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Chapter 4

The Russian Right Responds to 1905: Visual Depictions of Jews in Postrevolutionary Russia

ROBERT WEINBERG

Notwithstanding the capacity of Tsar Nicholas II to weather the events of 1905, the revolutionary upheaval fundamentally altered the complexion of Russian politics. The capitulation of the autocratic government in the fall of 1905 opened the floodgates of political activity among virtually all segments of society, with activists from the extreme right (popularly known as the Black Hundreds) to the far left mobilizing to influence Russian politics through both legal and extralegal means. Jews and other national minorities found the months following the October Manifesto both conducive and propitious for organizational consolidation, as did various ethnic Russians motivated by a visceral hatred of Jews and categorically opposed to any reform of the autocracy. For individuals of all political stripes, the 1905 Revolution provided an opportune moment to stake out a position in the rough-and-ready arena of Russian politics. Participants in those events took advantage of their new freedoms to express themselves in the public realm with zeal and élan. In particular, parties reflecting the entire political spectrum relied on the print medium, especially newspapers and journals, to disseminate their views, with visual images both reinforcing and complementing the written word.¹

Not surprisingly, extreme right-wing political parties and activists considered the press an essential ingredient of their tactical arsenal. While the extreme right had been organizing since the turn of the century, it took the events of 1905 to spark the widespread emergence of organizations that sought to mobilize the electorate of various social strata on behalf of the besieged autocracy. The press proved to be of key importance in the effort of the radical right to garner popular support for a program to turn back the gains of the revolution and ensure that Tsar

Nicholas II would be unencumbered by any limitations on his powers. Some very talented historians have written about the ideology and actions of the Black Hundreds during the years from 1906 to the outbreak of World War I in 1914.² But these same historians have not examined the illustrations on the pages of various right-wing newspapers and journals. These drawings complement the textual message and add a dimension to our understanding of politics and culture during the final decade of tsarist rule, thereby serving as political commentary on pressing issues confronting late imperial Russia.

To be sure, the messages in right-wing drawings were frequently confused, muddled, and not particularly subtle. Nor were the images unfamiliar in the sense that similar portrayals of Jews were commonplace throughout Europe at the turn of the century. The Russian right did not have a monopoly on antisemitic depictions. But the illustrations, nonetheless, offered readers an education of sorts by exposing them to the main currents of post-1905 politics from the perspective of the extreme right. The crude and straightforward images with explanatory captions enabled readers with little or no knowledge of current events to learn about politics from the perspective of the extreme right. The blunt nature of the cartoons did not guarantee that any uninformed simpleton could grasp their messages. For example, prominent Duma personalities, Jewish and non-Jewish, from various political parties were frequently portrayed, and in many instances the artists did not append names to the faces in the illustrations. Furthermore, the accompanying captions did not always identify the persons depicted in the drawings. This suggests that the editors of Black Hundred publications believed their readership possessed more than passing knowledge of current events, particularly developments in Russia's fledgling parliament, the Duma. But it is also reasonable to assume that the editors hoped the interested but not well-informed reader would seek out explanations of the cartoons.

In his book on political cartoons and caricatures, Charles Press describes three kinds of political cartoons: the descriptive satirical, the laughing satirical, and the destructive satirical. The latter is, in Press's words, "meant to be cruel and to hurt . . . the message says unmistakably 'These creatures that I criticize are not human; they should not be allowed to exist.'"³ Indeed, the depiction of Jews on the pages of various Black Hundred publications falls into the category of "destructive satirical" and reveals an obsession with portraying Jews as the source of all problems besetting Russia. Jews visually represented in the extreme right-wing press are essentially monstrous beings intent on destroying the social, economic, and political fabric of late imperial Russia. As the drawings reprinted in this chapter indicate, the Black Hundred press

did not shy away from presenting Jews in the most unflattering light to convey the notion that Russia's Jewish minority threatened to subvert the existing sociopolitical and economic order and to establish Jewish dominion. But just as important were its efforts to contextualize the drawings in current events, with references to specific persons and issues of the time, as a way to edify the people who read Black Hundred publications. In short, the extreme right offered a perspective on the contemporary political scene that was mired in illogic, fantasy, prejudice, and hatred while nonetheless reflecting realities.

