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978-0-521-13005-9 - Class Struggle in the Pale: The Formative Years of the Jewish Workers' Movement in Tsarist Russia

Ezra Mendelsohn

Excerpt

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CHAPTER 1

The Jewish Proletariat

If the Russian people suffer more than other peoples, if the Russian proletariat is more exploited than any other proletariat, there exists yet another class of workers who are still more oppressed, exploited, and ill-treated than all the others; this pariah among pariahs is the Jewish proletariat in Russia.

KARL KAUTSKY, 1901

The last third of the eighteenth century witnessed the collapse of the Polish Commonwealth as its territory and population were absorbed by Austria, Prussia, and Russia. If the dismemberment of Poland was bound to affect European history, it had no less of an impact on Jewish history, certainly on that of East European Jewry. For, ironically, the acquisition of Polish territory resulted in what Russia had long attempted to prevent: a mass influx of Jews into the Russian Empire. To be sure, there were Jews in Russia before the Polish partitions. During the Kievan period they had constituted a not unimportant community. But the seventeenth and eighteenth century rulers were hostile to the idea of Jewish settlement, Empress Elizabeth going so far as to order a general expulsion of the Jews in 1742. Consequently there were relatively few Jews in Russia until after the first partition of Poland in 1772. Thus the collapse of Poland marks the beginning of modern Russian Jewish history.¹

In Western Europe, traditionally, Jews were a highly urbanized element which specialized in trade. In Eastern Europe the situation was more complex. The Polish Jews absorbed into the Russian Empire lived in cities, small towns, and villages, and their economic activities were accordingly more varied. In urban areas they were engaged not only in trade but also in craft production; in the countryside they administered the estates of the 'szlachta'

¹ Salo W. Baron, *The Russian Jew under Tsars and Soviets* (New York, 1964), Chapter 1, Iulii Gessen, *Istoriia evreiskogo naroda v Rossii* (Petrograd, 1916), I, Chapters 1–3.

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(the Polish nobility), and in general played an important but unenviable role as the economic link between landlord and peasant.¹ An English traveler in Eastern Europe in the early nineteenth century noted that 'The entire petty trade in Poland and Lithuania is controlled by Jews...', while an eminent historian of Lithuanian Jewry wrote that in 1792 'All the trade and industry of Lithuania was controlled by this population'.² The Jewish practice of leasing a landowner's property and administering it was so widespread that in the southwest provinces the census confused the concept of leaseholder ('arendator') with that of Jew and instead of describing a village as having no Jews, stated: '...in the village there is no leaseholder'.³ The sale of liquor in rural areas was an especially important Jewish profession: in the villages of Zhitomir Province 73.7 per cent of the Jews earned a living by leasing distilleries and selling the product at inns.⁴

During the nineteenth century the demographic and economic situation changed considerably. Thousands of Jews left the Empire in search of better opportunities elsewhere in Europe or in the New World. Others migrated to the economically promising regions of 'New Russia', where new centers of Jewish life emerged in such cities as Odessa and Ekaterinoslav. More important, for our purposes, was the urbanization of Jewish life

¹ Jacob Leschinsky, 'Di antviklung fun idishen folk far di letste 100 yor', in Jacob Leschinsky (ed.), *Shriftn far ekonomik un statistik* (Berlin, 1928), I, 55. On the early economic activities of Russian Jewry see also Y. Yakhinson, *Sotsial-ekonomisher shtayger ba yidn in rusland in XIX y"n* (Kharkov, 1929), I; Israel Sosis, *Di sotsial-ekonomishe lage fun di ruslendishe yuden in der ershter helft fun 19-ten yorhundert* (Petrograd, 1919), 3. More precise data on specific areas is available in Kh. Korobkov, 'Perepis' evreiskago nase-leniiia vitebskoi gubernii v 1772 g', *Evreiskaia starina*, v, No. 2 (April-June 1912), 176-7; 'Die Berufsgliederung der Juden im Kreise Zhitomir im Jahre 1789', in S. B. Weinryb, *Neueste Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Juden in Russland und Polen* (Breslau, 1934), 219.

² The quotations are from Robert Johnston, *Travels through parts of the Russian empire and the country of Poland* (London, 1815), 436; S. A. Bershadsii, *Litovskie evrei* (St Petersburg, 1883), 3.

³ See I. Kamanin, 'Statisticheskiia dannia o evreiax v iugo-zapadnome krae vo vtoroi polovine proshlago veka (1765-91 gg.)' *Arkhiv iugo-zapadnoi Rossii*, Part v, Vol. II (1890), 63.

