

Appendix: The Sources

Since the autobiographies referred to for this book are from the period of 1924–34, it was important to relate to some works dealing with that period and with its culture that must have affected the writers of the autobiographies. As the writers all deal with their youth, it seemed especially important to examine the preferred images of youth in the revolutionary culture of the mid to late 1920s. Both Frederick Corney and Anne Gorsuch emphasize the self-image of Bolshevism as a youth movement.¹ A model Bolshevik should be youthful in appearance and approach, active, uncompromising, energetic, a doer rather than a thinker and somebody totally committed to the party. I am careful, though, not to assume that similar self-depictions in the autobiographies were affected by the Bolshevik culture of the 1920s, mainly since I see, and describe in this work, similar attitudes among working-class revolutionaries during the 1905 Revolution. While Corney depicts such attitudes in the 1920s as part of a mass rather than an individual identity, my study shows that in 1905 these attitudes had a powerful individual self-asserting dimension. In fact, I suspect that the pre-existence of this identity among working-class revolutionaries was the source of its political strength when adopted by the Bolsheviks and of the advantage that it provided to the Bolsheviks over other revolutionary parties, as depicted by Corney.

In general, the autobiographies need to be read with some caution even while not following the overall Bolshevik narrative of politicization prevalent at the time. For example, they often described an inter-party movement that differed from the general expectations of the 1920s. Those who moved from another party to a Social Democratic or, more precisely, a Bolshevik organization described this with pride as a correct political move indicating higher political awareness. Those who moved from a Social Democratic or a Socialist Revolutionary organization to an anarchist group, however, ignored the political implications and emphasized that the reason for the move was an active position taken by the anarchists during the demise of the 1905 Revolution, as opposed to the passive position of the other revolutionary parties. In other words, these people were saying that precisely because they were as active and dedicated as a proper Bolshevik should be, according to the standards prevalent in the 1920s, an anarchist group was the best place for them to be in 1905–07. Corney describes a similar attitude by contemporary *Ispart* memoirists, who felt their worker identity and activism as such compensated for belonging to the wrong (Menshevik in Corney's example) political party.² All autobiographies focus on the applicants' political life, rarely mentioning other aspects, mainly when these were relevant to political activism (attitude of the family, for example). In fact, every applicant in her or his biography

created a story of her or himself as an activist. Under different circumstances they might have described their lives differently.

This does not mean that the activism, as described in the autobiographies, did not exist or was not an important part of the identity of 1905 revolutionaries. In fact, I claim in this work that it was central, and that activism became of value within the revolutionary culture long before the Bolsheviks took power, a value that the Bolsheviks could then use. To prove this I am drawing on letters from the Political Police Archive, where the same attitude towards activism as a value is prominent. I believe that I can also count on the reliability of the autobiographies, not necessarily as far as one or another fact is concerned, but with regard to a general attitude held at the time. The autobiography writers knew that the readers and evaluators were their contemporaries who were also activists. They would be quick to sense a false note in self-presentation and point it out. The self-presentation had to follow the informal rules of self-presentation that the activists followed during the 1905 Revolution, while not contradicting the rules of the 1920s. My point is that activism, while differing in meaning, was an important value of self-presentation at both times. During 1905 it was a sign of self-respect and of individual assertion that was expressed in solidarity with other activists. During the 1920s, according to Corney, it was a sign of belonging to the masses, those who were disciplined in their support of the regime. Thus, while members of the Society of Former Political Prisoners and Exiles were in fact loyal to the regime, they were, as Konstantin N. Morozov describes in his book on the 1922 Socialist Revolutionaries' trial, constantly under suspicion.³ They were seen as too independent to be truly unquestioning supporters. But during the 1920s it was still possible to use old revolutionary self-presentation rhetoric and hope that it would look somewhat acceptable – given that, as both Morozov and Corney describe, the battle over the discursive portrait of a proper revolutionary lasted for a long time, also within the Communist Party.

Clearly the letter writers⁴ had an agenda as well. These young people wanted to impress their peers, occasionally of the other sex, with their revolutionary ideas and activism. They wanted to be seen as modern, sophisticated, brave revolutionaries and this is how they presented themselves. Likely, many were often afraid, but fear was not mentioned in the letters. Likely, many were occasionally angry at the personal price that revolutionary activism demanded of them, but this as well was never mentioned. Both the autobiographies and the letters are narratives tailored for certain circumstances and for a certain audience. My claim though is that the self-representation within these narratives was an important part of how people both presented and saw themselves. While we can assume that there was some element of performance and manipulation in these self-presentations,⁵ clearly for different reasons, this is how people presented themselves to their peers in order to gain respect. Assuming that people rarely build their lives on a conscious lie about who they are, it is within reason to assume that most of these young people in fact adopted the kind of identity that they presented to their contemporaries.

I assume that one's personal story is constructed in communication with others. Rather than trying to see some authentic story behind the texts, I aim at discerning the aspects of these texts that reflect the intellectual, cultural and emotional reality of their authors as a group.

While using most of the documents I read for background information, I do here a close reading of letters and autobiographies answering to two criteria: the authors were Jewish and the documents contained some text that expressed or referred to the emotional state of the writer. While all the autobiographies and many of the letters used in this work were written by poor Jews, some of the letters came from the more affluent among them or those whose class origin is unclear, and were used to evaluate the specific experience of working-class activists and especially the relationship between activists of different classes. The class origin of the letter-writers was determined strictly by the text – this is problematic, but assumingly people would hesitate to present themselves as belonging to a different class in a personal letter in most cases. I attempted to use a variety of documents to support my assumptions. When the class origins of the writer are unclear or other than working-class, this is stated in the text.

While both the contemporary letters and the autobiographies composed during the 1920s were largely in Russian, a considerable number of the oral presentations in the Jewish section of the Society of Former Political Prisoners and Exiles were in Yiddish. Regrettably the texts were not retained in the files; we have only records that they took place. Apparently the stenographer could record only in Russian. This is another indication that Russian was considered more respectable in written texts. I could not think of any other reason why the vast majority of the letters from and to Jews would be in the Russian language. This clearly has nothing to do with the selection of letters for copying, since the letters in both Yiddish and Hebrew were all adequately translated into Russian (with the translation attached to the original). Thus by 1905–07, the Political Police clearly had enough translators not to make Yiddish or Hebrew an obstacle in understanding the texts.

Overall, I read closely and use directly in this research (rather than for background) 105 autobiographies as well as 165 letters. The autobiographies are of those who were apprentices or workers during the revolution. The authors tended to organize their stories around one specific narrative – a child from a poor family sent for apprenticeship where she or he is grievously abused by both the master and other workers and not taught the craft. The apprentice runs away, often more than once, but is sent to another workshop as an apprentice, over and over again. This vicious circle continues until the apprentice encounters a revolutionary activist from among the older workers, who invites the apprentice to a self-education circle and encourages her or him to join the revolutionary movement. Of course, this story is much too neat to fit everybody – there are several autobiographies in which the authors were happy with their masters, but joined the revolutionaries anyhow. There are also some autobiographies of children who chose to become workers out of rebelliousness. And there are many, proudly related,

stories of those who were revolutionized after they became workers and thus economically independent. The other proudly related story, common to almost all of the autobiographies, is that of reaching out to revolutionaries, as opposed to just being invited to join them. It is important for the authors to describe themselves as active both in their working life (running away, finding an apprenticeship on their own) and in their political life (joining or taking part in organizing a strike, reaching out to revolutionary workers).

The letters by their very nature are not as well organized, but include the same self-presentation of individuals being active in both work and politics. People do not talk about things happening to them, but always about whatever they are doing. The pride expressed in these letters that discuss joining the revolutionary movement indicates that this activist identity was seen as part of becoming a revolutionary. The process of becoming revolutionized is described as a road from passive to active subjectivity, while all the active reactions before politicization are described as what prepared a specific individual to become a fighter, an active person, a revolutionary.

The chapters dealing with the process of politicization are largely based on autobiographies since describing the process of joining a revolutionary organization in a contemporary letter was not very wise (people knew that many letters were read and copied by the Political Police and often referred to that) and so it was not often done. The existing letters come from the archive of the Political Police and surely led to arrests. The other, perhaps more important reason is that being a revolutionary was more prestigious than becoming one. If discussing their politics at all in letters to their peers, young people tended to talk about their actions as revolutionaries rather than the process of politicization.

The chapters dealing with the experience within the revolutionary movement are based mostly on a close reading of letters. The reason is that many letter-writers proudly discussed their revolutionary activities with their peers in their letters, ignoring the danger of arrest often for rather trivial reasons, like making an impression on a member of the opposite sex. The autobiographies, however, are considerably more emotionally charged while discussing how people became politicized. The parts of the autobiographies dealing with actual life as an activist often read like just lists of actions. Although autobiographies do deal with tensions between workers and the intelligentsia within the movement and with the reasons for massive numbers of people leaving political organizations in order to join the anarchists, starting in late 1905, and with self-defence against the pogroms and, to some extent, with inter-family relationships of the activists, these as well as other emotionally compelling issues are much clearer in the letters. The letters, expressing an immediate feeling of anguish, are often much more emotionally vivid when discussing the difficulties of being an activist at that time: the lack of weapons for self-defence that often prevented activists from taking action during a pogrom; the distrust between activists of different ethnicities and classes; the infighting within revolutionary organizations; the concern about parents and

siblings; and the disappointment in revolutionary organizations, especially in the revolutionary intelligentsia, when the reaction started at the end of 1905. While there is nothing in these letters to indicate that a contemporary identity was less activist or differently activist than the one presented in the autobiographies, the letters introduce complications to this identity encountering a reality where activism often entailed a high personal price.

Thus the chapters dealing with the construction of the activist identity concentrate on how, according to those who adopted such an identity, it was constructed; and the chapters dealing with revolutionary activism concentrate on the complications in this identity as viewed by the activists themselves. The overall picture is not an objective depiction of the activist identity (I wonder whether an objective depiction of emotional change is truly possible), but its depiction in different communications between those who adopted that identity.

There is a certain issue of verifiability with the qualitative discourse analysis employed here that should be discussed. Hank Johnston describes this methodology as follows:

Presentation of findings relies on texts that are presumed to be representative of a given category and without numerical measures of the categories' contents. Because textual data comes contextually embedded and are often gathered in ways that offer insights into their interpretation that are lost in survey techniques, qualitative analysis offers higher validity of the findings but less reliability.⁶

In our context this means that while discourse analysis is necessary in order to understand the intersubjectivity that emerged within the revolutionary milieu, any attempt to present this intersubjectivity numerically will result in trivializing it (so many expressions of pride, so many expressions of humiliation and so on). The point here is that while people often express similar feelings, their expressions differ from one another. My solution is to present some of the most emotionally vivid texts and analyze them. In spite of these being only excerpts of the original texts and of their being presented in translation, they do leave a reasonably good impression of the issues discussed in this book.

