-113. Copy.

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* Dated according with the contest of the document.

No. 73
From the Sverdlovsk region PR OGPU reference to Klavdiya Mikhailovna Kobylinskaya*

Top Secret

...She was the wife of Kobylinsky (executed by the OGPU in 1927 for counterrevolutionary activity), Colonel of the former tsar Romanov's family personal Guard. Kobylinskaya herself was the Romanov daughters governess.

In Tobolsk K. M. Kobylinskaya directly participated in hiding Romanovs' valuables. The Kobylinskys personally received from Nicholas Romanov a box of jewels and other valuables (not including crowns and diadems). The Kobylinskys gave it to Konstantin Ivanovich Pechekos and his wife Anil Vikentyevna for safekeeping. Kobylinskaya has been concealing diadems and crowns until now.

Deputy Head of the Sverdlovsk region
ECD PR OGPU — Schastlivtsev
Head of the ECD PR 6th Department — Shumkov

Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service. Sverdlovsk Department Archives. Collection of documents «The Romanovs' valuables». V 2. L. 43. Original.

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* The date was not ascertained.

No. 74

From the record of the interrogation of Klavdiya Mikhailovna Kobylinskaya

March 28, 1934

[Question]. Citizen Kobylinskaya, tell us, did your husband have the Romanovs' valuables? Where are they now?

[Answer]. I affirm that my husband Kobylinsky did indeed have the Romanovs' valuables and that he gave them to Konstantin Ivanovich Pechekos for safekeeping.

[Question]. And what did you know about hiding the Romanovs' valuables?

[Answer]. I heard from my husband that some of the valuables were brought to the Tobolsk nunnery for safekeeping by the valet Volkov and Alexei Nikolayevich's tutor Gilliard. Besides, I knew from my husband that all the Romanovs' valuables from Tsarskoye Selo were transported to Tobolsk.

[Question]. Tell us, what do you know about the diadem, the pearls of Alexandra Fyodorovna?

[Answer]. I also know from my husband that those things really existed and that they were of great value. Besides, according to my husband, Gilliard had a list of all the valuables and who had received them for hiding.

Kobylinskaya

Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service, Sverdlovsk Department Archives. Collection of documents «The Romanovs' valuables». V 2. L. 230. Original.

No. 75

Klavdiya Mikhailovna Kobylinskaya's additional testimony

March 29, 1934

Question: Tell us, how did you know your husband gave the Romanovs' valuables to K. I. Pechekos?

Answer: I confirm again that my husband had indeed received the Romanovs' valuables. I heard from my husband that he had received the valuables. And he also told me about their transfer to Konstantin Ivanovich Pechekos for safekeeping.

Question: Tell us, where and under what circumstances did you hear from your husband about transferring the valuables to K. I. Pechekos?

Answer: I heard about the transfer of the valuables by my husband to K. I. Pechekos from my husband. We had the conversation at home or at K. I. Pechekos's place when we visited them. I can not say exactly where or when, but there was such a conversation.

Question: Tell us, did you personally pass any valuables to Pechekos?

Answer: I did indeed give him two rings with small diamonds to sell. My husband had got them from Gilliard, but I do not know where my husband received them. Besides, I sold Gilliard my own earrings. Gilliard gave my husband three rings, not just the two rings that I sold. I kept the third one but later it was lost.

Question: Tell us, what other details do you know about the valuables given to K. I. Pechekos?

Answer: I know also from conversations with my husband that the valuables given to Pechekos were at his house but he did not tell me exactly where.

As for Viktorina Vladimirovna Nikolayeva, I can testify to the following: After the death of my husband, V V Nikolayeva wrote a letter to me and asked about the possibility of obtaining the valuables that had been given to Ye. S. Kobylinsky. When I received the letter I decided to write to K. I. Pechekos because I assumed that those valuables had also been given to him. But I received a negative reply. The letter was written in 1928.

Question: The valuables that Kobylinsky gave to K. I. Pechekos what were they in?

Answer: I myself saw that the valuables my husband gave K. I. Pechekos were in a small black box up to two chetverts long, two chetverts wide and about one chetvert deep.

Question: Who was there during the transfer besides Pechekos and Kobylinsky?

Answer: I know nothing about the transaction.

Question: Did Pechekos's wife know about the transfer of the valuables to Pechekos?

Answer: His wife knew about the transfer from my husband to Pechekos, because my husband and K. I. Pechekos had a conversation about the valuables in her presence at their house.

Question: Who else besides you personally knows about these valuables that Kobylinsky gave to Pechekos?

Answer: Gilliard, V V Nikolayeva and perhaps Olga Mikhailovna Shubenko and her daughter Kapitalina Nikolayevna Pecherskaya know about the transfer of the valuables from my husband to K. I. Pechekos. Nikolayeva also could have told to Paulina Kasperovna Mezhans.

Question: Tell us, did you see any items in the forms of a crescent and a tsar's star among the Romanov valuables that you saw with your husband?

Answer: No, I did not see any valuables like that.

Question: Where did you see the box? In who's room? In yours or your husband's? Where was it placed?

Answer: I saw it in my husband's room. It was on the table in the studyroom.

Question: Tell us, who saw the box?

Answer: I suppose that the box and the valuables were shown to Nikolayeva and K. N. Shubenko.

Question: Tell us, how full of valuables was the box?

Answer: The box was not full but it contained a lot of valuables.

Question: Tell us, did not you see a diadem in the box?

Answer: As far as I remember, I did not see such thing.

Question: And did not you see an egg-shaped stone among the valuables?

Answer: No, I did not.

Question: Who initiated the project to hide the Romanovs' valuables?

Answer: Actually, Gilliard took the lead in concealing the Romanovs' valuables. He distributed the valuables among the participants. I know that Gilliard had a list of the valuables and to whom they had been given.

Question: Who personally received the Romanovs' valuables for hiding?

Answer: 1. Gilliard gave some of the valuables to Volkov who took them to the nunnery where he and the mother superior hid them. 2. Some of the valuables were given to the priest Alexei Vasilyev to hide. Kirpichnikov and Hermogen (the Archbishop) who were drinking hard together and were

organizing a conspiracy to liberate the Romanovs should have known about this. 3. Yevgeny Stepanovich Kobylinsky. (I testified earlier about the valuables I gave him.) I knew about it and so did Kapitalina Nikolayevna Pecherskaya and K. I. Pechekos who received the valuables for safekeeping.

Written in my own words, true, read by me,
here I sign Kobylinskaya
Interrogated by*

Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service, Sverdlovsk Department Archives. Collection of documents «The Romanovs' valuables». V 2. L. 20-25. Original.

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* The signature is illegible.

No. 76

Continuation of Klavdiya Mikhailovna Kobylinskaya's testimony

April 2, 1934

Question: Tell us, were the valuables kept by your husband given to the nunnery?

Answer: The valuables that were kept by my husband were given to Pechekos but not to the nunnery.

Question: Tell us, could Pechekos have given them to the nunnery?

Answer: No, because Pechekos was a Catholic, and he was not connected to the nunnery anyway.

Question: Tell us, in what year and month did Gilliard give the valuables to your husband?

Answer: Gilliard gave the valuables to my husband in the spring of 1918. I do not remember exactly but sometime between January and April.

Question: And when did your husband give everything to Pechekos?

Answer: I can not say for sure but I believe that it was done soon after he had got them from Gilliard.

Question: Tell us, what were they in — the valuables your husband gave to K. I. Pechekos?

Answer: I can not say.

Question: Tell us, where did K. I. Pechekos hide the valuables?

Answer: I can not say the exact place where the valuables were hidden but I well remember my husband said they were in Pechekos's house.

Question: Tell us, did Gilliard visit Pechekos and did Pechekos visit Gilliard?

Answer: I know for sure that Gilliard and Pechekos saw each other. That would be after Gilliard's return from Sverdlovsk. But I can not say for sure whether Pechekos visited Gilliard or not. If he did, it was at our place.

Question: Tell us, what do you know about Nikolayeva's valuables?

Answer: I know that Nikolayeva had valuables but only a few. I know that she sold some of them. In 1919 Nikolayeva gave me a small bag with her valuables to keep for her. The bag was small, white, without any inscription on it. I gave the bag to my husband, and he gave it to one of the Pechekoses — Konstantin Ivanovich or Alexander Ivanovich — I do not remember exactly. I remember very well that I had put my own things in the same small bag, too. I gave the bag to Yevgeny Stepanovich in Yekaterinburg, and he gave it to Pechekos in Omsk. I am sure my husband gave it to Alexander Ivanovich. Besides that, I remember very well a conversation in Omsk when Alexander Ivanovich mentioned the possibility of hiding the valuables in the uprights of a metal bed.

Question: Tell us, what else do you know about Alexander Ivanovich and concealing the Romanovs valuables or other things?

Answer: I know nothing else about Alexander Ivanovich Pechekos.

Question: Do you know any of the other Pechekoses?

Answer: I knew a brother. I do not know his exact name — Ivan or Pyotr. I personally gave him the saw that Nicholas Romanov used to saw firewood in Tobolsk and a black bentwood armchair in which Alexandra Fyodorovna had sat. I knew his wife.

Question: Tell us, did you meet Alexander and the third brother of Pechekos family after you left Tobolsk?

Answer: I never saw him anywhere, and I do not know where they live now.

Question: According to precise information we have, you have a list of the valuables. If you have given it to someone for safekeeping then you should say immediately to whom you gave it.

Answer: I continue to deny keeping a list of the tsar's family valuables that were given to different people to hide. I do not know where such a list is.

Question: We ascertained that Gilliard did not take the valuables or the list out of the country. Pechekos flatly denies that he has the valuables and gives proof that you have the valuables and the list, too.

Answer: I do not know if Gilliard took the valuables abroad but I think he did not. My husband gave the valuables to Pechekos, and I do not know what he did with them. I do not know where the list of the valuables is, either. I deny that I have the valuables or the list.

Question: Would you like to add something to your previous testimony?

Answer: I knew Nicholas II's valet Chemodurov a little, but my husband spoke of him as a very honest man. Chemodurov died in Tobolsk after the October revolution. I heard that Chemodurov had a very big fortune in various valuables. As far as I remember, there was a talk about things and who got Chemodurov's valuables after his death. I do not know. Mayby his wife got them, but I do not know where they are now.

[Kobylinskaya]

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No. 77
From Konstantin Ivanovich Pechekos's testimony

April 11, 1934

Regarding my brothers I can testify the following: I had four brothers, as I have told you in previous testimony. Pyotr Ivanovich now resides in Moscow and, I believe, he is a civil engineer. The second, Alexander Ivanovich, became a Polish citizen in 1924 and left for Poland with his family. As far as I know, he died in 1930. The third brother, Ivan Ivanovich, the eldest, died in 1907 in Tomsk. My brother Alexander Ivanovich had a son Valentin Alexandrovich who now lives in America. His wife came to the USSR in 1930 and lived in Omsk with her son Anatoly Vladimirovich Alekseyevsky, a doctor at the militia school. As far as I remember, Alexander Ivanovich's wife Alexandra Vasilyevna lived in Omsk about five-six months and left for her sister's in Harbin where she now resides. I did not correspond with my brothers. As for the valuables, I did indeed have them: about 100 rubles in gold coins, a gold watch. Among the diamond articles I had three bracelets, one pendant, also three rings, a pair of wedding rings, one gold watch chain and nothing more. I disposed of all the things mentioned above. I have brought up three daug-

hters; all of them have different jobs in Soviet institutions and are on their own. I gave none of the valuables to them or to anyone else. I have nothing more to say. Written in my own words, true, read to me, here I myself sign.

Pechekos

Interrogated by *

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No. 78

Record of the confrontation between Klavdiya Mikhailovna Kobylinskaya and Konstantin Ivanovich Pechekos

April 13, 1934

[Question] Tell us, Citizen K. M. Kobylinskaya, can you identify Konstantin Ivanovich Pechekos? Did he visit your apartment in Tobolsk and did you visit him?

[Answer] Konstantin Ivanovich Pechekos, present at this confrontation, is the same K. I. Pechekos that I told you about earlier. K. I. Pechekos visited us in Tobolsk. I also visited K. I. Pechekos alone and with my husband.

[Question] Tell us, Citizen Konstantin Ivanovich Pechekos, why, during the preliminary investigation, did you conceal the fact that you were in Kobylinsky's apartment many times and that you know Klavdiya Mikhailovna, Kobylinsky's wife very well?

[Answer] I deny Kobylinskaya's testimony because I never visited them and did not know Klavdiya Mikhailovna in Tobolsk at all.

[Question] Tell us, Citizen K. M. Kobylinskaya, do you confirm your earlier testimony that your husband Ye. S. Kobylinsky gave the tsar's family valuables to K. I. Pechekos to hide?

[Answer] Yes, I confirm that completely.

[Question] Why do you, Citizen Pechekos, conceal the valuables from the Soviet regime when you know that it will result in severe punishment not only for you but also for your relatives?

[Answer] Ye. S. Kobylinsky gave me one parcel that I returned to him.

[Question] Tell us, when you visited K. I. Pechekos what did he say about hiding the valuables in his apartment?

[Answer] When I was in his apartment I heard him talk about hiding the valuables in his house, and I heard him say that they were well hidden.

[Question] Citizen K. I. Pechekos, be frank. Did you receive the valuables from Nikolayeva and Ye. S. Kobylinsky?

[Answer] I do not remember if I took valuables from Nikolayeva and Kobylinsky.

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* Signatures are illegible.

No. 79

Konstantin Ivanovich Pechekos's additional testimony

April 13, 1934

In addition to the testimony I gave earlier, I will add this: I did not confess to hiding the tsar's valuables at first, because when I got them I swore to Yevgeny Stepanovich Kobylinsky that I would die before I told anyone that I had the tsar's valuables. The oath was probably required for the royal family. I add that besides the valuables, I got a second parcel from Kobylinsky. That parcel contained two daggers and two sabres. One dagger and saber belonged to Nicholas Romanov, and the other dagger and saber belonged to Alexei. I hid all that with the other valuables in a hiding place in my brother's house. I should add that my brother's valuables were also in the hiding place where I put the tsar's valuables and things. I can't say definitely what the specific valuables were, but I know there were two boxes and one parcel. Written in my own words, true, read to me, here I sign.

Pechekos

Interrogated by *

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No. 80
A conversation with Ivan Vasilyevich Kiryanov

April 16, 1934

Kiryanov describes Alexander Ivanovich Pechekos as a big trader and a swindler, who made a lot of money through fraudulent commercial transactions. In the old days and in the first years of the Soviet regime, A. I. Pechekos had business relations with his own close relatives, and he even cheated them. I. V Kiryanov is rather close to him. (Pechekos's wife is Kiryanov's sister.) Nevertheless A. I. Pechekos had swindled him for a considerable amount. Kiryanov calls him the utmost swindler. In his time A. I. Pechekos was the representative of a certain foreign fuel delivery company which he also took to the cleaners according to Kiryanov. During first years of the Soviet regime in Omsk A. I. Pechekos was also a fuel delivery salesman and again made a fortune through fraudulent dealings. Kiryanov knows that A. I. Pechekos was the commandant of his apartment house at 14 Tobolskaya Street for a while. During that time he was on good terms with the director of the Sibinstitute Ivan Dmitriyevich Chulkov. They often invited each other to tea and played cards. Kiryanov also knows that A. I. Pechekos lived in the same building where the Sibacademia was located. When Pechekos was dismissed from his job as building commandant they moved him to an outbuilding near the Sibacademia building. Kiryanov does not remember the exact date but he confirmed that around 1924 A. I. Pechekos left for Poland. In Poland A. I. Pechekos's wife Alexandra Vasilyevna corresponded with Kiryanov's second sister who now resides in Omsk. Kiryanov also confirmed that Pechekos died in 1929-30. During his first years in Poland Pechekos lived miserably; he was hard up though later he became a manager. Kiryanov confirms Pechekos's modest life style. They had one son whom they did not bring up well. The son was unemployed, and a while before his father's death he was forced to move to America. Now he is a driver and lives in Argentina. According to Kiryanov, A. I. Pechekos's wife left Poland in 1930 or 1931 after her husband's death; she passed through the USSR and for five-six months lived in Omsk with her son Vladimir Alekseyevsky who is a doctor in the militia sector. Alexandra Vasilyevna left Omsk for Harbin and went to her sister. According to Kiryanov, she died in 1932. (He knows about this from letters from a sister

who lives with Kiryanov.) Since Alexandra Vasilyevna's death her son (by her first husband) Vladimir Alekseyevsky has been pressing for an inheritance; in particular, Alekseyevsky is petitioning for a certain house. Kiryanov does not know the details about construction of the house on Tobolskaya Street. He only knows that the house was built stage by stage, not at once. It is not known where, when or what kind of repairs have been made either. Kiryanov himself was in the building only on official business, because he was an instructor from the very beginning of rabfak [«workers' faculty», an educational establishment set up to prepare workers and peasants for higher education]. He confirmed that A. Pechekos had a significant number of valuables. Kiryanov said that Pechekos could not take the valuables with him because for a number of reasons, but he does not know where are they now.

True:

Plenipotentiary*

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No. 81
A report about the measures taken in the search for the royal valuables in Omsk on April 14-20, 1934 (according to Konstantin Ivanovich Pechekos's testimony)*

In accordance with testimony he gave during the preliminary investigation on April 15, K. I. Pechekos came to Omsk and took us to the former house of his brother Alexander Ivanovich Pechekos at 14 Nadezhdinskaya Street, now occupied by the workers' faculty of the Siberian Institute.

When he arrived on the fifth floor (counting the basement where there is a heating installation and a number of apartments), Pechekos declared, «No, this is not the floor where the valuables were put».

After that we went upstairs on the sixth floor where there are only two rooms for students in the workers' faculty. On entering the first room Pechekos said, «Here is the very wall where I had hid the valuables». He showed where the hiding place was located in the wall. We decided not to break up the student's dormitory and to retrieve the valuables from the attic.

We worked all day breaking through a wall that was solidly built. We searched for the hiding place but found nothing. We asked where the valuables were hidden, and Pechekos insisted, «In this very place», that is, where we demolished the wall and carried out our search.

Pechekos contended repeatedly that the hiding place was right there, so we decided to demolish as much of the wall as possible to ascertain once and for all if the hiding place was there. However, still no hiding place was found. We began to doubt Pechekos's testimony that he and his brother Alexander Ivanovich had hidden the valuables in that house. «Where are the valuables concealed?» we asked. Pechekos said, «I clearly remember in a wall». He added that the space where the valuables were hidden was big enough to contain two adults.

On that information we decided to drill through the wall, and we found that the wall was only two bricks thick. So we concluded that Pechekos's testimony was absurd. The valuables could not be in the wall, because a hiding place of the size indicated by Pechekos could not exist in the wall.

We expressed our conclusion to Pechekos and ordered him to show us the real place where the valuables were hidden. But he insisted that he was sure they were hidden in that very wall. Although we did not believe Pechekos's claims, we kept on searching in the wall.

We interrogated a number of persons and found out 1) Pechekos's brother Alexander was quite poor when he lived in Poland and his son failed to find a job in Poland and had to move to Argentina where he is a driver; this suggests that Alexander [...]** without the valuables; besides when he crossed the border, he was exposed to a search; 2) before the revolution Konstantin and Alexander quarreled over the division their father's wealth which [...]** took while K. I. Pechekos was absent. Apparently their relations improved only after the revolution. That makes it unlikely that the brothers would have trusted each other with such great valuables, and K. I. had taken an oath on keeping the valuables; 3) about four years Pechekos kept the tsar's valuables with him in Omsk; when he already knew about his brother's intention to go to Poland, could he have concealed the valuables in a hiding place at his brother Alexander's? That is hard to believe and it shows that K. I. Pechekos's testimony is a lie.

Consider what happened while we were in the house. While the wall was being demolished a void was found in the auxiliary flue; it was 2 — 1/2 — 3 vershoks deep. [Vershok = 1 3/4 inches], 8 vershkovs wide, about 6 vershkovs high. If you also count the flue, the depth increases up to 8 vershkovs. It appears the hollow was made for cleaning the flue. It is not consistent with Pechekos's previous testimony about the size of the hiding place, even if you assume that Pechekos could forget the size of the hiding place. There is still the quantity and the volume of things that were put in the hiding place: 1) a box 6×4×3 vershkovs; 2) a box 5×3×2 vershkovs; 3) a parcel placed over two boxes (It belonged to the brother.); 4) a parcel with the tsar's valuables 6x6 vershkovs in circumference; 5) two normal daggers; 6) 2 sabres upright. They belonged to K. I. Pechekos and were given to him by Kobylinsky to store with the valuables, and he still won't tell who gave him the daggers and sabres.

To conceal the items listed above you would need a hiding place at least twice big as the hollow we found. Pechekos declared, «Here is the very place where the valuables were hidden». We proved analytically that the hollow he was pointing at was absurd. It was at odds with his own previous testimony and the actual volume of items. He readily agreed. It was impossible to argue. But he insisted that the valuables are in this wall. We decided to continue the search in the wall, and on April 18 we ourselves launched a subsequent investigation that showed: 1) the flues — ventilator pipes — have been working regularly since the building went into use. Nothing could have been placed over the flue's outlet because it would close the flue and present an immediate fire hazard; 2) the wall had not been rebuilt or taken down, either. Only a temporary stove had been added, and it is not connected to the hollow anyway.

After that we were finally convinced that the valuables could not be concealed on the sixth floor. Perhaps they are hidden on the fifth floor under that room on the sixth floor. Comrade Barodin and I took an axe and a chisel to check the hollow in the wall. While we were tapping the wall, the Red Army man guarding Pechekos ran in and said Pechekos had leaped from the sixth floor attic dormer, which was tantamount to saying «Yes». We hurried to the side of the house where Pechekos had jumped. When we arrived, we saw he was lying on his left side, still. He was taken to the surgical hospital. The

surgeon said: «Nothing special. He will recover». We had to leave Pechekos in Omsk until his recovery. At the hospital they promised to contact us in Sverdlovsk by direct-line or by telegraph. They promised not to let him out without notifying us.

Because Pechekos jumped just when we were tapping the wall on the fifth floor, the thought occurred that perhaps «the hiding place» was on the fifth floor. We decided to investigate but found no hiding place, either.

