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Savva Morozov and Nikolay Naidenov: the Bigwigs of the Old-Moscow Business in Nikolay Vishnyakov's Memoirs, 1905

Abstract

This article is the first publication of excerpts from the *Autobiographical Notes (Avtobiograficheskie Zametki)* of N.P. Vishnyakov, a prominent Moscow businessman and politician of the early 20th century. These fragments of memoirs are devoted to the biographies and personalities of two major Moscow merchants and deputies of the City Duma, N.A. Naidenov and S.T. Morozov. They belonged to various segments of the political spectrum of pre-revolutionary Moscow. Naidenov was a conservative, opposed to the involvement of business in politics. Morozov, on the contrary, became known as one of the flagships of the business liberal opposition to the autocracy, who had close informal relations with the revolutionary forces. The published sources are provided with a detailed commentary and an introductory article.

Keywords:

N.A. Naidenov; S.T. Morozov; N.P. Vishnyakov; Moscow City Duma; Moscow merchantry; First Russian revolution

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The *Autobiographical Notes* of Nikolay Petrovich Vishnyakov constitute a veritable encyclopedia of Moscow's political, business, cultural, and social life at the turn of the twentieth century. Written on the basis of diary entries (notebooks) and the author's personal recollections, they belong to the rare genre of memoir-diaries in which retrospective assessment is grounded in precise, albeit brief, notes made at the very moment when the events described were taking place. Previous issues of *The Historical Reporter* have already published several excerpts from his memoirs (*Autobiographical Notes* and *Duma Recollections and Impressions*) devoted to the course of the February and October Revolutions in Moscow¹. Earlier, in 1992, Yu.A. Knyazev published a fragment from Vishnyakov's diaries concerning the First Russian Revolution².

The epistolary legacy of N.P. Vishnyakov is valuable not only for its vivid depiction of major historical processes but also for the historical portraits and obituaries he wrote about prominent Muscovites. Current-

¹ В.В. Хутарев-Гарнишевский. Октябрьские бои 1917 г. в Москве глазами очевидца. Из дневника Н.П. Вишнякова // *Исторический вестник*. Т. 38. М., 2021. С. 212–239; В.В. Хутарев-Гарнишевский. Февральская революция в Москве в наблюдениях, слухах и диалогах. Из дневников Н.П. Вишнякова // *Исторический вестник*. Т. 48. М., 2024. С. 343–369.

² Ю.А. Князев. Революция 1905 года в Москве (Из дневника Н.П. Вишнякова). Публ. и комм. Ю.А. Князева // *Московский журнал*. 1996. №4. С. 37–43.

ly in preparation for publication are his memoirs about the composer S.I. Taneyev, who in 1904–1915 rented an outbuilding of Vishnyakov's city estate in Maly Vlasyevesky Lane and was closely acquainted with his landlord, himself an amateur pianist and admirer of piano music. The second volume of *Duma Recollections and Impressions* consists primarily of brief biographical sketches and personal characterizations that Vishnyakov provided for all members of the Moscow City Duma in alphabetical order³. These materials were actively used in the works of the historian of the Moscow City Duma, L.F. Pisarkova⁴.

Upon the death of each of his acquaintances, or simply well-known individuals with whom he had close contact, Vishnyakov left fairly detailed reminiscences. From all these memoirs it would even be possible to compile a separate collection — a kind of Vishnyakov's personal necropolis. The present publication offers two obituaries from 1905 devoted to Moscow millionaires of the early twentieth century who scarcely require introduction: S.T. Morozov and N.A. Naidenov.

Nikolay Alexandrovich Naidenov (1834–1905) was born into a Moscow merchant family engaged in the cloth trade. He graduated from the Petropavlovsk Evangelical Lutheran School for Boys and married Varvara Fedorovna Rastorgueva (1847–1917). In 1863, together with his brothers V.A. and A.A. Naidenov, he became a co-founder of the trading house “A. Naidenov and Sons”. He initiated the establishment of a number of Moscow's largest companies: Moscow Commercial Bank (1870), Moscow Trade and Industrial Society (1874), and Moscow-Caucasus Oil Industry Partnership (1902). In the 1870s he was actively involved in legislative initiatives within the framework of the “Great Reforms” of Alexander II, participating in the drafting of regulations on universal military conscription, the statute on commercial court procedure (arbitration law), and, in 1891, in the development of a general customs tariff as a deputy representing Moscow merchants. He was also a member of the Moscow Office of the State Bank.

³ ЦГА Москвы (Central State Archive of Moscow). Ф. 1334. Оп. 1. Д. 16. Л.3-43.

⁴ Л.Ф. Писарькова. Городские реформы в России и Московская дума. М.: Новый хронограф: АИРО-XXI, 2010. 752 с.; Л.Ф. Писарькова. Московская городская дума: 1863–1917 гг. М.: Издательство объединения «Мосгорархив», 1998. 568 с.



Townsppeople at Resurrection Square greet Emperor Nicholas II and Empress Alexandra Feodorovna (in a carriage), who arrived at the City Duma. May 23, 1896.

