

JEWISH MASSACRES AND THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN RUSSIA.

BY ABRAHAM CAHAN.

ABOUT three weeks after the Kishineff massacre, the governor of the province of Ufa, M. Bogdanovitch, was assassinated by two Russian revolutionists as a result of a scene of carnage which had taken place in the town of Zlatoust, of that province, where forty persons, including children, were killed and 200 were wounded less than two months before the anti-Semitic outbreak in the capital of Bessarabia. Ufa lies outside the "Pale of Jewish Settlement," and the victims of the slaughter for which Governor Bogdanovitch was held responsible were all Gentiles; nevertheless, the two massacres are linked by ties of logical affinity. This becomes apparent when the Kishineff atrocities are considered in the light of recent developments in the progress of the revolutionary movement in Russia, on the one hand, and of the situation surrounding the epidemic of anti-Jewish riots which followed the assassination of Alexander II. in 1881, on the other. Indeed, at the time of those riots, M. von Plehve, the present Minister of the Interior, was at the head of the police of the Empire, and we shall see that a series of important circumstances which accompanied or immediately preceded that crusade has been paralleled, with striking similarity, but in a greatly aggravated form, at the present time.

It is a little over a year since M. von Plehve assumed charge of the Interior Department, having succeeded M. Sipiagin, who had been shot by a revolutionist shortly after the celebrated student riots in Kieff and St. Petersburg. Despatches which were published in well-informed foreign newspapers about that time represented the present Czar, Nicholas II., as showing a strong tendency in the direction of constitutional reform, it being speci-

fied with much persistency that the innovations contemplated were to be modelled after the provisions contained in what is known as the constitution of Loris Melikoff. It was soon stated, however, that the ultra-conservative element among the Czar's advisers, led by M. Pobyedonostzeff and supported by the new Minister of the Interior, M. von Plehve, had opposed the project, and that their counsel had prevailed. This circumstance forms a most interesting connecting link between the present situation and the situation of 1881.

Loris Melikoff was one of the leading heroes of the Turkish war. During the last two years of the reign of Alexander II., when the "Terrorists" of the *Narodnaya Volya* (Party of the Will of the People) were making attack after attack upon the life of the Emperor, building gigantic mines under the railroad tracks over which he was expected to pass, Melikoff was made Minister of the Interior. In February, 1881, there was an explosion in the dining-hall of the Winter Palace. The Czar then had a narrow escape. A few days later, Melikoff became the head of a "Supreme Commission" organized with a view to "pacifying the population."

It was then that Count Melikoff drew up his celebrated constitution. It called for the convocation of a sort of semi-representative commission, to examine into the general state of affairs and consider questions of reform. The project was framed in the most guarded terms, and great care was taken to keep out everything that might be construed as a direct allusion to a constitution. Still, it is quite possible that Loris Melikoff chose this "under-sized constitution," as it is usually termed, as a sort of entering wedge. At all events, it seems reasonable to believe that, if the Party of "The Will of the People" had been aware of the existence of the project, the life of Alexander II. would have been spared. Indeed, they had declared repeatedly in their pronouncements, as well as in the speeches of their leaders at the big political trials, that they were pledged to abandon the "Terror" as soon as the Czar had granted the country free speech. And, although the project of Loris Melikoff did not contain the remotest allusion to any reform in that direction, certain privileges along these lines might have followed, as a matter of course.

The draft was returned to Loris Melikoff with the approval of the Czar at twelve o'clock, on March 13, 1881, for further con-

sideration by the Cabinet, after which it was to be published in the *Government Messenger*. Two hours later, the Czar was killed.

The death of Alexander II. was followed by a general state of unrest,—by famine in the rural districts and disturbances in some of the industrial centres. Such were the conditions under which Alexander III. ascended the throne. He was in anything but a peaceful frame of mind when he took up the document which his father had expected to sign; and we are informed by Count Loris Melikoff, in his posthumous Memoirs, that the perusal of the project put the new monarch in good spirits, and that he wrote on the margin of the paper “Very good!” fixing a day for its final discussion by the ministers.

Meanwhile, an anti-Jewish riot broke out in Elisavetgrad, a city in the neighborhood of Odessa and Kishineff. The attack had been organized by local anti-Semites and had nothing to do with the general situation, except in so far as it had given rise to a vague feeling that the country was on the brink of a revolution, and that the foundation of law and order was shaken. When, at a Cabinet meeting held soon after this, the conservatives took a firm stand against the measure, Loris Melikoff was easily defeated. He was removed from office, his place being taken by General Ignatyeff, a man known for his devotion to the policy of blind suppression and anti-Semitism.