As many historians have noted, analyses of visual images require familiarity with the values, attitudes, beliefs, and knowledge of the viewing public for whom these images were created. One function of political art is to "provide a visual script" designed to lead to "new modes of thinking and behavior."⁴ But no matter how powerful and persuasive these images may be, no matter how smartly they incorporate popular mythologies, viewers' responses can be unpredictable because visual representations are open to diverse readings. In other words, viewers of these illustrations interpreted what they saw with the aid of the "cultural repertoires" available to them.⁵ Not only is it difficult to ascertain how readers may have interpreted the images but it is also challenging to try to pin down what the artists of the drawings intended to convey. On the one hand, political cartoons and propaganda can fail to make an impact if their messages are too opaque and arcane. On the other hand, symbols and other visual images can be politically effective if their meanings are ambiguous, thereby opening them up to multiple interpretations. To be sure, captions and explanatory texts may help viewers decode the images, but even efforts to demystify the drawings do not necessarily lead to a single reading given the polyvalent nature of visual depictions.

The drawings examined here are taken from three Black Hundred publications that appeared in the wake of the 1905 Revolution: *Pliwium* (St. Petersburg, 1906–8), *Veche* (Moscow, 1905–9), and *Knut* (Moscow, 1906–8). The latter two were published by Vladimir Olovnikov, an activist with close ties to the Russian Monarchist Party and the Union of the Russian People. While the essential messages of these drawings echo what the extreme right asserted in the written word, these illustrations nonetheless offer vivid depictions of the core values and beliefs of the Black Hundreds. All the problems plaguing Russian society were attributed to the machinations of Jews, and all persons and political organizations—Jewish or otherwise—that opposed or challenged the autocracy were considered the dupes of a worldwide Jewish conspiracy. For the sake of brevity and focus, I have chosen to concentrate on a handful of illustrations that address the Black Hundreds' concerns that the Jews were using the newly granted civil liberties of post-October Russia to sub-

vert the autocracy, expand in self-serving fashion the scope of political reform, and dominate the Duma. (These depictions are only the tip of the iceberg; hundreds of similar images can be found on the pages of just these three publications, and I am offering a selective but not arbitrary presentation of the myriad illustrations in these three publications.)

The monthly *Knut* was particularly noteworthy for its wide use of color, clearly an indicator that the publisher did not skimp on expenses. Each issue's cover displayed a colored illustration, and elaborate drawings in color accompanied many of the major articles. For example, the cover of the journal's first issue in 1906 (Figure 1) shows Prime Minister Petr Stolypin holding the reins of a speeding troika whose passenger is Mother Russia. Three horses are pulling the carriage, and the words "indivisible Russia" and the well-known slogan "Autocracy, Orthodoxy, and *Narodnost* [nationality]" are engraved, respectively, on the yoke and the Russian flag flapping in the wind. Several growling bulldogs have surrounded the carriage that a determined Stolypin is trying to drive to safety. The dogs represent three political parties—the Octobrists, *Mirnoe obnovlenie* (Peaceful renewal), and the Socialist Revolutionaries. Whereas the latter party embraced political violence, the other two were moderate organizations that eschewed radical tactics. Yet they are thrown in with the Socialist Revolutionaries. Generally speaking, most Octobrists did not seek any further diminution of royal authority in post-1905 Russia and certainly did not support the revolutionaries to their political left. Circling above are several anthropomorphized vultures with stereotypical Jewish features. To emphasize that the vultures are Jews, the artist has one vulture sitting on the tree branch wearing a *kippa* (yarmulke) with the word "Bund" emblazoned on its body. The drawing intimates that the Jewish buzzards are waiting for the precise moment to swoop down and feast on the body politic of Russia once it has been destroyed not only by the revolutionaries but also by the reformers. In other words, non-Jews overthrow Mother Russia but Jews will enjoy the fruits of revolution.

