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The History of the Revolutionary
Movements among the Jews
in Russia

(From Early Beginnings to and including the Formation of the Bund)

Submitted in Partial Fulfilment
of the Requirements for
the Degree of Rabbi

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To

Mother and Aunt Sheina

-- with Memories of a Boyhood in Russia

PREFACE

"Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God."

-- Inscription on an old cannon.

"Whenever any form of government becomes destructive, it is the right, it is the duty, of the people to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security."

-- American Declaration of Independence, 1776.

"Revolutions are not made; they come."

-- Wendell Phillips

In this thesis a painstaking attempt has been made to describe the role of the Jew in the early struggle for freedom and to treat all the causes and effects, leaders and institutions, economic organizations and literary expressions, values and ideologies of the revolutionary-labor movement among the Jews in Russia.

Treatment of this particular phase of Russian-Jewish history has been limited to a few good studies in the Russian, Yiddish, German and Hebrew. Strangely enough, it has been utterly neglected in the English. It is the hope of the writer that he has somewhat filled the gap by giving a complete portrayal of the movement up to and including the formation of the Bund.

The following obstacles presented themselves in the collation of this material:

1. The fact, above mentioned, that all the source material

is in foreign languages.

2. The wide dispersion of the material. Since the history of the movement has been neglected by scholars, the information is still scattered through many different periodicals, encyclopedias, collected writings and personal memoirs.

3. The unreliability of many sources. A great deal of the material needed can only be obtained from the writings of men who actually participated in the movement. Many such memoirs are entirely too subjective to guarantee historical exactitude. The student's work is therefore complicated because of the many contradictions which require reconciliation. The task also involved curious "detective" work. Fearing the police, many revolutionists wrote under pseudonyms; many of them never revealed their correct names and are known even to chroniclers by their nicknames only. There was, therefore, the additional task of tracing many articles and opinions to learn their authors.

4. The inaccessibility of many primary sources. Particular mention should be made here of various newspaper articles and the records of the Political Police which perforce had to be quoted from secondary sources. Not all the books and periodicals needed and used by the writer are found in the Hebrew Union College Library. It was his good fortune to examine additional literature on the subject in the New York Public Library.

The writer wishes to express his profound gratitude to Dr. Jacob R. Marcus, of the Hebrew Union College, for his guidance and encouragement; to Dr. Joshua Bloch, Chief of the Jewish Division, New York Public Library, for his assistance and kindness in making many sources available; and to Mr. Samuel M. Silver, fellow student of Hebrew Union College, for corrections made during the typing of the manuscript.

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G. B. L.

Hebrew Union College
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CHAPTER I.

REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS IN RUSSIA: THE ROLE OF THE JEW

1. Introductory Remarks.

The Nineteenth century witnessed the rise of radicalism in the autocratic land of the Czars. Among the Jews, the revolutionary movement was one of the most spectacular phenomena.

The Haskalah Movement had a rich background of centuries. The Hobebei Zion movement was deeply rooted in the sentiments and aspirations, in the prayers and traditions of the Jewish past.

But what about the revolutionary movement? Whence did it come and whither did it strive, and what influence did it exert on the life and the mind of the Jewish masses?

It was a new movement. More than that. It was a novel movement, among the Jews; novel -- in the types of heroes it produced, in the degree of force it acquired and in the sphere of action it embraced.

This revolutionary movement began, as every movement must begin, with a small group of people in the midst of a land definitely hostile to revolutionary thought and completely indifferent to the sad plight of the masses. The early beginnings of Jewish radicalism are indeed reflected in the lives of a few individuals. We shall have cause to observe that in the incipient stages it was neither a class struggle nor a mass movement. It was the product of a few idealistic youths who happened to come under revolutionary influences and who roman-

ticized and speculated in their Kruzhoks (Circles) about the future of a liberated Russia.

Out of the revolutionary endeavors of the Jewish radicals, out of the revolutionary tendencies which gradually touched the life of the Jewish masses, there emerged the Jewish Labor Movement. There is a close, almost indissoluble relationship between the Jewish revolutionary movement and the Jewish Labor movement. This relationship we shall describe in a separate chapter.

Similarly we shall describe early manifestations of conflicts between capital and labor in Jewish community life. Suffice it to state now that they were not revolutionary conflicts, and that they displayed no revolutionary purpose. They only indicate that even in the religious Ghetto atmosphere economic and social distinctions already existed and inevitably led to sharp encounters between the poor and the rich, the employees and the employers.

But before we trace the origin and development of the Jewish revolutionary and Jewish labor movements, we must first of all examine the role of the Jew in the Russian revolutionary struggles, emphasizing particularly their attitude toward the Jewish problem, the Jewish religion and the Jewish people, and their contribution to the socialistic and labor ideologies among the Jews.

2. Many or Few?

"The bulk of the revolutionary army is made up of Gentiles not of Jews," wrote in a somewhat apologetic vein an American-¹ Jewish socialist in the beginning of the present century. If this statement was true in the early days of the twentieth century when the "Bund"² already numbered thousands of radical members, how much truer the opening statement becomes if it is applied to the very beginning of the Russian revolutionary movement in the nineteenth century.

Opinions differ as to the amount and nature of Jewish participation in the struggle for freedom in Russia. Naturally no statistics are available to determine the truth. The anti-government forces carried on their activities in the utmost secrecy. No records were kept. An additional obstacle to the historian is the fact that for many decades the revolutionary movement was unorganized, sporadic, underground, and inchoate.

Lev Deutsch, one of the supreme heroes of revolutionary Russia and writer on the history of the movement, is firm in his assertion that Jews were neither initiators of the revolutionary struggle in Russia nor even ready adherents of the cause first³ espoused by the non-Jewish progressive youth. Moreover, he avers that when Jews did join the heroes of freedom, they played a role which was secondary, if not tertiary, in importance.⁴ In

view of the significance of such Jews as Karl Marx and La Salle in the radical movement in Germany, the subsidiary role of the Jewish revolutionary in Russia seems strange. The reason for it will be described elsewhere. Significant here, however, is the fact that almost half a century of anti-government plotting elapsed before Jewish youths began to take part in the movement.

That the Jews played an unimportant part in revolutionary Russia was also the opinion of the Frenchman L. Errera, in his early study of the Jewish problem in Russia.⁵ His point of view, however, is questioned and challenged by another student of the problem. "When Professor Errera wrote that few Jews could be found among the revolutionaries in Russia, he was absolutely wrong," states Dr. Angelo S. Rappoport. "...On the contrary, I maintain that not only have the Jews of Russia good and valid reasons to be on the side of the revolution, but that, in reality, they have contributed individually and collectively, as an ethnic and religious group, to the movement of emancipation in Russia and to the triumph of democracy. Yet, Prof. Errera's opinion has for a long time been accepted by many Jews,⁶ at least officially."

In his zealous mood and style, Rappoport falls victim to exaggerations, and even invokes the name of Plehve, onetime head of the Russian bureaucratic inquisition, as a source of information: "There was no political organisation in the vast

Empire that was not influenced by Jews or directed by them. The Social Democratic, the Socialist Revolutionary Parties, the Polish Socialist Party, all counted Jews among their leaders. Plehve was, perhaps, right when he said that the struggle for political emancipation in Russia and the Jewish question were practically identical.⁷

Even more striking and questionable than the above quoted words is the following statement: "Plehve maintained⁸ that 80% of the revolutionaries in Russia were Jews." Even if Plehve had had in mind the growing Bund organization, his statistical information is not to be taken seriously. And even for the sake of argument he is not an authoritative source to be brought to witness with regard to the revolutionary cause. We must remember that it was Plehve who devised a truly devilish plan "to wage war against the Russian revolution by waging war against the Jews," to drown the revolution in Jewish blood, and thus to divert⁹ the attention of the Russian public from more imminent crises. Naturally, as an important tool in the autocratic machinery, Plehve was apt to magnify the revolutionary participation of the despised Zhyds so as to direct the people's attention toward the "dangerous enemies" within.

"Whether the Jews were numerous or few in the revolutionary movement, the fact remains that already in the seventies a new motif of denunciation was introduced: the Jews are dangerous and undesirable because of their political and revolutionary

10
activities."

The government leaders kept on utilizing this motif more and more ardently. And Plehve was no exception. Therefore, he is hardly a source to be quoted in order to prove (as Rappoport attempts to prove) the tremendous role the Jewish revolutionaries played in numbers, in initiative, and in effectiveness.

In view of Rappoport's fanciful theories, poor evidence, homiletical quibbles and flights of imagination, we are compelled to question his opinions and reject his ¹¹conclusions.

On the other hand, in view of Lev Deutsch's actual participation in the revolutionary movement for a period of a half-century, in view of his close connection with all the radical forces and the opportunity it afforded him to observe directly the activities of his revolutionary colleagues -- we feel that his thesis is the more supportable and authentic.

As we shall see elsewhere in this study, Deutsch's point of view is also supported by the historic development of the revolutionary movement. We shall then notice that there were whole decades of underground socialistic planning in which the Jew, because of his isolation and civic ^{less}righteousness in the Russian Empire, could take no active part.

It is significant that a similar point of view is held by the historian, Julius Hessen, who won recognition for his scholarship in Russian Jewish history even before the Bolshevik Revolution and who had access to the old and the new archives.

Neither he nor anyone else can deny the fact that individual Jews or small groups of Jews were engaged in anti-government undertakings, but they were not numerous enough to form a dangerous revolutionary class or to be responsible for the success of revolutionary endeavors.¹²

The question then arises on what facts is the conclusion based that the number of early revolutionary participants among the Jews was small and that their role was secondary in importance. First of all, the records of important revolutionary trials have been made accessible and have already been examined. Secondly, we can now draw more fully from the available material dealing with the unique position of the Jews of Russia and with the general character ^{of} the Russian socialist revolutionary movement. This material sheds a new light on the participation of the Jew in the Russian struggle for freedom. We shall first take up the evidence based on revolutionary trials.

3. The Jewish Revolutionary in Political Trials.

Important trials of revolutionaries took place in the seventies, when the government became quite alarmed at the popular growth of anti-czarist propaganda. During this and the following decade, however, a very small number of Jews was found among the accused. According to one source ("Narodnaya Volya," 1880, no. 4), among 376 persons accused of anti-government activities during the first half of the year 1879, Jews constituted only four percent. According to another Russian source ("Review of the Social Revolutionary Movement in Russia," 1880), of 1054 tried persons, Jews constituted six and one half percent.¹³

In St. Petersburg, during a period of nine years during the eighties, at least eight outstanding trials of revolutionaries took place. Close to 120 persons were involved. Among them were implicated altogether ten Jews of whom only two or three played a conspicuous role.¹⁴ In Moscow, in the "Trial of the Fifty" (1877), Betty Kaminskaya was involved. She was one of the first young Jewesses to join the revolutionary movement.¹⁵ Another young Jewess in the early revolutionary days was Felicia Scheftel. She was particularly active in the demonstration at the Kazan Place in St. Petersburg (December 6, 1876.) It was she who unfurled the red banner with the inscription "Zemlya i Volya" (Land and Freedom).¹⁶

A very famous political trial is the one known as the "Trial of 193," which took place in the seventies in St. Petersburg.¹⁷ A small number of Jewish revolutionaries were indicted, but their part in the trial was not outstanding. Among them may be mentioned Solomon Aaronsohn, an unimportant figure in the revolutionary movement;¹⁸ Julius Tetelman, an altruistic youth who died during the trial at the age of 23 or 24;¹⁹ and Eidel Pumpinski, who spent three years in prison before the trial but was afterwards freed and banished from St. Petersburg to Odessa by administrative process.²⁰

The terroristic acts which shook Russia resulted in many famous trials in St. Petersburg and in other cities. As a whole, the records show that very few Jews were found among the political criminals.²¹ At the trial of Mirsky (Winter of 1879) for his attempt on the life of the Chief of the Gendarmes, General Drenteln, no Jew was implicated.

In the case of the "Sixteen," there figured among the defendants only two Jews, Aaron Zundeleitch and Lazary Zucker-²²man.²³

In the case of the "First of March, 1881," a Jewess was implicated, the only representative of her people, Hesia Helfman, who was sentenced to death. The execution, however, was postponed on account of her pregnancy, and her sentence was later commuted to penal servitude for life.²⁴

In the trial of "The Twenty" (1882), three Jews were implicated,²⁵ Aronchik, Lev Zlatopolsky, and Freedenson. The

first two played an insignificant role in the acts of terrorism, and the last had no connection with it at all.

In the trial of "The Seventeen"(1883), there were implicated S. Zlatopolsky and Christina Greenberg, of whom only the first was seriously connected with the attempt on the life of the Czar.

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In the case of Vera Figner (1884) and in the trial of "The First of March, 1887," no Jew was implicated.

In the trial of Lopatin (1887), there was implicated the Jewess Henrietta Dobruskin who played, however, an unimportant part in the case.

Reviewing these statistics, one is led to concur with the assertions of Deutsch and Hessen that the part played by Jews in the pristine revolutionary struggles was relatively slight. In the light of this conclusion, the following statement by Dubnow seems exaggerated, particularly his reference to the political trials:

"In Russia itself the Jewish revolutionaries were heart and soul devoted to the cause. The children of the ghetto displayed considerable heroism and self-sacrifice in the revolutionary upheavals of the seventies. Jews figured in all important political trials and public manifestations; they languished in the gaols, and suffered as exiles in Siberia."²⁷

Though one feels hesitant to challenge the historical observations of such an authority as Simon Dubnow, in this

particular instance it is perhaps justifiable to do so. Not that Dubnow was wilfully inaccurate. But documentary material about the early revolutionary activities did not become generally available until after the October Revolution, and Dubnow wrote²⁸ his book before that time. Hence, in discussing this period, our historian had to rely on his impressions and hence fell victim to sweeping generalities of questionable verity. Deutsch and Hessen, who wrote their books later, are therefore more reliable authorities, and we are bound to accept their conclusion that the Jew played a minor role in the early revolutionary activities as factual.

4. Reasons for Limited Participation of Jews:

The Unique Position of the Jew.

For about a half a century the Jewish revolutionaries played but a minor role in the general movement for liberation. For about a half a century the Jewish revolutionaries were few in number. It is late in the sixties, and primarily in the seventies, that Jewish youth is attracted to the heroic struggle against despotism. Not until the seventies did a nucleus of a distinctly Jewish revolutionary group appear in Russia.

Why has the Jewish revolutionary movement begun in the seventies, almost fifty years after the Russian revolutionary movement was born? What is the explanation for this late entrance of the Russian Jew into the struggle against the existing autocracy?

The twofold answer must include: first, the unique position of the Jew in Russia and secondly, the general character of the Russian revolutionary movement. We shall take up these points in this and in the succeeding section.

It is not necessary to dwell too lengthily on the unique position of the Jew in the Russian Empire, his isolation from the general life of the country, his rightlessness and disabilities. It is an old picture.

Jewish life as it was constituted within the Pale of Settlement was not conducive to revolutionary thought. It was

permeated by an orthodox atmosphere of piety and sameness. Change was not tolerated. Questions were not asked. Suffering was accepted as the scheme of the universe. Charity silenced the needy and the underprivileged. The restless minds found a haven in the casuistry of Talmudic studies. Politics belonged to the outside, secular world. Systems of economics and sociology were yet unknown. Besides, all the intellectual importations from the outside world were profane. The Lord of Israel ruled supreme, and all seemed well in the Pale of Settlement.

Yet, life even there was not altogether static. The spirit of the age did penetrate the ghetto gates. New winds began to blow, new influences, new values, new ideologies. But the Jewish psyche was quite unprepared for the turbulent waves of revolutionary propaganda. There was no revolutionary tradition among the neglected Russian Jews. The first revolutionists were of the opinion that the Jewish masses were impregnable to socialist ideas. The Jews did not present a fertile field for the propagandist.

The most numerous and influential group among the Jews was the middle class, which dwelt in the cities. Unlike the peasants in the villages, they did not form the bulk of the population. The workingmen lived among the middle class Jews. Most of them were handicraftsmen. The artisan of today hoped to be the master tomorrow. Surely, these middle class people were far from being proletarian; they were not the stuff from

which radicalism was made, at least so thought the revolutionists. It was only the growth of capitalism that made them realize the error of judgment.

Above all, the early revolutionary activities were carried on in places outside of the Jewish Pale of Settlement. There were very few Jews, for example, in Moscow or in St. Petersburg where the Russian revolutionary intelligentsia built²⁹ their nests. Thus boxed up in their tightly shut ghettos, even the Jewish intellectuals, with very few exceptions, were too remote from the revolutionary flame to feel and be attracted to its warmth. Only by the force of circumstances did they begin to engage in revolutionary propaganda among their own people, with the sole hope of making the Jewish masses safe for the revolution.

One source explains the absence of Jewish youths among the revolutionaries in the following way: First of all, there were few Jewish students in the secondary and in the higher institutions of learning; secondly, the Jews were rather loyal to the Czar and therefore were extremely peaceful; and thirdly, the position of the Jews was so low and downtrodden that³⁰ they could hardly dare to raise their head or voice.

5. Reasons for Limited Participation of Jews:

The General Character of the Revolutionary Movement.

The Dyekabrists.

The unique position of the Jew in Russia alone does not fully explain the lack and lateness of Jewish participation in the revolutionary movement. The unusual character of the early anti-czarist attempts also had a great deal to do with it. The first revolutionary outbursts did not express the spirit of the people, nor were even the later organized efforts a manifestation of the collective demands of the masses. The foundation of revolutionary Russia was erected by men and women from the upper layers of Russian society. And very few Jews found their way up to the aristocratic "leisure class."

The pioneers in the struggle for the liberation of Russia were the Dyekabristy (Decembrists), so named from the date of their revolt (December 14, 1825) immediately after the accession of Nicholas I upon the throne of the Russian Empire. They first organized themselves into a secret union in the latter
31
part of the reign of Czar Alexander I. Their grim attempt
32
ended with failure, defeat, and death of the leaders.

Almost all the members of this revolutionary group and the participants of the Decembrist outbreak originated from the military class, many of them being officers of the army,

and titled aristocrats such as princes, counts and barons. Naturally no Jew found admission to this privileged class. The Jews were unknown in military circles. It was almost two years after the date of the Decembrist uprising that military service³³ was imposed upon the Jews.

It is, therefore, most surprising to discover one man of Jewish origin implicated in the Decembrist revolt. The participation and importance of that individual is still largely based on conjecture. If the information we are to present historically accurate then the first Jewish revolutionary in Russia was Gregory Peretz, a baptized Jew, a grandson of the rabbi of Levertov, Galicia.

³⁴
His father, Abraham Peretz, was one of the first Jews to reside in St. Petersburg in the first decade of the nineteenth century.³⁵ He was a wealthy contractor, tax farmer, financier, but lost his riches in military contracts in the War of 1812. Influenced by the Jewish convert Lev Alexandrovich (Judah Leib)³⁶ Nyevakhovich, he embraced Christianity.

³⁷
The son, Gregory, a young man of great promise, was sent to Siberia presumably for the crime of being implicated in the Decembrist revolt, but he was later transferred to Odessa,³⁸ where he died in banishment. His actual participation in the revolt is, however, questioned. Deutsch notes that Peretz only carried on discussions with the Dyekabrists' leader, Pestel, on the solution of the Jewish problem, not suspecting anything

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about the manipulated plot against the Czar. Dubnow also repeats the conjecture of Peretz' influence upon Paul Pestel. "Peretz advocated on numerous occasions the necessity of organizing a society for the purpose of liberating the scattered Jews and settling them in Crimea or in the Orient in the shape of a separate nationality⁴⁰."

Of interest, therefore, is the attitude of the early Russian revolutionaries towards the Jews. Colonel Paul Pestel⁴¹, the leader of the "Southern Section" of the secret league⁴², took up the Jewish problem in his work, "The Russian Truth." To him it is an almost insoluble problem. He has very little to say in favor of the Jews, and a solution he proposes^{is} the adoption of correctional measures in order to curb the Jews. As an alternative solution he even suggests that the Jews be settled in a separate commonwealth somewhere in Asia Minor.

Many of the Decembrists possessed Pestel's attitude towards the Jews. Much friendlier and more humane, however, was the Northern leader, Nikita Muravyov⁴³.

With the exception of Peretz' doubtful participation in the activities of the Decembrists, no Jew took part in the unsuccessful uprising of 1825. The fact that the plot was engineered by an aristocratic military group, the members of which displayed antisemitic tendencies makes it quite clear that Jews could find no place in that early revolutionary league.

6. Three Decades without Jews.

For three decades after the Dyekabrists' revolt no Jewish revolutionists were found in the famous Circles.⁴⁴ The thirties do not record Jewish participation. There were no Jewish members in the organizations of Stankevich, of Bielinski, nor were there any in the organizations of Herzen, Ogarev, and of the others.

No Jew participated in the "dangerous conspiracy" of⁴⁵ Petrashevski and his comrades.

During the forties and fifties the anti-czarist movement enjoyed greater popularity, but it was a movement led by the liberal elements of the Russian nobility, which, of course,⁴⁶ could not include the undesirable Zhyds.

7. The Sixties: Revolutionary Action and Government Reaction.

It was not until the Epoch of Great Reforms in Russia that elements from "the masses" became noticeable among the radical groups.

The emancipation of the serfs (February 19, 1861) by Alexander II produced a profound change in the whole social structure of Russia. It brought about "a decline of the nobility and a democratization of Russian society." It also brought about "the intellectual ferment, with its radical political⁴⁷ aspect."

In the Spring of 1866 the student Karakozov⁴⁸ made an attempt on the life of the czar as a deed of vengeance for the sad plight of the helpless and underprivileged peasants. This act led to a period of reactionary policies on the part of⁴⁹ the government against the revolutionary element.

Already in the beginning of the sixties Alexander II showed a change of heart. Under the influences of certain autocrats, he began to look askance at the endeavors of the liberal and progressive students. Government action was taken to discontinue the evening and Sunday classes for adults and some of the other humanitarian and cultural undertakings. But these antagonistic policies, instead of weakening and interrupting its growth rather stimulated new and more heroic revolution-

ary activity. In St. Petersburg there began to appear underground revolutionary organizations which advocated the use of force in the struggle for the oppressed and underprivileged masses.

The most important organization was the Society "Zemlya i Volya," ("Land and Freedom") to which belonged the finest element of the progressive generation. Among the members was a converted Jew, the student Nicholas Uttin, who played a rather unimportant role and who fled abroad when the arrests began.⁵⁰ While abroad, he acquired some fame as an exponent of Karl Marx's ideas and opponent of Bakunin. But this Uttin soon petitioned the czar for clemency and as a result of Poliakov's intercession on his behalf he was permitted to return to Russia, after which he vanished completely from the revolutionary horizon.⁵¹

Generally, the Jews were absent from the Russian circles during the sixties.⁵² However, an important Jewish circle of Nihilistic tendencies already existed in Kiev about the middle of the decade. The membership comprised Jewish students of both sexes.⁵³ Deutsch himself hailed from that group. It was not uncommon to see on the streets of Kiev a Jewish student whose flowing locks, cane in hand, and almost ecclesiastical garb attracted popular attention. The female members, on the other hand, cut their hair short and dressed very modestly and simply. The outward appearance called forth either laughter

or amazement, or even antagonism. These young people were said to have come under the influence of "Nihilism," which leads us to our next discussion.

8. Nihilism -- a New Philosophy and a New Stimulus.⁵⁴

The Dyekabrist revolt represented a political revolution-
55
ary movement. Nihilism, on the other hand, represents an intellectual, philosophical movement. The Jew, not being a member of the nobility or of the military hierarchy, could take no part in the Decembrist movement nor in any revolutionary movement for several decades. But who could prevent him from becoming an adherent of intellectual radicalism?

Nihilism as an intellectual movement rejected all the mores, superstitions, and habits, and also the power of authority. It stood for complete equality of all people. It is through Nihilism that in culturally backward Russia the women began to demand earlier than in any other country the opportunity for higher education which was also followed by the demand for equal rights.

Nihilism exerted a much stronger influence upon the Jewish than upon the non-Jewish students. The higher classes of society in Russia had long before been influenced by Western European values, ideas, and style. Even before Nihilism, they had already come under the influence of the French theatre, philosophy, and literature. But the Jewish youth, hailing from *the* petty bourgeois class, remained completely untouched by these outside cultural forces.

Therefore, Nihilism was a doubly contributing factor in the intellectual development of the educated Jewish youth^s who began to acquire their secular training in the large cities. How could they remain immune to the prevailing philosophy of the day!

While the Jews were greatly influenced by the Nihilistic movement, they, on the other hand, contributed nothing novel to it, nor did they display in the movement unique initiative and originality. They only quickly and easily adopted the formulated ideology and outlook of the non-Jewish Nihilists.

This conclusion is reached by Deutsch on the basis of his knowledge of the literature of that period as well as on the basis of his own personal observations.⁵⁶

A deep influence ^{exercised} did Nihilism also exert upon the students in the Yeshiboth. The youths who were engrossed in the folios of the Talmud were quite susceptible to the new trend. Sometimes, two or three conversations between them and a Nihilist led to the philosophic conversion of the young Talmudists. Thus the Yeshibah students would transfer their enthusiasm, devotion, and brilliance of mind from the Hebraic studies to the new cultural adventure. Nihilism had a great fascination for them. Its intellectual content was in tune with their methods of reasoning; and their old tricks of casuistics fitted in with the new subject matter. In other words, this philosophic movement gave them a new but more interesting channel for Pilpul.

only that??

To illustrate the strong influence Nihilism exerted on the Talmudic students we can bring the case of the Volozhin Yeshibah, which was closed by the government on the grounds that the students were connected with the Nihilistic movement.⁵⁷ The charge of Nihilism, however, might have been false. Generally, the Yeshibah represented a very conservative school of Talmud. The head of it was the old scholar-pietist, Naphtali Zebi Judah Berlin, who could hardly be suspected of permitting revolutionary activity. The conservatism of the school can be seen from the fact that the Maskilim attacked it "as being an obstacle in the way of general education to the rising generation." What probably happened is that some of the students read Nihilistic writings and became radically inclined.

It is interesting that no serious clashes and conflicts took place between the Jewish parents and children as a result of Nihilistic influences. Such conflicts occurred quite often⁵⁸ among non-Jews. When the children were engaged merely in philosophic speculation and radical thought the parents did not object. But later when the young people became underground revolutionaries hunted by the police the parents did become alarmed. Indeed, in the course of ten or fifteen years Nihilism influenced to a large extent the thought and the human relationships of people and of family life in Russia. It led to the emancipation of the women in Russia, and it led to the progress of a society which slowly began to resemble the standards of Western Europe.

The most eloquent exponent of Nihilism was D. Pisariev;
other renowned Nihilists were Dobrolubov and Czernyshevski.
These three gave impetus to radical journalism in Russia. An-
other radical journalist was the editor of Kolokol, Alexander
Herzen, who seems to have had Jewish blood in his veins. Of
these editors, the fate of Herzen was the most insecure.

Naturally, the writings of Pisariev, Dobrolubov, Czerny-
shevski, Herzen and the others created a deep impression upon
the Jewish youths who gradually made their way into the secular
schools. From the university cities Nihilism spread to the
provincial communities, and even there it found adherents among
the Jews. This intellectual stimulus only provoked the in-
satiable hunger of the Jewish students. It created in them a
receptive mood for new and more progressive ideas from the
Western lands. Nihilism revolutionized their thinking. And
thought lead to deed. From social philosophy they entered the
field of social action. They leaped one step ahead of Nihil-
ism; they became revolutionaries. And herein lies the contri-
bution of Nihilism both to the Russian and Jewish revolution-
ary movements. It nursed, so to speak, a generation of intel-
lectual revolutionists, many of whom were Jews. It is under its
influence and in this particular period that there were planted
the seeds of an active Jewish participation in the radical
cause. The sprouts grew up in the seventies.

part of the idea

9. "Chaikovtzy" -- the Role of Mark Nathanson.

At the close of the sixties there existed in St. Petersburg a small Circle of closely knit workers from the intelligentsia whose purpose it was to disseminate among students the writings of La Salle, Buckle, Flerovsky, Mirtov, et al. This group used to buy large quantities of books and was even instrumental in having certain publishing houses print books of interest to them. One of the most talented, promising, and active members of this Circle was Mark Nathanson, a 20-year old youth who was soon arrested and, without a trial, exiled to the remote North-
(ern-European Russia.

If not the first, Nathanson was one of the first Jewish students to suffer imprisonment and exile for the revolutionary act of purchasing and disseminating radical literature.

From this intellectual Circle in St. Petersburg there⁶⁵ was born the famous organization, Chaikovtzy. They ceased being satisfied with the dissemination of literature and decided to carry on a propaganda among the workers in the factories and in the shops. This organization attracted the most talented men and women of that time, not only in the revolutionary, but also in the various scholarly fields. Among them was the great⁶⁶ Sophie Perovskaya, Clementz,⁶⁷ Kravchinski, Shisko, Sinegub, Kropotkin, and Charushin. To the same group also belonged the gifted 19 year old Kupryanov, who was done away with by the⁶⁸ gendarmes and prosecutors of the famous "Trial of 193."

This organization attracted also a few Jews, but none of them can be compared in importance, talent, and execution of duty to the above mentioned non-Jewish members. The only exception was Mark Andreyevich Nathanson. He was one of the outstanding and active Jewish revolutionaries of the seventies. For a time he occupied a most enviable reputation even among the best known revolutionaries. Through his efforts there came into being the secret society, Chaikovtzy, and also the Zemlya i Volya. He had many followers, nicknamed Nathansonovtzy. He was arrested in 1877, and was imprisoned in Petropavloski Fortress. Banished to Siberia, he acquired popularity even there. His greatest contributions to the revolutionary movement are not his latter-day activities but his accomplishments during the seventies.

There existed a Chaikovtzy Circle at the University of Moscow in the beginning of the seventies. To that Circle Jews were already admitted.⁷⁰ Jews were found in the Circles of Kiev,⁷¹ Odessa and other cities but, as in the other organizations, the Jewish members, with very few exceptions, played an unimportant role. What is more, during this particular period many of the Circles had no Jewish members at all. Typically, of a membership of over a dozen one or two Jews might be found.

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10. "Going to the People" Movement.

Besides the Chaikovtzy Circles there arose all over Russia analogous organizations with similar and additional purposes, one of which was to carry on agitational work among the peasants on the basis of their needs, wants, and aspirations. The progressive Russian youth developed the idea of bringing to the ignorant masses enlightenment and of awakening in them a spirit of rebellion against the existing order.

It was during this period (1873-1876) that in Russia there became popular the historic movement known as Narodni-⁷³chestwo or Khozhdynie v Narod, "The Going to the People." By Narod ("The People") were really meant the peasants. The adherents of the movement were "Folkists" or "Populists." Since the emphasis was on the peasant class, these Narodniks⁷⁴ might be called "Peasantists."

One thing was clear: the peasantry was the goal of revolutionary propaganda. All youthful energies were dedicated to the muzhiks. They formed the bulk of the Russian population. Of course, there was no Jewish peasantry, just as there was no Jewish military. A Jewish muzhik was as strange as a Jewish count. In this period, therefore, the Jewish masses were not considered fertile soil for revolutionary propaganda.

The revolutionary scene was still not set for Jewish actors. Nor was the young Jewish student yet equipped to act

*When Jewish peasant
a very poor one.
relatively poor*

on the revolutionary stage. To "go to the people," i.e. the peasant, one had to understand the peasant and speak his native dialect. The Jewish student as yet could meet neither of these requirements. The position of the young Jewish intellectuals who were attracted to the revolutionary drama was, therefore, a dilemmatic one. He was not at home among his own devout, becloistered, and timid people; and he was equally not at home among the peasants upon whom he longed to practice his revolutionary skill, as the non-Jewish agitators were doing.

Therefore, the participation of the Jews in the Narodni-
chestwo movement, that made much headway in the second half of the seventies, had to be comparatively small. Among the great
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leaders, we only find famous Russian names: Plekhanov, Kab-
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litz, Sophia Bardina, Debagory-Mokrievich, Stephanovich, M.
Popov, Ivan Drobyazgin, A. Mikhailov, J. Bogdanovich, and
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others. Neither among the theoreticians nor among the prac-
tical workers do we discover Jewish names of importance. How-
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ever, Lev Grigorevich Deutsch, to whom we are indebted for
much information in this chapter, can be considered an excep-
tion to this statement. He was one of the outstanding Narod-
niky-Propagandists, whose memoirs and historical sketches are
as valuable to the student of the revolutionary movement as his
activities and exploits were valuable to the struggle against
81
the Russian autocracy.

There were also a few other Jewish revolutionists in the seventies. In fact, this decade witnessed a considerable growth of Jewish revolutionary discipleship. Influenced by secular knowledge and by the radical literature of the day, Jewish students joined the Russian socialist-revolutionary movement. Almost simultaneously, as we shall see, there began in the seventies the socialist movement among the Jews. Progress had to be slow. The intellectual atmosphere was still permeated by centuries-old theological and political doctrines. Only those who attended the secondary and higher institutions of learning were prepared to embrace socialistic and revolutionary ideas. To these "chosen few" also belonged a small number of Jewish youths. And out of this small number, a few single individuals began to concentrate their efforts on the revolutionization of the Jews. All the others "went to the people."

To become an outstanding propagandist and to be successful in the mission of the "going to the people" movement, a person had to possess diverse talents and unique qualifications. These talents and qualifications most of the Jews hardly possessed and could not quickly acquire.

One had to possess a mastery of the Russian language, particularly the idioms and the local colloquialisms of the peasants. One had to have a complete understanding of the psychology of the village-dweller and had to possess an intuitive ap-

Handwritten note in left margin:
"The Jewish revolutionists were not only Jews but also Russians."

proach to the soul of the muzhik. One had to have both the appearance and the mannerisms of the simple folk. One had to have a knowledge of agriculture, of pastoral ways and of the domestic life of the rustic, which required a certain physical strength and endurance. Such well-qualified persons were only found among the sons of landowners, Cossacks, ecclesiasts who from childhood on had lived on the soil. And often even gymnasium and college students would on summer vacations return to their agricultural milieu and thus retain their contact with the village life. Naturally, few Jews, if any, possessed these qualifications and came from such environments. Even among the non-Jews there were few who possessed a combination of all those prerequisites, and those few ~~who~~ did won fame and success in their revolutionary endeavors. What student of the movement does not know of Rogachev, Klementz, Ivanchin-Pisaryev, Katerina Breshko-Breshkovskaya and the others of the same ⁸² ilk?

As city-dwellers and as members of a class which lived amid excruciating physical conditions, poverty and need, the Jewish revolutionaries were corporeally weak and utterly unprepared for any muscular activities. Therefore, many of the Jewish students who joined the movement of "Going to the People" experienced failure and discouragement. And many of the limited number had to go to the people in the capacity of feldscher ⁸³ ⁸⁴ (army-surgeon), as Aptekman, Khotinsky and others did.

Among the city-dwellers, the intelligentsia, and partially among the artisans and workingmen, the Jews did display ability

in their revolutionary propaganda. They were particularly of great service in the organizational work of the Circles, especially in securing necessary backing, funds, documents, in the establishing of printing presses, in transporting fleeing revolutionaries across borders, in disseminating forbidden literature, etc. Among these, most outstanding were: Mark Nathanson and Aaron Zundeleovich, about whom we shall have occasion to write at length elsewhere in this study.

Because of the limited knowledge of the young Jews of the habits and tastes of the Russian people they could not at that time be authors of a much-needed propaganda literature.

Deutsch makes the statement that as far as he can recall, neither during the epoch of "Going to the People" nor during the epoch of terrorism that followed was there a single popular⁸⁵ author or orator among the Jewish revolutionists. P. B. Axelrod was an important Jewish writer during the seventies, but he published his works either in the legitimate Russian periodicals or in foreign magazines which did not circulate in Russia, and, besides, his writings were not of a popular, but of a critical nature.

11. "The Will of the People."

The revolutionary thought and activity of the seventies were controlled and motivated by two opposing schools. One was headed by the former professor of the Academy of Artillery, Col.⁸⁶ Peter Lavrovich Lavrov, and the other, by the well-known⁸⁷ apostle of Anarchism, Michael Bakunin. The former, as the exponent of a program for a pacifistic, evolutionary dissemination of socialistic ideals, believed in the realization of these ideals, through the education of the peasants, in the days to come. The latter, on the other hand, urged the youthful generation to arouse the people to "a bloody struggle," to uprisings and demonstrations.

Therefore, the followers of Lavrov were mostly pacifistic, conservative socialist-propagandists, and the followers of Bakunin were extreme and most decisive fighters.

The majority of Jews joined the ranks of Lavrov, and only in later years did some of them become Bakuninists. Among the Lavrists (or Lavrovists) were the more or less important Jews,⁸⁸ Solomon Chudnovsky and Dr. Leb Ginsburg, who subsequently was lost to the movement. Among the small number of Jewish Bakuninists the very important revolutionary leader, Paul Boris-⁸⁹ovich Axelrod and the youthful Moisei Rabinowitz⁹⁰ should be mentioned.

Both -- the philosophy of Lavrov and the philosophy of Bakunin -- were contained in that of the revolutionary Narod-

vague

nichestwo. Neither unity nor uniformity was the characteristic of the movement of the period. It was inevitable for the revolutionary camp to split into distinct parties and sections. The organization Zemlya i Volya (Land and Freedom) underwent such⁹¹ a split.

It is with the organization and vigorous activities of⁹² the Narodnaya Volya (Party of the Will of the People) that there was brought about a synthesis of the two prevalent philosophies: Bakuninism and Lavrovism. The Narodnaya Volya embraced both⁹³ currents, and represented a diversity of revolutionary types.⁹⁴ Among them were the revolutionists Narodovoltzy who were inclined toward socialist propaganda; and also the extremists-Terrorists who, as the name implies, engaged in acts of terror and bloodshed. We now pass to a discussion of the latter group with particular reference to the role the Jews played in it.

12. Terror.

Revolutionary, [†]Terroristic acts in Russia were not novel phenomena. But it was not until the eventful occurrence in 1878 that Terrorism became the popular, revolutionary weapon against the ruling autocracy. On January 24, 1878⁹⁵ the young, heroic Vera Ivanovna Zasulich shot at Trepov, the chief of police in St. Petersburg.⁹⁶ This dramatic exploit served as an impetus and model for other revolutionaries. They were impatient. The "Going to the People" movement accomplished little. The brave Narodnaya Volya also failed to overthrow czarism. Were they to remain cowed and silenced? The revolutionary spirit was burning within too many hearts for that. So they launched upon the political phase of their movement, and⁹⁷ opened a new chapter: the daring acts of Terrorists.

Here, too, as in the previous revolutionary channels,⁹⁸ the Jews displayed a limited capacity. From the end of the seventies to the close of the eighties, only ten or twelve Jews could be identified with Terroristic acts. They must in-⁹⁹clude the names of Israel Gobst, Zundeleovich, Gregory Goldenberg, Vittenberg, Christina Greenberg, Rosa Grossman, Hesia Helfman, Aronchik, Molodevski, and the Brothers Zlatopolski. But none of them possessed the abilities or enjoyed the high reputation of such a theoretician of terror as Lev Tikhomirov,

nor of the practical organizers, such as A. Mikhailov, A.
100
Kvyatkovski, Zhelyabov, Vera Figner, and Sophia Perovskaya,
101
all non-Jews.

The only Jewish practical worker, who was outstanding among the Terrorists, was Aaron Zundeleovich, but he was arrested at the very beginning of the party Narodnaya Volya which made it impossible for him to distinguish himself in those serious Terroristic plans directed against Alexander II.

In the category of daring heroes there might also belong the name of Gregory Goldenberg, who killed Governor Kropotkin, were it not for the fact that after his arrest he disclosed to the authorities the names and secrets of the underground revo-
102
lutionary organization.

But all these Terrorists are eclipsed/^{by}two Jewish heroes who won renown in the later stages of revolutionary progress:
103 104
Hirsch Leckert and Gregory Gershuni.

Terrorism as a method and a system was utilized in Russia's struggle for freedom up to the October Revolution. But this leads to a period beyond the limits of this study. Thus far, an attempt has been made to trace the background of the revolutionary movement from the Dyekabrists to the Terrorists, and to describe the role of the Jewish revolutionists in these movements, and to account for the limited participation of Jews in the early struggles against czarism. And now arises the question: what actuated the limited group of Jewish radicals

and intellectuals to join the Russian movements for liberation?
What made them become estranged from their own people and look
askance even at the possibility of an organized revolutionary
or labor movement among the Jews? This particular problem is
the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER II.

ENTER THE JEWISH REVOLUTIONIST.

1. External Influences.

Three major factors played their part in the rise of the Jewish revolutionist: the influence of external forces, the dissatisfaction with the economic structure of Jewish life, and the new attitude towards the Jewish religion. These three factors led to the estrangement of the young revolution-minded generation from their people.

It has already been shown in the previous pages how the Jewish student became imbued with the revolutionary spirit in the secondary and higher institutions of learning and how he gradually was absorbed into the general revolutionary movements. In the outside world, away from his people, he first greeted the challenge. From the outside world also did the revolutionary spirit penetrate into the Yeshibah walls.

Indeed, socialistic, revolutionary values were brought into the Jewish camp from outside. The Jewish socialistic intelligentsia were influenced by Western European ideas and by Russian literature. They derived their spiritual sustenance in the struggle for freedom from strange soil. The revolutionary tendencies did not grow up organically in the traditional setting of Jewish life; they were transplanted from the non-Jewish world. In ideology and program there was nothing distinctively Jewish in the revolutionary movements. When the revolutionization of the Jewish masses began, the path of

Russian and Western European systems was followed. Only in the sphere of organization and revolutionary life-approach was there evident a tie of unity and of contact with the organic, deeply-rooted folk-tradition of the people.

The young Jewish intellectuals, as individuals of a much higher average of intelligence than any other element, were particularly susceptible to the writings of Pisaryev, Dobrolubov, Chernishevski, Zaitzev and the others. From these authors they learned to look upon the world through Western European eyes. Through them they became imbued with the ideal of working for the amelioration and liberation of the helpless Russian masses.

All that the Jewish revolutionist knew about the Russian peasants and workingmen he learned from books and periodicals. Therefore, in the early stages of groping, revolution to the young Jews was an academic and intellectual, rather than a practical or political problem.

With very few exceptions, the participants in the early revolutionary movements began their activities upon an innocuous, cultural, enlightening basis, and only as a result of government persecution and police intervention, were they forced to go underground and to strengthen their secret anti-government policy. These first Jewish revolutionists were naive enthusiasts, neurotic idealists, pilpulists, physically underdeveloped youths. Like the early gentile revolutionists, they were peaceful dreamers of a better world, builders of castles

whom the police made conscious of their power and forced them upon a merciless, bloody path. It is possible that the gendarmes were more responsible for the numerical growth of the anti-government forces than were the literary propagandists. How could the thinking people remain calm and indifferent when mere youths were banished to Siberia, tortured in dank cells, driven to suicide and insanity. Says one observer: "It was not until the authorities had shot or hanged several innocent men that the Nihilists inaugurated the 'Terror' as a means of self-defence as well as with a view to demoralizing the government.²"

Palpable evidence of how the police made revolutionaries is the case of Hayim Novakovski and his wife. Together they suffered imprisonment, Siberian exile and hard labor for casually participating in the famous demonstration on Kazan³ Place in St. Petersburg. Another excellent illustration⁴ is the lot of the revolutionist, Alexander Bibergal.

2. The Economic Factor.

The economic status of the Russian Jews, even much more than the external influences, created in the Jewish revolutionist a spirit of rebellion -- and contempt -- against his own people.

The Jewish masses in Russia were unorganized. They were not party conscious. The artisans, the petty traders and storekeepers were pious folk who followed the traditions of Judaism, remaining quite indifferent to the philosophies, the politics, the economic theories of the day. The Jewish workman in the small artisan workshop could not be differentiated and pitted against his master either on the basis of his economic status or on the basis of class-consciousness, for the interests of both these "classes" were closely interwoven and the economic gap between them was not very great. Hence, the Jewish artisans were not fertile soil for socialistic propaganda.

Because of its numerical strength, the Russian working class was of greater interest. In fact, in later years this class of native Russian workers became the main object of propaganda. Yet, much stronger than the abstract love for the working class was the contempt of the Jewish revolutionist for all Jewish elements engaged in unproductive pursuits. Eventually, the Jewish revolutionists did find it possible to evangel-

ize among the Jewish artisans, but to the Jewish bourgeoisie they could not become reconciled. To them usury, money-changing and other commercial pursuits in which many Jews were engaged constituted the worst possible parasitism, something to be extirpated by the social revolution. Such a conception was enough to sentence the entire Russian Jewry to extinction and to remove them from the sphere of revolutionary interest.

Indeed, the Jew was largely an unproductive member of society, a luftmensch, a middleman. Collectively, the Jews were neither village peasants nor city workingmen. The revolutionist who absorbed the socialistic, "populist" ideologies looked down upon the people from whose midst he sprang. The following statement from revolutionary correspondence reveals his attitude toward the economic position of the Jew:

"I am a Jew, but I seldom saw Jewish workingmen. The Russian Jews worry only about profits, and for money they are ready to sell anything, even honor. It does not pay to waste strength on them. In Germany, for example, the Jews participate in election campaigns, but in Russia where political occupation demands sacrifice, the Jews prove of little use. Perhaps in the sphere of underground transportation, or in the securing of passports and hiding places -- for such things they are of some use, but only if they are paid in cash."

Jewish life, as it existed, repelled the radical youth. In their native milieu, they found no welcome for the revolu-

tionary ideas. The program of the Narodniks appealed to the Jewish intelligentsia. The attractiveness of the new philosophy was as strong as the repulsion of the old ways of Judaism. And both forces contributed to the alientation of the revolutionist from the Jewish body politic.

Revolutionary Russia's gain was Jewry's loss, for the first youthful spirits left the Jewish group without even attempting to disseminate socialistic ideas in their immediate environment. As we know the decision, idti v narod, "to go to the people," really meant to go among the peasants. To the Jewish revolutionary it meant first of all to go away from his own people. Without much thought he shook off from his feet the dust of the Jewish ghetto with all its wounds and sorrows, poverty and ignorance. If, by force of circumstances, he had to remain within the Jewish group, the juxtaposition was only physical, not spiritual. Along with a few others like him, he represented a small intellectual bloc unintegrated into his immediate surroundings. In the eyes of the scornful revolutionary, the economic structure and ways of his people were degrading and worthless. Nor could he see anything exalting in their religion.

3. The Religious Factor.

The prevailing attitude of present-day radicals towards religion is well known. The early Jewish revolutionists were already antagonistic toward Judaism. They developed an extreme antipathy and aversion for every manifestation of organized religious life. Theirs was an almost fanatical atheism.⁸

Religion was to them a stumbling block on the path to enlightenment. Religion was the symbol of all backward and conservative forces. It fettered them. And to turn against religion also meant to turn against the government. Their pious forbears had tried to guard this generation of young Jews from everything secular and worldly. True, the Haskalah did kindle a new light; but the Maskilim were satisfied with a mere revaluation of values, with a critique of customs, with a rational explanation of the Text, and with a harmonization of secular knowledge and religious beliefs. But for the radical Jewish youth, there could be no compromise; and the alternative was antagonism. There was no place in the realities of Jewish life for his new socialistic credo.

The result was that many of them acquired an extremely bitter and venomous attitude toward their people, and began to view traditional Judaism in the same way that the author of the slogan, Ecrassez l'Infame looked upon Catholicism. With the zeal of youthful neophytes suddenly freed from the chains

of the old world, they were apt to see in that old world only the chains which had to be destroyed and ridiculed mercilessly.

In the later writings of the men who in the seventies represented the typical radical Jewish youth we discover how strong was the antipathy towards Judaism. In his reminiscences, Morris Vinchevski ("Benedict") says: "In my own case, and not only in my own case, atheism and hatred of any faith acquired at that time the nature of true fanaticism. Whenever I passed by a synagogue whence were heard sounds of prayer or the study of Talmud, I used to gnash my ^{teeth} death in irritation. It was my greatest pleasure to prove that the Bible was not written by Moses, that Joshua did not stop the sun, that King David was a horrible man, and that his son Solomon was a fool, etc."⁹

The conflicting attitudes toward religion on the part of the conservative and radical groups accelerated the estrangement of the young revolutionists from their people. The conflict was marked by much enmity and misunderstanding. The revolutionary youth became an isolated, aloof group which looked contemptuously upon the "dark masses." The Jew had no justification for a separate existence, thought he; and so he became an assimilationist.

4. Assimilation.

The idea of Jewish segregation and Jewish separation was abhorrent to most of the Jewish revolutionaries. As university students abroad, as intellectuals who partook of the life in the larger Russian cities, they mingled with their non-Jewish comrades freely. The socialist cause brought them together.

The revolutionary cause eclipsed the "Jewish Problem." Through revolution the Jewish "question" would be answered. The new social order would solve the nationality issue. With the liberation of Russia would also come the liberation of the Jew in Russia. Therefore, they emphasized as little as possible the Jewish angle. Indeed, to some of these Jewish revolutionaries there was nothing Jewish about them except the accident of birth.

As outspoken freethinkers, they naturally had no affiliation with the Synagogue. They became exponents of a social philosophy that drew no nationalistic boundaries or racial distinctions. As they engrossed themselves more and more seriously in the challenge of their revolutionary cause, they grew more and more estranged from their own people. They ignored the uniquely painful position of the Jews in Russia. They were only interested in the universal values and aspirations which occupied the minds of the progressive thinkers of

that epoch. They too, dreamt of that era when opportunity and enlightenment would be the portion of all.