The Society of Former Political Prisoners and Exiles files as a source

The Society of Former Political Prisoners and Exiles, one of the two major sources for this work, was established in 1920 in order to assist old revolutionaries. Many of these people lived in poverty and had major health problems. The membership was open to all who could prove that they had spent time in prison or in exile due to political reasons. For that purpose, each applicant had to submit letters from two Society members who knew

her or him personally and could vouch for them as both activists and former political prisoners.

The application files normally included an application form with personal details, including all political affiliations in the past as well as the present, and two detailed political autobiographies – one for the period before 1917 and one for the period after 1917. In addition, the file included letters of recommendation and another very detailed form regarding information on the living conditions of the applicant and her or his family (such as income, housing issues, health-related needs and so on) as well as details on whatever help was requested from the Society. Most files also included a decision to accept the member and a discussion on whatever assistance the member was entitled to. This was the basic framework.

Some files contained additional material. Occasionally the applicants were required to submit several versions of their autobiography until the Society was satisfied. The reason was usually a perceived attempt by an applicant to hide some important information about her or his political activism. This was especially true about applicants who engaged in a struggle against the Bolsheviks during the Civil War of 1917–22. More often some of the Society members objected to the candidacy based on some damaging information that they had about the applicant. This information could include: a request for a reprieve during imprisonment (a revolutionary asking the tsar for mercy was considered a person with no pride and would be rejected); a Jew converting during her or his time in exile in order to get better conditions (was considered unprincipled); a woman prisoner having an affair with a guard or some other allegedly immoral behaviour (engaging in business and economically exploiting fellow prisoners); or, most common, information that the applicant was a regular criminal rather than a political prisoner. The information could also deal with the applicant's behaviour after 1917. Economic exploitation of others, drunkenness, abuse and criminal behaviour were sufficient reasons to exclude someone from membership or to expel a member. There were also political reasons for exclusion – an applicant participating in the Civil War against the Bolsheviks, an applicant who was under arrest under the Bolsheviks, or an applicant who was not taking part in any kind of political work would be rejected or, if already a member, expelled. Still, the number of files with rejections due to political reasons is very small. I assume that such people did not apply for membership of the Society.

When someone suggested that an application should be refused, there was usually a debate between an accuser and those supporting the application, as well as the applicant. Often, especially in reprieve request cases, relevant archival material was also presented. In some cases, especially when the applicants were accused of being common criminals, the debates tended to be inconclusive. The difference between political and non-political crimes during the 1905 Revolution was occasionally unclear, even for the participants in the events at hand.

In addition to the assistance to its members, the Society engaged in many other activities. It published a journal of revolutionary history called *Katorga*

i sylka, sent lecturers to different events and organized a museum and an archive. It also had regular meetings where members presented their recollections of some of the revolutionary events in which they had participated. During these meetings the audience habitually engaged the lecturer in a debate about her or his memories of the events. Since these were activists who took part in the same events, the debates were habitually stormy. In my work I use autobiographical accounts presented at such meetings as well as autobiographies from the application files. None of my files are from the early period of Society's existence (in 1921 it had only 200 members). All the files are from the period from 1924 to 1934, when the Society had about 2500 members and was already highly committed to the Soviet regime (all members were expected to be politically active). While, as Sandra Pujals noted in her dissertation, the internal politics of the Society changed during the period of its existence, there is no reason to assume that these changes were adopted by the applicants. In fact, I see no discursive difference in the autobiographies from different periods. The one thing to note about the Society is that, while it was actually loyal to the new regime, the regime perceived it as a potential danger. According to Morozov,⁷ its members represented the old revolutionary culture, which the Bolsheviks strove to subdue and replace. Its openness to revolutionaries with a non-Bolshevik past and its reliance on notions of old revolutionary solidarity were perceived as a challenge to the new regime. By 1935, the Society had been closed down, and many of its members were arrested.

Since the Society of Former Political Prisoners and Exiles provided its members and their families with important health, employment, educational and other benefits, many (including the least ideologically sophisticated) who were arrested during the upheaval of the first revolution, applied for membership and wrote the required autobiography.⁸

Notes

Introduction

1. Semi-urban or semi-rural settlements where many Jews in the Russian Empire resided, supporting themselves by providing artisanal and commercial services to the surrounding villages.
2. The 'return' is a well-known trope in Jewish literature of the time. See Dan Miron, *A Traveler Disguised: The Rise of Modern Yiddish Fiction in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1973); David G. Roskies, 'A. Ansky and the Paradigm of Return', in Jack Wertheimer (ed.), *The Uses of Tradition: Jewish Continuity in the Modern Era* (New York, 1992), pp. 243–60; and Gabriella Safran and Steven J. Zipperstein (eds), *The Worlds of S. An-sky: A Russian Jewish Intellectual at the Turn of the Century* (Stanford, CA, 2006).
3. See Gerald D. Surh, *1905 in St Petersburg: Labor, Society and Revolution* (Stanford, CA, 1989); Heather Hogan, *Forging Revolution: Metalworkers, Managers, and the State in St Petersburg, 1890–1914* (Bloomington, IN, 1993); Mark D. Steinberg, *Moral Communities: The Culture of Class Relations in the Russian Printing Industry 1867–1907* (Berkeley, CA, 1992); Victoria E. Bonnell, *Roots of Rebellion: Workers' Politics and Organizations in St Petersburg and Moscow, 1900–1914* (Berkeley, CA, 1983); Charters Wynn, *Workers, Strikes, and Pogroms: The Donbass–Dnepr Bend in Late Imperial Russia, 1870–1905* (Princeton, NJ, 1992); Reginald E. Zelnik (ed.), *Workers and Intelligentsia in Late Imperial Russia: Realities, Representations, Reflections* (Berkeley, CA, 1999); and Leopold Haimson, *Russia's Revolutionary Experience, 1905–1917* (New York, 2005).
4. In 1903, the Russian Social Democratic Party split into two after an argument over Lenin's view that a revolutionary party should be a party of professional revolutionaries. Lenin's supporters had a slight majority at the conference during which the split took place and were thus called 'Bolsheviks' (those of the majority) and their opponents were called 'Mensheviks' (those of the minority). While both Bolsheviks and Mensheviks realized that a party operating underground had to be a party of professional revolutionaries, the Bolsheviks presumed that this was a good thing and only a centralized, well-organized and professional political organization had a chance to replace the political regime. The Mensheviks, however, thought that a revolutionary party could remain revolutionary only as long as it is doing its best to involve workers in decisions over its ideas and actions.
5. Haimson, *Russia's Revolutionary Experience*. For the sustainability of emotional changes, see William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotion* (Cambridge, 2001) and his treatment of sentimentalism.

6. Verta Taylor, 'Social Movement Continuity: The Women's Movement in Abeyance', *American Sociological Review*, 54 (1989), pp. 761–75.
7. K. Jill Kiecolt, 'Self-Change in Social Movements', in Sheldon Stryker, Timothy J. Owens and Robert W. White (eds), *Self, Identity, and Social Movements* (Minneapolis, MN, 2000), pp. 111 and 125.
8. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, pp. 125–6.
9. Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (Harmondsworth, 1965), pp. 63–4.
10. William M. Reddy, *The Invisible Code: Honor and Sentiment in Postrevolutionary France 1814–1848* (Berkeley, CA, 1997).
11. *Ibid.*, 'Sentimentalism and its Erasure: The Role of Emotions in the Era of the French Revolution', *Journal of Modern History*, 72 (2000), pp. 109–52.
12. Randall Collins, 'Social Movements and the Focus of Emotional Attention', in Jeff Goodwin, James M. Jasper and Francesca Polletta (eds), *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements* (Chicago, IL, 2001), pp. 27–43.
13. 'Virtues are dispositions not only to act in particular ways, but also to feel in particular ways,' Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* (Notre Dame, IN, 1981), p. 149.
14. For another historical work dealing with a social culture temporarily developing around revolutionary ideas and gaining importance in and of itself, see Martha A. Ackelsberger, *The Free Women of Spain: Anarchism and the Struggle for the Emancipation of Women* (Bloomington, IN, 1991) on Spanish anarchist feminists during the Spanish Civil War.
15. Mark D. Steinberg, *Proletarian Imagination: Self, Modernity and the Sacred in Russia, 1910–1925* (Ithaca, NY, 2002), p. 57; and Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*.
16. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*.
17. Hogan, *Forging Revolution*; Steinberg, *Moral Communities*; and Surh, *1905 in St Petersburg*.
18. Zelnik, *Workers and Intelligentsia*, p. 2.
19. Some of these initially came from very poor families. Nicholas I encouraged the *Haskalah* adherents to open Jewish schools where secular subjects were taught, but many of the first students came from families that could not afford any other education for their children. Still, after graduating, these children became part of the educated elite.
20. In this study, the usage of the terms 'educated', 'semi-educated' and 'uneducated' is not precise and follows the contemporary usages. That is, 'educated' usually means a high school or college graduate; 'semi-educated' usually means someone who attended school for a while; and 'uneducated' usually means someone with no schooling at all or at least with no secular schooling.
21. Craig Calhoon, 'Putting Emotions in their Place', in Goodwin, Jasper and Polletta (eds), *Passionate Politics*, p. 53.
22. Michael Melancon and Alice K. Pate (eds), *New Labor History: Worker Identity and Experience in Russia, 1840–1918* (Bloomington, IN, 2002).