Similarly, the cover of issue no. 3 from 1908 (Figure 2) reiterates this message of the Jews' seeking to benefit from the actions of non-Jewish political activists. Above the caption "In Training," a well-to-do Jew with stereotypical looks is teaching tricks to three dogs that bear the names of prominent politicians. The pug is Aleksandr Guchkov, leader of the Octobrists; the small white poodle is Count Vladimir Bobrinskii, a conservative landlord with ties to right-wing Octobrists who opposed efforts to endow the Duma with legislative powers; and the large black poodle standing on its hind legs is Fedor Rodichev, a leading Kadet deputy to the Duma. The other figures in the drawing are evidently Jews because

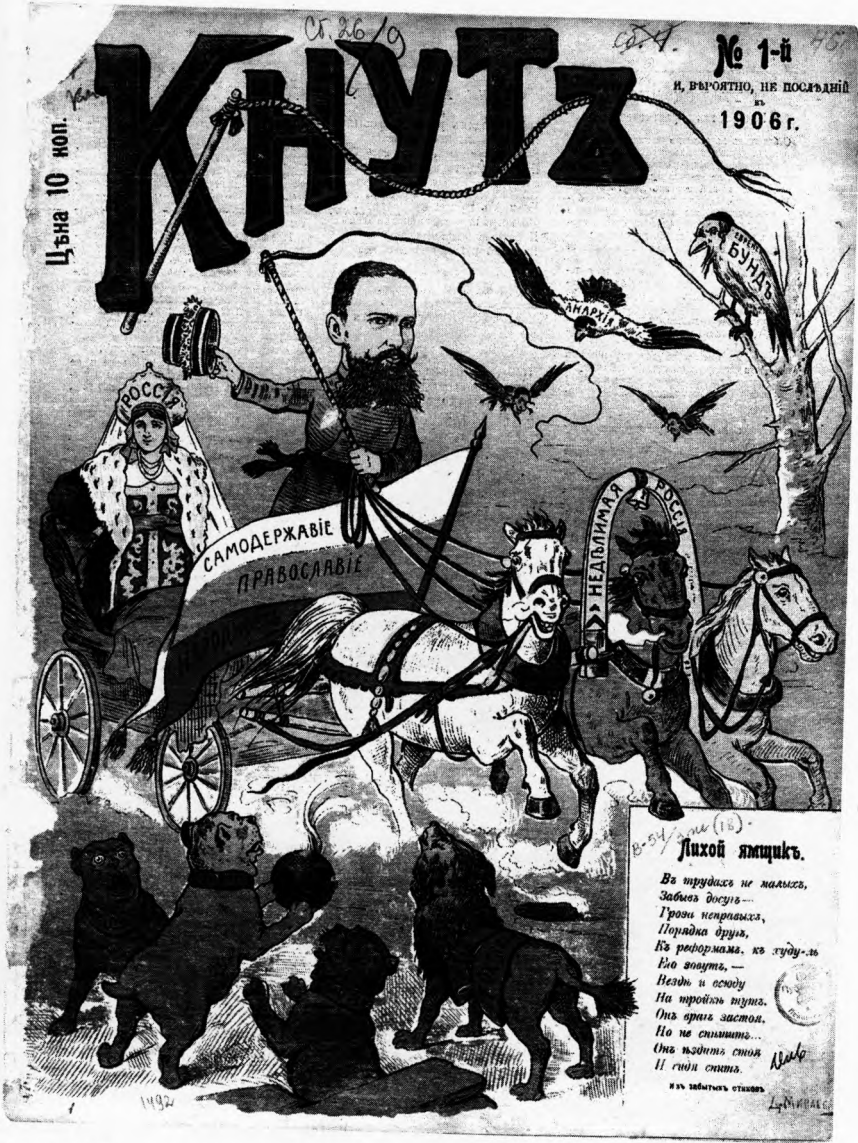


Figure 1. Cover of *Knut*, no. 1 (1906)



Figure 2. Cover of *Knut*, no. 3 (1908)

they share facial characteristics with the man teaching tricks to the dogs. Two of the other figures are watching the training session with rapt attention; another two are talking to each other; and one is walking away. Again, the artist is asserting the common Black Hundred view that Jews were orchestrating the efforts of gentile politicians in the Duma to

КОНЦЕРТНОЕ ОТДЕЛЕНИЕ «ПЛИВИУМА».