Записки скучного человека (Notes of a Boring Person):
<https://bumus.livejournal.com/3862881.html>

Naidenov took an active part in the bodies of municipal, corporate, and entrepreneurial self-government: he served as an elected deputy and member of the Moscow City Duma and as deputy chairman of the Exchange Committee under its chairman, Timofei Savvich Morozov. From 1881 to 1905, he was chairman of the Moscow branch of the Council of Trade and Manufactories. Naidenov was engaged in organizing both commercial and general education in the empire. According to the testimony of contemporaries such as N.I. Astrov, V.P. Ryabushinsky, and P.A. Buryshkin, he was recognized as a leader of the Moscow commercial and industrial world⁵. In the 1880s, N.A. Naidenov stood in opposition to the Moscow mayor N.A. Alekseev (1885–1893), yet under the subsequent mayor, Prince Vladimir Mikhailovich Golitsyn (1897–1905), he became, on the contrary, the mayor’s “gray eminence” and right-hand man. In the brief characterizations that N.P. Vishnyakov provided for all Duma deputies, he assessed Naidenov as follows: “A representative of the Exchange Committee, a big shot. A very wealthy man, very intelli-

⁵ Ю.А.Петров. Московская буржуазия в начале XX века: Предпринимательство и политика. М.: Издательство объединения «Мосгорархив», 2002. С. 359, 404-405.

gent, but a schemer and a trickster... He speaks coherently, logically, and moderately — unlike the lawyers. One may disagree with him, but one must admit that he speaks to the point. He is the mayor's secret adviser. The mayor surrounds him with great respect".⁶

Nikolay Alexandrovich was elevated to the estate of hereditary honorary citizens and awarded several Russian and foreign orders. He took an active interest in the history of the Moscow merchant class of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in local history, and in family history, and he left behind noteworthy memoirs⁷.

Naidenov was the complete antithesis of the other figure featured in this publication, Savva Morozov. Although an energetic participant in matters of self-government, business, and education, he was nevertheless a staunch opponent of left-liberal political currents within the Moscow merchant milieu. Beginning in the autumn of 1904, when a political rapprochement emerged between the zemstvo liberal movement and a segment of Moscow industrialists and entrepreneurs, Naidenov became a consistent adversary of the politicization of the Moscow City Duma's activities and of public demands addressed to the monarchy for the establishment of a constitutional system. He came into conflict with the group of "young progressives", whose leaders included A.I. Guchkov, S.T. Morozov, P.P. Ryabushinsky, A.S. Vishnyakov, and A.I. Konovalov⁸.

Savva Timofeevich Morozov (1862–1905) was a generation younger than Naidenov. He was neither a witness to nor a creator of the "Great Reforms", but rather their product — a new generation of Russian entrepreneurs for whom business was inseparable from politics and for whom public visibility was no less important than informal business and bureaucratic influence. From his father, the Old Believer merchant Timofei Savvich, he inherited the "Partnership of the Nikolskaya Manufactory of Savva Morozov and Co." — the third largest industrial enter-

⁶ Л.Ф. Писарькова. Городские реформы... С. 222.

⁷ Н.А. Найденов. Воспоминания о виденном, слышанном и испытанном. Т. 1. М., 1903; Т. 2. М., 1905.

⁸ Ю.В. Розанов, Н.С. Жернова. Н.А. Найденов в жизни и литературе // Вестник Вологодского государственного университета. Серия: исторические и филологические науки. 2020. № 1(16). С. 76.



Building of the Moscow City Duma. Photo, 1912.
Private collection

prise in the country by annual turnover, comprising several textile mills as well as mechanical, metal-working, and gas plants. From his mother, Maria Fedorovna (née Simonova), the family acquired a cotton-spinning enterprise. Maria Fedorovna, a woman of generous spirit, laid the foundations of the family tradition of charity and philanthropy. To her husband, who was notorious for his extreme stinginess and severity toward subordinates, she would say: “Act in such a way that things are good for you, but not bad for others”.⁹ Of her eight children she loved her son Savva most of all; he was not only indulged by his mother’s affection but also received a brilliant education.

Savva Timofeevich graduated from the Fourth Moscow Gymnasium, located in the famous “chest-of-drawers house” on Pokrovka Street, and then from Imperial Moscow University, where he trained as a chemical technologist; he also studied at the University of Cambridge. At first, he was engaged exclusively in commercial and corporate activities within the merchant community. In 1889 he became a co-founder of the Russian Trade and Industrial Bank; in 1890 he headed the Nizhny Novgorod Fair Committee; the following year he was elected to the Moscow Exchange Committee; and a year later he became a member of the Moscow branch of the Council of Trade and

⁹ А.И. Федорец, Савва Морозов. М.: Молодая гвардия, 2013. С. 20.

Manufactories. The family fortune continued to grow: in 1889, shortly before his death, his father left his wife and children assets totaling 6,129,000 rubles, while after Savva Morozov's own death his mother, who assumed leadership of the board of the Nikolskaya Manufactory Partnership, managed assets amounting to 29,346,400 rubles¹⁰. Under Savva's management, the Nikolskaya Manufactory achieved international recognition, receiving the Grand Prix in Chicago in 1893 and again in Paris in 1900¹¹.