⁴ See the appendix to Weinryb, *Neueste Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 221-2; and for general information, A. Margolis, *Geshikhte fun yidn in rusland* (Moscow-Kharkov-Minsk, 1930), 6 ff.; Korobkov, 'Ekonomicheskaiia rol' evreev v Pol'she v kontse XVIII v.', *Evreiskaia starina*, III, No. 3 (July-September 1910), 377.

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in the traditional areas of Jewish settlement. This was partly the work of government intervention. Alleging that the Jews were a major cause of poverty and discontent among the peasants, the Russian authorities made various attempts to force the Jews out of the villages by prohibiting their employment as administrators of estates and as liquor salesmen. The 1804 'Statute Concerning the Jews', the first comprehensive law on the Jews enacted in Russia, stipulated that they were to leave the countryside within three years. While the expulsion proved impossible to enforce, a legislative precedent had been established; other expulsions followed. For example in the 1820s the Jews were expelled from the villages of Mogilev, Vitebsk, and Grodno provinces.¹ Moreover, the government took steps to remove Jews to a 50-verst (roughly 35 miles) radius from the western frontier in order to halt smuggling operations.² In 1845 the war against the village Jews was resumed with a decree forbidding them to manufacture or sell liquor in rural areas.³ This policy culminated in the 'May Laws' of 1882, which prohibited Jewish resettlement in rural areas.⁴

Jews ousted from rural areas were not allowed to migrate to the cities of the Russian interior, but were rather obliged to remain within the 'Pale of Settlement', a special area first clearly defined in 1835. Roughly speaking, the Pale included the regions of 'New Russia', the Ukraine, Belorussia-Lithuania, Polish territories added to the Empire after the Napoleonic wars, and some areas in the Baltic Provinces. Hence, the extremely limited mobility of the Jews within Russia contributed to their growing concentration in those cities where Jewish residence was permitted.⁵

¹ V. O. Levanda (ed.), *Polnyi khronologicheskii sbornik zakonov o polozhenii kasaiushchikhia evreev* (St Petersburg, 1874), 119–20, 216–17; the effects of this expulsion are described in Yakhinson, *Sotsial-ekonomisher shtayger*, 30. For early charges to the effect that Jews were responsible for peasant poverty, see Iulii Gessen, *Evrei v Rossii* (St Petersburg, 1906), 21, 37, 109. The text of the 'Statute' is published in Levanda (ed.), *Polnyi khronologicheskii sbornik zakonov*, 54–60. On the history of the first expulsion see Gessen, *Evrei v Rossii*, 315 ff.

² See M. I. Mysh, *Rukovodstvo k russkim zakonom o evreiaikh* (St Petersburg, 1904), 94 ff.

³ Levanda (ed.), *Polnyi khronologicheskii sbornik zakonov*, 621.

⁴ For the 'May Laws' see Mysh, *Rukovodstvo k russkim zakonom*, 109 ff.

⁵ On the emergence of a clearly-defined 'Pale of Settlement', see 'Zhitel' stvo i peredvizhenie evreev po russkomu zakonodatel' stvu', *Evreiskaia entsiklopediia* (St Petersburg, 1906–13), VII, 590–4.

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If urbanization was a function of governmental intervention, it was also a function of the general economic decline of Jewish life in the villages. Dependent upon the landowners for employment, Jews were severely hurt when the emancipation of the serfs brought increasing impoverishment to the gentry. The village Jew could welcome neither the emancipation nor the gradual economic development of the countryside that came with railroad construction, for both tended to undermine his security as a middleman. The crisis generated by their loss of the 'old sources of livelihood' compelled many rural Jews to seek employment in the cities.¹

Statistical evidence confirms the marked process of urbanization that occurred in Russian Jewish life. In Vitebsk Province, for example, the number of urbanized Jews in 1772 was 2,997, as compared with 9,812 Christians; by 1815 the population figures for the two groups were 17,856 and 17,336 respectively.² The following table illustrates the growth of the Jewish urban communities in several major cities of Belorussia-Lithuania:³

City	Year	Jewish pop.	Year	Jewish pop.	Year	Jewish pop.
Minsk	1802	2,716	1847	12,976	1897	47,562
Kovno	1797	1,508	1847	2,013	1897	25,448
Brest-Litovsk	1766	3,157	1847	8,136	1897	30,608
Dvinsk	1805	749	1847	2,918	1897	32,400
Pinsk	1801	1,600	1847	5,050	1897	21,065
Grodno	1816	8,422	1859	10,300	1897	22,684
Gomel	—	—	1864	9,730	1897	20,385