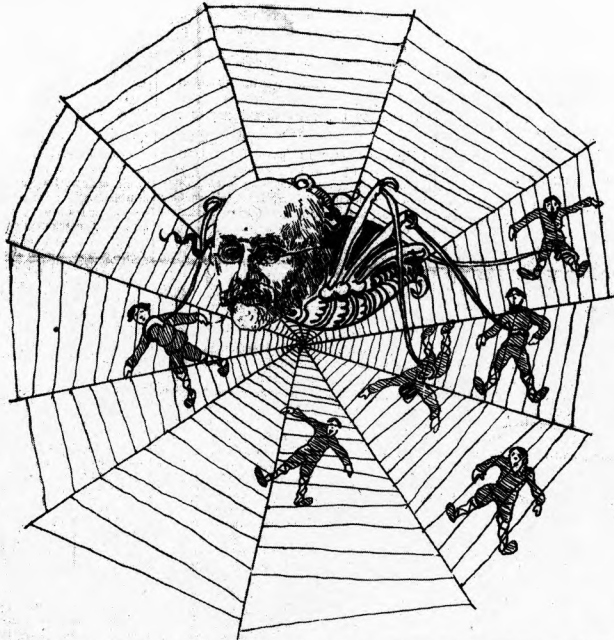


Figure 3. Cover of *Pliuvium*, no. 10 (December 9, 1906)

subvert the crown. The extreme right underscored their rejection of parliamentary politics by suggesting that even committed supporters of the reformed autocracy such as Bobrinskii, by no stretch of the imagination a friend of the liberals or socialists, performed tricks at the behest of the Jews and thus had dubious political credentials.⁶

Another variant on this theme of Russian Jewry's orchestrating the destruction of Russia can be found in Figure 3, the cover of the December 9, 1906, issue of *Pliuvium*. The artist shows former prime minister Sergei Witte conducting three leering Jewish musicians who are said to be playing the "national dance, 'The St. Vitus Dance,'" in the "Russian orchestra" and who have evidently supplanted Russian musicians. This cartoon is a jibe at Witte, the official who advised Nicholas II to grant the concessions of October 1905, thereby earning the former the undying disdain and hatred of the political right.

The fact that Witte seems to be looking to his side for direction raises the possibility that he is under the control of someone offstage, someone hidden from public view. Moreover, he himself is tagged as a reli-



Жидъ Герценштейнъ и православные мужички въ Государственной Думѣ.

Figure 4. From *Veche*, no. 26 (June 11, 1906)

gious Jew by virtue of his wearing the traditional fringed undergarment worn by observant Jews. Depicting Witte as a Jew was, perhaps, the cartoonist's not so subtle allusion to Witte's second wife, who was a converted Jew. Moreover, the Union of the Russian People failed twice in its efforts to assassinate Witte, whom it considered "the most effective agent of . . . the 'Judeo-Masonic' conspiracy" to undermine Russia. Witte also enjoyed the reputation of employing Jews when he was minister of finance in the 1890s.⁷ An accompanying caption and poem about Witte suggest that he is attempting a political comeback in order to weaken the government. The poem's final stanza comments:

We Russians have lost heart,
And the Kikes have increased their income.

In a similar vein, the next drawing, Figure 4, illustrates the typical reliance in the Black Hundred press on crass and crude prejudices to convey its political comment. It shows a spider with the head of Mikhail

Gertsenshtein, a Kadet deputy to the First Duma who was assassinated by members of the Union of the Russian People a month or so after this drawing appeared. According to the caption, the “Kike Gertsenshtein” had ensnared several Russian Orthodox peasant Duma deputies in his web. Even though Gertsenshtein had converted to Russian Orthodoxy years earlier, the Black Hundreds nevertheless regarded him as a Jew whose actions in the Duma threatened the interests of the landed gentry. A founder of the Kadet party and a professor at Moscow University, Gertsenshtein was an expert on agrarian affairs and served as the driving force behind the party’s advocacy of the compulsory expropriation of private estates for the benefit of land-hungry peasants. Duma deputies representing the gentry opposed this proposal for obvious reasons but so, too, did many deputies representing the peasantry (known as *Trudoviki* or Laborers). Their opposition, however, was based on the fact that under the Kadet proposal, the local gentry would continue to control the institutions that were to redistribute the land.⁸