23. See Surh, *1905 in St Petersburg*; Hogan, *Forging Revolution*; Steinberg, *Moral Communities*; Bonnell, *Roots of Rebellion*; Wynn, *Workers, Strikes, and Pogroms*; Zelnik (ed.), *Workers and Intelligentsia*; Haimson, *Russia's Revolutionary Experience*; and Allan K. Wildman, *The Making of a Workers' Revolution: Russian Social Democracy, 1891–1903* (Chicago, IL, 1967).
24. Zelnik (ed.), *Workers and Intelligentsia*.
25. Michael Melancon, *The Lena Goldfields Massacre and the Crisis of the Late Tsarist State* (College Station, TX, 2006); Steinberg, *Proletarian Imagination*; Gennady Shkliarevsky, 'Constructing the "Other": Representations of the Educated Elite by Authors from the Lower Classes in Late Imperial Russia', *Jahrbuecher fuer Geschichte Osteuropas*, 48 (4) (2000), pp. 511–27.
26. John Bushnell, *Mutiny amid Repression: Russian Soldiers in the Revolution of 1905–1906* (Bloomington, IN, 1985).
27. Iohanan Petrovsky-Shtern, *Evrei v Russkoi Armii* (Moscow, 2003). An English version is Yohanan Petrovsky-Shtern, *Jews in the Russian Army 1827–1917: Drafted into Modernity* (Cambridge, 2008).
28. Some examples include Wildman, *The Making of a Workers' Revolution*; Reginald E. Zelnik, *Law and Disorder on the Narova River: The Kreenholm Strike of 1872* (Berkeley, CA, 1995); Hogan, *Forging Revolution*; Steinberg, *Moral Communities*; Bonnell, *Roots of Rebellion*; Surh, *1905 in St Petersburg*; Wynn, *Workers, Strikes, and Pogroms*; and Zelnik (ed.), *Workers and Intelligentsia*.
29. Wynn, *Workers, Strikes, and Pogroms*; Theodore H. Friedgut, *Iuzovka and Revolution* (Princeton, NJ, 1989); Hiroaki Kuromiya, *Freedom and Terror in the Donbass: A Ukrainian-Russian Borderland, 1870s–1990s* (Cambridge, 1998); and Robert Weinberg, *The Revolution of 1905 in Odessa: Blood on the Steps* (Bloomington, IN, 1993).
30. Michael F. Hamm (ed.), *The City in Late Imperial Russia* (Bloomington, IN, 1986); Michael F. Hamm, *Kiev: A Portrait, 1800–1917* (Princeton, NJ, 1993); Stephen D. Corsin, *Warsaw before the First World War: Poles and Jews in the Third City of the Russian Empire, 1880–1914* (New York, 1989).
31. Scott Ury, *Barricades and Banners: The Revolution of 1905 and the Transformation of Warsaw Jewry* (Stanford, CA, 2012). Ury's usage of propaganda-initiated discursive change definitely assists us in gaining a better understanding of the virulent political anti-Semitism that developed in Poland at that time.
32. Reginald Zelnik (ed.), *A Radical Worker in Tsarist Russia: The Autobiography of Semen Ivanovich Kanatchikov* (Stanford, CA, 1986), p. xxviii.
33. Bonnell, *Roots of Rebellion*, p. 192; and Steinberg, *Moral Communities*, p. 158.
34. Jonathan Frankel, *Prophecy and Politics: Socialism, Nationalism and the Russian Jews, 1862–1917* (Cambridge, 1981); Nora Levin, *While Messiah Tarried: Jewish Socialist Movements, 1881–1917* (London, 1978); and Erich Haberer, *Jews and Revolution in Nineteenth-Century Russia* (Cambridge, 1995).
35. Frankel, *Prophecy and Politics*; and Levin, *While Messiah Tarried*. The General Jewish Labour Bund of Lithuania, Poland and Russia, usually called

the Bund, was established in 1897. It was a Jewish social-democratic organization and as such took an active part in establishing the Social Democratic Party in Russia. The Bund left this party in 1903, since the party majority refused to accept its right to represent the Jewish masses within the movement. In general the Bund supported social-democratic principles, but was also pointing out that ethnic minorities require representation of their particular interests by their own organizations. Otherwise these interests, according to the Bund, would likely be overlooked. In addition to its specific awareness of ethnic and national issues, the Bund was also known for an unusually large (in comparison to all the other revolutionary parties in Russia) number of workers among its leadership.

36. N. A. Bukhbinder, *Istoriia evreiskogo rabochego dvizheniia v Rossii* (Leningrad, 1925); and *ibid.*, *Materialy dlia istorii evreiskogo rabochego dvizheniia v Rossii* (Moscow, 1923).
37. Weinberg, *The Revolution of 1905 in Odessa*; and Wynn, *Workers, Strikes, and Pogroms*.
38. Ezra Mendelsohn, *Class Struggle in the Pale* (Cambridge, 1970).
39. Yoav Peled, *Class and Ethnicity in the Pale: The Political Economy of Jewish Workers' Nationalism in Late Imperial Russia* (New York, 1989).
40. Gerald Surh, 'Ekaterinoslav City in 1905: Workers, Jews, and Violence', *International Labor and Working Class History*, 64 (Fall) (2003), pp. 139–66; and *ibid.*, 'The Role of Civil and Military Commanders during the 1905 Pogroms in Odessa and Kiev', *Jewish Social Studies*, 15 (3) (2009), pp. 39–55.
41. John D. Klier and Shlomo Lambroza (eds), *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History* (Cambridge, 1992); Ilya Gerasimov, 'Evreiskaya prestupnost' v Odesse nachala XX v.: Ot ubiistva k krazhe? Kriminal'naya evoliutsiia, politicheskaya revoliutsiia I sotsial'naya modernizatsiia', in Ilya Gerasimov et al. (eds), *Novaya imperskaya istoriia postsovetского prostranstva* (Kazan, 2004), pp. 501–628; and Ilya Gerasimov, 'My ubivaem tol'ko svoikh', *Ab Imperio*, 1 (2003), pp. 209–60.
42. Frankel, *Prophecy and Politics*; and Levin, *While Messiah Tarried*.
43. Henry Jack Tobias, *The Jewish Bund in Russia: From its Origins to 1905* (Stanford, CA, 1972); and Jack Jacobs (ed.), *Jewish Politics in Eastern Europe: The Bund at 100* (New York, 2001).
44. Joshua D. Zimmerman, *Poles, Jews, and the Politics of Nationality: The Bund and the Polish Socialist Party in Late Czarist Russia, 1892–1914* (Madison, WI, 2004).
45. Haberer, *Jews and Revolution*.
46. Michael C. Hickey, 'People with Pure Souls', *Revolutionary Russia*, 20 (1) (2007), pp. 51–73.
47. A. E. Ivanov, *Evreiskoe studenchestvo v Rossiiskoi imperii nachala XX veka* (Moscow, 2007), p. 80.
48. Benjamin Nathans, *Beyond the Pale: The Jewish Encounter with Late Imperial Russia* (Berkeley, CA, 2002).
49. A. E. Ivanov, *Studenchestvo Rossii kontsa XIX–nachala XX veka: sotsial'no-istoricheskaya sud'ba* (Moscow, 1999); *ibid.*, *Studencheskaya korporatsiia*

- Rossii kontsa XIX–nachala XX veka: opyt kul'turnoi i politicheskoi samoorganizatsii* (Moscow, 2004); Aleksei Markov, *Chto znachit byt' studentom* (Moscow, 2005); and Susan K. Morrissey, *Heralds of Revolution: Russian Students and the Mythologies of Radicalism* (Oxford, 1998).
50. Nathans, *Beyond the Pale*; Gabriella Safran, *Rewriting the Jew: Assimilation Narratives in the Russian Empire* (Stanford, CA, 2000); and Eli Lederhendler, *The Road to Modern Jewish Politics: Political Tradition and Political Reconstruction in the Jewish Community of Tsarist Russia* (Oxford, 1989).
 51. Mikhail Krutikov, *Yiddish Fiction and the Crisis of Modernity, 1905–1914* (Stanford, CA, 2001); and Benjamin Harshav, *Language in Time of Revolution*, 2nd edn (Stanford, CA, 1999).
 52. Also Scott Ury's article uses some contemporary autobiographies by middle-class Jewish youth to tap into a general feeling of despair and a search for community to alleviate that despair – a feeling corresponding to the despair and search for community found among the individuals whom I researched, although of course the reasons for despair in both cases were different. See Scott Ury, 'The Generation of 1905 and the Politics of Despair', in Stefani Hoffman and Ezra Mendelsohn (eds), *The Revolution of 1905 and Russia's Jews* (Philadelphia, PA, 2008), pp. 96–110.
 53. Sandra Pujals, 'When Giants Walked the Earth: The Society of Former Political Prisoners and Exiles of the Soviet Union, 1921–1935' (PhD dissertation, Georgetown University, Washington, DC, 1999); and Iaroslav Leont'ev and Mark Lunge (eds), *Vsesoiuznoe obshchestvo politkatorzhan I ssyl'noposelentsev: obrazovanie, razvitiie, likvidatsiia* (Moscow, 2004).
 54. Z. I. Peregudova, *Politicheskii sysk Rossii 1880–1917* (Moscow, 2000); F. Lur'e, *Politseiskie i provokatorii* (St Petersburg, 1992); Jonathan W. Daly, *Autocracy under Siege: Security Police and Opposition in Russia 1866–1905* (DeKalb, IL, 1988); and F. Zukerman, *The Tsarist Secret Police in Russian Society, 1880–1917* (New York, 1996).
 55. The Society of Former Political Prisoners and Exiles (1921–35) was established in order to assist the ageing former revolutionaries and utilize their experience in the creation of the new regime. Thus, while former members of all revolutionary parties could join, active loyalty to the regime was a precondition for membership.
 56. At the time, the Russian Political Police routinely engaged in opening and reading private letters. The practice was not legal and thus got much negative public attention. The sinister contemporary image of 'black offices', where the police invaded people's privacy by reading their letters was prevalent. In fact, according to Peregudova (*Politicheskii sysk Rossii*, p. 249), only about forty to fifty employees of the Political Police were responsible for going through the letters, largely by following lists of known revolutionaries, but also by opening letters randomly. Thus there was a fair chance that even a letter with subversive content would be missed. In fact, propaganda material was often sent by mail.
 57. Copying on a letter while going through the mail for policing purposes.
 58. In Russian archives, documents are divided thematically into *fonds* (f., meaning Collections) and these are divided into *opisi edinitsy* (op.).

These in their turn are divided into *dela* (d., meaning files) or *edinitsa khraneniia* (xp.). In this particular case, there is a fond of the Society of Former Political Prisoners and Exiles, which is divided into several *opisi*, within which there are *dela* or *edinitsey khraneniia*, for example individual applications.

59. Although, considering the number of cases in which people's revolutionary past or their subsequent moral conduct was questioned by other members of the society – which tended to initiate a long paper trail of accusations, defences, counter-accusations and so on – it seems that the unchallenged autobiographical details can mostly be considered authentic as well.
60. Wrongly so, I am afraid. The majority of the Society's members perished during the Great Purges of 1937–38. The government could not tolerate for long an alternative and authoritative source of revolutionary tradition. Leont'ev and Lunge (eds), *Vsesoiuznoe obshchestvo politkatorzhan*.

