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**JEWISH POGROMS IN THE SOUTH OF UKRAINE
IN THE FIRST RUSSIAN REVOLUTION**

Abstract. *The article discusses the problems of anti-Jewish pogroms in the First Russian Revolution. On the basis of causality, the author tries to explore the specifics of formation of stereotypical attitudes towards the Jewish community in the south of Ukraine. The focus is on the support of local government anti-Jewish sentiment in society. Active anti-Jewish propaganda during the revolution has formed of people's minds the image of a Jewish revolutionary, whose role in the revolutionary events significantly exceeded. The author argues that regardless propaganda; there were facts of support of the Jews, provision of material assistance, objective judicial investigation and compensation for damages caused to the Jews as a result of mass riots. In addition, the author observes that the Jewish community in the south of Ukraine sought an understanding with the authorities, trying not to go beyond the legal framework. The Jews rallied around their regional leaders.*

The article presents sociological data of the Russian sociologist and publicist S. Yuzhakova, who studied issues of Jewish crafts in the south of Ukraine and memories by Kherson's Jew Solomon Chudnovsky, who tried to understand the causes of hatred for Jews in Russia, even in the nineteenth century.

The author notes that the Jews were dissatisfied with their own social position in the Russian empire, in particular the lack of educational and political rights. The lack of these rights was one of the reasons for the political activity of the Jewish population in the south of Ukraine at the beginning of the XX century.

The author stresses that the monarchist regime in Russia, instead of constructive dialogue with the Jewish community, tried to solve this issue through a covert forcible confrontation – Jewish pogroms. The theme of Jewish pogroms in Russian society was so relevant that it was reflected in the cultural life of Russia and the world. The author draws attention to the excitement in the Jewish community of New York from the play "The Jews", which was shown in the United States at the beginning of the 20th century. Actors have demonstrated horrors of Jewish pogroms in against the backdrop of persistent disputes between the Zionists and the Socialists.

The author emphasizes that the attitude towards the Jewish people in the South of Ukraine was formed in the vector of official state policy of the Russian Empire, in addition, propaganda based on violence and hostility became part of the historical memory of the Russian Empire. Sometimes tsarist propaganda was united people against internal and external enemies, put forward absurd abstracts, for example of the Jewish origin of the Japanese.

It is important to note that during the years of the First Russian Revolution, a Jewish community in southern Ukraine, in particular in Simferopol, tried to perpetuate the memory of the victims of Jewish pogroms.

Keywords: *The first Russian revolution, the South of Ukraine, the police, the Jews, propaganda.*

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ЄВРЕЙСЬКІ ПОГРОМИ НА ПІВДНІ УКРАЇНИ У РОКИ ПЕРШОЇ РОСІЙСЬКОЇ РЕВОЛЮЦІЇ

***Анотація.** В статті розглядається проблематика єврейських погромів у роки Першої російської революції. На основі причинно-наслідкових зв'язків автор намагається дослідити специфіку формування стереотипного відношення до єврейської громади Півдня України. Основна увага приділяється підтримці місцевими органами самоуправління антиєврейських настроїв у суспільстві. У статті представлені соціологічні дані російського соціолога та публіциста С.М. Южакова, який вивчав питання розвитку єврейських ремесел на півдні України та викладені спогади херсонського єврея Соломона Чудновського, який намагався зрозуміти причини ненависті до євреїв в Росії ще в ХІХ столітті. Окрім прикладів державної насильницької пропаганди автор наводить факти підтримки євреїв владою, матеріальної допомоги, об'єктивного судового розслідування та відшкодування збитків, завданих євреям внаслідок масових заворушень на Півдні України.*

***Ключові слова:** Перша російська революція, Південь України, поліція, євреї, пропаганда.*

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ЄВРЕЙСЬКІ ПОГРОМИ НА ЮГЕ УКРАЇНИ В ГОДИ ПЕРВОЇ РУССКОЇ РЕВОЛЮЦІЇ

***Аннотация.** В статье рассматривается проблематика еврейских погромов в годы Первой русской революции. На основе причинно-следственных связей автор пытается исследовать специфику формирования стереотипного отношения к еврейской общине Южной Украины. Основное внимание уделяется поддержке местными органами самоуправления антиеврейских настроений в обществе. В статье представлены социологические данные российского социолога и публициста С.М. Южакова, который изучал вопросы развития еврейских ремесел на юге Украины и изложены мемуары херсонского еврея Соломона Чудновского, который пытался понять причины ненависти к евреям в России еще в ХІХ столетии. Кроме примеров государственной насильственной пропаганды автор приводит факты поддержки евреев властью, материальной помощи, объективного судебного расследования и возмещения убытков, причиненных евреям в результате массовых уличных беспорядков.*