There are two ways of interpreting the drawing. First, the artist could be making the case that the Jewish deputies to the Duma had “captured” the peasant vote and were forcing peasants to support policies that would benefit Jews engaged in land speculation. Because the Kadet proposal was designed to assist the peasantry by redistributing land held in private hands, the artist may have been appealing to the interests of the gentry that stood to lose their land if the Kadet proposal were enacted. Given the Kadets’ insistence on compulsory land expropriation and the peasant deputies’ call for the redistribution of estate holdings into the hands of peasants who worked the land, the second interpretation seems more likely. Moreover, the drawing assumes that the reader has been keeping abreast of developments in the Duma and is aware of the debates over agrarian reform, including the persons involved. The editor of *Veche* evidently believed that readers of the newspaper would grasp the subtleties of the message conveyed in the drawing.

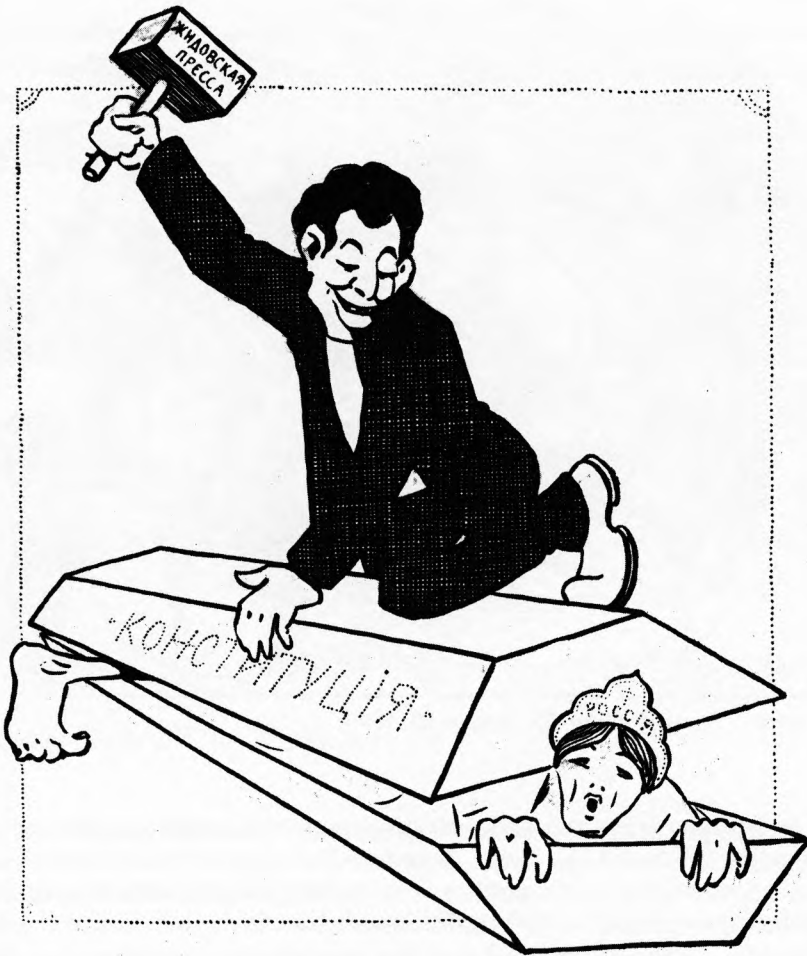
The next drawing (Figure 5) is captioned “The Last ‘Shabash’ in the Duma, Saturday, July 8.” The selection of that date was not random: news of the government’s decision to dissolve the First Duma, a result of the standoff with the Kadets over the issue of land redistribution, was promulgated on Sunday, June 9, but announced on the evening of July 8, 1906.⁹ The drawing underscores the extreme right’s belief that Jews dominated parliamentary politics, even to the point of turning Duma sessions into Jewish religious services. It shows Jewish and gentile deputies to the Duma wearing prayer shawls, although only the Jewish deputies appear to be wearing *kipot* and praying. More Jewish deputies stand on the podium at the front of the room and, in addition to their prayer shawls, they are also wearing phylacteries. Finally, the deputy presiding