Part I Becoming a Revolutionary

1 The Road to a Revolutionary Identity

1. Michael Stanislawski, *Tsar Nicholas I and the Jews: The Transformation of Jewish Society in Russia 1825–1855* (Philadelphia, PA, 1983), p. 185.
2. For a classic work on the events described here up to and including the rule of Alexander II, see John Doyle Klier, *Russia Gathers her Jews: The Origins of the 'Jewish Question' in Russia, 1772–1825* (Northern Illinois University Press, DeKalb, IL, 2011).
3. Some Jews always resided in the countryside, whether legally (by right of birth) or illegally and there was a significant number of Jewish students accepted to educational institutions by special arrangements, whether legally (a minister's permission) or not.
4. Arthur Liebman, *Jews and the Left* (New York, 1979), p. 78.
5. Arcadius Kahan, *Essays in Jewish Social and Economic History* (Chicago, IL, 1986), pp. 4–5.
6. At times, railway lines bypassed established routes of communication and trade and thus destroyed their commercial viability. This was not a specifically Jewish problem, but it affected Jewish business as well, especially since *shtetls* were often established as commercial centres of a region including a number of villages.
7. Discussing the conditions in Moscow, Victoria Bonnell observes that unpaid labour rather than training became the main economic contribution of apprentices by the turn of the century, precisely during the period under discussion here. It seems that there was a similar development in the Pale. Therefore it is not surprising that many young apprentices were highly disappointed with the turn that their apprenticeships took. Bonnell, *Roots of Rebellion*, pp. 50–1.
8. For a study on Jewish criminality in Odessa, see Gerasimov, 'My ubivaem tol'ko svoikh'.

9. Kahan, *Essays*, p. 26.
10. See Yuri Slezkine, *The Jewish Century* (Princeton, NJ, 2006) for this process of young Jews leaving the *shtetl* and its impact.
11. Liebman, *Jews and the Left*, p. 78.
12. For example, reading contemporary regular police reports to the tsar in Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (State Archive of the Russian Federation, Moscow) (GARF), Fond 102 (Department *politsii* (Police Department), Collection 102), op. 255, xp. 40, it is very easy to get the impression that the Jews were the source of all the violence in the Russian Empire, which is rather unlikely.
13. Oleg Budnitskii (ed.), *Evrei i Russkaia Revoliutsiia: Materialy i Issledovaniia* (Moscow, 1999).
14. Benjamin Nathans, 'Introduction', in Hoffman and Mendelsohn (eds), *The Revolution of 1905 and Russia's Jews*, p. 1.
15. Moshe Mishkinsky, 'Regional Factors in the Formation of the Jewish Labor Movement', *Yivo Annual of Jewish Social Science*, 14 (1969), pp. 27–52.
16. While the literature on the 1905 Revolution is immense, Abraham Ascher, *The Revolution of 1905*, 2 vols (Stanford, CA, 1988) is still a classic general work on the topic.
17. See Melancon, *The Lena Gold Fields Massacre*; Haimson, *Russia's Revolutionary Experience*; and S. A. Smith, 'Workers, the Intelligentsia, and Social Democracy in St Petersburg, 1895–1917', in Zelnik (ed.), *Workers and Intelligentsia*, pp. 186–205.
18. For an educated Jew being secular was already a viable option. The Jewish Enlightenment movement of the mid nineteenth century opened for the Jewish intelligentsia several possibilities in terms of attitude towards religion.
19. While before the revolution a working-class identity was fairly uncommon among Jewish workers, with the revolution many defined themselves as such. See I. A. Kleinman, 'Pol'skii gorod v 1905 I 1906 godakh', *Evreiskaya Letopis'*, 1 (1923), pp. 123–36.
20. While artisans were looked down upon in the Jewish community, workers were looked down upon even more. This is mentioned in every study dealing with the Jewish community of the time. See, for example, Kahan, *Essays*, p. 25.
21. Pierre Bourdieu claims that the best way to employ culture in order to enhance one's social status is to adopt the accepted values and behaviours (*habitus*), but with a distinctive difference. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Harvard, MA, 1984).
22. GARF, Fond 533 (Vsesoiuznoe obshchestvo katorzhan i ssyl'no poselentsev (The Society of Former Political Prisoners and Exiles), Collection 533), op. 2, d. 1498.
23. GARF, f. 533 op. 1, d. 168.
24. Many researchers doing work on Russian workers (Hogan, Surh, Steinberg, Haimson) emphasize the importance of skill as a source for the self-respect that became part of the workers' revolutionary identity.

25. Iurii Kirianov, 'Mentality of Russian Workers at the Turn of the Twentieth Century', in Zelnik (ed.), *Workers and Intelligentsia*, p. 95, emphasized the reverential attitude of the contemporary workers towards education and culture.
26. Leopold Haimson, 'Russian Workers' Political and Social Identities: The Role of Social Representations in the Interaction between Members of the Labor Movement and the Social Democratic Intelligentsia', in Zelnik (ed.), *Workers and Intelligentsia*, pp. 152–3; and Wildman, *The Making of a Workers' Revolution*, pp. 89–90.
27. Mendelsohn, *Class Struggle in the Pale*, p. 38, mentions that a typical 'enlightened' Jewish worker went about dressed 'in a Russian black shirt, carrying a Russian book under his arm and with Russian on his lips'.
28. Not all the names of those mentioned or cited in this book could be found in full in the documents.
29. Ivanov, *Evreiskoe studenchestvo*, pp. 122–3, claims that in different cities between 22 and 38 per cent of Jewish university students did not know Yiddish and among the rest only between 33 to 62.3 per cent of the students knew it well; but as mentioned, university students came from a very different social background than the people whom I describe here. Still, as noted by Natan M. Meir, *Kiev, Jewish Metropolis: A History, 1859–1914* (Bloomington, IN, 2010), pp. 152–3, the fact that Jewish gymnasia and university students habitually spoke Russian at home, had to affect the status of the language even among the poor.
30. GARF, f. 533, op. 1, d. 457.
31. See Zimmerman, *Poles, Jews, and the Politics of Nationality*; and Yohanan Petrovsky-Shtern, *The Anti-Imperial Choice: The Making of the Ukrainian Jew* (Yale, CT, 2009).
32. GARF, f. 533, op. 1, d. 457.
33. Rose Glickman, *Russian Factory Women, Workplace and Society 1880–1914* (Berkeley, CA, 1984) p. 190, emphasizes the importance of the circles in providing working women with skills and confidence to become political activists, although she also pointed out that the Russian workers tended to exclude women of their class from their organizations, see *ibid.*, pp. 199–201 and 207–8. In contrast, Hogan, *Forging Revolution*, p. 20, claims that the reason for the essentially male character of the circles was due to the lack of the availability of urbanized working-women. Among Jews, working-class women were prevalent within the circles and the revolutionary organizations at large.
34. GARF, f. 533, op. 2, d. 1498.
35. GARF, f. 533, op. 2, d. 1379.
36. Using apprentices as unpaid labour instead of teaching them a craft was a new phenomenon at the turn of the century, and therefore went against the expectations of both the apprentices and their parents or other sponsors. Bonnell, *Roots of Rebellion*, pp. 50–1.
37. A feeling typical to Russian workers as well. See Steinberg, *Proletarian Imagination*, p. 72; and Bonnell, *Roots of Rebellion*, p. 52.
38. GARF, f. 533, op. 2, d. 445.

39. 'Old Believers' were those among the Russian Orthodox who rejected the seventeenth-century reform of their Church and were persecuted.
40. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 288.
41. GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 242.
42. GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 2161.
43. Kahan, *Essays*, pp. 39–40. On the same topic, a 1913 Bundist leaflet from the Kiev region retained in the Political Police Archive said:

Our Jewish factory owners collaborate with Polish Jew-haters in boycotting Jewish applicants for work in their factories. The Polish workers with no political consciousness also take part in this and, in spite of their own class interests and proletarian solidarity, they prevent Jewish workers from taking jobs in factories where non-Jewish workers are in a majority ... (GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 466).

44. Bukhbinder, *Istoriia evreiskogo rabochego dvizheniia v Rossii*, p. 11; GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 2122; a Jewish worker tells of being the only Jew among 12,000 workers employed by the Ekaterinoslav factory and being persecuted due to his ethnicity. He was protected and later politicized by another worker, a Ukrainian Social Democrat. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 183; the writer, who was employed in heavy industry, wrote that Jews were not employed there, and he needed an enormous level of patronage to get a job. GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 2231.
45. GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 1402.
46. Studying for examinations independently, according to the official school programme, and trying to pass the examinations either to get a certificate without attending school or in order to enter a higher grade directly, where there would hopefully be an open spot for a Jewish student.
47. The level of education in the *heder* seems to have been abysmally low, mainly because the teachers were usually Jews who were unable to find other employment and therefore ready to accept the miserly wages offered. Violence towards children was prevalent in the schools. For further data on the *heder* and its teachers (*melameds*), see the relevant entry in *The Yivo Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, available at: <http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/> (accessed December 2012).
48. GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 1902.
49. GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 2307.
50. Daniel Blatman, 'Ha-Bund: Mitos ha-Mahapekha ve-Avodat ha-Iomiom', in Israel Bartal and Israel Gutman (eds), *Kium va-Shever* (Jerusalem, 2001), pp. 504–6.
51. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 765.
52. The conflict between adherence to religious and revolutionary values was taking place among non-Jewish workers as well. Wynn, *Workers, Strikes, and Pogroms*, p. 137, mentions that for many workers it took time until they abandoned religion even after they were radicalized.
53. John Mill (Yoisef Shloime Mill) (1870–1952) was born in Panevezys in Lithuania to a *maskilic* (enlightened Jewish) family. Since his schooling took place within the Russian educational system, he had to relearn

Yiddish later on in life, when he became a propagandist among primarily Yiddish-speaking Jewish workers. Mill became a militant while still a high school student in Panevezys and then in Vilna. While initially working within multiethnic revolutionary groups, he joined a group in 1889 intending to conduct propaganda among Jewish workers. This group subsequently became the Bund, and John Mill became one of its leaders.

54. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 457.
55. Siedlce in Polish.
56. GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 1646.
57. Things were a bit different in Warsaw where, unlike other places, there was a large Jewish proletariat working together in large factories and residing in specific neighbourhoods. There it was common to keep the external signs of Jewish religious orthodoxy (clothes and so on) alongside revolutionary activism. Although in many places it was common for revolutionaries to take over synagogues for their meetings, in working-class districts of Warsaw the synagogues were fully under the control of the revolutionaries. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 462.
58. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 457.
59. M. Rafes, *Ocherki po istorii Bunda* (Moscow, 1923), p. 21. The Bundist, Vladimir Medem, tells in his memoirs about going out and using a walking stick in Minsk on the Sabbath and encountering condemnation, in Samuel A. Portnoy (trans. and ed.), *Vladimir Medem: The Life and Soul of a Legendary Jewish Socialist* (New York, 1979).
60. The Society of Former Political Prisoners – which is discussed at length in the Appendix here – considered conversion a sufficient reason to reject an applicant, claiming that it was unprincipled and therefore unacceptable behaviour for a revolutionary. Obviously what bothered them was not religious apostasy as such, but the fact that converts, being revolutionaries and therefore supposedly atheists, left a persecuted group (in this case Jews) for material advantages.

The two cases of conversion both involved improving living conditions during exile. I encountered a few other cases where people converted in order to marry their non-Jewish partners, but these individuals were not condemned. In general it seems that for the poor, conversion was not common. It was more prevalent among the affluent in order to be able to work as a university professor, a lawyer and so forth. For non-religious revolutionaries it was similar to asking pardon from the tsar – compromising one's principles for material advantages, and therefore morally despicable – even among the affluent this does not seem to have been a popular solution.
61. GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 87 (7 July 1906).
62. GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 1379.
63. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 452.
64. GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 1650. *Iskra* was the Social Democratic newspaper.
65. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 199.
66. Kahan, *Essays*, p. 5.
67. Rafes, *Ocherki*, pp. 14–15; and Blatman, 'Ha-Bund', pp. 504–6.

68. For example, from an earlier period, the Jewish populist Khasia Shur recounted how as a young girl she wanted to see a local boy whose opinions she had heard of and considered similar to her own. She knocked on the door of his family's house and asked to talk to the boy but without saying a word his mother slapped her. Khasia Shur, *Vospominaniia* (Kursk, 1928), pp. 33–4.
69. GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 55 (15 February 1906).
70. GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 133 (18 December 1906).
71. GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 83 (10 June 1906); she used only two letters to identify the city from which she had just escaped.
72. GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 176 (6 March 1907).
73. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 452.
74. See, for example, Hogan, *Forging Revolution*, p. 20.
75. Rafes, *Ocherki*, p. 15.
76. There was some justification to the suspicion, since after children were born to revolutionary couples, the women tended to leave politics and concentrate on taking care of their family. For the Bund, see M. Levin, 'Ha-Mishpaha be-Hevra Yehudit Mahapkhani: Normot ve-Khalikhot be-Kerev Khavrei ha-Bund', *Ma'asaf: Mehkarim be-Toldot Tnu'at ha-Po'alim ha-Yehudit*, 13–14 (1982–83 and 1984), pp. 109–26 and 157–71.
77. On the exceptional volatility in Ekaterinoslav during the revolution due to its impermanent miners' population and ethnic tensions, see Surh, 'Ekaterinoslav'; and Wynn, *Workers, Strikes, and Pogroms*.
78. GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 195 (16 April 1907).
79. For Russian female revolutionaries of the previous generation, see Barbara Alpern Engel, *Mothers and Daughters: Women of the Intelligentsia in Nineteenth-Century Russia* (Cambridge, 1983). In the case of the Jews, almost all those submitting an autobiography in the 1920s had young children. Assuming that they were teenagers during 1905 that indicates a late marriage. A considerable number of the women, although not of the men, were both unmarried and childless. Michael Hickey, 'Demographic Aspects of the Jewish Population in the Smolensk Province, 1870s–1914', *Acta Slavica Japonica*, 19 (2002), pp. 84–116, talks about a tendency to stay single among contemporary Jewish women.
80. Blatman, 'Ha-Bund', p. 506.
81. GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 95 (6 August 1906).
82. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 452.
83. GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 74 (24 April 1906).
84. Discrimination against the Jews existed also for those sent into exile. Wives or husbands found it difficult to get permission to reside in Siberia, although this could be arranged. More problematic were children born elsewhere, who had to leave Siberia at the fairly young age of eight or nine. Unlike non-Jews who were given permission after three months of exile to reside and accept work anywhere in the district, Jews could not leave the small settlement that they were originally sent to. There was usually no work in that settlement and workers, whose allowance was smaller than that of exiled educated people, found it hard to survive on

it, not to mention support a family. Single people also found it easier to live elsewhere with a forged passport (not a very grave offence, as long as they stayed in the district) or escape, but some people, especially those with families, were under sufficient pressure to convert in order to escape the status of the Jewish exile.

85. GARF, f. 533, op. 1, d. 449b.
86. For example, Moisei Khilkevich, GARF, f. 533, op. 2, d. 2161.
87. GARF, f. 533, op. 2, d. 2236.
88. See Steven J. Zipperstein, *The Jews of Odessa: A Cultural History, 1794–1881* (Stanford, CA, 1986).
89. GARF, f. 533, op. 2, d. 2236.
90. GARF, f. 533, op. 1, d. 195.
91. GARF, f. 102, op. 265, d. 48 (21 January 1906).
92. GARF, f. 533, op. 1, d. 198.
93. GARF, f. 102, op. 265, d. 104 (11 September 1906).
94. GARF, f. 102, op. 265, d. 206 (14 May 1907).
95. GARF, f. 102, op. 265, d. 213 (9 June 1907).
96. GARF, f. 102, op. 265, d. 113 (10 October 1906).
97. Blatman claims that the Bund created a substitute family for its members. I claim that the same was true for the other organizations as well. Blatman, 'Ha-Bund', p. 504.

2 The Radicalization of Students and Apprentices

1. GARF, f. 533, op. 2, d. 242.
2. The task was indeed extremely difficult for the poor. For example, the historian Simon M. Dubnov, during an earlier period, never achieved this goal even though he tried repeatedly for four years. Simon M. Dubnov, *Kniga zhizni* (Moscow, 2004). Of course the refusal by Dubnov's family to pay the necessary bribes had an important part in this. The people discussed here could not afford to pay bribes.
3. GARF, f. 533, op. 3, d. 633.
4. Rosa Grinberg recounted financing four years of study in a private primary school by gathering old nails and pieces of steel. She was eight or nine years old at the time. GARF, f. 533, op. 3, d. 735.
5. GARF, f. 533, op. 3, d. 633. The numbers of murdered Jews during the pogrom cited by Gillerson are highly inflated (about 49 Jews were killed and many more were gravely wounded).
6. This approach to membership in different political organizations was prevalent among contemporary militants at large, not only the Jewish ones. See Ascher, *The Revolution of 1905*, Vol. 1, pp. 184–5; and especially on Social Democrats workers' affiliation to Mensheviks or Bolsheviks, see S. V. Tiutiukin, *Menshevism: stranitsy istorii* (Moscow, 2002), p. 69.
7. As well as the contemporary Russian revolutionary narrative: Wildman, *The Making of a Workers' Revolution*, p. 35, mentions the faith in the power of knowledge as crucial to the outlook of Social Democratic Russian workers during the 1880s; Surh, *1905 in St Petersburg*, p. 240, points out that

workers preferred electing educated representatives since they recognized the importance of education; Semen Kanatchikov is interested largely in the political education that the circles provide, but is also pleased about an opportunity to acquire some general education (Zelnik (ed.), *A Radical Worker in Tsarist Russia*, p. 164). Still, it seems that the access to general education had a different meaning to Jews since the government limited educational opportunities for the Jewish youth in order to limit their opportunities for social mobility.

8. Wildman, *The Making of a Workers' Revolution*, p. 109, mentions (non-Jewish) students from Kharkov University who were dissatisfied with merely conducting propaganda circles and expediting technical commissions, but claimed the right to direct strikes and offer guidance to the workers based on their superior educational achievements.
9. The students studied by themselves using official textbooks and attempted each year to pass the final examinations. A student with a certificate noting four years of gymnasium could reasonably hope to support himself or herself by giving private lessons. More ambitious students kept taking the entrance examinations hoping to gain a place at the gymnasium, although perhaps not in the first, but the second or the third grade. Attaining a good grade, as with Gillerson, did not mean that they were accepted. They could study in private schools, if the family had the funds (most families did not), and they could then hope to continue their studies at an institute of higher education, whether in Russia where they again had to deal with the quota issue or abroad. Things were easier for girls, since they had to deal only with family reluctance to invest money in their education and with local anti-Semitism rather than the considerably less harsh official discrimination. Such discrimination did exist, as pointed out by Eliyana R. Adler, *In her Hands: The Education of Jewish Girls in Tsarist Russia* (Detroit, IL, 2011).
10. GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 445.
11. GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 1402.
12. For example, the Association Against Anti-Jewish Discrimination was a major political partner of the liberal Kadet Party due to its popularity among more affluent Jews.
13. The notion of self-respecting behaviour was prevalent among revolutionary workers in Russia in general, not just Jewish ones, and was prominent enough to be noted in any work on the topic.
14. According to existing memoirs, a revolutionary adopted an aggressive and studious demeanor, kept his hair long or her hair short, dressed like a Russian worker and made sure that his or her dress was cheap and simple. As for colour schemes, a red shirt with black skirt or trousers was prevalent.
15. Vladimir Levitskii, *Za chetvert' veka* (Moscow, 1926–27), pp. 128–9.
16. See Ascher, *The Revolution of 1905*, Vol. 1, pp. 184–5. This does not mean that there was no conflict among the parties in different localities. Indeed, since it was relatively easy for one party to attract working-class