***Ключевые слова:** Первая русская революция, Юг Украины, полиция, евреи, пропаганда.*

“Jewish question” in the Russian Empire in the XIX – early XX century was important for society and government. Providing Jews equal rights with other ethnic communities was lively discussed on the pages of Jewish periodicals. For Russian monarchic forces the reform of social legislative framework regarding the Jews of the Russian empire also led to ongoing debate. If representatives of the liberal community advocated for changes in government policy regarding the Jews, then much of the nobility was against it.

The Jewish community of southern Ukraine sought a compromise with the government, trying not to go beyond the legal field. Jews were united around their regional leaders, merchants, cultural and religious institutions, trying to resist internal pressure in a society that is always amplified in times of massive popular unrest or a failed foreign policy of the Russian Empire.

To explain the political failures, the government of the Russian Empire and “patriotic” nobility tried to find “internal enemies” in the ranks of the ethnic community representatives, of which most were discontent with the own position in the state and Jewish community.

Among the modern Ukrainian researchers of Jewish question, should be allocated S. Ye. Kal'yana, who studied political activities of the Jewish community in the Ukrainian lands.

O.T. Bezarov studied the policy of the Russian government of the late nineteenth century in relation to Jews. V.V. Honcharov researched the situation of the Jewish population of the South Eastern region of Ukraine in late XIX – early XX century. In the same direction was work by V.V. Shhukin, but only in relation to Jews in the Kherson province in the latter part XIX – early XX century. Socio-economic aspect of the Jewish community of Kherson and Ekaterinoslav province late nineteenth century was researched by V.O. Yashyn. Jewish social movement of the same period was studied by V.O. Dotsenko.

Among modern Russian historians K.S. Norkina should be allocated, who studied public policy of the late XIX – early XX century in respect to the Jewish question throughout the empire. Jewish printing the same period was studied by D.A. El'yashkyevy'ch. I.V. Bobrov wrote about the ideological justification of the Jewish community rights to self-determination in terms of Marxist ideology.

Jewish pogroms in southern Ukraine have their own specificity, which is primarily linked to the powerful support of government thugs on the ground. Especially important information about any of the events, the authorities tried to carefully hide from public opinion, in order to maintain a fully functioning repressive apparatus in the southern provinces of the empire. However, sometimes, the monarchical regime still had to compromise with society when violence became known to the local community. To save their image tsarist government was reluctant to personnel changes, which generally did not affect the real rethinking events or qualitative reforms in the police. The attitude of local authorities to the Jewish population of Southern of Ukraine is a key issue throughout the article.

Before we investigate pogroms, we should contact to sociological research of the nineteenth century, revealing the location of the Jews among the nations of the Russian Empire in southern of Ukraine. Russian sociologist and writer S.M. Yuzhakov in his “Collection of materials about the economic situation of the Jews in Russia” of 1904 divided the Jews by various criteria in order to create a coherent picture of the Jewish community of Russian Empire and southern Ukraine. He identified the main occupation of Southern Jews in percentage terms. According to his research, the largest number of Jews engaged in trade (34%). However, he combined but traders into one group with liberal professors, and rentiers servants, thus affirming the unity of interests and relative proximity among members of these Jewish professions in the early twentieth century. The second group included Jewish craftsmen (33.1%), the third – the unemployed (18.8%), the fourth – laborers (10%), then – factory workers (2.1%), and – farmers (2%) (DAKO: f. 304, des. 1, c. 310: 1-2).