Soon, however, purely entrepreneurial activity ceased to satisfy him. He first turned to philanthropic endeavors, financing in 1902 the opening of the Moscow Art Theatre and persuading other entrepreneurs to become shareholders in the enterprise. At that time his penchant for oppositionist behavior began to manifest itself. He donated the first 10,000 rubles to the theatre on the condition that "the theatre must have no form of imperial patronage".¹² Savva Morozov also began to see himself as a political figure. In November 1904, together with the Ryabushinsky brothers — fellow millionaires — he became one of the leaders of the "banquet campaign", a peaceful protest of Moscow's liberal public. At the end of January and the beginning of February 1905, amid the wave of political protest unleashed by Bloody Sunday, he drafted a programmatic memorandum on the workers' question in which he put forward demands for radical political reforms: equality of all citizens before the law, freedom of speech and of the press, participation of representatives of all estates in legislative activity, full inviolability of person and home, and universal school education. The whirlwind of revolutionary events in 1905 threw Savva Timofeevich into the embrace of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party and culminated in his sudden and still uninvestigated suicide at the very height of his powers.

The excerpt from the *Autobiographical Notes* published here is preserved in the Central State Archive of the City of Moscow in the personal papers of N.P. Vishnyakov: Central State Archive of Moscow (Ф. 1334. Оп. 1. Д. 10. Л. 124 об. — 127об., 142об. — 145об). The

¹⁰ Ю.А. Петров. *Op. cit.* С. 358, 380.

¹¹ Т.П. Морозова, И.В. Поткина. Савва Морозов. М.: Русская книга, 1998. С. 91.

¹² *Ibid.* С. 153.



Nikolai Petrovich Vishnyakov with his daughter Yulia and niece. Early 20th century.
Central State Archive of Moscow. F. 1334. Op. 1. D. 525. L. 1

source is supplied with scholarly commentary and is published with all its numerous abbreviations expanded for ease of reading without the use of square brackets. Foreign (and some specific Russian) words and expressions employed by the author are explained in the footnotes. The only passage in the manuscript that could not be deciphered in the process of transcription (on 127 об.) is indicated as [illegible].

N.P. Vishnyakov
Autobiographical Notes.

“Savva Timofeevich Morozov”

Factory disturbances, it is said, were the indirect cause of the death of the financial magnate Savva Timofeevich Morozov. A few words must be said about this. I knew the deceased fairly well. He knew I.V. Karetnikov and G.A. Krestovnikov and completed his studies at Moscow University. He inherited his father’s enormous enterprise, the Zuyevo Manufactory, and played a significant role within his circle owing to certain circumstances that I shall attempt to clarify.

Of medium height, stocky, with a head somewhat sunk into his shoulders and consequently with a short neck, Savva Timofeevich was not handsome. A round head always cut short, small pig-like eyes that blinked frequently with an uncertain expression, a small button nose, and puffy cheeks — all this gave him little claim to good looks. He affected the role of a liberal and was extremely ambitious. This placed him between two fires: he lived at a time when liberalism alone led to popularity, while ambition was more readily satisfied through the government. I see in this dilemma, which he never succeeded in resolving, the reason why he failed to play any substantial role in his lifetime. The role he did perform was not a particularly attractive one.

He began his public career as chairman of the Fair Committee in Nizhny Novgorod and immediately revealed himself as a follower of the policies of the late Moscow mayor Alekseev. As is well known, Alekseev placed his own ego above all else, and everything was reduced to this. He was a tyrant — a despot in the most ordinary sense of the word. Yet alongside this fundamental defect Alekseev possessed merits: he was intelligent and passionately devoted to municipal affairs, which he studied attentively. Morozov adopted only Alekseev's despotism and failed to acquire any of his virtues. Conflicts arose that forced Morozov to resign. There were many complaints about him. He was characterized as follows: "he has all of Alekseev's vices and none of his virtues".

Nine years ago he stood for election as a deputy of the Moscow City Duma and was elected. At that time, it was said: Morozov has entered the Duma in order to become mayor. He attended the first meetings of the Duma diligently and delivered speeches that gave a far from flattering impression of either his intellect or his oratorical abilities, but which nevertheless served his desire to appear in the front ranks. Typically, he would put forward some microscopic idea, such as dotting certain i's, and would elaborate this meager content in a long, watery, though invariably elevated speech. In this he bore considerable resemblance to another Savva — Mamontov. But time passed, Prince Golitsyn was elected mayor, and the zealous orator gradually faded into the background; he not only shut off the fountain of his eloquence but became a rare guest at the Duma and eventually ceased



Savva Timofeevich Morozov at the construction site of the Moscow Art Theatre.

Photo, 1901.