The information leads to the following conclusion: 1) K. I. Pechekos had shown us a fictitious place; 2) when he saw that things were coming to a head and that he would be ordered to hand over the valuables, he decided to commit a suicide; in that way he would keep the true place of the valuables a secret; this also raises the suspicion that if Pechekos gave away the valuables it would reveal the truth about the Romanovs' valuables in general which he wanted to avoid because he had taken an oath; 3) our task is to keep on investigating Pechekos and his wife after he recovers until they tell us the exact place where the valuables are hidden.

Head of the Sverdlovsk region ECD PR OGPU VI Department***
Plenipotentiary***

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No. 82
Record of interrogation of Anil Vikentyevna Pechekos

May 26. 1934

In addition to the testimony I gave earlier, I can say the following: In 1918 my husband Konstantin Ivanovich Pechekos did indeed take from Yevgeny Stepanovich Kobylinsky the tsar's valuables for safekeeping. Because of our evacuation in 1919 we took the valuables with us to Omsk. At first I kept them in our apartment but our apartment was no good, so I persuaded my husband to give them to his brother Alexander Ivanovich Pechekos to keep. He had his own house and he could keep them better. The valuables were actually given to Alexander Ivanovich in 1920. I can not say what exactly was

in the parcel. (It was sewed up in a cloth; about two chetverts long, about one chetvert wide and up to 3-4 vershkovs high.) But I know that there were gold and diamond things. As for the blades and daggers, I remember them well. One of the blades had a costly handle with diamonds it seemed. They were also with the parcel given to Alexander Ivanovich to store. As for the daggers, they were the same. In 1919 there was an order to turn in weapons and I handed them over to the Omsk Executive Committee. I can not say whom they belonged to, because it was Pechekos who received them and I do not know whom they came from. As for the place where my brother-in-law Alexander Ivanovich kept the valuables I can not add anything because nobody told me about that. I suppose they were concealed somewhere in his house because in 1924 Alexander Ivanovich left for Poland and could not carry anything with him. In 1930 I met Alexander Ivanovich's wife in Omsk. She told me that when they went to Poland, they did not take anything with them. It was impossible and they had virtually only the clothes they wore. And there was a thorough search at the border. Personally I think Alexander Ivanovich concealed the valuables in his house, but I do not know where exactly. I believe that his wife Alexandra Vasilyevna Pechekos who now resides in Harbin knows about it. I can not testify anything else. Written in my own words, true, read by me, here I sign.

Pechekos

Interrogated by *

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* The signature is illegible.

No. 83

Continuation of Anil Vikentyevna Pechekos's testimony

May 31, 1934

In addition to the previous testimony, I can add the following: The Romanovs' valuables were received from Yevgeny Stepanovich Kobylinsky in 1919 under these circumstances: It was in the spring and I do not remember exactly who brought them, Yevgeny Stepanovich or my husband. When they were in our house, my husband hid them at once. He buried them in the cellar near the lavatory. At that time the valuables were sewed up in a white rag.

The valuables were there until the day we left for Omsk. When we were about to go, my husband unearthed them and we took them with us. From Tobolsk to Omsk we went by steamer, and during that time my husband was the steamer commander's assistant which gained us a separate cabin. We carried the valuables with us. They were still sewed up and remained in the suitcase. So, we brought them to Omsk in the suitcase. After arriving in Omsk we kept them in the same suitcase under the bed with the other suitcases. About a month and a half later when my husband had recovered, he buried them in the kitchen cellar. There they were until their transfer to Alexander Ivanovich Pechekos. In Omsk we lived in a four-room apartment until 1926. In 1926 we moved to Tobolsk where we lived until 1929. I repeat, at my urgent request my husband transferred the valuables to Alexander Ivanovich Pechekos to keep. His wife and their son, Anatoly Vladimirovich, knew all about the valuables' transfer. The son swore at his mother Alexandra Vasilyevna because they had taken the valuables for safekeeping. When we lived in Omsk Klavdiya Mikhailovna Kobylinskaya came to our apartment before we transferred the valuables to Alexander Ivanovich. She asked my husband to bring the valuables so she could take some for a journey because she had no money for the trip. My husband took out the valuables, and we unwrapped them and looked at them. Klavdiya Mikhailovna Kobylinskaya took one diamond ring to sell (Later she sold it.) and went away. We looked at the valuables for some time, and then we sewed them up again. Soon after that we transferred them to Alexander Ivanovich for safekeeping. The valuables in that parcel were small — rings, brooches, bracelets etc. But there were a lot of them. Although they were mainly diamond things and there were things with other stones, too. I think they were not worth more than 500 000 rubles. I can not testify to anything else. Written in my own words. True. Read by me. Here I sign.

Pechekos

Interrogated by *

Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service, Sverdlovsk Department Archives. Collection of documents «The Romanovs' valuables». V 2. L. 167-168 ob. Original.

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* The signature is illegible.

No. 84

From Anil Vikentyevna Pechekos's testimony

June 2, 1934

[Question] Tell us, Citizen Anil Vikentyevna Pechekos, what do you know about the transfer of the valuables by Ye. S. Kobylinsky to your husband K. I. Pechekos?

[Answer] I do not exactly remember the place where the Romanovs' valuables were transferred, whether it was in our apartment or in Ye. S. Kobylinsky's apartment. But my husband told me that Ye. S. Kobylinsky had asked him to keep the Romanovs' valuables. Later when they were in our apartment, I clearly remember that they were sewn in a white rag. My husband buried them the same as when we lived in Tobolsk.

[Question] Tell us, who knew about the Romanovs' valuables that were transferred to you for safekeeping?

[Answer] I think nobody knew except my husband and me and the Kobylinskys and later, when they were transferred, Alexander Ivanovich Pechekos and his wife. I distinctly remember my conversation with A. I. Pechekos's wife Alexandra Vasilyevna. When we gave the Romanovs' valuables to A. I. Pechekos, their son, Anatoly Vladimirovich Alekseyevsky allegedly got angry. So I assume the son knows about the valuables, too. I can not say for sure that he knows the hiding place.

Interrogated by *

Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service, Sverdlovsk Department Archives. Collection of documents «The Romanovs' valuables». V. 2. L. 169. Original.

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No. 85

Record of interrogation of Anil Vikentyevna Pechekos

June 5, 1934

I sincerely ask the proletarian body, the OGPU, to save my life because I clearly realized I had to show where the Romanovs' valuables are stored. Although I can not show the exact hiding place I know the valuables are concealed in Alexander Ivanovich Pechekos's house on the corner of Tobol-

skaya and Nadezhdinskaya Streets. And I am certain that Alexander Ivanovich hid the valuables in a wall of a room he had been decorating for himself, but I can not say on what floor. I know that Anatoly Vladimirovich Alekseyevsky and Tatyana Ivanovna Fedoseyeva, Alexander Ivanovich Pechekos's maid, know about the room he had been decorating. As for Fedoseyeva I suppose she would not know where A. I. Pechekos hid the Romanovs' valuables, but she would know about his personal valuables because he must have had quite a collection of them. I can not say for sure if my husband knows where A. I. Pechekos concealed the Romanovs' valuables. But I suppose he probably knows that the valuables are concealed somewhere in the house of A. I. Pechekos. Written in my own words. True. Signed here.

Pechekos

Interrogated by *

Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service, Sverdlovsk Department Archives. Collection of documents «The Romanovs' valuables». V. 2. L. 173. Original.

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* The signature is illegible.

No. 86
Findings *

July 7, 1934. I, Shumkov, head of the 6th Department, Sverdlovsk region Economics Department, OGPU, acquainted with materials of the medical examination and other materials dealing with the death of Anil Vikentyevna Pechekos, late prisoner convicted on Article 59-12 of the Criminal Code, RSFSR

find:

A. V. Pechekos, wife of the former steamer owner, together with her husband K. I. Pechekos, received a large amount of the tsar's family valuables through Colonel Kobylinsky in 1917 during the tsar's family's stay in Tobolsk. To this time Pechekos concealed the valuables from the Soviet regime. Arrested this year, on May 25, A. V. Pechekos absolutely denied receiving valuables belonging to the tsar's family from Kobylinsky. Only later after exposure at a number of confrontations with witnesses did she admit receiving the valuables; however, she did not reveal the current hiding place.

On June 5 this year A. V. Pechekos was called in for interrogation and declared the following: «I sincerely ask the proletarian body, the OGPU, to save my life because I clearly realized I had to show where the Romanovs' valuables are stored». But she did not reveal the exact hiding place. Because of Citizen Pechekos's declaration, the head of the PR medical unit was immediately sent for. Pechekos told him that on May 28th in her cell she broke an aluminium spoon into several pieces and swallowed them; a part had stuck in her larynx. As the head of the medical unit proposed, the PR commandant's office brought Pechekos to the city's surgical hospital where the pieces of the aluminium spoon were located in the X-ray photography and the stuck fragment was immediately withdrawn from the larynx.

On June 17th, this year, A. V. Pechekos died from festering pleurisy caused by injury to the gullet from swallowing foreign bodies.

Meanwhile, available materials from the medical examination reject any indications of accidental physical injury as reason for death and certify that death was caused by suicide.

Based on the statement above

I would suggest:

that the investigation into the suicide of Anil Vikentyevna Pechekos cease and that materials be filed;

that a copy of this statement be sent to the prosecutor who supervises units of the OGPU and DSS PR OGPU of the Sverdlovsk region for his information.

Head of the Sverdlovsk region ECD PR OGPU,
6th Department Shumkov

In agreement:
Temporary Acting Assistant
to the Head of the ECD PR OGPU Yermolayev

Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service, Sverdlovsk Department Archives. Collection of documents «The Romanovs' valuables». V. 2. L. 192-193. Original.

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* The heading of the document.

No. 87

Record of the interrogation of K. I. Pechekos in the presence of K. M. Kobylinskaya and Operations Plenipotentiary Kustov

June 23, 1934

Question posed to K. I. Pechekos: When did he turn the Romanovs' valuables over to A. I. Pechekos? K. I. Pechekos answered that the valuables were given in spring of 1924 before he departed to Tobolsk. He added that he had walled up the valuables along with valuables of A. I. Pechekos, and that he put in the parcel containing the Romanovs' valuables with his own hands. A question was posed to K. I. Pechekos: In what year did his brother leave for Poland and what valuables did he take with him? K. I. Pechekos answered that A. I. Pechekos left for Poland in 1924; at that time K. I. Pechekos resided in Obdorsk. As for the valuables belonging to A. I. Pechekos, he said that he had sent a large [amount] of gold, even in bullion, to Poland through the Polish Embassy. He added that K. I. Pechekos melted small pieces of gold bullion into bigger ones. As for the hiding place of the Romanovs' valuables he said that before he gave them to his brother A. I., they were in the house at 65 Nadezhdinskaya Street in the kitchen cellar behind the stone uprights of the back wall. They were taken from there to A. I. Pechekos's house. He was asked if the children knew about safekeeping the valuables. He answered that the children and the servant did not know he and A. I. Pechekos were hiding the Romanovs' valuables. He said only his wife and A. I. Pechekos knew about that. Written in his own words. Correct. Signed by those present here.

Kobylinskaya

Plenipotentiary Kustov

Interrogated by *

Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service, Sverdlovsk Department Archives. Collection of documents «The Romanovs' valuables». V 2. L. 189 ob. -191. Original.

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* The signature is illegible.

No. 88
From the record of the interrogation of Klavdiya Mikhailovna Kobylinskaya

July 21, 1934

...Tell us exactly what valuables were in the box that was transferred to Tobolsk by the former tsar's family to your husband for safekeeping.

Answer: I do not remember exactly what valuables were in the box. I remember only that there were: a) rings; b) bracelets; c) pendants; d) one head adornment [with] diamonds but I can not describe it. I do not remember anything else. There were other things not in the box: a) hats, pins; b) two ordinary sabres; c) two daggers; d) a small revolver but I do not know what kind.

Question: Tell us, if there was a crown and diadems of the late tsar Nicholas and the late tsaritsa Alexandra Fyodorovna in the box and how many of them were there?

Answer: I do not remember any crowns and diadems so I can not say definitely whether they were in the box or not. All this above was written in my own words, correct and read by me. Signed here.

Kobylinskaya

Interrogated by *

Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service, Sverdlovsk Department Archives. Collection of documents «The Romanovs' valuables». V 2. L. 45-45 ob. Original.

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* The signature is illegible.

No. 89
From the record of the interrogation of Ye. A. Vasilyev

September 17, 1934

In 1933 I heard from Smirnovsky, an accountant of the geodesic technical secondary school who lived for a long time in the house of Alexander Ivanovich Pechekos, the following details about Pechekos's move to Poland. Before his departure Alexander Ivanovich Pechekos had supposedly transferred his valuables to a certain employee of the Polish Embassy in Moscow for further transfer abroad. (He did not tell me the name of that employee.) He got a receipt from him. When Citizen Pechekos arrived abroad, the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs allegedly refused to give the valuables back to him

because the receipt was a fake. I do not remember exactly the year Pechekos moved abroad. I remember that he left in 1925 or 1926. I repeat, I do not remember the exact year. This can be corroborated in detail by accountant Smirnovsky, now residing in Omsk.

Vasilyev

Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service, Sverdlovsk Department Archives. Collection of documents «The Romanovs' valuables». V 2. L. 205-205 ob. Original.

No. 90

From the resolution by Shumkov, Head of the Economic Department of the State Security Office of the Sverdlovsk Region NKVD, 6th Department about determining preventive measures and bringing charges against Konstantin Ivanovich Pechekos

September 29, 1934

...Citizen Konstantin Ivanovich Pechekos, former steamship owner and former fishmonger in Tobolsk, has been proven sufficiently guilty of receiving in 1918 for safekeeping a box with the tsar's valuables (diamonds, gold, etc.) from Kobylinsky, colonel of the tsar's family personal Guard. According to testimonies of Kobylinskaya, Mezhans and others, there was a total volume of more then a million rubles in gold. Arrested in April this year, Pechekos confessed that he had received the valuables from Kobylinsky and that he had personally hidden them. He testified that, when he took the valuables, he made an oath to Kobylinsky that «he would die before telling anyone about the valuables». Pechekos said the valuables were stored in Omsk in the former house of his brother; however a search of a number of places did not turn up the valuables. After that, to keep the actual place of the tsar's valuables a secret, he attempted suicide. (He threw himself out of a five-story building.) Pechekos has since recovered. We are proceeding from here to investigate the case further and have resolved:

to charge Konstantin Ivanovich Pechekos accused by Article 59, p. 12 of the Criminal Code, to confine him in Special Building No. 2 according to Category No. 1 to prevent him from evading the investigation and the court.

Head of the 6th Department Shumkov

Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service, Sverdlovsk Department Archives. Collection of documents «The Romanovs' valuables». V. 2. L. 207. Copy.

No. 91

Resolution to file the case *

Sverdlovsk February 8, 1941

I, Berezin, senior operations plenipotentiary, Sverdlovsk Region ECD UNKVD, sergeant of state security, have examined intelligence-investigation case No. 2094 («The Romanovs' valuables» in 3 volumes, 704 pages) against Marfa Uzhintseva, Vasily Mikhailovich Kornilov, Alex[ander] Petrovich Kirpichnikov, Alexander Alekseyevich Vasilyev, Lidiya Ivanovna Vasilyeva, Semyon Alekseyevich Vasilyev, Praskovya Arkhipovna Volodina, Maria Matveyevna Yelisina, Pelageya Andreyevna Aksyonova, Salfalila Vlokhovna Karpova, Victorina Vladimirovna Nikolayeva, Klavdiya Mikhailovna Kobylinskaya, Konstantin Ivanovich Pechekos, Anna Yakovlevna Utkina, Alexander Aleks. Vasilyev, Georgy Aleks. Vasilyev, Semyon Aleks. Vasilyev, Lidiya Ivanovna Vasilyeva, Yelizaveta Aleks. Vasilyeva, Yegor Ivanovich Yegorov, Anna Pavlovna Merezhnikova and have determined that the case is of operational value but can not be used at present time. I have resolved:

To hand over the case No. 2094 («The Romanovs' valuables» in 3 volumes) against 21 persons to the Sverdlovsk region UNKVD, 1st Special Department for storage in the archives.

Senior Operational Plenipotentiary
ECD UNKVD
Sergeant of State Security Berezin

Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service, Sverdlovsk Department Archives. Collection of documents «The Romanovs' valuables» V. 2. L. 51. Original.

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* The heading of the document.

No. 92

To Head of the 10th Department of the SSCO attached to the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Sverdlovsk Region, Comrade Mazurin, Major*

Sverdlovsk February 27, 1967

Secret

In No. 6/1439 from 10. 11. 1967 we inform you that personal files of former state security employees Ignaty Dorofeyevich Kuznetsov and Stanislav Vikentyevich Maletsky were sent to your address on 8. 11. 67 with No. 3/2-1910. We have no personal files for Maksevich and Yurins in our archives.

We also inform you that the following Uzhintsevs are on the books: Pavel Andreyevich and Marfa Andreyevna against whom criminal proceedings were instituted by the Tobolsk NKVD operations unit in 1937 for participating in a counterrevolutionary group and for conducting antisoviet propaganda. Both were sentenced to capital punishment on 20. 11. 37 by a special UNKVD unit of the Omsk region.

There is also the information in the files that in 1932 the Uzhintsevs were also subjects of criminal proceedings for holding currency but their criminal files for 1932 are not in the UNKVD archives of Tyumen region.

V. M. Kornilov is not on the books. We did not find in our archives any data or documents about the search for the former tsar's family valuables.

Head of the 10th group of the SSCO
in the Tyumen region, attached
to the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Major Maleyev

Russian Federal Counter Intelligence Service, Sverdlovsk Department Archives. Collection of documents «The Romanovs' valuables». V 2. L. 117. Original.

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* The heading of the document.

PART V

IN SEARCH FOR THE REMAINS

No.93

From the report of Kazan Judicial Chamber Prosecutor Mirolyubov to Minister of Justice Starynkevich about the preliminary investigation of the assassination of Nicholas II and his family

Omsk December 12, 1918

I have the honour to present you, Mister Minister, the following information obtained in the preliminary investigation of the assassination of the former Emperor Nicholas II and his family.

On July 30/17, 1918 in Yekaterinburg Assistant Prosecutor Kutuzov reported on the testimony of Citizen Fyodor Nikolayevich Gorshkov. Gorshkov had learned details of the assassination from Court Investigator Tomashevsky who, in turn, had got them from a supposed eyewitness or someone close to the Soviet regime. He gave the following details. Sovereign Nicholas II and his family were gathered in the dining room where they were told they would all be shot. Then came a volley from the Latvians and they all fell to the floor. The Latvians checked to see if all were dead and found that Grand Duchess Anastasia Nikolayevna was alive. When they touched her, she cried terribly. They struck her on the head with gun butts and bayoneted her twice.

This report on the Gorshkov's testimony became the basis of the preliminary investigation. On July 30th Assistant Prosecutor Kutuzov, deputy prosecutor of the court, proposed the investigation to Nametkin, investigator of the most important cases. The investigator had at his disposal the burnt

remains of various things and a Maltese Cross found under the following circumstances: On July 16 or 17 peasants of the village Koptyaki (Verkh-Isetskaya volost [administrative district]) located at about 18 versts from Yekaterinburg, noticed Red Army detachments moving in the forest near the village. Nobody was allowed to approach the site. Nevertheless, peasants Andrey Sheremetyevsky, Mikhail Alfyorov and others were eager to know what the Red Army men were doing there. They went to the forest after the Red Army men left it. The path trod by the Red Army men led the peasants to the abandoned mines.

There, two steps from one of the mines, they found a pile with the remains of a bonfire. When those peasants dug up the bonfire, they found a cross with green stones, four corset plates, suspender clasps, shoes, buttons, press-buttons and four beads. When one of the peasants descended by a rope into the mine he noticed on the water's surface a stick, bark, planks, fresh conifer needles and an iron spade.

Near the bonfire they noticed a birch with an inscription on its bark: «Mining technician I. A. Fesenko July 11, 1918». During a thorough inspection of the site around the mine (The Isetsky Mine) the investigator found an old burnt handbag among the burnt sticks and charcoal, and about 12 sazhens [sazhen is 2. 134 m.] from the mine, they found burnt cloth, laces and some shiny black debris.

Captain Pometkovsky who was present at the inspection, also found a very dirty stone of a watery colour and considerable size with a flat centre in a white setting with tiny gems. Later an expert jeweler examined it and said it was a diamond of great value (not less then one hundred thousand). Near the same place they found two small dirty fragments of an emerald and a pearl and a scrap of cloth with a strong kerosene smell. Finally, right next to the wide mine, in a clay they found a small splinter of a grenade. During a descent into the mine they also found traces of grenade* explosions...

According to the witness's statement, a diamond had been found and shown to him. It had been sewn into a button of a costume belonging to either Grand Duchess Olga Nikolayevna or Tatyana Nikolayevna. From other material evidence, the witness recognized pearl earrings identical to ones belonging to the empress. As for the false teeth that had been found, he found them quite similar to those belonging to Doctor Botkin.

Finally, on September 6, 1918, an inquiry by the Board of the Criminal Investigation Department was held and it was learned that about 100 items belonging to the tsar's family were taken from a Red Army man Kuzma Ivanovich Letemin. He explained that he got some of the things while tidying up the Ipatyev house and some from his brother, Red Army man Mikhail Letemin. Letemin had been a member of the Ipatyev house guard and he heard from a guard that on the night of July 17th the former emperor, his wife, children, the lackey, the cook and women in attendance had been shot downstairs in the Ipatyev house. He learned this from the Red Army man Strekotin who was on guard duty that night.

According to Strekotin Commandant Yurovsky read some paper and the former tsaritsa and the eldest daughter crossed themselves. Then Yurovsky killed sovereign. The Latvians and the «guard commander», a worker Medvedev, began firing and shot all of the tsar's family and others present. After the execution, the guards washed off the blood on the floor and covered it with sand. The corpses were stowed in a truck. Later he talked to the truck driver who was a worker at the Zlokazov's factory. (He does not know his name.) The driver confirmed that they had carried the corpses to the forest where they nearly got stuck in a quagmire.

At the hearing, a military official Pyotr Alekseyevich Leonov testified that on July 17, 1918 Gorbunov, commissar of front supplies, demanded five trucks, one of them with two barrels of petrol. Two trucks were returned on July 18th in the morning with empty barrels. Two other trucks were returned later on July 18th, and the last truck came back in this way: On Gorbunov's order, it went to the American Hotel where the special investigation commission was based. The driver was replaced by another one from the American hotel and was sent home. Then on July 19th at about six o'clock the same driver from the American Hotel returned the truck filthy and bloody, although it was obvious it had been wiped off.