Through his distribution we can determine the social base and the number of members of the Jewish revolutionaries; the core of which were factory workers.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the Russian Empire tried to use the Jewish population of Southern Ukraine to work on the ground, creating a Jewish agricultural colony (DAKO: f. 304, des. 1, c. 310, sh.4). However, the experiment did not go well, given the characteristics of the Jewish mentality. The quality work on the earth depended on handicraft products. The handicraft was easier than working the land and it received way more profit. Many of the Jews quickly realized this and created goals of a craftsmen dynasty. Besides this there was a need for a mediation of cooperation between artisans and farmers. Trade that arose between them brought more income than agricultural work or handicraft. This link gave rise to a free trade in Southern Ukraine and caused the emergence of “a Jewish merchant,” along with a bunch of myths about his greed.

Thus, one could argue that one reason for creating the image of the “greedy Jew” in the southern of Ukraine was an experimental agricultural policy of the Russian government in the mid-

nineteenth century. The capital accumulated by Jewish merchants, was partially invested in production development of Southern Ukraine. Despite the fact that companies with Jewish capital lagged behind in terms of modernization of enterprises, there were more Jewish owned factories than other internationally owned factories (DAKO: f. 304, des. 1, c. 310: 7). Economic activity of Jews contributed to the birth of a political consciousness whose main purpose was to protect its own capital, which achievement was impossible without reforming the social and political life and liberalization of society – equality among others, the right to education, the abolition of restrictive laws, etc...

However, the political reality in the nineteenth century did not decide the needs of the Jewish community, whose rights were significantly limited in all areas of society. Official orthodox ideology was categorical in relation to Judaism. Wealthy Jews had no right to force workers to work on the Orthodox Christian holiday; it was formally enshrined in the Collection of Laws Empire (DAKO: f. 304, des. 1, c. 276: 6).

Quality education for Jews in the nineteenth - early twentieth century was not available. Back in 1854 Governor-General Bessarabskiy M.S. Vorontsov wrote to M.S. Ilyinskiy (military governor of Kherson province) about the need for immediate closure of Jewish schools, as was done in Vitebsk province. For parents who continue to give their children to Jewish schools, waiting for severe punishment – the government recorded Jewish children into cantonists (young soldiers) (DAKHO: f. 1, des. 1, c. 276: 1).

Graduates from Jewish religious schools were not allowed to the exam, regardless of their academic excellence (DAMO: f. 169, des. 1, c. 32: 8a). The Council of Ministers of the Russian Empire had limited acceptance of Jews to higher education by ethnic grounds (10% of applicants) (Sovet Ministrov Rossiyskoy imperii, 1990: 196-199). Ministry of Internal Affairs had proposed limit the activities of the Jewish community in education and to establish full control over the election of committee members and official meetings (Khersonskiye gubernskiye vedomosti, 1905: 1).

That is why, during the First Russian Revolution of 1905-1907., The Jewish community of Southern Ukraine was forced to fight for their personal and cultural rights. In October 1905 in the pages of an illegal wish newspaper “Labor Zionist,” this came out in Simferopol, slogans heard calls about educational rights of Jews. Simferopol, Jewish community demanded that the government repeal all restrictive laws and permission to establish their own educational institutions from purely Jewish subjects: history, language and religion (DAOO: f. 745, des. 1, c. 1: 26).

However, the authorities instead of constructive dialogue with the Jewish community tried to resolve the issue through a hidden violent confrontation – Jewish pogroms. It should be noted that the pogroms for South Ukraine, since the nineteenth century, were commonplace. There are accounts from the memoirs of Kherson S.L.Chudnovskiy, worst of which took place in 1871 in Odessa. He personally witnessed the support of government thugs. He asked an older woman who was to burning a Jewish trade shops “Why?” The woman replied that the pogrom of Jewish population happens with permission from local authorities (Chudnovskyy, 1907: 233-234).

Equally brutal pogroms occurred during the First Russian Revolution of 1905-1907. The brutal beating of Jews in June 1905 in Odessa was only a “rehearsal” of power to the powerful pogrom in October. According to the official report of police department of Odessa to Odessa Mayor, October 16, in Odessa was killed 5 people and wounded – 41 (DAOO: f. 2, des. 13, c. 4: 23). Another document addressed to the police department of Odessa, called “Note” testified that during the four days from 18 to 21 October 1905, as a result of pogroms, were 460 people killed of different nationalities and wounded approximately – one thousand. Ten people did not return home and their location was unknown to the police. The Jewish property looted was more than 3 million rub. In addition, as a result of unexpected Jewish resistance 13 policemen were injured and one killed (DAOO: f. 745, des. 1, c. 1: 114).

