

devoted to the cause of labor, he never placed the latter above his first two concerns. He distrusted workers, contending that they had no will of their own and would inevitably fall under someone's influence, thus his paternalism. He succeeded because to his superiors he promised industrial peace and political tranquillity among the workers, and to his followers he promised a better life through unity, labor strife, and class struggle. Through a policy of "divide and rule" (p. 97), he sought to keep the monarchy as the arbitrator of contending class interests.

The author correctly points out that Zubatov made commitments to his followers that the regime could not condone and that he had no right to make. He states that Zubatov's methods failed because of "the amorphous bureaucratic structure that blurred formal lines of authority and permitted contrary policies to exist simultaneously" (p. 366). Perhaps it was not the bureaucracy that failed Zubatov, but the contradictory elements in his policies: conservatism versus the promise of change. The very success of his policies depended on pitting one element against another, as experiences in Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Odessa were to show. For Zubatov to succeed, he had to alter the nature of Russian absolutism in favor of some form of corporate absolutism, and this was clearly beyond his capabilities. If Zubatov's policies "were directed at preserving the autocratic regime" (p. 365), then it is ironical that the regime had to change in order to be "preserved." It seems to this reviewer that the solutions offered by Zubatov were fatally flawed from the very beginning. A more viable solution would have been to allow the workers to organize freely and to pursue their best interests, as they perceived them, but Zubatov would not have approved.

This reviewer's comments notwithstanding, the volume is a valuable scholarly contribution.

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THE ROAD TO BLOODY SUNDAY: FATHER GAPON AND THE ST. PETERSBURG MASSACRE OF 1905. By *Walter Sablinsky*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976. xiv, 414 pp. \$18.50.

Professor Sablinsky offers us a thorough investigation of the character of Father Gapon and his St. Petersburg Assembly of Factory and Mill Workers. It is certainly indicative of the more sophisticated, recent work on the immediate prerevolutionary period. It is, in fact, one of the most complete biographies of Gapon available. The study demonstrates how Gapon's interests and activity led him logically to Bloody Sunday, and how the Assembly evolved from a welfare-mutual aid emphasis to radical activism.

The underlying thesis of this volume would demonstrate that the basis of Gapon's motivation was his effort to serve both church and society. The humanitarian motif was to become the rationale of the progressive clergy in the Duma period and remains, in large measure, the church's justification for support of the Soviet regime. Gapon himself emerges as a mercurial mélange of peasant-like conservatism, xenophobic nationalism, and labor radicalism. His tearooms strikingly resemble those of developing rightist movements.

Father Gapon's radicalism, predominant at the crisis of his career, evolved naturally from his frustrating relations with the church and the bureaucracy. The hierarchy wanted to limit his activities strictly to matters of religion and morality, while his concern was to secure specific rights as well as obligations for the new industrial labor class in a class-corporate state. These goals and Gapon's drive for an independent labor movement to realize them generated a hostile reaction in an autocratic regime ever suspicious of public initiative. Pressure from below traditionally begets repression from above.

Insofar as evidence permits, Professor Sablinsky clarifies Gapon's relations with the authorities. He apparently tried to remain as independent of them as possible, sharing the Slavophiles' belief in unfettered action with the government's blessing and cooperation—like the Slavophiles, he would square the circle. Yet he demonstrated a traditional equivocation reminiscent of the sixteenth-century church in the matter of an acceptable degree of government protection and control. He never perceived any moral or political inconsistency in accepting occasional material support from the state. This, of course, makes his hopeless effort to revive the Assembly after January 9 appear hypocritical. Moreover, throughout the movement Gapon gave the impression of greater sycophancy than the author suggests.

A detailed account of Gapon's relations with the oppositional and revolutionary parties is particularly enlightening. From the Kadets to the Bolsheviks, they opposed and underestimated his activity, considering it diversionary and amateurish. The workers also held their would-be intellectual mentors at arms' length, as dangerous to their cause. Thus, the blunders of January 9 ended Lenin's anxiety about workers acting without Marxist leadership. Assembly leaders were to sit in the St. Petersburg Soviet.

The author's introduction is in large measure a comprehensive statistical overview of the condition and position of labor at the turn of the century. The partially descriptive bibliography of some fifty pages covers all aspects of the assembly movement.

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THE LAST DAYS OF IMPERIAL RUSSIA, 1910–1917. By *Miriam Kochan*.
New York: Macmillan, 1976. 224 pp. Illus. \$15.95.

Miriam Kochan's book on the last days of imperial Russia is a handsomely illustrated volume intended for the general reader. The author's primary aim is to convey some notion of the way people in various classes of society lived, combined with a description of the growing atmosphere of political apocalypse. She has relied chiefly on memoirs, either those of foreigners who were present or of Russians whose memoirs have been translated into English. Chapters on the social life and mores of the wealthiest nobles and merchants concentrate on the extravagant opulence in which they maintained themselves. Their wealth is contrasted to the meager existence of the peasantry and the rapidly growing working class. Theater and ballet are the central concerns of a chapter on the world of art, while a chapter on religion, aside from a brief reference to the deeply religious nature of the Russian people, is devoted almost exclusively to Rasputin. Finally, a chapter on the imperial family recounts their personal drama in familiar terms.

Although a certain amount of oversimplification is inevitable in this kind of book, several choices of emphasis seem arguable. There is no mention of the multinational character of the Russian Empire and the attendant problems. The general reader is left with a false impression of the nobility because of the author's decision to portray only the fantastically wealthy. Given the small space devoted to the revolutionary movement and those elements of society which stood between the wealthy few and the masses, the author's overweening concern with who wore what to the ball becomes annoying. The author has found a number of excellent old photographs with which to illustrate her story, many of them unfamiliar. The book contains numerous factual errors and misspelled words, none worth quibbling about here.

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