Последний „шабашъ“ въ Думѣ въ субботу 8-го іюля

Figure 5. From *Veche*, no. 35 (July 13, 1906)

over the meeting, presumably S. A. Muromtsev, a law professor and prominent Kadet, does not possess the facial features of the other deputies in the drawing, although he, too, has donned a prayer shawl and phylacteries.¹⁰ But, like Witte in the previous illustration, the cartoon Muromtsev may be an honorary Jew in the eyes of the artist. Evidently, the fact that only twelve Jews served in the First and four in the Second Duma (both of which had close to five hundred deputies) did not deter the Black Hundreds from imagining that Jews exercised inordinate power and influence in that institution.



Вполачиваніе въ гробъ живо.

Figure 6. From *Pluvium*, no. 43 (July 28, 1907): 2

One additional aspect of the drawing merits attention. The substitution of a sibilant “sh” for the final “s” in the spelling of “Shabas” is a play on the imagined, lisping pronunciation of Jews. But “*shabash*” also means witches’ Sabbath in Russian, thereby linking Jews to the evil doings of the devil.

Figure 6 highlights the Black Hundreds’ insistence that Jews were exploiting the freedoms granted in October to subdue Russia. It shows



Жидова за работэй...

Figure 7. From *Veche*, no. 52 (August 23, 1906)

a Jewish man (note the dark hair, thick lips, and large nose and ears) kneeling on the lid of a coffin as he tries to hammer it shut on Mother Russia, struggling to prevent herself from being buried alive. His rough features and workers' clothes distinguish him from the more refined, rich Jews in other drawings. The coffin lid is labeled "constitution," and the wooden mallet has the words "Kike press" written on one side, both phrases indicating that Jews are utilizing freedom of the press and other newly granted civil liberties to bury Russia with a constitution. Of course, post-1905 Russia did not have a full-scale constitution, but the word is used in the Black Hundred press to refer to the political freedoms granted in the October Manifesto and in the Fundamental Laws. The caption "Buried alive" reinforces the message delivered by the drawing.

Another elaboration on this motif is found in Figure 7, titled "Kikes at Work." In a play on the story of Gulliver in the land of the Lilliputians, a man representing Russia—apparently a worker, based on his clothing—has been subdued by a group of miniature Jewish men. Some are hard at work lashing down the gargantuan man while others are resting

ЧУДЕСНЫЙ ЦВѢТОКЪ

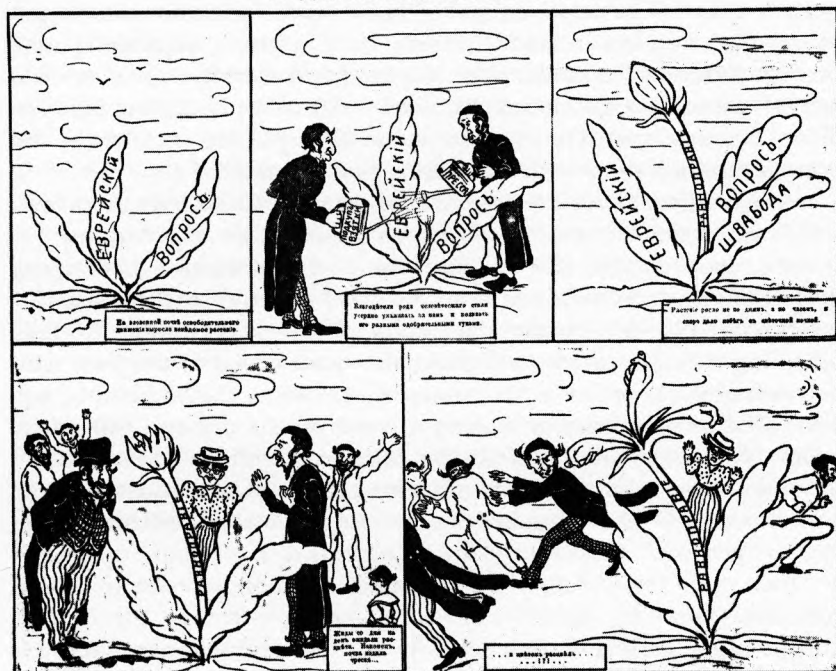


Figure 8. From *Veche*, no. 33 (March 22, 1907)

or celebrating the fruits of their labor. One waves a white flag in a sign of victory. Gulliver's upper torso is held down by ropes and three leather straps with the words "equality," "brotherhood," and "freedom" written on them. The artist's message is unmistakable: Jews are exploiting the slogans of political liberty to overwhelm the stronger Russian people.¹¹