By 1897 the percentage of Jews in twelve major cities of the region was as follows:⁴

¹ See Kotik, as quoted in Yakhinson, *Sotsial-ekonomisher shtayger*, 174; Weinryb, *Neueste Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 60; Margolis, *Geshikhte*, 23 ff. I. G. Orshanskii, *Evrei v Rossii, Ocherki i izsledovaniia* (St Petersburg, 1872), 13, remarks that 'general economic progress of Russian life was harmful to the Jewish population'.

² Korobkov, 'Perepis', 177.

³ From Leschinsky, *Dos idishe folk in tsifern* (Berlin, 1922), 74-5.

⁴ From data in *Evreiskoe naselenie Rossii po dannym perepisi 1897 g. i po noveishim isotochnikam* (Petrograd, 1917).

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City	Jewish pop. (%)	City	Jewish pop. (%)
Minsk	52	Gomel	55
Kovno	36	Bialystok	63
Brest-Litovsk	65	Bobruisk	60
Dvinsk	44	Mogilev	50
Grodno	48	Vitebsk	52
Pinsk	74	Vilna	41

By the end of the century Jews comprised 52 per cent of the entire urban population of Belorussia-Lithuania. The Russian element composed the second largest urban group (18.2%) and the balance was made up of Poles, Belorussians, and Lithuanians.¹ Among the many nationalities in that region, then, the Jews were the dominant urban group. In a sense, the cities were their 'territory'.

Those Jews who flocked to the cities found a limited choice of occupation open to them. As one Russian observer noted, they gathered in the urban areas to engage 'in trade and crafts'.² Those who chose to become artisans were continuing an old, established Polish Jewish profession. As early as 1389 Grand Duke Vitovt (Witold) of Lithuania granted a 'Privilege' to the Jews of Grodno expressly permitting them to engage in craft work. By the fifteenth century there were Jewish glass-makers, furriers, painters, leadsmiths, and goldsmiths, while a comprehensive list of jobs performed by Polish Jewish artisans in the eighteenth century numbers over sixty crafts.³

¹ Leschinsky, *Dos idishe folk*, 60. See also 'Naselenie', *Evreiskaia entsiklopediia*, xi, 538-39. The figures given in *Sbornik materialov ob ekonomicheskom polozenii evreev v Rossii* (St Petersburg, 1904), I, xxiv, show an even higher Jewish urban population in Belorussia-Lithuania.

² Margolis, *Geshikhte*, 38 and also 45, 236.

³ The 'Privilege' is published in Bershadskii (ed.), *Russko-evreiskii arkhiv, dokumenty i materialy dlia istorii evreev v Rossii* (St Petersburg, 1882), I, 26-8. Originally, Jewish craftsmen produced mainly for the Jewish market, but according to one authority they were already concentrating on the peasant market in the fourteenth century; see B. Mark, 'Rzemieślnicy żydowscy w Polsce feudalnej', *Biuletyn żydowskiego instytutu historycznego*, Nos. 13-14 (January-June 1954), 16. See also R. Notik, 'Tsu der geshikhte fun hantverk bay litvishe yidn', *YIVO bleter*, IX, No. 1-2 (January-March 1936), 116. On the eve of the Polish partitions 30-33 per cent of the urban Jewish population in Crown Poland engaged in craft production. See Raphael

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During the early years of Russian rule Jews constituted some 50 per cent of the artisan class in the cities of Minsk Province, a representative area in Belorussia–Lithuania.¹ By the end of the century urbanization had so increased the number of Jewish craftsmen that two-thirds to three-fourths of the entire artisan class within the Pale of Settlement (excluding Poland) was Jewish.² This Jewish dominance of craft production is extremely important, but no less important is the fact that, within the Jewish proletariat itself, the vast majority of workers were artisans. Thus in Belorussia–Lithuania 90 per cent of the 200,000 Jewish workers were craftsmen.³ The Jewish proletariat of the northwest, then, was overwhelmingly a proletariat of artisans.