Of course, they fully realized that such a social order was far away. In the meantime, they nursed the thought that man must share with others his cultural as well as his material possessions. Thus, if he is a physician, he should without remuneration heal the sick, and if he is an attorney, he must defend his clients gratis.

These aspirations could not be controlled by government prohibitions. The Jewish youths, imitating their non-Jewish comrades, also organized free schools and other institutions which would help in some way the underprivileged masses. In these cultural and humanitarian endeavors they completely neglected the distinctly Jewish predicament of a people from whose midst they sprang. Of course, their endeavors were to benefit all classes of society, but their scope of influence embraced largely centers outside of the heavily populated Jewish sections.

How sadly the Jewish revolutionists must have felt when they read Alexander Herzen's statement that "the muzhik is the man of the future in Russia."¹⁰ The Jew was not a muzhik. Alas, the Jew had no future!

Wrote Vinchevski in his reminiscences: "We were all Narodniks, and the peasants were our brothers."¹¹

The possibility of a distinct Jewish revolutionary party was, therefore, remote and almost inconceivable. The same Jew-

ish revolutionary leader might carry on his propaganda one year among non-Jewish workers, and, the following year, among Jewish workers. It all depended upon the particular place of residence. The hope of the Jewish socialist who worked among the Jewish masses was to prepare the Jewish workers for membership in the general revolutionary movement, to assimilate them with the non-Jewish comrades -- so that together they might labor for the cause of freedom.

Lev Deutsch tells in his reminiscences that everything that united the Jewish masses into one people seemed strange and ridiculous to the Jewish revolutionists; everything Jewish created in them a feeling of repulsion and contempt. "In short," says Deutsch, "being completely assimilated with the non-Jewish population, it was our wish that the Jewish masses also assimilate quickly."¹²

There were two intellectual types of early Jewish revolutionaries: the one educated in the cheder, Yeshibah, and the modernized Vilna Rabbinical School; and the one educated in the gymnasium and in a Russian or foreign university. Naturally, the latter felt more at ease among his non-Jewish colleagues. But the former who hailed from the traditional, pious atmosphere of the ghetto home, still retained at least psychologically a certain Jewish attachment, in spite of the fact that in his revolt against the Jewish past he strove to alienate himself completely from Jewish life, or at least from

the Jewish religion. The assimilationist attitude of the early Jewish revolutionaries is particularly well illustrated in a letter written by the famous Aaron Zundeleovich;¹³

"To all of us Judaism as a national organism did not constitute a phenomenon worthy of support. It seemed to us that the Jewish nationality had no raison d'etre. Religion -- the chief tie which unites the Jews into one whole -- appeared to us as an absolutely retrogressive factor. A distinct government the Jews do not possess. There remains the language. But Hebrew we consider as belonging completely to the realm of philology, and the desire to resurrect this archaic language, to make it a language for the use of modern men evoked among us the same unanimous condemnation which was evoked in the educated Russian society when Tolstoy attempted to graft into Russia the Latin and Greek languages. As far as the jargon was concerned, it was our opinion that the more the Jews would acquire a European education the more it would be replaced by one of the better developed languages of the larger Christian nations -- primarily by the Russian language. It seemed to us that the Jews had no common national interests, that there were only many similar interests of human beings who constituted Jewry, interests such as the desire to attain equality, to open a way to European culture and to participate in the work of the other peoples constituting the Russian population, in the work of changing the social order upon the

not a law

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basis of the universal ideals of goodness and equity."

Thus "the human beings constituting Jewry" were to become merely "members of humanity." To the Jewish revolutionaries, the masses which continued to adhere to Judaism represented a negative and undesirable remnant of the past, which, for the sake of humanity's ideals, must disappear.

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"We are not Jews, we are Jewish-speaking socialists," proclaimed a radical leader in the later period of revolutionary thought. But this statement was equally applicable to the revolutionists' state of mind in the beginning of the movement among the Jews. In its incipient stages it was an assimilationist movement.

CHAPTER III.

EARLY CONFLICTS BETWEEN CAPITAL AND LABOR.

Radicalism was a late phenomena in Russian Jewish life. The revolutionary idea did not shape itself into an organized mass movement until late in the nineteenth century. Still we cannot say that the class struggle has begun with the secret, underground revolutionary Circles. For there are evidences of much earlier class conflicts recorded in the community ¹
Pinkosim (Record Books).

But these conflicts were not of a revolutionary or radical nature. They exerted no particular influence on the unorganized Jewish masses. They were not "class conflicts" in the modern sense of the term. Here and there outbursts of antagonism occurred between the Kahal, which gradually began to represent an aristocracy of wealth and of blood, and the impoverished masses to which belonged the tailors, cobblers, ²
carpenters and artisans.

These sporadic outburststs were prompted, for example, by such petty demands as the right of the workingmen to wear skull-caps, fur caps (Yarmolkes and Streimelech) and other ³
articles of dress which only the higher bourgeoisie wore. Such early manifestations of class distinctions in the impending class struggle among the Jews were already found even before and during the reign of Empress Catherine II (1762-1796), of Alexander the First (1801-1825), of Nicholas the First (1825-1855), and during the reign of Alexander the Second (1855-

Immigrant League

1881), in the fifties, the sixties and even in the seventies.⁴

Of whatever nature -- religious, social and even economic -- the conflicts between the Kahal leaders and the Jewish working masses might have been, they only show traces of a class struggle, and, indeed, nothing more than mere traces. During the few centuries preceding the period of an organized labor movement, the Jewish working class was not sharply distinguished from the other existing groups. The Jewish artisan could not yet possess a class consciousness, for his collective interests were interwoven with those of the other social and economic groups of the community. His was the psychology of a petty merchant or storekeeper. He was often a Baal Habaith, an owner of some movable and immovable property. He worked not only for his customers but also for the market, selling the products of his hands directly to the consumers.⁵

The economic conditions of the Jew made the existence of a class solidarity impossible, and class solidarity is a paramount requirement in the class struggle. The Jewish artisan did not yet fight the Jewish capitalist. Circumstances forced him to carry on a fight within his own class. It was a fight for livelihood and accumulation in the struggle for existence. The artisans could hardly notice capitalistic exploitation while they were groaning under the burden of

competition in their respective fields of work. They all competed for the patronage of the rich landlords and their peasants upon whom their economic survival depended. Thus competition and rivalry led not so much to a struggle of one class against another as to a struggle within the classes themselves.⁶

But it was inevitable for the Jewish working masses to become aware of the wide gap that yawned between them and the wealthy Jewish class. The Kahal leaders were confronted with the problem of taxation and conscription dictated to them by the government.⁷ Cupidity and self-preservation led them to take advantage of the powerlessness and poverty of the Jewish masses.⁸

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True the Kahals were abolished, but within the hearts of the downtrodden masses: the poor artisans and workers, there burned a deep hatred for their wealthy Jewish "bosses." Those were not yet days of revolutionary uprisings and of popular radical propaganda. Still, there is evidence that in the beginning of the forties of the past century a definite clash had already taken place in one community between capital and labor. In the year 1841 an attempt was made by the Jewish garment workers in the city of Minsk to organize an independent Hebra with their own Minyan; their express purpose, however, being to protect their interests against the employers. The Kahal interfered and forbade the workingmen to organize a

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separate Hebra.

This is the earliest attempt, so far known, of Jewish workers to organize themselves independently of the Baalei Bathim. We notice that this early attempt was made on the workers' own initiative, uninfluenced by socialistic propaganda.

Such manifestations of dissatisfaction were sporadic and may serve only as hints that the lot of the working people was quite tragic, if already in those days of religious piety and in the atmosphere of conservatism they dared to rebel in some way. But this movement on the part of the Minsk garment workers, and others like it, does indicate that Jewish labor organizations have earlier beginnings than it is generally assumed.

We find, for example, a Hebra of ladies' garment workers in Mohilev in 1864. This society did not only establish mutual loan and sick benefits, but also carried on a struggle for better treatment against the foremen. Naturally, these masters developed a great hatred for the organized workingmen and often reported them to the administrative authorities. As a result of these reports, the leaders of the Hebra had to suffer the persecution of the police. The result again of this was that strikes were engineered by the Hebra against the employers only very infrequently and those which were begun were limited in number of participants and ineffective in their outcome.

The majority of Jewish workers were employed in small shops. Therefore, the first attempts to organize the workingmen were made among the artisans and not in the large industrial factories.

In the days of the Mohilev "trade-unionism" the Jewish labor movement was sporadic. Even the conflicts between employees and employers were shortlived and unimportant. These early phenomena of radicalism belonged to the pre-historic period of the Jewish labor movement, because they display no class-consciousness and no purposeful organizational effort.¹²

Like any other Hebra of that time, the Mohilev Hebra of the ladies' garment workers was of a deeply religious character. It, for example, had in its possession a Sefer Torah and other religious paraphernalia. The only difference between this and the other existing Hebreth was that it barred admission to the Baalei Bathim. Many Hebras were at first organized for exclusive religious purposes. Gradually they began to embrace social and economic phases. In the early stages of its evolution, the Hebra contained both employers and employees.¹³ The breach took place particularly in those trades where a change from home to factory work became inevitable. In many cases, the employers themselves organized their exclusive society, forming an aristocracy which would not mingle with the lower stratum. Thus Jewish capital

and Jewish labor began to acquire the appearance of two opposing forces.

It was in the Hebroth that the Jewish workingman gradually developed his class-consciousness and thus was quite ripe for revolutionary participation and propaganda. Ideologically, the revolutionary Circles, about which we shall speak in detail later, differed greatly from the former workingmen's Hebroth; but psychologically, they were endowed with identical elements.

New events in the general history of Russia brought about new changes in the structure of Jewish society. During the "epoch of great reforms" introduced by Alexander II (1855-¹⁴1881), the economic and intellectual life of the Jew was changed radically. He began to acquire a secular education. He became exposed to radical thought. Assimilationist tendencies crept into Jewish life.

Economically, in some spheres, the Jew began to grow¹⁵ in power and influence. When Sebastopol fell (1854) capital-¹⁶ism in Russia was born. Railroads began to be built, and commercial enterprises were initiated; this called for the skill of the Jew.¹⁷ The Jewish middle class was strengthened and during this period we witness the rise of such Jewish millionaires as Poliakov, Warshavski, Ginsburg, Rosenberg, et al. We also witness the rise of an industrial Jewish proletariat and the deplorable economic system under which they had

to struggle for existence.

The Jews with a higher education, the Jewish merchants of the first guild, and the Jewish artisans with certain qualifications were permitted to settle outside of the Pale of Settlement. *from the Jewish Encyclopedia*

77 The acquisition of secular education and the growth of capitalism in Russia in general and within the Jewish group in particular played important roles in the nascent revolutionary movement. To this revolutionary movement the Jewish workingmen brought a heritage of sacrifice and solidarity. His life was rooted in those folk-traditions which unconsciously trained him for organizational discipline. The preparation took place in the old system of Hebra organizations to which the Jewish workingman belonged and in which he often displayed outbursts of strength even before the intelligentsia showered upon him revolutionary propaganda.

What then is the relationship of the Jewish revolutionary movement to the Jewish Labor movement? This question we attempt to answer in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT AND THE JEWISH LABOR MOVEMENT.

In this thesis we are not only concerned with the revolutionary movement among the Jews, but also with the Jewish labor movement. There is a close relationship between the two movements. The nature of that relationship is the object of our study in this chapter.

Revolutionary tendencies appeared in Jewish life even before the Jewish workingmen became conscious of their strength as a class. Without the revolutionary impetus there would have been no organized Jewish labor movement. In the beginning the two were not synonymous. Out of the political revolutionary propaganda was born the radical labor cause. From it, it received impetus and motivation. This holds true of the Russian as well as of the Jewish labor movement.

In a scientific study, Dr. Rubinow expresses this thought as follows: "This origin of the Jewish Labor movement in the socialist and revolutionary movement had very significant consequences, since it led to a close union of efforts; of the working masses to improve their economic condition; of the Jewish race in Russia to improve its legal standing, and of the revolutionary elements to introduce an entirely different form of government in the Russian Empire."¹

Unquestionably there were conflicts between capital and labor before the labor movement began, but those isolated con-

flicts did not represent an organized, class-conscious, Jewish proletariat. Organized Jewish labor was a later phenomena.

In fact, the Jewish labor movement in Russia was fifty years younger than the Russian labor movement. According to the investigation of the great economist Tugan-Baranowsky, there was a resemblance of a Russian labor movement in the beginning of the nineteenth century, and partially even in the eighteenth century.² On the other hand, the educational and intellectual standard of the Jewish artisans was immeasurably higher than that of the Russian workingmen.³

The Jewish revolutionary movement came first, and the Jewish labor movement followed. But without Jewish workingmen there would have been no labor movement. Therefore, it is interesting to note what the Jewish workingman possessed when the revolutionary cause began to play such a significant role in his life. Says one writer on the subject:

"To the new revolutionary movement the Jewish workingman brought the old Jewish traditions, the religious mood; he brought the religious fervor and enthusiasm which particularly distinguished the Jewish revolutionary workingman. The low-bent Jew who trembled before an epaulet, before any sign of officialdom, became a hero when at stake were not his material well-being, but his faith. The Jewish workingman would have never displayed so much courage and self-sacrifice if only material interests had been involved; if there also

had not been involved the Messianic path to a new Acharith
⁴
Hayomim."

As we have pointed out before, in the early stages of revolutionary agitation, emphasis was laid on proselytizing the peasant into the new ideas. The muzhik was regarded as the man of the future. The worker was indeed the forgotten man. But the disappointing results of the "Going to the People" movement and the example of successful labor movements in the West were two factors which combined to compel the revolutionists to promulgate a new philosophy which was epitomized by Plekhanov thus: "The revolutionary movement in Russia will either triumph as a labor movement, or it will
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not triumph at all." Thus attention was transferred from "the people" to the industrial proletariat. The socialist approach was now in the direction of wage-workers.

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Russia was always an industrially backward country. And only with the industrialization of Russia and with the growth of capitalism did the workingmen become the object of the new revolutionary propaganda.

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Naturally, this tendency also influenced the revolutionary activity of the Jewish national socialists. But it was very difficult to concentrate on the labor element in the Pale of Settlement. The so-called petty bourgeoisie formed the bulk of the population. And it was almost impossible to dis-
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tinguish them from the labor proletariat. Poverty and need

was their lot just as it was the lot of the Jewish working class.

By force of circumstances, therefore, the early revolutionary movement among the Jews had to appear and to develop in a narrow and limited scope. To the wide outside masses the early revolutionary attempts remained for some time unknown and unnoticed. And this carries us into the next field of research.

Having described the role of the Jew in the revolutionary movements, the early conflicts between capital and labor, and the relationship of revolutionary propaganda to the labor cause ^{the} in/previous chapters, we can now turn to a detailed study of the growth and organization of the Jewish revolutionary and the Jewish labor movements in Russia.

CHAPTER V.
THE SEVENTIES.

1. A Tale of Two Cities.

The seventies of the nineteenth century were years of revolutionary advance in Russia. Viewing the political setting in which the seeds of anti-government activity were planted, the years 1873-1878 appear epoch-making. It was a period when "Going to the People" grew into a popular and attractive movement among the social-revolutionary intelligentsia.

Their spiritual leader was Lavrov, the editor of Vpered (Forward) which was printed in London and circulated illegally in Russia.

Young students of both sexes put on peasant garb, learned a trade and settled among the Muzhiks; all in order to inoculate them with the germs of revolution. It proved to be a very virile bacillus. The contagion spread, as the revolutionary doctrines became more crystallized; and it gradually infected the city proletariat.

The strong "to the people" maelstrom attracted the educated Jewish youth. In a previous chapter it has been shown that during this period the Jewish revolutionaries-- although few in number -- began to build their careers of sacrifice and fame. True, these revolutionary figures -- Axelrod, Deutsch, Nathanson, Aptekman, Khotinski, Hesia Helfman and others -- joined the general Russian movement and were thus lost to the Jewish socialist cause. But they

hailed from the Jewish group; their heroic exploits became known and stimulated the activities of those radicals who remained among their own people. There were quite a few among the early Jewish revolutionists who had the Jewish masses at heart.

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It was inevitable, therefore, for a distinctively Jewish revolutionary² movement to begin. And it did begin in the seventies.

In this decade several attempts were made to create a socialist movement among the Jews. These attempts were sporadic in occurrence and unsuccessful in results. S. L. Zitron mentions three main centers of the early Jewish socialist movement: Vilna, Kiev, and Mohilev.³ H. Burgin alludes to the fact that attempts at labor organization were also made in the following cities: Kovno, Minsk, and Odessa.⁴ But of all these places only in two cities was great genius displayed in the organization of the Jewish revolutionary and labor forces: Vilna and Minsk. In the former, Jewish socialism began to flourish in the early seventies; in the latter, the movement began to acquire importance in the opening of the next decade. The revolutionization of the Jewish masses is a tale of these two cities. Vilna, in particular, proved to be the Mecca of the early Jewish socialists, the cradle of the Jewish Labor movement and the birthplace of the Bund. And because it occupies such a significant place in the history of the Jewish Proletariat, we proceed now to a detailed study of Vilna in its relationship to the evolution of the socialist ideal among the Jews in Russia.

2. Vilna -- the Birthplace of Jewish Socialism.

No wonder Vilna became the first Jewish socialist city in the Russian Empire! It was a historic community of many centuries. Out of it emerged a pulsating Jewish life. There the Haskalah built its center. There orthodoxy was deeply rooted. There the Mithnagdim organized their war against the Chasidim. There Zionism flourished. There the Gaon dwelled. Out of Vilna came forth Jewish genius and the teachings of revolution, too. It was truly a spiritual center of the Jews, the "mother-city in Israel,"⁵ the "Lithuanian Jerusalem."⁶

Vilna was indeed the ideal place for the rise and development of the socialistic philosophy among the Jews. It was a city heavily populated with Jews.⁷ Poverty, the lot of Russian Jewry in that era, was especially prevalent in Vilna. The Jewish masses groaned under the yoke of semi-starvation. Ultimately, their sad economic plight⁸ was to play into the hands of the revolutionary propagandists. As an intellectual center it harbored a Jewish intelligentsia which was quite susceptible to advanced ideas and revolutionary influences.

The activities of other persecuted nationalities made a deep impression upon the social revolutionary elements among the Jews. Vilna was also thickly populated with Poles. In fact, they and the⁹ Jews formed the bulk of the population. In the seventies the Polish patriots could not yet forget their insurrection of 1863, and the wounds inflicted upon them by Michael Muraviev were not yet

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healed. In spite of Muraviev's tyrannical method of persecution and system of Russianization, secret patriotic and revolutionary activities among the Poles still continued. The early Jewish socialists were not connected with the Polish revolutionary circles in Vilna. However, indirectly they were influenced by them. ¹¹ *for cryptic*

not clear
Above all, the growth of Jewish socialism in Vilna was due to the fact that the Rabbinical Seminary (later, the Teachers' Institute) was located there, an institution which attracted the most promising Jewish youths. ¹² This Rabbinical School was a center of the Haskalah movement, of free thinking and of revolutionary ideas. ¹³ Some of the students even belonged to the secret anti-government organizations among the Russian intelligentsia. In the days of the Rabbinical school the Jewish masses were completely ignored so far as revolutionary propaganda was concerned. Attention was particularly showered upon the students of this and other institutions of learning. And it was not by accident that the Vilna Rabbinical School became the hotbed of revolutionary activities. Many of the students were orphans or children of very poor parents. In the new atmosphere of the school they broke away from the old traditions. Such students were excellent material for the revolutionary propagandist. While the Jewish masses still clung to old habits and mores, the learned youths were eager to accept new ideas. They were willing to trade theology for revolutions.

It was inevitable for the Rabbinical School -- the most prominent, modern Yeshibah in Eastern Europe -- to be closed. It happened in 1873.¹⁴ But it was not done away with completely. It was rather converted into a Jewish Teachers' Institute.¹⁵

This normal school inherited a large portion of the student body as well as their revolutionary, anti-theological tendencies. It also inherited the government's strict watch and control. Thus official records show that in 1881-1882 the government authorities were about to close the institution. Upon the intervention of a group of Jewish leaders the action was checked.¹⁶ Interesting, on the other hand, are two petitions (of July and November, 1884) which asked for the discontinuance of the school because of the prevalent radical tendencies and atheism among the students. However, Sergeyevski, head of the Vilna educational districts, did not comply with the requests because he viewed the institution as a means of bringing about the assimilation of the Jews.¹⁷ Financially, the institute was not a burden to the government,¹⁸ but politically it proved to be on several occasions a source of much suspicion and irritation. Revolutionary influences deeply penetrated the walls; the activity of the students could be checked only temporarily; most of the time their secret endeavors were beyond the control of the authorities.

We are now ready to discuss the nature of the socialist propaganda and the exponents thereof in the Rabbinical School and Teachers' Institute.

3. Finkelstein and His Early Attempt.

The first one to initiate revolutionary propaganda was the student Yankel Abba Finkelstein. ¹⁹ Among his fellow-students at the Rabbinical School, he distinguished himself for his strong, independent character. The faculty thought little of him and caused him much trouble. He was often arrogant and presumptuous in his ways. It was charged, and correctly, that he left the building ²⁰ without permission. He even dared to absent himself from the morning services quite frequently. And for such behavior he was more than once penalized.

Once the Circuit Inspector Myslovski visited the school and suggested to the students the following subject for an essay: "The Spiritual Influence of the Rabbi." In his composition, Finkelstein used "impudent expressions, which revealed his disrespect for the ²¹ Christian and Jewish religions."

In 1872 he established in the Vilna Rabbinical School a library of forbidden, socialistic books. These books he used to lend to the students of the School and even to outside persons for a fee from fifty kopeks to five roubles; but usually he lent them out gratis. Some of the books he kept within the walls of the School and some in the home of his uncle.

An illegal library was not enough for Finkelstein. He also conceived the idea of organizing a large "educational society." Dur-

ing the official search of his room, there was found the by-laws²² of this organization.

He was in contact with the revolutionary Circles (Kruzhoks).in Moscow. This is proven by the fact that during the official investigation it was brought out that the library contained books sent to him from that city by Klachko, a student of the University of²³ Moscow. Finkelstein's activities in the Rabbinical school was of short duration. In the very same year (1872) when he started his underground circulating library, a vicious informer reported him to the school authorities. The Ministry of Public Enlightenment expelled him, depriving him the right to enter any military or public institution of learning. By the order of the governor-general of Vilna he was deported to his native city in the government of Suwalk where he was to remain under police surveillance.

Finkelstein, however, soon fled from Russia and for a while he was a student at the University of Koenigsberg. There too he was engaged in revolutionary propaganda, particularly in the transportation of forbidden literature. He did not stay very long in²⁴ one place. During his years of wandering he lived in Geneva, London,²⁵ Paris, and Berlin.

Finkelstein's activities in Vilna belong^{to} that period when revolutionary endeavors among the rabbinical students were still unorganized. We may term it as the pre-Kruzhok period. Finkelstein seems to have been a solitary voice, courageously attempting to

start a movement that was soon crushed. His first attempt failed. A serious inquiry concerning the underground library was begun. Of course, the authorities of the school had to please the government and as a way of self-preservation had to destroy all radical manifestations among the students. The school only responded to the general mood of officialdom.

We can then understand how courageous was Finkelstein and how much his activities must have disturbed the school masters.

4. The First Kruzhok.

When Finkelstein was expelled from the Rabbinical School and deported from Vilna, he left among the students a memory of heroism. As far as revolutionary organization was concerned, he left nothing. Propagandistic activities among the students ceased temporarily, and were renewed by another student, Aaron Zundeleovich, who was destined to occupy a very important place in Russia's revolutionary history.

Finkelstein was a rebel. Zundeleovich was a supreme organizer. The qualities of initiative and planning were his life-long contributions to the radical cause. Both Finkelstein and Zundeleovich and many others began their revolutionary activities in a Jewish milieu, in their immediate surroundings, among their fellow students.

If these sprouts were permitted to grow in their own soil, they would have continued to work among Jews. It was because they were expelled from the Jewish schools, because they were viewed with suspicion by their own people, that they became more and more estranged from the Jewish group and joined the general revolutionary movements. In foreign lands -- whither they fled -- they came in contact with revolutionaries and radical theoreticians whose socialistic ideas quite enthralled them.

There was nothing in their past that they could long for. They wanted to break away from the traditions and the fanaticism

of their homes and of the small, backward towns from which they came.

In spite of the fact that they worked sacrificially for the revolution and for the New Russia, some of them were often stirred by a nostalgic longing for Jewishness and for the past from which they broke away. The only exception in the early stages of socialism in Russia was Aaron Lieberman whom we shall discuss at greater length elsewhere, and, to a certain extent, also Aaron Zundeleovich.

Zundeleovich's life presents one of the most colorful revolutionary careers in the struggle for the freedom of Russia. Many sources are available for the study of his contributions. There is not an historian or memoirs-writer dealing with the revolutionary movement who does not record the achievements of Aaron Zundeleovich.

As pleasant as the task would be, it is not within our present sphere of investigation to evaluate the role of Zundeleovich in the general Russian revolutionary movement. ^{As for his Jewish endeavors,} this particular phase of his career belongs to his student days in the Vilna Rabbinical School until he left for St. Petersburg. As for his revolutionary exploits, the reader is referred to the material dealing with his career especially summarized in the Appendix of this thesis. ²⁶

Under the influence of Zundeleovich there was formed in Vilna a Kruzhok composed of members of the young Jewish intelligentsia. It is difficult to determine the exact date when the secret organ-

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ization came into being. It is equally difficult to determine the
exact number of persons who belonged to it. 28 Among these men
besides Zundeleovich himself were individuals who later won great
distinction in the revolutionary movements namely, Aaron Lieberman.
Vladimir Yokhelson, Leib Dawidowitz, Lev Semen, Weiner, and others.
The Vilna Kruzhok was composed mostly of students of the Rabbin-
ical School and the Teachers' Institute. Some were students in
the local gymnasium and the Realschule. The membership was not
permanent. People would join and leave. During the vacation
period when the students returned home the Circle would increase
in membership.

Meetings of the Circle were held almost daily in Zundeleovich's
residence. Forbidden literature was read and discussed. Plans were
formulated for the dissemination of socialist ideas. Through
29 Anna Mikhailovna Epstein, and also through Yevgeni Stepanovitch
30 Semyakovski the Vilna Kruzhok was in contact with the Circles in
St. Petersburg. From them Zundeleovich received the forbidden
literature and for them he acted as an agent in their transporta-
tion. As the leader of the group, Zundeleovich concentrated his
efforts on winning over new members for the Kruzhok. His first
propagandistic attempts, therefore, were among his fellow-students
and among the other Jewish intelligentsia. Capitalism was still
young in Russia, and a real proletarian class had not yet evolved.
The peasants were the "people"; they were indeed the goal of revo-
lutionary endeavors.

This tendency also influenced the Jewish Kruzhok in Vilna. According to Zundeleovich the aim of the Kruzhok as a whole was "to go among the people." As for the Jewish people, the young agitators arrived at no collective conclusion as to their "conversion." And none of the members gave any serious thought to revolutionary work among the Jews. The only exception was Aaron Lieberman whose views, however, "found no echo among the members of the Circle."

According to Lieberman's point of view, the revolutionary propaganda among the Jews was not only a means of developing additional new strength for the Russian revolutionary army but also a means of uplifting the national consciousness of Jewry, whose cultural-national trends he viewed as advanced factors in the evolution of higher humanity.³¹

In Chapter VI of this thesis we shall discuss in great detail the life and revolutionary career of Aaron Lieberman. Suffice it to state here that he was the father of Jewish socialism and one of the greatest pioneers in the revolutionary movement among the Jews in Russia. Unlike the other members of the Vilna Kruzhok, he believed in working among the Jewish masses. When he was forced to flee abroad he tried in fullest measure to live up to this idea.

Many disputes arose at the meetings of the Kruzhok with reference to the aims and purposes of the organization. Ideologically, the members were divided among themselves. They differed in

the interpretation of their cause. They differed, as we have seen, in the proper approach to the Jew. The result was that each one followed his own intellectual caprice. The Kruzhok, therefore, represented no definite party organization. The program was still in the process of formulation.

Most of the young groping socialists looked upon the Jewish people as a social phenomenon doomed to disappearance and disintegration. They cherished no love for their people, and could find no justification for their future existence. Jewish life to them suggested a life of emptiness and darkness. To their mind the Jews were parasites: merchants and middlemen, unfit for productive labor, and, therefore, poor material for the revolutionary cause. As has been indicated, Lieberman, and to some extent Zundeleovich too, did not wholly concur in this point of view. They knew that the Jewish masses lived by the sweat of their brows, that the Jewish masses did not belong to the class of parasites and exploiters, but rather to the class of the exploited and oppressed. With this picture in mind they tried to advocate in the early stages the dissemination of the socialist ideas among the Jewish masses. They were the first ones who made the effort to attract the Jewish masses ^{to socialism} and to make socialism attractive to the Jewish masses. This was something very novel. And it is in the originality of their approach to the revolutionary cause that their contribution lies. And it was with this aim in

mind that Zundeleovich organized the first Jewish Kruzhok. But Zundeleovich did not remain faithful to this revolutionary "particularism." Only a few years later he forsook the Jewish revolutionary cause, and with all his youthful energy threw himself into the general Russian movements. Lieberman retained his loyalty for the cause of Jewish socialism to the end of his days, and under his leadership other Jewish intellectuals grew to cherish the same ideal.

The intellectuals from secular universities knew the Russian language; those who hailed from the Yeshiboth knew Hebrew. But the Jewish masses mastered neither of these languages; they spoke Yiddish. This created a vexing problem. Already in the first Kruzhok the question came up in what language the propaganda literature was to be written. This naturally led to the next question for whom was the literature intended? the few or the many? the intellectuals or the masses?

Aaron Lieberman, the revolutionist, the ^{genu}nationalist-socialist, who exalted the Yeshiba Bochar, felt that the literature was to be created for the Jewish intellectuals, the students, so as to win them over ^{to} the revolutionary cause. Therefore, he advocated the Hebrew language of the Yeshibah. And, as we shall see later, the Jewish socialistic literature in the seventies was mostly written in Hebrew.

Zundeleovich, the assimilationist and cosmopolite, had in mind the oppressed masses, and the possibility of winning them for the universalistic revolutionary cause. Finally, they reconciled themselves to the jargon they despised, and advocated Yiddish, the language of the masses. They intended to produce a propagandistic literature in that language, but actually little was accomplished. In their heart of hearts they had hoped that the Jewish working masses would ultimately learn Russian and that the necessity for Yiddish would vanish altogether. The linguistic problem appeared to them a mere temporary issue.

According to Buchbinder, the members of the first Kruzhok³² dreamt of fruitful work among the "Jewish" masses. With regard to propaganda among the working masses, Zundeleovich relates the following:

"It seemed at that time that only by becoming a worker could one more conveniently and much more easily penetrate into the working class. For this reason, it was considered most important to master some trade..... We hired a Jewish shoemaker, who used to come for a few hours daily to mine or V. I. Yokhelson's residence at the outskirts of the city to teach us and two or three other comrades how to make shoes. At the same time, we made the effort to convert the teacher; however, our attempt was unsuccessful."

The spirit of these young revolutionists ran high. Their hopes were boundless. With all their exuberance, however, the first socialist Kruzhok in Vilna was short-lived.

5. The Downfall of the First Kruzhok.

In spite of all precautionary measures, the existence of the Kruzhok became known. Amidst the isolated life of the Jewish populace it was difficult to hide the secret activities. The restless behavior of the students of the Jewish Teachers' Institute began to attract the attention of the authorities. Yet, neither the Jewish community nor the faculty of the school took drastic action against the young radicals for fear that the non-Jews of the city might thus come to magnify the radicalism of the Jew. Therefore, silence was kept, and the few rebels remained the "black sheep" of the Jewish ghetto.

Soon, however, the police tracked the members of the revolutionary group. The Kruzhok was discovered under the following circumstances: Somebody reported to the director of the Vilna Teachers' Institute that illegal literature was being spread among the students. The members of the pedagogical council, among
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whom was Joshua Steinberg, undertook a special search among the
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students on the night of June 30, 1875. They examined the students' clothes, books, and notebooks. During this search they found in the possession of Zunser, a student of the first class, the following forbidden books: 1773-1873, in Commemoration of the Hundredth Anniversary of the Pugachev Rebellion, second edition, London. In the possession of Nahum Rabinowitz, a student of the
36
second class, they found the book Apostates.

When questioned the first time, Zunser stated that he had found the Pugachev brochure accidentally on the streets. Rabinowitz declared that he had purchased Apostates from a soldier in the market. At a second interrogation, they each gave different explanations altogether. Zunser told them that he had received the brochure from A. Zundeleovich whom he had chanced to meet the day before and who invited him to join the Circle wherein illegal literature was read and great reforms were discussed. Rabinowitz stated that he had his book from a fellow-student, Weiner. At first, Weiner insisted that it was a false accusation, but he soon confessed that he procured the book from A. Zundeleovich and then had passed it on to Rabinowitz. Weiner immediately regretted his confession. And, before the case was handed over to the police, he warned his friend about it. Both he and Zundeleovich fled at once.

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Lieberman and Yokhelson also disappeared. The other members of the Kruzhok remained unknown to the police department. The latter made every possible effort to apprehend Zundeleovich. His parents and a fifteen year old brother were arrested. Although the young boy displayed much courage, he chanced to mention during the questioning that his brother knew Aaron Lieberman.

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At three o'clock in the morning, the gendarmes raided the home of Lieberman's parents. Nothing dangerous was found. Yet, the peaceful family was continually persecuted for a long time after Lieberman's flight. Thus almost a year later there ap-

peared this open letter in Vperyod (No. 36): "To the Gendarme-General Losev of Vilna. Utterly in vain do you molest my relatives and acquaintances with your inquiries of my whereabouts. If you have something to take up with me, you may reach me either in person or by letter in care of the office of Vperyod, the address of which is printed in each issue. London 29/17 June. A. Lieberman.⁴⁰"

Punishment was meted out to all the students in whose possession forbidden literature was found. Weiner -- who fled -- was dismissed from the Institute in absentia, and the right to enter any other institute of learning was taken away from him. Zunser was incarcerated for twenty-four hours and was forbidden to leave the building of the Institution during the entire summer vacation up to the First of September. Rabinowitz was incarcerated for two weeks with the privilege of leaving the Building of the Institute only on Saturdays for three hours. For it, he had to apply each time for a special permit.

In addition, their misbehavior was recorded in the special journal of punishment and their scholastic standing was lowered⁴¹ by two points.

What was the effects of the police action upon the revolutionists themselves, and upon the Jewish community at large? Naturally, the police strictures of the young radicals weakened the numerical strength of the Kruzhok since such outstanding mem-

bers as Zundeleovich, Lieberman, Yokhelson and Weiner had to flee to foreign lands and others were arrested. But something of tremendous importance for the future of the Jewish radical movement took place just then. The uncovering of the secret radical group disturbed the monotony of the ghetto life. The activities and ideals of the Kruzhok were now popularly discussed. The Jewish community was awakened from its lethargy. The Jews became aware of a new problem. Some greeted radicalism with great hope; others, with agonizing despair. The uppermost question was, as usual, Ma Yomru Hagoyim -- "What will the gentiles say?" And they had true cause for alarm.

The head of the Vilna Police Department soon called in the representatives of the Rabbinate and of the laity, and shouted at them, "Until now we considered you Jews as pick-pockets, but from now on we shall also regard you as rebels!"⁴² The frightened Jewish delegates were requested to find a way of quelling⁴³ the radicalism of their youths.

In all the synagogues of Vilna there was read a manifesto composed by the city maggid. It was phrased in no uncertain terms. It took a definite stand against revolutionary propaganda. The radicals were described as undesirable, dangerous, and godless individuals who, by "renouncing God, also renounce the Czar, the divinely appointed and guided." An appeal was made to Jewish youths to abstain from reading forbidden books and to report

to the authorities those persons who were engaged in spreading such literature. The document ends with the request that parents should carefully watch the behavior of their sons and check their contacts with radical leaders and radical literature.⁴⁴

Neither the sermons preached in the synagogues nor the speeches delivered before the students at the Teachers' Institute by Sergievski, the Curator of the Vilna School District, brought about the desired end. The reaction that followed was contrary to all the pleadings.

The persecution instituted against them plus the sudden awareness of their own powers inspired in the Jewish youths a greater zeal for revolutionary activity.

Thus, the downfall of the first Kruzhok and the action against the radical students by the guardians of the state and by the guardians of Judaism, only intensified the revolutionary spirit.

For some time, no definite records were available on the nature and scope of the revolutionary period after the downfall of the first Kruzhok. This is Frumkin's complaint. But we are fortunate in possessing some data published by Buchbinder and others, which leads us to our next discussion.

6. Renewed Activity: the Role of Dawidowitz.

After the downfall of Zundeleovich's and Lieberman's Kruzhok, the revolutionary movement was soon renewed. This time it acquired a more organized form; it embraced a larger membership and spread to other cities.

In Vilna the revolutionary activity was continued by a member of the first Kruzhok, Leib Dawidowitz, who had saved himself from arrest. After the sensation caused by the discovery of revolutionary propaganda in the Teachers' Institute died down, Dawidowitz decided to renew the revolutionary propaganda. He succeeded not only to reorganize the Vilna Circle but also to create new ones ⁱⁿ Yeletz, government of Orlov, in Dvinsk, Minsk and Grodno and to fashion them into one organization. An attempt was also made to organize a Circle in Bialystok. Klachko, a member of the Vilna Circle, was entrusted with the undertaking. He made a special trip to that city, but his effort was in vain.

According to Frumkin, however, the revolutionary groups in other cities appeared independently of the Vilna organization. ⁴⁵ These groups were composed of young people whose radical and anti-religious views were flavored with the philosophy of Nihilism, of communism, etc. Affiliated neither with general Russian causes nor with related Jewish organizations, these "mushroom" circles would vanish unnoticed, producing at times, however, some personality who would suddenly appear in the forefront of the revolutionary movement.

The members of the reorganized Vilna Kruzhok were mostly students of the Vilna Teachers' Institute. Among them were A. Benzel, David Klachko, Leib Dawidowitz, Moses Wolfson, Miron Zundeleovich (Aaron Zundeleovich's brother), Isaiah Weiner, Rabinowitz-Chorny, and others. Among them were also about five or ⁴⁶ six young women.

We notice a small number of women in the early periods of revolutionary activities among the Jews in Russia. It was probably due to the fact that the women's rights and opportunities were limited. There were fewer girls in the institutions of learning where revolutionary ideas circulated, and, furthermore, girls were closely watched by their families.

There was close contact between the Kruzhoks in various cities. On several occasions Dawidowitz visited each circle individually. They also exchanged literature among themselves. They were especially close contact with the revolutionary Circles of St. Petersburg. This contact came through the famous propagandist, Stanislaw Bielski, a student of the Military Academy of ⁴⁷ Surgery, who used to supply them with books.

Most of the members of the Vilna Kruzhok were students of the Teachers' Institute. We can therefore assume that the membership of the Kruzhok was Jewish. In the other cities, however, the Circles organized by Dawidowtz had in their midst also non-Jews. For example, one of the leaders of the revolutionary

mt. 10/1/1911
Kruzhok in Dvinsk was the very interesting personality, Dmitri Pavlovich Belayev, onetime candidate for the priesthood in the ⁴⁸ Novgorod Theological Seminary.

The linguistic problem was already a source of much controversy in the early days of the first Kruzhok. Under Dawidowitzz the Kruzhok now decided to carry on the propaganda among the Jewish masses; they therefore chose Yiddish as the medium of their propaganda. Thus, when a search was made of Wolfson's room, there was found a manuscript in Yiddish, a translation of a propaganda pamphlet. Wolfson made the translation upon orders from Dawidowitz.

In this pamphlet was "described the sad plight of the Jews in Western Europe who groan under the heavy yoke of taxation and who, in the meantime, are being preached communistic and democratic ideas." ⁴⁹

In the meantime, intensive revolutionary activity was mostly carried on in intensive secrecy due to the disruptive effect which leakage of their activities had had upon the first Kruzhok. But not very long did the revolutionary youths enjoy the freedom of activity. They soon faced a definite crisis. March, 1876, proved a very memorable date.

7. The Crisis of 1876.

In 1876 the Jewish Circles saw their downfall, as a result of the activities of two Jewish informers who were police agents and who managed to become members of the Vilna Kruzhok. The downfall came when the Circles were teeming with revolutionary life; they increased in power and influence due to the efforts of the former members who had escaped from the claws of the police and of those revolutionary emigrants who in foreign countries kept up their contact with Russia.

The crisis was brought about by two Jewish agents of the Police: Mordecai Globus and Abraham Disler. ⁵⁰ Through them the police department learned in detail about the personnel and the activities of the Vilna Kruzhok.

Even before the downfall some of the members began to suspect the presence of a provocateur in their midst. Methods were devised to get rid of him. Suspicion fell upon Mordecai Globus. According to Klachko, Dawidowitz handed over to him a strong dose of arsenic and ordered him to poison Globus with it. His courage failed Klachko, however, and he never executed Dawidowitz' command.

In March, 1876 a number of serious searches were conducted in Vilna, Minsk, Dvinsk, Grodno and Yeletz, searches which threatened to bring about the complete destruction of these revolutionary Kruzhoks.

Those who were arrested refused to give out any information.⁵²
The only exceptions were the members Romm, Hanchevski and Klachko,⁵³
whose statements dealt with the activities of the Circles and
⁵⁴
their membership.

Dawidowitz, the most active worker and the leader of the Vilna Kruzhok, managed to avoid arrest. He fled before the police could apprehend him. It seems the leaders of the movement were well equipped to flee at a moment's notice. Even though they were exposed to greatest danger, they usually knew how to use precautionary measures and how to manage a quick flight. Dawidowitz left behind a record of fine organizational accomplishments in the Jewish revolutionary movement in the seventies. But in the following decade the ardent revolutionists underwent a complete change of heart. The story of his career and vicissitudes
⁵⁵
are described elsewhere in this thesis.

The government dealt with the defendants mercifully. Judging from the seriousness of the political offense, they were given rather light sentences. Altogether fifty-five persons were implicated, many of whom had no connection with revolutionary propaganda.
⁵⁶
Twenty-seven were sentenced.

The wholesale searches of 1876 and the action of the police brought about the destruction of the organized Circles, but they did not completely uproot the revolutionary propaganda among the Jews.

We find that soon after the affair closed, Col. Losew, who led the official investigation in Vilna, reports to the Third Department (Political Police) that "the persons who were freed in Vilna began anew to assemble, discuss and read forbidden books, remaining loyal to their former convictions and conducting themselves, however, with utmost carefullness."⁵⁷

The following quotation from Buchbinder's history may serve as an excellent summary of evaluation of the socialistic endeavors among the Jews in the seventies. Writes Buchbinder:

"This is the picture of the revolutionary propaganda among the Jews in Russia in the seventies as painted in the official documents. But is it all correct? It is difficult to answer this question in view of the lack of sources that have been preserved. It is possible, for example, to doubt if the Circles in Grodno, Yeletz, and Dvinsk really limited their activities to Jews. Perhaps it would be more correct to admit that they were simply Russian Circles, which existed in such large numbers throughout Russia during the period of 'going to the people.' Most probably the government purposely created the impression that the destroyed Circles of Vilna, Minsk, Yeletz, Grodno, and Dvinsk formed a unit and represented a large 'Socialist-Revolutionary Union' scattered⁵⁸ in many cities."

8. The Statute of Socialists - Revolutionaries.

Before its downfall the Vilna Kruzhok was in contact with the emigrants abroad. Some of the members corresponded with Lieberman, communicated with the office of Vperyod and received literature from it. Lieberman sent them "The Statute of the Union of Socialists-Revolutionaries among the Jews in Russia."

With respect to practical application and definite organization, nothing resulted from this document of 1876. It is only valuable to demonstrate the temper of the early Jewish socialists. It helps to epitomize their ideology in the seventies. It was read by the radical thinkers and undoubtedly influenced their gropings.

Buchbinder claims that before the publication of his book,⁵⁹ the Statute was published nowhere else. A copy of the original document in Russian was sent to him from America by the well-known⁶⁰ Jewish writer, M. Vinchevsky.

The Statute makes quite clear the definite need of organizing a Jewish party or a Jewish section and of employing Yiddish as the language for propaganda. Later on, these ideas were the⁶¹ spiritual doctrines of the Bund. The authors (or the author) formulated in 1876 what was to become twenty-one years later the organized philosophy of the Jewish revolutionary movement. Of great interest, therefore, are the propositions dealing with the question of organization and conspiracy.

This document is indeed valuable for the history of Jewish socialist thought. It is for this reason that we translated it⁶² in full.

Handwritten in left margin: "The Jewish section is only a small link in the larger chain of the Socialists-Revolutionary Party."

The Statute is divided into the following three parts: 1) General Rules, 2) Propaganda and Agitation, and 3) The Organization of Sections and Federations among the Jews in the Western Countries. We notice that in parts I and II problems of a general revolutionary nature are dealt with. It is in part III that the specific Jewish phase is discussed. Here we discover that the Jewish section is only a small link in the larger chain of the Socialists-Revolutionary Party. The Jewish phase of the entire plan is incidental and temporary. The Jewish section is to differ neither ideologically nor constitutionally. It is Jewish only in so far as the propaganda is to be carried on among Jews with Yiddish as the medium of expression. The Jewish section has no distinctive or unique goal, for its goal is the same as that of the revolutionary party. After all, with the success of the revolution, all distinctions of peoples will vanish.

* * *

We have already mentioned the fact that the Statute was sent by Aaron Lieberman from London to Russia. If Lieberman had been only a theoretician or a leader of the first Kruzhok in Vilna, his name would be but of passing interest. But Lieberman was more than that. And, because of the great role he played in

the seventies and because of his original contributions to the revolutionary movement among the Jews in Russia, we attempt to present in the next chapter a brief study of Aaron Lieberman, the father of Jewish Socialism.

CHAPTER VI.

AARON LIEBERMAN: THE FATHER OF JEWISH SOCIALISM.

1. His Life and Activities.

was a Jewish Jew
The biography of Aaron Lieberman is almost synonymous with the history of the Jewish revolutionary movement in the seventies. He was the central figure of the movement. He was its literary pioneer. This "Jewish Lasalle,"¹ as he is somewhere called, has justly earned the name of "father of Jewish socialism."

No history of the early Jewish socialist movement is complete without an evaluation of Lieberman's contributions, and no historian of the movement has failed to recognize Lieberman's foremost place in the evolution of the Jewish Labor Cause. This is quite evident from the fact that his career is treated by a number² of writers. Naturally, in this study we are forced to treat his life rather briefly. In the present chapter our aim is^{to} present the facts of his life most accurately and to correct the discrepancies and errors found in the various sources used for our study.

³
Aaron Samuel Lieberman, who is also known as Arthur Freeman, as well as by his Hebrew pseudonyms, Bar Drorah and Daniel Isch Chamudoth, was born in the home of his grandfather at Luna, government of Grodno.⁴ The date of his birth cannot be definitely⁵ determined. He was born sometime in the second half of the forties.

Lieberman received a traditional education. His grandfather, a learned Cabalist, was the rabbi of Lun. His childhood was spent

among fanatical Hasidim. Early in life he was taken by his father to the larger cities, Suwalk and Vilna, where he continued his Jewish and secular education.

His father, Eliezer David Lieberman, was a private Hebrew teacher who tutored the children of a few wealthy families. Both the father and the son were influenced by the Haskalah movement. But the son soon outgrew the father in radical thinking. With a father of liberal tendencies, the young man's revolutionary struggle was made less arduous.

Lieberman studied in a Yeshibah. But his knowledge of the Hebrew language and literature he acquired from his father. According to the custom of those days Lieberman married very young and as a very young man was already the head of a family. Thus, when he entered the Rabbinical School in Vilna he was already a husband and a father. For a few years Lieberman also attended the St. Petersburg Institute of Technology. But economic conditions prevented him from completing the course.

In the Vilna Rabbinical School he found both an outlet and a welcome for his revolutionary spirit. It was not long before Lieberman became a leader among the groping young radicals.

He did not complete his rabbinical course. Instead, he accepted the position of an insurance agent. In that capacity, he often made trips to various towns and villages. On such trips he did not fail to propagandize the socialistic ideal among the

peasants. This once led to his arrest in a little village near Smorgon; but he succeeded in bribing the police and in making an escape.⁶ Thus, Lieberman became a refugee.

In the previous chapter we noticed that in connection with the downfall of the Vilna Kruzhok and, as a result of police persecution, Lieberman reached a stage in his revolutionary career when he had to flee from Russia.

His revolutionary role among the Jews in Russia ended early. Yet, all his energies were still dedicated towards the same cause. He was heard from abroad. Even among strangers in strange lands he directed his efforts and the efforts of others towards the liberation of the Jewish masses in Russia.

We recall that from him came the Statute to his Russian comrades, instructing them how to organize a network of social-revolutionary sections. And, as we shall see later, it was he who issued a call to the intellectual Jewish youth. And it was he who was the founder and editor of the first socialist publication in Hebrew.

On his way from Russia into exile, he stopped off at Berlin and there organized a group of Jewish socialists under the name, "The Jewish Section of the International." This group was composed of political emigrants who had left Russia even before Lieberman's hegira.⁷

From Berlin he went to London, there he came under the influence of Lavrov, the editor of Vperyod. Lieberman's admiration for

Lavrov is colorfully illustrated in the following episode:

Once Lieberman sent Lavrov an unusual gift: his hat, with the following inscription: "Since circumstances make it impossible for me to send you my head, I am sending you my hat."