The last illustration I have selected is titled "The Miraculous Blossom" (Figure 8). It shows the extreme right's confidence that the political tide would soon turn against the forces of revolution. In the first panel, a plant with two leaves emblazoned with the words "The Jewish Question" begins to sprout. The caption reads, "On the fetid soil of the liberation movement, a mysterious plant began to grow." In the next panel, two Jews use watering cans labeled "bribes" and "the press" to tend the plant, which responds positively to the care and attention. As the caption ironically notes, "The benefactors of the human race diligently looked after the flower and gave it various beneficial fertilizers."¹² The fact that the fertilizer used was meant, in all likelihood, to suggest

animal waste drove home the point that Jews are feeding shit to society in their effort to promote equal rights for Jews. Panel three shows the plant with a new leaf called “shvaboda” (a play on the supposed Jewish pronunciation of “svoboda,” the Russian word for “freedom” or “liberty”). In addition, a stem labeled “equal rights” with a flower ready to bloom has emerged. The caption reads, “The plant grew taller by the hour and soon a shoot with a flowering bud appeared.”

In the next panel, various Jews, including a woman who does not look Jewish but evidently represents the movement for equal rights for women, express their glee as they look at the plant and its budding flower. The caption indicates that “the kikes waited from day to day for the flower to bloom. Finally, the bud cracked,” only to show the fully blooming flower as three fists giving the *mano in fica* to the Jews, who flee in fright. The *mano in fica*, commonly known as the “fig hand,” has been used for centuries in Europe to ward off the evil eye, with many people wearing amulets and good-luck charms with the *mano in fica*.¹³ But it is also an insulting, if not obscene, gesture that indicates indignation. It is equivalent to thumbing one’s nose at someone or telling someone to “get lost.” However, in some contexts it may mean “up yours” or “fuck you,” serve as an obscene sexual invitation, or refer to female genitalia. The “fig hand” enjoyed common currency throughout Europe in the early twentieth century, and there is no doubt that it was known among the general populace. Indeed, left-leaning satirical journals also used the *mano in fica* to express their opposition to efforts to reverse the gains of 1905.¹⁴

These illustrations offer a brief glimpse into the mindset of the extreme right in post-1905 Russia and demonstrate how Black Hundred activists drew freely upon the rich repository of visual imagery in Russian and European culture to convey their views of the dangers Jews posed to society. To paraphrase what other historians have previously noted, the study of antisemitic discourse helps us penetrate the mindset of antisemites, but it contributes little, if anything at all, to our knowledge of Jews. The caricatures that appeared on the pages of Black Hundred publications reveal the consistency of political antisemitism throughout Europe in the early decades of the twentieth century, namely, its tenet that Jews were seeking to enslave host societies by taking advantage of political freedoms and civil liberties. To be sure, there is no way of telling whether the readers of Black Hundred newspapers and journals absorbed the artists’ intended message. At the very least, however, the sentiments expressed in the drawings may have reinforced whatever anti-Jewish animus existed among the readership.

Insurmountable problems confronted state and society during the twilight of Romanov rule, and the venom toward Jews displayed on the

pages of the extreme right-wing press after 1905 was symptomatic of the deep social and political fissures plaguing late imperial Russia. No fledgling parliamentary system can survive for long in the absence of a broad consensus regarding the fundamental values and norms underlying society. The antisemitic *idée fixe* of the Black Hundreds underscores the lack of such a consensus in late imperial Russian society, and the inability of the body politic to find a common language contributed in no small measure to the fragile nature of Duma politics. The knee-jerk tendency of extreme, right-wing pro-tsarist forces to assign blame for all the ills besetting Russia to the machinations of a Jewish cabal virtually ensured that such a consensus could not emerge. Given the hatred of liberal constitutionalism reflected in the drawings of the extreme right-wing press, the chances for peaceful coexistence among Russia's fledgling political parties were slim, especially because the radical left, as well as the tsar himself, also rejected a parliamentary solution to Russia's pressing problems. Social and political stability depends on a willingness to negotiate and compromise, a readiness to work through problems in the political arena, traits all too sadly absent in post-1905 Russia.