According to Kukhtenkov's testimony, in May after his discharge from the Red Army because of illness, he got a job as manager of the Verkh-Isetsky workers' club. On July 18-19 at about four in the morning, Sergei Pavlovich Malyshkin, chairman of the executive committee of the soviet of workers' and soldiers' deputies, Military Commissar Pyotr Yermakov and

prominent members of the Bolshevik Party Alexander Kostousov, Vasily Levatnykh, Nikolai Partin and Alexander Krivov came to the club. There at the club in a party room, they secretly deliberated and a witness heard the phrase, «They were 13 in all — the doctor was the thirteenth». When they saw the witness, they did not want to talk in his presence and went out into the garden. But the man, Kukhtenkov, was interested in their conversation and followed them unnoticed. He hid in the grass and listened. First of all he heard this from Kostousov: «We had to mess around the second day. We buried them yesterday and had to rebury them today. » From further talk he understood that Levatnykh, Partin and Kostousov took part in burying the murdered sovereign and his family. Krivtsov asked questions, and Levatnykh and Partin explained what they had done and boasted. Levatnykh incidentally said, «When we came they were still warm, I felt the tsaritsa myself and she was still warm... ». Then came questions: How were the slain people dressed? Were they good-looking? How many were there? Partin said that they were all dressed in civilian clothes, that various jewels had been sewn into their clothing and that none of them was good-looking. The witness heard somebody say «How can you see the beauty of the dead?» He heard somebody else say «Someone said the heir had died in Tobolsk but he was here, too. » They said at first they buried the bodies in two places outside Yekaterinburg II but later they carried them farther and buried them in different places; but they did not say exactly where. Someone enumerated their names: «Nicholas, Sashka, Tatyana, the heir, Vyrubova ** and some other names that he did not catch. Again someone said, «The thirteenth was the doctor.»

Prosecutor of Kazan Judicial Chamber N. Mirolyubov

Secretary

Correct: Head of the Office department of the Supreme Governor ***

SARF. F. 601. Op. 2. D. 36. L. 27-29. The attested copy.

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* Fault in the next page in the document.

** Wrong in the document. Demidova is correct.

*** The signature is illegible.

No.95

Minister of Justice Starynkevich's letter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Executive about the data of the preliminary investigation into the assassination of Nicholas II and his family

Omsk February 19, 1919

Data obtained to the present in the preliminary investigation of the assassination of Nicholas II and his family established the following events: In the first days of August 1917, by the order of the Provisional Government, the former emperor and all his family were sent from Tsarskoye Selo to Tobolsk. There they stayed until April 25 (New Style) 1918 when they were categorically ordered by the Central Executive Committee of Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies to move immediately to Yekaterinburg. Because of former heir Alexei Nikolayevich's illness, the family council decided to leave him in Tobolsk with his elder sisters and court people to take care of him. Meanwhile, the former emperor, the empress and Grand Duchess Maria Nikolayevna, accompanied by Prince Dolgorukov, Professor Botkin and servants Chemodurov, Sednev and Demidova left for Yekaterinburg where they were put up in the Ipatyev house. The conditions of the tsar's family life were very strict, similar to imprisonment.

On May 22 the rest of the tsar's family: Alexei Nikolayevich, Olga Nikolayevna, Tatyana Nikolayevna, Anastasia Nikolayevna and several court people and servants arrived in Yekaterinburg.

According to Pyotr Gilliard, who was the French teacher at the court, all the family jewels were taken with them from Tsarskoye Selo in accordance with the will of the former empress. To avoid theft the jewels had been sewn into hats and buttons of the grand duchesses and people of the court.

In July, as the Czechoslovak detachments moved toward Yekaterinburg, the local Bolshevik authorities announced the execution of the former sovereign and all his family. From that time two versions on the tsar's family's disappearance from Yekaterinburg started to circulate. According to one of the versions, all the tsar's family was killed; according to another, they were carried away to Verkhoturye or Perm.

The following data establishing the assassination of all the tsar's family are quite credible and confirm the first version. On July 17 Andrey Sheremetyevsky, Mikhail Alfyorov and other peasants of the village Koptyaki, Verkh-Isetskaya Volost (18 versts from Yekaterinburg) noticed the movement of Red

Army detachments in the forest near the village. After the Red Army men had left, the peasants found an extinguished bonfire near the abandoned mines. When they dug up the bonfire they found: a cross with emeralds, four corset plates, suspender clasps, shoes, buttons, press-buttons and beads. On the water's surface down in the mine they noticed a stick, bark, planks, fresh evergreen needles and an iron spade.

During a thorough search of the site near the same mine (The Isetsky mine) the investigator found an old charred handbag, rags, laces and some bright black debris. Later, at the same place they found two small dirty fragments of emerald and pearl and a scrap of cloth with a strong kerosene smell. Finally, they found a big and very dirty watery-coloured stone in a platinum setting; a jewelry expert examined it and said it was a diamond of big value (about 100, 000 rubles). According to the expert, the diamond was a part of a highly decorative pendant. Near the very edge of the mine in the clay they found a small splinter of a grenade. During a descent into the mine, traces of a grenade explosion were found. After the water was pumped out of the mine and sand and silt from the bottom were washed, they found an amputated finger, false teeth, bomb shrapnel, a man's tie clasp and other items of minor importance.

When the diamond pendant and other things were shown to the witness Pyotr Gilliard he confirmed that the pendant had been sewn into the button of a costume of one of the Grand Duchesses — Olga or Tatyana Nikolayevna; he found the earring with the pearl to be nearly identical to the earrings of the former empress. Doctor Derevenko said the false teeth were quite similar to those of Doctor Botkin. As for the earring found near the mine, it was clearly similar to the earrings worn by the former empress in the photographic portrait in the hands of the investigating officials. The other earring was not found at the indicated site but the splinters of the pearl were found there. An expert assumed that based on the quality of the pearl fragments they belonged to the pearl earring that was found. Finally, as for the amputated finger, an expert, a doctor, noted that the finger came from the hand of a person used to manicures because it had been well cared for; he said it can be assumed it belonged to a woman with long thin fingers.

An examination of the Ipatyev house where the tsar's family had stayed revealed that the door to a room on the upper floor had been hacked with bayonets and torn off hinges by some tool. Downstairs in the room where the

alleged execution took place in the wall opposite the entrance there were 16 depressions at various distances from the floor. Several similar depressions were found to the left on the floor. The depressions were noted at points where traces of blood had been washed off and rubbed out by the sand. When the depressions were examined they proved to be revolver bullet holes. Traces of coagulated blood were found in some of the holes. Judging from the bullet holes' location in the wall (5-32 vershoks up from the floor) and from the holes in the floor, a person could conclude that some victims had been standing and others had been lying on the floor. On one of the walls of the same room there was an inscription written in German by a semiliterate person: «On this very night the tsar was shot».

However, examination of the house produced no objective data to clearly indicate that it really was the tsar's family who had been shot in the Ipatyev house. Those facts were obtained by the interrogation of a number of witnesses. In September the inquiry was made into the Red Army man Kuzma Ivanovich Letemin's removal of about 100 various articles belonging to the tsar's family. According to Letemin, he had got some while tidying up the Ipatyev house and some from his brother Mikhail Letemin, also a Red Army man. Kuzma Letemin was examined as a witness, and he testified that he was a member of the Ipatyev house guard and explained the order and plan of the guard in detail. He named a number of people in the guard and also Yurovsky, commandant of the Ipatyev house and his assistant Pavel Medvedev, a worker at the Sysertsky Works. According to Letemin, on July 16, 1918 in the evening, on the eve of the alleged execution, he was on duty at post No.3 at the gates to the Ipatyev house; then he was relieved at eight o'clock. He stood guard at post No.4 (a sentry box at the street) on July 17 at 8:00 in the morning. When he entered the guard room he saw the boy Sednev who served the former sovereign and asked the guards in the room, «Why is the boy here?» One of the guards just waved his hand, and the other said that on the night of July 17, the former tsar, his wife and children, the lackey, the cook and the women in attendance had been killed. He knew about it from the Red Army man Strekotin* who was at his post that night. Strekotin told him that Commandant Yurovsky, having read some paper killed the sovereign. The former empress and the sovereign's elder daughter crossed themselves at that

moment. After the tsar was shot, the whole family and the courtiers were shot by the Latvians and Pavel Medvedev (mentioned above). Traces of blood on the floor were wiped up at once and covered with sand, and the corpses were stowed on a truck and carried away. The witness later heard that the boy serving the former sovereign had been sent to Tsarskoye Selo. «Guard Commander» Medvedev went to the front with the other Red Army men.

The wife of «Guard Commander» Medvedev testified and gave a general picture of the tsar's family's execution. She also testified that her husband had said he had participated in the execution. However, the most vivid picture of the tsar's family's shooting is that of Kapitolina Agafonova, based on her brother Anatoly Yakimov's account. He was a guard at the Ipatyev house. According to her, Yakimov came to her one day in July, tired and exhausted. He was agitated and in answer to her questions revealed that the night before «Nicholas Romanov, his family, the doctor, the woman in attendance and the lackey were killed» under the following circumstances: Soon after midnight all the prisoners were awakened and told to go downstairs. There they were told that the enemy would soon enter the city and so they had to be killed; shots followed and the sovereign and the heir were killed first; the rest were only wounded, which was why, in Yakimov's own words, «it became necessary to zero in on them», to finish them off with rifle butts, bayonet them; they «had a lot of trouble» with the woman in attendance; she tossed about on the floor with a pillow as a cover; later 32 wounds were found on her body. Grand Duchess Anastasia Nikolayevna fainted; when they checked her she «screeched wildly» and then they killed her with bayonets and rifle butts. Overall, the scene of the assassination was so nighmarish and cruel that, according to the witness, «it was hard to bear and he went outdoors several times to get some air. » It was impossible not to believe this testimony, or (according to the witness Grigory Agafonov) the confession of Anatoly Yakimov: In the evening the day after, when he came to say good-bye, his appearance was astonishing: his face was drawn, pupils dilated, the lower lip trembling while speaking. It was obvious the night before he had beer through a shocking experiment.

Arrested as the Red Army man serving in the tsar's family guard, Prokopy Kukhtenkov testified that on July 18-19th in the workers' club at the Verkh-Isetsky Works, he encountered Sergei Pavlovich Malyshkin, chairman of the executive committee of the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies,

Military Commissar Pyotr Yermakov and other prominent members of the Bolshevik Party who were having a secret talk; the witness heard the phrase, «They were 13 in all. The Doctor was the thirteenth. » When the persons mentioned above saw him, they went to the garden to continue the conversation; he followed them, unseen, hid himself in the grass and began to eavesdrop. He heard one of the men say, «We have to mess around a second day: we buried them yesterday and are reburying them today. From further conversation the witness understood that Levatnykh, Partin and Kostousov participated in burying the former sovereign and his family. Krivtsov asked questions and Levatnykh and Partin answered, boasting. Levatnykh allegedly said incidentally, «When we came, they were still warm. I felt the tsaritsa myself and she was warm... now it is no sin to die, I felt the tsaritsa's... » To questions about clothing, beauty, number of people, Partin answered that all of them were dressed in civilian clothes, that various jewels had been sewed into their clothing and that none of them was beautiful. Besides that, he heard somebody say, «As for the heir, they said he had died in Tobolsk, but he was also here. » As for the burial place, it was noted that they were first buried in two places outside Yekaterinburg II, and then they were moved farther away, and buried in different places, where exactly they did not say.

Finally, interrogation of a number of persons revealed that on July 17 at night automobiles drove off from the Ipatyev house. According to Military official Leonov, on July 17 Front Supply Commissar Gorbunov demanded five trucks; one of them was returned as late as July 19, and it was covered with blood and mud although it was clear that it had been washed.

Opposing the evidence above of the tsar's family's execution, several witnesses testified that the tsar's family was not shot but moved from Yekaterinburg to Perm or Verkhoturye. However, that version was not supported by the objective data of the investigation. None of the witnesses had claimed that he had actually seen the tsar's family leaving.

The data cover in general all the material obtained by the preliminary investigation up to now.

Recently the telegraph correspondence of the Yekaterinburg Regional Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies was withdrawn. This correspondence will be exposed to review to determine the attitude of the local and central soviet authorities toward the fate of the former emperor.

Furthermore, in the near future, Pavel Medvedev will be questioned. Just arrested, he was one of the main accomplices, directly involved in the assassination of the tsar's family. The investigative authority attaches a great importance to his interrogation. The circumstances of the assassination will be clarified, and, very likely, the location of the bodies will be revealed.

In general, the Ministry of Justice places special importance on this case and will take all measures to provide a thorough, successful and fast investigation of the case. The investigating authority, in person of coroner Sokolov, is working to the same end. All necessary measures have been taken to preserve the belongings of the former emperor and his family found in the investigation that are of historical importance.

Signed by:

Minister of Justice — Starynkevich

Certified true copy:

Acting Senior Clerk

Clerk** Shan[e]vskaya**.

SARF. F. 601. Op. 2. D. 36. L. 19-22. Copy from a copy.

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* So stated in the document. Correct — Strekotina.

** Inserted by hand.

No.96

From the record of the interrogation of M. I. Letemin by Kirsta, head of the Criminal Investigation Department, Yekaterinburg office, on the case of the execution of Nicholas II

August 7, 1918

about the last days of my duties, I remember this: On July 16 I was on duty at the House of Special Purpose at post No.3 from 4 p. m. until 8 p. m. when I was relieved. I remember very well that the former sovereign and his family were in the Ipatyev house and were alive. On July 17 at 8 a. m. I took guard post No.4 at the Ipatyev house. When I entered the Popov house where the guards were quartered I saw the boy who always attended the former sovereign in Guard Commander Medvedev's room. I asked one of the guards on duty, «What does this mean? Why is the boy here?» Instead of answering, the guard (I do not remember his surname.) just waved his hand. Then I asked the second guard and he told me that on July 16 at midnight, the former sovereign,

his wife, children, the doctor, the lackey, the cook and ladies-in-waiting had been shot downstairs in the House of Special Purpose in a room where was the door to a sealed up room. The youngest daughter of the sovereign was killed last. Strekotin who was on guard that night told me about this. Yurovsky was the first to fire at the former sovereign after he [Yurovsky] had read something. At that moment the former empress and the eldest daughter crossed themselves. After the former Sovereign was killed, the Latvians and Guard Commander Pavel Medvedev, a worker from Sysert, started shooting. When all the tsar's family and servants were killed, the guards from the Popov house were called in. Traces of blood in the room were wiped up. The corpses were carried to a truck and the bloody traces were covered with sand.

Strekotin and other guards said there had been many shots, that blood had been wiped up in the room and that there had been a lot of blood. Also the Austrian Adolf, who set up samovars for the commandant, told me that on July 16 at night when he was sleeping, Yurovsky came and woke him and told not to get scared if he heard shooting. After that he heard many people go downstairs. Then there were shots but not many. I did not believe all this, so I asked the truck driver who confirmed that they had taken the bodies to the forest and almost got stuck in quagmire. The driver was one of Zlokazov's workers. I recognized him earlier in a photographic card shown to me. The boy I saw with Medvedev was from Tsarskoye Selo and I heard he was sent back there.

On [July] 17, 18, 19, 20 and 21 the rooms of the Ipatyev house were tidied up and things from the storerooms were taken to the railway station. On July 22 the guard was removed, and from July 17 to 22 there were six of us on duty, five from Sysert and I. We all remained in Yekaterinburg, but later four went to Sysert. I stayed in Yekaterinburg, and Medvedev went to the railway station where he joined comrades, guards who left for front.

Mikhail Ivanovich Letemin

Head of the Criminal Investigation
Department Kirsta
Certified true copy:
Acting Head of the Criminal Investigation
Department *

SARF. F. 601. Op. 2. D. 51. L. 7-7 ob. Attested copy.

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* The signature is illegible.

No.97

Record of interrogation of M. D. Medvedeva at the Criminal Investigation Department, Yekaterinburg Office, in connection with the assassination of the royal family

Not earlier than August 7, 1918*

Citizen Maria Danilovna Medvedeva, a peasant of Sysertskaya Volost, Yekaterinburg District, Perm Province explained: My husband Pavel Spiridonovich Medvedev is a shoemaker and recently worked at the plant before he entered the Red Army. In spring this year he and the other workers of the Sysert works were hired to guard the house where the former sovereign emperor was imprisoned in Yekaterinburg. He went away to Yekaterinburg and I stayed in Sysert but frequently visited my husband and lived with him in their common barracks for several days. Coming to Yekaterinburg, I saw that the house was guarded by a dense line of the Red Army men, but I did not see my husband at a post because he was the guard commander.

On July 19 this year I came to Yekaterinburg to visit my husband. When I approached the house where the former sovereign emperor was kept, I was surprised to see the house almost without any guard. When I came to my husband in the barracks, I asked him why the guards were so few compared to the past. My husband told me, «Now it is unnecessary to guard the house, because the tsar is not there. He and all his family were killed». It happened like this: On July 17 at 2 a. m. all the sovereign's family and he himself were awakened and all his servants and attendants as well. They got up, washed, dressed themselves and were led downstairs to a room where they stood in semicircle. They were 12 in all. Opposite them were about 12 people lined up. They were not from the works but newcomers. A paper was read to the sovereign and his family. It said they had to die because the revolution was fading.

After that the sovereign's servants started to cry out but the shooting began, and soon the former sovereign emperor, the former sovereign empress, the heir, all the grand duchesses, the servants and attendants, 12 persons in all, were dead. The same day, July 17, all the corpses were taken into the forest and thrown into pits, into shafts. My husband did not name the place and what the corpses were carried away in.

Maria Danilovna Medvedeva is illiterate and at her request the signature was made by Pyotr Dmitriev Fokin, Head of the Sysertsky Committee of the People's power and acting Sysertsky Commandant Alexei Orlov.

Certified true copy:

Acting Head of the Criminal Investigation Department **

SARF. F. 601. Op. 2. D. 51. L. 8-8 ob. Attested copy.

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* Dated by the accompanying documents.

** The signature is illegible.

No.98

Record of interrogation of Z. A. Mikunova at the Criminal Investigation Department, Yekaterinburg Office, in the case of the assassination of Nicholas II

Not earlier than August 10, 1918*

Citizen, Zinaida Andreyevna Mikunova, also Mikunovskaya, noble, temporarily living at the Onufriyev's clinic, Zlatoustovskaya Street and permanently residing at 5 Pochtovyi Lane, explained: I was charged with violations, detained and shadowed by Konstantin Vasilyevich Konevtsev, a member of the Extraordinary Commission. Under pressure I became sexually intimate with him... I remember that a day or two before the shooting of the former sovereign emperor was announced, Konevtsev came to my apartment at about 4 p. m. and said the Bolsheviks had killed the former sovereign emperor. It seemed that Konevtsev said this with tears in his eyes. He turned away from me. To my questions he answered that he had been buried «probably right there in the yard» and that 52 bullets had been fired at him. At the same time Konevtsev told me that the sovereign's family had been taken to Nevyansk. He said the heir had died. That was my conversation with Konevtsev, I guess, on July 17, new style. Two days after our conversation Konevtsev left for Perm with gold, so he said.

Z. Mikunova

Certified true copy:

Acting Head of the Criminal Investigation Department**

SARF. F. 601. Op. 2. D. 51. L. 10 ob. Attested copy.

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* Dated by the accompanying documents.

** The signature is illegible.

No.99

Record of interrogation of N. A. Sakovich at the Criminal Investigation Department, Yekaterinburg Office, in the case of the assassination of Nicholas II

Not earlier than August 17, 1918 *

Nikolai Arsenyevich Sakovich, a doctor, commissar of public health under the Soviet rule and now in the Yekaterinburg prison explained: I remember that before the transfer of the tsar's family from Tobolsk to Yekaterinburg, I was summoned to a meeting of the Urals region commissars (in the building of the Volzhsko-Kamskii Bank) on the transfer of Nicholas II to Yekaterinburg. Having arrived at the meeting, I protested against my presence there but it did not help. I stayed and was an eyewitness to some disgusting scenes. For example, someone, I do not remember who, suggested staging a train crash during the former tsar's transfer. This was even put to the vote, and the decision was made to remove the sovereign from Tobolsk to Yekaterinburg. I remember I accidentally learned that there was correspondence with the centre of the Bolshevik authority about the former tsar's transfer to Yekaterinburg, and the centre clearly said that Yekaterinburg's commissars's lives depended on the former sovereign's safety.

I do not know about the former sovereign's lot, because I was not involved in the issue of the former sovereign and I was not kept informed. Personally, I do not believe that the former sovereign was shot. However, as far as I know them, Goloshchyokin and Yurovsky are cynics to the core, and I can imagine them capable of any infamy. Some anxiety could be observed in the Bolshevik leaders regarding the former tsar and his family. I do not even try to determine the cause —concern for tsar's life or his safety as a prisoner. Besides, I believe that the execution of the former tsar is a lie. Sverdlov's signature was on the posters about the assassination of the former tsar. That could not be, because long before July 16-17 there had been no communication with Moscow.

Certified true copy:

Acting Head of the Criminal Investigation Department **

SARF F. 601. Op. 2. D. 51. L. 13. Attested copy.

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* Dated by the accompanying documents.

** The signature is illegible.

No.100

Information from Kirsta, head of the Yekaterinburg Criminal Investigation Department, on the case of the assassination of Nicholas II

August 22, 1918

A secret worker of the Criminal Investigation Department arrived from an official journey and reported to me:

1) He made his way to the Bolsheviks' rear. In the village of Yelovka, 40 versts from Irbit, between the Yegorshino and Irbit stations, he learned from Artemii Makarov, a guard at Yelovka, that before the Bolsheviks departed from Yekaterinburg at night, he had seen tree covered motor cars and two three-horse carriages pass by. Makarov followed them up to the horse post station. He saw that they did not change horses and that the former sovereign and his family were driven away in the motor cars toward Verkhoturye.

2) In Irbit Lipatnekov, a market person, said he knew that the former sovereign and his family had been taken away to Verkhoturye.

3) At the Irbitsky Works a Red Army man Dmitrii Kapustin said that before the Czechoslovaks came, he knew about a plan to take away the former sovereign and his family. And once when he was on duty at the railway station, he saw formation of the train for the former sovereign and his family as far as the Bazhenovo station.