The anti-Jewish riots spread from district to district until they covered some 150 towns and villages. Then, as in the case of the recent outbreak, the streets were in almost every instance full of police and troops, who, instead of protecting the Jews, encouraged their assailants, and in numerous cases even joined them in the work of pillage, destruction, rapine and murder. Wherever Jews made an attempt at self-defence, they were dispersed by the police, arrested or driven indoors to await the coming of the drink-crazed rioters. Indeed, the story of the Kishineff pandemonium, barring the number of persons killed and wounded—in which respect it far exceeds any of the riots of 1881-1882—reads like a chapter from the history of that savage campaign. “Easy, boys!” said the governor of Kieff, with an amused smile, driving around among the riffraff and their refined allies, while they were busily engaged in their barbarous work. The governors of other riot-ridden places acted similarly. In many instances, when a Jew implored an officer to rescue his wife or daughter, he was

asked, by way of reply, whether he was sure that his passports were in proper shape.

The natural upshot was an impression which rapidly gained ground among the blind illiterate peasantry, that the crusade had been ordered by the Czar, and that a document containing the imperial ukase to that effect would be sent to every town and village in which a single Jew was to be found. It was one of the characteristic incidents of the period for peasants to ask their village clerk when "that paper" was expected to reach his office; or for the residents of some suburb to come to town with wagons, sacks and implements of devastation, and to ask the first policeman they met when their services would be required. Sometimes, a moujik who lived on friendly terms with his Jewish neighbor would tell the latter with tears in his eyes that he wished he could leave his house undestroyed, but that by doing so he would make himself liable to imprisonment for failing to do the behest of the Czar; and there were cases in which Jews saved their property and the honor of their wives and daughters by signing a document assuming all responsibility before the law for the failure of neighborly Gentiles to destroy their household goods or the contents of their stores. The object of that "imperial ukase" was, in the belief of these ignorant people, to turn over "the ill-gotten wealth of the Christ-killers to the beloved children of the Czar, the peasants of orthodox Christian faith." These rumors spread like wildfire, through the efforts of the police as well as of special emissaries of the anti-Semites; and, as in the case of the Kishineff massacre, the ferocity of the mob invariably reached its highest point when their target was the population of the slums, poor hard-working mechanics, whose "ill-gotten wealth" consisted of their tools and the contents of their wretched hovels.

This went on from town to town and from month to month, extending to a period of nearly two years; and the Director of the Police Department under whom all this happened was no other than M. von Plehve, the present Minister of the Interior.

M. von Plehve denies having sent a letter to the governor of Bessarabia, shortly before the massacre, warning him against the use of drastic measures in case of an outbreak. He does not deny, however, that the Jews of Kishineff had applied to him for permission to publish a newspaper to counteract the incendiary agitation of the anti-Semitic "*Bessarabetz*," and that his answer was:

“The ‘*Bessarabetz*’ is good enough for Kishineff.” Nor, indeed, does he deny that the “*Bessarabetz*” had among its regular contributors the vice-governor and several other officials of the province, and that several of the members of its editorial staff acted at the massacre as the chief leaders of the mob.

The better to understand M. von Plehve’s general policy, let us begin by epitomizing those conditions under which he came into his present office in April of last year.

He took charge of the Interior Department a day or two after the death of his predecessor, M. Sipiagin, who was shot by a young nobleman, named Stepan Balmasheff. Sipiagin’s violent death had been preceded by the assassination of Bogolyepoff, then Minister of Public Instruction. About the same time, the life of M. Pobyedonostzeff, Procurator of the Holy Synod, had been attempted; then General Trepoff, the Chief of Police of Moscow, whom the revolutionists charge with the brutal treatment of political prisoners, was fired upon by a woman, under precisely the same circumstances as those under which his father, twenty-four years before, had been shot at by the celebrated Vera Zassulitch; and, three days later, the same official had a narrow escape from the dagger of another revolutionist.