Many socialistic endeavors occupied his time in London. He worked for Lavrov's publication. Then in 1876 he found a socialistic society of Jewish workers which carried the name, Agudath ha-Socialistim ho-Ivrin b'London (The Hebrew Socialist Union of London).⁸

This was the world's first Jewish Socialist Union. To it belonged about thirty-seven members, mostly workers. Considering the spirit of the time, it was a large membership. Lieberman was not only the founder, but also the secretary of this organization. In the archives of the Bund in Geneva are preserved the records of this society. They include Lieberman's unique minutes he had taken at different meetings. These documents are in his own handwriting, both in Hebrew and Yiddish. The society arranged a few large mass meetings, lectures, discussions. It also organized a trade union. As a result of differences of opinion that arose between Lieberman and the other leaders, he withdrew from the organization and left London. The organization did not appeal to the emigrants and it soon ceased its existence, after an existence of seven months.⁹

While in London, Lieberman issued the "First Socialist Proclamation" in Hebrew, addressed to the intellectual Jewish youth. We shall discuss this interesting proclamation in the next chapter.

One of Lieberman's co-workers in London was Lazar Goldenberg, (1846-1916) the first Jewish revolutionist of Russia and almost the first Jewish political emigrant abroad.¹⁰

From London Lieberman went to Vienna via Berlin.¹¹ In Vienna he was befriended by Peretz Smolenskin, the nationalistic writer of the Haskalah period. For a short while Lieberman was employed in Smolenskin's Hashachar. But Lieberman soon left the Hashachar and founded the first socialistic periodical in Hebrew, Haemeth.

Lieberman's first socialist article was published in Hashachar. The editor, Smolenskin, later expressed himself adversely with regard to Lieberman's literary endeavor and also wrote bitterly against Haemeth. He had published Lieberman's article, he later rationalized, because the article had been written in such a hazy, misleading way that he had not realized some of its implications.

Lieberman's Haemeth, which we shall discuss at greater length in the next chapter, was short-lived; it was discontinued by the censor. Lieberman was soon arrested by the Viennese police on the charge that he was engaged in anti-government propaganda and that he was in contact with foreign revolutionists.

At his trial in Vienna, upon the examination of the evidence, it became clear that Lieberman was a Russian revolutionary and therefore the Austrian government had no reason to fear him. Therefore, he was sentenced merely for residing in the country with a false passport.¹²

After serving two or three months of imprisonment, he was to¹³
be expelled from the land. But the Berlin authorities demanded
his extradition. Although this was contrary to the existing law,
the prisoner was handed over to the Prussian police. His trial¹⁴
took place in Berlin. Together with him/two other Russian-Jew-¹⁵
ish socialists, Aaronson and Gurevich. A prison sentence was¹⁶
pronounced. Lieberman was freed on January, 1880.¹⁷ Altogether
he spent more than two years in the prisons of Vienna and Berlin.
In addition, he was always in constant fear of being extradited
to Russia where the government wanted to prosecute him for the
seditious crimes which led to his exile.

After serving his prison term in Berlin, Lieberman came once¹⁸
more to London. Although he had but few plans for the future, he
was resolved to continue to participate in the revolutionary move-
ment.

From London he went to America. In Syracuse, New York, he¹⁹
committed suicide, and died on November 18, 1880.²⁰

The true reasons for Lieberman's suicide are not too well-
known. Many speculations have been offered by different people.
We summarize them in the following order:

(1) In London he became infatuated with a woman. This ro-
mance brought him to America and, for some reason or other,
culminated in his suicide.²¹

(2) Imprisonment affected his mind. The romantic affair was
an additional strain which his weakened mental constitution could

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not endure. Hence, the self-inflicted death.

(3) The ungracious attitude of his friends in New York towards him had something to do with the sudden decision to shoot

23

himself.

(4) Zitron suggests a very interesting cause for the suicide. The antisemitic tendency among the Narodovolzy as it was manifested in their indifference towards the Jewish pogroms disappointed Lieberman to such an extent that he often fell in deep melancholy moods, during one of which the suicide occurred.

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Before passing away, Lieberman left the following note: "Let the world live! The man who finds in it only need and torture is sentenced to death. May others not misjudge me, until they find themselves in a similar plight."

25

2. An Evaluation of His Socialistic Philosophy.

With the premature death of Aaron Lieberman, the incipient socialist movement among the Jews lost one of its greatest exponents. More than any one else did he pioneer on behalf of the downtrodden Jewish masses. When Lieberman appears on the scene in the seventies, the revolutionary tendencies were not yet deeply rooted in the life of the Jews. There was no organized Jewish proletariat. In the Jewish Kruzhoks the budding revolutionists theorized on ways of "going to the people," which meant going away from their own people. And a revolutionary genius like Aaron Zundeleovich soon leaves his brethren and begins to build a record of achievements in the general anti-Czarist plots.

Lieberman alone from the beginning to the end of his revolutionary career stubbornly advocated socialistic propaganda among his own people. For that he labored and strove all his life. For that he issued proclamations, formulated statutes, published a periodical, and made every possible attempt to win the Jewish intelligentsia to his cause, and through the intelligentsia ultimately also to reach the masses. Even when he was abroad he had the ^{in the street} Jewish working masses at heart. And even when he worked for Peter Lavrov's Vperyod in London, he did not estrange himself from the cause of his people.

Interesting is the following impression of Lieberman by V. Cherkezov, another associate of the publication:

"I met Lieberman in 1876 in the London office of Vperyod. The editor, the associates and the compositors lived in the same house on a co-operative basis. With the exception of P. L. Lavrov, we were all young and full of revolutionary idealism; there was no limit to our enthusiasm..... Lieberman was one of our greatest enthusiasts. Not that he delivered fiery speeches or engaged in vehement, inspiring disputes. For that he was too shy, unobtrusive and childishly simple. His entire being, however, was wrapped up with one thought, with one aspiration. That thought was -- the brotherhood and the solidarity of all nations upon the foundation of social justice. That aspiration was -- to propagandize these ideas among the Jewish people in their own tongue.... When in 1876 Lieberman for the first time began to approach the subject, it seemed even to his Jewish fellow-socialists that if the aspiration was not objectionable on the ground that it was too nationalistic, it was beyond doubt a fruitless task to preach socialism in the Jewish language. Many of the best Jewish socialists, who worked fearlessly in the general Russian revolutionary movement, strongly opposed Lieberman. And what if the Russian comrades did view his attempts good-naturedly when all the time they regarded them as empty and worthless undertakings. True, the Russian comrades had nothing against (Lieberman's aspiration) in principle, and A. L.

Linev was even willing to help Lieberman with the printing of his proclamation and program. Yet, they always spoke with an indulgent smile about Lieberman's Jewish periodical and the Jewish socialist propaganda. Not even P. L. Lavrov with his all-embracing wisdom could foresee to what results Lieberman's beginnings would lead." ²⁶

In Lieberman's philosophy we detect a synthesis of universalism and particularism. He does envision a new humanity and a new social order, but his immediate goal is to awaken his people to these visions, to bring them the ideals of the new society in their spoken tongue.

In the seventies socialism was still in the process of formulation. Neither theory nor practice had yet attained a stage of finality. It was almost inevitable, therefore, that many contradictions and inconsistencies were found in Lieberman's point of view. At times he appears as a universalist, eager to transcend provincial prejudices, national loyalties and geographical boundaries. But at other times, he preaches an almost chauvinistic socialism.

Lieberman did not have a clearly defined philosophy. His socialism at times was foggy and incomprehensible. His outlook was both nationalistic and anti-nationalistic. In one place, the Jewish people have no right of existence; in another, he clothes them with a mantle of glory. His was a revolutionary socialism

tinged with the aims of the Narodovolzy and made complicated by his deep interest in Jewry. No wonder, then, that he could not be understood even in the London ghetto by the Jewish emigrants from Russia. They could follow him in his vitriolic attacks on the Judaism of their day. But divers other ramifications of Lieberman's revolutionary ideas were so obfuscatory that they were not even clear to Lieberman, let alone the masses.

Thus two worlds challenged the mind of Lieberman: the world of traditional Judaism and the world of complex social-revolutionary ideas. The new world did not erase the old world from his soul. There they lived in him -- these two strange worlds, creating conflicts and obsessions within.

On the one hand, he was deeply convinced that "for us social-²⁷ists, nationalities do not exist." On the other hand, he was conscious of the fact that the Jewish people possess a wealth of culturo-national values, the preservation of which might benefit all humanity. His socialistic ideology gave rise to his desire to denounce and to destroy the old world; and to prevail upon Jews to become assimilated into the non-Jewish milieu. But his nationalistic attachments made him often flee to the Jewish past and to exult atavistically in old values and, on one occasion, even²⁸ to defend the observance of Tisha b'Ab.

To pass judgment on Lieberman's philosophy as it reveals itself in the writings of Haemeth is unfair. The three small issues

of Haemeth do not contain enough material for the evaluation of the socialist Weltanschauung in general, nor of Lieberman's point of view in particular. It has not been even definitely determined which of the articles came from his own pen, for the contributions to the paper were unsigned.

From all indications it seems that Lieberman stood at a distance from scientific socialism, from Karl Marx and Engels. In his day the Marxist philosophy was still in its infancy, enjoying but little recognition. Lieberman's socialism in the Haemeth is tinged with idealism and Haskalah influences.

As theoretical and inconsistent as some of his views appear, Lieberman was primarily a man of action, one who possessed unique gifts for organizational endeavors. He had a way of making people follow him and execute tasks for him. Wherever he went, he always created new Jewish organizations, but seldom did he really formulate in his mind the purpose and the aims of these organizations.

Still, one thing is quite evident in the life of Lieberman. Whatever he sacrificed of himself, he did so with sincerity and enthusiasm, in the fullness of his temperamental nature, ever permeated with the ideal of social justice, with a hope for a new social order, and with love for his people and for humanity.

Lieberman died before the wholesale Russian pogroms of the eighties began. We wonder what would have been his attitude had

he witnessed them. Would he still have said what he uttered before: "We Jews are only a part of mankind, therefore our salvation can only come through the liberation of the whole of mankind?"²⁹ Or, as the father of Jewish socialism, would he have turned with many others like him to Jewish nationalism and to Zion for salvation?

Before we approach the problem of how the massacres in the eighties affected the Jewish revolutionary movement, we must first discuss the Hebrew socialistic literature which made its appearance in the seventies and which we mentioned in connection with Lieberman's activities. And this forms the theme of the next chapter.

CHAPTER VII.

HEBREW SOCIALISTIC LITERATURE IN THE SEVENTIES.

1. Early Socialistic Tendencies in Hebrew Literature.

It is included in the collection of Lieberman. Not used in the first part.

Socialistic tendencies appeared rather late in Jewish literature. The Russian revolutionary movement during the first half of the nineteenth century influenced Jewish literature but little. The Jewish writers of that period were not yet acquainted with Russian literary expression. On the other hand, they did know German well. Since they were strongly influenced by the German classics of the eighteenth century, the imprint of the "German Enlightenment" is deeply felt in their writings. It was at the close of the "epoch of great reforms" that Jewish authors began to acquire a mastery of the Russian language along with a mature understanding of Russian literature. Russian influences began to evidence themselves more and more.

Russian was used as the language of propaganda among those Jewish youths who studied in the non-Jewish schools, but in order to convert the Maskilim to socialism, the students of the Yeshiboth and all others who had Hebraic learning, Hebrew was utilized as the instrument of propaganda. It was therefore in the Hebrew language that the first Jewish socialistic literature came to be written.

The most serious literary attempt in the seventies designed to disseminate socialistic ideas among the Jews was Aaron Lieberman's Haemeth. But even before the appearance of this publica-

tion, socialistic ideas were already expounded elsewhere by such Hebrew writers as J. L. Kantor, Yehuda Levin (Yehalel), Eliezer (Lazar) Zuckerman, M. Lilienblum, A. Rabinowitz, Morris Vinchevski, Kovner, Wolf (the Lamed Vavnik), and others.

The first literary, socialistic expression in Hebrew was Judah Kantor's song "Ma'aminim Anachnu" ("We Believe"), which appeared in Smolenskin's Hashachar in 1873. In this poetic creation the writer introduced the radical and cosmopolitan tendencies of the Russian intelligentsia. "Ma'aminim Anachnu" is a poem in defense of the radical Jewish youth against the accusations of godlessness and faithlessness. It speaks of the high ideals which the youths possess, the ideals of brotherhood, of peace, of tolerance. It bewails the sad plight of the workingmen. It was a stirring literary appeal. But the poet's role in the Jewish socialistic movement was of very short duration. He chose to walk the opposite path.

Gradually more writings expounding a socialistic ideology began to appear in Hebrew literature during the seventies. In David Gordin's Hamagid, as well as in other publications, there appeared essays on the labor problems, on the class struggle, on labor statistics, on workingmen's health, etc. A very stirring article entitled Milchemeth Hachaim ("The Struggle for Existence") was published in 1874. Under the influence of such articles many Maskilim became socialists.

A poem of an extremely radical nature appeared in Hashachar in 1876 under the title "Ebed Laabodim". The author was Yehuda Levin who wrote under the pseudonym "Yehalel." So revolutionary was the poem for those days that Moses Leib Lilienblum expressed the following thought in a letter to Yehalel: "I like your poem immensely, but I wonder how you had the courage to publish it in Hashachar without fearing that it might jeopardize your career!"⁷ In this poem Yehalel speaks of the injustice of the world, a world in which the worker, amidst poverty and loneliness, toils like an animal for the profit of the rich. He demands that every man do his share of work and be given a chance to partake of the fruit of his labor. This Hebrew propagandist also wrote for the Hazefirah where he expounded the idea that the Jewish question was not a religious but rather a social question, and that with the solution of the social evils of the world, the Jewish problem⁸ would also be solved.

In the seventies also appeared the contributions of the very important Jewish revolutionary and early socialist writer, Eliezer (Lazar) Zuckerman.⁹ His first story Olam Hafneh ("The World Upside Down") was published in Hashachar. This composition is a denunciation of the capitalists and an exaltation of the workingman.

In another contribution Rayon meolam hazeh umeolam haba ("A thought from this world and from the future world"), he

creates a dialogue between a workingman and a millionaire discussing Darwin's theory on the struggle for existence and Karl Marx's philosophy on capital and labor.

Zuckerman published his writings not only in the Hashachar, but also later in Lieberman's Haemeth. Much of his creative writing, however, never appeared in print. When Lieberman was arrested in Vienna and his papers confiscated from his office, many of Zuckerman's articles and poems were lost.¹⁰

Zuckerman did not remain long satisfied with socialistic theory. His life soon became a ceaseless martyrdom for the cause of a new social order. He was imprisoned and banished to Siberia. When torture and privation became unendurable he committed suicide in 1887 by drowning himself. During his Exile he found consolation in the Bible.

The Jewish socialistic writers in the seventies were confronted with many difficulties. The literature was printed abroad. In order that their writings might be permitted by the censors to come into Russia they tried in every way possible to disguise their revolutionary thoughts. For that reason they employed allegories, homiletical twists, Midrashim, cabalistic expressions, and special abbreviations. They falsely ascribed to the rabbis of the Talmud the authorship of their ideas, and, in order to make their own writings resemble the style of the Rabbis, they almost completely used the Aramaic.

The readers suffered. They could not understand the message

of the writers. They could only derive some meaning from reading between the lines. Some of the writers, including Lieberman, made it additionally difficult by using words and phrases foreign to the readers. In their search for a pure Hebrew, they created new words, which might have been of value to philologists but were of little use for revolutionary propaganda.

The revolutionary literature of the seventies still displayed the psychology of the Yeshibah. The writers were not yet completely emancipated from their immediate past. The Biblical style and Talmudic pilpul were still an inseparable part of them. Those socialistic writers had no new reading public nor did they have a new method of literary approach.

Most of them found their way to socialism through the influences of the Haskalah movement. Some of the Maskilim and Hebraists like Lilienblum, Kaminer, Rabinowitz and others who contributed to the early socialistic literature were far from being socialists. Only a few of them displayed truly radical tendencies; most of them, however, were simply bourgeois writers. ¹¹

Those Jewish revolutionaries who did remain loyal to socialism usually went through the following stages of development: from the Yeshibah to secular knowledge, from secular knowledge to the revolutionary cause. This was the evolution undergone by such socialists as Aaron Lieberman, of Lazar Zuckerman, of Morris Vinchevski, and this was also the experience of the latter-day socialists of the Bund, as exemplified, for instance, by the

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career of B. C. Vladeck. The early Jewish socialists, those who carried on propaganda in the Hebrew language, were men of initiative who dared to take the advanced step in their social and economic thinking: the step from Haskalah to revolution.

While many a Maskil remained indifferent to the radical cause, even Maskilim who did not profess socialism directly, stimulated others to become socialists by their writings and liberal ideas. An example in point is the role of Dr. Isaac Kaminer (1834-1901), the poet, Hebraist, and Zionist. His home in Kiev was a nest of revolutionary activity. Paul Axelrod started his revolutionary Circle in that home. Kaminer himself, however, did not claim to be a socialist although he did not hide his sympathies with the cause. Later on he was a follower of Theodore Herzl, and one of his friends was Ahad Ha'am.

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The talented children of Kaminer were more outspoken in their radicalism. Of the five daughters, the most capable were Nadezhda, Augustina, and Sophia. Kaminer's three oldest daughters were courted by Paul Axelrod, Nachman Leventhal and his brother Lazar Leventhal. The Kaminer household always teemed with socialistic discussion and revolutionary intrigue. The meetings there were frequented by many youthful revolutionaries. Into that circle was initiated Gurevich, who was one of the few who remained loyal to the specific cause of Jewish socialism, as was Simon Lurie, another Kaminer acolyte.

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In one of his poems, Kaminer bemoaned the tragedy of children estranging themselves from Judaism and from the Jewish people:

"I lost my way a little, but my children went astray completely."¹⁹

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2. First Socialist Proclamation in Hebrew.

First Socialist Proclamation in Hebrew

The first socialist proclamation, like the other Jewish socialistic writings, was phrased in Hebrew. This proclamation is one of the most interesting documents in the early history of the Jewish revolutionary movement. The date of its promulgation is given as July, 1876.

Although it was written by Aaron Lieberman in London, it was largely addressed to the young Jews of Russia. It first appeared in Lavrov's organ Vperyod accompanied by an explanatory note of congratulation by the editor. Most probably the Russian text was translated from the original Hebrew by Lieberman himself, for that was the period when he was associated with Lavrov.

This proclamation is really an appeal to the young Jewish generation to rise against the Jewish capitalists and to dedicate themselves to the cause of liberating the working class. In Biblical style it speaks of the awakening of the Jewish masses against the Jewish exploiters. These exploiters are the parasites, who thrive and fatten on the blood of poor Jews and also non-Jewish workers. It is the fault of these exploiters that the Jewish masses are persecuted. But the day will come when the Jewish masses will face these enemies and will dare to challenge them, and to point out their sins. Throughout this appeal one motif predominates: only the socialists are the lovers

of the Jewish people and the lovers of all the suffering masses.
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It is a call to revolution.

The proclamation is addressed El Shlumei Bachurei Yisroel
("To the intelligent Jewish youth"). According to Frumkin, Lieberman applied the adjective "intelligent" to those Jewish youths who in some way or other had become Europeanized.²⁴ By "intelligent Jewish youth" Lieberman also meant the students of the Talmudical schools. The Yeshiba Bochur (and Lieberman was one himself) represented to him the incarnation of righteousness, idealism and knowledge. He felt that these children of poverty were excellent material for socialistic propaganda. He exalted the Yeshibah Bochur on many occasions, and sang his praise even²⁵ in an article on "The Social Conditions of the Jews in Hungary."

And because Lieberman regarded the Yeshiba Bochur as an instrument of liberation, he wanted to create a literature for the intellectual Hebraists, not for the backward Jewish masses. Hence his insistence on the use of Hebrew in his evangelical literature. Hence the Hebrew proclamation.

Naturally, the circulation of Lieberman's proclamation had to be a limited one. And for that reason it could exert only a moderate amount of influence. The proclamation did, however, play a very significant role in the stirring-up of some youths who were isolated in the Pale of Settlement. To some of them it was a new revelation, a message that inspired them to adopt a
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revolutionary career.

Others, on the other hand, feared that the proclamation might serve an undesirable purpose, by attracting the attention of the police to the secret revolutionary organizations. They feared that the Jew might be exposed as a dangerous and undesirable element in Russia.

The proclamation played an important role at the Berlin Trial of Lieberman, Gurevich, and Aaronson in April, 1879. It even created a humorous situation which might have led to serious consequences. The court translator, in rendering the document from Hebrew into the Russian read the phrase k yevropeyskoy molodiozhi ("To the European youth") instead of k yevreyskoy molodiozhi ("To the Jewish youth"). The prosecutor tried to use this misreading to prove that the defendants belonged to an international organization whose aim was a world upheaval.²⁷

The Hebrew original of the "Proclamation" ends with the signature M'eth Hamithnadvim b'Am l'Beth Yisroel, "The Well-Wishers of the House of Israel."²⁸ But the Russian text closes with a different inscription, namely: Yevreyskie Sozialnic Revoluzionery,²⁹ "The Jewish Social-Revolutionaries." Whatever seal the proclamation might have carried, the fact is well established that its authorship belongs to Aaron Lieberman. But the proclamation was not his only literary creation. We now turn to his other "brain-child."

3. The Truth

In May, 1877, Lieberman issued in Vienna the first number of the Jewish socialist periodical Haemeth (The Truth).

The prospectus of the periodical contains the following statement: "...it is not nationalism that motivates us to publish this periodical. We have no right to make favorites of our people. One nation must not be shown preference over another nation just as one person must not be shown preference over another person. It is only love of humanity, love of the children of our people as human beings, as well as their ceaseless suffering that motivate us to tell them the "Truth" in the language they understand. For if we are not for them -- we, who know their life and their sorrows -- then who will be?"

Lieberman published Haemeth under the name, Arthur Freeman. The contributions were unsigned. His chief associates in the project were two other socialist workers, Lazer Zuckerman and Moses Kamionski.

Altogether there appeared three issues of Haemeth. The nature of the printed contributions may be judged from the following titles: "The Jewish Problem," "The Struggle for Existence and Its Relationship to Society," "The Biography of Jacobi," "The Social Conditions of the Jews in Hungary," "The Development of Society in the Middle Ages," "The Jews in England," "Machiavelli's System," etc. Besides articles, the periodical also included stories, poems, reviews, etc.

Strangely enough, the periodical claimed no adherence to any particular political philosophy; it only spoke of economic inequality; of future social justice, of the brotherhood of nations and of other similar values.

On the witness stand at the Vienna Trial, Lieberman explained that Haemeth was dedicated to general problems. The main purpose of the periodical, said he, was to inspire in the reader critical thinking on the destiny of mankind, on social justice,
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etc.

Lieberman's Haemeth did not enjoy a completely favorable reception. Even his friends soon took issue with Lieberman on the main purpose of the publication. They did not like its vague and indefinite platform. Many of the socialists demanded a definite program phrased in no uncertain terms.

Wrote one of Lieberman's correspondents: "You may manage to cheat the censor once or twice but not more; if you continue to write hazily so that nobody can understand, then it will serve no purpose. By such methods it is impossible to help the poor and
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oppressed."

Unfriendly to Haemeth was also Smolenski's Hashachar. As a nationalistic organ, Hashachar had nothing in common with the vague ideology of Haemeth. And it did not fail to print a vitri-
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olic attack upon its contemporary.

In spite of the negative reaction of the critics within and without the circle of revolutionary devotees, Haemeth, the first

Jewish socialistic periodical, may be considered as a creative manifestation of an emerging socialist movement among the Jews in the seventies. While we cannot apportion more space in this study to an analysis of the contents of Haemeth, suffice it to state briefly that the periodical attracted the attention of the socially-minded readers in Russia, for whom it was intended.³⁶

It was unfortunate that it should have been so short-lived. After the publication of the third issue, Haemeth was discontinued. The first two issues reached the readers in Russia, but the last issue was confiscated by the censors.³⁷

Haemeth was now dead. But the written word of Jewish socialism came to life anew in another literary endeavor.

4. The Assembly of the Wise.

Aaron Lieberman started an independent socialistic literature in Hebrew. As editor of Haemeth he encouraged a few budding writers. He nurtured literary projects which matured after his own publication had been discontinued. He inspired, among others, Morris Vinchevski, who later was to become the second Hebrew socialistic editor, to write and to raise funds for his ³⁸
Haemeth.

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Vinchevski is known by many names. He was the outstanding product of the revolutionary Circle in Kovno. Early in his youth ⁴⁰
Lieberman's Proclamation fell into his hands and made an unusually deep impression. Like any other socialist of his day, he began his activities as a cosmopolite, as a citizen of the world. He developed into a socialist-democrat, with strong national-Jewish inclinations. After the Kishinev pogroms his nationalistic feeling grew stronger. But in the later years of his life ⁴¹
he became a Communist. In his literary pursuits he was a second-rate poet, an editor-propagandist, a Hebrewwriter, and originator ⁴²
of a radical-socialist literature in Yiddish.

Vinchevski chanced to reside in Koenigsberg when Haemeth was terminated and its editor arrested in Vienna. In September, 1877, even before Haemeth's demise, Rodkinson, the editor of Hakol (The Voice) laid plans to publish another Hebrew organ with

the name Assefath Chachamim (⁴³The Assembly of the Wise). Vinchevski and A. Rabinowitz were entrusted with the management of the new periodical. The latter soon left Koenigsberg and Vinchevski became the actual editor and manager. He was at that time only twenty-one years of age. Rodkinson was not a socialist;⁴⁴ for him the new literary project was a mere business venture. But to Vinchevski it was an opportunity to spread socialistic propaganda, disguised, of course, to pass unnoticed by the censors. That he did not fully succeed, Vinchevski later admitted himself.

The first issue of Assefath Chachamim came out in September, 1877. Altogether eight numbers appeared. When Aaron Lieberman was arrested in Vienna communications from Vinchevski were found in his possession. On the basis of these letters, the Koenigsberg police were instructed to arrest Vinchevski. He was suspected of plotting against His Majesty, the Kaiser. On November 18, 1878, he was interrupted at his place of employment, was immediately placed under the arrest and thus Assefath⁴⁵ Chachamim was also arrested.

Like Haemeth, Assefath Chachamim had had no formulated political program.⁴⁶ Here and there among the writings are found certain radical tendencies. The purpose of it all was to create in the reader a revolutionary spirit. It is with great caution that we can call this publication socialistic and revolutionary. In his reminiscences Vinchevski confesses that it was only the ex-

pression of a socialistic mood, that it was a youthful outburst of sympathy for every new phenomenon, for every revolutionary pronouncement. It manifested a desire to denounce and to destroy the past rather than to present a clear understanding of the future. At its best it was only the literary expression of a social nostalgia, a harmless refuge for literary fantasists. Although some of the essays and the poems express much bitterness in their attacks on the capitalists, exploiters, bourgeoisie, and traditionalists, they remain mere printed words, flights of literary imagination. In other words, Assefath Chachamim was not an effective revolutionary weapon. And Dr. Spiegel correctly remarks that "this magazine was a second unsuccessful attempt to spread socialism in the Hebrew language, the first having been ⁴⁷
Haemeth."

Compared to Haemeth, Assefath Chachamim had a greater variety of material and appealed more strongly to the Jewish people. Each contribution carried the name of its author. Among the contributors were found the very popular Hebrew poets and writers ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ such as Zebi Hakohen Shereshevski, M. L. Lilienblum, Dr. Isaac ⁵⁰ Kaminer, and others. We notice that many of the writers were far removed from revolutionary endeavors. They were not socialists. On the contrary, some of them were staunch Jewish nationalists, Maskilim, and Hebraists. The Assembly of the Wise was only a new channel for their wisdom and literary self-expression.

Vinchevski's Assefath Chachamim was primarily designated for the Hebrew readers in Russia. With the fifth issue, however, the magazine was prohibited there. Attempts were then made to trick the censors by sending the magazine in sealed envelops. But after the eighth issue no such measures had to be taken. The editor was in prison; the enterprise to publish socialistic literature in Hebrew became an abandoned cause.

The seventies witnessed both the rise and the failure of Hebrew literary propaganda. The next decade gave birth to a new socialistic literature, but not in the Hebrew language. It was written in the language of the masses, in Yiddish. But this topic belongs to another chapter.

As we approach the eighties in our narrative, we confront a monumentally tragic phenomenon in Russian Jewish history: the pogroms. This leads us to our next problem: how did the pogroms affect the revolutionary cause among the Jews?

CHAPTER VIII.

EFFECTS OF THE POGROMS ON THE JEWISH REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS.

The revolutionary Terrorists took the life of Czar Alexander II on March 1, 1881. The assassination in St. Petersburg inaugurated a tragic decade in Russian Jewish history. That catastrophe¹ marked the end of the reign of one ruler, but it also marked the beginning of the power of Pobyedonostzev and Ignatyev. It ushered in a period of anti-Jewish legislation, of disabilities, of oppression culminating in pogroms. A whole people stood condemned by the anti-semitic press for the supposed participation of the Jewess Hesia Helfman in the assassination of the emperor.^{2.}

A series of carefully planned and engineered excesses in the southern provinces began. During the season of the Greek Orthodox Easter the first pogrom took place in the city of Yelisavetgrad, whose Jewish population numbered about fifteen thousand³ souls. Beginning on April 15, the anti-Jewish riots and massacres continued into the summer of 1881, leaving in their train ruin and death in many cities and towns.

The massacres played into the hands of the government authorities. At last here was something to divert their attention from political fears and terrorist conspiracies. The Jew was needed as a target of the people's^{patriotic}/vengeance and private grudges. Once more in history he became a scapegoat.

Officialdom so maneuvered it that the pogroms were made to appear as a public protest against Jewish terroristic acts.

The plan which was devised ^{enjoyed} during the Kishinev massacres was also applicable to the pogroms in the eighties. The plan: "to wage war against the Jews thereby stigmatizing the entire emancipatory movement in Russias as 'the work of Jewish hands'... and 'to drown the revolution in Jewish blood!'"⁴

Not only in the case of the murder of Alexander II but in all other assassinations and revolutionary acts, it has been the common practice of the officials and the anti-semitic press to transfer the blame on some important or even unimportant Jewish revolutionary. The police shut their eyes to the fact that there were places outside of the Pale of Settlement with no Jewish residents full of revolutionary activity. As an example, Zlatoust is given, a typically Great-Russian town which could not boast even a single Jew, yet it was a place of strong revolutionary senti-⁵ments.

Of primary interest to us in this study is not the attitude of the government toward the "Jewish revolution" as much as the attitude and the reaction of the revolutionaries toward the eruptive pogroms.

The non-Jewish revolutionaries remained silent. Some quietly rejoiced. Not that they delighted to see human bloodshed. To them it was rather a sign of hope, of mass awakening. To them the pogroms indicated that the masses were dissatisfied and embittered and that they would soon rise for revolutionary deeds.

They viewed the massacres as manifestations of a class struggle. It was only a beginning of further "revolutionary" uprisings. From the Jews the populace would soon transfer their hatred to the landlords and the officials. These revolutionaries were glad that the pogroms attracted the attention of the world at large to the cruel, autocratic regime of the Czars. With the blood of Jewish victims they would oil the wheels of the revolution.

A number of members of the Narodnaya Volya, the organization which had been responsible for the assassination of Alexander II, went so far as to issue a proclamation to the "pogromtchiks" in the Ukraine. This proclamation praised and encouraged the "revolutionary" zeal of the pogrom leaders, pointing out furthermore that the Jews were not the only ones to whom punishment should be meted out. Among those who drew up this proclamation⁶ was a Jew.

Unexpectedly enough, the pogrom produced a strange reaction against the entire revolutionary scheme. Anti-semitic feeling was strengthened; it made especial progress among the university students; and what is more "even the populist faction of the socialists (Narodniki) fell under its influence."⁷

Even among the Jewish revolutionaries some greeted the massacres in the eighties as a joyful phenomenon. They propounded the theory that the massacres were the "instinctive" expression of the revolutionary spirit of the suffering Russian people against

their oppressors. The "dark people" (as the Russian peasant-masses were often called) knew that the Czar, the Chinovniks, the Zhids exploited them. At this juncture they were rising only against one of their enemies: the "Sheeny-usurers." But the revolutionary conflagration would spread and would inevitably also devour the officials and even the Czar himself. This view, of course, was shared by many non-Jewish socialists.

Not all revolutionaries, however, interpreted the pogroms as a revolutionary uprising.

There were many who looked upon them as the manipulation of the government to save the throne from a revolutionary upheaval. The government was directing the people's discontent into a different channel. As evidence for this view the revolutionaries pointed to the fact that the government did not punish the pogrom leaders, as it punished revolutionary leaders. They also argued that many of the pogrom agitators were Chinovniks, officials who purposely put on the peasants' garb to attract the other peasants to join the wholesale butchery.

Many of the revolutionaries who hailed from the Jewish intelligentsia had no tie of unity with the Jewish masses and claimed little relationship to the Jewish people. In their revolutionary work they were completely assimilated with the non-Jews. But, during and after the massacres of the eighties, they suddenly became conscious of a distinct Jewish predicament and were aroused

into doing something for their fellows.

The Jewish question now came to the forefront anew. The hate had to burst forth in some way. And two channels were open: revolution or Zion. The pogroms created therefore both extreme revolutionists and extreme nationalists.

As radical as the Jewish socialists had been before, they became more so as a result of the massacres. They became revolutionaries "with a vengeance," for their people's immolation threw them into the arms of revolution. It was not only a matter of avenging the killing of Jews; it also meant revenge against autocratic Russia for its barbarism. In their social utopias they saw not only the salvation of the Jews, but also the liberation of all fettered Russians.

That the revolutionary tendencies among the Jews in Russia increased as a direct result of the pogroms has been a general opinion. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu in his The Empire of Tsars and the Russians makes it quite clear that were it not for the riots, the Russian Jews would have shunned subversive movements and would have been restrained by their religion and conservative spirit from joining the ranks of the pioneers of freedom. But, another writer on the same subject takes issue with the French author. Says Dr. Angelo Rappoport:

"Many seem to be of the opinion that the Russian pogroms turned the Jews into revolutionaries, flung them into the arms of

democracy and revolution. This I emphatically deny, and my denial is based upon a thorough knowledge of Jewish history and Jewish psychology.⁹"

Even without questioning Rappoport's knowledge of Jewish history and Jewish psychology, it is undeniable that some of the revolutionists' zeal was augmented by the pogroms, as the reminiscences of the revolutionists themselves bear out.¹⁰

Not everyone's revolutionary faith was strengthened as a result of the violence. On the contrary, some of the Jewish socialists turned to another extreme and became nationalists. They became disappointed at the indifference and silence of their gentile comrades. They saw how far off was the utopia of a socialistic state. The immediate problem to them was the misery and helplessness of the Jew. So they turned to Zion; they came back to their people. The estranged sons were returning to their people in distress.

Many colorful episodes have been recorded during that decade which followed upon the change of attitude of some of the Jewish revolutionary intelligentsia toward the Jewish problem and the Jewish people. In Kiev, for example, a group of Jewish students came to a synagogue crowded with mourning worshippers, and the following took place: One student, by name Alenikov, mounted the pulpit and addressed the congregation in Russian:

"We are your brothers, we are Jews like yourselves; we regret that until now we considered ourselves Russians and not Jews. The events during the last few weeks -- the pogroms in Yelisavetgrad, in Balta, here in Kiev and in other cities -- made us realize the great error we were guilty of. Yes, we are Jews!"¹¹

Many of the students ceased speaking Russian and took up Yiddish instead. They accepted anew the Jewish names which they had previously rejected. The massacres of the eighties made many of these young Jews lose faith in the Russian intelligentsia altogether and to find self-realization in a distinctively Jewish movement.

As the decade was growing older, larger numbers of Jewish students began to join underground socialist Circles. They began to crave for a practical outlet. They grew weary of theory and speculation. But suddenly the riots broke out, and a change of heart took place. Thus a man who did not stay long enough in Russia to become a hero of revolution relates in his autobiography:¹²

"Many of us did join forces with that movement at this point, but a new outbreak of anti-semitic excess in South Russia turned my attention anew toward the problem of my own people. The attitude of the Socialist groups toward these excesses was a severe blow to the Jewish members. 'The masses are gathering to strike their blow for freedom,' they said. 'At last they are ready to turn upon their oppressors. They attack Jews not as Jews, but as mem-

bers of the exploiting class; soon they will learn to recognize their true enemy. It is the will of the people.' The Jewish members of the group found themselves at the parting of the ways.

"The test came one night at a meeting of the central organization in an out-of-the-way neighborhood in the outskirts of Moscow. Two Jewish members stood near the door of the meeting room, stretching forth their hands and begging all comers to give for the relief of the pogrom sufferers. 'Give a kopek for the innocent victims,' they pleaded in the monotone of the Russian beggar. Almost without exception the Russian Socialists¹³ passed them by without so much as a curious glance."

No wonder that the assimilationist enthusiasts suddenly retreated into obscurity. The cry of a wounded people reached the ears not only of the Jewish socialists but also of all the other Jews who refused to pay attention to the specific Jewish problem. All the Russophile aspirations of the Levandas and the Bogrovs¹⁴ evaporated into nothingness. The young Jewish intelligentsia began to feel a greater sense of kinship for their fellow Jews. "The suffering of people whom we had never known," writes Bogen, "whose beliefs and aspirations had become a matter of indifference to us, and whose Yiddish speech was an alien jargon to our Russian-trained ears, suddenly moved us as we had never been moved by the miseries of those oppressed masses which motivated our Socialistic endeavors. The indifference and even satisfaction

evidenced by our former comrades toward Jewish anguish left us shaken by a storm of pity and sorrow and rebellion. The political and economic problems propounded in our Circles receded into relative insignificance; at the very moment¹⁵, perhaps, that I was solemnly resolving to devote my life to the amelioration of the tragedy of the Jews, that same solemn vow became the goal of thousands of youthful Russian Jews."

This change of attitude toward the Jewish masses as a result of the pogroms also became manifest in Russian Jewish literature. Up to that period the Jews was portrayed contemptuously and mockingly. The Jewish capitalist and the Jewish usurer dominated the literary theme. But, with the massacres, the writers began to weave a new pattern in their works about the Jew. A different Jewish type appeared. And as one writer on the subject remarks, ".... a growing proletarian orientation expressed itself in an ever greater sympathy for the Jewish masses."¹⁶ It was inevitable for these new patterns and values in Russian literature to influence the groping Jewish intelligentsia.

But the shock of the bloody pogroms was too great, and the attitude of the Russian socialists toward the butchery was too disappointing. The Jewish revolutionists were at a loss, and for a while they really did not know wither to turn. While it was true that in their bitterness some of them became more zealous and more dangerous revolutionists. But, on the other hand, many of them forsook the socialist ranks and turned to Jewish nation-

alism. A definite reaction became evident in the Jewish revolutionary circles. The hope of internationalism grew weak, the light of assimilation grew dim. Yet they had to find some ideal. They still longed for homeness in the world. And, instead of socialism, the new faith of many of them became "Palestinian."¹⁷

The revolutionary movement among the Jews was thus brought for the time to a standstill. The nascent Jewish labor movement stopped functioning completely. It was the natural result of the riots, the reaction and the unstable and weakened status of the general revolutionary movement.¹⁸

On the other hand, the Chibath-Zion movement sprang up and grew in strength. Many devotees of revolutionism could no longer find an all-embracing answer in the "cause." Davidowitz, the heroic figure of the early Jewish revolutionary circle in Vilna, now became an ardent champion of Zion and of the Hebrew language.¹⁹ He completely broke his former socialistic ties. The two early enthusiasts and sympathizers of the socialist ideal, Yehuda Levin (Yehalel) and the great Moshe Leib Lilienblum, now openly atoned for "the sins of their youth." They would now erase from their memory the thoughts they expressed in their early Hebrew writings. They and the other Jewish men of letters began to call the people to the "Love of Zion," to the ancient hopes and aspirations of Israel.²⁰ Dr. Isaac Kaminer, who had been himself a mild socialistic sympathizer, had permitted his children to go the way of

radicalism. Hence, when the pogroms broke out, Kaminer repented for "the sins of his children." The riots shook his entire philosophy of life; he underwent a spiritual crisis, and embraced the "Love of Zion."²¹

Of especial interest in connection with the pogroms is the reaction of P. B. Axelrod, who early forsook Jewish socialism and gave himself wholeheartedly to the general revolutionary movement. A great gap yawned between his revolutionary ideology and the ideology of Hohebei Zion. Yet, in that crisis, he suggested that Jews be settled in Palestine. This, of course, was not motivated by his nationalistic impulses but rather by the helplessness which the Jewish radicals experienced during the period of pogroms. Needless to add, the other revolutionists including²² Lev Deutsch would not think of approving such a plan.

To this idea of Palestine Axelrod was converted by his revolutionary disciple Grigory Gurevich, who was so crushed spiritually by the anti-Jewish outbreaks that he left the organization of Narodnaya Volya and wholeheartedly devoted himself to the cause of socialism among the Jewish masses. It was he who evolved among the Jewish revolutionists the plan of settling the Jews in²³ Palestine. Of course, nothing came of it.

Other radical Jewish youths sought still different solutions for the Jewish predicament. They conceived a plan to establish in American agricultural colonies on a communistic basis, and to

build in the New World a truly new social order. A very talented young man even left Russia to undertake the project. On the way to America he stopped off in Switzerland to convert Deutsch to the plan. The latter found it all worthless and unacceptable. He foresaw that the young idealists would soon forsake the colonies, move to the large American cities and follow some profession. The attempt proved unsuccessful.

Neither the success nor the failure of these projects proved of importance as far as the destiny of the Jews in Russia was concerned. What interests us in this study is the fact that these Jewish revolutionists -- unlike their non-Jewish comrades -- were deeply affected by the pogroms in the eighties. It is quite clear that not all of them reacted in the same manner. Some viewed the outbreak as the dawn of the revolution. Others were more realistic, and the reality of disillusionment left them spiritually crippled. Some became more ardent socialists and clung to the general revolutionary movement. Others came back to their people and began to preach either Jewish socialism or Jewish nationalism.

The upshot of it all was the temporary interruption of the progress of the Jewish labor movement. Yet it was not completely crushed. The development of the movement in the eighties is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER IX.

THE EIGHTIES.

1. The Geneva Proclamation of 1880.

Handwritten note in left margin: "The Jewish revolutionary movement was interrupted by the pogroms, there appeared in 1880 a very interesting proclamation from Geneva. It was in the form of an appeal issued by a group of Jewish socialists whose political crimes forced them to emigrate from Russia and, at a distance from their native land, to promulgate in some way the revolutionary cause. This appeal -- dated June 15, 1880 -- was directed to the Jewish socialistic intelligentsia. It protested against their estrangement from the Jewish masses and beseeched them to carry on propaganda among the Jewish working classes and to employ the Yiddish jargon as the medium of expression."

Before the Jewish revolutionary movement was interrupted by the pogroms, there appeared in 1880 a very interesting proclamation from Geneva. It was in the form of an appeal issued by a group of Jewish socialists whose political crimes forced them to emigrate from Russia and, at a distance from their native land, to promulgate in some way the revolutionary cause. This appeal -- dated June 15, 1880 -- was directed to the Jewish socialistic intelligentsia. It protested against their estrangement from the Jewish masses and beseeched them to carry on propaganda among the Jewish working classes and to employ the Yiddish jargon as the medium of expression.

It must be remembered that the spoken revolutionary propaganda among the Jews in the seventies had been carried on in Russian. The socialistic literature, on the other hand, had been written in Hebrew. And here came a direct call for the use of Yiddish for both spoken and written propaganda. Above all, the appeal emphasized that the Jewish masses, and not only the intelligentsia, were to be revolutionized.

The Geneva pronouncement gives definite reason for advocating a new socialistic literature in Yiddish instead of Hebrew. Yiddish is the common language of four million Jews who live in Lithuania, Volynia, Galicia, Ukraine, Russian Poland and Rumania.

The Jewish masses are already accustomed to Yiddish, said the Genevans, and a literature in that language is rapidly coming into being. In conclusion, the document made it known that the sponsors had decided to establish in Geneva a Free Jewish Printing Press.

Although it is quite clear that the appeal was issued by a group of Russian-Jewish socialists in Geneva, the name of its author (or authors) has not yet been determined.²

The appeal created little impression; it exerted little influence and rather aroused the indignation of the other socialistic groups. The efforts of the Geneva emigres got no further than the issuing of the pronunciamento. They did not succeed in establishing a Jewish printing press. For such a "narrowly nationalistic" undertaking there could be found neither workers nor means. They had to set aside their desires for more suitable times.

The issue of a Jewish printing press came up for discussion at a meeting of the exiled socialists. The Jewish spokesmen tried to present the project but "it was given such a horrible welcome that even the most energetic men had to drop their hands in helplessness." Furthermore, wrote Dragomanor, referring to the same meeting:

"It seemed there would be no opposition to the idea of using the same 'clever devices' in one more language, or -- if you

will -- even in the 'Jargon.' Yet it must be recorded that it was only due to the singular effort and tact of the presiding officer that the gathering did not end in a huge scandal. It was in great anger and irritation that the whole matter was discussed by the orators of the Russian and Polish Socialist parties, especially by those of Jewish extraction.³"

The attempts of these Jewish socialists and their Geneva Proclamation of 1880 were inspired by the Ukrainian revolutionary leader, M. P. Dragomanov. His influence upon the socialistic thought of his day was strong.⁴

From the various documents and papers found in Lieberman's possession when he was arrested in Vienna, it is evident that he was in close contact with Dragomanov, along with Marx and others.⁵ Dragomanov, who nursed the idea of socialistic propaganda among the Jews, had made himself famous as a Ukrainian political leader, scholar and writer. When his attention was arrested by the status of the Jews at the close of the seventies, he stopped viewing the Jews as "a people that^{was} composed only of exploiters and parasites only, a people of unproductive elements." Besides merchants, landholders, and usurers, Dragomanov also beheld proletarians, artisans, and workers among the Jews of Ukraine.

He calculated that approximately one third of the Jewish people were exploiters; the rest could be made into fine material for

socialistic propaganda and in the class struggle could even become comrades of the peasants. As for the other two thirds of the Jewish people, he wrote that they still belonged to the bourgeois class, that "they live in darkness, under the influence of religious and national prejudices, and are separated from other peoples by a wall of self-ignorance. Only Jewish socialists could awaken these masses from their lethargy and they could do it only in the language of the Jewish masses; in the 'jargon.'" Unfortunately, however, the Jewish intelligentsia -- among them also the socialists -- free themselves from Jewish poverty and fill the rows of the Russian socialist organizations. Thus the Jewish proletariat, left on its own, remains spiritually impoverished, ideologically clinging to the old Jewish world."

In accordance with his philosophy, Dragomanov organized a small group of socialists -- Jews who were to carry on socialistic propaganda among the Jewish inhabitants of Galicia and Russia. But, as we know, not much resulted from this endeavor. Great objection was raised to the establishment of a Jewish printing press, which was necessary for an effective propaganda. The only practical product of the group was the Geneva Proclamation. However, Dragomanov's influence left a very definite imprint.

In 1881, the Narodovoltzy made an attempt in Russia to put into practice Dragomanov's idea of introducing revolutionary propaganda among the Jews in Yiddish. There appeared the first

number of Arbeiter Zeitung, produced on a hektograph and which contained two articles -- translated almost ~~ver~~batim -- from Rabochaya Gazetta, workers' organ in Russia published by Zheli-
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abov. This introduces the problem of the development of the socialist press in Yiddish, which will be a topic of discussion in a separate chapter.

2. The Growth of Circles.

In the seventies the city of Vilna was the most important center of revolutionary activity among the Jews. In the eighties¹⁰ the movement spread, at a slow pace, to other cities. Gradually, it attracted not only the intelligentsia but also members of the working class. During this decade there came to the forefront Jewish leaders who were destined to pass through the crucible of revolutionary heroism. Ideologically, the revolutionary movement did not yet acquire in the eighties a completely formulated philosophy. But, as we shall see, there appeared only definite trends which made for a more systematized movement later. The Yiddish language was introduced here and there, and was instrumental in winning to the cause some elements of the Jewish masses. But let it be quite clear that in the eighties, there was as yet no mass movement.

Socialism did not yet penetrate the large proletarian masses. We shall discuss the Jewish Circles in various cities. Suffice it to say here that there was nothing particularly Jewish about most of them. The leaders and the participants were Jews, but the Circles were ideologically similar to the non-Jewish Kruzhoks. Even linguistically, they were similar since Russian predominated in both.

Numerically, the underground movement among the Jews was rather small. The accomplishments of the Kruzhoks lay in the

efficiency of their system of conspiracy and in the fact that a few talented propagandists were produced for the future growth of the cause. But even in the case of the trained propagandists great disillusionment followed. Some of them proved much more interested in their own cultural enrichment than in the emancipation of the masses. It is in the nineties that the proletarian masses enter the struggle on behalf of their own class, and it was not until they joined that the revolutionary movement acquired really new forms.

Just as in the seventies so in the eighties the Kruzhoks suffered a common lot. The police, usually, discovered them and disbanded them. Perhaps the police reports are not to be taken too seriously. They are probably exaggerated. The officials wanted to display and to record their own efficiency. The fact is that even though the revolutionary Circles were tracked down and closed by the police, they usually sprang up again, and at times even with greater vigor than before.