True:

Head of the Criminal Investigation Department Kirsta

Certified true copy:

Acting Head of the Criminal Investigation Department *

SARF. F. 601. Op. 2. D. 51. L. 13 ob. Attested copy.

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* The signature is illegible.

No.101

Record of interrogation of Y. S. Tomilova at the Yekaterinburg Criminal Investigation Department in the inquiry about the assassination of Nicholas II and his family

November 4, 1918

Acting Head of the Yekaterinburg Criminal Investigation Department P. Pleshkov made a further inquiry into the assassination of former sovereign emperor Nicholas II and his family. I interrogated the persons mentioned below:

Yekaterina Semyonovna Tomilova, a citizen of Verkh-Isetskaya volost, village of Reshety, 29 years old, married, orthodox believer, literate, no previous convictions, residing at Kolobovskaya Street in house No.3 at Petrov's; she explained:I was not a Bolshevik but I was a waitress at the Soviet canteen in the Commercial Assembly house. Before that I worked as a housemaid for Vladimir Mikhailovich Imshenetskii. I went to work at the Soviet canteen because I could not find another job. On the very first day the royal family was in Yekaterinburg at the Ipatyev house, they sent meals for 12 people from the Soviet canteen. The second day meals were sent for 13 people. During the first days dishwashers from the canteen delivered the dinners. They said they were not allowed into the house. The Red Army soldiers took the dinners at the gates. After several days the women began to feel sore; the meals were heavy. They refused to do it. I agreed to carry the meals and did so until the very end.

When I brought the meals the first time, I asked a Red Army man to let me into the house to get the dishes that had been left the day before. A Red Army commandant let me in with the meals, and I entered first a hall, then a dining room where a big table had been set for dinner. I put the food on a small table. That day I saw the former sovereign, he wore a khaki double-breasted jacket; there was a small star on his chest. He was in patent leather short boots. Two men also in khaki double-breasted jackets, stood near him. They were apparently military men. One of them was of average stature. His beard was darker than the former sovereign's and there were less grey in it. The sovereign's beard was big, oblong and there was a lot of grey in it and on his head as well. He seemed to be almost grey. The hair of his head was almost all grey. His hair was parted at one side, short. The third man seemed to be the eldest; he had less grey hair but the same beard.

Having seen a portrait, I recognized the former sovereign at once. The first day I also saw two of the sovereign's daughters. When I left with the dishes, I asked one of the Red Army men if the man I had seen was really the sovereign. I asked also the names of the daughters. He answered that it was the sovereign himself and the daughters were Maria and Anastasia.

On another day I brought the meals and saw the former heir Alexei Nikolayevich. He was in a wheelcarriage. He was slender, his face looked unhealthy. In all I saw the former empress only twice. She was tall, lean and dark. I often saw Maria and Anastasia with their brother, the former heir; they wheeled him around. Once, passing by him, I asked, «Do your legs hurt?»

He answered yes and nodded his head. The Red Army man standing there said talking was forbidden. I did not see the oldest daughters, but I heard they were also there. But I did not see them. In that house there was also a woman dressed quite well, young. A Red Army man told me that she was a maid. When I brought the meals and entered the dining room, the commandant always followed me. Nobody said anything, everybody kept silence. I always brought dinner at 1 p. m. and supper at 9 p. m. Sometimes I entered the dining room with the supper. Sometimes I did not; a Red Army man took the food from me and, along with the commandant, took it into the dining room.

I remember very well and categorically state that on the day the Bolsheviks announced at a meeting in the evening the former sovereign's execution, I brought a dinner for the tsar's family. I personally saw the former sovereign in the dining room and all his family and all the persons I had seen earlier. In the evening at my apartment the sister of the building owner Petrova was indignant that the Bolsheviks had shot the former sovereign. I told her that it was not true because I myself had seen the former sovereign that day and all the others I had seen earlier. That evening the Bolsheviks put up posters and announced in the newspapers that they had shot Nicholas. At home in my apartment I convinced the owner Olga Semyonovna and her sister Zinaida Semyonovna that I had seen the sovereign and that everybody was alive. The next day after the Bolsheviks' announcement in the newspapers about the former sovereign's execution, I again brought dinner for 13 people to the former royal family, and again I saw the former sovereign and everybody I had seen earlier. I was very surprised that the Bolsheviks had announced the execution when in reality I saw them all alive. I gladly went along with the dinner to satisfy myself that they were alive.

I sympathized with the tsar's family very much. I felt sorry for all of them. At home I told the owner that the Bolsheviks had announced a lie. I was afraid to speak about this in the Soviet canteen. One day after the execution of the former sovereign was announced, I was given only nine dinners for the royal family and again I was eager to bring it to the Ipatyev house. As usual I brought it to the dining room. The same young commandant who was always there followed me. I did not see the former sovereign, the doctor or the third man. I saw only the sovereign's daughters Maria, Anastasia and the former heir. I think I brought meals for nine persons only two days, not more.

I remember that on July 22 I brought meals for nine people and that day I saw the empress, Maria and Anastasia and the heir. The sovereign and other men were not there. I did not notice anything special; the daughters wheeled Alexei around. The empress stood near the window and rested her head in her right hand. She was dressed in a grey dress with a white collar. She was bored, but the daughters and the heir were the same as usual.

On July 23 there were no cooks in the Soviet canteen and I did not bring meals for the tsar's family. All the Bolsheviks were scampering about. I decided to go to the Ipatyev house for the dishes from the day before. There were only two Red Army men who let me take the dishes from the canteen. All the rooms were empty. Everything was in disorder. There was nobody from the tsar's family anymore. I asked a Red Army man why nobody was there. He told me that everybody had vanished. I took my dishes and went away. The day before, on July 22, I did not bring supper for the royal family. I did not know the Red Army men; they often changed. They were always Russian. I always saw the same young commandant; he was a Russian, too.

I learned about the doctor who was attending to the sovereign from a Red Army man. Once in the beginning when I had brought meals, the doctor passed by a Red Army man into the house. The Red Army man stood at attention. When he had passed, I asked the Red Army man, «Who is that?» He told me it was the doctor. Here's something else. I brought meals to the royal family for a long time, and the sovereign's daughters always looked at me cheerfully. I testify truthfully. I still believe the Bolsheviks did not kill the former sovereign and his family here but took them away somewhere. I did not tell this to anyone except the house owner Petrova and her sister Zinaida Semyonovna.

Yekaterina Semyonovna Tomilova

Acting Head of the Criminal
Investigation Department P. Pleshkov

Certified true copy:
Acting Head of the Criminal
Investigation Department*

SARF F. 601. Op. 2. D. 51. L. 18. Attested copy.

* The signature is illegible.

No.102

Record of interrogation of O. S. Petrova at the Yekaterinburg Criminal Investigation Department on the case of the assassination of Nicholas II

November 5, 1918

Olga Semyonovna Petrova, citizen of Yekaterinburg, 52 years old, orthodox believer, no previous convictions, residing at 3, Kolobovskaya Street in a private house, explained:Last winter, I do not remember the month, a stranger, Yekaterina Semyonovna Tomilova, was billeted on Bolshevik orders. She told me she was a waitress at the Soviet canteen and her number was 18. A month and a half later she told me that she carried dinners for the royal family from the Soviet canteen to a house enclosed with a fence made of planks. She told me also that she brought supper to the royal family.

That summer there was a rumour in town that the heir Alexei Nikolayevich was dead. I asked Tomilova about this, and she answered that the heir was alive but his leg was sore and he was in a wheelchair. I remember well that when the Bolsheviks made the announcement about the execution of the former sovereign Nicholas II and put up the posters, I asked Tomilova that very evening if it was true. She told me not to believe he had been shot. She said he was alive and added that she had brought dinner that day for the same number of people as she had before. But I do not remember if she said that she had seen the former sovereign that day. A day or two before the Czechoslovaks came, Tomilova told me that she brought meals for fewer people to the royal family, but she did not say for how many. She said that she had seen the former tsaritsa and that the former sovereign had probably been taken away.

O. Petrova

SARF. F. 601. Op. 2. D. 51. L. 19 ob. Copy.

No.103

From B. A. Gavrilov's account

September 17-19, 1919

I, Sergei Mikhailovich Tolstoy-Miloslavsky, captain of cavalry, during the journey on train No.4 from Omsk to Krasnoyarsk, met B. A. Gavrilov who told me the following on September 17, 18 and 19, 1919. I have written the account in his words: «I, Boris Alexandrovich Gavrilov, an honoured

citizen of Petrograd by birth, former senior noncommissioned officer of the 9th Finland Infantry Regiment, holder of the St. George Cross in two classes and now secretary of the All-Russian Union of Wounded Fighting Men of the Yekaterinburg District, born in Obukhovsky Hospital on Liteinaya street, Petrograd on June 12, 1888 know the following about the killing of the sovereign emperor and his august family:

«I escaped from the Bolsheviks Petrograd to Yekaterinburg where I arrived in May 1918. The Bolsheviks compelled me to work at the automobile garage of the 3d Bolshevik Army in June the same year. There I was appointed head of all technical equipment, keeper of all the fuel and clerk all at the same time.

Georgy Nikolayevich Steiman, a Jew (I suppose that this is a pseudonym.) and a member of the Revolutionary Tribunal, was the manager of the garage. There was also a clerk, Ivan Fyodorovich Molotkov, a colonel and holder of the St. George Cross and the former commander, I believe, of the 270th Infantry Regiment.

His son Fyodor Mikhailovich Molotkov, an ensign, served as a clerk and a driver and had special responsibilities. (He drove convicted people to execution.)

His daughter Olga Ivanovna Molotkova lived with Vasko-Bogdanov (apparently a pseudonym), a detachment commander and a communist. She was the copyist of the most secret papers at the garage.

Colonel Molotkov's wife also lived in Yekaterinburg but I was not acquainted with her. All the family lived in the most grievous economic condition.

Ivan Fyodorovich, Fyodor Ivanovich and Olga Ivanovna Molotkov were registered members of the Communist Party.

The very first days of June Steiman was arrested and was held for three days by the Extraordinary Investigation Commission. I am sure the arrest was arranged with the consent of Steiman himself to conceal his participation in the killing of the tsar. After three days Steiman was released and he said (apparently for effect) his arrest was unfair and was indignant about it.

At about midnight on June 14-15* Steiman ordered Stepanov, a driver from the garage and a member of the Communist Party, to get a car. No, I am wrong. He ordered it earlier in the evening and said that the car should be ready at midnight.

Steiman ordered Stepanov to get the car in my presence. Also present was Zaraisky, a musician from Petrograd and former senior clerk in the Semyonovsky Regiment Life Guards; he was a clerk at the garage and is now at the front on the side of the Whites. The Molotkovs, father and son, were also present and so was Alexander Melnikov, a metalworker at the garage. And there were others. I can remember their names and know them by sight.

Stepanov carried out the order and delivered an open black six-passenger car, the Overland, I believe.

On June 15 at about 10 in the morning I came to work. I and all the other garage employees saw the same car at the garage entrance. The interior was covered with coagulated blood up to the celluloid windows and the raised top. We asked, «Who did you slaughter today?» Steiman or Stepanov answered, laughing, «We did away with a family of snakes. » It became clear to everybody that the royal family had been killed. The same day Stepanov confirmed it in reply to our questions: «Apparently they killed and removed Nicholas's family last night because I brought Steiman to the Ipatyev house, and there he ordered me to leave the car and go home on foot». (Steiman often drove a car himself and always signed: Engineer Steiman.)

During the following days they published an official report of the escape of the royal family in the Yekaterinburg newspapers. It said they had gone into hiding. The Communists diligently spread the same story by word of mouth.

At the end of June the same year there was one of the almost daily drinking bouts at Steiman's apartment. It was in the same building where the garage was. I do not remember the street name, but the building was the second one from the Exchange on the corner. In front of almost all the employees, Steiman, the Molotkovs (father and son) and Stepanov told about the execution of the royal family and boasted about their participation in it. I do not remember exactly who said what but this is how the conversation went:

«Soon after midnight the following people arrived at the Ipatyev house:

1) Steiman (by car)

2) the Molotkovs, father and son (on foot)

3) Beloborodov (Regional commissar of the Urals. His signature is on Yekaterinburg banknotes.)

4) Among the others was a former sailor and convict who was an employee of the Yekaterinburg military comissariat. (I do not remember his surname; the others were not identified and were apparently persons of minor importance.)

«The sovereign emperor and his family were led into a room in the basement where Beloborodov read them the sentence of the Urals Regional Tribunal. After that, all those who had arrived there began to jeer at the sovereign, the tsaritsa and the grand duchesses. They beat them, spat on them, hit them in the face. The sovereign asked to take him and to spare the family. Nobody responded to that. The sailor-convict said, «I was in prison because of you. Now it's your turn. » That is approximately what he said and exactly what he meant. He shot first. Then everyone began firing and the Red Army men bayoneted [the victims]. Then they put all the bodies into a car and took them five or six versts out on the Moscow highway. There they disposed of them near the forest. I do not know how. Steiman said only, «They won't find them».

«In August 1918 the Bolsheviks brought me by force to the town of Perm where I met Vladimir Patushinsky, the senior agent of the Extraordinary Commission. He used the pseudonym Patushev. In Perm he lived at Bolshaya Yamskaya Street in the house opposite Doctor Fishman's house, No.45. Patushinsky is very well known in Perm. He lived with his mother.

«I lived with my friend Zaraisky in Fishman's house. I met Patushinsky when he had came by once to listen to Zaraisky play the chromatic accordion. During one of my visits to Patushinsky he led me to a chest about two arshins long and 3/4 wide and high opened and showed its contents. The chest was full of gems and gold. I saw gold coins, necklaces, rir gs, bracelets, watches etc., some in cases, some without. Patushinsky showed me some of the jewels, and said they had belonged to the royal family and he had got them when they were distributed.

«Patushinsky boasted that he and Vorobtsov (head of the Extraordinary Commission, killed by a Motovilikhinsky worker the night of December 23-24, 1918, when the Whites entered Perm) had killed the Bishop of Perm (He told in detail how it all happened.) and that he alone had killed more than two hundred priests...»

SARF. F. 601. Op. 2. D. 51. L. 87-89. Copy.

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* So stated in the document.

No.104

To V. I. Pichugin, head of the Verkh-Isetsky DDIA of Sverdlovsk from A. N. Avdonin*

July 10, 1991

I inform you that several years ago I discovered human remains in the forest near the Mostootryad No.72.

I can show you the place.

Avdonin

Note: «To comrade V. A. Volkov: Take part in the examination of the site where the remains were found. Carry out verification.

[The signature is illegible] 10. 07. 91"

Archives of the Sverdlovsk region Public Prosecutor's Office. Original.

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* The heading of the document.

No.105

Telephone message * from Acting Regional Prosecutor to Comrade N. N. Zaitsev

July 10, 1991. 16:05.

Verkh-Isetsky DDIA of Sverdlovsk received a statement from Citizen Avdonin about human remains he discovered near the Mostootryad No.72.

I request a person from the Office of Public Prosecutor go where operations-investigative group departs near the entrance to the Central Stadium on Yermakov Street by 8:45 a.m., July 11, 1991.

Head of the Verkh — Isetsky DDIA Pichugin

Received [Talanova]

Note: «I am sending this to Comrade V. A. Volkov. [Signature is illegible].»

Archives of the Sverdlovsk region Public Prosecutor's Office. Original.

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* The heading of the document.

No.106

Protocol of the Place of the Event Examination*

Sverdlovsk July 11-13, 1991

The examination was began at 10:40 a. m. on July 11, 1991.

The examination was finished at 12:40 p. m. on July 13, 1991.

Counsellor of Justice V A. Volkov, major assistant to the Sverdlovsk regional prosecutor, arrived at the place of event at 9:30 a.m. as a member of the investigative-operations group. That was in accordance with the order by Major Counsellor of Justice N. N. Zaitsev, acting prosecutor of the Sverdlovsk region. That was in accordance with the telephone message from the head of the Verkh-Isetsky DDIA of Sverdlovsk on July 10, 1991. The message was about the statement received from Citizen A. N. Avdonin who had discovered human remains several years ago in the forest near the Mostootryad No.72.

Specialists participating were — V D. Vorobyev, militia captain, head of the ETD subdepartment of the IAO of the Sverdlovsk Regional Executive Committee; his assistant, senior Sergeant V G. Novikov, junior operations plenipotentiary of the Criminal Investigation Department, Verkh-Isetsky DDIA, Sverdlovsk;P. P. Gritsayenko, senior forensic medicine expert and deputy head of the Sverdlovsk Regional Forensic Medicine Bureau; V S. Gromov, senior forensic medicine expert, head of the physico-technical unit of the same bureau; L. N. Koryakova, Candidate of History, head of the Zayralye Laboratory, Institute of History and Archaeology, Urals Branch, Russian Academy of Sciences; I. O. Koryakov, Candidate of Physico-Mathematical Sciences, assistant professor, Algebra and Geometry Chair, Urals State University;A. M. Bayevsky, physician, General Hygiene Department, Regional Sanitary Epidemiological Station; N. Ya. Fedoseyev, physician, Especially Dangerous Infections Department, Regional Sanitary Epidemiological Station, acting in the presence of A. N. Avdonin, Doctor of Geology and Mineralogy and official witnesses Nikolai Ivanovich Nachapkin and Nikolai Evgenyevich Yeryomenko, junior sergeant of the 2nd signal office centre, military unit 28331. They examined the place of the event according to the Articles 178-179 of the Criminal Legal Procedure Code of the RSFSR and have drawn up this report according to Articles 141 and 182 of the CLPC-RSFSR.

Before the examination began, it was explained to the persons mentioned above that they had the right to be present at all activities during the examination and to make statements to be included in the record. They were also informed about the use of video and photo equipment during the examination and possible use of other technical devices if necessary.

In accordance with the Article 135 of the CLPC RSFSR, witnesses N. I. Nachapkin and N. Ye. Yeryomenko were told they were obliged to certify the fact, content and results of the examination of the place of event **.

The duties specified in the article 133 of the CLPC RSFSR were explained to expert-criminalist V. D. Vorobyev and other specialists: V. G. Novikov, P. P. Gritsayenko, V. S. Gromov, L. N. Koryakova, I. O. Koryakov, A. M. Bayevsky, N. Ya. Fedoseyev. They were warned that they were answerable for refusing or deviating from performance of their special duties ***.

The examination was carried out in cloudy and rainy weather. The temperature was +7 degrees C. It was raining in the morning and rain was expected during the day according to the weather forecast. So an Army tent УСБ-56 measuring 9x5 m. was set above the place where the remains were supposedly buried. Before the investigative-operations group started its work that place was at the glade was enclosed with a rectangular fence measuring 25x20 m.

The glade, about 40x30 m., is in a mixed forest at the fork in the autoroute from Sverdlovsk to the Mostootryad No.72 and to the Shuvakishsky market, and the radius of the railway from the Tagilsky approach to the Gornozavodskaya branch, is roughly 6 kilometers from the outskirts. The glade is oval, stretching from the south to the north. A forest road (the former Big Koptyakovskaya Road) crosses the glade, linking the village of Koptyaki with the Verkh-Isetsky district of Sverdlovsk.

Following the instructions of A. N. Avdonin, the specialist-archaeologist L. N. Koryakova marked out a rectangular excavation trench, 4x3 m., length from south to north, width from east to west.

The surface of the marked off area is turf covered with meadow grass. Along the supposed burial place there are two long ruts. The ruts are 10-25 cm. deep. The eastern rut is about 5 cm. deeper than the other and in sharper relief.

The relief is more marked to the south of the supposed burial place. The southeast part of the glade is higher than the southwest. At the south part of the glade there is a very faint indentation running northwest to southeast, diagonally to the road ruts.

The excavation trench was laid along the road ruts. For any additional excavations an additional marking was made in an eastward direction for 1 m. The size of the intended excavation trench would be 4x4 m.

The excavation trench designation is Meridian. Lines are marked by letters of the Russian alphabet — А, Б, В, Г, Д and latitude lines are marked by Arabic numerals — 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

After that the turf was removed from the area of the excavation trench. A considerable concentration of stones was encountered in the southwest corner of the trench, especially at section A1.

The level of the first cleaning was 30 cm. from the surface of the southeast corner A1. Along the eastern wall of the excavation trench a strip of redeposited loam was traced. It wedged out and disappeared in the northern part of the section Г3. In about the middle of the trench a brown-bluish loam spot was fixed. Remains of decayed poles and birch bark under the loam were fixed between the western part of the loam and the spot.

After photo and video records were made of the first level of cleaning, about 30 cm. of soil was taken away.

The examination was interrupted at 14:00 for lunch for the participants of the examination.

The examination was resumed at 15:00.

Archaeologist L. N. Koryakova concluded that the second cleaning revealed no burial signs, so two trenches were added toward the west, one toward the south another toward the north from the original trench. The trenches' depth reached 0, 5-0, 7 m.

About 18:30 L. N. Koryakova concluded that there were no burial signs in the trenches from the western side. Also the character of the soil in the western test trench suggested a possible burial place. So the decision was made to concentrate the search at the northern part of the glade. The soil was uncovered from the area of about 3, 5x2, 5m.; that is, the trench was extended to the excavation trench.

The excavation trench (excavation trench 2) was laid to the north from excavation trench 1 at a distance of 2 m., oriented at the cardinal points. It was concentrated in the marshland. According to Avdonin and Vasilyev, a brook had run there several years before. (Witness Vasilyev was invited to participate in the examination to speed up the search of the burial place.) During expansion of the examination area, a considerable amount of wood of various sizes, was found in the excavation trench. They were fragments of railroad ties up to 1, 5 m., lying in a north-south direction.

Under a dark humus layer 15-20 cm. wide, a dark and very humid loam of different colours was seen all over — from yellow-green to red-brown. As the search for the supposed burial place continued, an almost rectangular pit of

later origin was found at a depth of 25 cm. The pit was roughly 3x2. 5 m. and ran northeast — southeast. Its extent is hard to trace because of a dark humus-like fill against a lightgreen clay background.