The Russian Jewish artisan of the late nineteenth century resembled in many ways the Jewish artisans of the old Polish Commonwealth. As had always been the case, Jewish craftsmen concentrated on the preparation of clothing (over 25 per cent were tailors).⁴ And, also traditionally, the Jewish artisan shop was a tiny establishment. The majority of Jewish artisans in Belorussia–

Mahler, *Yidn in amoliken poylen in likht fun tsifern* (Warsaw, 1958), 98, 169. Higher estimates (for all of Polish Jewry) are given by Mark Wischnitzer, *Yidishe bal melokhe tsekhn in poylen un lite* (Berlin, 1922), 26, and Mark, 'Rzemieślnicy żydowscy', 88. For a convenient survey of Jewish crafts in Poland, see Wischnitzer, *A History of Jewish Crafts and Guilds* (New York, 1965), Chapters 19–21.

¹ Leschinsky (ed.), *Shriftn far ekonomik un statistik*, 58.

² *Sbornik*, I, 190–2. The figures refer to the year 1898. To cite several specific examples, an official report from the city of Minsk in 1877 (Margolis, *Geshikhte*, 258) noted that all the artisans of the city were Jews, while A. P. Subbotin, *V cherte evreiskoi oseedlosti* (St Petersburg, 1888), Part I, 127, notes that in the 1870s 73 per cent of all artisans in Kovno Province were Jews. The preponderance of Jews in the artisan class of the small towns was especially marked. In Vileika, for example, a town of 2,225 inhabitants in Vilna Province, twenty of the twenty-two artisans were Jews; see *Ekonomicheskoe sostoianie gorodskikh poselenii Evropeiskoi Rossii v 1861–62 g.* (St Petersburg, 1863), Part I: 'Vilenskaia Guberniia', 9.

³ *Sbornik*, I, 194; II, 215. Avraham Menes, 'Vegen der industrie-bafelkerung ba idn in rusland, 1897', in Leschinsky (ed.), *Shriftn*, 255–6, claims these figures are too low but he does not himself provide any estimates for Belorussia–Lithuania.

⁴ Shoemakers made up the second major group (14.4%), followed by carpenters (6%), bakers (4.6%), and butchers (4.4%). See the list in *Sbornik*, I, 197. The percentage of tailors among eighteenth century Jewish artisans in Poland was even higher (see Mahler, *Yidn in poylen*, 115 ff.). The preponderance of Jewish tailors can be explained in part by the fact that Jews were forbidden to wear clothing made of more than one fabric (according to the religious ordinance known as *shu'atnez*), and, in order to ensure this, had recourse to their own artisans. Religious custom also accounts for the large number of Jews engaged in the preparation of foodstuffs, which had to be prepared in a ritually acceptable fashion.

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Lithuania were self-employed, and those who did not work alone or with the help of their families seldom hired more than a few assistants (journeymen or apprentices). The average artisan's establishment (in Belorussia) consisted of two people, a master and a journeyman or apprentice.¹ This held true even for a major urban center like Minsk where it was uncommon for a master to hire more than one journeyman. Similarly in Gomel, another important city, 800 artisans were distributed among numerous shops of two to three men each.²

In many of the shops the relationship between masters, journeymen, and apprentices had scarcely changed since medieval times. The latter were used chiefly as servants, and had little opportunity to learn their trade properly.³ On the other hand, the journeyman and master maintained their solidarity, as they had centuries before, through membership in the craft guild, known in Hebrew (and Yiddish) as the 'hevrah ba'alay melakhah' ('artisans' association'). Jewish guilds had emerged in sixteenth and seventeenth century Poland when competition from Christian artisans necessitated that the Jews form societies of their own, modeled on those of their rivals, to protect their common interests. The societies aimed to ensure a decent livelihood for each master, and to satisfy the artisans' social and religious needs.⁴

Interestingly, the Jewish guilds continued to flourish throughout the nineteenth century. Though in a state of decline economically, they nevertheless fulfilled an important cultural need in the daily life of the Jewish artisan. Thus in 1882 a German traveler in Vilna remarked on the existence of over twenty of these

¹ *Sbornik*, I, 255.

² 'K voprosu o polozhenii evreev remeslennikov', *Nedel'naia khronika 'Voskhoda'*, xx, No. 39 (21 June 1901), 13 ff.; 'Gomel'skoe rabochee dvizhenie', in Sh. (S) Agursky (ed.), *Di sotsialistishe literatur of yidish in 1875-97* (Minsk, 1935), 364.

³ See *Sbornik*, I, 210 ff. For accounts of how apprentices were treated see Sholem Levin, 'Di ershte yorn fun der revolutsie', *Royte bleter* (1929), 2; Ezriel Presman, *Der durkhgengener veg* (New York, 1950), 22 ff.