Apart from Odessa, in October 1905 pogroms occurred in all major cities in Southern Ukraine. During the proceedings on affair about local Jewish pogrom in the Yekaterynoslav, witnesses unanimously stated that the police supported the rioters. Among local residents, they actively spread rumors about the “horrors” that committed by the Jewish community, like how they crucified on the cross Orthodox nuns or shot a firearms in the direction of Orthodox churches and even removed the portrait of the emperor in the meeting room of the City Council of Katerynoslav (Novosti Odessa, 1907: 4).

In Odessa, in the written testimonies of judges, Jews were beaten in the police station, and police did not hesitate to apply violence against children. Judge M. Tymofeyev wrote that Jews were thrown down stairs to the basement of the police station and beaten there. Judge Suvorov mentioned that among the detainees were Jewish child 9 years of age, whom police refused basic needs, including not even allowing even drinking water (DAOO: f. 2, des. 11, c. 108: 3). Judge Zhera confirmed in a protocol that among the people arrested were 27 children, whose age did not exceed 14 years. Many detainees had bloody wounds (DAOO: f. 745, des. 1, c. 1: 5).

According to the findings of Senator Kuz'myns'ky, who came from St. Petersburg to Odessa, the local government and police were not opposed to the massacre, but rather strongly supported it, spreading their influence and military units that were on a business trip to Odessa in order to stabilize the internal situation (DAOO: f. 2, des. 13, c. 5: 3).

Additionally during pogroms occurred repeatedly cases of cruelty on sexual grounds. The Jewish young girls and older women were rape, sometimes by a group of persons and not only in homes but also in the streets, too. In addition, such violence did not only end in only humiliation; often pregnant women were killed, and their live fetus was removed and replaced with garbage (Zhbakov, 1909: 63).

Given the horrors of pogroms in Odessa and other cities of Southern Ukraine, often against the police criminal cases arose. Not only for negligence, but also for direct participation, organization and cooperation with active participants of pogroms (DAOO: f. 2, des. 13, c. 5: 18). However, local authorities repeatedly defended the police officials, and were sending in official request to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Empire, in which the main arguments were commitment and professionalism (DAOO: f. 2, des. 13, c. 5: 34-35).

Besides police, soldiers were an active part in Jewish pogroms, as evidenced by an official inquiry investigation, by the Elisavetgrad Circuit Court, of the military chief of Alexanderivsk county, where the investigator tried to find out the true identity of individuals of military service (DAKO: f. 630, des. 1, c. 13: 214).

In Simferopol, in 1905 the Jewish community in honor of the victims of the Jewish pogrom on October 18, 1905, decided to establish a monument. The list of victims was published in the newspaper “Labor Zionist.” In addition, it was decided to establish a national Jewish Fund and a memory book of Jews killed (DAOO: f. 745, des. 1, c. 1: 34-35).

In Nikolayev, in 1906, in order to raise awareness against Jewish pogroms ads were published and distributed on the streets (DAMO: f. 229, des. 4, c. 158: 9). Some even indicated the exact date of the mass beatings of Jews (DAMO: f. 229, des. 4, c. 158: 6). Jews in 1905 began to form self-defense units – the Jewish Militia, whose main objective was protection from the police. These groups consisted of young each and were armed with guns and revolvers (DAMO: f. 231, des. 1, c. 2030: 7). A local authority was worried about the internal atmosphere of the city and allocated additional police, explaining his decision by “increased popular hostility” from the Jewish population (DAMO: f. 479, des. 1, c. 290: 30).

In Melitopol, in October 22 1905, local authorities, the Mayor Mr. Chernikov, the head of the rural council, Mr. Rykov, and the head of the county gendarmerie, Mr. Bezrukov, published a formal appeal, to the Orthodox Christians, of caution about the Jewish pogroms in the city, fearing riots (DAZO: f. 24, des. 1, c. 231: 93).

In Yekaterinoslav, July 1905, local Gendarmerie reported to governor of Yekaterinoslav's O.B.Neydhart about searches in the Jewish synagogues (DADO: f. 11, des. 1, c. 450: 108).