Balmasheff was a member of the “Fighting Section” of the Socialist Revolutionary Party, one of the two secret societies disseminating revolutionary ideas in Russia. I have before me a copy of the proclamation which these “New Terrorists” issued from their “underground” printing office, on the day following the death of the Minister of the Interior, April 3, (16), 1902. It carries one back to the closing days of the reign of Alexander II., and is said to have produced a profound effect in higher government circles. There is, however, one important distinction between this pronouncement and similar declarations of the Terrorists of the early eighties. While the latter made the Czar the chief target of all their proclamations and dynamite bombs, the leaflet issued by the organization to which Balmasheff had belonged carefully omits all mention of the present monarch, and speaks of his ministers and other high officials as those who alone are held responsible for the present state of affairs.

The killing of Minister Sipiagin was followed by peasant riots in several districts. In an interview granted to Gaston Leroux, of the Paris *Matin*, about that time, M. von Plehve did not deny

the portentous extent of the revolutionary movement in his country, though he promised its speedy suppression. "The strength of the revolutionary party," he is quoted by M. Leroux as saying, "lies in the present weakness of our police. In two months' time our police will become strong. I was once (in 1881) put in charge of the police under similar circumstances. Well, it took me a few days to discover the key to the whole revolutionary movement. The danger lay in a society made up of a dozen persons who soon fell into our hands." M. von Plehve here refers to the period immediately following the assassination of Alexander II. The arrest of revolutionary leaders was not all that took place while he was in charge of the police: the great anti-Jewish riots were in progress at that very time.

One of the measures by means of which Von Plehve hoped to stem the revolutionary tide was the revival of flogging. When his interviewer urged that "the Russian people is great enough to be free from the rod," the Minister answered:

"Some day corporal punishment will disappear, but that day has not yet come round."

And speaking of the riotous moujiks of the Poltava province, he said, with a laugh: "Before sending them to Siberia we gave them a sound birching."

The "reign of the rod" was inaugurated immediately after he succeeded to the office left vacant by the death of Sipiagin. Working-men were flogged in Wilna, Minsk, Kremenchug and other places for no graver offence than attempting to parade through the streets on May 1. And what was the result? In Wilna, where the flogging was done in a more brutal manner than anywhere else, and where it took place under the personal supervision of the governor of the province (Von Wahl), who mocked and abused the helpless victims while they were writhing and shrieking under the blows, this official was shot and wounded two weeks later by a member of the Social Democracy, a secret organization whose programme declares against terrorism.

After referring to the peaceful character of the May demonstration for which the working-men of Wilna had been flogged, and to the revolting details of that brutal scene, a leaflet issued by that organization proceeds as follows:

"This piece of barbarism has quickened our hatred for the government of Czars, arousing in us a thirst for sacred revenge. We struggle by

peaceful means; the shedding of human blood is not a part of our programme; but patience has its limits. Should the resentment of an exasperated public take the form of violence the fault will not be ours. It is Von Wahl himself who has pointed out such a course to the people."

It was a few days after the appearance of this leaflet that a Jewish shoemaker, named Hirshel Leckert, approached Von Wahl as he was leaving the circus, and fired at him three times, wounding him in the right arm and left leg.

Shortly after this, a young peasant named Thoma Kochur, a member of the other revolutionary organization, shot at the governor of Smolensk for a similar cause; and now we read of the killing of the governor of Ufa by two other revolutionists. According to German despatches, which agree with what has been published in the "underground" press of the Russian revolutionists about the disturbances in the Ufa province, this assassination grew out of the arrest of a committee of the employees in the government arms factory at Slatoust, Ufa, where the workingmen "were driven by their misery to send a deputation to make an effort to better their condition." The delegates were treated by the authorities as political criminals and were arrested on their way to the factory. The wives of the arrested men then left their children at police headquarters, declaring that with their husbands in prison they would be unable to support them. The children were thrown into the street. This caused great excitement, and when the governor arrived and the crowd refused to disperse, insisting upon the release of the deputation, several volleys were fired by the troops, killing forty, including many children, and wounding 200. "It is asserted," one despatch adds, "that the crowd on which the troops fired, although excited and indignant, was orderly.