- activists from another, the struggles conducted among the local party intelligentsia tended to be very bitter.
17. GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 199 (25 April 1907).
 18. This difference in opinion between the intellectual elite and the other activists was present in other parties as well. When the Socialist Revolutionary Party asked a group of its young activists studying in Germany to give up their studies to work for the party in Russia, they refused, claiming that they needed a good educational background for their political work. The group included such future leaders of the party as Nikolai Avksentiev, Vladimir Zenzinov and Ilia Fondaminskii. Viktor Chernov, *Pered burei* (Minsk, 2004), pp. 191–2 and 208. In his memoirs, Chernov approved of their decision.
 19. They suffered from state anti-Semitism as well, but the emphasis on suffering from their immediate superiors at work in their autobiographies is unmistakable.
 20. GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 446. His memoirs were published in *Katorga i ssylka*, 5 (1925), and 5.6 (1930).
 21. GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 2345.
 22. Steinberg, *Proletarian Imagination*, p. 137, also tells about abuse-driven unsuccessful suicide attempts by apprentices, in his case Russian ones. Steinberg also describes suffering as a source of resentment eventually resulting in the workers' political self-assertion.
 23. GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 2236.
 24. GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 2345.
 25. GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 2161.
 26. I already cited Kahan on the prevalence of youth among the Jewish population in general. Kahan also points out that this was especially so in the larger cities, which is another indication of the mobility described in the documents used here. Kahan, *Essays*, p. 28.
 27. Haimson, 'Russian Workers' Political and Social Identities', pp. 152 and 164.
 28. Steinberg, *Moral Communities*; and Hogan, *Forging Revolution*.
 29. At the time the newly emerged Zionist Socialist organizations were more interested in politics within the Russian Empire than in emigration and General Zionists tended to collaborate with the Russian liberals and take an active part in elections to the Duma. Of course, this was not true for all the period of the Zionist movement's existence in Russia – during the late nineteenth century its influence was prominent and in the 1917 elections to the Constituent Assembly the Zionists received the support of the majority of Russian Jews. But during the 1905 Revolution many Jews felt that a successful struggle for both ethnicity and class equality within Russia was possible. General Zionism's relative lack of appeal to the Jewish workers at the time of the 1905 Revolution is not something that I can prove with statistical data, but is a clear impression that I got from reading contemporary documents. In fact I have not seen a single document contradicting my impression (while there was some workers' support for the

two small Zionist Socialist organizations – Zionist Socialists and Po'alei Zion).

30. GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 1460.
31. The police were often used by employers to enforce employment or apprenticeship contracts.
32. GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 1447.
33. GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 2236.
34. For example, GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 176.
35. GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 95 (1 August 1906), and f. 102, op. 265, d. 121 (4 November 1906), and f. 533, op. 3, d. 2148, as well as many other similar documents.

Part II Being a Revolutionary

3 Identity Forged in Revolution

1. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 199.
2. Therefore even stories of unsuccessful strikes, as in GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 198, sound like a victory. Self-assertion was a victory over the old self-image of a worker as a worthless human being at the bottom of the social and economic hierarchy.
3. GARE, f. 533, op. 3, d. 2148.
4. GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 446.
5. GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 92 (23 July 1906).
6. In general, the murder of policemen was fairly prevalent during the revolution and was often mentioned in contemporary reports by the police and by local officials. See, for example, 8 August, 30 May and 31 May 1905 reports by the Vilna governor, GARE, f. 102, op. 62, d. 41–8; 6 and 10 June 1905 reports by the Warsaw governor, GARE, f. 102, op. 62, xp. 41, and many others in the Political Police Archive (f. 102).
7. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 195.
8. A report of 6 June 1906 in *Golos*, 12, p. 3, mentions a young woman who was murdered in that street during a pogrom. But even if Slomianskii's report is exaggerated, his pride in defending the *birzha* is still a fact. Moreover, since noone contradicted his claim that he took part in the defence, it is reasonable to assume that this was so.
9. GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 99 (18 August 1906).
10. See, for example, the Social Democrats newspaper *Vpered* of 31 May 1906, in which a story is reported of the Bund's struggle against the Proskurov tobacco-factory owner Shvartzman who, according to the article, fired his workers after they celebrated on 1 May and habitually attempted to create discord among Jewish and Christian workers in his factory. A 7 June 1905 report of the Vitebsk region governor dealt with threats that several unknown young Jews made against an owner of a local tailor's workshop to convince him to negotiate with rather than fire his striking workers, GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 689. Another such report from 23 September 1905 dealt with an arrest of such a young man in Drissa, GARE, f. 533, op. 1,

- d. 659. The matter was discussed at length in the Bund's report on the labour unions in Lodz from *Professional'naya Zhizn'*, No. 2 (1906) and No. 5 (1907), located in GARF, f. 533, op. 1, d. 466, where the context was the concern expressed about the workers as well as the employers take seriously only the members of organizations who would use violence in labour disputes, and thus the labour unions were eventually discredited and became ineffectual.
11. Unity was also a matter of survival for revolutionaries who found themselves imprisoned with common criminals. While in some places, like Odessa, criminals did not consider revolutionaries a threat, elsewhere, such as Warsaw, the struggles between revolutionaries and criminals (both inside prisons and on the streets) were notorious.
 12. GARF, f. 102, op. 265, d. 206 (14 May 1907).
 13. GARF, f. 102, op. 265, d. 206 (14 May 1907).
 14. Kahan, *Essays*, p. 4.
 15. GARF, f. 533, op. 1, d. 195.
 16. GARF, f. 102, op. 265, d. 76 (6 May 1906) and d. 88 (10 July 1906).
 17. Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Sotsial'noi I Politichskoi Istorii (Russian State Archive of Social and Political History, Moscow) (RGASPI), Fond 271 (Bund) (Collection 271 (Bund)), op. 1, d. 3102.
 18. I do not know who established this fund, but the rhetoric seems to be that of the Social Democrats. This would make sense since the Jewish Social Democrats, which later developed into the Bund Party, was active at the time among workers in Vilna. It does not appear that the fund survived for long, since according to Mendelsohn, *Class Struggle in the Pale*, women tailors in Vilna organized separately in 1888. An important point is that, at least for some male workers, the issue of discrimination against their female comrades was seen as politically wrong, and it happened in the context of socialist propaganda.
 19. Glickman, *Russian Factory Women*, pp. 207–8.
 20. GARF, f. 533, op. 1, d. 457.
 21. GARF, f. 533, op. 1, d. 195.
 22. GARF, f. 533, op. 1, d. 176.
 23. GARF, f. 533, op. 2, d. 2122.
 24. Engel, in *Mothers and Daughters*, mentioned similar attitudes of the educated female revolutionaries she discussed.
 25. GARF, f. 102, op. 265, d. 93 (28 July 1906). Her class background is unclear.
 26. GARF, f. 102, op. 265, d. 58 (26 February 1906). Her class background is unclear.
 27. The October Manifesto included a right of workers to create trade unions and indeed numerous unions were established. The non-official governmental policy was, though, to close these unions down under any pretext. Thus the new unions, while having the advantage of acting legally, were in no position to assist their members in conflicts with their employers. Such a weakness was not acceptable to militants like Kazimirovskaya-Kanevskaya and they turned to illegal organizations – largely anarchist

- groups that grew substantially from the end of 1905 – willing to use violence against employers.
28. For similar later cases in St Petersburg that made workers turn to the Bolsheviks, see, for example, Hogan, *Forging Revolution*, pp. 217–0. Almost every author writing on workers of the period (for example, Bonnell, Surh, Steinberg) also refers to the weakness of the contemporary legal unions. The disappointment described here was thus typical for workers in general – especially, as pointed out by Surh, *1905 in St Petersburg*, pp. 395–6, for workers in small workshops for whom organizing the profession as a whole was necessary for any kind of achievement.
 29. Kazimirovskaya-Kanevskaya's story followed exactly the fears expressed in the Bund's report on trade unionism in Lodz, cited below. Both workers and employers took political organizations seriously, which proved that they could and would use violence in labour disputes, and tended to ignore the emerging unions that had no power to affect the results of labour disputes.
 30. GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 796.
 31. As stated in the 1907 Bund report on the trade unions in Lodz, GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 466, from *Professional'naya Zhizn'*, No. 5 (1907).
 32. Hogan, who explains why St Petersburg metalworkers were more attracted to Bolsheviks than to less radical revolutionary parties, makes a similar point. In the case of Jewish workers, the anarchists represented a radical solution, as the Bolsheviks did for Russian metalworkers.
 33. Several historians have discussed the issue of the negative working-class attitude towards compromise during the revolutionary period. The most recent is the chapter by Haimson on the workers' movement after the Lena Massacre, in his book, *Russia's Revolutionary Experience*, where he views the roots of this attitude to be in the workers' inherent insecurity about their right to be considered part of educated society. I agree that this insecurity existed, but I am not convinced that this was the only important cause. I think that activism as a key to the new structure of feeling combined with the place of violence as an expression of self-assertion among the working-class described by Joan Neuberger in her book, *Hooliganism: Crime, Culture, and Power in St Petersburg, 1900–1914* (Berkeley, CA, 1993), are important additional causes for both their uncompromising attitude and attraction to violence.
 34. See Severianin, 'Ob ekspropriatsiakh', *Burevestnik*, 1 (20 July 1906), pp. 9–10; 'Zakliucheniiia s'ezda: o grabezhe i eskpropriatsii', and 'Zakliucheniiia s'ezda: ob aktakh lichnogo i kolektivnogo protesta', *Listki khleb i volia*, 1–2 (30 October 1906), pp. 6–7 and 7–8, respectively; 'Programma iuzhno-russkoi gruppy anarchistov-sindikalistov', *Listki khleb i volia*, 5 (28 December 1906), p. 8; 'O chastichnykh ekspropriatsiakh', *Buntar'*, 1–2 (1 December 1906), pp. 24–5; and 'K voprosu ob ekspropriatsii', *Anarchist*, 1 (10 October 1907), p. 16.
 35. GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 1379.
 36. GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 1379.
 37. GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 1374.

38. GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 133 (5 December 1906).
39. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 199.
40. GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 446.
41. Wildman, *The Making of a Workers' Revolution*, p. 52, points out that in the Pale, Jewish workers readily responded to socialist agitation, while their non-Jewish counterparts remained largely passive. Still, Orest Subtelny notes in his *Ukraine: A History* (Toronto, 2000), p. 296, that 120,000 workers in the Ukraine took part in the General Strike in October 1905. He also points out the widespread disturbances in the countryside. Most of the Christian workers in the Pale still had ties to their villages, while not many of the Jewish workers did. This may have contributed to different groups of workers perceiving each other as having different interests. Considering the importance of ethnicity in the area, such differences were perceived by both Jews and Christians as ethnic tension.
42. *Poslednie Izvestiia*, 211, 17 [30] January 1905.
43. *Ibid.*, 212, 1 February [19 January] 1905.
44. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 448.
45. Wynn, *Workers, Strikes, and Pogroms*, discusses the reluctance of revolutionaries to organize mass political actions because they were concerned that these actions could result in a pogrom.
46. *Kur'er*, 2 June 1906, described a typical case when a number of non-Jewish tailors in Smolensk refused to be in the same union as Jews.
47. The most important organization among several far right, monarchist and anti-Semitic organizations that emerged in the Russian Empire following the October Manifesto of 1905.
48. GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 117 (23 October 1906).
49. The Polish National-Democratic Party, struggling for the independence of Poland, was notoriously anti-Semitic.
50. GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 117 (25 October 1906).
51. For example, GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 198. As well as stories in this document, there were those about Jews being successful agitators among workers or the peasantry, but these do not seem to be representative. Many Jews working as agitators concealed their identities.
52. The problem of intra-ethnic hostility among workers preventing an efficient struggle for labour rights existed in other places and for other ethnicities as well. For example, according to Ronald G. Suny, *The Baku Commune, 1917–1918: Class and Nationality in the Russian Revolution* (Princeton, NJ, 1972), it was practically impossible in the Baku oil industries to organize the poorest Persian workers; organization among local Azeri workers was extremely difficult; and socialists were usually found among the better skilled and better paid Russian and Armenian workers. The hostility between different ethnicities among workers made any labour-related struggle extremely difficult.
53. GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 2122.
54. As mentioned by Zipperstein, *Jews of Odessa*; Corrsin, *Warsaw before the First World War*; and many other works dealing with contemporary urban employment.

55. It was a personal decision, rather than a party assignment. As with expropriations, this was a political decision taken and implemented within the revolutionary milieu, but not in obedience to any party authorities.
56. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 195.
57. Bushnell, *Mutiny amid Repression*, focuses on presenting the generally non-political stance of the majority of the soldiers and points out that many of the mutinies of the time were to improve their service conditions.
58. GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 203 (11 May 1907).
59. GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 213 (6 June 1907).
60. GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 123 (17 November 1906).
61. Bushnell, *Mutiny amid Repression*.
62. GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 88 (10 July 1906).
63. GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 35 (24 March 1906).
64. GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 170 (14 February 1907).
65. For example, *Ekho*, 8 (30 June 1906), No. 8, where the specific designation of Jewish soldiers as revolutionaries and its possible political ramifications are discussed.

4 The Emotional Experience of Revolutionary Activism

1. William M. Reddy, 'Against Constructivism: The Historical Ethnography of Emotions', *Current Anthropology*, 38 (3) (1997), pp. 327–51.
2. Monique Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and is that What Makes them Have a History)? A Bourdieuan Approach to Understanding Emotion,' *History and Theory*, 51 (2012), pp. 193–220. While I do not ignore the biological dimension of emotional practices, their social and therefore historicized dimensions are the ones relevant to the issues discussed in this work.
3. This is comparable to the constant complaints from Russian workers about disrespectful treatment. As in this case, workers felt that they became different, more 'cultural' and more deserving of respect, but the non-worker society would not recognize this. See Haimson, 'Russian Workers' Political and Social Identities', pp. 166–7.
4. GARE, f. 533, op. 3, d. 336.
5. Currently Donetsk in Ukraine.
6. GARE, f. 533, op. 3, d. 633. The shock was experienced by the Jewish population as a whole, not just by young workers like Gillerson.
7. There were in fact attempts at self-defence by the Kishinev Jews, which were successful wherever the police did not assist the pogromists. See the testimonies in *Iskra*, 39 (1 May 1903).
8. GARE, f. 533, op. 3, d. 633.
9. GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 2305.
10. GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 1688.
11. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 449b.
12. GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 446.

13. GARF f. 533, op. 2, d. 1376.
14. GARF f. 533, op. 3, d. 623.
15. GARF f. 533, op. 2, d. 1105.
16. GARF f. 533, op. 2, d. 942.
17. GARF f. 533, op. 2, d. 2236.
18. For the importance of indignation to social movements, see James M. Jasper, *The Art of Moral Protest: Culture, Biography and Creativity in Social Movements* (Chicago, IL, 1997).
19. A concept introduced by Barbara H. Rosenwein in her book, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY, 2006), and meaning communities sharing a discursive emotional pattern.
20. A marshy region covering areas of Southern Belarus, Northern Ukraine, Poland and Russia.
21. GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 73 (22 April 1906).
22. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 209.
23. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 457.
24. The classic work on the topic is Wildman, *The Making of a Workers' Revolution*.
25. Even though, as Wildman pointed out all through his book, the Russian workers had problems with the attitude of such people as well due to their pretensions and claims to leadership positions.
26. Vladimir Zhabotinsky, *Piatero* (Moscow, 2002).
27. GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 59 (5 March 1906).
28. GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 85 (19 June 1906).
29. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 447, pp. 88–9. In this case economic terror means expropriations.
30. N. Khanin explicitly noted the exclusion in his introduction to the memoirs of Bundist leader Leib Blekhman (Abram der Tate), *Bleter fon Mein Jugend* (New York, 1959), claiming that Blekhman was an exception to the exclusion of the intelligentsia by working-class revolutionaries.
31. Many worker activists described their politicization as a culmination of their struggle for independence. See GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 2136 (Friedland), d. 437 (Gering), and d. 1987 (Tenenbaum). For such workers, accepting an inferior status within the revolutionary circles was unthinkable.
32. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 459, p. 29.
33. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 462, p. 75.
34. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 459, p. 48.
35. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 459, p. 48.
36. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 449b. There are many other references to activist workers emigrating during 1906–07, for example in GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 112 (7 October 1906), or f. 533, op. 1, d. 195.
37. Liebman, *Jews and the Left*, p. 137.
38. Women joined the self-defence units, but according to the autobiographies that I read, they came largely from among the workers rather than the intelligentsia. According to the Bund report presented in Chapter 5

- here dealing with self-defence, their numbers were very small with an unusually large number from Odessa.
39. GARF, f. 102, op. 265, d. 47 (14 January 1906).
 40. As opposed to Russian working-class women who, according to Glickman, *Russian Factory Women*, pp. 207–8, were looked down upon by their male politicized counterparts and were, with rare exceptions, excluded from revolutionary organizations.
 41. GARF, f. 533, op. 1, d. 449b.
 42. Paul Avrich, *The Russian Anarchists* (Princeton, NJ, 1967), pp. 99–100; as well as Laura Engelstein, *Moscow 1905: Working-Class Organization and Political Conflict* (Stanford, CA, 1982), p. 161; and M. I. Leonov, *Partiia sotsialistov-revoliutsionerov v 1905–1907 gg* (Moscow, 1997), p. 63, emphasized the workers' hostility to the intellectuals within the labour movements. The classic work on the topic, Wildman, *The Making of a Workers' Revolution*, claims that while for the workers the intelligentsia were a means to break the shackles of their social position and enter into a wide world of culture (p. 89), there was a permanent struggle between the two groups over political power within the organizations (pp. 90, 109 and 112). Wildman also points out that the workers claiming that the intelligentsia did not have the same political interests as the workers and thus should not occupy the leadership positions within the movement, simply drew a logical conclusion from the principle of class egoism taught in propaganda circles (p. 108). Moreover, he claims that the workers, especially the worker elites, could not do without the intelligentsia's tutoring, which created a permanent tension (pp. 115 and 118). Surh, *1905 in St Petersburg*, p. 240, discussing particularly the worker elites, emphasized however that, unlike before or after 1905, the period of 1905 itself was one marked by rapprochement between the workers and the intelligentsia. In the Jewish context, unlike the Russian one described in these works, the tension between the worker elites and the unskilled (or semi-skilled) workers was not so prominent since Jewish workers often had some skill, but could not claim a better paid job due to their ethnicity. The tensions between the workers and the intelligentsia seem less acute in 1905 and increased by the end of that year, just as for the workers described by Surh.
 43. Steinberg, *Moral Communities*, p. 113, discusses feelings of moral indignation and offence rising and being articulated by subordinate groups that had just acquired vocabularies of judgement and value and used them against a dominant culture in which their needs and experiences are given a subordinate position (p. 235). He also explains how ethical judgements were what made the concept of class and class struggle sensible to workers. Steinberg, *Proletarian Imagination*, p. 57, also widens Wildman's point mentioned in the previous note about workers thinking that only someone with a worker's experience could lead the movement and claims that the worker writers that he described felt that since an

intellectual could not feel like a worker he or she could not understand and thus represent workers.

44. See the two previous notes, n. 42 and n. 43.
45. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 462, pp. 79–80.
46. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 209.
47. GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 2275, and f. 102, op. 265, d. 51.
48. Siblings of a worker were usually workers themselves (although on occasion, as in the case of Chizhevskaya, their family fortunes changed and a younger child had to go to work, while an older one had previously attained some education). The difference between those with less and those with more education was not necessarily clear-cut. On occasion a worker, who spent more time in the study circles and acquired a certain educational level there, was viewed by other workers as closer to the intelligentsia than to themselves (see, for example, a reference of Sarah Agronina-Ageeva to her co-worker, GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 168). The notion of a community of revolutionary workers was highly important, but this notion was occasionally complicated by a reality in which educational levels were constantly changing, as pertaining to both workers and the semi-intelligentsia.
49. For example, the Bundist Isaak Tsitrin. GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 2191.
50. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 195.
51. It seems that whenever possible many Jewish propagandists who approached non-Jewish peasants or workers, hid their Jewish identity so that their political protagonists could not blame them for acting on behalf of Jews, as opposed to on behalf of their revolutionary ideas. Anti-Semitism appears to have been a powerful political weapon in the hands of the conservatives at that time, and the propagandists could not afford to ignore it. Working among Jews was much easier emotionally because ethnicity was not an issue.
52. GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 1902.
53. In Ruth R. Wisse (ed.), *A Shtetl and Other Yiddish Novellas* (Detroit, MI, 1986).
54. During the 1905 Revolution, the anti-revolutionary groups known as the 'Black Hundreds' fought with the revolutionaries over the control of the streets. These groups attacked not only revolutionaries, but also those who were perceived to be supporters of the revolution – workers from particular factories, students and so on. They are especially known for organizing pogroms against the Jewish population, whom they wrongly perceived as supporting the revolution en masse. Therefore during the pogroms they employed extreme violence against the Jews, without discerning age, gender or political affiliation. Since the Black Hundreds were often provided with weapons and protection by the local authorities, they often had an advantage in street battles against the revolutionaries and the Jewish self-defence units.