When we realize that the revolutionary movement among the Jews in the eighties as yet had no deeply rooted revolutionary antecedents, that the activities had to be carried on with the utmost secrecy and that, besides police persecution from without, it was confronted by the antagonistic attitude of the Jewish bourgeoisie from within, we cannot help arriving at the conclusion that the small, scattered revolutionary Circles were organ-

P. 148-150 add. nothing to
what was said on subject of circles
in the '70's. Inevitably. make
in discussion of 70's

izations of great power and, as we shall notice later, of much fulfilled promise.

Undoubtedly, the Jewish revolutionary movement in the eighties would have recorded greater progress were it not for the historic occurrences in that decade and the natural consequences which followed in the wake of the devastating pogroms. We refer to the period of reaction after the pogroms precipitated by the assassination of the Czar and to the growth of the Jewish nationalistic movement which attracted some of the best talents among the Jews. The result was that the revolutionary movement suffered neglect and decline; it did not, however, completely disintegrate.

Not in all centers of Jewish life, which later on became infected with fruitful revolutionary activity were Kruzhoks organized. Isaac Hurwitz relates in his memoirs that, traveling on a revolutionary mission from place to place, he found no labor circles in cities such as Grodno and Bialystok. There were also no Kruzhoks in the eighties in other cities. But they did exist in Poltava (1883), Kishiniev (1884), Niezhin (1887), Riga (1889) and Mohilev (1889). The latter were not, however, exclusively Jewish circles; the membership consisted of mixed elements, and the activities were not concentrated exclusively among Jews.

But the Jewish Kruzhoks, about which more information is available, existed in the following cities: Vilna, Minsk, Warsaw, Homel, Rohachev, Odessa and Kremenchug. In the next pages we describe in greater detail the personnel and ideology of these Circles in the eighties.

3. Vilna.

As we saw in a previous chapter, in the seventies the Jewish Kruzhoks in Vilna underwent a damaging crisis.¹⁵ The wholesale searches and police raids in 1876 stopped temporarily but did not completely destroy the revolutionary activities in Vilna. Men like Lieberman and Davidowitz could no longer remain in that city. In their absence, years of unsystematic, unorganized activity followed.

It was in the middle of the eighties that we hear again of an organized group. The definite date of the founding of this group cannot be ascertained. The given dates vary. According to Akimov-Makhnovetz, the Circle came into being in 1885. The Bund report sent in 1900 to the International Socialist Congress in Paris gives the date 1887. That there already existed a Circle in 1888 is seen from the writing of I. Hurwitz, who reports that on his visit to Vilna, he was informed by Lev Yogikhes ("Liovka") of a Circle of four workers.¹⁶ In 1889 the Circle was exposed as a result of information given to the police by Gratz, who reported among other things that the Circle possessed a supply of illegal literature¹⁷ and that it was in contact with the Warsaw Circles "Proletariat."

According to Akimov-Makhnovetz, there came to Vilna from Minsk the revolutionary leader Emil Abramowitz sometime in the period 1886-1887 and organized a Circle of students who attended

the gymnasium, the Real-Schule and the Vilna Teachers' Institute.¹⁸

At the opening of the nineties there was in Vilna a number of Circles which attracted a large membership from among the working masses. The leaders were still of the intelligentsia. On Saturdays they would gather for general discussion of different problems of the Circles. They would prepare lecture programs, distribute literature, etc.

The workingmen's Circles were united through "The Center," or Council, a small group composed of representatives of each Circle.

At that time the following were among the leaders of the movement: Arcadi Kramer, Gozhanski ("Lonu"), Mill ("John"), Kopelsohn ("Timofei"), Mutnik ("Gleb") and others, all intelligentsia. These socialists came to the forefront during the Bund period. We shall have occasion to mention them again. They were affiliated with all the radical movements before and even after the¹⁹ World War. One of them died only recently.

The brief summary of revolutionary activities among the Jews in Vilna during the eighties shows that the Circles were still²⁰ led by students, members of the intelligentsia. The Jewish Circles, however, began to attract working men. Jewish Labor was now introduced to revolution. Vilna is still an active revolutionary center, but another city began to compete for supremacy.

4. Minsk.

Next to Vilna, the city of Minsk became a focal point in the revolutionization of the Jewish masses. In fact, in the eighties more socialistic activity is evident among the Jews in Minsk than in any other locality. Here we witness the existence of more than ^{one} circle existing simultaneously. As far back as 1875 an attempt had already been made to establish there a Jewish socialist movement. ²¹ ²²

Three outstanding revolutionary personages were active in the city of Minsk: Chaim Shlemov Khurgin, Emil Abramov Abramovitz, and Isaac Halevi Hurwitz.

Khurgin was engaged in revolutionary propaganda in Minsk under unique circumstances. In 1882 he was implicated in an underground transaction. He was found guilty of smuggling into Russia from abroad a letter from the emigrant Lev Hartman. For this act he was sentenced to eight months imprisonment and then was handed over to the police to remain under surveillance for three years. This period he was forced to spend in Minsk. Even under the watchful eye of the police, this idealist could not check his revolutionary ambition. He could not remain inactive. He managed to organize a few Jewish workingmen's Circles and proved very successful.

According to his own testimony, about 160 persons belonged to the Circles in 1885, a membership of unusual size for those days. Along with Khurgin several radical students worked for the formation and development of these Circles.

Khurgin had contact with St. Petersburg, whence he used to receive the literature of the Narodovoltzy. As a result of an unusual system of intrigue, the secret of the Circles' existence remained unfathomed by the police for some time.

During the summer vacation of 1884, Emil Abramowitz, a student at Derpt University, came to Minsk where his father, a dentist, resided. Independently of Khurgin, he began to carry on propaganda among the local workers. He first contacted the printers, and organized them into a Circle.

Abramowitz was an unusual leader, a simple and attractive person. With magnetic personality, he soon won the love and recognition of the workers. His activities in Minsk, however, were limited to summer vacations only.

The second revolutionary leader in Minsk was Isaac (Yitzchok Halevi) Hurwitz. In 1879, then a student of St. Petersburg University, he was found guilty of printing proclamations of the Narodovoltzy. He was deported to Minsk and was paroled to his parents.

In 1881 he was again found guilty of carrying on propaganda among young people, as a result of which he was exiled for three

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years to Eastern Siberia. In 1885 he returned from exile. At the close of the summer of that year, Emil Abramowitz won him over to the cause anew. Under Hurwitz' leadership about 130 members were affiliated with the Circle in 1886.

Besides Hurwitz, other active members of the Circle were his wife (nee Kushelevskaya) who accompanied him to Siberia, his sister Yevgenia, and others.²⁷

Hurwitz' Circles in Minsk were of three kinds:

- (1) Where the workingman was taught to read and write Russian.
- (2) Where the natural sciences were taught, and
- (3) The Socialist Circles.

New members were admitted to the first two types only. Those who completed a certain term in the first two were granted admission to the third, the highest Circle.

There is also a record of another Circle which existed in Minsk in 1887. The leader of that Circle was Ovsei Bellach, who worked for the newspaper Minski Listok (The Minsk Sheet). Due to the fact that one of the members, G. Poliak, informed the police of the existence of this Circle, it was forced to disband in 1888. Bellach was exiled for five years to Eastern Siberia. Some of the members fled to foreign lands and others were placed under police surveillance.

all this material could be found in circles of 1903 & also radically stated. To much detail. - 156 - Individuals frequently important ideas & conclusions important.

5. Other Cities.

Although Vilna and Minsk were the most important, they were not the only centers of Jewish revolutionary activity. To the list of other cities belong (a) Odessa, (b) Kremenchug, (c) Rohachev, (d) Homel and (e) Warsaw. We consider them separately.

a. Odessa.

In Odessa there was already a revolutionary Kruzhok in 1877. In 1880 Vladimir Hornstein organized a Kruzhok there. This group planned to publish an illegal newspaper and to establish an illegal printing press. In the Spring of 1881 it merged with a local Russian Circle.
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b. Kremenchug.

In 1882 a Circle of students from the local Real-Schule was discovered in Kremenchug. The Circle possessed a library of forbidden books. They also disseminated a proclamation (a copy of which has not been preserved) under the title: "No. 1. -- a True Word from Revolutionary Youth."

As a result of the police discovery, some of the members were forced to flee; some of them were placed under police surveillance, and one of them was exiled for a term of four years to Western
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Siberia.

c. Rohachev.

In 1882 Abram Yosefov Margolin, a student of the Veterinary Institute of Kharkov, organized a Kruzhok in Rohachev. The Circle had under its administration an illegal library. About seventy subscribers to the library paid a monthly fee for its support. Collections for the library were made not only in Rohachev, but also in other cities: Minsk, Bobroisk, Bialystok, etc.

In addition to the Circle, Margolin planned to organize a "Society for the Dissemination of Enlightenment among Youths of Both Sexes," the Statute of which was found in his possession at the time of the police search.

Even when he was at school in Kharkov, Margolin kept up his contact with the Circle in Rohachev. On the basis of a letter seized by the police, Margolin and a few other members of his Circle were accused of having planned the assassination of some important government officials. All the accused were found guilty and sentenced. Margolin, along with another member, was exiled for three years to the province of Arkhangelsk.

d. Homel.

In the beginning of the nineties we find in Homel an organized Circle or two. The membership was not permanent. The Circles constituted students primarily. Most of the activities were carried on during the summer vacations, when the youths

returned home from the cities where they studied. When they departed for school in the Fall, the Circles would suspend their activities.³³

e. Warsaw.

In 1890 a socialist-democratic Circle was formed in Warsaw. The members were students who hailed from Lithuania. It was their desire to carry on propaganda work among the Jewish masses, but they effected no contact with the local workingmen. Later they were able to attract to the Circle a few workers who also came from Lithuania.

On the occasion of the First of May in 1892, this Circle, together with the Polish Socialists, issued 150 copies of a hektographed proclamation in Yiddish.

The arrests of 1892 completely disrupted the movement just when it was beginning to take on the appearance of a well-organized enterprise. About twenty-four workmen, who were influenced by the propaganda, joined the P. P. S. (Polish Socialist Party.)³⁴

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During the eighties we observe the appearance and growth of Circles in different cities. Particularly strong were the revolutionary organizations in Vilna, and even much more so in Minsk. The movements in the other cities were not of a sustained character since they flourished vigorously only in the summer vacation periods when the students, permeated with the revolutionary spirit of the schools they attended, would return home and stimulate the work.

As the eighties closed and another decade of socialistic activity began, we observe the stirrings of a mass movement. There were sings of unified revolutionary effort, of centralized organization. The movement has begun to attract the working masses.

But, before we approach the new decade, we must first describe the nature and ideologies of the Kruzhoks in the eighties and early nineties so that we may detect the great changes the revolutionary movement was undergoing during this significant transitional period.

6. Ideologies.

In the eighties the various philosophies of socialism were not yet clearly defined. Writes Vinchevski: "Throughout the eighties much confusion reigned not only among the social-demo-³⁵crats, but also among the anarchists...." Generally, the Circles³⁶ adhered either to the ideologies of the Narodovoltzy or of the³⁷ social-democrats. *make clear distinction between two*

In Odessa and Khurgin and Minsk, Hornstein carried the banner of the Narodovoltzy. On the other hand, Abramovitz and Hurwitz, also in Minsk, were social-democrats. According to Hurwitz, however, their Marxism was mingled with traces of Narodovoltzy proclivities.

The Circles of Vilna and Warsaw followed the ideology of the social-democrats. It is reported that in 1886-1887 in the city of Vilna there was established the first propaganda Circles for somewhat educated Jewish workingmen with a program based on³⁸ the philosophy of the social-democrats.

The Student-Circles of that period were predominantly shot through with the strain of Narodovoltzy.

Despite the urgent necessity of using Yiddish, in spite of Dragomanov's influence and exhortations, the propaganda was carried on in Russian for the most part. They who did not know the Russian language were taught how to read and write it. After

that, the workers were promoted to the study of the sciences, arithmetic, history, etc. After completing these elementary studies, the worker was introduced to the theory of socialism.³⁹

In Hurwitz' Circles in Minsk a need for a literature in Yiddish began to manifest itself. Hence Wohlman was instructed to translate into Yiddish books dealing with the natural sciences, but due to economic circumstances the project was never executed.

Judging from the nature and content of the propaganda of the Jewish revolutionary Circles, it did not differ greatly from the propaganda of the Russian Circles. But the Circles can be called Jewish not ~~on~~ on the basis of their ideology but because of the fact that the participants and the leaders were Jewish. They can be called Jewish Circles only because the members came from the Jewish milieu and because the work was carried on among the Jewish people.

The propaganda was of an abstract character. The content of the propaganda had little to do with the worker's everyday life, a fact which created the feeling that the Circles were remote from the masses and presented a separate, isolated world.

The propaganda was primarily of an economic nature. Writes Martov: "Of agitation based on other problems of society, political, civil, and national oppression or agricultural interests --
of such agitation, there was nothing."⁴⁰

Although the propaganda was of an economic character, the Jewish masses of that day did not have to be told that their economic position was closely related to the political system of the land. Therefore, they became convinced that they must engage not only in an economic, but also in a political struggle.

In one of the speeches delivered on the occasion of the First of May celebration in 1892, a Vilna worker voiced the following sentiments:

"... Thus with our own youthful strength we must clear the way. First of all, we must educate all our sisters and brothers and explain to them that the liberation of the individual worker will come only with the liberation of the masses. In our Russia, however, we are handicapped above all by the fact that we have no freedom of press, of assembly and of organization. Therefore, our first step must be the acquisition of a Constitution.⁴¹"

The attitude of the workers toward the purpose of the Circle is evident in the following excerpt from a speech:

"We cannot sit with folded hands and await help from above. Only on our own powers depend our liberation and survival. Everyone must try as much as possible to study and to teach others; and in such a way help to create in the early stages some small Circle at least. These Kruzhoks will enable us in the future to be united with and become members of a great, universal, fighting work-

ingmen's party, which -- acting in unison -- will win all inalienable rights. Then shall come the fulfillment of true freedom, brotherhood and equality for all humanity, not excluding the Jews.⁴²"

From the speeches we notice that even the worker considered the Jewish element incidental. First the liberation of humanity, and then, with it, may also come the liberation of the Jew. It shows also how strong was the influence of the leaders; it was their doctrine that the workers repeated.

The early Jewish propagandists claimed that their main problem was to influence and to prepare individual workers who would be qualified later on to carry on propaganda among the masses. The result of such a system was that the trained worker not only failed to do the task for which he was educated but often used to break away from the masses and regard them with aloofness and animosity. The appetite for knowledge which was aroused in them stimulated them to go on with further studies. Not infrequently a worker would forsake his trade and devote himself completely to educational pursuits. Thus many a worker developed a "split personality," and his make-up became unadjusted and disintegrated as a result of the peremptory leap from a trade to a hasty, greedy desire to become educated and join the ranks of the intelligentsia.

The evolution of theoretical socialism, the entrance of workingmen into the Kruzhoks, the educational propaganda within the Kruzhoks -- were not the only achievements of the eighties. One of the outstanding accomplishment of the Circles during this period was the well-developed system of conspiracy. Especially was it true of the Vilna and Minsk Circles. The great socialist leader Martov (Julius Zederbaum) who was actively engaged in revolutionary propaganda in Vilna writes: "The conspiracy was the triumph of the social-democratic Circles in Vilna as well as in other cities..."⁴³

In spite of the limitations of the underground Circles it was within them were made the unique attempts to adopt special methods for the dissemination of socialist ideas. From these Circles came a socialist literature of some originality. Out of them came forth leaders of abundant faith, expert organizers and propagandists, men of energy. And within them evolved a philosophy of revolution and labor.

CHAPTER X.

THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION

1. From Propaganda to Mass Agitation.

The members of the Jewish intelligentsia who carried on revolutionary propaganda among the Jewish proletarians neither expected nor intended to create a Jewish labor movement. The existence of a distinct Jewish labor movement seemed impossible. There was no hope that it would every come into being. By attracting the Jewish proletarians to the revolutionary cause, the intellectuals only aimed to convert them to socialism and to prepare them for membership in the all-Russian revolutionary movement. The propaganda was carried on in the Russian language. On the whole, the Jewish proletariat was not considered promising material for the revolutionary cause.

But the unexpected happened. The Jewish workingmen proved to be very susceptible to socialism. As we know, in the city of Vilna a group of militant workingmen was organized. The intellectuals were thrown in a more intimate contact with them. The attitude towards the "lower" class began to change. The Jewish working masses now presented an enormous field for revolutionary endeavor. The Jewish proletariat became a new-found love.

In order to prove successful, a new approach had to be adopted. The Jewish masses could not be won to the cause with Russian propaganda. Hence the change to Yiddish. But, above all, it was realized that theoretical propaganda was not enough, that, in

fact, it did not serve the designed purpose. Therefore, the socialist leaders undertook to organize the proletarian masses on the basis of immediate economic demands. This should have created in them a class-consciousness. The improvement of their economic status should have appealed to their depressed moods.

Revolutionary theory was replaced by definite wants and economic values. Revolutionization of the masses also meant the amelioration of their unhappy condition: shorter working day, higher wages, etc. The workingmen found their strength by establishing secret trade unions and by utilizing a newly discovered tool: the strikes which shall be discussed in detail later.

The new radical literature, especially the pamphlets by ¹ Plekhanov, in which were presented for the first time the problems of mass agitation, and the wholesale strikes in the end of the eighties created some confusion in the minds of the propagandists.

There were brought up the questions of revising the program of instruction and of establishing a tie between the Circles and the large working masses outside. It was only at the end of 1892 that the new tendency towards practical work and organization of the masses manifested themselves and led to the transition from the exclusive propaganda in the Circles to the agitation among the masses. From that time on the cultural phase becomes the sore spot of the movement, a source of many failures, a cause of much

trouble and opposition.

The exponents of the new tendency committed the mistake of the Narodniks of the seventies. The Narodniks believed that communism was inborn in the Russian peasant.² The social-democrats believed that the workingmen, in view of their class position,³ could not help being socialists. The leaders of the new movement recognized only agitation.

Here we must draw the distinction between Propaganda and Agitation, as applied to the revolutionary cause. To draw such a distinction is rather difficult.

By agitation is meant a systematic influence upon the masses for the purpose of spreading among them certain political or social ideas and of arousing them to certain acts in order to realize these ideas.

According to Plekhanov's definition, the purpose of propaganda is to convey many ideas to a small number of people and the purpose of agitation is to convey a small number of ideas to many people. Since the purpose of agitation is to arouse the masses to action; therefore, it must appeal not only to their minds but also to their social instincts and emotions.

The transition from propaganda (in the Circles) to agitation among the masses was always a period of crisis in the history of political parties, especially in the socialist movement.⁴

The early nineties -- as a period of transition -- presented such a crisis in the history of the Jewish revolutionary movement in Russia. Within the Pale of Settlement a large Jewish labor movement was launched. In 1892-1893 the period of propaganda ended a new epoch began, marking the entrance of the wide labor masses upon the arena of revolution. The propaganda in the Circles did not cease altogether, but the Circles were no longer the exclusive sanctuaries of the radical intelligentsia and of a few workingmen. It now became a movement of the many and not of the few. It became, in short, a mass movement. The Jewish workers in Vilna, Minsk, Warsaw, Homel and other cities and towns began to carry on a struggle for the amelioration of the lamentable economic plight of the lower classes. Many conflicts and clashes were inevitably to follow. The Jewish worker⁵ declared war against his employer.

Beginning during this period a complete change of ideology also took place. The influence of the Narodovoltzy vanished completely. The revolutionary movement among the Jews in Russia⁶ became a Marxist movement. It marked the end of exclusivism and the beginning of mass participation.

Ber Borochof, of Paoli Zion fame, in his study of the Jewish Labor Movement, divides the movement into definite chronological periods:⁷

- (1) The Pre-Historic Period, which embraces the sixties, sev-

enties and eighties, up to about 1886-1889. During this period the socialist ideology and the economic struggle of the Jewish workingman was both weak and divided, and possessed no common rallying-ground. The working masses did declare strikes against their employers, but these strikes were not based on socialism and the class struggle. As yet it did not dawn upon the strikers that their power lay in numbers. Socialism did not yet find its way to the Jewish working masses.

(2) The Preparatory Period which marks the very beginning of wider labor organization. Borochof takes as the starting point of this period the two months' general strike of the Jewish weavers in Bialystok (July-September, 1887) and the establishment of the first strike-fund in Vilna in 1888. Upon this basis he accepts 1887 as the beginning of the historical period in the Jewish labor movement within the Pale of Settlement. During the ten years that followed ~~the~~ Jewish Labor and Socialism sought and found each other. It was a period of preparation and groping.

(3) The Economic Period of the Bund, which begins with the formation of the Bund in 1897. It marks a new era in the development of the Jewish proletariat.

(4) The Period of Political Schisms which include approximately the years 1901-1907.

The last two periods are not within the scope of this study. Of greater interest to us at this time are the strikes which played

a very decisive role in the evolution of the Jewish labor movement. Before dealing with the Period of Strikes we shall try to describe in the next two sections the participation of an awakened Jewish proletariat in the May First celebrations and then the new role of the Circles during the years of transition, when propaganda was replaced by agitation.

2. First of May.

The Celebration of the First of May was established by the International Socialist Congress held in Stuttgart in 1889.

Chronologically speaking, the first ones in Russia to observe the First of May were the Polish workers; the second ones were the Jewish workers and the last were the Russian workers. In 1892 the Jewish workers of Vilna celebrated the First of May for the first time.

That year about one hundred of the more intelligent workers participated in the celebration. That occasion is particularly memorable in the the annals of the Jewish labor movement, because of the "Four Speeches" delivered by Jewish workingmen. In those speeches is revealed the workers' unappeasable hunger for knowledge and education.

Said one orator: "We are of the opinion that neither God nor the devil can free the oppressed masses from the yoke that bends them to the ground; only knowledge and self-help can lead them out of darkness into the radiance of life... The light of Science of the nineteenth century points the way. Science directs our ship like^a/wise, experienced, and far-visioned captain. Like a loving mother, Science will carry us safely across the ocean of tears and sorrows, to the land of life. Happy is he whose courage does not fail him, whose heart does not tremble at

the thundering of cannons nor at the lightning of the enemies' bayonets nor even when the storm is about to tear the sails of the unfortunate vessel.⁹"

These speeches express not only a hunger for knowledge. They also express a burning hatred for the existing order and a readiness to offer themselves as sacrifices in the struggle against it.

May First was also celebrated in the years 1893-1894. In 1895 it was celebrated in Vilna, Minsk, Warsaw and Smargon. But of these cities Vilna saw the most successful celebration. Demonstrations took place in two separate points of the city.

The red flags, under which the Jewish workers gathered, carried on one side the inscription, "Proletarians of all lands, unite!" and on the other side, "We fight for a ten hour working day, for higher wages, and for better conditions." Three speeches were held on that occasion. Of all three, the political¹⁰ speech was most enthusiastically received.

On the occasion of the First of May (1895) in Vilna, Martov addressed a gathering of agitators. As we shall see later, the speech proved to be of historic significance in the development of the Jewish labor movement. In that speech he advocated the¹¹ creation of a separate Jewish social-democratic organization.

In 1896 the celebration of May First was held in every city which contained a Jewish labor group. In Vilna 540 persons¹² participated.

Two opposing forces made themselves ready for the celebration of the First of May in 1897. On one side were the police and

the gendarmes; on the other, the social-democrats. In Warsaw, Vilna, and Bialystok special proclamations were issued.

On the streets of Vilna the police and the gendarmes appeared in full readiness. The revolutionaries were forced to hold the celebration in small groups. In Vilna as well as in Kiev the officials threatened the celebrants with pogroms. In Warsaw the Lithuanian and the Jewish social-democrats, who generally worked together, issued a counter-pogrom proclamation in Yiddish and in ¹³ Polish.

For us the reports of the May Celebrations are important because they reveal that there was enough class-consciousness and enlightenment among the Jewish proletariat to organize mass demonstrations.

3. The New Role of the Circles.

Among the many factors that attracted the Jewish masses to the revolutionary movement, quite an important role was played by the desire "to acquire knowledge." When the movement began to grow by leaps and bounds it became impossible even under the best circumstances to place in the Circles all the incoming workingmen. For that there were not enough leaders, places of meetings and means.

Yet stress was still laid upon the problem of culture and educations. Thus in one statute of a Cassa the thought is expressed that "One person without knowledge is like a blind man¹⁵ in a forest." In many other statutes references are made again and again to the importance of the workingman's intellectual development.

In principle, none of the leaders of the new mass movement was against the popularization of education among the masses. They only tried to convey the thought that the problems of the practical struggle must play the dominant role and that for the success of the struggle knowledge is useful, but not essential.

It was difficult to reach an agreement on the intellectual problem. The first disappointment of the masses in the new form of the movement arose as a result of their dissatisfaction with the educational policies of the underground organization. The

organization, on the other hand, caught in the web of their own contradictions, displayed complete confusion, continually seeking solutions with no success. The masses were hungry for substantial knowledge. Instead of that, their appetites were irritated with empty slogans. The masses displayed the general temper of the epoch: a quest for learning.

In every city there existed a system of educational organizations which were to satisfy the demands of the masses for elementary education and the demands of the exceptional persons for "higher" education.

The lowest rung of the educational ladder was the institution known as Sabbath Readings. To these readings was admitted every member of a given economic Cassa. Each Cassa out of its own income paid rent for rooms which were used for evening classes and for meetings and would be converted into a workers' club on Saturdays. The agitator-workingman used to come there and converse freely with the workingmen. At those Sabbath Readings the meaning of natural history and the laws of economics were explained. The workingmen were introduced to better literature and Russian politics, but the main subjects of conversation and discussion were the problems of agitation. Very often there was quoted newspaper items dealing with political occurrences and with the life of workingmen in other lands. There were also read proclamations and propaganda essays, which were interpreted by the instructors.

The Sabbath Readings rapidly disintegrated because of internal conditions, as for example lack of quarters and lack of guides, but, above all, because the masses soon began to lose interest in that form of enlightenment. Somehow, the basic laws of economic and of natural history were seldom touched upon, and it became wearisome to listen repeatedly to propagandistic, matter-of-fact statements based upon contemporary life.

mi. Cassa
The workingmen who displayed promise and devotion to the cause chosen by the agitators and directors of the Cassa as candidates for "the circles of instruction."

prossy
There existed three kinds of workingmen's Circles: elementary or agitational, middle, and higher. From the elementary Circle some were promoted to the middle Circles. The higher Circles were composed mostly of agitators who were to receive the educational background for their activities. To each Circle belonged about eight or nine persons. They were grouped not according to their occupation but according to their intellectual background. Instructions were given twice a week. The object of instruction was well defined: "it was to develop among the better workingmen a social-democratic philosophy of life -- it was to create a proletarian intelligentsia that would be ready to direct the readings in the Circles and Cassas." In spite of the fact this object was clear to all, the educational program caused the organization much trouble. Theoretically, the content of instruction seemed simple;

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practically, however, it had a different effect. It tended to the opposite direction, and gave the instruction an encyclopedic character. Inevitably they had to face the truth that it was impossible to exclude from a study of political economics a basic understanding of certain epochs of history, of the theory and practice of the labor movement, of the Jewish question, etc. This had to be accomplished with limited intellectual help in the absence of competent teachers. Then there was the additional difficulty of trying to complete the course of study in the shortest possible time. This was particularly felt in the middle and higher Circles for there were no serious books in the Yiddish language dealing with the theory and practice of socialism and with political economy. They were compelled to use the literature of the American anarchists-socialists, such as Der Ikkar von Sozialism and essays from the American Zukunft.

There were other difficulties that presented themselves in the Circles of Instruction and in the other workingmen's Circles. The workingmen would come to class tired after a hard day's work. In order to hold their attention and to draw them into the discussion it was necessary to present the material in a very attractive manner. This required a carefully mapped-out program of instruction. To cope with this problem every organization had a permanent commission for the planning and revising of the educational programs. For the propagandists were prepared guides and aids to available literature, but they proved of limited value because not all propagandists could master that literature. As a result, dissatisfaction began to manifest itself both among

the workingmen who were not privileged to belong to the educational Circles and also among the workingmen who did belong. Very few of them were satisfied with the method of instruction.

To belong to an educational Circle was a sign of distinction. This often led to animosity among the workingmen themselves. The "pupils" were required not to boast of their participation in the Circles of instruction. The other workingmen, however, could not help but notice the absence of certain comrades on certain evenings. It was not difficult to guess that these comrades were busy in a Circle, and since every one of them considered himself just as worthy of belonging to such a group as his fellow, those who were not chosen took it as a personal insult.

Almost in all the organizations there existed, besides the Circles, so-called "Discussion Groups." Only chosen members were eligible to belong. The agitators, who were on the staff of the central body, often desired to study the theory and background of certain problems in order to be authoritatively equipped to appear before the masses. Thus the leaders who were engaged in the practical work had to set aside some of their time for theoretical discussions. In several cities at central meetings both practical and theoretical questions were taken up. Later on, the discussions were held independently of the central organization. To the discussions there began to be admitted not only the

picked agitators but also the outstanding workingmen and members of the intelligentsia. To distinguish the discussion groups from the Circles, the content of the discussions was not regulated by a definite program. Every member of the discussion group could introduce a problem of his own interest, and if the majority accepted it, the question would then be taken up.

This freedom of choice was often camouflaged for the existing committee usually managed to influence the discussion leader to present for discussion those problems which they were eager to push to the forefront. It must not be denied that the representatives of the committee wanted to preserve the discursive character of the meetings. But the fact that the workingmen were intellectually unprepared for intelligent participation and the fact that the intelligentsia often failed to express their thoughts clearly and succinctly would often force ^a learned member, under the pretense of "a few introductory remarks," to read a prepared manuscript for two hours or so. Thus the discussion groups were often converted into the usual type of a Circle, where the leader spoke and the members took it all in.

Besides the workingmen's Circles, there were also Intelligent-skie Kruzheni -- Circles for the Intelligentsia. The lack of intellectual leadership was evident in the labor movement. To attract such intellectual strength was considered the supreme necessity of the organization. For this reason there were established

These circles were a kind of school for the workers and the intelligentsia who were not yet convinced of the necessity of the revolution.

these special Circles for those students and intelligent plebeians who nursed sympathies with the radical cause. In these Circles it was attempted to convert the participants to the socialist point of view. It was hoped that ultimately they would join the ranks of the revolutionary party.

Circles also existed for pseudo-intellectuals who were engaged in the leadership of a workingmen's circle and performed some responsible tasks for the cause. Outlines of study were also prepared for these intellectual Circles. The participants, however, were required to do some work of their own: to read, and to write lectures. These assignments did not prove too arduous, for the language of instruction in these Circles was Russian, and the students were able to utilize sources from Russian literature.

These circles were a kind of school for the workers and the intelligentsia who were not yet convinced of the necessity of the revolution.

Thus we notice that the Kruzhoks, or Circles, which began in the seventies existed uninterruptedly in later years. During the eighties -- particularly at the close of the decade -- they began to attract the people from the proletarian Jewish masses. ¹⁷ As the revolutionary movement grew in popularity and in strength and evolved into a powerful labor movement, the importance of the underground Circles gradually diminished. New emergencies called for a different system of organization, and new

bodies came into being. The Circles did survive, but primarily as educational instrumentalities.

In the early nineties the programs of the Circles continued to be of a general cultural nature flavored from time to time with strong political values. For an explanation of different phenomena, they utilized the dialectic interpretation of history. It was all largely theoretical, and seldom led to practical results. It must be mentioned, however, that the leadership became strongly Marxian.

But even in those days there still revolutionary leaders who viewed the participation of Jewish workingmen in the Circles as an unhappy development, for to them one non-Jewish worker was a more valuable gain for the revolution than tens of Jews. The Jewish question was an unimportant item to them.

The educational program of the Circles had as their aim the higher realization of the human personality. These Circles produced a proletarian intelligentsia which became sharply distinguished from their fellow workingmen, thus forming an aristocratic group which kept itself aloof from the masses.

Later on, when the Circles were demoted to a secondary place, comparatively few of the newly evolved proletarian intelligentsia joined the mass movement. They either stepped aside, completely refusing to mix with the masses, or became the leaders of the opposition.

The next chapter deals with the opposition that the Jewish labor movement encountered from within and without.

CHAPTER XI.

THE ENEMIES WITHIN.

1. The Minority Opposition, 1893-1894.

Opposition was nothing new to the revolutionary and labor movements in Russia. The revolutionary spirit grew in face of opposition and persecution. But the forces of opposition came then from without. They were not a part of the revolutionary cause within.

The mightiest enemy of revolution was the State. All the agencies of the government and the police were called into action in order to crush the dangerous radicals. Capitalism and organized religion belonged to the anti-revolutionary forces, too. This is, however, nothing new. In this chapter we are rather concerned with the enemies within.

Basing it on chronological sequence, Frumkin classifies the opposition into two categories: the First Opposition and the Second Opposition. For obvious reasons we prefer for the former the name Minority Opposition and for the latter Mass Opposition. The opposition is also known as the "Labor Opposition."¹

The transition from propaganda in the Circles to agitation among the working masses gave rise to a strong influential opposition in many places. Most of the workers who went through a process of propaganda-education in the Circles were against the participation of the broad masses in the revolutionary movement. They argued that the blind, ignorant masses must first of all be

educated and enlightened and only later be admitted to participation in the economic struggle. They felt that agitation under any other conditions would prove harmful and purposeless.

These arguments often followed by sharp and unjust attacks against the intelligentsia were launched against those Jewish social-democrats who worked among the masses.

These opponents turned against the very men who opened for them the portals of knowledge. They were bitter in their attitude towards the intelligentsia. The following quotation will illustrate some of the sentiments they voiced:

"What do these intellectuals who teach us suggest? They suggest that the workers pass from propaganda to agitation. What does it mean? It simply means that these intellectuals will know Marx, Plekhanov and others, that they will be educated men. But what about us workers? We shall know nothing, because they will concentrate upon us only agitation. Alas, there will be no more propaganda-Circles; for that they have no energy; all their energy has to be offered to the mass agitation. It simply means that they wish to deprive us workers of the knowledge which we gained in the Circles up to now. The intellectuals wish to make us follow them, to follow them blindly, for Marxism we shall never study."²

From the time of the humble beginnings of the revolutionary propaganda among the Jews in Russia, it had been the hope of the

leaders, even in the days of Lieberman, that the revolutionary movement should become a mass movement.

Whatever work was done with single workers it was done as a mere stepping-stone to greater exploits. In fact, the enlightened workers were to be used as the harbingers of the mass movement.

And, suddenly, when the Circles were about to disintegrate and when, beyond anyone's expectations, the masses of Jewish workers became class-conscious, it was the workers themselves, upon whom so much hope was placed, who formed the opposing group.

"A little education is a dangerous thing." The humble revolutionary was inoculated with some culture and he became a snob!

The failure of the organization to satisfy the cultural developments and needs of the masses served as one of the main causes for the rise of the opposition. Especially was it evident in the "First Opposition" of 1893. This was the last conflict of the incurable enthusiasts of the eighties who preferred the Circles more than any other form of revolutionary organization. The head of the opposition was a workingman known simply as "Rezchik" (The Engraver) which designated his occupation. His real name was Abraham Gordon, but nowhere does Frumkin mention him by that name.

Martov, who was active at that time in Vilna, gives an account of the opposition in that city:

He tells with what bitterness some of the workers greeted the news that the Circles would be limited to the agitators only. It became quite evident that to the young workers the Circle served as a school for self-realization and self-development. It brought them out of darkness. It is from this standpoint that they viewed the whole revolutionary enterprise.

The revolutionary intelligentsia looked upon the product of their labor, the enlightened workers, as the magnetic tools that would attract the masses. But the enlightened workers began to consider themselves as a privileged, educated and elevated group above the masses, a group that formed a special cultural entity.

The main trouble, however, lay in the fact that these workers demanded that the policy of education be also applied to the large Jewish masses. In other words, they wanted to disseminate a mild socialism of abstract, utopian content. To them the Circle was a cultural adventure and not an instrument in a class struggle.

The women-workers caused most of the trouble. They were not caught as much as the men in the frenzy of strikes and industrial conflicts. The Circles opened to them a new world of spiritual experience. These poor girls found a sentimental outlet in the few cultural values they acquired and in the belles-lettres learned to read. Literature of a serious nature did not

interest them. Education was to them the Alpha and the Omega of the socialist movement. This and this alone was the answer to their quest. They simply could not grasp the thought that from now on they would be neglected and that emphasis would be laid upon the mass movement and upon the work of agitators outside of the Circles.

The views of the opposition soon began to appear in anonymous pamphlets under the title "Letters to the Intelligentsia."⁵ The pamphlets were widely distributed among, and read by, the workers. The author of these pamphlets displayed much erudition and clever polemical twists. He mercilessly attacked the new approach to the mass movement, criticizing not only the method but the very aims. He based his critique on Lavrov's thesis that progress depends upon the development of scientifically-thinking individuals and upon the growth of their numbers. Adapting this idea to the development of the labor movement, the author of the pamphlets argued that the propaganda in the Circles was the only rational approach for the socialists to utilize in influencing the proletariat.

Very vicious was the writer in his attack upon the leaders. He described them as representatives of the bourgeois class, men who were ignorant of the workers' needs, who use the workers for purposes of their own, who prepare the workers as cannon-fodder for the revolution. It is for this reason that they wish to keep

the workers in ignorance and darkness.

The intellectuals were urged to abandon their leading roles in the labor movements. The workers were urged to break away from the control of the intelligentsia.

The author of these Letters soon became known. He was the "Engraver," Abraham Gordon, who belonged to a Circle during the period of transition when the Narodovoltzy and the social-democrats of Vilna worked together and Martov writes that Gordon was "... well-read and capable, he made the impression of an angry and embittered man; his confused weltanschauung was composed of broken threads of the philosophy of the Narodovoltzy and of intellectual socialism."⁶

The publication of the pamphlets alone was not enough for Abraham Gordon. He soon began to call together meetings and to address them in person. Bitter debates took place and Gordon usually won them. The women in the audiences were especially receptive to his denunciatory orations. He even won victories at general meetings of different trade-Cassas, whither he carried the dispute in spite of all the objections of the social-democrats.

Frumkin, who participated in the revolutionary activities of that period and who became the outstanding historian of the labor movement, describes Gordon's negatively. He calls him "a real maniac," a person with a super-ego, one could not serenely face the thought that he and his ideas were to be swept aside by the wave of a new movement. Like fanatics, he and his followers stepped forward to attack the leaders and the principles of the new mass⁷

movement. He did not deny the necessity of strikes and of labor movements, but he felt that even for the organization of strikes it was first of all necessary to develop enlightened individuals. Therefore, strikes were to be postponed until a large number of such individuals would be available.

Gordon was quite successful. In the beginning, the opposition appeared only in Vilna, but it soon spread to Grodno and to other cities. In Vilna, under the influence of the opposition,⁸ the Circles began to disintegrate. The workers joined the opposition. Only an insignificant number of workers remained with the intelligentsia. Disillusionment befell the leaders.

The adherents of the opposition helped to defeat strikes.⁹ Through their manipulation, some Cassas failed.

For a while it looked very grave. But Gordon's efforts were not long crowned with success. New conditions changed the scene. During the period of strikes, the Jewish workingmen experienced for the first time the thrill of victory over their masters. They were intoxicated with the consciousness of their own strength. The thought of continuing the struggle was more attractive to them than Gordon's gospel that they prepare themselves for the struggle gradually. Immediate action was more exhilarating than the acquisition of knowledge in the future.

In addition to this fact, Gordon was unable to organize new workingmen's Circles. For that he needed the support of the intelligentsia whom he was so viciously attacking.

Those are the reasons that the First Opposition did not penetrate or impress the masses enough to win them. It was the opposition of only a few disgruntled workingmen. And it is for this reason that we labelled it The Minority Opposition.

In 1894 some of the followers of Gordon joined the P. P. S. (Polish Socialist Party). The rest returned to their former organizations of the Jewish social-democrats. The influence of Gordon died down completely.¹⁰
¹¹

In the writings of Frumkin, Martov, and Buchbinder, there is evident a bitter attitude towards Gordon and the opposition which he led.

Unquestionably, the entire labor movement was too weak not to fear the danger of an internal split. The opposition of the government checked the progress of the movement in no slight way. And here just when organized Jewish labor began to build its foundation, it was confronted with a "house divided." Gordon was responsible for the threat of the opposition. So even years later, when the situation was history, wrath was still being poured upon the neurotic "Rezchik."

Thus he is called by the above-mentioned writers a maniac, a fanatic, an egotist, and a demagogue.

Yet it must be said in justice to this "Engraver" that he was an extraordinary character, a man of much zeal and great talent, one who understood the working masses much better than

many of the intellectual leaders. He was one of the people. They suspected him of nothing. He must have indeed possessed unusual powers if he could make the workers lose faith in the leaders of the Circle under whose influence they had been for quite a few years. Even Martov admits here and there that Gordon was quite capable.

In some places there appeared independently of the Gordon group certain opposing forces. In Minsk, for example, a few of the Circles stubbornly clung to the ideology of the Narodovoltzy. Very active under the banner of the old ideas was a man nicknamed "Slepoy," "The Blind!" He inherited a very fine library from a Circle as a result of which he kept up his contacts with the intellectuals and with the workingmen. Removed from active life and from books by his blindness, he lived in a world of fantasies and memories of the past. From his Circles ^{there} ~~he~~ went forth active workers who joined the party of social-revolutionaries. However, upon the course of the mass movement his influence was unfelt.
12

The Minority Opposition vanished in 1894, and in the very same year, according to Frumkin, a new Opposition arose.

2. The Mass Opposition.

A year and a half after the first opposition of 1893 the Second Opposition arose. During the short period (1893-middle 1894) many changes took place. The first days of allurements were gone; the prosaic days arrived and disillusionment overcame the triumphant men. As we shall see in the next chapter, the victories in the small industries were ephemeral. It did not take long and the masters established the old conditions. It was necessary to begin the battle anew, but there was lack of enthusiasm and above all the workers had to face the prepared employers and the Government. The Cassas, which we shall also discuss in the next chapter, at first appeared all-powerful, but now lost their prestige, especially when the hope to unite all workingmen through them remained so utterly unfulfilled.

A great change of heart also took place among the Jewish masses in their attitude towards the administration of the labor movement. In the early beginning of the mass movement the minute administration details were known to the average workingman as long as he chose to attend the meetings which were open to the public. As the movement grew more complex and stronger, administrative duties were delegated to special persons or to special committees. The masses only received prepared directions

and rules. Thus the masses found themselves in a stage of inactivity. The election of an administrative body, stock-taking and reports to the people, the destruction of the rulership of the intelligentsia and of the professional agitators -- became the new slogans and the new demands.

Jewish working masses felt themselves now so much a part of the revolutionary movement that they could not be reconciled to the idea of becoming mere passive carriers of the revolutionary idea. In the democratization of the movement, the masses seemed to have found a new outlet for their strength.

This opposition in a very short time acquired the same mass character which only a few years ago had characterized the whole movement. The mood of the opposition embraced all cities and towns in which the movement was established. Everywhere it really had the same characteristics.

Although the character of the opposition was everywhere the same, it is well to call attention to the opposition in the city of Minsk which is of especial interest because of its unique nationalistic tendency. At the head of that oppositional group stood the talented poet "V" whose full name Frumkin does not record.¹⁴ As a free thinker he had been driven out of the Volozhin Yeshiba. He was an exxentric person who recognized neither organization nor authority. He appealed to the masses. This poet-satirist accepted wholly the slogans of the opposition.

But the uniqueness of his leadership is found in the fact that he denounced the spirit of cosmopolitanism of the movement and demanded that the movement become more nationalistic, that it emphasize the peculiar conditions of the life of the Jewish masses. It was not a positive nationalistic program; it was only an idealistic demand that the activities of the movement be permeated with the "Jewish spirit."

Unquestionably, the opposition was right in pointing out the numerous defects of the labor movement. The criticism of the opposition would have been justified were it not for its barrenness. Dissatisfied with the existing organization, the opposition made no serious attempt to create different forms of organized life. Unlike the first opposition, the second opposition accepted the principles of the mass movement and the class struggle, but was unable to reconcile the new demands with the old principles nor to point out what form the struggle of the Jewish workingmen should assume. The opposition became an independent mass movement without a definite goal. Their energy and pent-up emotions could find no practical outlet. In the absence of a positive program the opposition spent its time and energy on various forms of malice and viciousness. Vigor and talent were thus wasted in this struggle within the movement.

The protest against the existing trend of the movement, the refusal to be subjected to the dictates of the leaders, the yearn-

ing for independence and the desire to solve their own destiny -- these were the underlying principles of the opposition movement. But because it did not bring about any concrete results and because it did not solve the peculiarly chafing problems of the Jewish labor movement, the opposition could not long endure. The flame of the opposition burned out and died after a year's existence.

As a movement, the opposition accomplished very little, as far as tangible substitution or replacement of the movement was concerned. Yet it left a definite imprint upon the Jewish revolutionary cause. By challenging the leadership and by calling attention to the evils and defects of the movement, the opposition did serve a worthwhile purpose. The Labor Cause benefitted from it.

The movement seemed to have found itself; it acquired depth of content. The leaders suddenly perceived that the economic struggle alone did not answer the real needs of the movement. The latter became more political and nationalistic -- which introduces a period beyond the scope of this thesis.

*bagge?
what do you mean?
you speak frequently
too vaguely*

CHAPTER XII.

THE PERIOD OF STRIKES.

1. With the Help of the Police.

77. The period of transition converted the revolutionary movement among the Jews into a labor movement. Theory was shelved and practical work replaced it. Above all, the socialism of the revolutionists ceased to be an economic problem and became a challenging economic struggle of organized labor against organized capital.

Already at the end of the eighties the question often came up in the Vilna Circles how to fight against the long working hours, which prevailed in all industry and which prevented the workers from assuming a more active part in the movement, making purposeful propaganda impossible.

It was clear that without a struggle the labor conditions would never improve. The few strikes that occurred in the eighties seemed to prove to them that a struggle was the only way of realizing the desired goals. Still, they could not definitely decide whether or not to come to the masses with the gospel of "strikes."

The workers, who belonged to the Circles, looked with suspicion upon "the dark masses." They did not believe that the illiterate working masses were capable of fighting their masters without preparation. They did not find it worthwhile enough to interrupt their cultural interests for the sake of experimenting

with the organization of strikes.

While these questions were academically discussed at the Circle meetings, life-circumstances were preparing the propagandists for something that was least expected.

¹
In 1892 there was proclaimed by the head of the government of Vilna that according to an old law dating back to the time of Catherine II, work in shops must not exceed ten hours a day. The governor's announcement came in response to a query made of him by a certain tailor.²³

The law of a ten-hour working day, which had been established during Catherine's regime and which had been completely forgotten in the course of many decades, was now dug up and made into a new slogan for revolutionary propaganda.

Many rumors circulated as to the reason for officialdom's unexpected step. One of the more probably-true rumors tells of a quarrel between the official head of the Vilna Artisans' Administration and the artisans. No doubt the quarrel would have had been settled without any sensational consequences were it not that the masses learned about the discovery of the old law and the agitators began to exploit its potentialities. But it was really the police who took the initiative in shortening the working hours.

This internal event played the decisive role in the period of transition from Circle propaganda to mass agitation.

The sudden awakening of the Jewish proletariat to the realization of their own strength and the amazing recognition accorded them by officialdom led to fundamental changes in the methods of revolutionary activity. The plan of reform was mapped out by the leaders of the movement in Vilna and it can be briefly summarized as follows:

(1) A thorough reorganization of the trade Cassas must take place so as to convert them into revolutionary nuclei.

(2) A direct contact must be established between the central body of the social-democrats and the Cassas.

(3) The main purpose of the Circles must be the preparation of labor leaders for the mass movement. Therefore, the Circles should accept only active workers who display the ability and the willingness to undertake the task of agitation, not scholarship.

(4) The activities in the Circles must be carried on largely in Yiddish so as to attract those workingmen who are talented⁴ enough to become agitators.

The discovery of Catherin's⁵ law and the strong impression it made upon the masses found the professional propagandists at first unprepared. They possessed no definite plan of action. In the excitement they chose the path of least resistance. Instinctively, they accepted the service of the police, but to it they added the threat of strikes.

Special groups of workers were organized whose duty it was

to visit shops and to report to the Industrial Inspector or to the police the places where the law was not observed.

In the city of Minsk, for example, the workers would inspect the shops together with a police officer and whenever necessary, the report would be immediately composed.

The worried masters tried to utilize their old methods; they demanded a hearing before the arbitration courts of the Chevroth, but all attempts to circumvent the law were of no avail. They were forced to give in, but very quickly would they try to restore in their shops former conditions. This would usually lead to the declaration of a strike.

The strikes became very popular indeed. Frumkin has⁵ named the period "the period of strikism." In many cities the strikers would walk around en masse, force workers to stop their labor and exhorted them to strike.

The employers made a daring attempt to protest. They even appealed to the police for help. The latter, however, refused to intervent. The police chose a neutral position in the conflict. Stating that it was not a political struggle but a purely economic one and an internal Jewish affair, they kept hands off.

The attitude of the police convinced the employers that they had no alternative but to concede to the workers' demands. In a short period of time, the masses won certain concessions from the employers.

The strikes often broke out for very petty reasons. When the employers refused to hearken to the workers' demands, both sides often became very stubborn and would refuse to compromise. The strikers would rather starve than surrender their demands, so they clung tenaciously to their "rights." In Vilna, for example, in 1892 there was a strike of tailors. The strike seemed doomed since it was conducted during an out-of-season period and work was scarce and, what was more, the police interceded on behalf of the employers. In spite of all that, the strikers carried on their struggle for a period of seven weeks.