Записки скучного человека (Notes of a Boring Person):
<https://bumus.livejournal.com/5335851.html>

attending altogether. Evidently municipal affairs did not particularly concern him, and the judgment of perceptive people about him proved correct. In the subsequent elections Savva did not put himself forward¹³.

During this interval he began to be spoken of as the generous patron of the Art Theatre. It was said that Alekseev's enterprise would inevitably have collapsed without his magnanimous support. He was hailed as a pillar of the arts — modest, remaining in the shadows, and therefore all the more appealing. True, these praises were mixed with references to his relationship with the actress Andreeva. But that is a detail. What concern is his private life to anyone? Earlier similar talk had circulated about his intimate relations with the chansonette singer Tamara.

¹³ Prince Vladimir Mikhailovich Golitsyn (1847–1932), an honorary citizen of the city of Moscow, held the posts of Moscow vice-governor and governor in 1883–1891, and from 1897 to 1905 served as Moscow city mayor. In 1904 he joined the opposition faction of the Moscow City Duma. Left a diary and memoirs. See: В.М. Голлицын. Старая Москва // Записки отдела рукописей. Вып. 51. М.: РГБ, 2000. С. 141–193; В.М. Голлицын. Дневник 1917–1918 годов. М.: Захаров, 2008. 365 с.

The generous patron of the stage wished to be a patron of other arts as well. I did not have the honor of visiting his house on Spiridonovka Street, but I heard that several rooms there were decorated in a breathtakingly decadent style. There was also a liberal incident connected with this house. It was said that Grand Duke Sergei Alexandrovich expressed a desire, through his adjutant, to view Morozov's residence. Savva Timofeevich took offense at this form of proposal and replied that the Grand Duke could inspect the house whenever he wished, but he entrusted the task of receiving the Grand Duke to his butler and himself left the house for the duration of the visit. I must confess that, if the story has been conveyed to me accurately, I do not understand it, for I cannot see what Savva Timofeevich could have found offensive in the fact that the Grand Duke sent an adjutant. Surely one could not expect him to write a personal letter or to come in person? Another clash between Savva Timofeevich and the Grand Duke was also recounted. Sergei Alexandrovich allegedly conceived the idea of organizing a patriotic subscription among merchants in connection with the war and first of all sent the subscription list to Morozov. Savva Timofeevich signed for one ruble and returned the list. The Grand Duke then summoned Morozov and irritably pointed out the impropriety of this act, hinting both at his extensive powers and at places more or less remote (exile — *Editor*). Savva Timofeevich calmly listened and replied:

‘I am at your disposal, Your Highness, but I hope you will grant me a short period to put my affairs in order.’

‘That depends on you.’

‘Not on me at all, but on Your Highness.’

‘Why?’

‘Because, as you will agree, some time is required to settle accounts with several thousand workers at the Zuyevo Manufactory.’

‘Why would you need to settle accounts with them?’

‘Because it will be impossible for me to supervise factory affairs from those places to which it may please Your Highness to send me. And after that, Your Highness will have to concern yourself with the future of these workers left without employment.’

The Grand Duke, it is said, got scared and immediately turned the matter in another direction. It is quite possible that this is an inven-



Label on goods of the Nikolskaya Manufactory of Savva Morozov and Sons. 1870.

Archive of M.V. Zolotaryov. Great Russian Encyclopedia:
https://old.bigenc.ru/domestic_history/text/2644669

tion, but the story was told everywhere. Aunt Zizi (Savva Timofeevich's wife, whom he had won away from his cousin Vikulych), however, frequently appeared at balls hosted by the Grand Duke. All the same, these stories testify to the direction in which Savva Timofeevich's sympathies were perceived.

When the well-known disgraceful events took place in St. Petersburg, when a revolutionary council of ministers was proposed, and Gorky was brought to trial, the entire radical press was thrown into turmoil over such a misfortune. Agitation in support of Gorky was carried out abroad as well and led to the presentation of petitions requesting the writer's release. It was then that Savva Timofeevich made his mark. He contributed the required 10,000 rubles as bail to secure Gorky's freedom. It was said that other agitators of Gorky's type also benefited generously from his largesse. Understandably, the radical newspapers sounded the trumpet for Savva Timofeevich. For *Russkoe Slovo*, *Novosti Dnia*, *Novaia Zhizn'*, *Syn Otechestva*, and the like he became a sympathetic representative of the Russian merchant class, a mystical personality with integrity, a conduit of new ideas, a native talent full of Russian vigor and broad Russian sweep, and hell knows what else. In the Duma elections of 1904 he again put forward his

candidacy in our district under the auspices of Przhevalsky and Genert, delivered speeches about trifles, and aligned himself with the most liberal ideas. I did not hesitate to declare that I considered his candidacy utterly unsuitable, for experience showed that Morozov was driven solely by ambition and sought election to the Duma only with an eye to the post of mayor. Yet Przhevalsky assured me that I was gravely mistaken, that Savva Timofeevich would be an exceptionally useful member of the Duma, would accomplish mountains of good in the field of education, and so forth. He was elected with a better result than I: such were the hopes and sympathies. And then, before long, the old story repeated itself. At the first meetings of the Duma Savva Timofeevich delivered speeches, pushed himself forward, “permitted himself to express opinions” or “to align” with others, but very soon an end was put to all this. Prince Golitsyn established his position so firmly¹⁴ that displacing him became unthinkable. And thus Morozov very quickly receded into the background. The eloquent lips fell silent. Morozov could be seen only at elections, when he was evidently asked to cast his vote. Naturally, he cast it for Ostroukhov.