The fill of the later pit contained a number of items: a small fragment of a rusty zinc bucket; a rusty kettle; a rusty tureen, about 30 cm. in diameter; a small rusty knife about 22 cm. long (the handle is about 3 cm wide, brown, about 10 cm. long, blade width is 1. 5-2 cm., the blade is sharpened). These were found at a depth of 25-30 cm. According to witnesses Avdonin and Vasilyev, who had made investigative excavations at the site in 1979, they had thrown the things in the pit while it was being backfilled.

At the same depth, a vaguely shaped spot, almost rectangular, appeared. Inside it a lot of wooden remains were encountered. The dark fill from the excavations of 1979 showed up more distinctly against the background of the spot. The surface barely yielded to cleaning because of the abundance of humidity and the boggy clay structure.

The examination was interrupted at 19:20 for supper.

The examination was resumed at 20:00.

About 20:10 in the northwest corner of the excavation trench, during the soil cleaning in sector K/2 at a depth of 40-50 cm., specialists Gritsayenko and Gromov certified a human left pelvic bone fragment that was found. It was packed in a standard polyethylene bag measuring 49×32 cm. The bag was sealed with a seal with the impression «МАГ 78» on one side and «СХТ» on the other. The inscription on the label was «Pelvic bone fragment».

The knife and the tureen were extracted and packed in the polyethylene bags. The bags were sealed with the same seal. The inscriptions on the labels were «knife» and «tureen». The pieces of bucket and kettle were not extracted.

About 22:00 during removal of another soil layer closer to the centre of the excavation trench, at a depth of approximately 60-70 cm., the following items were found: in sector З/3 — the upper part of a box made of planks painted brown. The box cover measured about 50×20 cm. and consisted of two planks. In the western part of the sector И/2 there was an upright tubular bone. According to Avdonin and Vasilyev, they made the box in 1980. In it there had to be polyethylene bags with skulls, icon fragments, and other burial remains they had found at that period.

After the sludge was removed, the surface of the whole excavation trench surface was cleaned. That resulted in the discovery of an almost rectangular spot darker than the subsoil. (The subsoil was grey-blue clay.) The north part of the spot coincided the subsoil's structure and its colour stood out in a slightly visible intermixture. The spot was about 3, 3x2, 5 m. It stretched in the west-east direction and covered most of the excavation trench near the southern wall. (It should be noted that one level above [30-40 cm.], the spot was bigger in area but its limits were distinct only in the northeast part.)

Specialist L. N. Koryakova certified that this «upper» spot apparently corresponded not to the pit itself but to the area of rubbish and brushwood concentration with which the pit had been filled. When the soil settled the upper part sank too. It resulted in a small hollow. There the road and the brook crossed, and the wooden remains had sunk deeply and lay not only in the upper layer but partially in the subsoil layer, too.

While the box was being removed, it was destroyed. Several polyethylene bags with icon fragments, 24×12 cm., reddish metal, 0, 2 cm. wide were indeed in the box. On the centre front of the icon the Crucifiction is depicted. On the reverse side of the icon there were the inscriptions: «Taken 01. 06. 79. Returned 07. 07. 1980» and «Those who suffered to the end will be saved.» The icon was packed in a polyethylene bag measuring 49×32 cm., sealed with the same seal, labeled «Icon fragment».

The contents were laid out at the southern part of the excavation trench.

When the first bag was opened in it were found: ****

— a human sacrum;

— a glass ampoule with a polyethylene lid, probably with human hair fragments inside;

— a vial, perhaps a penicillin bottle, with some liquid, probably small fragments of human tissue;

— two human lumbar vertebrae;

— a kneecap;

— the first and the second neck vertebrae;

— a right rib;

— two metacarpal bones.

Everything noted was packed in a new standard polyethylene bag measuring 49×32 cm., sealed with the same seal and labeled «Bag No.1».

When the second bag was opened there was found:

— a right hipbone, damaged by cutting, wrapped in a yellow polyethylene plastic;

— a left shoulder bone.

The contents of this bag were packed in a new polyethylene bag measuring 49×32 cm., sealed with the same seal and labeled «Bag No.2».

When the third bag was opened there was found:

— a human skull, more precisely, the cerebral section of the skull in a yellow polyethylene plastic; the skull had not knit which indicated young age. The base of the skull was broken. The face is missing;

— two bone fragments of an upper jaw with teeth; the teeth were not worn indicating the young age;

— the lower jaw; the specialist established that it belonged to a young person because of the incomplete cut of the left eighth tooth crown;

— two teeth:a molar and a canine.

The contents were packed in a new polyethylene bag measuring 49×32 cm., sealed with the same seal and labeled «Bag No.3».

When the fourth bag was opened it was found:

— a human skull with the facial section destroyed, wrapped in a yellow plastic. On the facial parietal bone there was a round defect about 8 mm. in diameter. By its appearance it looks like bullet damage.

The forensic medicine expert recommended not to examine the skull in detail because it might be damaged as it had been in the soil a long time, probably in an aggressive environment. So the skull was packed with its wrapper in a new polyethylene bag measuring 49×32 cm., sealed with the same seal and labeled «Bag No.4».

When the fifth bag was opened there was found:

— a human skull with the facial part destroyed. According to the specialists, its special feature is a permanent bridgelike denture from yellow metal on the molars of the left side.

There was no apparent mechanical damage on the skull. The skull was packed in a new polyethylene bag measuring 49×32 cm., sealed with the same seal and labeled «Bag No.5».

Polyethylene bags and yellow wrapping plastic that was left after removing of bone fragments, bones, and skulls were packed in a separate big bag measuring approximately 100×50 cm. It was sealed with the same seal and labeled «Wrapping material. »

A soil sample was taken near the box from the western side. It was put in the polyethylene bag measuring 49×32 cm. The bag was sealed with the same seal and labeled «Bag No.6. Soil sample».

After this all the bags except the one with the wrapping materials were put in a wooden green military box measuring 109×59×25 cm. Its locks were sealed with the same seal and labeled «Material evidence. Box No:1».

At 23:05 the examination was interrupted for rest.

On July 12, 1991 at 8:20 a. m. the examination was resumed.

Excavation trench No.2 was close to the fence and that made the search difficult. So on July 11, 1991 in the evening part of the fence was moved 5 m. to the north. After that a military tent УСБ-56 was set up.

Specialist Koryakova recommended that the excavation trench be expanded up to 4x4 m. with the latitude signs in Arabic numerals 0, 1, 2, 3, 4 and longitude (every 1 m.) with Russian letters Ж, З, И, К, Л (chart attached). After that, the soil was removed from the expanded excavation trench.

At a depth of 30-40 cm. the north-eastern part of the excavation trench measuring 2×1, 5 m. was cleaned, and the upper limit of the northeastern corner of the pit was found in the upper part. Numerous sticks, brushwood had been thrown about there. (Apparently the rubbish overlapped the pit in an area that exceeded the pit itself.)

After the excavation trench was deepened to 65-70 cm. (from 11:00 a. m. until 11:50 a. m.), the whole excavation trench area was cleaned. The specialists determined that the limits of the original pit could not be fixed; here and there they disappeared.

The limits of the later pit dug by Avdonin and Vasilyev in 1979 are relatively visible. This later pit had apparently damaged the actual limits of the earlier burial pit.

After cleaning, the pit was fixed at about 3, 3, x2, 5 m. oriented west-east.

Along the longitudinal axis of the pit near its southern limit log traces were found. There were wood traces all over the western part of the pit, too. And in the centre of the pit's eastern part were planks and brushwood remains, too. Avdonin and Vasilyev said they had left them in 1979.

The excavation trench was deepened and at about 12:10 p. m. an object was found in the northeastern corner of the original pit, at a depth of about 80 cm., where the longitudinal line 2 m. and the latitudinal line 2, 4 m. crossed. It was similar to a human skull arch. Fragments similar to human hair were near it in the soil. These were packed in a polyethylene bag measuring 49×32 cm. that was sealed with the same seal and labeled «Hair fragments».

The soil extraction continued near the southeastern pit's wall, sector 3/2, 80-85 cm. deep. There ceramiclike clusters were found — four brown irregular-shaped fragments, small in size from 9×13 cm. to 16×6 cm.

In the same place the upright bone and the skull arch were found. In the southeastern corner of the suspected burial place at approximately 80 cm. deep soil samples were taken. The samples were packed in polyethylene bags, sealed with the same seal and labeled «Soil samples». The bags were numbered 7, 8, 9, 10.

When the soil was cleaned at a depth of about 80 cm. along the western part of the pit, a cable about 15 mm. thick was found along the border of the pit's western part. In the southwestern part were disorderly clusters of small human foot bones, two ribs, lower jaw fragments and shoulder blade fragments. Apparently laying cable caused the disorderly array of small bones. Since it was impossible to determine on the spot to which skeleton the bones belonged, the specialist recommended they be removed and packed in polyethylene bag No.11. It was sealed with the same seal and labeled «Bones' fragments».

In the corner of the northwestern pit at a depth of 80-90 cm., five ceramic fragments were found. One of them was round, 16×13 cm.; three were from 13×14 cm. to 17×14 cm.; and a cylindrical ceramic fragment about 6 cm. in diameter with something like threading on the outer side. An expert stated that the cylindrical ceramic fragment could be the mouth of a vessel.

The ceramic fragments were put in a polyethylene bag. The bag was not sealed in case other ceramic fragments were discovered.

When the soil was cleaned along the eastern part of the pit at a depth of 85-90 cm., two more skulls were found. The first was in about the centre of the eastern part of the original pit. The second was in the southeastern part of that pit. The faces of both skulls faced upward. Soil samples were taken under the skulls and packed in bags No.12 and No.13 sealed with the same seal and labeled «Soil samples». There were carbonized wood fragments in the soil under the skull from the southeastern part of the pit.

A soil sample was taken 20 cm. north of where the skull was found in the centre of the eastern part of the original pit. The sample traces a material similar to the mercury. The soil sample was packed in polyethylene bag No.17, sealed with the same seal and labeled «Soil sample with material similar to mercury».

At the same time soil samples were taken in the centre of the western part of the original pit about 1. 2 m. from the western wall of the excavation trench and in the pit's northeastern corner where the skull bed was found earlier. (The skull was lying face down.) The samples were packed in bags No.14 and No.15, sealed with the same seal and labeled «Soil samples».

While the skull from the pit's northeastern corner was being cleaned, damage on the left temporal-parietal part was discovered.

During soil cleaning in the pit's southwestern corner, one more human skull was found. It was next to the cable and faced upward. Several centimeters east of the skull a brown cylindrical ceramic object was found. It was about 6 cm. in diameter with threading on the outer side. The expert L. N. Koryakova stated that the object could be the mouth of a ceramic vessel.

Small fragments of bones and small human bones, lying in disarray, were found in the same corner. They were packed in polyethylene bag No.19, sealed with the same seal and labeled «Bone fragments».

A soil sample was taken in the pit's northwestern part where small fragments of foot and hands' bones had been found lying in disorder along the cable. It was packed in bag No.18, sealed with the same seal and labeled «Soil sample».

After more soil cleaning, the skeletal remains of several people, piled on top of each other, were discovered. The skeletons and the boundaries of the original pit were sketched, videotaped and photographed. The pit was almost rectangular with uneven sheer walls. Its size was 2. 10-2. 20 x 1. 50-1. 65 m.

After the burial place was sketched and the skeletons numbered, the skeletons were removed not in the order of the numbering but from top to bottom according to how much of the structures were visible. The depth of the skeleton bed varied from 80 to 122 cm. Knives and brushes were used to remove the skeletons and to clean the burial place according to archaeological technique.

Skeleton No.I.

The skeleton on top was at a depth of about 80 cm. The skeleton lay higher than the others along the eastern wall of the grave, its feet pointing southward. The skull was missing. Hipbones were at a slight angle to the backbone. The lower extremities were widely spread. The right arm bones were to the right of the skeleton, lying southwest-northeast. The bones were removed layer by layer.

These were extracted:

— left footbones;

— left shinbones;

— left thighbones;

— a right shinbone;

— right thighbones.

In the upper third of the left thighbone was a fragmentated fracture line with the bone divided into two pieces: upper and lower.

— hipbones.

During extraction the hipbones fell apart.

— ribs.

The ribs, wet and fragile, were extracted in lumps of wet soil. It was impossible to count them precisely because they might break apart while they were separated from the soil.

— a backbone.

While the pectoral vertebrae were being extracted, a human lower jaw fragment with the right side missing and a tooth laying separately were found nearby, a bit lower and to the left. In the molar section of the jaw, to the right and to the left, there were crowns of a silvery metal. The piece of lower jaw and the tooth were packed in the polyethylene bag No.21, sealed with the seal noted above and labeled «Lower jaw fragment».

— part of a left shoulder blade with visible damage;
— a right shoulder bone;
— a right forearm bones;
— handbones.

No skull was found at the level of skeleton No.1. Bones of the upper left extremity were not found, either.

While the bones of skeleton No.1 were being extracted, additional damage occurred because of the apparent fragility of the bones. The expert P. P. Gritsaeynko stated that additional damage could also occur while the other skeletons were extracted.

The bones of Skeleton No.1 were packed in a big polyethylene bag of about 100×50 cm. Into it was placed a polyethylene bag measuring 49×32 cm. containing the hipbones. On expert recommendation, the hipbones were put into a separate bag because of their fragility.

After sealing, the polyethylene bag was put into a military equipment case measuring 109×59×25 cm. The contents were interlayed with white porolon to avoid additional damage. After this the case's lock was sealed with the seal noted above and labeled «Box No.I. Skeleton No.I».

Skeleton No.II. (No.two).

It lay at a depth of 80-97 cm. along the northern wall of the pit. The skull was face down, slightly inclined to the left. The backbone was bent in the midsection and it pointed southeast. Left leg bones lay along the northern wall of the pit and right leg bones lay half a meter to the left.

This was extracted:

— a skull without a lower jaw and with a damaged base.

The lower jaw lay near the cervical section of a damaged spine. The skull bones fell apart. They were packed in a polyethylene bag measuring 49×32 cm. that was sealed with the seal noted above and labeled «Skeleton No.II. Skull No.II».

— vertebrae mixed in soil;
— collarbones, bones of shoulder blades;
— rib bones;
— left shoulder bone;
— right shoulder bone;

— four small fragments of rotted twisted rope about 1 cm. in diameter and 5-15 cm. long under the skeleton near the hips;

— a thick conglomerate about 60×40×20 cm., where should have been a hipbone of the skeleton.

The conglomerate was not examined at the extraction site on the expert's recommendation.

— a right thighbone;

— a left thighbone;

— a right shinbone.

The left shin and feet were not found.

A sample was taken of the soil where the c ense conglomerate was. It was packed in a polyethylene bag measuring 49×32 cm. No.22. The bag was sealed with the seal noted above and labeled «Soil sample».

Skeleton bones, the skull in the bag and the rope fragments wrapped in paper and the thick conglomerate were put into a military box measuring 109×59×25 cm. The box's lock was sealed with the seal noted above and labeled «Box No.II. Skeleton No.II». The box's contents were interlayed with the material mentioned above.

At 20:50 the examination stopped for supper.

The examination resumed at 21:30.

Box No.1 labeled «Material evidence» had been packed on July 11, 1991 without interlay material. So the box was opened and white porolon material was put around the contents. Then the box was sealed with the same seal under the same label.

Skeleton No.VI. (No.six).

The level of the skeleton's bed was 0. 90-0. 95 cm. The skeleton lay roughly in the centre of the pit. The skeleton lay north-east to south-west, the upper part toward the south-west. Bones of lower extremities lay close to each other. Shinbones lay near the pelvis of Skeleton No.1 and the skull No.VII. The soil near the skeleton's hipbones was black.

The skeleton includes tibia, thighbones and what were supposedly pelvic bones.

Extracted:

— right and left shin bones;

— a left thighbone with supposedly preserved tissue;

— a right thighbone;

— two pelvic bones;

— a sacrum and three lumbar vertebrae;

— several white-yellow conglomerates of nondescript form with reddish veins, dense like wax. (It might be preserved human tissue.) These were put into a separate polyethylene bag measuring 49×32 cm.

Foot bones and other bones of the skeleton were not found.

The extracted remains of the skeleton No.VI were put into a military box 109×59×25 cm. and interlayed with packing material. The box's lock was sealed with the seal noted above and labeled «Box No.VI. Skeleton No.VI».

Skeleton No.V. (No.five).

Part of it lay over Skeleton No.VII at a depth of about 90 cm. in the northern part of the pit. The skeleton lay northeast — to — southwest. Its feet pointed toward the northeast and were near Skeleton No.2 and almost parallel with it. The thorax lay next to the cable.

Extracted:

— two fragments of rotted twisted rope about 1 cm. in diameter, found near the skeleton's lower extremities. One of the fragments was in a knot about 5 cm. in diameter with ends about 15 cm. The second was about 15 cm. The rope fragments were packed in paper labeled «Rope fragments»;

— pelvic bones mixed with a white-yellow conglomerate with reddish veins (The soil at the spot is black.);

— a foot bones;

— two shinbones;

— left and right thighbones.

The left one was damaged. Possibly a complete traverse splintered fracture in the middle third.

— separated ribs and vertebrae.

The extracted remains, ropes fragments and conglomerate were put into a military box measuring 109×59×25 cm. and interlayed with packing material. The box's lock was sealed with the seal noted above with and labeled «Box No.V. Skeleton No.V».

Skeleton No.VII (No.seven).

The level of its bed was 0. 94-1. 00 m. The skeleton's bones lay in the middle of the pit, its head toward the east. The skull seemed to be separated from the spine and lay on its right side. The pelvis and leg bones lay at a slight angle from the backbone in a southwest direction. (It lay under the bones of Skeletons No.1 and No.IV.)

Extracted:

— a human skull without the lower jaw; the right cheekbone arch is missing; on a right molar of the right jaw there was a white metal crown; on the left side, on an upper molar there was a crown supposedly from yellow and white metals; the front teeth were missing;

— a sacrum;

— vertebrae;

— collarbones;

— shoulder blades;

— right and left shoulder bones;

— right forearm bones.

Left forearm bones were not found.

— pelvic bones with some conglomerate;

— left and right thighbones. The lower third of the right thighbone is missing.

To preserve the skull of Skeleton No.VII, it was packed in a separate polyethylene bag measuring 49×32 cm., sealed with the seal noted above and labeled «Skull No.VII. Skeleton No.VII». It was put into a military box measuring 109×59×25 cm. The rest of the remains were put in the box, too. The contents were interlayed with the packing material. The lock of the box was sealed with the seal noted above and labeled «Box No.VII. Skeleton No.VII».

Skeleton No.III (No.three).

It lay across the southern part of the pit, its head toward the east at a depth of about 1 m. (The thorax lay under Skeleton No.I). The backbone was slightly bent in the northern direction. The lower extremities lay under the upper part of Skeleton No.IV and on the skull of No.IX. The left arm bones lay almost perpendicular to the backbone and were with the lower extremities of Skeleton No.IX. Right hand bones were under the thorax.

Extracted:

— a fragment of the lower jaw, from its right half. In right molar area there was a metal filling. Partial jaw is damaged and several teeth are missing;

— the left half of the lower jaw fragment;

— a damaged skull; in particular there was a hole in the bone of the right frontal — parietal region; there was also damage in the back of the skull; to preserve the bones, the skull was packed in a separate polyethylene bag measuring 49×32 cm., sealed with the seal noted above and labeled «Skeleton No.III. Skull No.III»;

— vertebrae;

— left and right collarbones;

— both shoulder blades;

— shoulder bones and forearm bones. Hand bones were not found.

— pelvic bones;

— a sacrum;

— thighbones;

— a right shinbone;

— left tibia and fibula.

The extracted remains were put into a military box measuring 109×59×25 cm. and interlayed with the packing material. The lock of the box was sealed with the seal noted above and labeled «Box No.III. Skeleton No.III».

At 23:45 the examination was interrupted for rest.

The examination resumed at 8:30 a. m. on July 13, 1991.

Skeleton No.IV. (No.four).

It lay along the western wall of the pit at a depth of 0. 96-1. 05 cm., head toward the south. The skull and the thorax were turned to the right; the pelvis was separated from the backbone and was a little bit to the north, on top of the leg bones of Skeleton No.VII. The right thighbone was under the pelvis.

Extracted:

— a human skull with a damaged face. The skull bones broke apart.

To preserve the skull, it was put into a separate polyethylene bag measuring 49×32 cm. that was sealed with the seal noted above and labeled «Skull No.IV Skeleton No.IV».

— a spinal cord fragment; it was put into a film cassette box and then packed in a separate polyethylene bag measuring 49×32 cm. No.23. The bag was sealed with the seal noted above and labeled «Spinal cord fragment»;

— bones from the backbone;

— shoulder blades;

— collarbones;

— manubrium;

— ribs;

— shoulder bones;

— left shoulder bone with the upper third missing;

— forearm bones;

— pelvic bones;

— thighbones;

— a right tibia;

— a right fibula with the upper third missing;

— a left tibia.

The left fibula was not found.

— kneecaps;

— individual foot bones.

The extracted remains were put into a military box measuring 109×59×25 cm. The contents were interlayed with packing material. The box was sealed with the seal noted above and labeled «Box No.IV Skeleton No.IV».

Skeleton No.IX (No.nine).

It was in a hollow in the southern part of the pit at a depth of 1. 07-1. 20 m. The skeleton lay along the southern wall of the pit, its head toward the west. (It lay under Skeletons No.I and No.IV.) The backbone was slightly bent toward the north. Bones of the both lower extremities lay at an angle to each other, bent at the knees. The right shinbones were under the skeleton No.VIII's skull.

Extracted:

— a human skull, apparently damaged in the base region. There was damage in the face, too.

To preserve the skull, it was put into a separate polyethylene bag measuring 49×32 cm. and labeled «Skull No.IX. Skeleton No.IX». It was sealed with the seal noted above and put into box No.IX. A soil sample was made. The sample was packed in the polyethylene bag measuring 49×32 cm. No.24, sealed with the seal noted above and labeled «Soil sample»;

— collarbones;

— a sternum manibrium fragment;

— a damaged fragment of a left shoulder blade;

— ribs;

— bones from the backbone;

— a sacrum;

— pelvic bones;

— a left shoulder bone with the knob missing;

— left forearm bones with the lower third missing;

— right forearm bones with the lower third missing.

The right shoulder bone was not found.

— right and left thighbones with a possible complete transverse fracture in the middle third at almost the same point;

— fragments of white-yellow material with reddish veins, that were packed in a separate polyethylene bag measuring 49×32 cm.;

— left tibia and fibula.