With the passing of time the immediate causes leading to strikes began to vary. The demands of the strikers also changed. On one occasion, for example, the workers demanded more civility and politeness on the part of their masters. This demand created even more consternation among employers than the demand for shorter hours. They could easily understand the desire for a reduction of the working day; in fact, some of them inwardly sympathized with their employees' desires. But they regarded it as a blow to their dignity to be asked to give up the right to scold or whip or beat up the apprentices.

In some strikes the rabbis often intervenes. The employers would appeal to the rabbis for their intercession in their favor against striking employees.

Economic terror often accompanied strikes. Force was resorted to even in those days. It was used both by the employers and the

strikers. The organizations had to adopt definite measures in order to check the workers from using force and from committing acts of terror. Certain undesirable elements often played a significant role in the strikes. The employers had to count on them for physical strength in their struggle with the workingmen. Some of these men found their way later on into the Bund organization. In the course of revolutionary advance they even performed deeds of martyrdom.

The strikes represented a mass movement. They attracted the diverse elements within the Jewish masses. The demands were simple and elementary enough to be understood by all. Therefore, the enlightened socialist workers were also joined by the conservative religious proletariat.

The strikes were more than a sporadic phenomenon in labor disputes. They acquired all the depth of a large mass movement. In addition to being an economic weapon, they also became an educational force. Shtatzkeven -- the phrase employed in Yiddish -- became a household expression. The propagandists and the agitators began to employ the strikes for purposes higher than the immediate amelioration of labor conditions.

Strikes were converted into schools of practical training. The period of theories belonged to the days of the Circles. The workers now learned in a practical way the meaning of the class struggle, of the importance of unity, of the antagonism of the

State towards labor, etc.

The strikes were of a certain hysterical character, and quickly spread like an uncontrollable, boundless flood over the entire Pale of Settlement. No definite statistics of the strikes of that period are available. ⁷ Because of the suddenness with which the strikes appeared and also because of their brevity, it was almost impossible to calculate the number of strikes and the number of participants. It would be safe to state, however, that there was not a branch of industry that was not affected by strikes. According to the report of the Bund before the International Socialist Congress in Amsterdam, the strike fever embraced all workers. ⁸

The first strikers were the shoemakers, then the carpenters and then the tailors. They were followed by the broom-makers, locksmiths, quilters, cigarette makers, hosiery makers, and glove makers.

It is understood, of course, that those were not political strikes. They were purely economic. As yet, the workers had no definite political objectives. They did not strike as a protest against some government policy. Their main aim was the improvement of their economic condition. And herein lies the difference between the economic strikes and the strikes of a political nature which became prevalent in the later periods of revolutionary advance. ⁹

In the economic struggle the nineties can be divided into two periods of strikes. First was the Legal Period, which lasted until 1895. During this period the strikes were carried on with the knowledge of the government and the police. It is, therefore, the "golden period" of strikism. The second was the Illegal Period of strikes. It was a period of restrictions by the government and the police.

According to Buchbinder the strikes were carried on for three years, 1892 to 1895, with the knowledge of the state authorities.¹⁰ The impression must not be left that it was with the discovery of Catherine's law that the strikes began. Strikes of the proletariat were not a new phenomena in Russia. In the general Russian labor movement, which antedated the Jewish movement, there are already recorded a number of strikes in the seventies and the eighties. As early as 1870 a strike took place in St. Petersburg. In May, 1878, an important strike, which attracted widespread attention, broke out in St. Petersburg. In 1871 there was a strike in Odessa and in subsequent years strikes occurred¹¹ in various other cities.

The strikes in Russia both among the Jewish and the non-Jewish workingmen were a part of the rash of strikes that swept all over the world. In 1886 in New York the first strike of Jewish garment workers took place. In London in 1889 for the first time about ten thousand Jewish garment workers went out on strike. In

Russia the famous Bialystok strike began in July, 1887, and lasted until September of that year. It was such a serious strike that the governor of Grodno in person came to speak to the striking textile workers.¹²

A very interesting and distinctly Jewish strike took place in Kolomea (Galicia). It was a strike of pious proletarians, of makers of Talithim. The first of a series of strikes broke in 1892. It lasted fourteen weeks, and the strikers lost. In 1898 another strike broke, and the strikers sent an appeal for money to the Jewish workers in America. In this appeal we come across the following note:

"It is a strike of the Talith-weavers! A strike of Jewish workers, of a holy Jewish cause against Jewish capitalists!¹³
The first distinctly Jewish class struggle!"

*The whole
period from
1860 - to 1895
the movement
was becoming
more and more
radical.*

2. The Police Changes Its Mind.

A great change in the strike movement took place in 1895. That year marked the end of the "golden period" of strikism. It was in that year that the government suddenly realized that the strikes were becoming a mass movement which might prove dangerous and minatory to the State.

Thus the government began to issue heavy restrictions and strict measures against the workers. The strikers were put under arrest, were imprisoned, and, in many cases were brought before the administration of justice. But most often they were exiled to Siberia by administrative process.¹⁴

Such official delimitations only accelerated the process of revolutionizing the working classes. It now became clear that the economic struggle was closely connected with the political struggle and that the two were inseparable and indivisible.

In spite of the government restrictions, the strikes did not cease. In spite of the fact that imprisonment and exile befell many strikers, they continued with the same force.

The strikes were directed by the agitators whose duty it was to formulate the strikers' demands and to negotiate with the employers in the name of the workers. In other words, the agitators administered and controlled the strike movement.

Not in all places and in all cases were they successful. Very often the strikes broke out suddenly and hysterically and were carried on by the workers themselves without the help of the organization. But as a rule the voice of the "committee" carried much weight and its representatives played an important part in all strike proceedings.

In the period from 1893 to 1897 the wave of strikes embraced a number of cities such as Vilna, Homel, Warsaw, Minsk, Smargon, Brisk, Bialystok, Kovno, Lodz, Grodno, Dvinsk, and many others.

The most notable strike of that period took place in Bialystok in 1895. Once before in 1887 that city had experienced a strike. Now twenty-six thousand weavers, among whom there were about three thousand Jews, declared a strike as a protest against the introduction of factory cards which the workers considered signs of exploitation on the part of their employers.

In the same year (1895) a strike also took place in Vilna. Two hundred and twenty women struck in Edelstein's cigarette factory. The manufacturer wanted to replace the male workers with female workers so as to decrease the wages. In spite of the fact that the rabbi of the community intervened by preaching a stirring sermon in the synagogue, and in spite of the action taken by the industrial inspector and by the government in arresting a number of workers, the strike was continued and ended

most successfully for the workmen. In those days this particular strike made a deep impression and proved of tremendous significance to the labor cause.¹⁶

In small communities a strike would affect the entire population, and every stratum of society would take a part in the disputes. In Appendix G we present a simple description of a colorful strike of tanners which took place in 1895 or 1896 in the town of Krynik, although the name of the place is not definitely determined.¹⁷
¹⁸ This description of the Krynik strike contains much humor and pathos. At first, it almost seems fictional. What is more incongruous than a group of revolutionary workers occupying the Mizrach seats in the synagogue, or than the police force breaking down the door of the synagogue or the combination of Tefillin¹⁹ with the revolutionary Shvuah. As impossible as it may appear, that was the reality of small town life. That was the spirit of the community. In other towns and cities the strikes led to similar pathetic and bizarre incidents.

From the very start, the strike-wave brought an inevitable question to the forefront: will the Jewish artisan group survive if all the workers' demands are satisfied? The answer was an amazing one. It would be better, said the socialists, for the "capitalist group" not to survive. Let their disappearance be hastened; the workers will only profit by it.

It was suggested, however, that the shop-owners might raise the prices of their products. The workers found consolation in the hope that shorter working hours would lengthen the employment season. The rise of prices and the lengthening of the employment season did come to pass, but it was later demonstrated that the normal development of the artisan class among the Jews was hindered by circumstances beyond the control of the master and the worker in the shop.

In the beginning the matter seemed simple. In the shops where formerly gloom dwelt, light and hope now reigned. Life in the workingmen's quarters changed. Even the apprentices raised their heads. The presence of the masters no longer frightened or annoyed the workers. They lifted their voices in revolutionary songs; they openly discussed their new demands; free-thought reigned supreme.

On the streets and in the synagogue courts the workers would gather after work to exchange news from different shops or to decide some labor problem or to bring aid to some comrades in need or to punish some strike-breaker or recalcitrant master.

The employers began to assemble too, each handicraft represented in his synagogue. They would discuss ways and means of organizing counter-strikes. They would vow enthusiastically not to yield to the strikers. But well-meaning vows would come to nought before the inescapable reality of earning a livelihood.

Strikes often reached ridiculous stages. Parents often drove from their homes sons and daughters who participated in a strike. The children, on the other hand, would sometimes organize a strike against their parents.

Jewish society as a whole looked askance at the new phenomenon of labor strikes. They sympathized with the "poor Baalebatim." They were shocked at the chutzpah of the workers who no longer paid attention to the "elders" and lost all respect for the rich. Besides, "the best people" were quite amazed that even shoemakers were permitted to become socialists. Before, socialism had seemed to them something esoteric and academic, and therefore exalted. Hence, when all manner of tradesmen began to participate in labor movements, a popular saying arose: "Der sozialism is arain in shuster gass!" Socialism was being degraded, for did it not invade the streets where the wretched cobblers lived!

The "golden period" of strikes, comparatively speaking was of short duration. As time went on the masters and the government gained more experience in coping with strikes. So strikes began to grow less favorable for the workers. Gradually they decreased in number; the percentage of unsuccessful strikes increased, and much that was gained before was rejected by the masters. The interest in the struggle weakened. The question arose before the revolutionary organization how best to fill the newly-created void.

The strikes taught the workers how to remain passive, and in order to satisfy the masses again it was necessary to give them

an opportunity for active participation in the movement.

Therefore the end of the strike epoch became the turning-point in the history of the Jewish labor movement not only from the standpoint of its transition from an economic to a political movement but also from the standpoint of its transition from trade-unionism to party organization.

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3. The Cassas.

In the early stages the strikes required no financial expenditure for they appeared sporadically in different shops and quickly ended with victory. But when the strikes began to acquire a more complex character and to include a whole group of similar trades, the financing of strikes became a very different matter.

Immediately after the first strike a need for funds was felt in order to help the workingmen who were temporarily deprived of their wages. The thought was born to organize Cassas, or special relief funds for the strikes. The Cassa, although not a new institution, is definitely connected with the period
21
of strikes.

In a larger sense Cassas were more than relief funds. They were secret organizations with definite revolutionary aims, although some of their statutes provided for no particular political affiliation.

These Cassas date back to the days of the Hevroth. Originally the members of the Hevroth were both employers and employees. They were a type of Schul-Hevroth which existed in the Middle Ages. In their evolution they became Cassas, organizations exclusively for workers. The first Cassa was established in 1888 by the Vilna hosiery makers. After that similar Cassas were organ-

ized by the tailors and later on by envelop makers.

The problems of the Cassa were simple and appealed to the interests of the workers. The workers, therefore, willingly applied for membership. To these Cassas belonged all the workers of a given trade. The intelligentsia made attempts to penetrate into these Cassas in order to win over certain workers for the Circles and also in order to systematize the strikes and make them more purposeful.

Mostly the Cassas were secret organizations or organizations which possessed certain mysteries known only to the members. Thus we find a provision of the statute of a Cassa of women workers in the tobacco industry that "a non-member must never be told that this Cassa exists and the proceedings of meetings must never be divulged. A member of the Cassa must be especially wary against
23
workers who try to spy on them."

In statutes of other Cassas we discover that the elected directors were to carry on the business of the Cassa with great secrecy, that money was to be collected without undue ado, that the membership list was to be written in a special code which even members would be unable to decipher. While such functions of the Cassas were conducted secretly, the existence of the organizations could not be hidden from outsiders and the official leaders of the Cassa were often known to the public at large.

In spite of the fact that at their peak of popularity the Cassas enjoyed a membership of approximately only one third of the working class, they actually influenced larger numbers for very often even unaffiliated workingmen appealed to the Cassas for help and advice in various exigencies.

The Cassas represented an organized center among the scattered small trades; for this reason it acquired power and authority. In this role it soon destroyed all the influence of the Hevroth, which soon lost all their former significance.

There was a hierarchy of Cassas with respective administrative bodies. First there appeared Cassas which were primarily mutual benefit funds with the purpose of helping the members in case of unemployment and sickness.

From a preserved statute of such a Cassa in Vilna at the close of the eighties it is evident that some members hailing from the ignorant masses would take advantage of the regulations of the Cassa. For this reason we find the provision that each request for aid by an unemployed person had to be investigated by the administrative officers, whether the applicant did not lose his job because of laziness, whether he received no help from any other source, etc. The members paid three kopeks out of each ruble they earned. If a member failed to report the true amount of his earnings, he would be expelled from the Cassa. Each applicant had to be employed when seeking admission. The duties of the managers of the Cassa were: "to answer all the inquiries of the mem-

bers, to know the members not superficially but intimately, to be interested in the life of each member, to treat him like a brother, to converse with him about literature, to read with him, and to teach him how to spend leisure time most advantageously.²⁴ From this we see that the Cassa was more than a fund-raising institution. It was an organization that influenced even the spiritual life of the workingmen.

To this epoch of economic strikes also belongs a special class of Cassas called Kassy-Borby (Kampf-Cassas), or special funds dedicated to industrial struggles. Attached to these "Cassas for the Struggle" in some places were special hospitals or sick-benefit funds. Membership in such a Cassa was open only to those who belonged to the "union of fighters." The purpose of these Cassas was to help the members in time of sickness with money, medication and companionship.

It seems that this type of Cassa did not function efficiently and regularly. They constantly remained in the background and were organized in order to attract the masses who were ever in quest of some advantage.

All energy was devoted primarily to the so-called "Kassas for the Struggle." The latter made every possible effort to include in their membership all the workers of a given trade or industry. For this reason, the attempt was made to preserve its purely economic character and to separate it from everything po-

litical. In a treatment of this problem it was voiced that "the task of the Cassa is to fight against the masters and nothing else. It is not the duty of the Cassa to prepare immediately the workingmen for the political struggle nor is it the duty of the members to participate in the solution of political problems. The more class-conscious members, however, may join political organizations."²⁵

From the standpoint of police prosecution it was not deemed wise to convert the Cassa into a political body. Some of the backward workingmen who happened to be members of Cassas were completely ignorant in matters political. The workingman interested in his own self-development could ask for help in finding a teacher or guide. From this we see that the Cassa was a purely economic unit. It supposedly stood aloof from all political matters. Its existence under government scrutiny depended on non-political interferences. Yet it is well established that the agitators and the intelligentsia had strong influence in the Cassas. They penetrated into the heart of the organization. The main aim of the Cassa was to engage in the struggle against the employers, but that very struggle soon became a political one.

The aims of the Cassas are almost identically enunciated in all the statutes. According to the statute of the tailors' Cassa in Vilna, their aims were: "to strengthen the unity among the workingmen, to present the opportunity of taking counsel on mutual problems such as the improvement of one's life and assistance of one's brothers and sisters in the struggle against their masters."

In the additional provisions of the statute, the following explanations are found: "How can the workingmen fight against their masters? If each one of us will wage the struggle separately, we shall gain nothing...Therefore, we must unite and fight out the battle together. If comradely we stand by one another, then we shall be stronger than the master. We can organize a strike and force the employer to yield to our demands. But to wage a strike means are needed...We have no one to depend on...In view of all this do we establish this Cassa." ²⁶

To become a member of the Cassa one had to be employed in a particular trade or industry. One had to be an employee; a small shop-owner, even if he employed no workingmen, was not eligible for membership. Exceptions, however, did exist.

Although the Cassas were eager to have the largest possible membership, the statutes provided that dishonest, selfish, gossiping, distrustful persons be excluded from the organizations.

Of somewhat later origin are the combined Cassas whose membership constituted individuals of different trades and employment. They came into being as a result of the fact that some trades were too small for the few workingmen to found a Cassa of their own; therefore, members of related trades would amalgamate and form one Cassa. The establishment of such mixed groups was to serve as an additional purpose. It resulted in the

breaking down of the narrowmindedness and cupidity that began to manifest themselves in some Cassas. Members of a particular Cassa in their zeal for the success of their own organization would forget the interests and the struggle of other Cassas.

Attempts were also made to merge several large Cassas into one organization such as the Cassas of tailors and seamstresses, etc. But as a rule the trend toward the construction of super-Cassas failed.

Very interesting were the Cassas of the apprentices. Apprenticeship played an important role in the career of the artisan. The number of apprentices in the Jewish industries was almost equal to the number of journeymen. Therefore, in time of strike it was possible to put the young fellows in the place of the journeymen. Hence the journeymen themselves were interested in organizing the apprentices -- and in settling the whole problem of apprenticeship.

As a result, of the unique status of the apprentices and the distrust they felt for the journeymen who only a short while ago had lorded over them, the apprentices had to be organized separately.

According to Frumkin the Cassas of the apprentices existed only among the tailors and shoemakers, and even among them they did not flourish very long. As a whole, the attempt to organize
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Cassas among the apprentices met with failure.

There were also Political Cassas. This type of Cassa was composed of the chosen few of the most loyal members of the "Cassas for the Struggle." To the political Cassa only the more intelligent workingman could belong, whose knowledge was acquired in the school of political agitation and who were now considered full-fledged revolutionaries and conspirators.

Such a Cassa was under the jurisdiction and supervision of the higher administrative body. The income was spent for the needs of the organization, for the support of a staff, for illegal literature, for the help of revolutionary prisoners.

In a few cities there existed central Cassas for the maintenance of which the "Cassas for the Struggle" set aside a party of their own income. The purpose of the central Cassa was to centralize the struggle-Cassas and to create a fund for special needs outside of the needs of the individual groups.

The Statute of the Cassa was to represent to the workingmen something inviolate, something gloriously binding. The statute was read to every new member; the agitator explained every regulation, and the neophyte would vow to fulfill all the rules, the infraction of which was punishable by disciplinary measures including expulsion.

In the beginning the workingmen held ^{sacred} whatever was connected with the Cassa. From it he expected healing for all his ills. Upon its founders he looked as men of a certain saintliness. The

Cassa represented the totality of his existence. In the factory and in the shop he had to remember that as a member of the Cassa he was obliged to carry himself with dignity and pride. He must not permit anyone to offend him and his fellow-workers; he must propagandize the ideals of the group among other workingmen; and he must observe closely the happenings in his place of employment. The leaders expected occasional reports from each member. Thus during his diurnal existence and especially during the time of a strike, each member became completely absorbed in the details of the cause.

New interest and new values penetrated the domestic life of the members. The majority of the young male workers and almost all of the female workers lived in their parents' homes where life continued in its traditional way. The revolutionary agitation and the affairs of the Cassa could not harmonize with the traditionalism of the homes. Every worker began to dream of breaking away from family ties, and if he could not completely succeed, he would stop paying attention to his parents and relatives, a thing which always resulted in unpleasantnesses. The women workers found it more painful than the men for it was much more difficult for them to become economically independent.

Thus the Cassa completely embraced the life of the members, and so long as the Cassa satisfied the needs of the workingmen,

the members wholeheartedly devoted themselves to it and the Cassa was able to function intensely.

The main strength of the Cassa lay in the fact that it could fully control and influence the lives of the members.

Later on, when internal forces drove the Cassas into the background and when the economic strikes grew weak and ineffective, the Cassas immediately lost their influence and soon vanished completely.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE AGITATORS: A STORY OF SUCCESS AND FAILURE.

The Agitators played a very significant role in the mass movement of these hectic times.

Just as the mass movement crowded out the Circles, so the mass agitators eclipsed the propagandists of the eighties. The narrow sphere of his activity had isolated the propagandist from the life about him. He was locked up in a narrow Circle where he preached the revolutionary gospel to a small gathering of listeners. The Jewish propagandists had no clear idea of the practical application of the philosophy expounded by them. They nurtured the revolutionary spirit without a compass and a goal...

In an entirely different position was the agitator who directed the mass movements. His inescapable task was to lead to action and to offer practical guidance to the workers.

We have already discussed the distinction Plekhanov drew between propaganda and agitation. Let us review again the points of difference between the propagandist and the agitator.

The propagandist dealt with few; the agitator, with many. To the propagandist the individual was important; to the agitator, the mass and the revolutionary cause were all-important. The propagandist was a theoretician and philosopher; the agitator was a man of action and of deeds. The propagandist's aim ended when his listeners espoused his philosophy; to the agitator

that was only the beginning of his work. Although revolutionary theory served him as a compass serves a captain on the sea, the needs of the hour counted much more than dogmatic philosophies. The propagandist did not always understand his followers since he often came from a different milieu; the agitator knew and understood the masses, spoke in their language, and appealed to their wants, often having sprung from their midst.

The object of the propagandist was to bring up a group of class-conscious educated workingmen; the object of the agitator was to arouse the masses against the existing social order and to use them as instruments in the social revolution.

The propagandist's ideal was "to go among the people"; the agitator was already among the people.

A study of the system of agitation and the types of agitators is incomplete without mentioning two brochures that appeared during the early stages of the Jewish labor movement.

The first is the brochure entitled Pismo k Agitatoram (²A Letter to the Agitators) by S. Gozhanski ("Lonu") which appeared in ³1894.

The second was ⁴Ob Agitatzie (⁵On Agitation) by Arcadi Kramer (V. Alexander). It was edited by Martov and an introduction was written by P. Axelrod. ⁵It was published in Geneva in ⁷1896.

Frumkin quotes these writings profusely and utilizes the material for his own treatment of the agitators. Yet, he does not seem to know who were their authors. In these brochures are mentioned the qualifications and duties of the agitator: he must have many acquaintances among the proletariat; he must have a deep understanding of the lives, the aspirations and the occupation of the workingmen in whose midst he has to carry on his activities; he must be farther advanced in his outlook and ideology than the masses.

There were different types of agitators. They differed in their social and educational background, in their natural endowments, in their outlook, in their ideology and method of approach.

There was the agitator-guide or leader (Pukovoditel). He was the product of the Circles. Among such agitators were persons who partially or even completely hailed from the intelligentsia. They were the leaders of the circles; they delivered addresses at gatherings and meetings; they directed strikes, etc.

The qualifications of such an agitator-guide were higher than that of any other type of agitator. He had to be an educated person, a social-democrat, one who was devoted to the working masses, one who had a knowledge of economics, history and political science, one who knew or was to learn the Russian language.

Agitators of this type were rather rare and were highly valued. They always remained theoreticians and conspirators. They seldom appeared in the streets and generally came in very little contact with the masses at large. They gave impetus to the movement, but were not a part and parcel of the movement.

Of greater interest than the agitator-guide are the two types of agitators who were created by the movement itself.

The first type was the agitator-Chinovnik, the bureaucrat. Such an agitator contributed nothing original to the movement. His strongest argument was "the organization decided," or "the organization will investigate." He was usually the representative of the organization. At a meeting, for example, a question would be discussed. The weary audience would ask the chairman for the opinion of the organization. Then this agitator would rise and present the authorized instructions and the assembly would usually accept them undisputed.

Undoubtedly such agitators were earnestly devoted to the cause. But gradually a chasm appeared between them and the masses. The breach soon acquired such proportions that it led to a complete alienation of affection between the agitators and the masses.

The second type of agitator that emerged from the mass movement was also a tool of the organization, but he managed not to break away from the masses. The influence of such agitators was

of a more intimate nature; he knew the personal life of the workingmen; his guidance was felt among the awakening masses. He might have only fulfilled the orders of the organization; his influence with the masses, however, lay not in his official authority but in his own innate qualities of leadership in his close relationship with the rank and file of the the workers and in his ability to evaluate and to interpret their needs.

There was still another type of agitator. To this type belonged individuals who always planted among the people the seeds of doubt and dissatisfaction. They opposed the existing organization, but they did not belong to an organized opposition. In fact, they often belonged to an were influenced by the organization. But their hearts ached at the sight of certain evils and at the deficiencies in the movement. They were too powerless to change the order of things; they did not come out as active opponents nor did their agitation acquire the form of a public menace. In their limited way they planted the seeds of agitation. In the shop or factory, while at work or at social gatherings or during freindly conversations they purposely voiced their discontent and bitter criticism. They were agitators without portfolios.

The Professional Agitator who devoted his time exclusively to the affairs of the organization and who derived his livelihood from it came into being much later; but even then the number of such agitators was very small.

There were also women agitators whose activities were limited to supervising female workers. In The Reminiscences of a Woman Cigarette Maker, quoted by Frumkin (p. 248), references are found to a woman agitator.

The task of an agitator was a difficult one. Indeed, he carried a heavy load. For his work he needed courage and conviction and power of perseverance. The whole army of agitators gave themselves to the cause in the evening after a day's hard toil. The paid professional agitator was not yet on the scene, as we have said. It was the pre-Bund period.

The agitator's sphere of activity was the street ordinarily; on Saturdays and festivals, it was the synagogue-court. Immediately after his work it was his duty to appear on a certain street. Gradually members of the Cassa would gather there, and in the course of two or three hours the most intensive work was carried on. Here the agitator reported all the news of the day or some extraordinary event during the work-day. Here he made acquaintance with prospective members; here he answered questions, passed out illegal literature, made announcements. Here, on the street or synagogue-court, he fulfilled the duties of his office.

But not all his tasks could be accomplished under the open sky. The more important work was executed at trade meetings, Cassa meetings, at conferences of the strike committees or of

other administrative bodies. The discussions and debates often lasted until the late hours of the night. At those meetings problems of a variegated nature used to come up. They sped often from the task of organizing a strike to the settling of some irritating gossip or leakage within the group.

At such meetings, especially during a strike, the agitator's work was doubly difficult. Here he had to distribute help to the strikers. Here he had to deliver orations to arouse in the workingmen new zeal for the cause. Here he had to punish the strike-breakers, and decide upon negotiations with the masters.

Complicated and difficult was the task of organizing mass meetings, celebrations and evening parties (vecherinki).

The organization laid much stress upon the vecherinki. They were to arouse conviviality among the workers, to reawaken their enthusiasm and to bring together all the workingmen scattered in the various Cassa organizations. These parties were held on the occasion of anniversaries of important political occurrences like the 28th of December, the 19th of February, the First of March, etc. -- or on certain Jewish festivals such as Purim and Chol Hamoed Pesach.

Large numbers attended such affairs. Yet they had to be held secretly. Upon the lot of the agitator it fell to make out the list of guests, to arrange separate groups, to assign a point of their meeting, to appoint a trustworthy person to lead

the way to the place where the celebration was held, and to station well-disciplined patrols. This was but the preparatory work; there was still the additional task of preparing a program for the evening.

In the early period of the mass movement, the people regarded the agitator with awe and respect. There was a halo over him. He was a prophet of the people, and they ascribed to him sagacity and power. This agitator-prophet showed them the light of a new world, and life became more meaningful and glorious to them. The thoughts of unity, of a better lot, of the Cause -- all added color to the workingmen's humdrum existence; they opened for him new horizons of greater promise; the concrete victories during the strikes created for him the sensation of the nearness of the Kingdom of God on earth.

But the romantic period soon came to an end. The former calls to battle and to organization later lost their enchantment; even on the lips of the agitators they began to ring like memorized phrases, uttered without the zeal and charm of the "good old days." The old message of the agitator was not greeted indifferently. The masses demanded new speeches and new paths. As for the agitators, absorbed completely in his tumultuous work, he had little leisure to replenish his storehouse of knowledge and to analyze the new tendencies that began to manifest

themselves in the labor movement. He, who was always ahead of the masses, now began to be left behind. The man on the street began to view him as a bureaucrat, as an official tool in the organization machinery. The pupil outgrew the master.

During this period many of the agitators faced a serious spiritual crisis. Disenchantment and frustration overcame them. They grew conscious of their own uselessness. Some of them moved to other cities; especially to the southern provinces: Yekaterinoslav, Kiev, Odessa -- only to meet with new failure there. Still others left the movement and sought solace and forgetfulness in the exigencies of personal life. Thus from the Jewish revolutionary scene vanished the agitators who were the products of the labor movement during the pre-Bund era.

CHAPTER XIV.

FROM RUSSIAN TO YIDDISH.

1. The Problem of Language.

In the seventies ~~the~~ Jewish socialism was expounded in the Hebrew language. In that language Aaron Lieberman hoped to attract the Yeshibah student to the Jewish radical cause. But the members of the intelligentsia who acquired their education in a gymnasium or at a College did not know Hebrew. They used Russian.

The problem of language which became an issue in the Jewish Kruzhoks in the seventies and eighties reappeared in the nineties when the revolutionary movement received additional impetus. Whether to use Russian or Yiddish was the question. The language of the young educated Jews or the language of the masses of Jews -- which?

Most of the revolutionary intelligentsia spoke the vernacular of the country at large. Yiddish was the language of the masses but it did not appeal to the intellectuals. In fact, they held it in contempt. The revival of Hebrew affected but little the masses or for that matter the intellectual revolutionists; it was primarily the literary medium of a few.

Yiddish created a problem that was old not only among the Jewish socialists; even the Maskilim grappled with it. There was an attempt on the part of the Vilna Maskilim to publish in the twenties of the nineteenth century a Yiddish paper. This was

something very unusual.

Generally, the Maskilim disliked Yiddish and viewed it with suspicion. To them Yiddish was "a yellow badge, a symbol of the dark Galuth, of a life of slavery." Therefore, they used Hebrew and Russian and neglected Yiddish.

The hatred of Yiddish was so strong that attempts were made by some Maskilim to influence the government to prohibit the publication of books in the "jargon," shutting their eyes to the fact that the masses spoke that language. Gradually the attitude of the Maskilim underwent a transformation. They came to realize that enlightenment was only possible through the language best understood by the people. Thus we note that Alexander Zederbaum, editor of Hameliz, began to publish the Yiddish paper Kol Mvaser, which marked a new epoch in the history of the¹ Yiddish press.

This change of attitude towards Yiddish became evident also among the early revolutionists. Perhaps because they were largely influenced by the Haskalah.

As a group, the Jewish socialists of the seventies and eighties held the point of view of the Maskilim that Yiddish was only a means to an end, and that after achieving the end, Yiddish could be buried in the archives.

Even Vinchevski, who was the founder of a Yiddish publica-²tion, shared this view for a time. Yet there was a stage in Vinchevski's groping when he became quite dissatisfied with He-

brew as the language of propaganda. During the years 1877-1879 he contributed from time to time socialistic articles to Rodkinson's Yiddish newspapers, Kol l'Am and others. His first article in Yiddish, "Der Grend Fuhrer" under the pseudonym, "Ben Kovna," appeared on October 26, 1877.

Aaron Lieberman, the great exponent of Jewish socialism in Hebrew, also reached a point when he began to doubt if Hebrew was really the ideal language for socialistic propaganda among the Jews. While in London he came in contact with a new Jewish proletariat. At last he found among Jews "the people" he did not find in Russia. It was at that time that he began to realize that socialistic propaganda should be carried on in Yiddish, in the language of the masses. However, Lieberman himself was too much of a lover of Hebrew to abandon it suddenly.

During the transition period from propaganda in the Circles to agitation among the masses, Yiddish was substituted for Russian. Before that the socialists, who were active among the Jewish workers, carried on their propaganda exclusively in Russian. The first undertaking of the half-assimilated Jewish intelligentsia was to teach the Jewish proletariat the Russian language. They were preparing these workers to become efficient propagandists who may have to work outside of the Pale among the Russian populace.

But when the movement acquired a mass character, the leaders realized that in order to carry out an active, organized agitation Yiddish was to be used, the only language which the Jewish masses really understood. Thereupon the intelligentsia themselves⁵ began to study Yiddish.

Among some of them, however, the feeling persisted that the language problem would prove only a temporary matter. As one writer puts it, "They hoped that the Jewish workers would ultimately learn Russian, and that the need for the "jargon" would disappear."⁶

Already in the nineties Yiddish found a great exponent in the person of Chaim Zhitlowsky. Because of the nature of this thesis our interest in Zhitlowsky's career must be limited. His main contribution lies in his advocacy of Yiddish, of Jewish national autonomy, and of a synthesis of socialism with nationalism. Chronologically, his activities belong to a later period. It is true that already in 1892 he formulated his idea of Jewish revolutionary or socialistic nationalism in the brochure A Jew to Jews. But this was written in London and then reached⁷ only a few readers among the Russian Jewish intellectuals. It was Zhitlowsky's belief that the social and national revival of the Jewish masses could be brought about only through the Yiddish⁸ language and literature.

And even more than that. Zhitlowsky went on to proclaim that "the Yiddish language was as 'holy' to Jewish workers as Russian or German was to the proletariat of those nationalities; that Jewish national literature would some day equal the finest of European literature."⁹ Zhitlowsky and the others who spoke of Yiddish literature had to do so in the future tense. Yiddish literature, particularly of a socialistic nature, was still a thing of the future in the nineties.

2. The Committee on Jargon.

Like all preachers of a message, the social-democrats had to deliver their pronouncements in writing as well as orally. They issued small newspapers, pamphlets, proclamations, etc. The material was mimeographed or hektographed.

The literature published in Yiddish appealed to the masses and exerted a great influence upon them. The material dealt with the problems of everyday life; it urged them to join the struggle; it taught them how to fight for the causes; it awakened in them an interest in the lives of workingmen of other lands.

But the literature of leaflets and handouts soon ceased to satisfy the demands of the Jewish workers. The problem then arose before the Jewish leaders as to the solution of the workers' demands for a more serious literature. There was no Yiddish literature available in those days that could have served the necessary revolutionary purpose. To cope with the matter there was organized in 1895 in Vilna Zhargonny Komitet, "The Committee on Jargon."¹⁰

The program of this committee was to publish and to make available to the workers books of fine art and of popular science in the Yiddish and also to organize Yiddish libraries in the provincial communities.

The committee contacted the Yiddish writers, I. L. Perez and David Pinski and distributed their writings. Perez enjoyed the greatest popularity, his book Yom Tob Bletlach having been especially sought after.

The demand for more literature grew. From everywhere requests came for new books. "The Jargon Committee" could hardly comply with those requests. The committee also published a few pamphlets with the inscription on the cover: "Permitted by the censors" and with the address of a legal printing press. This was an old method used by revolutionaries decades before in order to conceal the nature of the books from officials. The
11
Jargon Committee existed until the year 1898.

3. Some Literary Attempts.

The Committee on Jargon came into being in 1895. Even before that date attempts had been made to increase and improve Yiddish literature. Frumkin states that at the beginning of the nineties the leaders of the Vilna organization began to negotiate with a few publishing houses and writers for some appropriate literature. With the appearance of the first signs of the labor movement they felt able to guarantee the sale of a definite quantity of books. A mutual agreement was reached and the writings of Perez and Pinski were issued, as related in the previous section.

For a time the Yiddish socialist literature published in America enjoyed some popularity among the Jewish masses in Russia. It was difficult, however, for the readers in Russia to comprehend many of the Yiddish Americanisms. The vocabulary was strange to them; the literature had too much of the local color of the United States.

Not only literature but also financial help was sent from America to the Jewish socialists in Russia. Some of the revolutionary activities in Russia would have ceased had it not been for money which came from American friends.

Many social-democrats came ^{to} these shores and with  oratory

and zeal won sympathy and funds for the revolutionary cause.¹³

Neither the literature published in Russia nor the literature that came from abroad answered the real need of the revolutionary-labor cause. There was above all the need for the forbidden literature of definite socialistic tendencies. The agitators were constantly in search for such written material. The matter was so pressing that already in the early nineties the Vilna group, according to Frumkin, began to issue pamphlets and brochures necessary for a successful system of agitation. These pamphlets and broadsides were printed in London and Galicia. According to the approved method, they bore the name of a seemingly respectable printing house of Vilna and the stamp of the censors. Even the titles were purposely couched in very harmless words. For example, the pamphlet touching upon the subject of the working-day was entitled Lang und Moger (Long and¹⁴
Lean).

To house the literature special libraries were established. As all the other revolutionary institutions, the libraries were illegal and therefore built and managed in greatest secrecy. These underground libraries were contained in rented, unsuspected residences. Even members of important committees did not know their whereabouts. An illegal book had to pass through many hands before it reached the reader for whom it was intended.

To publish revolutionary pamphlets and books was both danger-

ous and expensive. There was a way out. If they couldn't print them, they would write them. And in the early years of the mass movement there was created a "literature in manuscript." This manuscript literature is of great interest and value. It is unfortunate that so little of it has been preserved. Some of it has been published since and some of it has been placed in the archives of the committee of the Bund abroad. The largest portion of that literature is lost.

Since that literature was created as a result of certain emergencies, it reflected the most urgent moments in the development of the movement. The earliest compositions are the statutes of the Cassas and their explanations. After that followed the written reports of the strikes. For example, the strike in Bialystok was colorfully depicted by a woman agitator. Of wide distribution proved to be The Reminiscences of a Woman Cigarette-Maker, which was inspired by the great strike in Shereshevsky's tobacco factory. But of still greater importance was a work by Martov entitled Propovednik ("The Preacher") which was also inspired by the same strike. The maggid of Vilna preached a sermon against the strikers. This caused the author to compose an essay in which he tries to prove that the Jewish ecclesiasts are united with capitalists and that they are responsible for the division
15
of Jews into classes, etc.

Compositions were also written on general themes. Speeches

on different subjects for such occasions as the celebration of the First of May, Purim, etc. were put into manuscript form.¹⁶

To the same literature belonged certain plays which were produced by the workingmen themselves at their Vecherinki. Especially popular was a drama written by a workingman as a result of a strike of the locksmiths. The first act of the drama takes place in the shop. The agitators arouse the workingmen to rebel against their masters. The second act introduces to the audience working conditions in the shop. The third act presents the strike. The fourth presents a meeting of the strikers: the workers exit inspired. They vow not to give up the struggle. The fifth act deals with the victory over the masters, and in the sixth act a meeting is held after the victory at which an¹⁷ agitator elucidates the meaning of the strike.

With the growth of interest in political and social occurrences there began to be felt a great need for Yiddish newspapers. This leads us to the next subject: the socialist press in Yiddish.

CHAPTER XV.

THE EARLY YIDDISH SOCIALIST PRESS.

1. Miscellaneous Organs.

a. "Kol 1'Am"

In the second half of the seventies when the Hebrew periodicals Haemeth and Assefath Chachamim were discontinued, the radical writers approached Rodkinson with plans for further socialistic literary endeavor. Rodkinson was publishing in Koenigsberg Hakol in Hebrew and Kol 1'Am (The People's Voice) in Yiddish.¹

Rodkinson was an unscrupulous person, his chief weakness being money. In his early journalistic career he denounced the revolutionists and their utterances. But business was business, even if it came from the socialists. Arrangements were made, and, in the fourth year of its existence Kol 1'Am began to print socialistic material. As any other revolutionary literature of that day, the contributions had to be couched in very subtle and ambiguous terms.

A particularly fine style for such literature was possessed by a writer by the name of Yehudah Z'ev Nofach, of Minsk, a trained socialist of the Lieberman-Zundeleovich school. He wrote like a homiletician, developing first a Biblical text and then² dragging into it the forbidden revolutionary ideas.

Morris Vinchevski published his first Yiddish article in

³
Kol 1'Am in the issue of October 26, 1877.

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According to Zitron, Kol 1'Am served a very limited purpose. It exerted no strong influence on Jewish life nor did it enrich Jewish thought. It shed no light on Jewish issues and solved no Jewish problems. Upon the development of the Yiddish language its contributions were rather negative than positive. Its only redeeming feature lay in the fact that in time of need it served as the arena for the inhibited socialistic utterances.

b. "Arbeiter Zeitung"

The Arbeiter Zeitung was almost the direct outcome of the Geneva Proclamation issued in June, 1880 by a group of emigrant Jewish socialists who decided to establish a "Free Jewish Printing Press" in Geneva. ⁶ The first issue of the paper came out on January 20, 1881.

It is not definitely known who was the editor of the paper or who hektographed it so carefully. R. M. Kantor, who made a careful study of the publication, suggests that Hesia Helfman, the famous woman-revolutionary, might have been the editor. He bases this guess on the facts that she had come from a very Judaic home and therefore knew Yiddish and understood the psychology of the Jewish masses. She also worked in the office of the Rabochaya Gazetta where, he claims, she learned the technique of publishing a paper. ⁷

The paper was indeed an imitation^{of} and contained many duplications from the Russian Rabochaya Gazetta which was published by⁸ A. I. Zhelyabov. Kantor compares excerpts from the two papers showing their striking similarities among which were almost word-by-word translations from the Russian into the Yiddish.

The Arbeiter Zeitung was, of course, an underground publication. Through it the attempt was made to popularize and propagandize in Yiddish the ideas of the Narodovoltzy among the Jewish working masses.

c. "Peilischer Jidel" (The "Little" Polish Jew)

This was really the first socialist newspaper in Yiddish.¹⁰
Its first issue came out on Friday, July 25, 1884.¹¹ Even though first published in London, it exerted a great influence upon the Jewish labor movement not only in England but also in Russia and America. It stimulated the founding of other radical newspapers. The name was later changed to Zukunft by the new publisher,¹³ E. N. Rabinowitz.

d. "Neues von Russland"

This paper was a weekly which appeared in Vilna in 1894. Altogether only five numbers were issued. It was written in longhand and circulated among members of the different Circles. Naturally its scope was limited, and its influence was negligible.

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e. "Der Yiddisher Arbeiter"

This periodical was the first printed Yiddish socialist organ. The maiden number appeared in October, 1896 in about 1000 copies. The first few editions were prepared in Vilna, but printed in London. It was published as "an organ for the defense of the interests of the Jewish workingmen in Russia." Its protagonists hoped to coordinate the Jewish labor movement by forming out of the separate groups of the Jewish proletariat a single socialist organization.

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f. "Arbeiter Blettel"

This "Labor Leaflet" was published in Minsk in hektograph form. The first number came out on March 14, 1897. It contained eleven pages. Fifty to eighty copies were circulated. Some of them even reached Vilna and Warsaw. The motto read, "Workers of the world, unite!" Altogether nine numbers appeared.

It remained in existence until the period of the Arbeiter Stimme. It stood for the principles of the social-democrats. Among its contents, it contained items from the Marxian press, letters dealing with the labor movements of other cities, and other such articles. In order not to expose the movement, the names of the other cities were not given; they were indicated by such harmless, general statements as "in one of the cities within the Pale of Settlement...."

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In various cities there were published other Yiddish news-
17
papers and periodicals of a socialistic nature. We do not name
them here because some of them belong to a period beyond the
time surveyed by this thesis. We must not fail, however, to dis-
cuss the very important newspaper Arbeiter Stimme which became
the first official organ of the Bund.

2. "Arbeiter Stimme."

The newspaper Arbeiter Stimme (The Voice of Labor) was the brain-child of a single man, who with the help of two others, converted an idea into a reality. In his reminiscences, A. Niemanski¹⁸ speaks of the origin of the paper. It originated with one of the most promising Jewish revolutionists, Israel Michael Kaplinski, who has become known in the annals of the Jewish labor movement as the tragic hero who became a "provocateur."¹⁹ This man, who was nicknamed Langsam because of his physical clumsiness, knew very little about printing. He managed, however, to interest others who came to his aid.

Technical difficulties presented themselves in the handling of the printing press. Kaplinski's own apparatus proved a poor invention. The type was donated by a printer who stole it at his place of work. But the important letter, ain, was missing. A search for an ain began. The unsuccessful quest led to dire results, and in the end the aleph had to be substituted for the missing ain in Hebrew words.

The literary work was entrusted to two pseudo-intellectuals,²⁰²¹
A. Niemanski (S. Zeldov) and A. Litwak (Helfland).

²²
The first number appeared in August, 1897. The Arbeiter Stimme has the distinction of being the first underground Yiddish newspaper printed in Russia.²³

The sudden and unexpected appearance of this newspaper was greeted most enthusiastically by the leaders of the revolutionary-labor movement. It grew in influence and popularity to such an extent that at the first meeting of the Bund in 1897 it was declared the official organ of the Party.²⁴

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In the previous chapters we have discussed all the forces and institutions that played their part in the revolutionary cause of the nineties. We have traced the period of transition from propaganda in the Circles to agitation among the masses. We spoke of the changing aspect of the Circles, the rise of the opposition, the organization of strikes and the Cassas, the duties of the agitators, the adoption of Yiddish as the language of revolutionary evangelism, and, lastly, the development of the Yiddish socialistic press. All these manifestations of revolutionary progress were but stepping-stones to a greater political achievement, namely the formation of the Bund, which is the subject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE BUND

At the end of the nineties, on the eve of the birth of the Bund, the Jewish labor movement had behind it a rich and meaningful past. Manifold were the vicissitudes of the revolutionary movement. The working masses had proven their ability to organize and to wage an economic battle. The movement had passed through a process of evolutionary changes. There was an established organizational machinery. The instructions emanating from the Vilna group were handed over by trustworthy persons to, and were carried out in, many places. There was laid the foundation of a Jewish political and creative literature in Yiddish. There even began to function in Russia the first illegal Jewish printing¹ press.

Everything in the Jewish labor movement was tending towards unification. Certain forces played into the hands of those who foresaw the rise of a distinct Jewish labor party. The organization of the Bund did not suddenly happen ex nihilo. There was felt a vital need for a central organization. How it should come into being had not yet been agreed upon. The need was there, and it was inevitable that the organization was conceived and constructed.

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Definite steps led to the formation of the Bund. We recall that in the nineties the revolutionary-labor movement acquired a mass character. Numerically the movement grew. In the transi-

tional period from propaganda to agitation, the Circles underwent a complete metamorphosis. True, the emphasis was on the masses, but the revolutionary Circles did not go out of existence. They were the foundation centers of the mass movement. They had pointed the way to centralization and unification.

Even before the Bund, the Jewish social-democratic Circles of various cities were in close contact with each other. In time of emergencies such as strikes and arrests, they would assist each other financially. They also exchanged illegal literature and cooperated in many other ways. Definite situations suggested to the leaders that they were all engaged in a common struggle and, therefore, must bind themselves into a large, all-embracing Jewish labor organization. The spirit of necessity and cooperation and the close contact of the Circles facilitated and ultimately brought about the formation of the Bund.

The early champion of unity was the great revolutionary leader, Martov (Julius Zederbaum). His influence on the Jewish revolutionary movement in the nineties cannot be overestimated. Although he was not permanently allied with Jewish socialism, he enjoyed a great discipleship among the Jewish radicals. His place in the revolutionary movement is discussed elsewhere in this thesis.

In a speech delivered on the occasion of the First of May, 1895, in Vilna, Martov expressed for the first time the idea of

a united Jewish revolutionary bloc. Said he: "We must definitely admit that our aim, the aim of the social-democrats who are active among the Jewish populace, is to create a special Jewish workers' organization which would prove to be the mentor and the guide of the Jewish proletariat in its struggle for economic, social and political liberation!"⁴

To call such an organization into being arrangements had to be made and plans mapped out. In the very same year (1895) of Martov's challenging address, two preliminary conferences⁵ were held, one in Minsk and the other in Vilna.

At the Minsk Conference there were also delegates present⁶ from Vilna. M. N. Dushkow, who was one of the delegates from that city, claims that that conference took place before the one in Vilna.⁷ It was held in June, 1895. At that meeting ways of coordination and the dissemination of forbidden literature were discussed. Another matter on the agenda was the problem of establishing a permanent, central organization, but no final decision was reached. Also taken up was the possibility of publishing a printed newspaper. Although the discussions were not productive of many tangible fruits, it was the first definitive step taken in the direction of consolidating the Jewish proletarian groups. According to Dushkan, the Arbeiter Stimme and the Bund were the outgrowths of the vague proposals uttered in Minsk. On thing that the meeting indicates quite

clearly is the fact that there was a great desire to organize Jewish labor into a united body.

At the Vilna Conference representatives of the Jewish social-democratic Circles of a number of cities participated. Most of those who attended, however, were from Vilna. A few workers of the local Jewish labor organizations were also on hand.

At that conference, which lasted three days, it was decided to form a special Jewish social-democratic organization for the purpose of furthering the political and socialistic consciousness of the Jewish workers. It was also decided that the program of Jewish social-democracy should emphasize particularly⁸ the demand for political equality for the Jews.

Two years passed before something concrete resulted. It is possible that many more years would have elapsed without hastening the establishment of the Bund. A very definite event in the history of the revolutionary movement was about to take place and the organization was thereby accelerated. The Russian social-democrats were at that time preparing to attend an all-Russian social-democratic convention. The Jewish social-democrats felt that they ought to come to that convention in a body. This particular incident served as the immediate cause for the⁹ historic Jewish conference in 1897 which gave birth to the Bund.

The conference was in session from the 25th to the 27th of September, 1897 in the city of Vilna.

In order not to attract the attention of the police, the meetings were held secretly. The delegates came to the appointed place in the morning and stayed there all day. The sessions were held in Lukishki, a suburb of Vilna in a private room of a clerk in the employ of the Segal's Tobacco firm. The host¹⁰ himself did not attend the sessions.

We have, naturally, conflicting statements as to the exact number of persons participating in that historic meeting. According to Matnik, who was present, eleven persons took part. This number was composed of four male workers, two female workers¹¹ and five persons representing the intelligentsia.

To this conference of 1897 only the better-known Jewish¹² revolutionary groups were invited to send delegates. The topics of discussion were mailed to the invited groups ahead of time, so that they might study them before the conference.

¹³
The following agenda was placed before the delegates:

(1) The need for amalgamation of the Jewish workers into a special organization.

(2) The name of the united organization.

(3) The official signature in various cities should unification take place.