Then came the first strike. St. Petersburg rose up before all others; then Moscow followed; and the movement spread further. Reliable sources said of Zuyevo that it would not stir, for the benevolent Savva Timofeevich had provided so attentively for all the workers that nothing remained for them but to pray for him to the end of their days. Yet it was later reported that this cup had not passed over Orekhovo-Zuyevo either and that unrest had begun there as well, although Morozov allegedly [illegible] brought it to an end. He arrived, assembled the representatives of the workers, and declared: “They say that... I warn you that at the first sign of disorder I shall close the factory for an indefinite period. I do not know how you will endure it, but I shall”.

And then, suddenly, soon afterward in May, I read in the newspapers: on the Riviera, in Cannes, S.T. Morozov, the well-known industrialist, etc., has died suddenly. I make inquiries. Some say: his nerves were shattered as a result of the disturbances at the factory. Others

¹⁴ The word “шанцы” is used here—that is, military fortifications, used figuratively in the sense of political positions.



Prince Vladimir Mikhailovich Golitsyn,
Privy Councillor, Mayor of Moscow.
Album of City Heads of the Russian Empire. St. Petersburg, 1903

say: he was deeply distressed that Andreeva had left him to live with Gorky. Still others claim: nervous maladies run in their family (which is true). A fourth explanation is that in recent times he fell into disfavor with the Minister of the Interior because he gave money not only to Gorky but to other agitators as well. Choose whichever interpretation you like. One thing is beyond doubt: his death was not natural. It was said that he hanged himself in his hotel room¹⁵.

In the end, the world lost one very ordinary man, with very great shortcomings and very small virtues — a man of personal tastes, sympathies, and aspirations that had nothing in common with the

¹⁵ The circumstances of the death of S.T. Morozov remain unclear to this day. Most contemporary researchers incline toward the version of murder organized by his lover, the Social Democratic actress M.F. Andreeva, and by L.B. Krasin, the “treasurer” of the Bolshevik Party. Morozov, considering Andreeva a “naïve altruist,” insured his own life in 1904 for 100,000 rubles with a bearer policy in order to provide for her in the event of his death, and handed the policy to Andreeva. After his death she entrusted the task of obtaining the money under the policy to P.N. Malyantovich, the keeper of the safe house of the Moscow Committee of the RSDRP, for transfer to Krasin. Nevertheless, no direct proof has been found that the Bolsheviks organized Morozov’s murder. See: А.А. Арутюнов. Убийцы Саввы Морозова. М.: Посев, 2002. С. 23-32. Т.П. Морозова, И.В. Поткина. *Op. cit.* С. 195-197.

public good, a man very fond of money, women, drink, and all the pleasures that money can provide. We ourselves are quite capable of the same. There is further evidence that, while observing toward the workers all the requirements of the law, he kept them in an iron grip no less than Timofei Savvich had done; only the profitable system of fines could no longer be employed. When the strike broke out and the workers learned of his ultimatum, quoted above, they wanted to kill him: the factory inspector managed to lead him out by a back staircase. His relations with Zinaida Grigorievna were poor.

Central State Archive of Moscow. Ф. 1334. Оп. 1. Д. 10. Л. 124 о6. — 127о6.

“Nikolay Alexandrovich Naidenov”

On Monday, November 28, at four o'clock in the afternoon, Nikolay Alexandrovich Naidenov died of angina pectoris. I saw him for the last time about two weeks before his death, when I called on him at the Commercial Bank to present him with the second issue of the *Information on the Vishnyakovs*. “Why have you not been seen at the Duma, Nikolay Alexandrovich?” I asked. “What can I say, my dear fellow — I have been ill”. “With what?” He pointed to his chest: “I cannot get enough air”. “Surely you have been overly agitated by everything that is happening around us?” “Indeed, to tell the truth, one cannot remain healthy amid what is going on”.

I intended to limit myself to a brief visit, but he led me into his study, seated me, and began to talk. I spent about an hour with him. Naturally, our conversation touched upon the pressing issues of the day, and chiefly upon the role played in them by my nephew Alexei Semenovich, the eminent Vishnyakov¹⁶. Naidenov attacked him with all the indig-

¹⁶ Alexei Semenovich Vishnyakov (1859–1919) — a hereditary honorary citizen, state councillor, member (*glasnyi*) of the Moscow City Duma from 1893 to 1908, and leader of the left bloc of deputies. Founder of Moscow Society for Commercial Education, Tsarevich Alexei Male Commercial School, Female Commercial School, and Higher Commercial Courses, which in 1907 were transformed into Moscow Commercial Institute. Chairman of the board of



Nikolai Alexandrovich Naidenov.