⁴ See, in general, Perla Kramerówna, 'Żydowskie cechy rzemieślnicze w dawnej Polsce', *Miesięcznik Żydowski*, II, No. 7-12 (July-December 1923), 259-98; Mark, 'Rzemieślnicy żydowscy', 36 ff.; Moshe Kremer, 'Le-heker ha-melakhah ve-hevrot ba'alay hamelakhah etsel yehuday polin ba-maot ha-17-ha-18', *Zion*, II, No. 3-4 (July 1937), 294-325; Notik, 'Tsu der geshikhte fun hantverk', 107-18. Several of the guilds' minutes have been published; for a partial bibliography see Isaac Levitats, *The Jewish Community in Russia, 1772-1844* (New York, 1943), 231.

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guilds.¹ The wealthier guilds maintained their own synagogues, where members would congregate to pray and study; others, with more limited means, would raise enough money to purchase a Torah scroll (a hand-written copy of the Pentateuch) which symbolized the guild's independence within the community and the unity of its members. The latter enjoyed the use of the guild's library of religious books and benefited from its sick-fund.²

Jewish socialists were fond of using the term 'paternalistic' to describe the nature of the master-journeyman relationship. Indeed, the journeyman was often regarded as a member of the master's household (a single man, particularly if he was from out of town, often lived with his employer); as such he became the object both of paternal affection and of wrath. Doubtlessly some of the workers were genuinely attached to their 'bread-givers', as they were called, and the Dvinsk artisans who drank to the health of their master and his wife every Saturday may well have been sincere.³ But on the whole employers were inclined to abuse the unlimited power they had over their journeymen and apprentices. A well-informed observer, commenting on the crude treatment dealt these workers, noted that 'there were insults, sometimes blows'.⁴ Numerous instances of such cruelty, often the cause of long and costly strikes, were reported in the socialist press of the period. Indeed, the absence of well-defined obligations on

¹ J. Rülff, *Drei Tage in Jüdisch-Russland* (Frankfort a/M, 1882). The author notes that 'the Jewish Russian craftsman is very religious, and is certainly no layman when it comes to biblical-talmudic knowledge. In order to demonstrate his piety... he founds a guild (Verein) and erects a synagogue (Klaus) where he devotes himself to the service of God and the study of the law' (p. 5). See also Pinkhas Kan, 'Idishe tsekhn in vilne onhayb XIX-tn yorhundert', in Leschinsky (ed.), *Shriftn*, 89 ff. For the existence of numerous guilds in Mogilev at the turn of the century see Sara Rabinowitsch, *Die Organisationen des jüdischen Proletariats in Russland* (Karlsruhe, 1903), 47 ff.

² See the description of the artisans' society in Minsk in Shmuel K. Tsitron, 'Kehilat yisrael be-minsk', *Knesset yisrael* (Warsaw, 1886), I, 738; see also Israel Halperin, 'Hevrot ba'alay melakhah yehudim be-poylin ve-lita', *Zion*, II, No. 1 (October 1936), 70 ff. for a description of a tailors' guild in Bialystok.

³ L. Berman (Leibetsheke, pseud.), *In loif fun yorn, zikhroynes fun a yidishn arbeter* (New York, 1945), 68. For other examples see Levin, 'Diershte yorn'; Frants Kursky, *Gezamlte shriftn* (New York, 1952), 133; *Der bialystoker arbayter*, No. 4 (April 1901), 4; *Tsu ale lodzer arbayter-shuster*, October 1904 (a proclamation of the Jewish Bund). See also the remarks in Boris Frumkin, 'Ocherki iz istorii evreiskago rabochago dvizheniia v Rossi (1885-97 g.)', *Evreiskaia starina*, VI, No. 1 (January-March 1913), 108 ff.

⁴ A. Litvak, pseud. (Helphand), *Vos geven* (Vilna, 1925), 122.

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the part of the artisan master toward his hired hands—those a modern, capitalist system takes for granted—was to become one of the major grievances of the Jewish worker during the period of mass strike activity.