The policy of unthinking, iron-handed repression has thus created an atmosphere of bitterness and revolutionary recklessness such as has not existed since 1887, and which calls to mind the birth of the Red Terror in the latter part of the seventies. Indeed, the people who killed Alexander II. and several of his officials had started out as peaceful propagandists. They had begun as innocent dreamers and apostles of a new era, which was to evolve from the survivals of primitive communism retained by the Russian village commune. The government sent them and their comrades to Siberia, and tortured them in damp cells where

scores of refined men and women went insane, committed suicide or died of scurvy. It was not until the authorities had shot or hanged several innocent men that the Nihilists inaugurated the "Terror," as "a means of self-defence as well as with a view to demoralizing the government and forcing the Czar to grant his subjects free speech. This is precisely what is going forward in Russia at the present time. Besides assassinating the Czar, after a series of gigantic plots, the old Terrorists killed, during the four years when their activity was at its height, a gendarme officer, a chief of the Gendarme Corps, a governor and a public prosecutor. All this was done by an organization which numbered scarcely more than fifty men and women, almost all of them from the educated classes. The revolutionists of to-day have a vast army of discontented working-men and representatives of the other strata of society to draw upon, and their terrorists have already killed two cabinet ministers and a governor and more political spies than the old dynamite party ever put out of the way. They have attacked two other governors, and made two attempts on a prefect of Moscow and one on the chief adviser of the Czar. All this has taken place during the last two years. Moreover, the gigantic conspiracies of the "Will of the People" absorbed all the resources of the party; and, as these schemes had of necessity to be kept from every one who was not directly connected with them, the handful of fearless men and women who participated in these bloody undertakings practically became the party. This is not the case now. The revolutionists of to-day are chiefly engaged in disseminating their ideas and organizing secret trade-unions, and have no dictatorial centre with elaborate terroristic schemes to paralyze their educational work.

Such a thing as an organized labor movement was utterly unknown at the time of Alexander II. It is a product of new conditions, the result of the continuous economic development which marks the history of Russia for the last twenty years; and this development is bound to find its reflection in the political sentiment of the people. Whether or no the Siberian railway was built primarily for military purposes, the forces which made the construction of such a road possible tend to bring the Russian people nearer to their political redemption.

At the period when M. von Plehve was put in charge of the police, in 1881, the universities alone were schools of revolution.

Since then, the factories have assumed the same character; and, while only one university has been added to the nine which were in existence twenty years ago, the number of factories has during the same period been increasing at a progressive rate. That the government is not unaware of all this is evident from numerous official reports, marked "secret," copies of which fall into the hands of the revolutionists, who publish them in their papers. In some of these, the factories are described as "hotbeds of revolution," whereupon it is suggested that the government take the labor question into its own hands.

At the time M. von Plehve was appointed head of the police department, there were never more than two "underground" printing offices at a time, and the appearance of every new number of a revolutionary paper or a leaflet was a memorable event. In the most active two years in the history of the "Will of the People," this organization managed to bring out its official organ no more than six times. Now there are from twenty to twenty-five secret printing establishments, each of which issues a paper every two or three weeks, while an army of revolutionary smugglers is at work importing and distributing the literature which the two parties print in Geneva, Stuttgart and London.

Street demonstrations took place on only two or three occasions during the entire period in question, and in each case they were begun and ended by college students re-enforced by a handful of converts from the lower classes. The general public remained stolidly irresponsive. Now, in processions in which working-men and representatives of the other classes mingle, shouts for liberty are the order of the day, and in almost every instance hundreds of passers-by join the paraders, or otherwise signify their sympathy with the object of the manifestation. In the winter of 1876, a small crowd gathered in front of the Kasan Cathedral in St. Petersburg. A revolutionary speech was delivered, and a red flag bearing the legend "Land and Liberty" was unfurled. There followed a conflict between the revolutionists present and the police, but the passers-by never interceded. A similar demonstration was held on the same square on March 17, 1901; but this time the revolutionary crowd was joined by almost every passer-by and kept swelling till, when the celebrated massacre of student girls by Cossacks took place, it was about fifty thousand strong.

Still larger was the procession which was held in the same neighborhood about twelve months later. But the most typical demonstration of to-day is one of purely spontaneous origin. Scores of cases have been reported in which theatre audiences have burst into cheers for liberty, or joined in singing revolutionary songs between the acts; or in which the sight of a passing policeman has brought similar exclamations from the pedestrians and resulted in an extemporaneous procession with red handkerchiefs for flags.

Perhaps the strongest evidence as to the stupendous growth of the revolutionary movement in Russia is to be found in the fact that the number of political prosecutions during the last eighteen months exceeds the sum total of similar cases during all the twenty-six years of the reign of Alexander II. If the government is slow to found new universities, it certainly has not been backward in building new prisons; yet every dungeon, jail or house of detention in the country is overcrowded. Formerly, the average political prisoner would be kept in his solitary cell from two to three years before his case was disposed of. Now, the authorities are compelled to "railroad" hundreds of cases through, so as to make room for new prisoners. As to Siberia, its remotest villages have so rapidly been growing in population, through the continual arrival of new exiles, that they are beginning to lose their horrors as places of banishment.