Main Archival Administration of Moscow: <https://onopenko.livejournal.com/17510.html>

nation he habitually displayed toward persons he disliked, with the full vehemence characteristic of his speech, sparing no sharp expressions. He regarded Alexei Semenovich as the chief culprit behind the strike of bank employees. I have recounted this conversation in my *Duma Recollections*, as it concerns a very specific question. With regard to other matters, Naidenov told me that the second part of his memoirs was being printed and that he would send it to me as soon as it appeared, and that he would not go to the Duma even for the elections of the mayor. He spoke, as usual, very harshly about the candidacy of Shchepkin.

Naidenov belonged to that small number of highly interesting people whom I have happened to meet in the course of my life, and for this reason alone he deserves that I say a few words about him.

the Moscow Merchants' Mutual Credit Society in 1892–1917. Member of the boards of: Central Bank of Mutual Credit Societies, Moscow–Vindava–Rybinsk Railway Company, member of the auditing commissions of Kharkov Land Bank and First Society of Access Railways. See: Алексей Семенович Вишняков // Вестник Российской экономической академии им. Г.В. Плеханова. 2004. № 1. С. 104-105; Г.Н. Ульянова. Вишняков Алексей Семенович // Экономическая история России (с древнейших времен до 1917 г.): энциклопедия в 2 тт. Т. 1 А–М. М.: Издательство «Политическая энциклопедия», 2008. С. 397; А.Н. Боханов. Деловая элита России 1914 г. М.: ИРИ РАН, 1994. С. 106.

He was of medium height, gray-haired, with perpetually disheveled, uncombed hair, which he nervously ruffled with his hand during conversation. He had gray whiskers and a gray, perpetually half-shaven beard — either he shaved rarely or trimmed it with a comb. His face was covered with wrinkles: he was about seventy years old. Despite this respectable age, he was distinguished by an incredible vitality in all things, a liveliness that young men might well have envied. In this animation there was, to be sure, a considerable element of affectation and theatricality — habitual gestures, a particular facial mimicry — yet at its core there was genuinely an extraordinary intensity of perception and vivacity of feeling. To the end of his life he reacted strongly and responded keenly to all events that touched him in one way or another. This made him, with his extensive intellect and knowledge, a man out of the ordinary. I did not like his gaze — the gaze of gray, perpetually cold eyes, which rarely rested directly upon you and seemed always to glide over the surface of your face; this betrayed an insincere nature, a fear of revealing his inner thoughts — but that gaze was remarkably intelligent and penetrating.

He possessed a remarkable gift of speech in simple narration. I shall always recall with pleasure some of his stories about old times; several of them I even recorded. In them Nikolay Alexandrovich displayed extraordinary powers of observation, sensitivity, and insight with regard to the subject; he knew how to underscore the ridiculous with caustic wit, to glide deftly over hidden motives and moods, and to re-enact with talent conversations among people of different kinds. Listening to him was easy and pleasant. His eloquence in the Duma chamber was attractive as well. It was always characterized more by practicality than by brilliance, and in this respect he was invariably outshone¹⁷ by his talented rival N.N. Shchepkin¹⁸. Between the two there existed a deep and irreconcilable enmity. There was hardly an issue on

¹⁷ The Russian expression here is “to leave behind the flag”. It figuratively means “to defeat, to overcome.”

¹⁸ Nikolai Nikolaevich Shchepkin (1854–1919), a well-known Moscow liberal, member of the Moscow City Duma from 1889, deputy city mayor in 1894–1897, deputy of the Third and Fourth State Dumas from the Cadet Party. During the Civil War he participated in the White underground movement in Moscow.

which Nikolay Alexandrovich expressed a definite opinion without Nikolay Nikolaevich speaking in the opposite sense. For some reason Naidenov hated Shchepkin profoundly, almost to the point of absurdity. Once, after some altercation with Shchepkin at a Duma meeting, Naidenov went out into the small hall. I followed him. A small group of deputies gathered around Naidenov, and I joined them. Agitated, Naidenov vented his displeasure with Shchepkin.

“That son of a bitch¹⁹, if you will pardon the expression...” Then, noticing my arrival, he turned to me with his customary animation and sharp gesticulation. “Perhaps you are his supporter — excuse me — but it makes no difference... He is a son of a bitch, if you will pardon the expression”. And he continued his angry speech.

A great virtue of Nikolay Alexandrovich was his tireless, utterly un-Russian capacity for work. It was impossible to imagine him without work. I think this was a reflection of his good upbringing at the Petri-Pauli-Schule²⁰. In addition to his financial affairs, he devoted enormous time to the processing of historical materials that he personally gathered on the history of the Moscow merchant class. For this purpose, he had to travel to provincial archives.

“Surely, in the provinces, you must have encountered rather unfriendly receptions?” I asked. “I cannot say that. Of course, my ap-

¹⁹ In the original: “SOB”.