The right fibula was not found.

— upper bone of a knee;

Hands and foot bones were not found.

The bones, the skull and tissue fragments were placed in separate bags and put into a military box measuring 109×59×25 cm. with packing material. The lock of the box was sealed with the seal noted above and labeled «Box No.IX. Skeleton No.IX».

Skeleton No.VIII (No.eight).

It was found lower than the others at the bottom of the pit's southern end. It lay along the southern wall of the pit, its head toward the east at a depth of 1. 12-1. 20 m. Only the skull's arch bones remained. Leg bones were under Skeleton No.IX's thorax. The soil around the skull and thorax region was darker than other parts of the pit's bottom.

Extracted:

— skull arch bone fragments;

— a lower jaw fragment.

Facial skull bones were not found. The neck and pectoral vertebrae were not found, either. To preserve the skull bones, they were packed in a separate polyethylene bag measuring 49×32 cm.. It was sealed with the seal noted above and labeled «Skull No.VIII. Skeleton No.VIII».

— a carbonized sacrum; it came apart very easily;

— six carbonized vertebrae;

— a sacrum fragment;

— pelvic bone wings and body fragments;

— a left thighbone with the lower third missing;

— right thighbone fragments;

— right tibia fragments.

Other bones of Skeleton No.VIII were not found. During the extraction fragments of preserved tissue, probably from Skeleton No.VIII, were put into a separate polyethylene bag measuring 49×32 cm.

All the bones, tissue and skull fragments were packed with packing material in military box No.VIII measuring 109×59×25 cm. The lock of the box was sealed with the seal noted above and labeled «Box No.VIII. Skeleton No.VIII».

After the upper part of Skeleton No.VIII that lay along the southern wall of the burial site had been extracted, its bed was examined. The bed was a hollow measuring approximately 150×60×25 cm. The soil of the bed was black with fragments of charred material. Samples of the soil and charred material were taken and packed in a separate polyethylene bag measuring 49×32 cm. The bag was sealed with the seal noted above and labeled «Soil sample from the Skeleton No.VIII bed».

After that, all remaining bones, bones fragments not connected to the extracted skeletons, were put into a separate military box measuring 109×59×25 cm. No.X and interlayed with the packing material.

In the same box there were put:

— bag No.19 with bone fragments;

— bag No.25 with numerous small fragments, the possibly preserved human tissue from the bottom of the burial site taken after the extraction of all remains.

The box was sealed with the seal noted above and labeled «Box No.X. Bones and bones fragments not connected to the extracted skeletons».

Thus all the remains were extracted from the burial site along with the supposedly preserved human tissue.

In a separate box of the same size, Box No.XI, all soil samples taken at other stages were packed along with all ceramic fragments that had been packed in bags No.12 and No.20. The contents were interlayed with paper. The lock of the box was sealed with the seal noted above and labeled «Box No.XI. Soil samples. Ceramic fragments».

Overall 35 ceramic fragments were extracted during the examination. They lay at depths from 0 cm. to 1 m. in a strip 50-70 cm. wide along the western part of the burial site. The biggest fragments were extracted in the northwestern part of the burial site.

After all the remains had been extracted the bottom of the burial site was cleaned, sketched and leveled.

Cleaning the bottom revealed it was uneven. It was higher in the northern part because there is solid rock. The southern part of the bed was 25-30 cm. deeper than the northern part. A series of amorphous spots ran southeast from the northwest corner to the centre of the pit and then ran in a north-south direction to the bottom. The spots could have been made by an aggressive environment. The black layer was most concentrated in the southern, deeper part of the grave.

The bottom of the northern part of the grave was about 100 cm. deep; the southern was about 125 cm. deep.

Experts V. D. Vorobyev and B. G. Novikov photographed and videotaped the examination: The video recording was made with Hitachi YM 3200 E(AY) and Panasonic M9 camcorders. The videotape was E-180. Photography was done with a Zenit TTA camera — Helios-44M lens and НЦ-21 film. Seven videocassettes and films were made.

The following was removed from the place of the event:

— twelve (12) military boxes measuring 109×59×25 cm. containing the extracted skeletons and other burial remains, sealed with the seal «МАГ 78» and «СХТ»:

1. Box labeled «Material evidence»; 2. Box No.I labeled «Box No.I. Skeleton No.I»; 3. Box No.II labeled «Box No.II. Skeleton No.II»; 4. Box No.III labeled «Box No.III. Skeleton No.III»; 5. Box No.IV labeled «Box No.IV Skeleton No.IV»; 6. Box No.V labeled «Box No.V. Skeleton No.V»; 7. Box No.VI labeled «Box No.VI. Skeleton No.VI»; 8. Box

No.VII labeled «Box No.VII. Skeleton No.VII»; 9. Box No.VIII labeled «Box No.VIII. Skeleton No.VIII»; 10. Box No.IX labeled «Box No.IX. Skeleton No.IX»; 11. Box No.X labeled «Box No.X. Bones and bones fragments not connected to the extracted skeletons»; 12. Box No.XI labeled «Box No.XI. Soil samples. Ceramic fragments»;

— the polyethylene bag measuring 100×50 cm., sealed with the seal «МАГ 78» and «СХТ» and labeled «Wrapping material». The labels on the boxes and bag were countersigned by the witnesses and the investigator V.A. Volkov, major assistant of the Sverdlovsk region public prosecutor.

The twelve (12) boxes and the polyethylene bag with the wrapping material were handed over for official storage to Militia Lieutenant-Colonel V.I. Pichugin, head of the Verkh-Isetsky DDIA of Sverdlovsk.

No declarations, complaints or criticism were received from the witnesses and other participants in the examination about the way the examination was conducted or about other actions of the investigator.

The record was read aloud by the investigator. Written correct.

The twelve (12) boxes and bag of wrapping material noted above received for official storage:

Militia Lieutenant-Colonel, V. I. Pichugin
Head of the Verkh-Isetsky DDIA of Sverdlovsk

Official Witnesses:	N. I. Nachapkin,	N. Ye. Yeryomenko
Witnesses:	A. N. Avdonin,	G. P. Vasilyev
Experts:	V. D. Vorobyev,	L. N. Koryakova,
	V G. Novikov,	I. O. Koryakov,
	P. P. Gritsayenko,	A. M. Bayevsky,
	P. P. Gromov,	N. Ya. Fedoseyev

Counsellor of Justice V A. Volkov, major assistant of the Sverdlovsk region Prosecutor.

Archives of the Sverdlovsk Region Public Prosecutor's Office. Original.

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* The heading of the document.

** Signatures of N. I. Nachapkin and N. Ye. Yeryomenko follow.

*** Signatures of V.D. Vorobyev, V.G. Novikov, P.P. Gritsayenko, V.S. Gromov, L.N. Koryakova, I.O. Koryakov, A.M. Bayevsky, N.Ya. Fedoseyev follow.

**** The italicized words are in the original document.

No.107

Information from V. I. Tuikov, prosecutor of the Sverdlovsk region for V. G. Stepankov, general prosecutor of the Russian Federation about the conduct of the prosecutor's verification on the fact of the human remains discovery in a group grave on July 11-13, 1991

August 13, 1992

In the beginning of 1991 Alexander Nikolayevich Avdonin, doctor of Geology and Mineralogy, then head of the experimental-methodical group of the Urals geophysical expedition, came to a reception to Comrade E. E. Rossel, head of the Sverdlovsk regional executive committee, and informed him that he knew about the burial place of the Romanovs and other people who were shot on the night of July 17, 1918 in Yekaterinburg. He asked to solve the problem of disinterment.

On July 5, 1991, after agreement from Russian Federation President B. N. Yeltsin, the regional executive committee passed a resolution to finance the work to extract the remains and assemble appropriate legal people, archaeologists, experts and others to carry out the excavation.

The burial place was opened July 11 — 13, 1991. It was 15 km. from Yekaterinburg in the northern part of a glade (about 30x40 m.). It is in a tract of forest 300 m. the southeast of the Mostootryad No.72. A forest road (the former Koptyakovskaya Road) crossed the glade. It connected the village Koptyaki with the Verkh-Isetsky district of Yekaterinburg.

The regional Prosecutor's major assistant V A. Volkov was in the official group and drew up the protocol for investigating the place of the event. (He was also responsible for implementing the prosecutor's verification.)

Videotaping and photography documented the entire investigation and the extraction of the remains.

The examination established the following.

Piled skeletons and separate skeletonlike remains of nine people were found in the grave at a depths from 70cm. to 1 m. In the pelvis region of one of the skeletons was soft tissue in the form of adipose wax. The skulls of three skeletons were in a wooden box near the grave. As the witnesses Avdonin, G. P. Vasilyev and G. T. Ryabov explained, their own search led to discovery of the grave on June 1, 1979. They had extracted three skulls and several bones

to make an identification of the former royal family. But at that time forensic medicine experts refused their request for private identification work. So they packed the skulls and bones into a box and buried it near the remains in July, 1980.

According to the experts participating in the excavation, a number of skulls and bones had suffered damage from bullets and other mechanical causes before death.

No clothes were found at the burial place. Preserved rope fragments may show that the people were put into the grave naked.

Numerous (about 40) ceramic fragments were found at the bottom of the excavation trench. According to the archaeologists participated in the investigation, the fragments were parts of ceramic vessel(s). That is confirmed by handles on the fragments and separate orifices and stoppers.

After sketching the burial place and numbering the skeletons, the investigators extracted the skeletons not in order of numbering but from top to bottom.

At the grave site and later at The Sverdlovsk Regional Forensic Medicine Examination Bureau (where the remains are now) hair fragments were found.

A large number of soil samples from different parts and levels of the interment were also extracted.

X-rays showed two bullets (extracted later) in the soft tissue of Skeleton No.2. One more bullet was found in a small fragment of soft tissue (not attributed to any of the skeletons) from the grave bottom.

In July and August the remains were thoroughly washed and dried. Bone fragments and teeth were found in the wash water and soil samples. It was decided to wash all the soil from the burial (more than 20 tons) and run it through a fine sieve. That was done in October 1991. It revealed about 300 fine bone fragments, 11 bullets, 14 fine ceramic fragments, 13 teeth, about 150 pieces of soft tissue and rope fragments.

On August 8, 1991, with the findings of the prosecutor's verification, a forensic medical and medical-legal commission was appointed by the public prosecutor's office. The Public Health Ministry's Main Bureau of Forensic Medicine Examination of the RSFSR, and the Sverdlovsk Regional Forensic

Medicine Examination Bureau were put in charge of the commission. The examination is still not complete. According to V.O. Plaksin, chief expert from the Ministry of Public Health of the Russian Federation, it may draw up all its conclusions by early 1993.

The public prosecutor's office decided to include six experts from the U.S.A. in the expert commission (with their consent) because the identification work is complex. The aim is the complete and objective investigation of all aspects of the remains discovered July 17 last year.

On July 27-28, 1992 regional soviet leaders took part in a scientific conference in Yekaterinburg «The Last Page in the Tsar's Family History: A study of the Tragedy in Yekaterinburg». At the conference members of the forensic medicine commission, including members from the U.S.A., reported preliminary results of their work.

Here are preliminary results of the study:

— the people were buried in summer;
— the burial occurred not less than 50-60 years ago;
— there were nine people in the grave: five women and four men;
— the remains were in a high-acid environment;
— the dead people had not been manual labourers.

On August 8, 1991 another commission was set up to do forensic — criminalistic, physical-chemical and physical-technical examinations. The Urals Central Scientific-Research Laboratory of Forensics of the Ministry of Justice (Russian Federation) was put in charge. The investigation is still not finished.

Since July 1991 the regional public prosecutor office has made no statements about investigation results.

Another version was discussed, dealing with the possibility that the human remains were not Romanovs. In the files of the Office of Internal Affairs, Prosecutor's Office, Sverdlovsk Regional Department, Ministry of Justice (Russian Federation), there is no information about the disappearance of nine to eleven people in a single family in 1918.

During the investigation copies of several historical documents about the Romanovs' execution were ordered from files in Yekaterinburg, Moscow and Saint Petersburg. The Institute of History and Archaeology, Urals Branch, Russian Academy of Sciences, will evaluate the materials.

The search for necessary historical, medical and other documents to further identify the victims continues. Assisting that effort are employees of the general public prosecutor office and investigator-criminologist V. N. Solovyev; the Institute of History and Archaeology, Urals Branch, Russian Academy of Sciences; Sverdlovsk film productions; the «Obreteniye» Society; specialist organizations and others, including those abroad.

The verification continues. The Russian Federation's general public prosecutor's office will be informed of the conclusions.

Sverdlovsk Region Prosecutor,
State Counsellor of Justice second class* V. I. Tuikov

Archives of the Sverdlovsk Region Public Prosecutor's Office. Copy.

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* The signature is absent.

No.108

Explanation by A. N. Avdonin, doctor of Geology and Mineralogy, head of the experimental methodic group, Urals geophysical expedition, to Sverdlovsk Region Public Prosecutor V. I. Tuikov about the excavation in the Mostootryad No.72 area

August 8, 1991

I have indulged in the study of local lore since childhood. While I lived in Sverdlovsk, I became interested in the circumstances of the execution of the emperor Nicholas II's family. I was also interested in the burial place of their remains. I read related literature and talked to various people who knew about it.

In the 1960's I had a conversation with Gennady Nikolayevich Lisin. He was about 80 years old at the time. He gave me the rough location of the site where the remains of Nicholas II's family had been burned. He knew about it because in 1919 he assisted the investigator Sokolov in the search for the Romanovs' burial place.

About the same time I went through the book by P. M. Bykov *The Last Days of the Romanovs*. It contained information on the subject.

In the mid-1960's, through my acquaintances, I got materials from the academician Zelinsky's files that contained nformation about the Romanovs' execution in the Ipatyev house. I kept them.

Finally I decided that when I had the time I would try to find the Romanovs' burial place.

Around 1976 Gely Ryabov came to Sverdlovsk. We had not met before. We met under the following circumstances: I was acquainted with Ivan Stepanovich Korlykhanov who worked at the Chkalovsky district committee of the Communist Party. When Gely Ryabov arrived, Korlykhanov was head of the political department in the Sverdlovsk regional executive committee's internal affairs office. Ryabov presented the film *Born by the Revolution* to the militia workers. Korlykhanov introduced me to Ryabov. I found out that the Romanovs' fate interested him, too, because he was going to make a film about it. I told him what I knew. He asked me if I knew the Romanovs' burial place. I told him that I had an idea but that archive materials would be necessary. He promised to help me and asked me not to tell anyone about it. He said there was nothing to worry about. We would work on behalf of Shchyolokov.

I enlisted the services of my good friend, the geologist Mikhail Stepanovich Kogurov.

We made a topographic survey of the Ganya's pit and the Koptyakovskaya Road to the train crossing. By that time we had the works of Sokolov and Diterikhs. We also had Yurovsky's notes. Having assessed everything, we concluded where the Romanovs' burial place was.

Around 1978 we probed the entire Koptyakovskaya road with a probing rod about 5 mm. in diameter and about 1. 5 m. in length. When we probed the road in a glade (where the excavation of July 11-13, 1991 was made), we discovered there was wood in the soil about 40 cm. deep. We knew the burial site had been covered with a deck of rail ties. We decided the Romanovs had been buried at that very place. I told Ryabov about that. He was in ecstasy. In 1979 he came to Sverdlovsk, and we organized a group: I and my wife, Vasilyev, Kogurov, Ryabov and his wife. It was in May.

Before we started the excavation we made several holes with a homemade drill: a steel pipe with a sharpened end, about 40 mm. in diameter and about 2 m. in length. We drilled the holes, extracted soil and examined it. During one extraction we found black soil, oily-black. In the evening we examined it for acidity. It had acidity. I do not have those samples now. They were not kept. That is why we decided that we had found the right place and decided to open it. Ryabov and I did the drilling.

I do not remember the date when all six people I mentioned came to the glade and opened the pit. Its size was about 1×1. 5 m. and about 60 cm. deep. Now when I see the sketch of the placement of skeleton remains found on July 11-13, 1991, I believe we dug where Skeletons No.1 and No.7 lay. As soon as we found the first bone we started to dig with our hands. We extracted three skulls and bones in an area of 0.5×0.5 m. We stopped digging because we assumed the remains we had extracted would be enough to determine if they belonged to the Romanovs. In 1980 we put everything we extracted into a box I made and buried it near the place where we had found the remains. The box was about 50 cm.×25 cm. and about 60-70 cm. deep. I do not remember the exact dimensions.

Ryabov took two skulls with him. I kept a skull with a yellow metal denture. Ryabov took the two skulls to show to experts for examination and identification. But he did not succeed. Ryabov did not tell me who he showed the skulls to.

I had the third skull and waited to hear from Ryabov. When he returned empty-handed we made plaster castings of two skulls: one with the yellow denture and a second one but I can not say which one. At that time we could not tell anybody outside our families about the burial place we had found. So we decided to bury the skulls and bones where we had found them and keep the plaster castsings as momentos.

The date we dug up burial place and extracted the remains is in my diary.

Vasilyev and Kogurov took photos during the excavation. I do not have the negatives. I do not know if Vasilyev has them. Nor do I know if Ryabov has the negatives, but he must have prints.

Having examined the prints Vasilyev submitted to the public prosecutor's office, I certify their authenticity.

I do not remember the date and the month in 1980 when we returned the remains to the burial place. Eiut if the dates of extraction and return marked on the icon found in the box on July 11, 1991 are correct, than it was indeed true.

The icon with the crucifix is copper. It belongs to Ryabov. He put it in the box to show the date of the grave opening and the return of the remains.

When the remains were returned, the same people were present except for Kogurov. Before we put the skulls in the box, we packed them in yellow polyethylene plastic for better preservation.

Ryabov packed the hair fragments from the skull with the yellow denture in a glass test tube. In another test tube he packed teeth and a brain fragment from the same skull. I do not know if Ryabov kept any fragments from the remains we had found.

We left a small knife with a brown handle, a tureen, a bucket and kettle in the pit as reference points in case of future excavation.

As for my brother's interview in the *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, I want to note that I showed him a piece of clay to ascertain the presence of minerals. My brother did not tell me that he found hornblende in it with signs of high-temperature influence. After the interview my brother told me that he did not confirm signs of high temperature on the mineral. It was an assumption.

Before the burial in 1980, Ryabov brought about 15 kilograms of plastiform with him. With it we made moulds of all the three skulls. We melted the material in a bucket and a pan. Then we made moulds of two skulls. If you follow the numbers used in the 1991 extraction, these were the skulls from Skeletons No.1 and No.5. We did not have enough material to make a mould of the third skull. Some of the material probably got inside the skulls while the moulds were made.

I have read the explanation. It is written in my own words and correct.

Avdonin

The explanation received: Senior Assistant Prosecutor Volkov

Archives of the Sverdlovsk Region Public Prosecutor's Office. Original.

No.109

Explanation by Lenfilm film studio producer-director G.T. Ryabov to the Sverdlovsk Region Prosecutor V. I. Tuikov concerning the excavations of remains at the mass burial in the Mostootryad No.72 area near the settlement of Shuvakish in 1979 and 1980

Moscow September 14, 1991

In August 1976 Shchyolokov, the former Minister of Internal Affairs, asked me to come to Sverdlovsk for the presentation of my film (or rather its third series) *Born by the Revolution* to militia employees.

The head of the political department of the Internal Affairs Office (I do not remember his name or anything else about him.), a colonel, suggested we go sightseeing in the city and asked if I wished we visit the industrial enterprises. I said that I would like to see historical places of the 1918-1920 period. He told me he knew a person who was interested in the period and knew a lot about it, and he promised to introduce me to him. After a while we went to the man's apartment. He was Alexander Nikolayevich Avdonin, Candidate of Geology and Mineralogy. When Avdonin saw the badge «Honoured MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Worker» on my coat he was cautious. But later, after the head of political department went away, we got into a conversation that included the subject of the Russian emperor. I do not remember why or how I asked if it was possible to look for the grave of the former tsar Nicholas II and his family. Avdonin answered that most likely there was no tsar's grave and besides, «Who cares now? It ended long ago. Why dig up the past?» He said that any attempt to do this would fail because now there were railways and houses where it all could have happened.

I insisted that my idea had merit. (Why I thought so I can not explain, because I had no special documents on the matter.) I said that we should look at documents and then decide if it was worthwhile. Avdonin asked if I could obtain such documents and study them. I said I could. He said if I found anything that would help start a search for the grave, I should come to him. He would be ready to help me in the work.

During the same visit Avdonin introduced me to an old newspaper employee from the *Uralskii Rabochii*. He told me about the daughter of one of participants in the execution of the tsar — Rimma Yakovlevna Yurovskaya who lived in Leningrad. He recommended that I contact her and to learn the details of the period.

When I came back to Moscow I did not go to Leningrad. For a long time I read books about the execution of the former tsar, his family and people in their immediate surrounding. The books were kept in special library depositories. Shchyolokov helped me see the books. From Diterikhs's book I copied the sketch of the area where the events occurred on July 16-19, 1918. I had a hunch the Romanovs' remains were buried somewhere near a railroad crossing.

In late 1977 or early 1978 I went to Leningrad and found Rimma Yakovlevna Yurovskaya. I asked if she could tell something about her father's role in the execution of Nicholas II. Rimma Yakovlevna said that she never cared about her father's role in that case. He had carried out the Urals regional committee's mandate and was not guilty of anything. She said if I wanted to know more it would be better to talk to her brother Alexander Yakovlevich Yurovsky. When I visited him I saw that Admiral Yurovsky lived in misery even though there had been stories in the press that the action of July 17, 1918 had made Yakov Yurovsky and his family rich.

During our talk he gave me a copy of his father's note about events of that time addressed to the government. He read me the testimony of witnesses to the former tsar's shooting questioned by Sokolov in his investigation. (He had got it from Sokolov's book *Murder of the Tsar's Family*.) I taped what he read. I have the tape now.

After reading of the copy of Yakov Yurovsky's note, I did not ask his son about the execution because it seemed that everything was clear from the note. I remember that Alexander Yakovlevich said that during his lifetime his father reluctantly answered questions about his role in the tsar's execution. From Yurovsky's comments I understood his father felt sorry about what happened.

I want to emphasize that I read the books by Sokolov, Diterikhs and others in the special book depositories after my talk with Yurovsky.

I told Avdonin about the extracts from the books I read.