(4) The relationship of the united organization to the non-Jewish revolutionary groups abroad and in Russia.

(5) The nature and content of Jewish literature.

(6) The Central Committee: its functions; the election of the Central Committee.

In his opening address the chairman pointed out the need for and the reasons for a united Jewish labor organization. He argued that actually the spirit of unity among the different groups had existed for some time. It now required concrete organization for very definite reasons. The renewed government repressions may easily destroy the movement, said he, if there is no united front. To prevent this danger, a center for conspiratorial activities was necessary, a central body that would direct the whole movement and would everywhere represent a united political outlook and would particularly demand civil equality for the Jews. As a united organization the Jewish proletariat could and would play an important role and will enjoy a certain autonomy in the future all-Russian revolutionary party.

Some of the other speakers who were in favor of the project made it clear that the Jewish proletariat had definite needs¹⁴ which only a Jewish organization could serve.

This took care of the first point on the agenda.

The second point -- the naming of the organization -- involved much discussion. The debates centered about two names suggested by Mill ("John"): 1) "Union of Jewish Social-Democratic Groups in Russia." and 2) "The General Jewish Workers' Union." The first name was rejected firstly because the social-

democrats had a small number of adherents among the Jewish workingmen hence such a "Union" would have not proved universally popular; and secondly because the delegates in convention assembled wanted to found such an organization that would not be an independent party, but rather a part or section of an all-Russian social-democratic labor party which was soon to come into being.

Therefore, the second name was accepted because it literally embraced the entire Jewish proletariat and allowed room for any adherent to the labor cause. The organization assumed the following title: Allgemeiner Yiddisher Arbeiter-Bund in Russland und Polen, "The General League of Jewish Workingmen in Russia and Poland." In 1901 the name of the organization was altered to "The General League of Jewish Workingmen in Lithuania, Poland and Russia." Popularly the organization came to be known by the abbreviated name Bund.

Resolutions were passed in connection with all the other points of the agenda. The discussions and debates have been partially preserved in the memoirs of some of the participants of the first conference as well as in the reports printed in the Arbeiter Stimme. It is well to state here that this newspaper, along with Yiddisher Arbeiter, was declared the official organ of the Bund.

A Central Committee was chosen composed of the following persons: Alexander "Arcadi" Kramer, Vladimir Kosovski (Levenson) and Mutnik ("Gleb"). The committee made its headquarters in Vilna, but during the period of arrests it moved to Minsk. One of the early achievements of the committee was the active part it played in the preparations for the first convention of the All-Russian Social-Democratic (Social-Democratic) Labor Party¹⁷ (R.S.D.R.P.) which had hastened the Bund's formation.

At that convention, which was held in Minsk in 1898, it was decided that the Bund would continue as an autonomous organization within the Party, acting independently only on those matters which dealt¹⁸ with the particular problems of the Jewish proletariat.

The news of the Bund's founding was received with joy by the class-conscious Jewish workers. The Union of Jewish Social-Democrats in Warsaw decided to join the Bund. The same decision was made in Minsk, in Brisk and in other cities where the local revolutionary groups came to be recognized as the committees of the Bund. Only in Homel, which was visited by Kramer of the Central Committee, was their opposition. The leaders maintained that there was no need for a special Jewish organization.¹⁹

The most immediate results of the Bund's establishment were evident in the growth and systematization of the forbidden

revolutionary literature. The Central Committee improved the method of news reporting as well as the method of importing from abroad and circulating illegal writings.

In the earliest beginnings of its existence, the Bund showed signs of much promise. As the years went by its influence upon the material and spiritual life of the Jewish proletariat grew steadily. Only seven years after its birth the Bund reported to the International Socialist Congress held in Amsterdam in 1904 a membership of 30,000 organized workingmen.²⁰

In fact, the founding of the Bund stimulated such rapid growth of the revolutionary principles among the Jewish workingmen that the attention of the political police was attracted and their suspicions, long ago aroused, were intensified.

The head of the Moscow Okhrane, famed S. V. Zubatov was entrusted with the task of extirpating the Bund. With the suddenness of an avalanche Zubatov and his agents swooped down upon the Bund. After a careful process of espionage and investigation, a series of searches and arrests were made in many cities on the night of July 26, 1898.²¹ It all came so suddenly and affected the Bund organization so devastatingly that it appeared as if the movement was crushed beyond recovery. At least Zubatov thought so.

But in reality the revolutionary labor movement was too deeply rooted in the psyche of the Jewish proletariat for any amount

of police suppression to annihilate it. The experience of July, 1898 and the suffering of the imprisoned martyrs added a new impetus to radical efforts among the Jews in Russia. The movement reached a stage when the purely economic struggle ceases to satisfy the masses. There is a new concentration upon political agitation.

The economic struggle was no longer seen as end in itself, but only as one of the means of awakening the proletariat to class-consciousness. With the establishment of the Bund new avenues of revolutionary endeavor open. But while it marks the beginning of a new revolutionary era, it marks, on the other hand, the completion of our task which was to trace the history of the revolutionary movement among the Jews in Russia from the early beginnings to the time of the Bund.

CHAPTER XVII.

CONCLUSION

The reader must have perceived in the preceding pages the spirit of commendation and wonderment with which the subject of this thesis has been treated. This was not the result of a predisposed favorable attitude towards the revolutionary cause. It was rather the result of the deep impression which examination of the recorded sources has made upon the writer. As objective as he forced himself to be, he could not help but view with awe the epic martyrdom, the lofty strivings, the immaculate sincerity and unselfish sacrifice of some of the initiators and followers of the movement. Gazing at the revolutionary - labor struggle among the Jews in Russia as a whole, the writer regards it as an epoch of emancipation; above all, as a movement of enlightenment.

Indeed it was not only a movement that aimed to destroy the regnant social order or to uproot a certain class or government. It was a movement of liberation not only from economic and political oppression but also from the clutches of ignorance, darkness and illiteracy.

In the demand for more serious books, in the need of better literature, in the people's dissatisfaction with the poor educational methods of the organization, in the hunger of the masses for knowledge and culture, in the zealous criticisms of the oppo-

sition within, in the intellectual labors of propagandist and agitator, in the pedagogical work and discussions of the Circles, in the educational value of strikes, in the academic phases of the economic Cassas, in the skillful management of illegal libraries, in the wholesale dissemination of radical writings despite Argus-eyed censorship, and, above all, in the emergence of a class-conscious, alert Jewish proletariat -- we see that the revolutionary struggle was a monumental cultural march as well as a politico-economic movement.

Do we not recall how in the beginning the revolutionary leaders had to put up with the low educational level of the Jewish proletariat? The prevailing illiteracy and ignorance was appalling. The only consolation was that, when offered educational opportunities, the Jewish workers took full advantage of them. As observed, there even arose a Jewish proletarian intelligentsia. But "upon the mass movement of the first period," as Frumkin says, "there was the stamp of intellectual backwardness." (1913, p. 258.)

Originally, it was the desire of the propagandists to teach vaules and theories which would ultimately lead to their practical application, but gradually this method was abandoned. A great gap appeared between the teachings and their application. The workingman, utterly unprepared for intellectual ideas, burdened for decades by toil and poverty, had all of a sudden to ab-

sorb abstractions. This was beyond his intellectual means. Many remained behind; others absorbed only slogans and revolutionary phrases without being able to analyze their implications. For many others, the instruction although sporadic and oftentimes incidental served as true incentives for further cultural development. On the whole, the cultural stimuli exerted upon thousands of workingmen a unique influence, enriched them and gave them a better understanding of themselves and their environment.

Indeed, the cultural phase of the revolutionary movement completely changed the life of the proletarian masses. The Circles, the libraries, the discussions and the new literary thirst profoundly altered their way of thinking. The moral standard also rose. The spirit of solidarity penterated everyday life. The pariahs -- as the Jewish proletariat was regarded by their reactionary fellows of wealth -- detached themselves of their own accord from the Jewish bourgeoisie and started upon a path of independent self-enrichment. That such elevated concepts and speedy strides should have been made ~~by~~ a section of the Jewish people formerly so humble and poor can only be regarded by the historian as an anomaly.

The exploration of culture broke the monotony of the workingman's life. It placed his immediate wants and needs in the background. He began to think more about the future than the present. He began to nurse seemingly unattainable goals. ~~Credit for~~

Credit for an excellent educational job must be given to the Jewish intelligentsia. In the beginning of the movement the intelligentsia and the masses were antipodal elements. As the movement advanced, revolutionary emergencies brought them together, and the common struggle for freedom united them.

In its genesis the Jewish labor movement promised to become an international movement. But what seemed likely in the classroom atmosphere of the Circles proved difficult later. Although theoretically carried on under the banner of international socialism and in conjunction with Russian revolutionism, its practical results were primarily felt among the inhabitants of the Pale of Settlement -- although later the seeds were transplanted to other countries, notably the United States.

There should be mentioned another important change effectuated by the Jewish labor movement upon the structure of Jewish life. It is understood that no new classes were created, but the existing classes now began to occupy fixed niches. The proletariat grew conscious of its position and its interests. In short, the division of the Jewish body politic as well as Jewish society was now sharply drawn.

Thus the rise of sharper class differentiations, the intellectualization of the proletariat, the new emphasis upon a fuller life, the socialization of the masses upon the principles of the politico-economic emancipation were some of the fulfilled results of the revolutionary movement.

We cannot leave our subject before describing the effect of all this secular tumult upon the influence of organized religion among the Jews in Russia. The revolutionary leaders were religious iconoclasts, often carrying on anti-religious propaganda. Renunciation and denunciation of "the palsied hand of tradition" became louder. And as the leaders of the movement either ignored or deplored religious practices, old beliefs, and theistic values, their followers were dereligionized even as they were being revolutionized.

Too, the influence of the labor movement hushed the message of the Haskalah; the former system of "cultural benevolence" was overpowered by the radical forces as old traditions were denied and the voice of change became more distinct.

As we stand away from the picture we have tried to draw, we feel it necessary to approach it again and apply the paints of historical perspective. Although the movement we have dealt with is a gigantic one, let not the reader believe that the Jewish revolutionary movement in Russia was equal in magnitude and importance to the general Russian movement which was largely responsible for the deeds of 1917. This matter is, of course, chronologically beyond the scope of this thesis. In the period of our study the Jewish labor movement evolved as a distinct entity within the Jewish group. When we compare, however, the heroes of the Jewish revolutionary movement with those of the

general Russian movement, we can say that in quality of heroism, sacrifice, and martyrdom, the Jewish revolutionary movement was inferior to the Russian movement. The former did not produce a Vera Figner, a Breskovskaya, a Lopatin, a Zasulich. And those Jews who were great martyrs -- Jews such as Nathanson, Deutsch, Leckert, Gershuni and others -- erected their monument of devotion not in the Jewish, but in the Russian revolutionary history.

This does not subtract one iota from the uniqueness and the purposefulness of the Jewish revolutionary cause. Compared, for example, to a contemporary Jewish movement of another sort, the Jewish-Russian labor movement does not lose its luster. By a historical coincidence, the formation of the Bund occurred just one month after the first Zionist Congress in Basle.

A contrast between these two pregnant Jewish mass movements is tempting albeit somewhat peripheral to our immediate theme. Both had tremendous significance upon the Jewish people. But, unlike the Zionist Movement, the Bund had no tradition, no historic continuity, no pompous beginning. From a humble, secret and fugitive beginning, it developed into a powerful force in history's stream.

And its reverberations can be witnessed in the Jewish labor movements of the United States and many another country.

ABBREVIATIONS

J. E.	<u>Jewish Encyclopedia</u>
Yevr. Ent.	<u>Yevreyskaya Entzyklopedia.</u>
Yevr. Let.	<u>Yevreyskaya Letopis</u>
Yevr. St.	<u>Yevreyskaya Starina</u>

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NOTES

Notes to Chapter I.

(p. 1-37)

1. Cahan, Abe. Jewish Massacres and Revolution. 1903, p. 60.
2. According to the report presented by the Central Committee of the Bund to the International Socialist Congress, held in Amsterdam in 1904, the number of organized workingmen in 1904 was estimated to be 30,000. Cf. Rubinow, I.M. Economic Conditions of the Jews in Russia. 1907, p. 549.
3. Deutsch, Lev. The Role of the Jews in the Russian Revolutionary Movement. (Russian) 1923, vol. I, p. 47.
4. Ibid., p. 16.
5. Errera, L. Les Juifs Russes. Bruxelles, 1893, p. 145, cited by Rappoport, Angelo S. in Pioneers of the Russian Revolution, p. 229 f.
6. Rappoport, op. cit., chap. XI, p. 229.
7. Ibid., p. 250.
8. Ibid., p. 252.
9. Dubnow, S. M. History of the Jews in Russia and Poland. vol. III, p. 68-69.
10. Hessen, Julius. Istoriya Yevreyskovo Naroda v Rossii, (The History of the Jewish People in Russia) vol. II, p. 212.
11. This does not refer to Dr. Rappoport's entire book. In our study it only refers to chap. XI, p. 228-252, dealing with "The Jews as Pioneers of the Russian Revolution."
12. Hessen, Julius, op. cit., vol. II, p. 212.
13. Ibid.
14. Deutsch, op. cit., vol. I, p. 64.

15. For more about Kaminskaya, cf. Deutsch, op. cit, p. 138-149.
16. For more about Scheftel, cf. Deutsch, op. cit., p. 165-176.
17. For a description of the "Trial of 193" cf. Breshkovskaya, Hidden Springs of the Russian Revolution, p. 148-160. This trial is also discussed briefly by Rappoport, op. cit., p. 205.
18. Deutsch, op. cit., p. 134-135.
19. Ibid., p. 126-130.
20. For more about her, cf. Kohn, P. "Die Vilner Yiddishe Revolyutzioneren Eidel Pumpianski" in Wilno, p. 674-681.
21. Deutsch, op. cit., p. 63-65.
22. Aaron Zundeleovich will be discussed in another chapter.
He played an important role in the early stages of the Jewish revolutionary movement. See also Appendix on the life and revolutionary career of Aaron Zundeleovich.
23. Lazar Zuckerman will be discussed elsewhere in connection with the early Hebrew socialist literature.
24. Hesia Helfman was implicated in the conspiracy to blow up Alexander II's train in 1879 and in his assassination. All the accused were hanged on April 15, 1881. She was the only exception. Cf. Dubnow, op. cit. vol. II, p. 243-244; and Preelooker, J. Heroes and Heroines of Russia, p. 266.
25. Aronchik was one of those who lost his reason while imprisoned in the Schluesselburg fortress. Another Jewish victim

- of the same "devil's fortress" was Sophie Ginsburg, who committed suicide by cutting her throat with an old and rusty pair of scissors. Cf. Rappoport, op. cit., p. 226.
26. In 1883 Vera Nicolayavna Figner was sentenced to imprisonment in Schluesselberg Fortress. She spent twenty-two years in prison and was released during the revolution of 1905. Cf. Breshkovskaya, op. cit., p. 136. For more about her, cf. her Memuaren (Yiddish), tr. from Russian by M. Osherowitz; and Prelooker, Jaakoff, Heroes and Heroines of Russia, p. 224-238.
27. Dubnow, op. cit., vol. II, p. 224.
28. I. Friedlander's translation of S. M. Dubnow's History of the Jews in Russia and Poland, which we used for our study, appeared in 1916, 1918, 1920. L. Deutsch's work in Russian, The Role of the Jews in the Russian Revolutionary Movement appeared in 1923, 1925. And Julius Hessen's History of the Jewish People in Russia (Russian) was published in 1925-1927.
29. As late as 1887, when the revolutionary spirit was quite advanced, the norm of Jewish students in the universities and secondary schools in the two capitals was fixed at three per cent. (Dubnow, vol. II, p. 350.) The expulsion of Jews from Moscow was a frequent occurrence even before 1891. (Dubnow, vol. II, p. 399 f.)

30. Deutsch, op. cit. p. 47.
31. The principles and the organization of the Decembrists are described in the following works in English: Rappoport, Angelo S. Pioneers of The Russian Revolution, p. 62-117; Prelooker, Joakoff. Heroes and Heroines of Russia, p. 19-28; Platonov, S. F. A History of Russia, p. 335-339.
32. "The court sentenced almost forty of the accused to death, and the others to exile and forced labor. But the Emperor mitigated the harshness of this verdict by limiting the capital punishment to the five leaders of the 'Unions' and banishing the others to Siberia. Only those of the Decembrists who survived Nicholas I were finally amnestied by his successor, Alexander II (1856)." --Platonov, op. cit. p. 339.
33. The Recruiting Ukase was signed by Czar Nicholas I on August 26, 1827.--Dubnow, vol. II, p. 17. Then, however, some evidences that there were Jews in the Russian Army during the reign of Alexander I exist. For example, in the war of 1812, a Jew of Berdichev was awarded a cross of honor for his heroism, but, because of his religion, he could not wear it. While some Jews were found in the Russian Army before 1827, officially they were exempt from military service. -- Yevreyskaya Entzyklopedia. vol. III, p. 160.
34. For more about Abraham Peretz, cf. J.E. vol. IX, p. 598; also Yevreyskaya Entzyklopedia, vol. XII, p. 394-395.

35. Dubnow, op. cit. vol. I, p. 338.
36. Ibid., vol. I, p. 388.
37. In the article, "Abraham Peretz" in the Jewish Encyclopedia, the name of the revolutionary son is given as "Hirsch." It is equivalent to the Russian "Gregory." The Russian Jewish Encyclopedia gives his name as "Gregory." None of the Jewish encyclopedias in Russian, German, English discusses the son in a separate article.
38. Jewish Encyclopedia, vol. IX, p. 598.
39. Deutsch, op. cit., p. 14.
40. Dubnow, op. cit., vol. I, note, p. 412.
41. Paul Pestel paid with his life for his revolutionary activity in the December revolt.
42. The secret anti-government league whose members came to be designated as "Decembrists"/^{was}divided into a Southern Section, led by Colonel Paul Pestel and a Northern Section, led by Nikita Muravyov, his brother, and others.--Platonov, p. 335.
43. For the Decembrists' views on Judaism, cf. Dubnow, vol. I, p. 409-413.
44. About the social movements during this period, cf. Platonov, p. 357-360.
45. Deutsch, op. cit., p. 14-15.
46. Sintowsky, E. Die Anfänge der Socialistischen Bewegung unter den russischen Juden, p. 6.

47. Platonov, op. cit., p. 383-384.
48. He (Karakozov) was a university student; his family belonged to the Russian nobility. He fired at Czar Alexander in the summer garden, April 4, 1866. He missed; nonetheless he was hanged, September 3, 1866.
49. Rappoport, op. cit., p. 187-188; Deutsch, op. cit., p. 42; Platonov, op. cit., p. 380.
50. Deutsch, op. cit., p. 40.
51. Ibid., p. 84. We came across no other source in which Nicholas Uttin was mentioned.
52. Ibid., p. 15.
53. Ibid., p. 33.
54. Evaluations of the Nihilistic movement are found in the following sources, which were used for this study: Deutsch, op. cit., p. 28 f.; Rappoport, op. cit., p. 152-156; Platonov, op. cit., p. 379 f.
55. It is popularly accepted that Turgenev coined the term in his novel, Fathers and Children (1862). For a clear definition and explanation of the term, cf. George Kennan, Siberia and the Exile System, vol. II, Appendix C, "The Word Nihilist," p. 504 f.
56. Deutsch, op. cit., p. 33.
57. This happened in 1891. The institution was already closed by the government once before, in 1879, and then reopened in 1881.-- Jewish Encyclopedia, vol. III, p. 81, article on N. Z. J. Berlin.

58. In connection with this problem, Turgenev's novel, Fathers and Children (1862) suggests itself.
59. Pisarev and Dobroliubov were critics of the political and social conditions; they exercised great influence in the sixties and seventies.--Breshkovskaya, op. cit., p. 20, note.
60. Czernyshevski was editor of the Sovremennik (Contemporary), in connection with the publication of which he was arrested in 1862 and sent to twenty years of exile in Siberia. The important role of Czernyshevski is expounded by Sara Rabinowitsch in her book, Die Organisationen des Jüdischen Proletariats in Russland, p. 99-107.
61. "The representative periodicals of (Nihilistic) literature in Russia were the Sovremennik and Russkoe Slovo and Kolokol published in London. The growth of this radical journalism was a source of great chagrin and uneasiness to the government. At the beginning of the sixties it thought it necessary to curb the freedom of the periodical press.

"Sovremennik was edited by Czernyshevski and Dobroliubov and dealt largely with political questions; Russkoe Slovo, edited by Pisarev, was devoted to the propaganda of Nihilism; the Kolokol, edited by the exile A. I. Herzen, agitated in favor of the emancipation of the peasants and the freedom of the press in Russia."--Platonov, op. cit., p. 379-380, and footnote, p. 380.

62. Herzen's mother, it is stated, was of Jewish extraction.

His father's name was Ivan Alexeyevich Yakovlev, but he named his son Herzen, "for," he said, "he is the child of my heart."--Rappoport, op. cit., p. 146 f. For more about him, cf. Prelooker, op. cit., p. 32-50.

63. It is worth reproducing in this connection the following interesting episode between the exile Herzen, the capitalist Rothschild, and Czar Nicholas I.:

"Alexander Herzen was compelled to leave Russia. He fled to England, where he started his paper, The Bell (Kolokol). Herzen, however, was a rich man, and before going into exile he had converted his property into State bonds. The Russian Government knew the numbers of Herzen's bonds, so when they were presented for payment, after Herzen's arrival in London, Nicholas I, in the hope of crushing his enemy, gave orders that the State Bank of St. Petersburg should refuse payment. The bank naturally obeyed, but, fortunately for Herzen, he found a champion in the elder Rothschild, who informed the Tsar that as Herzen's bonds were as good as any other bonds, he was compelled to conclude the insolvency of the Russian Government. Should the bonds not be paid immediately, he would at once declare the Tsar bankrupt on all the European money-markets. Nicholas I was beaten: he put his pride in his pocket and paid. Herzen himself related this story in The Bell, under the title 'King Rothschild and Emperor Nicholas I.'"-- Rappoport, op. cit., p. 247.

64. Dubnow, op. cit., vol. II, p. 209-210.
65. For more about the Chaikovski group, cf. Breshkovskaya, op. vit., p. 15 f.
66. She engineered the assassination of Alexander II; was hanged April 15, 1881. --- Prelooker, op. cit., p. 257-273.
67. Kravchinski and Shishko helped Rogachev to found a revolutionary organization, the "Artilleurs," in 1872. All three of them were military officers. -- Breshkovskaya, op. cit., p. 22.
68. Deutsch, op. cit., p. 51-52.
69. For more about Nathanson, cf. Deutsch, op. cit., p. 50-51; 254-277; 336.
70. Hessen, Julius, op. cit., vol. II, p. 213.
71. The groups in these cities were usually affiliated with the Chaikovski organization in St. Petersburg.
72. This movement ("Going to the People") is colorfully described by one of the active participants, in her personal memoirs.-- Breshkovskaya, op. cit., Part I, p. 3-52.
73. The popular phrase was poshli v narod -- "they went to the people."
74. The name "Peasantists" is used by George Kennan, vol. II, p. 438. Otherwise, the word Narodnichestvo is rendered in English as "Populism."--Dubnow, op. cit., vol. II, p. 222. It is difficult to define the movement accurately. Leon Trotzky in his History of the Russian Revolution, vol. I, p. 500, says that it is a general name, standing "for those revolutionists with socialist ideals who, not knowing or ac-

cepting the Marxian theory, looked to the peasants rather than the working class to take the lead in overthrowing czarism and transforming Russia.

"The name (from narod, meaning people) includes the Terrorists who hoped to destroy czarism and rouse the peasants by the propaganda of the deed, and the mildest of evangelical socialists who hoped to transform Russia by going to the People."

75. Veteran Russian Social Democrat, translator of Karl Marx and regarded as the father of Russian Marxism; took a patriotic and conservative position during the World War and the revolution.--Trotzky, op. cit., vol. I, p. 491.
76. Prelooker, op. cit., p. 202-212.
77. Vladimir Debagory-Mokrievich was one of the revolutionists of the seventies "who later, in his reminiscences, admitted that the plans which he and his comrades had advocated were childish."--Breshkovskaya, op. cit., p. 26, note.
78. Jacob Vassilievich Stephanovich was the one "who forged the imperial manifesto which called on the peasants to rise against officials, nobles, and the priests."--Ibid., p. 29, note.
79. Deutsch, op. cit., p. 60-61.
80. We can only give briefly the following facts about him. He was born in 1855. In 1874 he joined a group of Narodniks--propagandists in the city of Kiev. Because of police persecution, he fled to Switzerland, Attended lectures at the

University of Basle. Dissatisfied in the theories of the Terrorists, he joined the group of Plekhanov and Axelrod. The Russian Government demanded his extradition, and Bismarck complied with the demand. He was imprisoned in the Petropavloski fortress. He made daring escapes that forced the police to look upon him as the most daring revolutionary leader. He was active in the revolutionary movement in Russia and abroad all the years of his life. He was an adherent of the philosophy of the Social-Democrats.--Yevrey-skaya Entzyklopedya, vol. 7, p. 51.

81. His revolutionary career is described by Prelooker, op. cit., p. 113-147.
82. About the "Babushka", cf. Prelooker, op. cit., p. 148-166; also her personal memoirs, Hidden Springs of the Russian Revolution, 1931.
83. Josef Aptekman was a descendant of Talmudists. Born: March 18, 1850. He was one of the true Narodniks. He "went to the people" as a feldsher. Lived among peasants in a village by the Volga River. As member of Zemlya i Volya, he contributed somewhat to the radical press, especially to the Chorny Peredel ("Black Division"). His revolutionary career can be summarized thus: arrested, exiled, served term in Siberia, lived abroad, wrote his memoirs.--Deutsch, op. cit., p. 278-299.

84. Alexander Khotinsky's career summarized: Born, 1852; particularly active as revolutionary in the seventies; a member of Zemlyai Volya; displayed unusual courage. Executed deeds of extreme bravery, yet was never arrested. Like Aptekman, he "went to the people" as a feldsher. Fled abroad. Died in Switzerland of consumption.--Deutsch, op. cit., p. 300-313.
85. Ibid., p. 57-58.
86. For more about Lavrov, cf. Rappoport, op. cit., p. 156-161; Prelooker, op. cit., p. 93-98.
87. For more about Michael Bakunin, cf. Rappoport, op. cit., p. 161-178.
88. For more about Solomon Chudnovski, cf. Deutsch, op. cit., p. 100-121.
89. Mention will be made of Paul Axelrod elsewhere in the thesis. Suffice it to say briefly that he was one of the most outstanding Jewish revolutionaries. He belonged to the group of the Bakuninists or Anarchists. Associated with Vera Zasulich, Deutsch, Plekhanov. Was son-in-law of Dr. Isaac Kaminer, the poet and Maskil.--Deutsch, op. cit., p. 192-218. Breshkovskaya, in her memoirs, however, states that Axelrod was the leader of the Lavrists in Kiev.--Hidden Springs of the Russian Revolution, p. 10, note.
90. M. Rabinowitz was an unusual youth; at the age of 17, he was already known as an exponent and disciple of Bakunin. At the age of 20, he died in exile, in the government of Irkutsk

whither he was banished and where he was a victim of insanity just before his death.--Deutsch, op. cit., p. 121-125.

91. For the split of the Zemlya i Volya, cf. Vera Figner's Memuaren, vol. I, chap. 9, p. 187 f.
92. Narodnaya Volya may also be translated as "Party of the People's Freedom," which was also known as the Socialist-Revolutionary Party.--Breshkovskaya, Hidden Springs of the Russian Revolution, p. 278.
93. Dalyev, I. The Party of Socialists-Revolutionaries during the Epoch of Gershuni in Chernov's book, Gershuni -- Zein Leben und Tetigkeitt, p. 95.
94. George Kennan calls the Narodovoltzy "People's Willists," based on the name of the party, Narodnaya Volya (The Will of the People). He distinguishes them from the Terrorists in the following words: "...they differ from the Terrorists chiefly in their unwillingness to adopt the methods of the highwayman and the blood-avenger..."-- Kennan, op. cit., vol. II, p. 438. The name Narodovoltzy is not to be confused with the Narodniki ("Peasantists") of the "Going to the People" movement.
95. Dr. Angelo S. Rappoport is incorrect in giving 1879 as the year of the attempted assassination.--Pioneers of the Russian Revolution, p. 205.
96. Vera Zasulich appeared before Trepov to present a teacher's petition. Her shot did not kill him. Surprisingly, she

was freed after the trial. She was of a noble family and played an important role in the revolutionary movement. An interesting description of her Terroristic act is found in the New York Yiddish newspaper, Forward, Sunday, February 23, 1936, in an article, "Die Geshichte von an Emethen Held," by D. Shub. This is in a series of articles dealing with the life of the revolutionary Herman Lopatin.

97. "The only difference between the Terrorists and the revolutionists is a difference in methods. So far as principles and aims are concerned, the two classes are identical; but the revolutionists recognize and obey the rules of civilized warfare, while the Terrorists resort to any and every measure that they think likely to injure or intimidate their adversaries..."--Kennan, op. cit., vol. II, p. 438 f.
98. Very few Jews among the Terrorists; cf. Dubnow, vol. II, p.243.
99. For an account of the heroism of Gobst, cf. Baum, J. D. "Israel Aaron Gobet" (Gobst) in Revolutzyionnoye Dvizhenie Sredi Yevreev, Moscow, 1930, p. 185-205.
100. Andrei Zhelyabov was the most conspicuous leader in the late seventies. He organized and directed the conspiracy which led to the assassination of Alexander II. He was executed in 1881, along with Sophie Perovskaya, Risakov, Kibaltich, and Mikhailov.-- Breshkovskaya, op. cit., p. 11, note.
101. Deutsch, op. cit., p. 61-63.
102. For the revolutionary career and psychological analysis of G. Goldenberg, cf. Roiter Pinkos, vol. II, p. 95 ff.

103. The heroic revolutionist, Hirsch Leckert, is probably the best known product and contribution of the Bund to the Terroristic days in the opening of the twentieth century. On May 18, 1902, he fired at Von Wahl, governor of Vilna, wounding the latter, while he was leaving a performance at a circus. Leckert was hanged on the Tenth of June. For more about him, cf. "Hirsch Leckert," in the book, Wilno, p. 167-173.
104. Gregory Gershuni (1870-1908) is one of the best known Russian revolutionists, a dangerous Terrorist whom the entire police force of the Russian Empire once sought to capture. His escape from the Akatui prison in a barrel of pickled cabbage has become a classic in revolutionary literature. He was the head of the Terrorists, Boyevaya Organizatzia. For more about him, cf. Chernov, V. Gregory Gershuni — Zein Leben und Tetigkeit; also Prelooker, op. cit., p. 306-329.

Notes to Chapter II.

(p. 38-51)

1. Deutsch, op. cit., p. 49.
2. Cahan, A. Jewish Massacres and Revolutionary Movement, p. 56.
3. Hayim Novakovski and Sophia Novakovskaya, husband and wife, were arrested during the famous demonstration at the Kazan Place in St. Petersburg. His wife followed him to Siberia and shared with him the sentence of hard labor. How it all happened and the story of their revolutionary martyrdom is described in Deutsch, op. cit., p. 153-165.
4. Bibergal was a very brave youth. Showed much courage at the Trial. Paid for it with a grave sentence of fifteen years of hard labor in Siberian mines, an unheard-of sentence even in those days, especially for the "crime" of participating in the demonstration at the Kazan Place. His sweetheart, a gentile girl, followed him into exile. He spent thirty years in Siberia. His children, a daughter and a son, were also revolutionists. -- Deutsch, op. cit., p. 177-191.
5. On the economic position of the Jews in this period, the following works were consulted: Leschinski, Yaakov. Der Yiddisher Arbeiter (in Russland); Rubinow, I. M. Economic Conditions of the Jews in Russia; Cohon, Samuel S. The Jews in Russia in the Nineteenth Century, Rabbinical Thesis, Hebrew Union College, 1912, p. 79-84; Sosis, I. The Social-

Economic Position of the Russian Jews in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century (in Russian and Yiddish); Buchbinder, N. A. The History of the Jewish Labor Movement in Russia (in Russian and Yiddish), chap. I, p. 7-18; Rafes, M. "The Economic and Legal Position of the Jewish Population in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century," in M. Levitan's Yiddishe Literatur, part I, 1928, p. 9-13, and, in the same book, I. Leshchinski's "The Economic Life of the Jews in Russia in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century" (Yiddish), p. 21 f.

6. The quotation is taken from a letter addressed to A. Lieberman and brought up at his trial in Vienna, November, 1878. In this letter the writer expresses himself against Lieberman's attempt to carry on revolutionary agitation among the Jews in Russia. -- Frumkin, Yevr. St., 1911, p. 225.
7. Most probably the opinion of this writer was not shared by all the Jewish revolutionaries; it was, however, shared by a considerable number of them.
8. Morris Vinchevski ("Benedict") tells an anecdote which illustrates the anti-religious tendency of the emancipated Jews: In Kovno there lived two well-known free-thinkers, Alexander Port, the Hebrew writer "Mapu," and the pharmacist Shapiro. Once they decided to see who could tell the greatest lie. Said Mapu, "Messiah will come." Shapiro: "Resurrection of the dead will take place." But Port added, "Quiet, God may hear us yet!" Port was the winner.

Frumkin quotes this anecdote in the Yevreyskaya Starina. There is an editor's note, however, to the effect that the

the point of humor does not lie in the names of the heroes and that in reality Mapu was far from being an extreme freethinker. -- Frumkin, Yevr. St., 1911, p. 223 and note.

9. Vinchevski, Morris ("Benedict"). "The Reminiscences of a Journalist." Zukunft, December, 1906; Frumkin, Yevr. St., 1911, p. 223.
10. This statement was made by Herzen in 1858; cited by Rabinowitsch, Sara. Die Organisationen des Jüdischen Proletariats in Russland, p. 102.
11. Cited by Zitron, S. L. in Der Jude, p. 396.
12. Cited in Roiter Pinkos, vol. I, p. 93.
13. In his letter of 1910 sent to the historian of the movement, B. Frumkin, Zundeleovich refers to the Vilna Circle of 1872.
14. Frumkin, Yevr. St., 1911, p. 221-222.
15. Litwak, A. Literatur und Kampf, p. 99.

Notes to Chapter III.

(p. 52-60)

1. For a discussion of "the class conflicts," as recorded in some of the Pinkosim, cf. Burgin, H. Die Geschichte von der Yiddisher Arbeiter Bewegung, p. 6-12.
2. For the development of the usurping power of the Kahal and the relationship of the Kahal elders to the Jewish masses, cf. Rabinowitsch, Sara. Die Organisationen des Jüdisches Proletariats in Russland, p. 11-20; also the article, "Kahal," in Jewish Encyclopedia, vol. VII, p. 409-411; and Janowsky, O. I. The Jews and Minority Rights, p. 20-21.
3. A description of such conflicts during the reign of Alexander I is found in A. Litwin's article in Forward, December 7, 1912, quoted by Burgin, op. cit., p. 8-9.
4. Burgin, op. cit., p. 9.
5. This held true of the Jewish artisan through the last decades of the nineteenth century and even later; cf. Rubinow, I. M. Economic Conditions of the Jews in Russia, p. 525 f.
6. Hessen, Julius. "The Social-Economic Struggle among the Jews in Russia during the Thirties-Fifties in the Nineteenth Century" (Russian) in Yevreyskaya Letopis, 1924, vol. 4, p. 45-56.
7. Dubnow, op. cit., vol. II, p. 18 f.

8. The suffering experienced by the poor, working masses because of the conscription regulations and the part of the rich Kahal authorities in it are eloquently described in Zunser's autobiography. His younger brother was a victim of the chappers (catchers). Cf. Eliakum Zunser's Biografie (Yiddish), p. 15-19; 60-61. For the attitude of the poverty-stricken masses toward the Jewish "aristocracy of wealth" as expressed in literature, cf. Kuntz, Joshua. Russian Literature and the Jew, p. 10 f.
9. On December 19, 1844 a published government ukase ordered "the placing of the Jews in the cities and countries under the jurisdiction of the general (i.e. Russian) administration, with the abolition of the Kahals."--Dubnow, vol. II, p. 59.
10. Menes, A. "Der Onheib von der Yiddisher Arbeiter Bewegung und Ihr Shoresch in Yiddishen Folks Leben," article in Zukunft (Yiddish), September, 1935, vol. XL, no. 9, p. 539-540.
11. This organization is described in detail in the scientific work, Die Organisation des Jüdischen Proletariats in Russland, by Sara Rabinowitsch, p. 54-63.
12. Borochoy, B. "The Anniversary of the Jewish Labor Movement" (Yiddish), in Yiddisher Arbeter Yohr-Buch und Almanac, 1928, p. 173-175.

13. Rubinow, op. cit., p. 530 f.
14. Platonov, op. cit., p. 365 f.; Dubnow, op. cit., vol. II, p. 154 f.
15. Platonov, op. cit., p. 362 f.
16. Burgin, op. cit., p. 12-13; Rabinowitz, Sonya. Zur Entwicklung der Arbeiterbewegung in Russland, p. 4 f.
17. Burgin, op. cit., p. 13-15; Rubinow, op. cit., p. 536 f.
18. Rabinowitsch, Sara, op. cit., p. 23-24; Buchbinder, N. A. Die Geschichte von der Yiddisher Arbeiter Bewegung in Russland, p. 8-18.

Notes to Chapter IV.

(p. 61-65)

1. Rubinow, op. cit., p. 550.
2. Borochoy, "The Anniversary of the Jewish Labor Movement," op. cit., p. 173-174. On the other hand, Cahan states (Jewish Massacres and Revolution, p. 56) that "such a thing as an organized labor movement was utterly unknown at the time of Alexander II."
3. Rubinow, op. cit., p. 549.
4. Menes, in Zukunft, op. cit., p. 544.
5. Cited in The Bund, New York, 1905, p. 2.
6. In this connection the industrialization plan in U.S.S.R. suggests itself. It is quite clear that over a half a century ago the country was much less industrialized.
7. Dubnow, op. cit., vol. III, p. 56.

Notes to Chapter V.
(p. 66-96)

1. Supra, ch.I, sec. 10, "Going to the People" Movement, p. 28 f.
2. Buchbinder, N. A. Die Geschichte von der Yiddisher Arbeter Bawegung in Russland (Yiddish), p. 19.
3. Zitron, S. L. "Die Ersten Sozialisten in der Hebräischen Literatur," in the Monatsschrift "Der Jude," p. 396.
4. Burgin, H. Die Geshichte von der Yiddisher Arbeiter Bawegung, p. 19.
5. An excellent description of the spiritual and cultural life in the city of Vilna during the period of our study is Abe Cahan's Bletter von Mein Leben, vol. I, chap. 3, p. 84 f. On the history and contributions, cf. the essays in Wilno -- a Zamelbuch Gevidmet der stodt Wilna, ed. by E. H. Jeshurin.
6. The term, "Lithuanian Jerusalem," probably originated with Napoleon when he was in Vilna in 1812. cf. J.E., art., "Wilna," vol. XII, p. 530.
7. In 1875 the Jews of Vilna numbered 37,909 in a total population of 82,688. The number of Jews rapidly increased. Due to the "May Laws" of 1882 the Jews were forced to leave the rural districts and to settle in urban centers. Thus we find in 1902 about 80,000 Jews in a total population of 162,633. Ibid.
8. The following statement illustrates the economic status of the

Jewish masses in Vilna during the last decade of the nineteenth century: "It may safely be maintained, although no actual statistics are available, that fully 80 per cent of the Jewish population of Vilna do not know in the evening where they will obtain food the next morning..." Ibid.

9. Sintowsky, op. cit., p. 17.
10. Platonov, op. cit., p. 384-387.
11. Sintowsky, op. cit., p. 17.
12. A brief and fine description of the life and organization of the Vilna Rabbinical School is found in Abe Cahan's Bletter von Mein Leben, vol. I, p. 123 f.
13. The Vilna Rabbinical School as a revolutionary center, cf. Zitron, in "Der Jude," op. cit., p. 396-397.
14. J.E., op. cit., vol. 12, p. 530. The school was founded in 1847.
15. There were two Jewish Teachers' Institutes: the one in Vilna, and another in Zhitomir. Both were the outgrowth of rabbinical schools. The Zhitomir Institute was closed by the government in 1885. The Vilna Institute existed until the revolution of 1917. -- Levidov, L., "The Vilna Jewish Teachers' Institute" (Russian), Yevr. Let., 1924, vol. 3, p. 93.
16. Schatilov, T. "The Vilna Jewish Teachers' Institute" (Russian). Based on official documents. In Yevr. Let., 1924, vol. 3, p. 107.

17. Ibid., p. 108-109. For the closing and opening of the School, cf. also Levin, Shmarya. Youth in Revolt, p. 84-89.
An excellent picture of the Vilna Teachers' Institute is given by A. Cahan, op. cit., vol. I, p. 264 f.
For an intimate picture of the Vilna Teachers' Institute described by a former student, cf. Levidov, L. "The Vilna Jewish Teachers' Institute" (Russian) in Yevr. Let., 1924, vol. 3, p. 93-105.
18. "The money for the support of the institution was appropriated by the government from the municipal meat-tax of Vilna, the burden of which fell mainly upon the poor class of the Jewish population, since members of the liberal professions and college graduates were exempt from that tax, and the well-to-do class, not being strictly orthodox as a rule, were more or less indifferent to the use of Kosher meats." -- J.E. op. cit., vol. 12, p. 530.
19. Unfortunately, there is little material about him. Finkelstein was born in 1851. He was from the city of Vladislavov, government of Suwalk. -- Buchbinder, N. A. Die Geschichte von der Yiddisher Arbeiter Bawegung, p. 19.
20. The Vilna Rabbinical School had very strict regulations. Special permission to leave the building had to be secured. The life in the school is described by Cahan, op. cit., vol. I, p. 123 f.

21. Quoted by Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 20.
22. Unfortunately, this document has not been preserved in the archives.
23. About the revolutionist Klachko, cf. Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 21, note.
24. Zundelevich was in contact with Finkelstein in Koenigsberg. He tells about his activity in the smuggling of forbidden literature. -- Frumkin, Yevr. St., 1911, p. 227, note.
25. Third Department; Division of the Personal Imperial Chancery; 3rd expedition, 1872, no. 147. (The "Third Department" was the Russian political police. "Expedition" was a specialized subdivision of the department. --Author.)
26. Cf. Appendix A of this thesis: "The Revolutionary Career of Aaron Zundelevich."
27. Sintowsky, op. cit., p. 16, gives the year of the organization of the Vilna Kruzhok as 1874, stating, however, that the definite date is nowhere available. Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 22, gives the year 1872. Frumkin, Yevr. St., 1911, p. 226, only gives the general date, "in the beginning of the seventies." Burgin, op. cit., p. 20, states that Zundelevich's years of activity in Vilna were 1873-1878. This writer is of the opinion that Sintowsky's date (1874) is too late. Finkelstein was expelled in 1872. Two years of silence could not have elapsed before the revolutionary activity began anew. Still, the Kruzhok could not have begun in 1872 because it

came into being largely through Zundeleovich's efforts. According to Burgin, Zundeleovich became active in 1873. Therefore, this writer feels that this is the year when the first Jewish revolutionary Kruzhok began to function.

28. Sintowsky, p. 11, and Frumkin, Yevr St., 1911, p. 227, state that to the first Kruzhok belonged about eight or ten members. Buchbinder, p. 22, says that there were about fifteen members.
29. Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 22. Anna M. Epstein was a relative of Zundeleovich. She exerted a great influence on him. Cf. Appendix A, "The Revolutionary Career of Aaron Zundeleovich."
30. Frumkin, op. cit., Yevr. St., 1911, p. 227, note.
31. Ibid., p. 228.
32. The quotation marks around the word, "Jewish," are mine. In the Yiddish translation of Buchbinder's book, p. 22, it is rendered, "the members dreamt of fruitful work among the Jewish masses." However, in the original Russian text, p. 19, there is nothing to indicate that by the "masses" are meant the Jewish masses. The word, "Jewish," is not in the sentence.
33. Frumkin, op. cit., Yevr. St., 1911, p. 224.
34. Joshua Steinberg (1830-1908) was a graduate of Vilna Rabbinical School, Government Rabbi in Bialystok and later in Vilna. In 1867 he became Professor of Hebrew and Chaldean Languages. When the Rabbinical School was converted into a Teachers' Insti-

- tute he was appointed to the office of inspector, which he held until 1904. He also served as the government's censor of Jewish books. He was famous as a lexicographer and grammarian. For more on him, cf. Wilno, p. 619-620; J.E., vol. XI, p. 542. For Steinberg, as seen by a former student of the Institute, cf. Levidov, L. "The Vilna Jewish Teachers' Institute" (Russian) in Yevr. Let., 1924, vol. 3, p. 100-101.
35. Dubnow, op. cit., vol II, p. 223; Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 23.
36. Frumkin, Yevr. St., 1911, p. 229, quotes the Vperiyod ("Forward") that among the books found were also the second volume of Vperiyod and The Tale of Four Brothers. According to Buchbinder, p. 23, note, Frumkin's information based on the report in Vperiyod is incorrect.
37. Frumkin does not mention Zunser at all. He only gives initials: "R" (Rabinowitz) and "W" (Weiner). Yevr. St., 1911, p. 229.
38. On some of his revolutionary activities and on his imprisonment in the Petropavlovsky Fortress, cf. "Vladimir Yokhelson's Erinerungen vegen Petropavlosker Festung" in Wilno, p. 665-673.
39. Third Department, Division of the Secret Imperial Chancery, no. 144, part 126, 1874-1875. Also Frumkin's citations by Yokhelson in Byloye (The Past), 1918, no. 13, art., "Daliokoye Proshloye" ("The Distant Past"). -- Buchbinder, p. 23, note.
40. Frumkin, Yevr. St., 1911, p. 229-230, and note.
41. Third Department, Division of the Secret Imperial Chancery, no. 144, part 126, 1874-1875, which contains a report from the Curator of the Vilna Educational District to the Ministry of Pub-

lic Enlightenment, July 12, 1875, No. 108. Buchbinder, p. 24, note.

42. Frumkin, op. cit., 1911, p. 230.
43. In connection with this, we quote the following incident described by Raisin in his Haskalah Movement, p. 258-259:
"When, in 1872, in Vilna, the police arrested forty Jewish young men suspected of nihilistic tendencies, Governor-General Patapov 'invited' the representatives of the community to a conference. As soon as they arrived, Patapov turned on them in this wise, 'In addition to all other good qualities you Jews possess, about the only thing you need is to become nihilists, too!' Amazed and panic-stricken, the trembling Jews denied the allegation and protested their innocence." Raisin does not indicate the source of his information. It is possible that "1872" is not the correct date. To our knowledge no organized revolutionary group existed in Vilna in that year. None of the historians of the movement mentions it. Most probably it refers to some incident in the later seventies. It may refer to the arrest in 1876 in which forty persons were taken prisoner. -- Frumkin, Yevr. St., 1911, p. 232.
44. Frumkin, op. cit., 1911, p. 230-231. The complete document (the so-called manifesto) was printed in Vperyod, no. 18.
45. Frumkin, op. cit., p. 233.
46. For a fuller list of names of the leaders and members of the Circle of Vilna and other cities, cf. Buchbinder, p. 25-26.
47. The literature that was spread included the following bro-

chures: "The Story of a Kopeck," "The Tale of Four Brothers," "God Is God, but Don't Be a Schlemiel Yourself," "Apostates," "The Brave Fighter," "The Golden Knowledge," "Pugachviana," "Famine in Samara," "The Paris Commune," "What Is Happening in the Native Land?" (from the journal Vperyod), copies of Vperyod, and other writings. -- Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 26.

48. More on Belayev, cf. Ibid., p. 25-26.
49. From a Report by Losev, Chief of the Vilna Gendarmes, June 12, 1876, no. 120. Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 27.
50. Buchbinder, p. 28, gives his name as "Disler." Frumkin, 1911, p. 232, gives his name as "Disker" (alias Wolfsohn).
51. In one source the exact time is given as the night of the 29th of March. --- Frumkin, op. cit., p. 232.
52. Among those arrested were four girls and one soldier. Ibid., p. 233.
53. The police was particularly harsh with Arcady Klachko, a very young man who suffered from consumption and who devoted himself exclusively to the study of Talmud. His place of residence was thoroughly searched, and all his books were confiscated. -- Ibid., p. 232.
54. The information they gave out to the police is given in more detail in Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 27-28.
55. Cf. Appendix B, which deals with the most interesting life-

story of this revolutionist, soldier, writer wherein is narrated how he turned from socialism to Jewish nationalism.

56. Cf. Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 28-29, for the names of the chief defendants and their sentences.
57. Ibid., p. 29.
58. Ibid.
59. Burgin, op. cit., p. 19, does mention the Statute and quotes a few brief statements from it. As his source, he refers to Arbeiter Freund, no. 19, 1896. In other words, Buchbinder's claim (p. 30) that he was the first to publish it may not be supportable.
60. Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 41, note.
61. Although it was sent by Aaron Lieberman, the signature bears the general name, "Jewish Socialists."
62. Cf. Appendix C, which is a complete translation of "The Statute of Organization of the Union of Socialists-Revolutionaries among the Jews in Russia."

63.

Notes to Chapter VI.