²⁰ N.A. Naidenov studied in 1844–1848 at the Petropavlovsk Boys’ School at the Evangelical Lutheran Cathedral in Kosmodamiansky (Starosadsky) Lane in Moscow. Naidenov described his school years in the work “Воспоминания о Московском Петропавловском евангелическо-лютеранском мужском училище из сороковых годов прошлого столетия” (*Memories of the Moscow Petropavlovsk Lutheran Boys’ School from the 1840s*), published in Moscow by Kushnerev and C° in 1903. Naidenov’s nephew, the writer A.M. Remizov, also noted that the education received at the Petropavlovsk Boys’ School significantly influenced Naidenov’s personality; like A.S. Vishnyakov, he became the founder of a higher economic educational institution in Moscow—the Alexandrov Commercial School—though one much more strict and elite: “The new commercial school was intended for the not-very-wealthy children of merchant families; the fee was small, not to be compared with the tuition of the Practical Academy or the Commercial ‘monkey house.’ Yet the curriculum was much broader and more varied. Before the founder’s eyes stood the exemplary school he knew well, Pastor Dickhoff’s Peter-Paul-Schule.” // А.М. Ремизов. Собрание сочинений. Т. 8. Подстриженными глазами. Иверень. М.: Русская книга, 2000. С. 296.

pearance gave rise to notions of a secret inspector, of the ‘accursed incognito,’ but I made skillful use of that. Naturally, I needed copies of various documents: I usually brought a clerk with me, and sometimes we worked diligently, without resting, until dawn. Of course, it was incomparably more convenient and pleasant to work at home, in a hotel, than in the mostly uncomfortable premises of the archives and only during official hours. The whole trick was to inspire such confidence in the archivist that, relying on it, one could obtain documents to take home. For this purpose, I always put on my star*. (*He had three of them: the Orders of St. Stanislaus, St. Anna, and the White Eagle). “It produced a stunning effect on the officials. They hurried to fulfill all my wishes and released to me anything I wanted for work at home”. Nikolay Alexandrovich told me that he never entrusted the proofreading of his works to anyone, but always did it himself²¹.

It is in business matters connected with the bank and the exchange, as well as in his beloved studies of Russian history and especially of the Moscow merchant class, that Nikolay Alexandrovich spent his life. He never lived in the countryside, did not care for it, and spent his entire life in his house near the St. Nicholas in Vorobyino church on the bank of the Yauza River, content with his extensive garden²². He seemed to

²¹ In total, nine volumes of “Materials for the History of the Moscow Merchant Class” were published. Historian *G.N. Ulyanova* analyzed the archeographic and scholarly research work of N.A. Naidenov. Financing of the project to collect and publish revision lists of the Moscow merchant class from the 1st to the 10th revisions was carried out both from Naidenov’s personal funds and from the funds of the Moscow Merchants’ Society. Payments for producing copies of documents were made to archive employees: the head of the Moscow Archive of the Ministry of Justice, *I.N. Nikolev*, and archivist *A.A. Martynov*. See: *Г.Н. Ульянова. Н.А. Найденов и издание ревизских сказок в многотомнике «Материалы для истории московского купечества» (1883–1889) // Экономическая история. 2018. Т. 14. № 2. С. 233.*

²² This refers to the city estate at 57 Zemlyanoi Val Street, built by V.N. and P.N. Usachev and later acquired by G.I. Khludov. It came into the possession of the Naidenov family after the marriage of A.G. Khludova and A.A. Naidenov. It was one of the brightest examples of Moscow Empire style architecture, designed by architects *A.G. Grigoriev* and *D. Gilardi*. The estate had two gardens—the Khludov Garden and the Small Garden, which descended to the Yauza River, each with a pond. The small fishpond “was memorable to Nikolai Alexandrovich because as a child he nearly drowned in it, having once fallen from the bank. The water in the pond, fed by springs, was extremely



Naidenov city estate “High Hills” on Zemlyanoy Val in Moscow.
Photo by Scherer & Nabholz, 1905

be deaf and blind to the beauties of nature and was wholly immersed, as they say, in books. To be sure, he was very parsimonious and austere, and in this respect formed a worthy *pendant*²³ to his colleague Pyotr Ivanovich Sanin, who had died several years earlier — a remarkably gifted man and incomparable orator, before the sharp laconicism of whose speech all the rhetorical fountains of lawyers paled²⁴. No one

cold.” Later the Small Pond was filled in, and only the Large Pond remained, famous throughout Moscow for its cleanliness. See: Д.И. Ястржембский. Бывшие купеческие усадьбы на Земляном валу // Московский журнал. 2021. №5(365). С.68-79; И.А. Лебедев. Николай Александрович Найденов. 1834-1905 г. Очерк жизни и деятельности. М., 1915. С. 23-24.

²³ Figuratively, “a supplement.”