In Alexanderivsk of Ekaterinoslav province March 2, 1906 at two o'clock police broke into Jewish shops and without warning began to beat the Jews. Without any explanation, the police arrested 24 persons of Jewish origin including, and the engineer Hibshmana. After the brutal beating, he was taken to the police station unconscious on a stretcher (DADO: f. 11, des. 1, c. 455: 278).

The local Jewish community Yelisavetgrad, 9 March 1907, addressed an open letter to the Minister of Interior, P.A.Stolypina, requesting to protect them from the constant threats and violence by members of the "Union of the Russian People" (Russkaya pravda, 1907: 1).

Kherson governor M.M.Malaye, given the atmosphere of anti-Jewish violence in southern Ukraine, was one of the few officials of the Russian Empire who openly defended the Jewish community, urging the society towards peace. He claimed that the Jews were the most disadvantaged people of all other nations of the Russian empire and that we need not be afraid of the Jews, and given our own cruelty, we need only to fear ourselves (Walling, 1910: 62-63).

Rumors of violent Jewish pogroms in the Russian Empire during the First Russian Revolution quickly spread to the Jewish community of European countries. Even in the US in the early twentieth century which was banned in Russia, the play "The Jews" as popular which, against the backdrop of continuing disputes between Zionists and socialists, highlighted the problems of Jewish pogroms (Shub, 1970: 195-196).

Anti-Jewish attitudes in society were not abated even after the revolution of 1905-1907. There are cases when members of the "Union of the Russian People" in 1908 demanded the removal of the Jews from the City Council Nikolayev, referring to article 24 "City Statute", approved July 11, 1892, according to which Jews were not allowed to hold public office (DAMO: f. 216, des. 1, c. 1467: 301-2). The secretariat of City Council, in an official response, answered that local authorities are not accountable to any public organizations and that the two Jews - Kaplan and Kleyv who carried the executive service for over 10 years in the Council, showed themselves as responsible employees with excellent officer characteristic and even one of them - Mr. Kaplan, was presented to the state awards in connection with 25 years of service for the community of Nikolaev (DAMO: f. 216, des. 1, c. 1467: 5-8).

Thus, despite the strong anti-Jewish propaganda and the atmosphere in society, sometimes, local government helped the Jewish community in difficult times. Known fact, Elisavetgrad City Council in December 1905 allocated 15 thousand rubles to local Jews for caused Jewish pogroms (DAKO: f. 78, des. 1, c. 64: 26). The same council funded the treatment of poor Jews in the city hospital in January 1909 (DAKO: f. 18, des. 1, c. 574: 17). However, such cases were abnormal and likely an exception to rule.

Active anti-Jewish propaganda in the First Russian Revolution contributed to the formation in peoples, minds the image of a Jewish revolutionary, whose role was considerably exaggerated. Stereotypes contributed to the birth of folk humor regarding Jews. Thus, in the pages the satirical magazine "Vampire", known during the revolution in 1906, was published revolutionary humorous news: ". The castle of Warsaw. Eleven anarchists were shot. Of these, fifteen Jews" (Budnitsky, 1999: 4).

Slowly but surely, this relationship towards the Jewish people in the Southern Ukraine formulated in the vector of the official state policy of the Russian Empire. It is known that the Emperor Nicholay II, under the influence of prophecy monk Abel related with caution, toward the Jews. The image of the aggressive behavior of the Jewish revolutionary had to explain the nature of the first Russian revolution as purely Jewish, or provoked by Jewish people. The monarchists propaganda often reached the point of absurdity in the process of formation "internal enemy." After the defeat of the Russian army in the Far Eastern front, on the pages of the provincial press appeared a pseudo article about the Jewish roots of Japanese people (Khersonskiye gubernskiye vedomosti, 1905: 4). Black Hundreds, for his part, fanned rumors of human sacrifice in the traditional Jewish religion-called "case Bayliss."

It should be noted that the propaganda, founded on hatred and violence, has become part of the historical memory of the society of Russian Empire. Particularly its impact was felt in the conservative and aristocratic environment and among contemporary lumpen patriotic direction. Even after 1917 with the change of the political regime, governmental anti-Jewish propaganda disappeared from the political interests of the Bolsheviks, like other phenomena in society related to the tsarist government. Thus, the stereotype has remained in the national consciousness, partly having lost the memory of its own origin.

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