Every year I came to Sverdlovsk, and Avdonin, Vasilyev and I discussed the information we had obtained about the tsar's burial place. Many times we walked along the automobile route of July 19, 1918. From the Ganya's Pit to the railroad crossing we examined the area first-hand and assessed what we saw. We looked for the burial place.

In May 1979, or rather the fall of 1978, Avdonin wrote me that his friend Misha saw the railroad ties while he was examining the old Koptyakovskaya Road. He saw them from the top of a pine tree growing near the road. He assumed it could be the grave but it was necessary to examine everything thoroughly.

We agreed to make a test opening of the site in spring-summer 1979. Avdonin took care of the organizational and technical preparations for the opening.

I arrived in Sverdlovsk with my former wife Margarita Vasilyevna, born in 1931. Her maiden name is Kondratyeva. Altogether six people participated in the opening of the grave. Besides me and my former wife, there were Avdonin, his wife, Vasilyev and Vladislav Anatolyevich Pesotsky.

I described the opening and the details of the project in diaries for 1979 and 1980. These diaries are in the corresponding yearbooks. I would like to attach the copies of those notes to this testimony. Everything written there is correct.

We extracted three skulls from the grave: one with a denture on the lower jaw. The denture is probably gold. The second one was with the unknitted frontal part. The third one had possible gunshot damage in the left cervical part and a laceration near the right temple.

I took two skulls with me to Moscow — the one with the unknitted frontal part and the one with the gunshot damage. I intended to examine them to establish the sex and age the people they came from. I failed to do so because everyone I talked to refused to examine the skulls.

We decided to return the skulls to the grave and made plaster castings of two of them. On July 7, 1980 I brought two skulls to Sverdlovsk and we made the castings at the Avdonin's dacha.

I brought formoplast with me. It was amber-coloured and rubbery.

The formoplast was put into a bucket hung above a bonfire. The material was heated until it softened. We put the skulls into a pan or a bucket. Then we covered the skulls with the melted material. We noticed that afterward the colour of the bone changed. It became lighter and yellowish.

My interview in the newspaper *Izvestiya* stated I saw the trace of a sabre blow on the skull I supposed to be Nicholas II's. I must point out that, while examining the skull with the yellow denture, I did not see such a trace. I saw it in a photo. I can not explain that misunderstanding.

In 1989 I published an essay *We are compelled to shoot you...* about the tsar's family shooting in *Rodina* magazine.

Forensic medicine expert S. S. Abramov called me after that publication and asked to see the photos and the casting I had. I gave him a number of photos, rather I gave him a film from which he made a number of photos. I present the 12 pictures he made with his skull numbers on each of them.

After Abramov examined the pictures and the casting of the skull with the unknitted frontal part he gave me typed descriptions of the three skulls that we had extracted from the burial place in 1979.

The descriptions said **Skull No.1** belonged to a woman of approximately 16-20 years. The skull structure was dolichocran with a distinct lowered cervical part. There are bullet holes made by entering and exiting bullets.

Skull No.2 — belonged to a male of 12-15 years. The skull structure — dolichocran with a distinct lowered cervical part.

Skull No.3 — belonged to a man of 40-60 years. Skull structure is lysocran.

He did not sign the descriptions. They are not related with the members of the royal family. But he said orally that with some probability — and caution — the skulls' forms, chins and ages suggest the people were father, son and daughter. He did not say the skulls could have belonged to the Romanovs.

I attach the Xerox copies of S. S. Abramov's descriptions to the explanation.

I submit 25 colour photos and 2 white-and-black photos from 1979 to add to the explanation. The contents of the photos are discussed in the copy of my diary.

I still have a test tube containing hair fragments. I submit it to file with the investigation materials. I gave the hair fragments for safekeeping to an orthodox priest Father Alexander, Church of St. Nicholas, Ordynka Street.

Having read the explanation, I ask to add the following: First the burial place was located theoretically. To discover it I analyzed the testimony of Lobukhin, the watch at sentry-box No.184 and the relevant pages from books by Diterikhs and Sokolov and Yurovsky's note. The analysis allowed me to conclude that they were talking about one and the same place — the ravine near passing-track No.184 toward the Verkh-Isetsky Works. Later we examined the ravine together and found the burial place. The railroad ties discovered by Misha were our landmark.

I have read the explanation; it is in my own words and correct G. Ryabov

The explanation was taken by:

Prosecutor's Senior Assistant V.A. Volkov

Archives of the Sverdlovsk Region Public Prosecutor's Office. Original.

No.110

From Gely Trofimovich Ryabov's diaries about the excavation of the suspected burial place of the royal family

May, 1979-July, 1980

May 31, 1979... The decision was made to work at the ravine near passing-track 184 to find the main object — the place of the royal family burial.

Take: axe, saw, sledge-hammer, 2 spades, bore, gas wrench, plastic film, tape-measure, bags for samples, bags, food, paper for labels, paper for sketches, 2 cameras, pencils, rucksack, [an arshin], workgloves.

Work plan:

1) General photography of the site — sector No.1, reconnaissance;
2) Passage along the search line — a drill hole;
3) Discovery of where main objective is hidden;
4) If time is available we move to sector No.2 — the open mine.

At 07:00 in the morning the weather is sunny. Vladislav Pesotsky made a detailed survey of the previous objective, the former site of the Ipatyev mansion, its garden, the Popov house, Ascension Cathedral, the Kharitonov house. G. Ryabov was photographed at the site where the Romanovs were shot.

08:45, local train to Shuvakish. A bright sunny day, temperature +20. Arrived at the place, took off our backpacks.

5 drill holes were made under the rail ties. From two of them (The distance between the holes was 70 cm.) the drill extracted (The depth was 120 cm.) a layer of about 20 centimeter of a black substance that smelled like fuel oil. I am sure that this is what we are looking for: the remains of the Romanovs and their people (in this grave are nine people, all except for Alexei and Demidova). All that was left in the end were traces of gasoline and sulphuric acid...

While examining of area, we found the rusty remains of an iron bucket and a blue enameled kettle under a birch tree.

Along the old road beneath the grass and water, overgrown and invisible now, are the rail ties. They are searching with a probe " They started to drill by hand. The results are described. When the drill was shaken several times a material came out that was completely different from the **black mass** with the oil smell. It became clear **that «something» had been burned by something. Besides that, the drill went easily through the soil at that spot.**

June 1, 1979. Got up at 06:00. Breakfast with the Avdonins. Gennady Petrovich who has official permission for a geological survey arrived from [illegible], he is the head of our expedition and our group. A. N. Avdonin is the 1st deputy. G. T. Ryabov is deputy in charge of scientific matters. Vladislav Anatolyevich is chief photographer and part-time head of the guard and handyman. Galya Avdonina is assistant manager. I am the secretary.

When we arrived at the spot Galya and I went to the store for 10 bottles of water. The men had left earlier, so when we arrived they had already started excavating the supposed burial place. The wet grass and a layer of soil were removed. Rail ties were uncovered. We set up camp nearby. Galya is an excellent assistant manager and supplier. She searched and hauled back an empty wooden box (our future table), a huge MAZ (VAZ, GAZ) tire — an excellent soft settee. (We can even arrange a round-table meeting.)

The weather is sunny, the temperature is 20 degrees. Two photos were taken from the side of passing-track 184 when we started work on Objective No.1. From the side of the passing-track there is general view of Objective No.1 after the rail ties were cleared away and washed.

When the layer of ties was removed, a second layer was found under it along the road and there was a pile of twigs and branches, stones and bricks. The men ran into a third layer of ties where a brook runs along the road right over our objective, flooding everything with water. About 60 cm. of clay were dug out. There are air bubbles in the water at that depth.

As a part-time worker, they assigned me to make a bonfire against mosquitoes and collect firewood, so, in city language, I am a part-time senior **dvornik** [one who takes care of the yard and the pavement in front of a house].

Stop! They shout from the excavation trench. Eureka! The first find: at 80 cm. deep a hipbone fragment is found. It is black and looks as if it was exposed to a strong chemical reagent.

A vertebra fragment and a vertebra were found. Stopped digging with spades. Soggy clay. It is difficult to find anything in it. The clay is runny. Water runs through the fingers. Gennady Petrovich scoops out it with a spade, an old rusty bucket that I have picked up, and a tureen found on the road...

G. T. Ryabov trembles with emotion, speaks a lot, roughly demands an assessment of the find.

At the same spot 21 hipbones were found. In the muddy-yellow water under a rail tie Gely found a hand bone. They are removing the soggy clay layer with a spade. Everything is covered with water.

He began to feel around with his hands under the water and said he felt ribs and small hand bones. They try to scoop the water out but it seems to be useless.

And Gely planned to put the remains into a bag if they were found and take them to Moscow or put them somewhere here.

It is strange that Yurovsky wrote they were buried in a 2. 5-arshin pit! Even if the earth had sunk and there were 9 corpses; two were buried somewhere else.

And how superbly Yurovsky chose the site — in the middle of a road, a log path flooded with soggy clay and water.

No fragments of clothes. In the most developed part the bones had turned into ash. Now they are everywhere in the trench. Air bubbles appear all over the muddy water surface. Gely scolds and lectures everybody.

Vladislav found a ceramic fragment about 0. 5 cm. thick with a round hole. Gely assumes it is a piece of a druggist's ceramic vessel that contained a chemical reagent, (maybe sulphuric acid).

Vladislav felt around with his hands in the water for a long time. He extracted fragments of small bones. Then he said he had found a skull and extracted a jawbone with teeth. Two frontal teeth were missing. Finally a skull with tiny remains of medium brown hair was extracted. Gely went to wash the skull. The remains of a brain rotted through in one place and semipreserved in another were found inside the skull. The brain is beige inside and the edges are dark cherry. Some brain fragments retained their colour and structure, curves, etc. In all four fragments and the skull were photographed. The excavations go on.

While digging through the thin clay with their hands the guys discovered the corpses, one on top of the other. Vertebrae were extracted. Alexander Nikolayevich and Gennady Petrovich found another skull and a jaw with six gold teeth (a bridge and 2 crowns).

Photography. Back to the search in the clay. Vladislav extracts another skull. (He should be an archaeologist. Archaeological luck pursues him.)

Right there we washed it in the brook; a big bullet hole is in the cervical part of the skull; **in the right temple is a mark made by a 3-edged bayonet with straight edges.** [3*] On the other side is the bullet hole; on opposite side of the skull is another hole that shows the bullet went through.

The skull was found among small splinters of bones and vertebrae. It is comparatively small (apparently one of the daughters')...

We had lunch. We took photos of the three skulls together and the bone fragments. Two skulls: the small one with bullet holes Gely **took for himself**, and he gave the third skull with the gold teeth to Alexander Nikolayevich Avdonin. Gennady Petrovich took the pieces of the ceramic bottle [4*] and **a vertebra** [5*]

Then all together we drew up a statement about opening the grave and all participants signed it — six people. We put the statement into a steel capsule.

June 2, 1979. The mine is open. The weather changed drastically. The temperature is +5.

While digging into the surface layer of the soil, we found several metal objects in the clay that are objects of further investigation; pieces of wire, a part of a buckle, a bone.

In a radius of 30 m. and more from the clearing, pieces of glazed pottery with a blue and red ornamental design and glass of various sizes were found among pieces of coal in different places in the surface soil. One piece is with small smoothly round stone [6*]

June 12, 1979. Several days passed but there was not a day when I did not think at least once about our expedition. I remind myself again and again of «that day» — the day of the discovery, the day of the excavation «table». I recall how excited the men became when we reached our goal and saw the skeletons of the slain, thrown about far and wide «as if they had been put on the road!» There I see Vlad, flushed, at the edge of the pit and for some reason, remembers the Criminal Code and speaks about answerability, «which will threaten him first of all!?»...

We agreed that Gely should try to contact the Gerasimov Institute in Moscow and ask to restore a sculptural portrait based on the skull. When the work is finished and he will ascertain that [...] of the royal family, all that had been taken, will be returned to the same place, to the same grave.

Most of all I worry about the skull with the gold teeth that Sasha took. Gold — the source of «heightened danger», the source of unnecessary talk. It would be better not to have found it.

Work plan for September 6-10, 1979.

1) To measure the secret burial place in steps from the corresponding landmarks and note it in this diary; it was done according to the plan.

2) To switch the capsule or rather its contents out of vinyl chlorid (mould!!!) into a tarpaulin, wood — in general, another environment. Decided not to do this.

3) To try to find the burial place of **A.S. Demidova and Alexei.** (We did not find bonfire remains under the accumulated soil.)

4) To continue a thorough search and collection of material documents at the opened mine. (Specifically to go down into the mine shaft with insurance.) Nothing.

5) To investigate 6 M. [Beregovaya] Street in the city. (Yurovsky's apartment).

On September 6-7-8-9, 1979 A.N. Avdonin, G.P. Vasilyev (he participated on the 8th and 9th) and I examined the area around the secret burial place, aiming to find the graves of A.S. Demidova and Alexei Nikolayevich and to learn the state of the secret burial place of the other Romanovs and their people. We also decided to obtain additional evidence of the presence of Yurovsky and his detachment and Sokolov and his people at the Ganya's Pit (open mines).

On the 6th and 8th the ravine was examined; on the 7th and 9th, the open mines.

1. It turned out that all work would be done no earlier than July-August because earlier there is too much water and mosquitoes devour on us (as it was the first time).

2. The ravine area and the grave area are in complete and indubitable order. No traces are seen of the grave opening in June 1979. The soil is hard, overgrown; the bushes planted in the middle of the opening took root well. One railroad tie that is closer to the north (crosswise) and two fragments that are closer to the south (longwise) have been rolled smooth.

In two days (every other day) every 1. 5-2. 5 m. of soil was dug up to depths of 30 cm. to locate the old bonfires and find the grave of Demidova and Alexei under one of them. One heavy fire site was found under a layer at 15-20 cm. Its direction was southeast at the edge of the forest «The area is up to 2 sq. m. » Under it the earth had not been broken beyond 1. 20. There are no coals at that depth...

July 6, 1980. 1). A skull supposedly of Nicholas II. Only the lower jaw was saved with the only a molar remaining (the farthest one) on the right side. On the right side of the tooth near the root there is a silver filling measuring 2×4 mm. On the left side is a gold bridge of 5 teeth of obviously high quality. The bridge was attached to the far molar and a canine tooth. The gold at the canine tooth was eaten away from above on the left side.

2). The skull supposedly of Alexei or Anastasia. On the lower jaw 5 teeth remained on the left side, 4 teeth on the right side if you count from the far molar forward. In the left molar there is a cement filling on the outer side and in the right second molar there is a silver filling on the outer side.

3). The skull supposedly of Tatyana Nikolayevna. The upper and the lower jaws were intact and all the teeth [...] except for the two upper front teeth. In the lower far molar there are silver fillings on the outer side.

The lower wisdom teeth were not pulled from either the right or the left of the last two skulls.

In the evening on July 6, 1980 about 19:00 hours we started to made a special box for the reburial of the remains of the three skeletons that we have. Gena Vasilyev delivered planks (an assortment) painted with red stain and finished with nitrovarnish (НУ-222).

On July 3 or 4 Vasilyev and Avdonin rode to passing-track 184 and dug up the ampoule and bone fragments from the earth that we had buried there on 1. 06. 79.

The box we knocked together is rectangular. Inside we put (in a vinyl chloride wrapper and inside the same bags):

1. The skull of Nicholas II (?) gold denture on the left.
2. The skull of Tatyana Nikolayevna (?)
3. The skull of Alexei Nikolayevich (?) or Anastasia Nikolayevna (?)

In the same wrapper:

1. Bone fragments from under a pine tree.

2. Bone fragments kept by Avdonin (except for the skull of Nicholas).

3. Bone fragments kept by G. Vasilyev.

4. The teeth that came from 2 skulls in two small spirit vials that I kept (G. Ryabov) — T. N. and A. N. and a tooth I picked up at the burial place, no one knows whose. Besides that, all the residue that crumbled from the skulls during storage are thoroughly gathered in these small vials, + fragments of dead tissue from the skulls.

All the items above were put in the box. Over the earthly remains.

A copper (yellow copper) «cross — keeper» with the crucified saviour and ordinary inscription on the back was also put there. A lot had been done with a stylus, crudely, the following inscriptions: Above on the right: «Those who suffered until the end will be saved». «Matthew X-22» and «Taken 01.06.79. Returned 07.07.80».

The box was boarded up. We took the electric train at 20:33 (Moscow time) to Shuvakish. Weather dry, serene, hot. Rather light. (Local time is in the notes below.)

Avdonin insists on making a shaft and putting the box down there. And that's all. I suggest we make a cut-trench about 1. 5 m. deep along one side of the grave (near the bush) and from this trench make a tunnel that deepens into the grave. My arguments: either way we disturb the peace of the interment again. And so we must obtain some kind of additional data. I insist most of all on a search for revolver bullets.

My suggestion passes. We make a cut-trench approximately 7. 0 x 1. 20 x 1. 60 (deep). We started at 12:00 sharp (24:00 local time). It is late, a situation similar to that of Yurovsky, exactly 62 years + about twenty-four hours...

We illuminate the job with a lantern. The light quickly goes down but it stays on. We go deeper into the grave. After 50-60 cm. Avdonin encounters a skeleton. We clean the spot. A big skull, its crown is towards us...

We stop here. We put the box in the hollow, having returned the skull of Demidova on its place. We keep a comb with us. We fill the trench with earth, branches (if someone dug there, he would not reach anything because it would be difficult to dig through), we put (Avdonin) a large heavy stone on

the box (Again!) if someone hit the stone he could not dig deeper. We fill it up, clear away as much as possible the dirt lying around, we cover the trench (on the surface) with the live turf that had been carefully cut away. We throw boughs and branches over it.

Avdonin suggests to stand near the grave with hats off for a moment. Finished.

Archives of the Sverdlovsk Region Public Prosecutor's Office. Copy.

1* The italicized words are underlined in the diary.

2* The next word is crossed out.

3* A mistake. The dent made by the point of a revolver bullet was mistaken for a damage made by a bayonet. (Note in the document.)

4* One of the ceramic pieces is with me — G. T. There were three altogether (Note in the document.)

5* Gennady Petrovich has the backbone fragment (to which the gold-teeth skull is also related). He does not have the small rib and the grave earth. (A mistake. A. N. Avdonin keeps the rib.) (Note in the document.)

6* Rather melted! (Note in the document.)

No.111

Explanation by V. A. Viner, employee of the Museum of the Urals Youth Movement, addressed to Sverdlovsk Region Prosecutor V. I. Tuikov about Stepan Vaganov's diary

Sverdlovsk October 18, 1991

Question: In the press you said that a family of some big Urals industrialist was shot simultaneously with the execution of the former emperor Nicholas II and his family. Can you clarify this?

Answer: I have the diary of Stepan Vaganov, a Urals Cheka man, a worker of the Verkh-Isetsky Works, a railroad man, a sailor by profession. In Sokolov's investigation he figures as a participant in the shooting of Nicholas II, his family and the others. There are no dates in the diary. It is obvious from the diary that it was written within half a year of the royal family's execution. I think the record was not done right afterward because the diary was written at great length. He could not have managed to do that during three days they were disposing of the corpses.

The diary was taken by representatives of the group investigating the circumstances of the death of the members of House of Romanovs. The group is headed by me. The diary was taken from the daughter of Stepan Vaganov. I do not remember her last name, her first name, patronymic or her address because I do not keep that information. Another member of the group does. I can not name him because my group and Avdonin's group are on opposite sides.

Stepan Vaganov's daughter does not live in Yekaterinburg but in another district of the Sverdlovsk region. I can not say where because I do not remember it.

The diary of Stepan Vaganov is on checkered paper. The sheet's format is between 11 and 12. They were folded in half. I do not know how many pages were in the diary in all. Our group does not have the whole diary. We have only the first six pages about the shooting of the tsar's family. We have a copy of six pages. A Xerox copy. The original is in the family.

We found Stepan Vaganov's daughter the following way: We were searching in villages. We were meeting with the old residents and accidentally got talking to a woman who turned out to be Stepan Vaganov's daughter. During our conversation she showed us the diary that led to our group's position. We asked her to give us six pages from the diary to make a Xerox copy. She gave them to us and we made the copy.

We did not ask why she had her father's diary but we understood that it was a «family relic». Because of our conflict with Avdonin, I can not name the people from our group who talked with Vaganov's daughter.

The diary's pages were written with a fountain pen. The ink is blue. In the most part of the diary there are no mistakes, or rather there are no spelling mistakes. There are stylistic mistakes. There are blots on the text. There is no date of the writing in the text of the diary. We read only the first six pages.

Now our group is establishing the last name, first name and the patronymic of the industrialist who was shot in the revolutionary tribunal building on the same day the tsar's family was shot.

We consider it necessary to carry out an all-around examination of all burial places in question and the period mentioned above. We consider it necessary to form a competent international commission with the head of the House of Romanovs participating to investigate the question about the burial place found in July 1991 opening.

Question: Do you consider the data in Stepan Vaganov's diary that your group has and the execution of Nicholas II's family to be related?

Answer: The question is difficult. There is some link between them. Identification of the grave, according to our version, should be independent. The opening of the interment done in July 1991 is remotely related to Vaganov's diary because it is impossible to learn from the data who the industrialist was. To begin with, I think, it is necessary to obtain the full volume of information — literature, medical documents, the Romanov family archives — and then start work on the identifying the murdered persons.

Question: Did anybody, including official organizations, offer you or your group money for the diary of Vaganov that your group has?

Answer: Nobody bought the diary from us and nobody suggested to buy it, but Avdonin's group wants to obtain the diary very much. In the event the remains that were found are not the tsar's family then the fund **Obreteniye** is a fiction. I ask to add that our group was created in 1989 and the idea about the execution of an industrialist appeared in April 1991.

Question: Did anybody from your group participate in the **Romanov Readings** forum?

Answer: The members of our group were present and I made a lecture on my own version. There was an argument between me and Avdonin who said after my lecture, «Reject everything that you have heard before me. It is nonsense. » I consider this behaviour of Avdonin tactless.

Question: Did you say in your lecture that you were offered big money for the diary that your group has? If yes, then who offered your group money for the diary and how much?

Answer: I did not say in my lecture that any big money was offered to our group for the diary that we have.

I have read the explanation,
everything is written in my own words and is correct V. Viner
The explanation was taken by:
Sverdlovsk Region Prosecutor's
Senior Assistant Volkov

Archives of the Sverdlovsk Region Public Prosecutor's Office. Original.