Nonetheless, it should be emphasized that the Jewish journeyman by no means considered himself permanently a wage earner. As he saw it, were he compelled to suffer the insults of his master one day, the next he himself might become an employer, the master of his own shop. For such changes in status were fairly common practice. A report from Vilna notes that the hired artisans 'are themselves future employers... ', while according to another observer an apprentice no sooner learns a bit about his trade than he begins to 'dream of independence, and at the first opportunity... will leave his master and open his own shop or become a journeyman'.¹ It was this tendency of the journeymen to become employers, their failure to recognize the class struggle, that made the early socialist leaders despair. Feliks Kon, the Polish socialist, disparagingly characterized the Jewish artisans as 'journeymen who dream of becoming masters', while S. Gozhanskii, whose role as a pioneer in the Jewish socialist movement in Vilna will be discussed in some detail, was dismayed to learn that in some crafts there was no clear-cut distinction between employers and workers: an artisan might be a worker one summer and an employer the next.² As though to confirm Gozhanskii's apprehensions, some of the workers who had participated in early socialist movements in Minsk later opened their own shops, thus becoming (in the eyes of the socialists) 'exploiters'.³

The tiny shops, the guilds, the constant fluctuations in workers' status, all this harkened back to an earlier era, and was somewhat anachronistic in an age when even Russia was industrializing. Yet changes were taking place. For one thing, the traditional community of interest between master and journeyman was occasion-

¹ Ab. Cahan, 'Bildung un sotsialistishe propaganda bay yidishe bale melokhes in di litvishe shtet', *Historishe shriftn* (Vilna-Paris, 1939), III, 397; *Sbornik*, I, 211.

² Feliks Kon, *Za piat' desiat let* (Moscow, 1936), II, 217; S. Gozhanskii, 'A briv tsu di agitatorn', *Historishe shriftn* III, 633.

³ E. A. Gurvich, 'Evreiskoe rabochee dvizhenie v Minske v 80-kh gg.', in S. Dimanshtein (ed.), *Revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie sredi evreev* (Moscow, 1930), 57.

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ally challenged. In the 1820s, for example, a feud arose in Lodz between the master tailors and their employees, the latter threatening to leave the city unless working conditions improved.¹ In Minsk in 1841 the journeymen tailors broke away from the guild to form their own association, and there is evidence that a similar society of journeymen tailors was established in Bialystok.² More important was the fact that, in some crafts, the number of employees increased considerably. Although the typical shop, as we have seen, consisted of a master and one helper, by the century's end there were many exceptions. Using Minsk as an example once again, in 1901 thirty-one shops employed ten or more workers, the two largest engaging twenty-four men each. Similarly in Vitebsk the average shop hired only a few persons, yet some employed as many as fifteen or twenty men; in Vilna small shops existed side by side with tailors' establishments staffed by as many as thirty or forty men.³

Since employer–staff relationships were more clearly defined in the larger establishments, workers naturally found it more difficult to alter their status. Martov, the future Menshevik leader who was active in Vilna in the 1890s, noted that the tendency to concentrate the majority of crafts in the hands of larger firms was the wave of the future, and that Jewish artisans would become more and more 'proletarianized'. His prognosis was confirmed, at least with regard to the Vilna carpenters, by a study carried out after the 1905 Revolution. The study revealed that the carpenters no longer '... regard themselves as future employers; they have become permanently hired laborers'.⁴ Much the same trends were at work in every major city of Belorussia–Lithuania.

¹ Phillip Friedman, 'A sotsialer konflikt in lodz onhayb 19–tn y'h', *YIVO bleter*, II, No. 1–2 (November–December 1931), 145–9.

² Ia. Brafman, *Kniga kagala* (St Petersburg, 1875), II, 453–6; Halperin, 'Hevrot', 84 ff. See also Rabinowitsch, *Die Organisationen*, 54–5. She notes that 'Even by 1850 a split occurred here [in Mogilev] between the masters and the journeyman [of the women's tailors' guild]'. A similar event in Iaroslav is mentioned in Levitats, *The Jewish Community*, 234.

³ 'K voprosu', 13; A. M. Ginsburg (Naumov, pseud.), 'Nachalnye shagi vitebskago rabochego dvizheniia', in Dimanshtein (ed.), *Revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie*, 101; Elie Raytshuk, 'Fun vaytn over', *Royte bleter*, 1.

⁴ Iulii Martov, *Zapiski sotsialdemokrata* (Berlin, 1922), 187; A. I. Kastelianskii, 'Mebel'noe-stoliarno proizvodstvo v cherte evreiskoi osedlosti', *Stoliarno-mebel'noe proizvodstvo*, Vol. 1 of *Materialy i izsledovaniia o evreiskoi remeslennoi promyshlennosti* (Petrograd, 1915), 147.