5 Self-Defence as an Emotional Experience

1. RGASPI, f. 271, op. 1, d. 260.
2. On how the Donbass miners frequently changed their political affiliations, see Wynn, *Workers, Strikes, and Pogroms*; and Kuromiya, *Freedom and Terror in the Donbass*. See also, 'O chernoï sotne', *Volna*, 23 (21 May 1906).
3. According to the available partial data, pogroms took place in 108 cities, 70 settlements and 108 villages during the three weeks after the tsar published his Manifesto on 17 October 1905. At least 1622 people were murdered and at least 3544 were wounded. S. A. Stepanov, *Chernaya sotnia 1905–1914 gg* (Moscow, 1992), p. 56.
4. There were also pogroms in central Russia, Siberia, the Far East and Central Asia, targeting anyone who was considered a supporter of a revolution. Jews were not the only ones targeted due to their nationality, as so, too, were Armenians, and in different places Azeris, Georgians, Ukrainians, Latvians and Germans as well. But Jews were the only nationality targeted systematically. A. P. Korelin and S. A. Stepanov, *S.Iu. Vitte – finansist, politik, diplomat* (Moscow, 1998), p. 186.
5. Frankel, *Prophecy and Politics*, p. 154.
6. Stepanov, *Chernaya sotnia*; Klier and Lambroza (eds), *Pogroms*; and I. Kagan, *Pogromy v dni svobody, oktiabr' 1905 g* (Moscow, 1925).
7. Rafes, *Ocherki*, pp. 127–8.
8. Many working-class Jewish revolutionaries in fact turned to violence after the reaction started at the end of 1905. Many of them left the more established revolutionary parties and joined the anarchists. See, for example, a letter dated 13 May 1906 from a Menshevik worker from Odessa named Sonia in GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 77, where the writer complained about her 'bourgeois' party comrades who were unhappy about her friendship with anarchists; or the autobiography of the anarchist Vera Kazimirovskaya-Kanevskaya in GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 796, where she explained that she joined the anarchists since they seemed more efficient in assisting her with her struggles against the employers for better working conditions.
9. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 195. The pogrom in Nikolaev took place on 20 October 1905, and was allegedly the setting for Isaac Babel's, *The Story of My Dovecot*.
10. See similar feelings expressed in contemporary letters that I cite below.
11. In the aftermath of the pogroms, according to the contemporary revolutionary press, there were indeed many protest actions by local intelligentsia as well as workers. *Kur'er*, 4 (20 May 1906), described a boycott declared by the Kostroma intelligentsia against the pogromists and mentioned some names of the latter. *Golos Truda*, 5 (25 June 25 1906), described a demand by Grodno residents to remove a police officer who took part in the Bialystok pogrom and was subsequently relocated to Grodno. *Golos Truda*, 4 (24 June 1906); and *Ekho*, 3 (24 June 1906), mentioned some bank employees from Bialystok demanding to fire those of their co-workers who took part in the pogrom. *Ekho*, 6 (28 June 1906),

- published a list of prominent residents of Bialystok – a bar owner, a factory owner, a pharmacist, a Moscow University student, a hair stylist and a restaurant owner – who took part in the pogrom. *Za Narod*, 7 (25 August 1907), described an assassination of the head of the Bialystok railway station, Shreter, for his active part in the pogrom. And it is worth mentioning that according to *Golos truda*, 2 (22 June 1906), the victims of the Bialystok pogrom – which had been largely conducted by the military – refused to accept monetary assistance from the city government of Vilna, when it refused to symbolically honour the victims by standing up.
12. During that pogrom, 131 people were murdered.
 13. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 176.
 14. Since there were often rumors several days ahead of time that a pogrom was going to take place, better-off Jews usually left town. Poor Jews, who could not afford to do so, stayed. See, for example, Wynn, *Workers, Strikes, and Pogroms*, p. 215.
 15. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 217.
 16. That pogrom was especially bloody and ended with approximately 299 dead. The self-defence units were very active in fighting against pogromists, and a pogrom often turned into a street battle. There is much information on the anti-Jewish violence in Odessa during the 1905 Revolution in Weinberg, *The Revolution of 1905 in Odessa*.
 17. GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 58 (26 February 1906), letter by 'Lena'.
 18. For details on the attitudes of revolutionary parties towards the pogroms, see Wynn, *Workers, Strikes, and Pogroms*, p. 199.
 19. See a letter by Mosia, indignant about the non-Jewish revolutionaries' lack of solidarity during the pogroms, GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 102 (28 August 1906).
 20. Webley No. 2 type, pocket-sized, snub-nose revolver.
 21. GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 246.
 22. GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 77 (13 May 1906).
 23. GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 88 (10 July 1906).
 24. In many other cases it did not. Peasants took an active part in pogroms. Under the influence of Black Hundred officials, peasants often expelled Jews from their villages. See, for example, two cases in the Minsk region, described in *Nevskaia Gazeta*, 2 (3 May 1905); and *Delo Naroda*, 2 (4 May 1906): in the second case the peasants were not really happy with the decision, but decided to accommodate an official who initiated it.
 25. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 195.
 26. GARE, f. 533, op. 2, d. 2161. Or in a letter dated 14 May 1907 in f. 102, op. 265, d. 206, p. 3, from a proud working-class revolutionary, 'Yak . . .', Romanov, Volyn guberniia, to Clara Tartakovskaya in Kiev.
 27. GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 120 (3 November 1906).
 28. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 176.
 29. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 209, pp. 5–10.
 30. Revolutionaries were ready to force the support of the community. While in most cases the expected support was in the form of money, weapons

or hiding places, Gurshtein said that in Odessa, while taking Jewish non-combatants to the Jewish hospital during the pogrom, they discovered there youths of their age who had previously laughed at them. The fighting unit members found their presence in the hospital unacceptable and pushed them out to fight. Gurshtein, though, expresses respect towards Jewish thieves who fought together with the fighting units.

31. GARE, f. 102, op. 2, d. 1167, the working-class anarchist communist, Naum L'vovich, described with pride his self-defence experience:

In 1903, I joined the self-defence unit of the Volkovysk city, which travelled to different *shtetls* during fairs. At the end of 1903, during the Volkovysk pogrom, I – being in charge of ten others – defended one of the central places in town right when the pogromists started coming, with the head of police and a policeman (nicknamed Chugunchik) coming first. They were both killed on the spot. After the pogrom the police started searching and capturing workers, and especially the defence unit members, and especially me, since I was known to the police as a socialist because of grandfather's family.

Many autobiographies of working-class Jewish revolutionaries express similar emotions.

32. GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 86 (23 June 1906).
 33. GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 121 (5 November 1906).
 34. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 199.
 35. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 199.
 36. GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 84 (18 June 1906), and d. 86 (23 June 1906).
 37. GARE, f. 533, op. 1, d. 195, p. 34. The *birzha* was located on Surazhskaya Street. The point was that the inhabitants of working-class neighbourhoods protected themselves even against the army.
 38. The perception that there was a class dimension to the pogroms can also be seen in a letter by N. S. from Odessa, a member of a Socialist Revolutionaries fighting detachment in Odessa, who pointed out that in case of need his organization had decided to concentrate on protecting the poor districts. GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 79 (27 May 1906).
 39. See, for example, GARE, f. 102, op. 265, d. 92. In an unsigned letter dated 23 July 1906 from Odessa to Zina Perelmitter, Letichev, Podol'e guberniia, a worker, gloried in the exclusively working-class culture that he had encountered in Odessa:

In Odessa I came back to life, life everywhere boils, gushes out, the mood is tense. Going to the *'birzhi'* is sheer happiness: here everything is our own – you feel how you become part of the people. On each street you see the organization offices of the trade unions, meetings take place there, the workers themselves lead huge trade meetings. After work in those offices people lecture on topical events – heated, excited speeches. A new group appeared here called the *'Khaimovtsy'*: those are the followers of one comrade Khaim, who does not recognize a parliament and has an absolutely different understanding of the theory of Karl Marx. He is joined exclusively by workers ...

40. I am reminded here of Jacques Rancière's depiction of politicized workers as positioned between the workers and the revolutionary intelligentsia, deriving their status in each space from belonging to the other, but not fully belonging anywhere – neither in their own eyes nor in the eyes of others around them. Jacques Rancière, *The Nights of Labor: The Workers' Dream in Nineteenth Century-France* (Philadelphia, PA, 1989).

Conclusion

1. Meilakh Bakalchuk-Felin, *Vospominaniia evreia-partizana* (Moscow, 2003), p. 68. A. A. Makarov, 'Molodezhnoe soprotivlenie totalitarnomu rezhimu, 1945–1953 gody', in E. V. Kodin (ed.), *Istoriia stalinizma: repressirovannaya rossiiskaya provintsiiia* (Moscow, 2001), p. 515, mentions that a Jewish Zionist youth group in the Soviet Union in 1945 consulted a father of one of the members who in 1905 was one of the organizers of a Jewish self-defence detachment in Gomel.
2. Liebman, *Jews and the Left*; and Irving Howe, *World of our Fathers: The Journey of East European Jews to America and the Life they Found and Made* (London, 2001).

Appendix: The Sources

1. Frederick C. Corney, *Telling October: Memory and the Making of the Bolshevik Revolution* (New York, 2004); and Anne E. Gorsuch, *Youth in Revolutionary Russia: Enthusiasts, Bohemians, Delinquents* (Bloomington, IN, 2000).
2. Corney, *Telling October*, p. 138. Istpart was an organization that gathered memoirs of old Bolsheviks. Although it operated during the same period as the Society of Former Political Prisoners and Exiles, I prefer to use the files of the Society, since it was much more flexible about the political background of its members and thus, I assume, more representative.
3. Konstantin N. Morozov, *Sudebnyi protsess sotsialistov-revoliutsionerov I tiuremnoe protivostoianie (1922–1926): etika I taktika protivoborstva* (Moscow, 2005).
4. These letters selected for copying were either of known revolutionaries or letters in which there was a reference to either revolutionary or extreme right-wing activism. It is clear that not all letters were read, but I saw no documented criteria for selection.
5. As in all self-presentations. See Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (New York, 1959).
6. Hank Johnston, 'Verification and Proof in Frame and Discourse Analysis', in Bert Klandermans and Suzanne Haggenberg (eds), *Methods of Social Movement Research* (Minneapolis, MN, 2002), pp. 217–46.
7. Morozov, *Sudebnyi protsess*.
8. Autobiographies were part of a standard application process in the Soviet Union. For an example of another work that uses autobiographies in an analysis of the early Soviet discourse, see Ig' al Halfin, *From Darkness to Light: Class, Consciousness, and Salvation in Revolutionary Russia* (Pittsburgh, PA, 2000).

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