(p. 97-110)

1. This name, for example, occurs in Frumkin, op. cit., Yevr. St., 1911, p. 524.
2. The following sources dealing with the life and activities of Lieberman have been carefully studied by this writer:
Frumkin, B. op. cit., Yevr. St., 1911, p. 234-248, 513-535, 540, note; Borochoy, B. op. cit., in the Yiddisher Arbeiter Yohr-Buch un Almanac, 1928, p. 166-173; Sintowsky, E., op. cit., chap. V and VI; Jewish Encyclopedia, vol. 8, p. 80, art., "Lieberman," by S. Mannheimer, contains many errors corrected in this chapter; Yevreyskaya Entzyklopedia, vol. 10, p. 188, art. on Lieberman, contains a few errors corrected in this chapter; Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 43-45; Zitron, S. L., op. cit., in "Der Jude," 1918-1919, p. 400-404; Burgin, H. op. cit., p. 22-26; Vinchevski, Morris. "Reminiscences" (Yiddish) in Zukunft, N. Y., 1909, p. 85-90, 168-175.

For physical description of Lieberman, cf. "Po Povodu Portreta A. Lieberman" ("Lieberman's portrait) in Perezhitoe, 1910, vol. II, p. 320.

For physical description and character sketch of Lieberman, cf. Vinchevski, M. Gesamelte Werk, vol. 10, p. 94 f.

On Lieberman's life, suicide, and teachings the following

sources are also important and are often quoted by the historians, but were not available to this writer:

The Records of Political Police, quoted by Buchbinder.

Zitron's reminiscences in Hed Hazman (The Echo of the Time), Vilna, May 31, 1911.

Shalom Spiegel , in his Hebrew Reborn (p. 455) gives the following sources on Aaron Lieberman, which were also not available to this writer:

Dr. Michel Berkowicz' introduction to Lieberman's writings, Tel Aviv, 1928; David Isaiah Silberbusch, in Hashiloach, XLIII, 1925, p. 553-561 and XLIV, 1925, p. 269-272; Brainin in Hattoren, vol. IV, 1917, no. 15 et seq.

3. Under the name of Arthur Freeman he lived in Vienna on an American passport. At his trial he made the following explanation for having chosen this name. "Freeman" to him suggested the same meaning as "Lieberman." In Latin, "liber" means "free." When the presiding judge called his attention to the fact that "lieber" is a word derived from the German which does not carry the meaning of "free," he replied that he might interpret his name the way he pleased. It has been concluded, however, that he did not invent the name, but that the passport really belonged to a person with the name Freeman. -- Frumkin, op. cit. p. 513.

4. The town of Lun as his birthplace is given by Frumkin, Buchbinder, Borochoy, the Russian Jewish Encyclopedia. The Jewish Encyclopedia, vol. VIII, p. 80, is incorrect in giving Vilna as the city of his birth. Incorrect also are other sources which give Suwalk as his birthplace.
5. This indefinite date is given in Yevreyskaya Entzyklopedia, vol. 10, p. 188. Borochoy states he was born about 1848. Incorrect is the date (1840) in the J.E., vol. VIII, p. 80.
6. Frumkin, op. cit., p. 540, note, citations from Zitron.
7. Borochoy, op. cit., p. 167.
8. On Lieberman's activities in London and on the "Hebrew Socialist Union of London," cf. the following sources:
Frumkin, op. cit., p. 238-248.
Sintowsky, op. cit., chap. 2 and 3, p. 29-55.
Burgin, op. cit., p. 36 f.
Meisel, N. "Erster Yiddisher Sozialistischer Verein," in Roiter Pinkos, vol. I, p. 195-206.
Algemeine Encyclopedia (Yiddish) vol. I, p. 78-79.
9. Borochoy, op. cit., p. 169.
10. For more about Lazar Goldenberg, cf. Burgin, op. cit., p. 36 f.; an interesting sketch is also found in Deutsch, op. cit. p. 69-100.
11. Borochoy, op. cit., p. 169, ^{Frumkin} states that from London Lieberman made trips to Paris, New York and Berlin in connection with

socialistic organizational work and that he settled in Vienna in April, 1877. - Yevr. St., 1911, p. 513.

12. In Vienna he lived under the name of Arthur Freeman. Under that name appeared his Haemeth.

13. Gurevich, G. in Roiter Pinkos, vol. 2, p. 108. Buchbinder, however, states, p. 45, that Lieberman was sentenced to one month's imprisonment.

14. On Lieberman's trials in Vienna and Berlin, cf.:

Gurevitch, G. E. (Gershom Badanes) "Prozess Yevreiskich Sozialistov v Berlinie, 1878-1879," ("The Trial of Jewish Socialists in Berlin, 1878-1879"), Yevr. St., 1918, vol. X, p. 151-174.

Gurevitch, G. "Der Prozess fun A. Lieberman, G. Gurevich un M. Aronsohn in Berlin," in Roiter Pinkos, vol. 2, p. 107-111.

Frumkin, Yevr. St., 1911, p. 513-525.

Sintowsky, Chap. VI, p. 73 f.

15. Gregory Gurevich, who was associated with Lieberman in the Berlin trial, became a revolutionary through Axelrod. He studied in the Law School, University of Kiev. Later, he studied medicine at Berlin University. He was a member of the party Zemlya i Volya and later of Narodnaya Volya. During the massacres of the eighties he became a Jewish socialist, wholeheartedly devoting himself to the Jewish masses. He was associated with Lieberman in London, and also lived in Paris.-- Deutsch, op. cit., p. 245-253.

16. There are conflicting records on the length of the prison sentence. Some give it as nine months. --Buchbinder, p. 45 and Frumkin, 1911, p. 524. Gurevich, who was tried together with Lieberman, states, Roiter Pinkos, vol. 2, p. 108, that the latter's sentence was twelve months. Viⁿchevski, Gesamelte Werk, vol. 10, p. 90, and others say his sentence was 15 months of imprisonment.
17. Borochoy, op. cit., p. 170. According to Frumkin, Yevr. St., 1911, p. 524, however, he was freed in 1879. Borochoy's date is probably more accurate, because, according to Gurevich, who was tried together with Lieberman, the trial in Berlin took place on the 26th day of April, 1879. --Roiter Pinkos, vol. 2, p. 108. According to Gurevich, Lieberman was sentenced to one year's imprisonment, minus the three months already spent in prison during the investigation period. When we calculate the number of months after the trial, it seems that the date of 1880 is approximately the correct one.
18. Lieberman's return to London is very touchingly described in Vinchevski's reminiscences. -- Gesamelte Werk, vol. 10, p. 90-96.
19. Borochoy, op. cit. p. 170 and Buchbinder, p. 43 and Yevr. Ent., vol. 10, p. 188 are incorrect in stating that he committed

suicide in New York City. Abe Cahan, in Bletter von Mein Leben, vol. I, p. 255, gives Rochester, New York, as the place of suicide.

20. J.E., vol. 8, p. 80, is incorrect in giving the date November 8. According to Borochoy, the sources which give November 20 as the date of the suicide are also incorrect.
21. Frumkin, op. cit., 1911, p. 524.
22. Borochoy, op. cit., p. 170.
23. Frumkin, op. cit., p. 524.
24. Zitron, op. cit. in "Der Jude," p. 404.
25. Borochoy, op. cit., p. 170.
26. Frumkin, op. cit., p. 235-236.
27. Ibid., p. 525.
28. It took place at a meeting of the "Hebrew Socialist Union" in London. His view was that until the social revolution, the Jewish socialists, like all the other Jews, should see the tragedy in the loss of Jewish independence. -- Ibid., p. 525, note.
29. Borochoy, op. cit., p. 173.

Notes to Chapter VII
(p. 111-128)

1. Zinberg, S. L., "The First Socialist Publications in Jewish Literature" in *Perezhito*, vol. I, p. 233-234.
2. Wolf or the "Lamed Vavnik" as he came to be popularly known was a very mysterious person. He used to preach eloquent sermons in the orthodox circle in Galicia. There he was called "Rabbi Pollack." It was later discovered that he was an active missionary by the name Pastor Lucas. Burgin, op. cit., p. 23, note.
3. The Hebrew text of the song as well as the Yiddish translation are found in Morris Vinchevski's Gesammelte Werk, vol. 9, p. 362f.
4. Burgin, op. cit. p. 23. Vinchevski, op. cit., p. 362 gives a different date; Deptember, 1872.
5. Dr. Judah Leib Kantor (1849-1915). He was a student in the Vilna Rabbinical School, in the Zhitomir Rabbinical School, from which he graduated in 1873. Studied medicine in Berlin. In 1879 he returned to St. Petersburg and became editor of "Russki Yevrei." Founder of the first Hebrew daily "Hayom," 1886. He was Government Rabbi in Libau, Vilna and Riga. More about Dr. Judah Leib Kantor, cf. article about him in the book Wilno, p. 481-482; Zitron, op. cit. "Der Jude," p. 396-397; Vinchevski, op. cit., vol. 9, p. 72f.; p. 365, note 12.

6. This is claimed by Burgin, op. cit., p. 23, note.
7. Cited by Vinchevski, op. cit., vol.9, p. 367, note 15.
8. Zitron, op. cit., in "Der Jude," p. 397-399.
9. For the life and revolutionary career of Eliezer (Lazar) Zuckerman, cf. Zitron, S. L., op. cit. in "Der Jude," 1918-1919, p. 399-400.
Meisel, M. "Leizer Zuckerman." Roiter Pinkos, vol. I. p. 92-112.
Gurevich, G., "Zu der Biographie von L. Zuckerman" (Zichronoth) Roiter Pinkos, vol. II, p. 112-118.
10. Gurevich, op. cit., p. 113.
11. For an analysis of this idea, cf. Litwakov, M., "Maskilische Revoluzionism" (The "revolutionism" of the Maskilim) in Lewitan's "Yiddische Literatur," Part I, 1928, pp. 25-29.
Written from the standpoint of a communist.
12. Cf. "B. Vladeck in Leben und Shafen", p. 18. An evaluation of his activities is found in "B. C. Vladeck--An Appraisal by Friends and Comrades," edited by E. Jeshurun, (Yiddish and English in one volume), 1936.
13. His role in Russian Jewish life and literature, cf. J.E., vol. VII, p. 430.
14. The family of Dr. Kaminer and Axelrod's circle in Kiev is very interestingly described by L. Deutsch, who hailed from that city. Cf. Deutsch, op. cit., pp. 232-241.
15. He had five daughters and two sons. One of the sons died of cholera and the other committed suicide.

13. Of all the members of the Kiev circle, Paul Axelrod was the only one destined to enjoy a truly revolutionary career. But he early left the Jewish milieu and dedicated himself to the general revolutionary movement. More about Axelrod, cf. Deutsch, op. cit., pp. 192-218; 232-241
17. The brothers Nachman and Lazar Leventhal had to flee from Kiev early in their revolutionary career because of the arrest of Simon Lurie, another youthful radical. Nachman, a promising young socialist, committed suicide in Berlin at the age of 18 or 19; the other brother, Lazar, suffered hunger and privation. Studied in Switzerland. Became professor of histology at the University of Lusanne. Discontinued his revolutionary affiliations. Cf. Deutsch, op. cit., p. 241-245.
18. Simon Lurie's socialistic activity was short lived. He was arrested in 1847, at the age of 21, the first political prisoner during the seventies in Kiev. Fled from prison. Suffered from tuberculosis. Completed medical college in Italy. Won honors and was invited to become professor. Led a very tragic life. Died at 37. Cf. Deutsch, op. cit., pp 218-231.
19. Ibid., p. 240.
20. The following sources either give the full text or deal in detail with the first socialist proclamation in Hebrew:
- 1) Roiter Pinkos, vol. 1, pp. 202-206. Gives the full text of the proclamation in Yiddish, which was translated from the Russian.
- Roiter Pinkos, vol. 2, p. 167. Gives the proclamation in Hebrew. (Illegibly printed).

- 2) Zinberg, S. L., "Pervye Sozialisticheskie Organizatsii v. Yevreiskoy Literature." Perezhito, vol. I, pp. 236-239. Full text of the proclamation given in Russian.
- 3) Sintowsky, op. cit., chapter IV, p. 56ff.
- 4) Borochoy, op. cit., 1928, p. 169.
- 5) Frumkin, op. cit. Yevr. St., 1911, p. 528-530.

It is surprising that Buchbinder makes no mention of the proclamation. Almost any other source refers to it.

21. "Vperyod," No. 58, August 1, 1876, p. 474-475.
Roiter Pinkos, vol. 1, p. 203. According to V. Cherkezov, the proclamation was printed in this number as a special supplement. Frumkin, op. cit., 1911, p. 529.
22. The proclamations had to be smuggled into Russia with great caution. Many copies were also distributed in other lands. Today it is very difficult to find a copy. Roiter Pinkos, vol. 2, p. 108.
23. Cf. Appendix D, for the complete translation of the proclamation in English.
24. Frumkin, op. cit., Yevr. St., 1911, p. 529.
25. "Haemeth," No. 2, Vienna, 1877.
26. Vinchevski tells in his reminiscences that in the midst of a spiritual crisis the proclamation cured him of his pessimism. Cf. Vinchevski, op. cit., vol. 9, p. 137. See also article on "Vinchevski" by S. Zinberg in Russian-Jewish Encyclopedia, v. IV, pp. 625-626.
27. Gurevich, op. cit., Roiter Pinkos, vol. 2, p. 108.

28. Roiter Pinkos, vol. 1, p. 203.
29. Zinberg, op. cit., in Perezhitoë, vol. 1, p. 259.
30. Ibid., pp. 243-244.
31. Frumkin, op. cit., Yevr. St., 1911, p. 530, note.
32. The Hebrew Union College Library has the second issue only, and that was the only issue that this writer could examine. It contains 15 pages of small size, and small type. The address of the publication is given as follows: Arthur Freeman, Wien II, Schreigasse 6. The date of No. 2 is the fifth of Tamuz, 5637.
33. Frumkin, op. cit., 1911, p. 530.
34. Ibid., p. 534.
35. Hashachar, Book 10, 1878. We may repeat here that it was in Hashachar that Lieberman published his first socialistic essay. It must have been written in such vague terms that the editor himself did hardly grasp its meaning. Frumkin, op. cit., 1911, p. 535, note.
36. For a fuller critique of Haemeth, cf. Frumkin, op. cit., Yev. St., 1911, pp. 536-538; Buchbinder, op. cit., pp. 44-45; Zinberg., S. L., op. cit., Perezhitoë, vol. I., pp. 241-250.
37. Dubnow, op. cit., vol. II, p. 223; Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 45.
38. Cf. Vinchevski's reminiscences, vol. 9 of his Gesammelte Werk, pp. 182-191.
39. By birth his name was Ben Zion Novakovich. His literary contributions appeared under the names: "Benedict," "Yogli Ish Horuach," "Ben Nez," and Morris Vinchevski.

40. V. Zinberg, in his article on M. Vinchevski in the Russian-Jewish Encyclopedia (vol. 5, p. 623-626), is incorrect in stating that Vinchevski read Lieberman's "Proclamation" in Kovno in the year 1875. As we know, the "Proclamation" was written and published a year later.
41. He died in New York, March, 1932.
42. For an evaluation of Vinchevski, cf. A. Litwak's essay "Morris Vinchevski--der Onhoiber in Literatur und Kampf" in the book Literatur und Kampf, pp. 89-102.
43. Vinchevski says that the name of the publication Assefath Chachamin appeared to him laughable and ridiculous. Cf. his reminiscences, op. cit., vol. 9, p. 191.
44. Michael Levi Rodkinson was a man of questionable reputation. He had an adventurous life as a chasid, as a business man, swindler, writer, and editor. His real name was 'Frumkin.' Cf. Zitron, S. L. "Die Geschichte von der Yiddisher Presse, 1863-1889." pp. 89-115.
45. Buchbinder (p. 47) is incorrect when he states that the eight numbers of Assefath Chachamin appeared in the year 1879.

In his personal writings, Vinchevski tells of the development of the magazine during the period 1877-1878. For the date of the first issue and of his arrest, cf. Vinchevski, op. cit., vol. 9, pp. 196 and 325.
46. For a critique of the Assefath Chachamin, cf. Vinchevski, M., op. cit., vol. 9, pp. 191-324; Frumkin, Yev. St., 1911, pp. 535-540; Buchbinder, op. cit., pp. 45-47; Zinberg, S. L., op. cit., in Perezhitoe, vol. I, pp. 250-263.

47. Spiegel, Shalom, Hebrew Reborn, p. 202.
48. About Shereshevski's poem in Assefath Chachamim, cf. Vinchevski, op. cit., vol. 9, pp. 197-198.
49. Lilienblum's contribution in the Assefath Chachamim excelled in brilliance and importance. It was entitled "Treatise of Elisha ben Abuyah." It is written in the form of a letter from the world of the dead. Thus the author brings back to life the heretic of the Talmud and through him expresses his own thoughts on the problems of labor, idleness, exploitation, etc. For a fuller discussion of Lilienblum's "socialialism" and contributions to the magazine, cf. Vinchevski, op. cit., vol. 9, pp. 278-285.
50. Ibid., pp. 267-273.

Notes to Chapter VIII
(p. 129-141)

1. It is unnecessary to describe here the "gloomy eighties."
The Russian-Jewish historians deal with this period in all of its phases. Cf. Hessen's history in Russia, vol. 2., pp. 215-234, and Dubnow's work in English, vol. 2, pp. 243ff.
2. "The group which prepared the murder of the Tzar comprised but one Jewish member, a woman by the name of Hesia Helfman, who, moreover, played but a secondary role in the conspiracy, by keeping a secret residence for the revolutionaries. Nevertheless, in the official circles, which were anxious to justify their oppressions of the Jews, it became customary to refer to the 'important role' played by the Jews in the Russian revolution." Dubnow, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 243-244.
3. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 249.
4. Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 58-29.
5. Cahan, "Jewish Massacres and Revolution," p. 60.
6. The proclamation was reprinted in the "Narodnaya Volya," No. 6, the official organ of the party. Cahan, A., Bletter von Mein Leben, vol. I, p. 501-502.
7. J. E. article on "Socialism," vol. XI, p. 420.
8. Cahan, Bletter von Mein Leben, vol. I, pp. 503-504.
9. Rappaport, A., op. cit., p. 230-251.
10. As we shall discuss presently, some of the socialists became nationalists. However, A. Cahan states that the number of revolutionists who became Jewish nationalists was very small. Bletter von Mein Leben, vol. I, pp. 500-501.

11. Ibid., pp. 500-501.
12. The writer refers to the underground socialist circles.
13. Bogen, B. D., Born a Jew, pp. 11-12. While we do not question the truth of these statements, for it is in accordance with the observation of other writers, we do wish to call attention to the fact that Boris D. Bogen was born in 1869, and when the program broke out in the eighties, he was too young a boy to participate actively in a socialist Kruzhok. However, this does not destroy the significance of the recorded event in his autobiography.
14. For the changed attitude of Levanda, cf. Dubnow, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 240, 332; for the persistent attitude of Bogrov, cf. pp. 241-242; for a description of the "disillusionment of the Intelligentsia and the National Revival" cf. p. 324f.
15. Bogen, op. cit., p. 13.
16. About these new patterns in Russian literature, cf. Kunitz, op. cit., p. 104f.
17. Vinchevski, M. "Palestinism and Socialism" in Arbeiter Freund, No. 2, 1886. Burgin op. cit., p. 33. In the case of Vinchevski it is particularly true that after the Kishinev pogroms his assimilationist tendencies of the seventies gave way to positive cultural-nationalistic convictions. (Russian-Jewish Encyclopedia, vol. V, p. 626).

His nationalistic feelings were strengthened. He fell in love with the "Bund" and its national program. (Cf. Litwak, A, "Literatur und Kampf," p. 99). His attitude, however, changed in later life, He became a communist.

18. Burgin, op. cit., pp. 33-34.

19. Kagan, M., "I. L. Davidowitz" in Yevreyskaya Starina, 1911, p. 409-412. We already discussed Davidowitz in connection with his revolutionary activities in Vilna in the seventies. We also deal with him in our Appendix B.
20. Zitron, op. cit. in Der Jude, p. 404; Zitron, Drei Literarische Dorothe, p. 37; Burgin, op. cit., p33; Dubnow, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 233-237.
21. Deutsch, op. cit., pp. 232-241; especially page 237.
22. Ibid., pp. 3, 251.
23. Ibid., pp. 249, 251-252.
24. Ibid., pp. 249-251.

Notes to Chapter IX
(p. 142-64)

1. The Geneva Appeal or Proclamation, its origin and influence, are discussed in the Russian source, "Revolyutzionnoye Dvizhenie Sredi Yevreev. (Revolutionary Movement Among the Jews) pp. 209-215. It is printed in full in the Russian source book, Source Material for the History of the Jewish Labor Movement, vol. I, 1906; cf. also Burgin, op. cit., pp. 30-31; Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 47f.; Hessen, op. cit., vol. II, p. 214.
2. Lazar Zuckerman has been mentioned as the author of the Geneva Proclamation. Kirzhits, however, in his essay in the Revolutsionnoye Dvizhenie Sredi Yevreev (p. 210, note) brings conclusive proof that Zuckerman could not be the author.
3. Zaslavski, D. "M. P. Dragomanov," p. 112.
4. The influence of Dragomanov upon the development of Jewish socialism and of the socialist writings in Yiddish is summarized in Revolutsionnoye Dvizhenie Sredi Yevreev, p. 209f.
5. Frumkin, op. cit., Yevr. St., 1911, p. 515, note.
6. Zaslavski, op. cit., p. 111.
7. In the Russian text of Buchbinder's history (p. 42), "Russia" is given as the country where the propaganda was to be carried on among the Jews. In the Yiddish translation, however, a more limited place is given, "Ukraine" (p. 48).

8. In connection with the problem of Jewish cultural autonomy, Dr. Janowsky relates in his "The Jews and Minority Rights" an interview with Zhitlowsky mentioning the following facts about Dragomanov: "The Ukrainian revolutionaries, under the leadership of M. Dragomanov, desired self-government for their nationality, and in the 1880's they worked out the idea of a 'free union of peoples.' The basis here was also to be territorial but the Jewish cities were to be recognized as self-governing centers. The one Jew among them, Rodin, issued a proclamation in 1880, urging the Jews to join the revolutionary movement and to demand cultural autonomy in the Yiddish language. But he was not heard from again." Interview with Dr. Zhitlowsky, April 16, 1930. Cited by Janowsky, op. cit., p. 52, note 2. It is well to call attention to the error made by the interviewer or the interviewed. Rodin was not the only Jew among them. His name may appear as the signatory of the proclamation, but another source definitely gives the name of the Jewish student, Weller. There were also other Jews (Revolutzionnoye Brizhenie Sredi Yevreev, p. 209-210). In fact, Dragomanov organized an entire group of Socialist-Jews. (Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 48)
9. Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 49. cf. also chapter dealing with the Socialistic press in Yiddish.

10. Cf. Chapter V, Page 69f.
11. Hurwitz, I. "The First Jewish Kruzhokse" (Russian)
in Byloye, 1907, Book 7. Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 53.
12. Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 56.
13. Ibid. p. 50.
14. The material on the Kruzhokse (Circles) in the eighties
is taken from the following sources: Buchbinder, op. cit.,
p. 50-60; Kopelsohn, T.M. "Yevreyskoye Rabocheye Drizhenie
Monza 80; nachala 90 godov" (The Jewish Labor Movement
during the End of the Eighties and Beginning of the Nineties)
in the book "Revolutzionnoye Dvizhenie Sredi Yevreev"
p. 65-80. This essay has been translated into Yiddish
and is found in the book "Wilno" p. 57-74. Martov,
"Zapiski Sozial-Demokrata" (Notes of a Socialist Democrat).
15. The Crisis of 1876 is described in Chapter 5, p. 91f.
16. Hurwitz, I. "The First Jewish Kruzhokse" (Russian)
in Byloye, 1907, Book 6. Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 53.
About the activities of Lev Yogikhes cf. "Revolutzionnoye
Dvizhenie Sredi Yevreev" p. 65f.
17. "Survey of Most Important Investigations" (Russian)
No. XIII, p. 63. Ibid. p. 53. Gratz, who informed the
gendarmes about the Circle about Yogikhes and Kopelsohn,
later went to Berlin. There he became a convert to
Christianity. Joined the staff of an anti-semitic
publication. Ended his career by committing suicide.
"Revolutzionnoye Dvizhenie Sredi Yevreev", p. 67-68.

18. Akimov (Makhnovetz) "Sketch on the Development of Social-Democracy in Russia" (Russian) p. 40, Ibid., p. 54.
19. Arcadi Kramer, Jewish revolutionary leader and a founder of the "Bund", died in Poland at the age of 70, in October, 1935. He was an instructor at the Vilna Technicum, the famous Ort institution. For a eulogy on the occasion of his death, cf. Liesin, A. "Aaron (Arcadi) Kramer--Upon the Fresh Grave" in "Zukunft" New York, October 1935, p. 595 f. A biographical sketch is found in the book "Wilno" p. 685-689.
20. The nature of the Circles in Vilna, the activities of Kramer, his wife Gozhanvi and others are described in an lengthy excerpt from Martov's writings in the book, "Wilno," "Zichronoth Vegin Vilna", p. 135-150. On the same cf. also the already quoted contribution by Kopelsohn in "Revolutzionnoye Dvizhenie Sredi Yevreev" p. 65-80.
21. About the revolutionary activities in ^{MINSK} ~~Minske~~, cf. the lengthy letter written by Yosef Getzov, a revolutionary of ^{MINSK} ~~Minske~~, in Deutsch, op. cit., p. 316-323. Also Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 50-53, and Hurwitz, E.A. "The Jewish Labor Movement in ^{MINSK} ~~Minske~~ during the Eighties" (Russian) in the book "Revolutzionnoye Dvizhenie Sredi Yevreev" p. 35-64.
22. Burgin, op. cit., p. 19.
23. Some of the names of these students are given by Buchbinder, p. 51.

24. More about Emil Abramowitz, his life and revolutionary activities, cf. Appendix E.
25. Dr. Isaac Hurwitz is also well known in America. He was a professor at the University of Chicago. He also occupied a high position in the U.S. Department of Statistics in Washington. More about his revolutionary career in Russia and about his role among the Socialists in America, cf. Appendix F.
26. Historico-- Revolutionary Archives of the Police Department, No. 596. Special Division, 1906. Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 52.
27. The names of some others who were active in Hurwitz' Kruzhove are given by Buchbinder, p. 53.
28. "Survey of Most Important Investigations..." No. XIV, p. 95-96. Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 53.
29. Burgin, op. cit., p. 20.
30. "Survey of the Most Important Investigations carried on by the Gendarme Administration", No. 1, p. 23. The names of some of the members of the Circle are given by Buchbinder, p. 50.
31. "Survey of the Most Important Investigations carried on by the Gendarme Administration", III, p. 60. Archives of the Police Department, No. 713-89 (1889); 3rd case, No. 612 (1882) and No. 528 (1890). Names of some of the members are given by Buchbinder, p. 55.

32. "Historico--Revolutionary Archives of the Police Department"-
IV, Case No. 365 (1884). Ibid., p. 55-56.
33. "Historico--Revolutionary Archives of the Police Department."
No. 5. Part 31., Ibid. p. 54. More about the Circles in
Homel, cf., Buchbinder, "The Jewish Labor Movement in Homel"
(Russian) in "Krasnaya Letopis", No. 2-3.
34. Buchbinder, "Die Geschichte etc" p. 54-55.
35. Vinchevski, op. cit., vol. 10, p. 293. For a discussion
on the theory of Socialism in the 80's cf. same source,
p. 291f.
36. For an explanation of the term "Harodovoltzy", cf. Note 94
to Chapter I. We briefly discussed the "Will of the People"
movement in Chapter I, p. 35f.
37. Social Democrats:- "Party based upon the theories of Karl
Marx, which were translated into Russian during the last
two decades of the 19th century by Plekhanov. They looked
to the development of industrial capitalism and the creation
of a revolutionary working class for the overthrow of
Tzarism and the transformation of Russia into a Socialist
State. The party split in 1903 into the Mensheviks
(minority men) and Bolsheviks (majority men)" Trotzky, op.
cit., vol. I, p. 500-501. Cf. also Grigorovich, S.
(Zhitlovsky Hayyim) "Nochvort: Die Sozial-Demokraten und
die Sozialisten--Revoluzionern" in "Zhitlovsky Zamelbuch"
p. 452-458.

38. Russian-Jewish Encyclopedia, vol. 5, p. 93, article on "Bund".
39. To the literature read in those circles belonged: Zobov's "Nature Tales", "Two Brothers", "No Escape", "The Chronicle of the Village of Snurin", "Alone in the Battle One Is Not a Hero", "Emma", "What Is To Be Done?" Shchedrin's Stories, Dikstein's "What One Lives By", "Wage-Earning Employment and Marx' Capital", Lassale, "The Workers' Program", etc.- (Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 56)
40. Ibid., p. 57.
41. "May 1st, 1892, Four Speeches of Jewish Workers" (Russian) Geneva, 1893, p. 27. Ibid., p. 53.
42. Ibid., p. 57-58.
43. For a lengthier discussion on this point, cf. Martov, Zapiski Sozial-Demokrata (Notes of a Socialist Democrat), p. 177-179.

Notes to Chapter X
(p. 165-183)

1. According to Leon Trotzky, Plekhanov published in 1882 ^{the} first pamphlet introducing Marxian socialism into Russia.
2. We treated the philosophy of the Narodniks in Chapter I.
Cf. "Going to the People" movement. p. 28f. Also, Note 74 to Chapter I.
3. Cf. Note 37 to chapter IX.
4. Article on "Agitation" in Allgemeine Encyclopädia (Yiddish), 1934, vol. I, p. 82.
5. The social and economic structure of Jewry during the period 1885-1897, the relationship between master and worker, and the causes for revolutionary propaganda among the Jews,- are treated by Frunkin in Yevr. St. 1913, p. 108-113.
6. Gozhanski, "The Jewish Labor Movement in the Beginning of the 90's" (Russian) in the book "Revoluzionnoye Dvizhenie Sredi Yevrey", p. 81-95. He deals with the period, 1891-1896, and presents the ideologies.
7. Borochoy, "Anniversary of the Jewish Labor Movement" (Yiddish) op. cit., p. 175-176.
8. On the evolution of the Labor movement in the 90's, cf. Mill, John "Von Der Pioneren Zeit" in the book "Wilno", p. 75-95.
9. "The 1st of May, 1892. Four Speeches of Jewish Workers", (Russian). Geneva, 1893. p. 11. Valk, S. "Source Material For the History of the 1st of May" (Russian) in "Krasnaya Letopis", No. 4. Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 71-72.

10. Ibid
11. We shall deal more with Martov; speech in chapter XVI
12. "Source Material For the History of the Jewish Labor Movement" No. 1, St. Petersburg, 1906, p. 55. Buchbinder, op. citus, p. 72-73.
13. Ibid.
14. The "Cassas" are discussed in detail in Chapter XII, Section 3.
15. Frumkin, Yevr. St. 1913, p. 251-252.
16. Cited from "Letter to the Agitators". Ibid. p. 253.
17. Frumkin states that the Circles of the seventies which to a certain extent were the result of both revolutionism and Haskalah differed from the Circles of the eighties in that the latter were completely denationalized. He bases it on the writings of I. Hurwitz, "The First Jewish Workingmen's Circles" (Russian) in "Byloye", June, 1907; and of T. I. Moshin, "At the Dawn of the Jewish Labor Movement" (Russian) in "Russki Golos v Amerike", August 14, 1908. Frumkin, Yevr. St. 1913. p. 250.

Notes to Chapter XI
(p. 184-197)

1. "Revolutzionnoye Dvizhenie Sredi Yevreev", p. 238, note.
Briefly describes the ideology of the "Labor Opposition".
2. Ibid., p. 85.
3. Frumkin, op. cit., Yevr. St. 1913, p. 258.
4. Martov, op. cit., p. 230-233.17,
5. The author of these "Letters" was Abraham Gordon, the "Engraver". Frumkin in discussing the opposition facts mentions, "The Letters to the Intelligentsia".
6. Martov, op. cit., p. 232f.
7. Frumkin, Yevr. St. 1913, p. 259.
8. "Die Hofnung" No. 14. Article "On the Opposition" by P.P.
Cited by Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 70.
9. The Tailors' Cassa in Vilna failed as a result of their manipulation. Ibid.
10. Ibid.,
11. Gordon appeared again in 1905. He published a small, insignificant Russian newspaper. Ibid.
12. Frumkin, Yevr. St. 1913, p. 259.
13. This opposition is called by Frumkin the "Second Opposition".
Ibid., p. 259-262. The material in this section is taken from this source.

14. It was impossible for us to trace the real names of the two leaders of the opposition in Minsk: The "Slepoy" (The Blind) and the poet V. It seems to us that the reason Frumkin did not give their full names is because when he published the material in 1913 the men probably resided in Russia, and he would not expose them to the Czarist government. We have noticed in Frumkin's writings that he gives the names of those revolutionaries who were either dead or living abroad.

Notes to Chapter XII

(p. 198-222)

1. Russian-Jewish Encyclopedía, vol. 5, p. 93. Frumkin is incorrect in giving the date 1893. Yevr. St. 1913, p. 113.
2. Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 61. Frumkin (p. 113) is incorrect in stating that Catherine's law provided for a 12 hour working day. However, in the book "Wilno" (p. 132), in the petition to the governor of Vilna, the number of hours is given as 12, and it all seems to be based on a much later ordinance (1879).
3. The petition has now become a historic document. It is dated September 29, 1892, from the tailor Kapust to the governor of Vilna, asking for shorter working day on the basis of a law of 1879. It is reprinted in the book "Wilno", p. 132-134 both in the Russian and Yiddish.
4. Martov, op. cit., p. 229.
5. The strikes are described by Frumkin, Yevr. St. 1913, p. 113-117. The material in this section is based on Frumkin, Buchbinder, op. cit., 61-63, and Eorochoy, "Die Yiddishe Arbeiter Bewegung in Zifern".
6. Interesting reminiscences on this theme are under the following title, "Lobuzes, Ganovim und Kombinatorn" (Hooligans, Thieves and Swindlers) by A. Litwak, in Roiter Pinkos, vol. 2, p. 119-143.

7. Borochoy who has made a scientific study of the strikes in the Jewish Labor Movement, speaking of the period 1895-1904, states that he found material for the first five years inaccessible, and that because of lack of such material he investigated the latter five years of the period. (Borochoy, Die Yiddishe Arbeiter Bewegung in Zifern, p. 30). Cf. also Ibid., Table I, on p. 29; and Table XII on p. 66. In his study no statistics are given before 1895. It is only after the formation of the Bund that reliable data was collected, but that period does not belong to our period of study.
8. With reference to the question of statistics on the strikes, Frumkin refers to a report to the International Socialist Congress of 1900 in Paris. ("Materialy po Istorii Yevriskavo Rabocheke Dvizhenia", issue 1, St. Petersburg, 1906, p. 27). He questions, however, the correctness of the statistics. It is his opinion that the number of strikes was larger than recorded. Frumkin, Yevr. St., 1913; p. 114, note 11
9. "The term 'political strike' is used when a stoppage of work is ordered by the organization for no specific economic reason, but simply to demonstrate the strength of the movement. Such strikes are usually of brief duration....are especially frequent on the 1st of May...." Rubinow, op. cit., p. 550.
10. Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 62.
11. About the strikes during the 70's and 80's, how spontaneously they broke out, and how severely the strikers were punished, cf. Rabinowitz, Sonja, op. cit., p. 44-58. The strikes

during the nineties (1896, 1897) were the organized efforts of the Labor movement. For the attitude of the government, cf. Ibid., p. 77-79.

12. For a description and implications of the strike, cf. Borochov, "The Anniversary of the Jewish Labor Movement", op. cit., p. 177.
13. About the strike in Kolomea and about other similar strikes, cf. Menes, op. cit., in "Zukunft", September, 1935, p. 540f.
14. "Exile by administrative process means the banishment of an obnoxious person from one part of the empire to another without the observance of any of the legal formalities that, in most civilized countries, precede the deprivation of rights and the restriction of personal liberty." Kennan, George, op. cit., vol. I, p. 242. For greater detail on this particular problem, with a discussion of some cases, cf. Kennan's book, vol. I, chapter 11, p. 242-277. There was another procedure of banishment, known as "deportation by Etape". Cf. Ibid., vol. I, p. 369f. These procedures were used mostly for political criminals.
15. Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 63.
16. Ibid.
17. A. Menes in his article "Zukunft", New York, September, 1935 (p. 541f) basing his facts on material in "Yiddisher Arbeiter", No. 4-5, 1897, gives the date of the strike of the Tanners as 1897.

18. In a shortened form the description of the strike appears in "Der Yiddisher Arbeiter" No. 4-5. Frumkin, Yevr. St., 1913, 115-116. The same strike is referred to by A. Menes in his article in "Zukunft" New York, September, 1935, p. 541f.
19. The role of the "Shvuah" ("Vow"-Revolutionary Song) in strikes is described in A. Menes' article in "Zukunft", New York, September, 1935, p. 542.
20. The material in this section is based on Frumkin, Yevr. St., 1913, p. 117-122.
21. About strikes and Cassas, cf. Rabinowitsch, Sara, op. cit., p. 148-151.
22. "Source Material For the History of the Jewish Labor Movement" (Russian), 1st edition, p. 30., Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 63-64.
23. Frumkin, op. cit., p. 120.
24. Ibid. p. 118.
25. Ibid. p. 119.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid, p. 120-121.

Notes to Chapter XIII

(p.223-232)

1. The material in this chapter is largely based on Frumkin, Yevr. St., 1913, p. 245-249.
2. The name of Cozhanki or that of the author of the brochure, "A Letter to the Agitators" is given in the book, "Wilno", p. 636, and also in "Revolutzionnoye Dvizhenie Sredi Yevreev", p. 258.
3. The date 1894 is given in the Russian-Jewish Encyclopedia, v. 5, p. 93.
4. The name of Kramer as that of the author of the brochure. "On Agitation" is given in the book "Wilno", p. 38 and p. 636, in "Revolutzionnoye Dvizhenie Sredi Yevreev" p. 258, and in Roiter Pinkos, vol. 2, p. 176.
5. "L. Martov" in Roiter Pinkos, vol. 2, p. 176.
6. Russian-Jewish Encyclopedia, vol. 5, p. 93.
7. Ibid.

Notes to Chapter XIV
(p. 233-244)

1. Zitron, Die Geschichte von der Yiddisher Presse, p. 1-4.
2. Ibid., p. 113.
3. Burgin, op. cit., p. 29.
4. Ibid.
5. Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 73-74.
6. Janowsky, op. cit., p. 72.
7. For an analysis of Zhitlowsky's doctrines, cf. "Zhitlowsky Zamelbuch", 1939; also Janowsky, op. cit., p. 51f.
8. He expounded this point of view in an article, "Why Only Yiddish?" published in 1897. Ibid., p. 54.
9. Ibid., p. 73.
10. The purposes, the personnel and the accomplishments of the "Committee on Jargon" are discussed in "Jargonishe Komitet'n" by A. Litwak, in Roiter Pinkos, vol. 1, p. 5-30. Litwak was an active member of that committee. About Litwak (b. Vilna, 1874--d. New York, Sept. 20, 1952), cf. in his book "Literatur und Kampf", the articles by F. Geliebter, p. 4-6, and by Zhitlowsky, p. 7-20.
11. Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 74-75.
12. Frumkin also speaks of the poverty of Yiddish literature in that period. The public was hungry for good literature, but the only published books that could be recommended were the writings of Abramowitz, Dinesohn, Shatzkes, Dik, Shalom-

Aleichen and others. Very popular were Shalom Aleichen's, "Folks-Bibliotek" and Spektor's "Hans Freund". Frumkin, Yevr. St., 1913, p. 255.

13. Burgin, op. cit., p. 3-6. A good example is the revolutionary Lazar Goldenberg who having fled to America raised money in New York for the radical cause in Russia. Deutsch, op. cit., p. 97.
14. Frumkin, Yevr. St., 1913, p. 256.
15. Ibid, p. 256-257.
16. The speech for Purim was on the subject of "Modern Hamans". An essay concerning a speech on the "Ten Commandments" is very interesting. The writer describes how capitalists obey Ten Commandments dictated to them by workers. Ibid. p. 257.
17. Ibid.

Notes to Chapter XV
(p. 245-252)

1. The first number of the "Kol l'Am" came out on June 6th, 1876. Zitron, Die Geschichte von der Yiddisher Presse, p. 91.
2. Ibid., p. 111-113.
3. Burgin, op. cit., 29.
4. Zitron, op. cit., p. 115-116.
5. The material on the "Arbeiter Zeitung" is taken from the following two sources: Kantor, R.M. "Arbeiter Zeitung-1881" in "Yevreyskaya Letopis", vol. 5, p. 197-204., and "Revolutzionnoye Dvizhenie Sredi Yevreev", p. 215-219.
6. We discussed the Geneva Proclamation of 1880 in Chapter IX, Section 1.
7. Kantor, op. cit., p. 204. The fact of Hesia Helfman's being the editor is questioned by other writers on the subject. However, no final conclusion on this point has yet been reached. Cf. "Revolutzionnoye Dvizhenie Sredi Yevreev", p. 216.
8. The "Rabochaya Gazetta" was an organ of the Narodnichestvo. The first issue came out on December 15, 1880.
9. Morris Vinchevski, the founder and first editor of "Peilischer Jidel", wrote in the following two sources about his newspaper: in Perezhitoe, 1910, vol. II, p. 160-165, and in his Reminiscences, op. cit., vol. 10, p. 118f. Cf. also Burgin op. cit., p. 41.

10. Zitron, op. cit., p. 113., Burgin, op. cit., p. 41.
11. Burgin states that the first issue came out in June, 1884. We quoted the date given by Vierchevski himself in his article in "Perezhitoe".
12. Burgin, op. cit., p. 41.
13. Frumkin, Yevr. St., 1913, p. 257. "Revolutzionnoye Dvizhenie Sredi Yevreev", p. 220-221.
14. Ibid., p. 223-227.
15. Ibid., p. 219-223. Frumkin, op. cit., p. 257.
16. Frumkin gives the date of the "Arbeiter Blettel" as 1895-1896. Judging from his description it seems that he means the same paper. The date we quoted from the other source is the correct one.
17. For a discussion of the various local publications, cf. "Revolutzionnoye Dvizhenie Sredi Yevreev", p. 253-257.
18. M.A., "Vozniknovenie 'Arbeiter Stimme'". (The Rise of the "Arbeiter Stimme") in Perezhitoe, vol. I, p. 264-275. Cf. also "Revolutzionnoye Dvizhenie Sredi Yevreev", p. 227f.
19. Because of his unique personality and revolutionary career we tell the story of his life separately. Cf. Appendix H.
20. About Niemanski--Zeldor, cf. Roiter Pinkos, vol. 2, p. 131-182.
21. About A. Litwak, cf. his "Literatur und Kampf", 1933.
22. Both Frumkin (Yevr. St., 1913, p. 257) and Buchbinder (p. 75) are incorrect in giving 1896 as the year when the

"Arbeiter Stimme" first appeared. Our date (August 1897)

is based on the two reliable sources given in Note 18, above.

23. Dubnow states that "Die Arbeiter Stimme" was published abroad.

Dubnow, op. cit., vol. III, p. 56. It did not appear abroad.

It was an underground paper published in Russia.

24. Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 76. According to Buchbinder

(p. 81) the newspaper "Der Yiddisher Arbeiter" was also

recognized by the Bund as a party organ.

Notes to Chapter XVI
(p. 253-265)

1. Frumkin, Yevr. St., 1913, p. 262.
2. About the forces that led to the formation of the Bund, cf. the article "Erev Bund" (On the Eve of the Bund) by B. Michalevich in Roiter Pinkos, vol. 1, p. 31-44.
3. The life and the role of Martov in the revolutionary movement is discussed in Appendix I.
4. Martov, "The Turning Point in the History of the Jewish Labor Movement" (Russian). Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 77.
5. Buchbinder (p. 77-78) speaks of only one conference that was held in Vilna. The conference in Minsk was equally important. In fact at the Minsk conference the Jewish Proletariat was better represented.
6. Among the revolutionists in Vilna he was better known as "Michael the Book Binder".
7. The Minsk Conference is described by him (M.N. Dushkan) in the article, "Minskaya Konferentsia 1895 goda" in the book, "Revoluzionnoye Dvizhenie Sredi Yevreev", p. 253-243.
8. Article on "Bund" by G. Ya. in "Zhizn" (Life) No. 2, London. Buchbinder, op. cit., 77-78.
9. Burgin, op. cit., p. 213-214.
10. Arcadi Kramer in an article, "The Formation of the Bund" in "Proletarskaya Revolutzia" No. 11, states that the sessions were held in different residences. According to

Akimov-Makhnovetz and Mutnik the sessions were held only in one place, in the residence of the clerk located in Lukishki.

11. "Die Hofnung", No. 14. 1907. Will in the book "Wilno", p. 158, also gives eleven participants. Burgin (p. 214) states there were thirteen persons. In his article, "ISTOBYD R.J.D.R.P" (The 1st Meeting of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party) in "Minuvshye Gody" No. 2., 1908, p. 145, Akimov states there were 15 participants. Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 78.
12. For the names of those present at the 1st Bund meeting in Vilna in 1897, cf. and compare Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 79; Roiter Pinkos, vol. 1, p. 31f., and "Revolutzionnoye Dvizhenie Sredi Yevreev", p. 151f.
13. Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 79.
14. Burgin, op. cit., p. 214.
15. In Dubnow (op. cit., vol. 3, p. 56) we find the following incorrect statement: "In 1897, all these societies were consolidated in the 'League of the Jewish Workingmen of Lithuania, Poland and Russia', known under its abbreviated name as 'Der Bund' (The League)". The fact is that in 1897 the name designated only "Russia and Poland", without Lithuania, the latter country having been added in 1901.

Cf. Janowsky, op. cit., p. 33.

16. For interesting details and incidents at the 1st "Bund" Conference in 1897, cf. Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 73-85; Zoglin, B. (David Katz, "Taras") "Pervy S'yezd Bunda" (The First Conference of the Bund) in the book "Revolutzionnoye Dvizhenie Sredi Yevreev". p. 131-143; and Mill, ("John"), "Der Erster Zusammenfor von Bund" in the book "Wilno", p. 154-161.
17. For the names of the Bund's representatives and the role they played in the R.S.D.R.P. movement, cf. Nevski, V. "Ocherki Po Istorii R.K.P" (Sketches on the History of the Russian Communist Party), vol. I, p. 497; Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 85.
18. Ibid.
19. Kramer, A. "The Formation of the Bund" in "Proletarskaya Revolutzia", No. 11; Ibid. p. 82.
20. Rubinow, op. cit., p. 549.
21. For the "rule" of Zubatov, cf. Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 203f; and Frumkin, B.M. "Zubatovshchina i Yevreyskoye Rabocheye Dvizhenie" (The Methods of Zubatov and the Jewish Labor Movement) in Perezhitoe, vol. 3, 1911, p. 199-250.

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do not think that
the hypothetical sketches
add much that is
significant although
they are interesting.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A.

THE REVOLUTIONARY CAREER OF AARON ZUNDELEVICH*

Aaron Zundelelevich was born in Vilna, July 16, 1852. His father was attracted to the Haskalah movement, but he gave Aaron a strictly religious training. Aaron was a very capable student, and very devout. He dreamt of becoming a rabbi, and was eager to take up a religious career. He attended the Minsk Yeshiba. But the "new winds" circulating then in Russia penetrated the walls of the Yeshiba. Young Aaron began to read Hebrew books, notably the works of Isaac Ber Levinson. Under the influence of this poet and many other liberal writers, Aaron gradually grew to be more of a sceptic. The ambition to attend the Vilna Rabbinical Seminary began to wane. However, he decided to enter it. He had no money, so he walked the long distance from Minsk to Vilna. He was seventeen years old when he enrolled as a student in the seminary.

As we know, the government transformed the seminary into a teachers' institute. Now Zundelelevich contracted a desire to enter

* The material in this Appendix is based on D. Shub's sketch, "Aaron Zundelelevich," in the book, Vilna, edited by Ephim H. Jeshurin, p. 96-126. See also the excellent essay, biographical and evaluative, "Aaron Zundelelevich," by A. Litwak in Roiter Pinkos, volume II, p. 80-106.

Petersburg Engineering Institute. He, therefore, left the Vilna school.

At the seminary, Zundeleovich stood out among the students for his ability and leadership. He joined the "Going to the People" movement, and influenced several of the students to follow his example.

At one time he decided to go to America to live a free life. Unable to raise enough money by tutoring which was his only source of income. Zundeleovich was forced to stay in Russia. He soon embarked on a real revolutionary career. A relative of his, Anna Epstein, a medical student in St. Petersburg, became affiliated with the Chaikovtzy of which Peter Kropotkin, Nicholas Chaikovsky, Sophia Perovskaya and other revolutionists were members, and of which the founder had been Mark Nathanson. Anna Epstein was the first woman socialist in her home-town, Vilna. Zundeleovich tutored Anna's younger brother and, while on vacation in Vilna, Anna met Zundeleovich and influenced him greatly. It was just at the time when Zundeleovich and several friends of his were thinking about going to America. She finally persuaded Zundeleovich and his friends to stay in Russia and join the socialistic movement instead.

At once a Vilna Circle was organized, comprising Zundeleovich his friend Vladimir Yokhelson, Aaron Lieberman, A. A. Barel and others. Although all the members were Jewish, only Lieberman,

as we have shown in the thesis, advocated that socialism be preached especially to Jews in Hebrew and, if conditions require it, perhaps also in Yiddish. The others maintained that Hebrew was a dead language, and that Yiddish would disappear with the first effects of Western European culture.

