book nevertheless suffers from several deficiencies. Most significant is the inadequate source base: the author did not utilize the diocesan periodicals (the voluminous *eparkhial'nye vedomosti*), the contemporary secular press (such as *Sovremennyi listok,* which took a keen interest in church affairs), or—most vital of all—unpublished materials in Soviet archives. Without these materials (especially the archival ones), it is impossible to probe deeply into state policy and intent, to understand the complex politics of reform, or to define accurately the clergy's aspirations. The church journals, subject to a vigilant and strict ecclesiastical censorship, are insufficient by themselves. Moreover, the author does not define with precision the structure of political groups, whether liberal or conservative, clerical or lay; the rather simplistic treatment of the episcopacy and government officials is particularly unsatisfactory. Finally, although generally accurate and reliable, the book contains an occasional, but needless, error (for example, S. N. Urusov is mistaken as Uvarov on page 12).

Still, this book does make an important contribution. It explores an unduly neglected set of sources, poses new and interesting questions, and offers a fresh perspective on church and society during the Great Reforms.

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SERGEI ZUBATOV AND REVOLUTIONARY MARXISM: THE STRUGGLE FOR THE WORKING CLASS IN TSARIST RUSSIA. By *Jeremiah Schneiderman.* Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1976. 401 pp. $18.50.

By the end of the nineteenth century it became clear to some Russian officials that a labor class was emerging in Russia, and that something needed to be done to ameliorate the workers' grievances lest they fall under the influence of the revolutionaries. One of the most spectacular efforts to deal with this problem was undertaken by a brilliant policeman, S. V. Zubatov, who promoted various police-directed labor organizations.

J. Schneiderman has written the most scholarly, detailed, and objective history of this movement to date. He has marshaled an impressive volume of material to support his arguments, mostly from printed sources because the Soviet authorities denied him access to the archives. This is not an easy book to read. The study begins with a summary of governmental efforts to deal with the labor problem (one hopes that a book will be written soon on this subject, so that there will be no need to summarize this material in every book dealing with labor). It then covers a great many topics which are linked by their connection with Zubatov: the Moscow and St. Petersburg organizations; Jewish workers' organizations; the Jewish Independent Labor Party; the Odessa strike of 1903; the opposition of the Russian Social Democrats and the Jewish Bund; and the fortunes of Zubatov himself. The necessity of dealing with each separate topic compels the author to sacrifice detail. The work concentrates on the activities of the leadership, and very little is said about the rank and file. Because the author treats Zubatov and his efforts rather sympathetically, it is surprising that he chooses to characterize the whole episode as *"Zubatovshchina"*—the ending *"-shchina"* carries in Russian a definite derisive and pejorative connotation. Generally speaking, many Russian terms could have been translated better.

The author considers that in the decade prior to 1905 "the government could have evolved a labor policy capable of satisfying the working class," and Zubatovism was the most significant effort in that direction. We may question some of the author's conclusions and ask whether Zubatov did, indeed, present a viable solution. Zubatov was a confirmed monarchist and a dedicated policeman. His interest in labor sprang from his desire to strengthen autocracy and security. Even if we grant that he was

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.