No.112
DNA tests identify tsar's skeleton

British scientists have proved «virtually beyond doubt» that bones unearthed in eastern Russia in 1991 are those of the murdered Tsar Nicholas II and his family.

The identification of the bones by Home Office scientists as those of the Romanovs is a triumph for the new science of DNA analysis.

Minute traces of the genetic material extracted from the bones were compared with DNA from the Duke of Edinburgh, whose grandmother was the tsaritsa's sister, and two descendants of the tsar. The scientists from the Forensic Science Service Laboratory at Aldermaston, Berkshire, led by Dr. Peter Gill, pushed the technique to its limits to make the identification.

Two techniques were used to establish the identity of the nine skeletons found at Yekaterinburg. The scientists examined first the DNA from cellular organisms called mitochondria, which descends unchanged down the female line. Mitochondrial DNA from a sample of blood given by the Duke of Edinburgh matched that from the bones of the children and the putative tsaritsa.

But the scientists ran into a snag when they tried to match mitochondrial DNA from the bones presumed to be the tsar's with that of two descendants in the female line of his grandmother. The match was done by working out the sequence of the base-pairs that make up the long DNA molecule — the letters of the genetic alphabet.

The two descendants had identical sequences, while the tsar's failed to match at one point.

Further analysis, however, showed that the tsar had two different types of mitochondrial DNA in his cells, the result of a rare condition called heteroplasmy. One of these sequences matched perfectly, while the other contained a change, a single letter — probably the result of a random mutation. The DNA from the nucleus of the cells showed that the bones of the children had DNA half of which came from the presumed tsar, and the other half from the presumed tsaritsa.

Other bones in the pit, presumed to be those of the family doctor, Dr. Botkin, and three servants, did not match. No living relatives of Dr. Botkin have been traced.

It would be possible that the bones are part of a hoax, Dr. Gill says, only if the bodies were related in the right way to the modern descendants, they were the right sex, age and size, that they were of wealthy people able to afford gold and platinum fillings for their teeth. The pit also contained revolver bullets of the right period. He concludes that there is a 98. 5 per cent probability that the bones are the remains of the Romanovs.

Two members of the royal family remain unaccounted for: the Tsar's heir, Alexei, and one of his daughters. Contemporary accounts suggest that the bodies of Alexei and his sister Anastasia were burnt rather than buried with the rest. Samples of the hair of the late Anna Anderson, who claimed to be Anastasia, could now be tested to substantiate her claim.

The claims of the others could also be put to the test, among them the self-styled Prince Alexis II who lives in Spain and says he is the son of Maria, the third Romanov princess.

The way now appears open to a state burial for the Romanov remains. The family favours reburying the bones in Yekaterinburg, as a memorial to all those killed by the Communists. But Prince Rostislav Romanov, a London merchant banker and family member, expects the Russian government to propose burial in St. Petersburg, the former imperial capital.

Nigel Hawkes
Science editor

The Times. July 10, 1993.

No.113
From CONCLUSION of the Commission Forensic Medicine Examination of skeleton remains.

Moscow December, 30, 1993

Per the resolution of V. N. SOLOVYOV, Prosecutor-Criminologist of the Russian Federation General Office of the Public Prosecutor, November 5, 1993, a forensic medicine commission of experts

including:

— V.O. PLAKSIN, Chairman of the Commission — Chief Forensic Medicine Expert of the Russian Federation Ministry of Public Health, Candidate of Medical Sciences, Assistant Professor, and members of the commission:

— V N. KRYUKOV, Head of the Department of Forensic Medicine of Russian State Medical University (RSMU), Honoured Science Worker of Russia, Doctor of Medical Sciences, Professor,

— L. Ye. KUZNETSOV, Professor of the Department of Forensic Medicine of RSMU, Doctor of Medical Sciences,

— I. A. GEDYGUSHEV, Deputy Chief of the Republican Bureau of Forensic Medicine Examination of the Russian Federation Ministry of Public Health, Candidate of Medical Sciences,

— S. S. ABRAMOV, Head of the Innovations Department of the Republican Bureau of Forensic Medicine Examination of the Russian Federation Ministry of Public Health, Candidate of Medical Sciences,

— P. L. IVANOV, Head of the Genetic Analysis Laboratory of the Republican Bureau of Forensic Medicine Examination of the Russian Federation Ministry of Public Health, Candidate of Biological Sciences,

— S. V. GURTOVAYA, Head of the Forensic Biological Department of the Republican Bureau of Forensic Medicine Examination of the Russian Federation Ministry of Public Health, Honoured Doctor of Russian Federation,

carried out the forensic medicine examination on Criminal Case 18-123666 on the death of members of Russian Imperial House, their servants and people in their immediate surrounding, in 1918-1919.

Questions to be solved, preliminary information and materials under research are stated in the corresponding parts of the Conclusion.

QUESTIONS TO BE SOLVED

In the Resolution on the purpose of the examination the following questions are to be solved:

1. How many people were buried?

2. Their race, sex, age and physical features (length of body, arms, legs, torso; width of shoulders and pelvis, length of foot, etc.) and where they probably lived?

3. To carry out a medical-criminal investigation of specific functional features of the actual people and their stable age features: bearing, dynamic asymmetry, specific features of the gait and gesticulation and habitual movements. Do these features correspond to those of the people in the royal family and people with them?

4. To carry out medical-criminal research of the clothes of the members of the royal family, and look for indications of habitual actions, traces of biological origin. Research size features.

5. To what group do the bones belong according to the AVO system?

6. Are there any indications of diseases, lifetime injuries or surgical operations; their remoteness?

7. Are there any anatomic abnormalities in structures of the skeletons? If so, what are they and what could it be the evidence of?

8. Did the people to whom the bones belonged have any bone disease in their lifetimes? If so, what were those diseases and could they have influenced the person's appearance?

9. Are fragments from the burial place seeming like hair really hair? If so, then

— what part of body is it from,

— does it belong to a man or a woman,

— did it fall out or was it torn out,

— what colour is the hair and was it dyed or discoloured,

— how or by what was the hair lost,

— does the hair have any traces of damage; if so, how and by what was it damaged,

— was the hair exposed to high temperature or chemicals,

— is the hair soiled; if so, what could it be the evidence of,

— does the hair show any indications of near shooting,

— to what group does the hair belong?

10. What are the group and genetic attributes of the hair, given to the experts by the State Archives of the Russian Federation that is supposed to belong to Nicholas II? Could the hair presented for the examination belong to someone found in the burial place?

11. Do the samples of bandage brought from the town of Otsu (Japan) have bloodstains? If so, what are its group and genetic characteristics and can these samples belong to someone from the burial place?

12. What are genetic characteristics of each person?

13. Is there any data proving genetic kinship between the persons from the burial place and living relatives of Nicholas II and Ex-Empress Alexandra Fyodorovna?

14. Do the individual skeletons have any injuries? If so, what are they and how were they made? By what tool or object could they have been made? Do the bones have the injuries which could be made by the bayonet presented to the experts?

15. Is there any forensic medicine data which identify the place where the injuries were made?

16. Do the remains have traces of bullet wounds? If so, what and how many are there? From what distance were the shots fired? What is the direction of wounding canal? Are the injuries inlet or outlet? What kind of bullet made the injuries?

17. Where were the weapon and injured object during the shooting?

18. Did ricochets cause the wounds?

19. What is the possible cause of the death of each person found in the burial place?

20. Were the remains exposed to high temperature? Is it possible to burn 11 corpses in the open air with combustibles (data about this are in recollections of the participants of the burial)?

21. Is there any evidence of acids or other caustics on the remains? If so, what are they?

22. What is the remoteness of the burial? Does information about the deaths and the burial place obtained by the examination contradict to testimony of the participants in the execution and burial of the tsar's family?

23. Do the remains belong to the members of the royal family, servants and attendants, i. e.

1. Nicholas Alexandrovich Romanov,
2. Alexandra Fyodorovna Romanova,
3. Alexei Nikolayevich Romanov,
4. Olga Nikolayevna Romanova,
5. Tatyana Nikolayevna Romanova,
6. Maria Nikolayevna Romanova,
7. Anastasia Nikolayevna Romanova,
8. Yevgeny Sergeyevich Botkin,
9. Ivan Mikhailovich Kharitonov,
10. Anna Stepanovna Demidova,
11. Alexei Yegorovich Trupp.

PRELIMINARY INFORMATION

The Resolution on the purpose of the examination says that the following is established:

«From July 11 to July 13, 1991, in the area of the Mostootryad No.72 (city of Yekaterinburg) the group burial place had been found. The burial place was said to be that of Ex-Emperor Nicholas II, members of his family, servants and attendants. The burial place had skeleton remains of at least nine persons.

On August 8, 1991, V. A. Volkov, Senior Assistant to the Public Prosecutor of the Sverdlovsk Region, passed the Resolution about Forensic Medicine and Medical-Criminal study of the remains. The Bureau of the Superior Forensic Medicine examination of the Russian Federation Ministry of Public Health was to carry out that study. Forensic Medicine experts of the Ukraine, Great Britain and USA also took part in it. They made a preliminary resolution that the remains, probably, belonged to the Ex-Emperor Nicholas II, his wife Alexandra Fyodorovna, three daughters, servants and attendants.

On August 19, 1993 the General Prosecutor's Office of the Russian Federation took legal proceedings 18-123666-93 on the death of members of Russian Imperial House, their servants and people in their immediate surrounding in Yekaterinburg, Alapayevsk, Perm and Saint-Petersburg. This made it necessary to carry out a Forensic Medicine and Medical-Criminalistic Examination within the limits of a criminal case».

THE MATERIALS UNDER RESEARCH

The Commission mentioned above studied the materials from the forensic medical examinations of bones from the group burial place near the Mostootryad No.72 (city of Sverdlovsk). Those examinations were carried out according to the Decree of August 8, 1991, passed by V. A. Volkov, Senior Assistant to the Public Prosecutor of the Sverdlovsk Region, Counsellor of Justice:

1. Materials of forensic medical research «Forensic Medical Estimate of Bone Injuries», August 1, 1992, carried out by experts headed by Professor V. N. Kryukov, head of Forensic Medicine Department of the RSMU, Honoured Scientist of Russia, Doctor of Medical Sciences — in one volume, 88 pages.

2. Findings of experts (micro-osteological examination No.348) December 5, 1991, carried out by experts from the Voronezh Regional Bureau of Forensic Medicine Examination and the Forensic Medicine Department of the Voronezh Medical Institute — in one volume, 174 pages.

3. Expert findings, March 28, 1992, carried out by Yu. V Zazulin, assistant of the Forensic Medicine Department of the Voronezh Medical Institute, Candidate of Medical Sciences — 33 pages.

4. Expert findings, June 10, 1992, carried out at the Forensic Biology Department of the Bureau of the Superior Forensic Medicine Examination of Ministry of Public Health, headed by S. V Gurtovaya, Honoured Doctor of the Russian Federation — 3 pages.

5. Findings of experts No.01/1 of November 18, 1993, carried out in the Sverdlovsk Regional Bureau of Forensic Medicine Examination — one volume, 63 pages; 115 pages of illustrated material.

6. Findings No.01/и of June 30, 1993, from the Commission Forensic Medicine Examination of the skeletal remains, chaired by S. S. Abramov, head of the Innovations Department of Republican Bureau of Forensic Medicine Examination of the Russian Federation Ministry of Public Health, Candidate of Medical Sciences — one volume, 262 pages; research records in four volumes (182 pages, 171 pages, 251 pages and 161 pages are enclosed).

7. Expert conclusion about results of molecular-genetic analysis of bone fragments, carried out by P. L. Ivanov, head of the Genetic Dactyloscopy Laboratory of Republican Bureau of Forensic Medicine Examination of the Russian Federation Ministry of Public Health, Senior Research Associate of the Institute of Molecular Biology (the Russian Academy of Sciences), Candidate of Biological Sciences, based on the study at the Criminal Studies Centre of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Great Britain) — 37 pages in total.

CONCLUSIONS

Based on the materials of forensic medicine osteological, trassological, serological and genetic research, taking into account positive external opinions about the results of identification research; according to questions set forth in the Resolution on purpose of the present examination, the Forensic Medicine Commission of Experts comes to the following conclusions:

1(1). The bone objects taken from the group burial place in the area of the Mostootryad No.72 (city of Sverdlovsk) and presented for examination are the remains of nine persons which were given ordinal numbers, from 1 to 9 during the examination.

2(24). The Examination stated that five skeletons definitely constitute a concrete family group, i. e.

— Skeleton No.4 — Nicholas Alexandrovich Romanov
— Skeleton No.7 — Alexandra Fyodorovna Romanova
— Skeleton No.3 — Olga Nikolayevna Romanova
— Skeleton No.5 — Tatyana Nikolayevna Romanova
— Skeleton No.6 — Anastasia Nikolayevna Romanova

As for the other four skeletons, it was found that

— Skeleton No.2 — Botkin Yevgeny Sergeyevich;
— Skeleton No.1 — Demidova Anna Stepanovna

Of those mentioned in «Order of expert examination of the people by sex and age» only Skeleton No.8 can be identified as Kharitonov Ivan Mikhailovich and Skeleton No.9 — as Trupp Alexei Yegorovich. Identification of I. M. Kharitonov and A. Y. Trupp by additional photos can be conducted only when photo documents and bones kept in Yekaterinburg are compared in additional expert examination.

The remains of Maria Nikolayevna Romanova and Alexei Nikolayevich Romanov are not identified among the bones examined by the current expert examination.

3 (16, 18, 19, 20, 23). All nine skeletons examined by the experts show typical signs of long stay (tens of years) in the soil: brown colour, complete skeletonization, fat-extracted and waterless bone tissue, anatomic formations' thinning and fragility with uneven decalcification phenomena.

The structural changes mentioned above are accompanied by marked corrosion destructions in the form of cracks, tissue defects with complete or partial loss of separate bones. These radical changes in the original bone structures and evidence of traumatic action make it impossible to give a definite answer to the questions about the situation and conditions under which the action occurred.

The condition of skeletonal remains also prevents explicit answer about causes for death of each buried person. It is also impossible to state that these injuries were inflicted when the people were alive.

For the same reason discovering the dates of these injuries amounts to discovering mechanical actions before and after late putrefactive phenomena developed (skeletonization and corrosion). Other mechanical actions would be caused by different tools used while searching for and excavating the remains at the burial place.

4(6). Examining the bones has revealed pathological changes and peculiarities in anatomic texture which are important for identification.

Skeleton No.2:

— The «lifetime» loss of all teeth in the upper jaw with complete atrophy of maxilla alveolar arches.

Skeleton No.4:

— Complete osteal knitting and hyperostosis of the left sacroiliac joint; thorn and crest osteal profileration along vertebral body edges. It might be evidence that during his life the person suffered pain in the posterior pelvic semi-arch and backache; plus deterioration of bearing and gait and limited movement.

— Hyperostosis along edges of femur heads is noted that sometimes associated with people who ride horses.

— Local crest thickening of the external compact plate of the second right rib — possible evidence of a knitted fracture of this rib during the person's lifetime.

Skeleton No.5:

— Complete osteal knitting of the 5th lumbar vertebra process with the wing of an iliac bone (partial sacralization of the 5th lumbar vertebra), i. e. malformation, sometimes accompanied by lumbar pains increasing in an upright posture.

Skeleton No.7:

— Pronounced vertical inclination of superior pectoral vertebral spinous processes indicating an absence of physiological chiphoz (dorsiflexion) of superior vertebral column. During lifetime it could manifest itself as a change in posture leading to a noticeably straight back.

Skeleton No.8:

— A callus formation at the point of a fracture in the lower third of the right ulna which knitted during the person's lifetime.

— Systematic osteal damage alongside with the extensive postmortem destruction because of external factors, morbid destructive changes, osteodystrophy, with pronounced «lifetime» deformation and porose compact and spongy osteal substance changes.

Skeleton No.9:

— Malformation of the spine pectoral section of the vertebral with split arches of the vertebrae and accompanying vertebral body malformation (spondylolisthesis); as well as heperostosis along the vertebral body edges. Under such changes there might have been lumbar pains, trophic ulcerations and lower extremity paralysis.

It is necessary to emphasize the manifestations of systematic dental caries in Skeletons No.3, 5, 6 and 7 with traces of skilled dental treatment.

5 (21, 22). Destructive action of a powerful chemical with the most osteal destruction have been revealed in Skeleton No.8. Only three fragments of the skull and the lower jaw and some big osteal fragments survived; the same with the skull of Skeleton No.9 which is missing the cranial base and posterior cranial vault. Similar but less pronounced evidence is found in the skulls and other bones of Skeletons No.2, 3, 4. This suggests maximum concentration of reagent where these corpses were buried. No evidence of thermal destruction such as carbonization or ash content in the remains have been detected.

6 (15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 23). Apart from bullet injuries described in the investigatory part and referred to in a special section of Conclusion, the following local and extensive traces of destruction was revealed and presented according to anatomic skeletal systems of the head, body and extremities. This may be useful to identify the causes and types of mechanical traumas.

6. 1. Facial skull and mandibular defects in Skeletons No.1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9 are similar in place and type. These damage is typical of blows from massive blunt hard objects with relative small contact surface. They are hard to identify because of the complex facial osteal architectonics and the variety of surfaces of the objects plus the loss of most of the osteal fragments.

In the area of the left frontal prominence of skull No.9 there is local defect that indicates the tangential cutting action of an object with a sharp edge. On the right maxilla bone of the same skull there is a crack typical of thrusting a weapon.

Damage in Skulls No.3, 9 is mainly caused by firearm factors; Skull No.2 has compound damage from bullets and a blunt instrument.

6. 2. We could not tell if damage was done by bullets or stabbing because most of the vertebrae, ribs and rib fragments, forming the anterior skeleton thoracic cage areas, were lost. Recovered parts suggest thrusting blows from a single blade weapon such as a bayonet into corpse No.9's sternum. Probably there is damage in the ribs of skeleton No.4 from a bullet. Osteal corrosion, however, prevents from establishing their diagnostic peculiarities. Damages along the edges of three adjacent pectoral vertebrae of Skeleton No.7 suggest impact from an object with a cutting edge, coming from top downward to the skeletonized vertebral column.

6. 3. Local injuries of long tubular bones in the extremities (except firearm defects and fractures of objects No.1, 2, 5, 9) came from objects with the following constructive features:

— the arthric head of the right humerus of Skeleton No.1 had an impression of a blunt spherical object;

— a left humerus posterior intertrochanteric crest of Skeleton No.4 has a trace of a rounded contour contact object; and its diaphysis has a trace of an obtuse object with a clearly defined linear edge, with the slant-across orientation of its long part at the moment of a blow;

— the left humerus fragment of Skeleton No.9 has traces of contact and sliding effect of an object with the cutting edge, which affected on the anterior-interior osteal surface in the cross direction;

— a local gutter indentation typical of a blunt solid object contact with marked two-side prominence is on the right ulna anterior surface of Skeleton No.9.

6. 4. The following traces alongside with the squeeze destructions (due to soil pressure and prolonged stay in soil) are revealed on the pelvic arch bones:

— local incised traces of flat narrow linear edge spade on the right iliac osteal wing, along the left iliac osteal edge crest of Skeleton No.1 (a less marked trace), and on the anterior sacral surface of Skeleton No.7 in its partial incision of across direction;

— contact traces of blunt solid objects with a limited surface: in a form of local symmetric indents on the pubic and sciatic osteal areas of Skeleton No.2, devoid of fat-and-wax conglomerate; in a form of wing impressed fracture of left iliac bone of Skeleton No.3 with contour contact of a round object with uneven surface.

The evidence above of damage can be studied further to learn more about the instruments and conditions under which the injuries occurred and about concealment and burial of the corpses and activities during the search and excavation of the burial place.

7. A categorical answer to question No.24 of the present Resolution, based on all the results of osteological and genetic identification, because of its great significance eliminates the necessity of pursuing the questions No.2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 of the Resolutions within the limits of present expert examination.

Chairman of Forensic Medicine Commission of Experts V.C Plaksin
Members of Commission V. N. Kryukov,
L. Ye. Kuznetsov,
I. A. Gedygushev,
S. S. Abramov,
P. L. Ivanov,
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Archives of the Main Forensic Medicine Bureau of the Russian Ministry of Public Health.

ABBREVIATIONS

ARCEC	All-Russian Central Executive Committee
AREC	All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for struggle against counter-revolution and sabotage
AUCP(b)	All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)
CC AUCP(b)	Central Committee of the AUCP(b)
CC RSFSR	Criminal Code of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic
CEC	Central Executive Committee
Cheka	Extraordinary Commission
CLPC	Criminal Legal Procedure Code
CM	Council of Ministers
CPC(Sovnarcom)	Council of People's Commissars
DCSOSR	Documentation Centre of Social Organizations of the Sverdlovsk Region
DDIA	District Department of Internal Affairs
ECD	Economic Department
ETD	Examination-Technical Department
GPU	State Political Department
IAO	Internal Affairs Office
MJ	Ministry of Justice
MPH	Ministry of Public Health
NKVD	People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs
PR OGPU	Plenipotentiary Representatives of the United State Political Department
RCMHDSS	Russian Center for Modern History Documents Storage and Study
RSDWP(b)	Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Bolsheviks)

SARF	State Archive of the Russian Federation
SES	Sanitary-Epidemiological Service
Sovdep	Soviet of Deputies
Soviet of WPS Deputies	Soviet of Workers', Peasants', Soldiers' deputies
SSCO	State Security Committee Office
UNKVD	People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs Office
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WPI	Workers'-Peasants' Inspection

SOURCE ABBREVIATIONS

D.	delo (file or dossier)
F.	fond (fund or stock)
L.	list (sheet,page)
Ob.	oborot (the reverse)
Op.	opis (inventory or account)

RUSSIAN MEASURES OF WEIGHT AND LENGTH

Arshin — 0.71 meter
Chetvert — 18 centimeters
Dolya — 44 milligrams
Pound — 409.5 grams
Pud — 16.38 kilograms
Vershok — 44.45 millimeters
Versta — 1.06 kilometers
Zolotnik — 4.266 grams

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Veniamin Vasilyevich
ALEKSEYEV

THE LAST ACT OF A TRAGEDY
(New Documents about the Execution of the Last Russian Emperor Nicholas II)

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