Zundeleovich was particularly active in the propagation and dissemination of literature. More difficult was the importation of literature, which had been illegalized by the government. He made contacts with people in other countries and planned the importation of contraband literature on a grand scale. So successful was he in his schemes that eventually Vilna, i.e. Zundeleovich's nucleus, became the center of contraband literature for most of revolutionary Russia. Allying himself with the Lavrovists, Zundeleovich received the literature at Vilna, and through a network of stations, shipped the literature to the larger cities of St. Petersburg and Moscow. Zundeleovich also transported human contraband, i.e. he helped revolutionaries sought by the police to get over the border. Through this responsible position, he came into contact with many famed revolutionists. He was in contact with the young Jewish socialist Finkelstein, who was active in the Vilna Rabbinical School and who escaped from Russia before Zundeleovich's Circle was formed. Zundeleovich and Finkelstein met in Koenigsberg, where the latter was actively engaged in revolutionary work.

Now Zundeleovich and his group wanted to be better prepared for the "Going to the People" movement: but it was impossible for "refined" intellectuals to address themselves to the peasants. So, in 1875, they hired a Jewish shoemaker to teach them his trade. At this time, the Vilna Teachers' Institute was raided by the police and a good deal of contraband literature was found. The police demanded the source from which it was gotten; all the students refused to divulge the source except one, who named Zundeleovich. The informer immediately regretted his act, and ran to warn Zundeleovich and the others. The "shoemakers" fled from Vilna just in time. The police arrested Zundeleovich's parents and his fifteen year old brother, all of whom divulged no information under "third degree" methods except that Aaron Lieberman was a friend of Zundeleovich. The police immediately tried to apprehend Lieberman, but he too had fled.

The appearance of revolutionary germs in the Jewish community aroused the anger of the chief of police. He called the leaders of the Kehilla, and said to them that hitherto he had considered all Jews swindlers, but now he also looked upon them as "rebels," and if they didn't see to it that their schools ceased being hotbeds of revolution, it would not go well with the Jews. Promptly the city maggid began to preach to the Vilna youth, bringing proof from the Bible that all revolutionists were criminals, heretics, and enemies of Israel....Zundeleovich's family was re-

leased. Zundeleovich went to Kovno, and thence to Koenigsberg.

At Koenigsberg, Zundeleovich again became active in the transportation of contraband literature into Russia. The great revolutionist, Mark Nathanson, made a special trip to Koenigsberg to meet the young Russian contrabandist. Zundeleovich became more active than ever in the risky work of smuggling out of Russia ^{into??} political and illegal literature. To the revolutionists he became known as the "Minister of Exporation." [↑] He assisted in the liberation of Kropotkin from the Petropavlosk jail. He participated in the plot against the life of the Czar's mistress, who had acted as instrument in the murder of the revolutionist Kravchinsky-Stepniak by Police General Mezentzov. He also aided in the attempt on the life of General Drentel, a follower of Mezentzov.

In 1878, the newspaper Land and Freedom was launched by the revolutionists in St. Petersburg; the revolutionary Circles adopted the name. The "Land and Freedom" units knew Zundeleovich as "Moshe" and they esteemed his opinion highly; the phrase "What does Moshe say?" became a common question before anything was undertaken.

In his memoirs, Lev Deutsch recalls how he had imagined that "Moshe" must have been a gigantic figure of a man from the admiring eulogies he had heard of his daring. And one day he met Zundeleovich. "I was surprised," he wrote, "..... I saw a young Jewish fellow, of small stature. But that young fellow made a strong

impression on me. He was handsome, of fair complexion.... with a dark beard and an attractive smile..."

Zundeleovich succeeded in having a printing press established in St. Petersburg, where he produced revolutionary literature, and skilfully, almost miraculously, succeeded in keeping the press from the clutches of the police. He himself set the type.

Zundeleovich was the first to introduce new revolutionary techniques. Hitherto, much stress was put upon the necessity of going directly to the people and preaching socialism. Zundeleovich asserted that this method was foolish, for the peasantry was too simple to understand the socialist message, and it was foolhardy, for the price was many valuable lives that were vainly lost. In contrast to the Bakuninites who were eager for a proletarian and not a bourgeoisie revolution, Zundeleovich advocated the campaign for political reform and announced himself as an adherent of social-democratic principles which he had contacted in Germany. To this end, he stated the need for giving up the "Going to the People" approach and was among the first to demand the use of terrorism as the only way to force the government to grant a liberal constitution. Soon a rift in the revolutionary forces took place, with Zundeleovich and such people as Soloviev (who shot but missed the Czar), Figner, Nicholas Morozov, Michaelov, Kviatkovski, Asinski and others forming the Executive Committee advocating the need for political reform through terror.

The various attempts to heal the breach between the two groups were unsuccessful and finally it was decided that each group would go its own way. Then began one of the most heroic campaigns in the history of the world: the attempt of these terrorists to kill the Czar. Always the organizer, Zundeleovich managed to import dynamite into Russia; and later on, terrorists began to make their own dynamite, since a few members of the group were chemists. To educate himself for the science of terrorism, Zundeleovich used to go to libraries and read various scientific books. One day he was accidentally caught by the police when they were searching for someone else. A revolutionary document had been found in the library, and then police were looking for the man who left it there. Zundeleovich's coat was perfunctorily searched in the cloak room, and, unfortunately for him, radical literature was found. Usually, Zundeleovich was much more careful. But the police did not know he was one of the terrorists, and he expected to get off with a light sentence. But at the same time Goldenberg, the assassinator of Kropotkin, had been arrested, and that psychopathic individual let the police wring out a full confession from ^{him} in which the role of Zundeleovich was exposed, among others. Zundeleovich would surely have been executed had not a political accident occurred. Just before the trial of Zundeleovich and fifteen other revolutionists, a liberal minister, Count Laris-Melikov had been appointed, and he did not

want to begin his regime with a mass execution. So Zundeleovich was sentenced to life imprisonment.

For 26 years Zundeleovich was a prisoner and exile. First he was sent to distant Kara, in Siberia. There he was subjected to hard labor along with other political prisoners. Later he was sent to Akatui, where desperate criminals were held. There, under the most wretched circumstances, this martyr worked in the silver mines and subsisted on the most abominable fare. When Deutsch, who was also sentenced to Siberia, met Zundeleovich at one of the prisons, he hardly recognized him.

But Zundeleovich's courage never failed him; nor did his political ideas. After 26 years of penal servitude, he was freed during the revolution of 1905, and went to St. Petersburg to live. A year later he went to London. There he lived on the money he had earned from his prison labor. He lived a modest, quiet life there, still holding fast to his social-democratic, terroristic ideas. But he was never very active again. He disapproved of Lenin's and others' attempts to make over the country at one stroke, declaring that revolution must be gradual. After the Bolshevik revolution, he was opposed to the ruthlessness of the Lenin tactics, and the suppression of human rights in Russia.

Shub says that Zundeleovich read and understood Yiddish, but does not mention the strength of his Jewish affiliations. Zundeleovich died quietly in London on August 30, 1923, at the home of his brother, Ely. The newspapers printed no obituary.

APPENDIX B.

LIFE OF DAWIDOWITZ*

Dawidowitz was born in Vilna in 1855 and died of throat consumption in the Jewish Hospital in Odessa in 1898.

In the beginning of the seventies Dawidowitz was mingling among the Maskilim in Vilna. He read a great deal of Russian literature and fancied himself a "full-fledged Russian" by virtue of his literary imbibings. In this way sympathy for his "Slavonic brethren" was aroused within him. During the struggle between Serbia and Turkey in 1876, young Dawidowitz joined General Cherniayev's army. He was soon sent to Serbia.

It is well known of what dark elements Cherniayev's division was composed. This military campaign made Dawidowitz a bit more sober. His "slavophilia" soon evaporated. And he returned a "red." With all his youthful vigor he threw himself into the radical movement. He seemed to have now found his cause.

He was the hero of an unusual affair. A political prisoner had to be freed from the prison in Chirygin. He undertook the task. To execute it he chose a very complicated zig-zag path.

* Based on an article by Marcus Kagan in Yevreyskaya Starina, 1911, p. 409-412.

He came to the city of Chirygin, government of Kiev, and there learned from the bailiff the name of a young man, Kibrik, who had failed to present himself for military service.

What did Dawidowitz do? He appeared before the military authorities as Kibrik, and was taken as soldier. Due to the fact that the other recruits had already been sent away, he was left in the local battalion.

As an experienced propagandist-agitator, he soon succeeded in converting a few soldiers to his cause. He was soon assigned to sentry-duty at the prison. While patrolling the penal institution, he fulfilled his mission. A fire was started in the prison yard, and during the confusion, the political prisoner managed to escape. So many unique decisions did Dawidowitz make in his career that it is not strange at all, although quite puzzling, when we learn that, upon freeing the prisoner, instead of leaving the military service, he remained to complete the term.

Kibrik-Dawidowitz was transferred to Kazan where he was placed in a school for the training of feldschers (army surgeons) among the more qualified soldiers. He completed his military term as an army surgeon.

He then settled in Volhynia. From Zhitomir he sent literary contributions to various Russian-Jewish and Hebrew periodicals under the pen-name "Kolibr" or "Kibrik."

According to Marcus Kagan, Dawidowitz published some articles

at first in the Russian-Jewish magazines, Russki Yevrey (The Russian Jew) and Voskhod (The East) and later in Hayom and Hamelitz. His recognition as a writer was based on his articles dealing with the problem of pedagogy and on his translation of Spencer's "On Education."

In the second half of the eighties, Kibrik-Dawidowitz moved to Odessa. Here he ceased his "surgical" work and became a private teacher.

In Odessa he completely broke with his revolutionary past. He officially notified the prosecutor's office that he was living under a strange name and petitioned therewith for the restoration of his real family name -- Dawidowitz.

This resulted in court proceedings. He was tried in the Odessa Circuit Court. At the trial it was proved that by adopting the name of Kibrik, he took advantage of no special rights or privileges that Kibrik might have been entitled to, that, rather, he took upon himself the hardships of military service. Taking this into consideration, the defendant was acquitted and his birth name was officially restored to him.

Many reasons are given for Dawidowitz' abandoning the revolutionary cause. Many explanations are offered for his sudden change of heart and mind. Buchbinder (p. 42) ascribes his act to the pogroms in the early eighties. It was the massacres that brought him disillusionment in all revolutionary endeavors. Kagan,

however, makes no mention of it. He states that the newspaper reported a great deal about that trial, but he can not quite recall the published testimony Dawidowitz gave at that time.

Dawidowitz voluntarily brought upon himself the trial and voluntarily did he throw himself upon the mercy of the government. According to Kagan, this act was motivated by a strong desire to liquidate completely his revolutionary contacts and enterprises. He had already turned to an altogether different path. He became a Jewish nationalist and decided to devote himself to nationalistic enlightenment among Jewish youth. The spiritual rebirth of the Jewish people became his new ideal. He wholeheartedly returned to the Hebrew language and to Hebrew literature.

Upon his initiative, there were organized a number of Circles for the dissemination of the knowledge of Hebrew.

While in Odessa he continually longed for his native city. He was so happy when he succeeded in securing a teaching position in the Vilna Talmud Torah!

With his rich impressionable nature, with his background of diverse experiences, with his cultural attainments and colorful character, Dawidowitz brought about a new rejuvenation in the pedagogical circles of Vilna. But his influence was short-lived. His illness soon took him back to the Southern climes where he died at the age of 43 in the city of Odessa.

Premature death came as a result of his chaotic life and ceaseless wanderings. As a child of Vilna poverty, as one who endured so many material privations and dangers, as one who experienced so many deep spiritual upheavals, Dawidowitz could hardly hope for length of days.

Dawidowitz was an unusual personality, and unusual were his experiences. A student, writer, Maskil, revolutionary, soldier, teacher, Hebraist, nationalist -- all of these he managed to be in the short span of his life.

His spiritual groping reveals the complete man. At first a Maskil, then a revolutionary-propagandist and then a conscience-stricken Jewish nationalist. From universalism he made a return pilgrimage to the Jewish nation.

Of his revolutionary activities in Vilna we speak in the body of this thesis. There, it is observed, what great capacities he had as a leader and organizer.

To piece together the complete threads of the life of this extraordinary person is a difficult task. Very little is actually known about the man. Our chief authority is Marcus Kagan, who knew Dawidowitz both in Vilna and in Odessa and who visited with him a few days before the latter's death. Yet Kagan had to rely on his memory and partly on conjecture for the material of his sketch of Dawidowitz. And he frankly admits that he makes no claim to accuracy.

APPENDIX C.

THE STATUTE OF ORGANIZATION OF THE UNION OF SOCIALISTS-
REVOLUTIONARIES AMONG THE JEWS IN RUSSIA*

PART I -- GENERAL RULES.

PART II -- PROPAGANDA AND AGITATION.

PART III -- THE ORGANIZATION OF SECTIONS AND FEDERATIONS AMONG THE JEWS IN WESTERN COUNTRIES.

Part I -- General Rules.

We feel that not only the improvement of the social order, but also the very existence of society is impossible for any length of time under the present system of monopolistic ownership and general competition.

We feel that the saving of the present society from inevitable doom is only possible through a radical change in the economic, political and family order on the principles of common solidarity. Therefore, we are --- Socialists.

We feel that it is impossible to bring about the change we have in view through peaceful means. Rather are we preparing a

* Translated from the original, found in Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 30-41.

1. The underlined statements so appear in the original document.

change through force, the revolution. Therefore, we are Socialists-Revolutionaries.

We hope to reach our goal first, by preparing ourselves for the social revolution; secondly, by preparing the social revolution through three inseparable means: Propaganda, Agitation, and Organization.

We prepare ourselves for the social revolution by developing within a clear understanding of the challenge of Socialism, solidarity with our socialist brothers and a readiness for any danger in our struggle against the enemy.

As Socialists, who clearly understand the challenge of Socialism, we break our ties with the past, its habits, customs, and traditions. Only those habits of the old world may be transferred to the new which will not be contradictory to the common solidarity and common equality of the members of the new social order. Only that which possesses rational justification has the right of existence. We deny every religious, nationalistic, or any other tradition which would prove a drawback for the universal brotherhood of all ^Aworkers, united in the struggle against their exploiters.

As Socialists who clearly understand the demands of Socialism, we may use in our struggle only the means which would not contradict the privileges of Socialism nor would besmirch its banner. We can claim as our fellow-members and as our brothers

only those persons who are consciously or instinctively permeated with the challenge of socialist solidarity. No economic or political monopoly, no pursuit of personal power, no exploitation of fellow-members and brothers, no falsehood toward fellow-members and brothers -- will ever be allowed among true Socialists. It is for the purpose of upholding the meaning and the moral influence of our precious banner of the social revolution that we accept the responsibility. In our struggle against the enemies and in our relationship to an indifferent society we shall employ only in the greatest of need and with utmost carefullness the weapons which are permitted in a social war, but the careless use of which may cast a dark shadow over our banner and destroy the power of attractiveness to our cause..

As Socialists -- in full solidarity with our socialist brothers -- we accept the moral duty to sacrifice all our physical, intellectual and spiritual strength for the preparation and fulfillment of the social revolution, without considering it a deed of special merit or one worthy of any privilege, among organized revolutionaries. We consider it as the simple and direct obligation of every one of us in the name of his convictions for the common socialist solidarity.

As Socialists -- ready for anything in the struggle against the enemy -- they must also prepare themselves ahead of time for possible contingency and sacrifice. Surrounded by strong enemies

and knowing that in the struggle many must perish even before they are victorious, the Socialists are well aware of the fact that their own material well-being and the well-being of persons dear to them may be endangered and may have to be brought as sacrifice if the cause demands it, and that they have dedicated themselves to whatever may happen. The Socialists know that, if caught by the enemy, they cannot and must not expect nor desire any mercy, for they themselves have declared a merciless war. This they know: in the face of greatest danger they have no right to lower their banner nor to defile their cause by soft-heartedness, not even for the sake of saving the life of persons dearest to them.

Only that person may be admitted in the ranks of fighters for the social revolution who takes upon himself the moral obligation to develop within, as much as possible a true understanding of socialist ideas and of their application in his way of living, a warm feeling of solidarity with his brothers, and a tireless energy in the struggle against the enemy.

We prepare the social revolution first, by carrying on a propaganda of ideas of the social revolution among those who are in a condition to accept them. We prepare it secondly, by stirring hatred against those groups and institutions which, through their very existence, support the existing social evil. And in order to stir up this hatred we carry on agitation amongst those who suffer

from social injustice, but who are not conscious of the necessity to fight by offensive means against social justice and the exponents thereof, and who as yet do not recognize the possibility of defeating their enemies, if the battle could only be waged by bringing together into one strong, purposeful organization all the powers which represent those persons who have fully acquainted themselves with its problems, who developed within this project solidarity among their brothers and the proper energy for the struggle against their enemies; similarly, which represent those persons who gradually prepare themselves for it but who have not yet won the trust of the experienced socialists-revolutionaries; and lastly, which also represent those who, by virtue of their own status and social conscience, are natural allies in the cause of social revolution, but who were unable and are still unable -- because of life's circumstances -- to accept socialist teachings.

We consider wholly necessary the unification of the above-mentioned three methods of preparing the social revolution. Without propaganda, which explains the demands of Socialism, even a successful uprising may lead to new evils and the organization may become the tool of honor-seekers; without Agitation in favor of offensive action, the propaganda can never lead to any practical results; without organization and successful preparation for a revolutionary uprising it is impossible to carry on a purposeful propaganda and agitation; it is even impossible to protect

appropriately the socialists-revolutionaries so as to prolong as much as possible the period of their activity.

II. Propaganda and Agitation.

Nothing positive can be said about the practical methods of propaganda and agitation, even though they almost constitute at the present time the main problem of the socialist worker in Russia. The methods completely depend upon the conditions in which each worker finds himself as well as upon the cultural conditions of the place in which the propagandist-agitator has to carry on his activity.

Taking into consideration the first activity and being well acquainted with the second, the Socialist has to manage his activities accordingly: without bringing harm to the cause, without giving up the least iota of his convictions for some advantageous point in his agitation. If a leader should plan to direct his activities among an unfamiliar group, he must thoroughly study the group in whose midst he will be active; if at all possible, he should acquire its peculiarities and become a member of the same group; if this impossible, then in whatever stratum of society circumstances cause him to be, he should draw nearer to his future comrades so as to win their fullest trust. Only by cultivating the ability to become one of the group in whose midst one may plan to work is it truly possible to carry on the activities successfully.

III. The Organization of Sections and Federations among the Jews in the Western Countries.

We intend to organize among the Jews of the Western regions a series of socialist-revolutionary sections, federated with each other as well as with similar Jewish sections abroad, or with sections of other nationalities in Russia and abroad.

By the very fact of the acceptance of the principles of Socialism in the fullest sense (as described above), we deny not only enmity and differences between nationalities, but also their very separation in the socialist-revolutionary cause.

The Socialists of all nations and races constitute one brotherhood. The diversity of national and cultural conditions makes for differentiations in the milieu in which they happen to carry on their activities, and it is this single difference -- naturally, a temporary one -- that creates now, depending on the locality and nationality, a certain difference in the method of work. It is this also that forces us to accept the name, Jewish Section of the Russian Socialist-Revolutionary Party.

If life's circumstances should bring us to a place where the majority of permanent or prospective Socialists speak in a different tongue or are members of a different people -- every one of us is in duty bound to join the socialist-revolutionary group that is active there, and it shall not even enter his mind to estrange himself from it because of his being a Jew.

As for Russia in particular, if any one of us should find himself outside of the Western countries, he must offer all his strength for the work among Russians and together with them work for the social revolution in Russia. But so long as we find ourselves in the places where at the present time there is the need to carry on propaganda and agitation among the Jews in their own tongue and under distinct cultural conditions, we must offer to starting organizations means which are best suited for the activities in that particular milieu.

Everyone of us aspires to organize among the Jews of the Western countries socialist-revolutionary sections, federated with each other as well as with similar sections of other nationalities; to organize groups of persons who, through propaganda and agitation would be prepared to join the sections; to exert our personal influence and to disseminate revolutionary propaganda among classes which, by virtue of their position, represent the prospective fellow-workers in the cause of revolution.*

The Jewish section of the Russian Socialists is primarily (if not exclusively) engaged in propaganda among the Jews, directing its activities primarily among the workers and the poor youth. If the opportunity presents itself, it is also possible

* This paragraph, for unexplained reasons, is omitted in the Yiddish translation of Buchbinder's book. In the Russian edition it is found on p. 30.

to attract the students of the crown schools and the petty bourgeoisie.

As inhabitants of known localities (Lithuania, Poland, Ukraine, Bessarabia, Caucasia, and others), the Jewish-Russian Socialists, who form a separate section, join completely with the Circles of other nationalities of that particular locality so as to co-operate with them in all cases in which the pursuit of international socialist aim is involved.

In all such cases the sections of the Jewish Socialists should bear in mind the common interests of the local Socialists as only a link of one general social-revolutionary Party.

The Jewish sections obligate themselves to co-operate with all their might and means with sections and individual members of the Party in other localities of Russia and of other countries.

The socialists-revolutionists, who live in one small town or in one district of a large town, providing they are in agreement about their seizing the social machinery, about the duties of solidarity among themselves, about the energy of the fight against the enemy -- form a section which strives to federate itself with similar sections, strives to enlarge itself by attracting new members who are trained by its members in the social-revolutionary theory; it strives to bring on the revolution through agitation and through personal influence brought to bear upon the suffering masses who represent the natural allies of a social revolution.

At the earliest opportunity it is necessary, of course, to organize among the masses "Preliminary Committees" which will form sections of the federation.

Each section is autonomous in its methodology and in the selection of its personnel. (The section) merely assumes the voluntary obligation to comply with the general decisions of the federation as long as the section is part of the federation (although the section has the privilege of withdrawing from the federation, if it feels that that is necessary) or one of the executive bodies of the federation, should such bodies be formed.

Each member of a section has equal rights. Each one is obliged to comply with the majority decision of his comrades and to carry out its orders, even though he is not in agreement with some details. At the meetings of the section, all the functions and duties are divided among the members, as far as possible, on the basis of personal desires or abilities, but at the same time this (apportioning of duties) must be carried on by the decision and general agreement of the entire section; this must be done in this way so that many shall not do that which one can handle, and so that there shall not remain assignments which no one undertakes. Where it is so necessary, the work may be specialized; but it is desirable that within a certain time members exchange their duties (i.e. each member should become skillful in a variety of tasks). The duties which the members perform in a section must be alto-

gether dependent on the propaganda- and agitation-activities of the members of the Preliminary Committees or a majority of them. At the weekly meetings of the section each member gives an oral report about his activity and his propaganda- and agitation-work. The members of the section have the right to know all the details of such activity, as well as all the details of the activities of other sections of the Party related to the Circle; but they assume the moral responsibility not to ask that which is not needed when it is not told voluntarily to the entire Circle. Therefore, each member relates only the facts about his propaganda- and agitation-work which he feels can be told; he is obliged, however, to reveal details should the section demand to know them.

The section meets each week to hear reports, to admit new members and to discuss the work in general. If at all possible, each member should be present at the meeting. Hence, the section out of necessity should not be large. In the event that the number of members becomes greater than the fixed limit; for example, one and a half times greater, then the section is divided into two. These two sections become federated, but they meet separately, and their union is effected through committee meetings (members of which represent each section). It is more expeditious not to have a combined meeting of all the members of several large sections, except on very extraordinary occasions.

Each section elects three individuals (as officers). One does the internal work; he is the treasurer, transmits necessary

information to all the members of the section, and acts as contact man among members during those times when section meetings are not taking place. The second is the "delegate." He maintains contact with other sections and is generally in charge of external affairs. The third assists the first or the second when much work accumulates. These three can be replaced by the section by other individuals, and at each meeting the three are newly acclaimed, but at the meeting they play no exceptional role.

Documents must be as few as possible and must be in the possession of such people who are not especially active in propaganda work. It is better to memorize addresses.

The section tries as much as possible to cooperate in the establishment of similar sections in other cities in which Jews reside, and to negotiate with sections of other nationalities. If a member of such a section of another nationality is temporarily in a place where a Jewish section exists, he is lawfully entitled to membership in that section and to participation in its activities as much as he is able with his knowledge of the language and local conditions.

At the time of establishing similar sections in different adjacent localities (in Western countries, in Poland, Central Russia, Germany, Austria), they should strive to create a federation so that they may work, as far as possible, in concord and in harmony.

The federated sections of one city or country choose from among themselves several people who comprise the "Committee to Spy upon the Government Agents and the Administration," in order to counterbalance the similar tactics of the government. During the time that a member is engaged in this committee, he must not be occupied with propaganda work.

Denouncing the principle of private ownership, the Socialists must first of all renounce their personal property and give it over to their Circle, so that it can be available for revolutionary work. Contributions to the general treasury no Socialist may refuse, even if he has hardly enough for his own sustenance. Therefore, each section must have fixed dues, no matter how small. The largest part of the treasury (e.g. 75%) is expended on the needs of the section itself, and a smaller part (e.g. 25%) goes to the social-revolutionary Party. The financial burden may be equal for each member of a section or Circle.

The federation of several contiguous sections choose one person, who as far as possible, is not under suspicion through whom the federation establishes its connections with other federations in distant places and with the center abroad.

The federation decides at definite times (e.g. once a year) either that a general meeting of several sections be called, if necessary -- or it ratifies the continuation of the federation Council of three which is chosen at the general meetings for the

the purpose of establishing smoother contact among the different sections.

In order to expand the organization, each individual member, as far as possible, carries on propaganda among people who are accessible and disposed toward the social-revolutionary ideas, and in this manner he creates Preliminary Groups of people who know him alone as representatives of the party who are connected to it through him, who carry on propaganda which he suggests, who collect money, transport books, and, in short, prepare themselves by studying people. revolutionary literature and, if possible, a trade and thus acquaint themselves with social-revolutionary activity. For safety's sake and in order that socialist workers may not get into danger, it is often better that none of the persons in these Preliminary Groups should know that a revolutionary section exists in the locality.

The propagandist has the right, according to his discretion, to conduct his propaganda among different people so that one does not know of the other; or to divide them up into separate small groups, or to unite them all together into one Circle in which they will be able to help one another in their development.

When possible the members of these groups are proposed as members of the sections. The one who proposes a member must reveal to the comrades at the general meeting all details about the person proposed; decision is deferred until the next meeting to give

the others the opportunity to gather information about the recommended person. The latter is accepted only by a majority vote of the section, and then he becomes a full-fledged member.

Aside from their activities in the sections and among the Preliminary Groups, the members of the party must make every effort to enjoy the friendships of the workers, to win the confidence of such persons among whom it is not considered possible to carry on socialistic propaganda; and it is necessary to agitate them at every opportunity in order that at any moment, in the event of an uprising, it will be possible to depend not only upon the members of the sections and the of the Preliminary Groups but also upon a more or less well-known person who shall have been identified with the revolution thanks to general dissatisfaction with the existing order or thanks to personal relationship with members of the section.

The socialists-revolutionists hope that it will never be necessary to indict their comrades for a crime against the Party. One who feels that his energy in the struggle is weakening, that he has not the power to survive the test of breaking with traditions or bourgeoisie life, such a person has the right to leave the ranks of the fighters for a new world and to throw his lot with the lot of the Old World. In the first place, the section may by a unanimous vote dismiss from its ranks any member in whom they have no complete confidence in spite of all his virtues, or

one who is overly curious, even though he had given them his moral pledge. It is understood, however, that those persons who know too much and leave the ranks of the local organization must be closely watched. Also those people who enter the organization temporarily out of curiosity or sinister intentions, and also those persons who have decided to betray themselves are placing themselves among the enemies of the federation and the local organization will deal with them without mercy. They must be made harmless. In such special cases, a meeting is called of the delegates of the federated sections; six men, for example, are chosen to arrange for a trial and to execute the sentence. Their names are voted upon by all sections; the actual arrangement for the trial is handed over to the three persons who receive the most votes. If the six elected members cannot agree, the matter is solved as follows: In the event of extraordinary and immediate danger, which threatens the society, its member takes three other comrades and acquaints them with the entire matter and what he intends to do about it. When they all come to some agreement, the initiator can carry out his case, and afterwards he surrenders himself and his three advisors over to the judgment of the meeting of the delegates. If the latter find that the case was harmful to the general welfare, they call a special general meeting of the members, and if the meeting censures the case by a two-thirds vote, the initiator and his

three advisors are excluded from the federation on that basis.

-- Jewish Socialists
January, 1876 — Tebath, 5636.

APPENDIX D.

FIRST PROCLAMATION IN HEBREW.*

To the Intelligent Jewish Youth --

You are preparing to enter life, thirsty for honest and generally useful work, and as a means for realizing your desires, you have chosen Almighty Science. You believe that as a result of your taking an honored social place and expending your energies on behalf of the present social order, you will heal the people of its wounds which devour it, and thus also lead it upon the path of progress, universal human development and well-being.

But in vain! In the present social order only one progress is possible -- the progress of the people's misfortunes. In the existing inter-human relations only one career is possible -- and that is the career of the exploiter of the masses.

Private property has brought about a conflict between the interests of the individual and the interests of the masses. The institution of monarchy, which is based upon the principle of nationalities, has called forth the oppression of one people by

* This translation of the document is made from the Yiddish, Roiter Pinkos, vol. I, p. 202-206. The Hebrew text, in illegible form, is found in Roiter Pinkos, vol. II, p. 167. The Russian text is found in S. Zinberg's "Pervie Sotzialisticheskie ^{№ 1} ~~№ 1~~ The First Socialist Publications") in Perezhitoe, 1908. ^{AO}

a second. And the institution of religion has created the reign of charlatans and psychopaths over the sane judgment of mankind.

As a result of conditions in the present order, the problems of a career crush even honorable men. The contemporary leader of society must unavoidably place himself on the side of the enemies of the people; indeed, the people's "benefactors" suck up its last life-blood.

Everywhere the masses are beginning to perceive it. The Jewish masses, too, are beginning to understand it. With scornful gaze, with hatred and enmity, they tell the hypocrites and speculators who have thrust themselves upon their neck and shoulders:

"You are guilty against us in every respect! You acquired Haskalah and erudition, with which you pride yourselves so much through our labor, through our pain and suffering! One generation after another had to subsist in hunger and need and torment so that their rising layers of bodies should erect the great height from which you look down with scorn upon us.

"From our torture and travail you have procured pleasure and luxury, and for us you have left over the frightful poverty, the heavy toil that has exhausted us so.

"But that is not all! You made every effort to befog our minds with the pilpul of your idle sophistries. You forced us to kneel and bow before you; and the greater your moral slothfulness grew, the more you coerced us to sing of you -- songs of exalta-

tion. Enriched and fortified by the toil and subservience of the exploited masses among your own people, you directed your blood-thirstiness also to other peoples.

"And for all your sins we have had to pay. You called forth upon us one storm after another, one blow after another! Because of you, racial and religious hatreds flared forth, which poured their fury upon us first of all! For your transgressions thousands of your brothers, children of our people, were extirpated! Because of you, the name 'Jew' became a word of abuse. Because of you, decrees were issued against the entire impoverished Jewish people, which more than any other nation suffered from your blood-thirstiness!"

Thus does the Jewish people and the children of the masses view its intelligentsia. We, the friends of all oppressed masses, declare openly before the whole world: "We part with and break away from you, you hypocritical pietists! You have forged upon the people the heavy fetters of minute customs and stultified regulations, in order to exploit and enslave it the more easily. You are not of us!"

"And you who have adorned yourselves with the masks of European civilization, in order to suck out to the dregs the blood of the people, in consonance with the current culture, you enlightened slaves of gold and might, who pull tighter the coils

about the people's necks. You, universal speculators, who besmirch your names in mud, you are not with us! You have separated not only from our people, but from all suffering humanity. And, alike with all humanity, your people renounce you. The masses whom you exploit declare a merciless war upon you. You are sentenced to annihilation!

"But you, oh youth, in whom there still lingers the sincerity of aspiration; you, young intellectual, whom the present social order and the crippled civilization has not yet corrupted -- you we call to our ranks, the ranks of the battlers for the welfare of the proletariat, for the welfare of all humanity, We extend to you our hand in fraternity, and call to us all who wish to serve in truth the living humanity.

"Down with careers! Down with submission to tradition! Down with bowing to gold and might! Throw off the past and join the working class and its friends. Only to it belongs the future. Beside it -- there is destruction and death!"

We say to you: A war between all the nations the world over is flaring forth. The proletariat of all lands are uniting to cast off the yoke of capital and monarchy. Suffering mankind is arming to fight for freedom and right. The social revolution is preparing to wave its red flag. Its watchword is: "Common work! Common property! Free union of all workers and the brotherhood of all nations and peoples. Death to monopoly in all

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its forms. Death to all who will interfere with the coming of universal justice!"

The time has come, when our proletariat must join the great movement. For them also the time has come when they must rest their weary bones; when, together with the proletariat of other nations, they must obtain their portion of joy in the kingdom of universal labor and justice; the portion which the exploiters have taken from them; the portion, which was denied them through the betrayal of the nations as a result of the manipulations of the same exploiters. The international unity of the workers can not recognize any division of mankind into peoples and nations. It is aware of the selfish beasts and harmful social parasites. And now the honest workers are girding their loins for a final battle with their oppressors.

We further declare to you, that the Jewish workers will also participate in this great phenomenon because their cup of pain is already overflowing.

Come, youth, to the assistance of the proletariat. Come to the aid of those whom you have to thank for your development. Come to the help of the people who moulded you, and, through sweat and blood, achieved the things in which you take pride.

Go among the people, join it, struggle with it, endure with it, awaken it, brighten up one, strengthen another, and call everyone to the battle against the rulers of the world, against the oppressors of the proletariat, against the exploiters of the people.

Let the old world -- the world of falsehood and oppression of workers -- go down beneath the blows of the battlers for justice and liberty. And then, upon its ruins, in the shining light of freedom will wave everywhere the red banner of the social revolution.

APPENDIX E.

EMIL ABRAMOWITZ*

Emil Abramowitz was born in Grodno, in July, 1864. In 1870 his education began at the Jewish Elementary School of Grodno. In 1872 he entered the gymnasium from which he graduated in 1882.

He studied at the Paris Medical School, but due to poor economic circumstances he returned to Russia in May, 1884 and entered the University of Derpt. He completed his medical course in 1888. *Derpt?*

Abramowitz was one of the earliest and most important Jewish socialist leaders. In the summer of 1884 he organized in Minsk a Jewish workingmen's Circle; he imbued the members of the Circle with the social-democratic Marxian ideology. In 1887 he visited for a short period of time the city of Vilna whither he brought for the Circles Plekhanov's Naschi Raznoglasia and a social-democratic program. In 1888 he went to Kiev where he organized a socialist workingmen's Circle the membership of which was largely composed of railroad workers and a few Jewish typographers. In 1889 he was apprehended by the police, sentenced to prison and

* The material in this Appendix is based on the article in Allgemeine Encyclopedia, vol. I, p. 57-58 and Buchbinder, op. cit. p. 51-52, which gives references to official police documents.

exile. In 1912 he was banished again. In 1914 he volunteered his services as army physician and was sent to war.

After the February Revolution he joined the Mensheviks, remaining consistently a social-democrat and an opponent of the Bolsheviks. The last years of his life were spent in Saratov where he was a member of the committee of the social-democrats. He was arrested by the Bolsheviks during the summer of 1919. After a few months in prison he was tried together with a whole group on the charge of counter-revolutionary activity. He died in 1922.

Abramowitz was the first Marxian socialist active among the Jewish workingment. He was particularly known as a simple idealistic personality. The report about him by the gendarme, Zubatov, is truly characteristic of his nature. Wrote Zubatov:

".... Abramowitz, popularly known by the name 'The White Cobbler,' would on principle refuse to cure the rich, and from the poor he would accept no fee. He made his ends meet through some kind of trade. He led a life of half-starvation and devoted himself wholeheartedly to propaganda. He was considered a saint, and enjoyed the reverence of others."

APPENDIX F.

ISAAC YITZCHAK HALEVI HURWITZ.*

Dr. Isaac Hurwitz is famed as a social-economist, theorist, popularizer of Marxism, talented publicist, and beloved leader in the radical movement. He was born in Vilna in 1860. As student of St. Petersburg University, he participated in student revolutionary Circles. In 1879 he was arrested and sent to Siberia. There he occupied himself with economic research, collected much material about the immigration of Russian peasants into Siberia, concerning which subject he wrote a book in 1888.

In 1887 he passed the examination of the Dimidov Lyceum in Yaroslav and established himself as an attorney in Minsk, where he formed propaganda Circles among Jewish workers. In 1890 he was held partly responsible for the bombs intended for Russia which were found in Paris, and he was forced to flee. He came to America.

By 1893 he had already written a book in English, The Economic Position of the Russian Village, which appeared in Russian in 1896. This book was of great influence in the altercation

* The material in this Appendix is based on the article in Roiter Pinkos, vol. II, p. 184-186. See also the book, Wilno, p. 505-508; Historico-Revolutionary Archives of the Police Department, no. 596, Special Division, 1906; and Buchbinder, op. cit., p. 52.

between Marxists and Narodniks in Russia. In 1893-1894, Hurwitz was on the faculty of the University of Chicago. Later he practiced law in New York until 1900. After that he was for many years in the United States Department of Statistics in Washington.

In 1893 he edited a Russian paper in Chicago, Progress. In 1897 he began to write in Yiddish, contributing to the Jewish Daily Forward, Zukunft, and other publications. He wrote in Yiddish, he said, as a direct method of reaching the Jewish masses.

Hurwitz was a social reformer; he was opposed to the Socialist Party because it was too radical. Returning to Russia in 1906 he was a candidate of the Jewish Citizens' Party to the second Duma. In 1912 he was affiliated with Theodore Roosevelt's Bull-Moose Party. He joined and resigned from the Socialist Party of America several times, remaining insurgent. In the party he was "right"; out of it, he was "left." He was opposed to Samuel Gompers and the Jewish union leaders who displayed opportunism in the radical movement.

Up to the time of the World War, Hurwitz was an assimilationist; thereafter he was a nationalist, participating in efforts to bring about an American Jewish Congress. He was even sympathetic to Zionism, although he did not go so far as Poale-Zion. During those years he was associated with the New York Day and later contributed to the Forward again. In 1922 he revisited Russia, re-

turning to write a series of anti-Bolshevik articles.

Hurwitz' Complete Works appears in four volumes: 1. Immigration. 2 and 3. Socialism. 4. Jewish Questions, published first in English, and later in Yiddish. In volume 1 he denies that immigrant labor has reduced American labor standards. He died on July 9, 1924, spending the last years of his life on his Memoirs.

APPENDIX G.

THE STRIKE IN KRYNIK*

.... The strike began. There appeared the Uradnik (under-officer) and the Pristav (inspector) who ordered them to go to the rabbi. The rabbi decided that the workers be paid. The rumors of events in other cities and the agitation of the more class-conscious led to the calling of a series of meetings by the workers.

The masters likewise assembled and decided first to beat up the agitators, and secondly, in case of cessation of work in any factory, to send each other workers. The workers met and decided to begin a general strike. They pronounced a vow on their Tefillin and sang the "Shvuah." As soon as the strike started the industrial inspector appeared. The workers, with children in their arms, came to him but the Pristav did not let them approach the inspector and began to arrest them. In the meantime the Ispravnik (bailiff) learned of a meeting of workers in the forest and sent the Pristav to arrest them. When they were brought to the town they made an escape and the police began to seize everyone on the street. The small prison became overcrowded. About an hour later the Ispravnik came to the prison and ordered them to

* Translated from the Russian in Frumkin, op. cit. Yevreyskaya Starina, 1913, p. 115-116.

to leave, but the workers would not leave and demanded an explanation for their arrest. The Pristav then waved with his sabre and threatened to chase them out if they would not leave of their own accord. The workers went away. The Ispravnik and the inspector left too, but the strike continued.

It dawned upon the rabbi that the strike was a dangerous thing and that the more pernicious workers should be arrested. The manufacturers' sons placed themselves on the street and pointed out whom to arrest. The arrested were taken to the Ispravnik. The affair took place on Friday evening. On the way to the Ispravnik the workers concluded that if the rabbi sanctioned the arrest, they may ride on Shabbos. They got on the peasant's cart and took away from him documents of accusation. The Ispravnik refused to accept them; he suggested that they return to their community and come back by etape.

The workers wanted to tear up the papers, but the Ispravnik arrested them and eight days later sent them to their native place. Three workers made a trip to the nearest town to solicit help, but they were arrested. One of the arrested gave a gendarme a good beating, and fled. The workers had to face economic need and to endure much trouble from their relatives.

Some of the strikers' parents who occupied communal positions of shochtim, cantors, synagogue aids, etc. lost their positions

and therefore demanded from their sons that they discontinue the strike.

The rabbi, too, was not asleep. He called the workers together and appealed to them not to ruin the community. He tried to prove to them that one should be satisfied with little, and told them about the famous sage R. Chanina ben Dosa who sustained himself exclusively on St. John's bread. Added the rabbi's son:

"You act the way a famous group acted -- abroad. Over there it came to their mind to work not more than twelve hours a day; later on they even began to demand an eight hour working day. Once they proclaimed that they wanted freedom, dethroned their king and established a republic. What you do may lead even to worse...."

Moreover, the workers learned that the manufacturers were holding a meeting in their synagogue and then made plans to wage the fight with the strikers. The workers decided to close the synagogue. And the following happened: On Sabbath morning the workers came to the synagogue and took the seats of honor at the Eastern wall usually occupied by the factory owners. One of the workers stood at the platform and permitted no one to approach it. After the worship the workers locked the synagogue and took with them the keys. When it was time for the Mincha service the Baale^u batim had to appeal to the police to open the synagogue.

The factory owners understood that they would have to give in, and began to beg the workers to cede from their demands at least for five minutes. "After all, it is a disgrace," they argued, "that mere boys should force us to yield. It would be better for you if you returned to work!"

"On what conditions?" asked a worker.

"From seven to seven."

"And what else?" continued the worker.

"We'll pay every week."

The workers went out into the street and, clapping their hands, burst out into song:

"From seven to seven and pay every week!

From seven to seven and pay every week!"

APPENDIX H.

KAPLINSKI: REVOLUTIONARY OR PROVOCATEUR?*

An ex-Yeshiba bachur, ex-locksmith, Kaplinski was among those who organized the Vilna Yiddish printing press in order to publish revolutionary literature in Yiddish. He set the type for the first number of the Arbeiter Stimme. Later, he moved to Babroisk, where he worked in the Bund print shop. In 1898, the press was raided by the police, the personnel arrested, and Kaplinski fell into the hands of Zubatov.

What occurred at the interview between Kaplinski and the police no one ever found out. But certain it is that Kaplinski agreed to act as spy upon the revolutionists as the price of his freedom. He intended to work for the party just the same, pretending at the same time to reveal secrets to the police. But he found that to live such a dual life was very difficult. The police sent spies after him; they annoyed and badgered him; they constantly wanted more and more information. The result was that his was a very tragic and neurotic life.

He continued to work arduously for the Party. He was the chief technician of the Central Committee, and his labors for the

* The material in this Appendix is based on the essay, "The Tragic Provocateur Israel Michael Kaplinski," by B. Michaelovich in the book Wilno, p. 213-222.

Party were indeed great. Only when strongly pressed by the police did he give away any secrets. For instance, he told them about the printing press in Kishinev operated by Leon and Mara Goldman, and he disclosed to them that Zebi Hurwitz was in Warsaw. But he could have told much, much more -- and didn't.

He also revealed the whereabouts of the Warsaw printing press, but only after that press had been dismantled and abandoned.

Whether Kaplinski took his wife Mara into his confidence is also not established. She always protested his innocence; she spent six months in prison where she lost a new-born child, and always remain devoted to her husband.

Meanwhile an important police officer, Leonid Menchikov fled from St. Petersburg to Paris with some police documents, including a list of official informers. In 1910 the Central Committee of the Bund learned from Paris through Burtzev that there was a spy in their midst whose name suggested some kind of a medicine (the Russian word kapli means "drops."). The revolutionists could not figure out who was meant, and asked for more details. Finally, Burtzev to the amazement of all named Kaplinski. The Central Committee refused to take action until they had a personal conversation with the person from whom Burtzev had procured this information. At first Burtzev would not tell his source, but eventually an interview was held between Bund Delegate Fishel Kagan ("Jonah") and Leonid Menchikov. At this meeting

it was proved beyond doubt that Kaplinski was a "stool-pigeon," Menchikov showing documents and pictures to prove it.

Abramovich and Lieber, Bund leaders, finally came to Kaplinski and openly charged him with being an informer, and when he did not deny it, they demanded that he submit to a trial to be conducted by Bundists in some other country. Kaplinski assented, but instead of waiting, he soon afterwards fled with his family from Vilna and disappeared.

In 1913 rumors had it that Mrs. Kaplinski had been seen in Saratov. After the Revolution of 1917 M. Goldman (Lieber) chanced to be in Saratov and there he found Kaplinski. In Saratov Kaplinski was leading an inactive, political life. Goldman reported about Kaplinski to the leaders of the Mensheviks. Kaplinski was arrested but was released after a few months of imprisonment. After the October Revolution there was appointed as the head of the Tcheka of Saratov Mendel Deutsch, a former Bundist who in 1904 had shot at a government official in Dvinsk and had been sentenced to a long prison term, but who fled the country aided by Kaplinski. He reminded himself of Kaplinski. As the head of the political police he ordered that Kaplinski be arrested and sent to Moscow.

Upon the intercession of Kaplinski's family the Bund leaders decided to have a public trial of Kaplinski. There were carried on negotiations and inquiries between the Russian Bund leaders,

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A. Weinstein ("Jerechamiel") and Dzerzhinsky, head of the All-Russian Extraordinary Committee. Dzerzhinsky agreed to hand over Kaplinski for the trial and appointed the day when Kaplinski was to be summoned. At the appointed time Weinstein appeared to get the prisoner, only to discover that he had been executed the night before.

There is said to have been left by Kaplinski a complete written confession and explanation of his career. This has not yet been discovered. Until some extenuation is forthcoming, Kaplinski has, in the eyes of all revolutionists, the stigma of an informer.

APPENDIX I.

MARTOV (JULIUS ZEDERBAUM).*
(November, 1873 -- April 4, 1923)

Martov was a talented writer, political leader of great magnitude and a fine idealistic personality.

He was one of the pioneers of the social-democratic labor movement in Russia, the recognized chief and leader of the All-Russian Social-Democracy (Mensheviks). He occupied an eminent place among the leaders of international socialism. His opinions and views were of much weight in the socialistic circles throughout the world.

In his youth he was exiled by the Czarist government to the city of Vilna, where he spent two years (from 1893 to 1895) under police surveillance. While in Vilna Martov took an active part in the Jewish socialist movement. From his Circles came a number of workers who later occupied the positions of outstanding agitators and leaders in the Bund and leaders in the Russian social-democratic party.

Martov played an important role during the tra^{ns}itional period of the movement from propaganda in the small Circles to agitation

* The material in this Appendix is based on a brief sketch in Roiter Pinkos, vol. 2, 176-177. See also article, "Martov," in Russian-Jewish Encyclopedia, vol. 10, p. 670.

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among the wide masses. He was instrumental in working out the new approved philosophy. He edited V. Alexander's (Arcadi Kramer) famous pamphlet, "On Agitation."

Martov was born and raised in an assimilated atmosphere, even though his grandfather was the well-known Alexander Zederbaum, the editor of Hameliz. As a result of his early influences Martov was an assimilated Jew. The Jewish spirit and the Jewish culture were strange to him.

The language used in his Circles of Jewish workingmen was Russian. Still, in those years when he carried on propaganda among the Jewish workingmen, he caught the spirit of the newly-born Jewish labor movement. Thus, in 1895 he clearly and challengingly formulated the idea that the Jewish working class must have a separate organization and that it cannot be completely absorbed by the social-democratic organization of Russia. This challenge he uttered in a speech delivered on the occasion of the celebration of the First of May, 1895 entitled "The Turning Point in the History of the Jewish Labor Movement," which was later published both in Russian and in Yiddish.

Years later when he stood at a distance from the Jewish labor movement and worked for the Russian cause, he began to display again his old assimilationist tendencies. He began to regard the speech of May, 1895 as the creation of an immature youth of 22.

At the time of the Iskra Martov opposed bitterly the Bund and refused to recognize its existence. It was only in 1906 when the Bund again joined the All-Russian social-democratic party that Martov drew closer to the Bund. Later on, he was instrumental in the party's adoption of a program of national cultural autonomy.

In spite of the fact that in the late years of his life he worked closely with the leaders of the Bund in Russia, he continually remained unsympathetic to the idea of Jewish culture. His assimilationist tendencies and his low esteem of the Jewish labor movement are quite evident in his memoirs.

In 1922 was published in Russian the first volume of his autobiography, "Zapiski", the Notes of a Social-Democrat (Berlin, Gzhebin Publishers). More than half of the material of the first volume was made available in Yiddish under the title Zichronoth fun a Sozial-Democrat (Berlin, Verlag Vostok, 1923). This book serves as worthwhile source material for the history of the labor movement in Russia. Of special interest to us are the pages dealing with the reminiscences of his life in Vilna in 1893-1895. This is the period in which he was connected with the Jewish labor groups. He was an eye-witness of all the happenings and an active participant.

He paints brief and brilliant descriptions of the pioneers of the Bund, of the early leaders, of his comrades, of the working-

men and of the disciples in the Circles. He also characterizes the activities of the period.

Even though there are other sources available on that period and even though in his memoirs assimilationist tendencies manifest themselves, still the chapters dealing with the Vilna period are very important for the understanding and the nature of the Jewish labor movement of that epoch.