If "the key to the whole revolutionary movement" of twenty years ago was found by capturing the members of "a society of a dozen persons," it does not look as though the old key fitted the new lock. A year has passed since M. von Plehve promised to put an end to the revolutionary movement "in two months' time"; and, to judge from appearances, he will have to ask for an extension of time. If he killed "the revolution" twenty-two years ago, "the revolution" must possess gifts of "coming back" like those of the celebrated cat of the song. Indeed, the cat of 1881 was a mere midget compared with the creature which causes the Russian government so much worry in these days. The growing labor movement is the chief source of political education for the masses, but the working-men are not alone in the struggle for liberal institutions. People of the cultured classes, peasants and wage-workers make common cause in a campaign which forms one of the most important chapters in the history of the country.

The international holiday of labor, May 1st, has become the day of political processions, the great occasion for conflicts between police and Cossacks, on one hand, and working-men and college students, on the other. This accounts for the uneasiness which the government betrayed at the approach of that date; and, in view of all that we have seen, is it not a rather significant coincidence that it was shortly before May 1st, that M. von Plehve's subsidized favorite, the editor of the *Bessarabetz*, launched those rumors of a ritual murder by the Jews of Kishineff which brought about the terrible massacre?

Nor did the Kishineff slaughter come altogether unheralded. Indeed, as early as June 10th of last year, when M. von Plehve had been in charge of the Interior Department about two months, something happened in Vitebsk, a city hundreds of Russian miles from Kishineff, which was interpreted as foreshadowing events similar to the recent scenes of human butchery. At the conclusion of a military parade held in that city on the date referred to, the commander of the local troops, General Zizianoff, ordered all men of the Jewish faith to step out of their ranks and to form separately. He then addressed them on the revolutionary agitation:

"Soldiers!" he said, "I want you to tell your people to keep out of politics, or we shall grind them into powder. Should anything befall them, not a man will be sent to protect them."

The local Jews took alarm. They sent to the general a deputation submitting that his utterance was apt to be construed by their Gentile neighbors as an encouragement to anti-Semitic riots. To which General Zizianoff replied that what he had said was in compliance with a secret circular which he had received from his superiors, in which he was ordered "to show no mercy to Jews."

Similar threats were uttered elsewhere. The meaning of all this, according to the interpretation of the revolutionists, is that the authorities are determined to set the various elements of the population against each other as a means of demoralizing the movement for constitutional reform.

What General Zizianoff said to the Jews of Vitebsk the Chief of Police of Kishineff said to the Jews of his city when these applied to him for protection, on the eve of the fiendish outbreak. "It will serve you people right," he said. "Let the Jews not preach socialism." Two weeks later, this same official rode through the riot-ridden streets coolly smoking a cigarette.

The bulk of the revolutionary army is made up of Gentiles, not of Jews. The town of Zlatoust, for example, is a typically Great-Russian town, without a single Jew among its residents; and yet it is honeycombed with revolutionary sentiment; and the immense street demonstrations which have taken place in cities like St. Petersburg or Moscow have consisted almost entirely of the same element. But it is true that the Jews have more than their quota among the men and women who defy the isolated prison-cell and the gallows in their devotion to the cause of liberty; it is true that, enjoying, as they do, a much higher average of intelligence than any other element of the population, they take an exceptionally active part in the dissemination of Western ideas; and this is another reason why an anti-Jewish outbreak, on the eve of the proposed May demonstrations, would have been of advantage to the government in troublous times like these. When the news of the Kishineff horrors spread, and the panic-stricken Jews of other towns begged the authorities to protect them in case of an anti-Semitic attack, they were given to understand, through their "official" rabbis, that full protection would be guaranteed to them provided they undertook to prevail upon the revolutionists of their faith to stay away from the prospective demonstration. The result was that in several cities the May parade was abandoned.