²⁴ Pyotr Ivanovich Sanin (1839–1903), a hereditary honorary citizen, merchant of the first guild, received home education, engaged in trade in chemical goods, co-founder of the Trading House Sanin, chairman of the council of the Moscow Merchants’ Bank. He was elected to the Moscow City Duma seven times from 1873 to 1897. Vishnyakov described Sanin as follows: “A heavy, stout man of very large build. Resembles a bulldog. When he speaks, it is as if he is grumbling in discontent: that is the impression. And yet he undoubtedly possessed considerable oratorical talent combined with great intelligence. One of the outstanding representatives of the merchant alliance.” See: Л.Ф. Писарькова. Городские реформы... С. 222, 596.

ever heard of any receptions at Naidenov's house. He kept closely to the family circle and showed little interest in the outside world. In this respect he did not rise above the most hidebound Taganka merchant. Thus even the omniscient ²⁵Sofya Yurievna Krestovnikova would exclaim: "One never knows anything about the Naidenovs. I do not know precisely how many children Nikolay Alexandrovich has, or which of them are married and to whom. An astonishingly unsociable man!"²⁶

No one loved Naidenov, except perhaps those closest to him²⁷, of which I have no personal knowledge. He was considered a caustic egoist. I think there was much truth in this accusation. Despite the fact that for a very long time he played a prominent role in the Duma owing to his undeniable intellect and influence over the merchant faction, he did not associate his name with a single undertaking of

²⁵ Thus in the text.

²⁶ Sofya Yurievna (Georgievna) Krestovnikova, née Milioti (1832–1917), wife of the millionaire Alexander Konstantinovich Krestovnikov, mother of Grigory Krestovnikov and Maria Krestovnikova. In 2004 the memoirs of her granddaughter Elena Ivanova were published in the American Russian-language magazine *Chaika* (Seagull). Here is how she describes S.Yu. Krestovnikova: "My great-grandmother on my mother's side, Sofya Yurievna Krestovnikova, was a small, thin little old lady, extremely lively and very energetic. She did not seem to be distinguished by beauty, but she was very devout and kind. When my brother Grisha and I quarreled, great-grandmother would quote the words of Metropolitan Philaret: 'A clever person cannot be evil.' That did not prevent her from being at the same time vindictive and sharp-tongued. She was also well-read and spent two or three hours a day reading in three languages. She learned German and French on her own, spoke them poorly but read fluently. She also taught herself to play the piano, though she played only for herself. She was stubborn and very neat. Great-grandmother was curious and inquisitive, even about spheres far removed from her own. She would think nothing of tagging along with the young people to Strelna or to the cabaret at Maxim's. We sometimes went to the theater with her. In addition, great-grandmother was not indifferent to politics and had her own categorical opinion on everything. The foremost object of her criticism was her own son Grigory. She could never forgive him for refusing to accept noble status. 'One does not refuse the Tsar's favor!' On this matter grandfather Krestovnikov had his own reasoning: our family has been merchants for 600 years, and he did not see how a nobleman was better than a merchant. When in 1912 Grigory Alexandrovich Krestovnikov was appointed treasurer of the State Council, great-grandmother exclaimed: 'What, Grishka—the little boy—as treasurer!' The 'little boy' was over sixty." Electronic resource: <http://ricolor.org/history/rs/memory/ivanova/2/>

²⁷ Russian *присные* — "close people."

general benefit and passed almost without a trace. He left no name in the history of municipal self-government. The news of his death at the session of November 29 evoked not a single warm recollection, and the speech in which Ivan Alexeevich Lebedev honored him contained no factual information beyond general phrases. By virtue of his suspicious and dry nature he was incapable of loving anyone, but I think that toward me he showed as much cordiality as was possible for him. I very quickly made it clear to him that I was not one of those intrusive people, and in this way, it seems, won his favor. When I happened to visit him at the Commercial Bank, he would always courteously, and sometimes with such good nature as he could muster, seat me beside him and converse with me willingly and at length. He was an excellent interlocutor, for he listened as attentively as he himself spoke. After the address of November 30, 1904, he took a negative view of the activities of the Moscow City Duma and of Prince Golitsyn, his former protégé, and rarely attended the Duma. His standpoint was that the Duma should in no way engage in politics, but should confine itself to municipal affairs. Without closing my eyes to his shortcomings, I valued in him only his natural intelligence, knowledge, and enormous capacity for work, which together made him one of the most outstanding representatives of the Moscow merchant class of my time²⁸.

Central State Archive of the City of Moscow (Ф. 1334. Оп. 1. Д. 10. Л. 142об. — 145об.)

Conflict of interests

The author declares no relevant conflict of interests.

²⁸ A similar assessment of Naidenov was given in 1913 by his close associate A.M. Remizov: "Of a 'pugnacious' character ... with enormous knowledge not only in purely economic and legal sciences, but also in history and archaeology, and with great creative scope, gifted in every way, unlike anyone else, he turned his life—his days—into a kind of unceasing labor, without respite, without holidays, without absences, for the sake of a strong and active, firmly forged proud Russia. Having refused during his lifetime the high privilege of nobility, he ordered that he be buried as the simplest man—the commonest labourer—and by this final will worthily completed the work of his life." See: А.М. Ремизов. Собрание сочинений. Т. 4. Плачужная канава. М.: Русская книга, 2001.С. 462-463.



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