Had the Kishineff rioters confined themselves to looting Jewish houses and stores, to destruction and rapine, with a few deaths "thrown in," as the case was with the typical riot of 1881-1882, it seems within bounds to suppose that the crusade would have been allowed to spread to other towns; for indeed, a thunderstorm is gathering in the empire, and the electric rod which had been used under similar conditions twenty-two years ago seemed to commend itself to M. von Plehve's taste once again. But, unfortunately for the anti-Semites and the powers behind their throne, the thugs of Kishineff had overdone it; a cry of horror went up from the civilized world, and the crusade had to be stopped. Thus the victims of the slaughter died the death of veritable martyrs, for it was their horrible fate which saved their brethren in other cities from the visitation of infuriated mobs. Still, in those places where the revolutionary agitation has gained a footing an anti-Jewish riot would scarcely be possible. There is every reason to expect that in case of an outburst of anti-

Semitic feeling among one part of the Gentile population, the would-be rioters would be checked by multitudes of their own coreligionists. Something of this sort happened recently in Poland, where an anti-Jewish riot was allayed by the interference of revolutionary working-men of the Catholic faith. The secret societies to which they belong include hundreds of Jews, and this has proved a potent factor in removing the race-prejudices which otherwise keep the two elements of the population apart.

In a report of the recent riot published in the "*Pravitelstvenny Vestnik*" ("Government Messenger"), allusion was made to economic relations between Jew and Gentile as the basic cause of the outbreak. This can be well-founded only in connection with the well-known fact that the leaders of the Kishineff massacre included merchants whose sole competitors in business happened to be Jews—another detail, by the way, which makes the Kishineff riot appear like a copy of the average riot of 1881-1882. In his official report made to the State Department in 1893, Dr. A. D. White, then United States Minister at St. Petersburg, says:

"The fact is that but a very small fraction of them (the Jews) in Russia are wealthy; few even in comfortable circumstances; the vast majority of them are in poverty and a very considerable part in misery—just on the border of starvation."

Touching upon the question of money-lending, Dr. White says:

"Sundry bankers and individuals in parts of Russia where no Jews are permitted have made loans at a much higher rate than Jews have ever ventured to do; while it is allowed that 100 per cent. a year has not infrequently been taken by the Israelites, there seems to be no doubt of the fact that from 300 to 800 per cent. and even more, sometimes, has been taken by Christians . . . and a leading journal of St. Petersburg, published under strict censorship, has recently given cases with names, and dates, where a rate higher than the highest above-named was paid by Russian peasants to Christian money-lenders."

Dr. White further states that the number of Jewish artisans in Poland constitute "about one-half the entire adult male Israelite population." This was written ten years ago. To-day, fully three-fourths of all the Jews in the Empire are engaged in productive labor. As to the Jewish money-lenders, they form but an insignificant minority and are far surpassed in numbers as well as in rapacity by the "*Kulaks*" ("fists")—the characteristic Russian word for human sharks, "of the true Christian faith,"

who prey upon the Russian peasant. The best Russian literature of to-day is full of varieties of this type of "Christian usurer," and they are portrayed by the realists in colors even less attractive than their Jewish counterparts are in the anti-Semitic press.

M. von Plehve's talk of Jewish "exploitation" is borne out neither by his anxiety about the strength of the labor movement among the Jews, nor by what he knows of the Kishineff riot and of its predecessors of 1881, in which the wildest fury of the mob has invariably vented itself, as we have seen, on those Jews who work hard as mechanics or laborers, and live "just on the border of starvation." To be sure, M. von Plehve's report makes no mention of the fact that, while many of those who are known to have been among the wholesale murderers of the massacre are going about at large, some twenty young men and women who were arrested in Kishineff about the time of the outbreak for reading revolutionary publications, are about to be sent to Siberia. Nor, indeed, is there anything said in the report as to the fact that during the same three days when the Kishineff troops allowed Jews to be slaughtered and literally torn to pieces, the troops in several other cities were held in readiness with strict orders to disperse May processions at the muzzle of the rifle or by the lash of the lead-tipped Cossack whip. As a consequence of these orders, according to the latest reports of the revolutionary press, bloody conflicts took place during the May demonstrations in several cities on the Caucasus, fifty paraders having been severely wounded and several Cossacks killed in Baku alone.

Russia seems to be on the eve of important events, and the danger of the present situation does not lie "in a society made up of a handful of people," as M. von Plehve assured the correspondent of the Paris newspaper, but in a state of things under which, to borrow a phrase from an "underground" Russian leaflet, "Cossack whips are snapping and unsheathed sabres are gleaming at every turn"; in a state of things under which the white terror of the knout, the prison cell and the gallows gives birth to the red terror of the pistol and the dynamite bomb. It is one of those situations, in fact, to which apply the words of Emerson: "Of no use are the men who study to do exactly as was done before, who can never understand that to-day is a new day."

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