Nicholas's, see Mark Steinberg, "Nicholas and Alexandra: An Intellectual Portrait," in Mark Steinberg and Vladimir M. Khrustalev, eds., *The Fall of the Romanovs: Political Dreams and Personal Struggles in a Time of Revolution* (New Haven, Conn., 1995), pp. 34–36.

31. "Zapisnaia knizhka imp. Aleksandry Fedorovny s vyskazyvaniiami Grigoriia Rasputina (1907–1916) s darstvennoi nadpis'iu Rasputina," GARF, 640-1-309, pp. 38–39, 52–54.

32. Andrei Maylunas and Sergei Mironenko, *A Lifelong Passion: Nicholas and Alexandra, Their Own Story* (London, 1996), pp. 296–97, 314, 320–22, 328–30, 341, 343, 350–74, 376; M. V. Rodzianko, *The Reign of Rasputin: An Empire's Collapse* (London, 1927), p. 11; Sir Bernard Pares, *The Fall of the Russian Monarchy* (New York, 1961), p. 143; A. Ia. Avrekh, *Tsarizm i IV Duma* (Moscow, 1981), p. 255.

33. Nathans, *Beyond the Pale*, pp. 296–301, 366; Hans Rogger, "The Beilis Case: Anti-Semitism and Politics in the Reign of Nicholas II," *Slavic Review* 25, no. 4 (December 1966): 615–29.

Chapter 3. A Note on the Jewish Press and Censorship

1. For greater detail on the history of the censorship of Jewish publications in the Russian Empire, see Dmitrii El'iashevich, *Pravitel'stvennaia politika i evreiskaia pechat' v Rossii, 1797–1917: Ocherki istorii tsenzury* (St. Petersburg-Jerusalem, 1999).

2. Russian State Historical Archive (RGIA), fond 821, opis' 8, ed. khr. 276, l. 136

3. RGIA, fond 776, opis' 9, ed. khr. 686.; opis' 17, ed. khr. 552.

4. RGIA, fond 776, opis' 2, ed. khr. 36, ll. 121–121 oborot.

5. This refers to translations of tractates of the Talmud by N. A. Pereferkovich that were published in St. Petersburg from 1899 to 1911; for further details, see V. E. Kel'ner and D. A. El'iashevich, eds., *Literatura o evreiaikh na russkom iazyke, 1890–1947: Knigi, broshyury, otiskii statei, bibliograficheskii ukazatel'* (St. Petersburg, 1995).

6. See A. Lokshin, "'Formirovanie politiki' (Tsarskaia administratsiia i sionizm v Rossii v kontse XIX-nachale XX v.)," *Vestnik evreiskogo universiteta v Moskve* 1 (1992): 42–56. The 1903 circular forbade any Zionist activity with the exception of that which was directed at the Jews' immediate departure from Russia.

7. RGIA, fond 776, opis' 14 (1903), ed. khr 16, l. 1.

8. See Saul Ginsburg, *Amolike peterburg: Forshungen un zikhroynes vegn yidishn lebn in der rezidents-shtot fun tsarishn rusland* (New York, 1944), pp. 184–238.

9. El'iashevich, *Pravitel'stvennaia politika*, pp. 366–67.

Chapter 4. The Russian Right Responds to 1905

1. For a treatment of visual images during 1905, see Sarah Abrevaya Stein, "Faces of Protest: Yiddish Cartoons of the 1905 Revolution," *Slavic Review* 61, no. 4 (Winter 2002): 732–61.

2. Hans Rogger, "The Formation of the Russian Right: 1900–06," and "Was There a Russian Fascism? The Union of the Russian People," in Hans Rogger, *Jewish Politics and Right-wing Politics in Imperial Russia* (Berkeley, Calif., 1986), pp. 188–211 and 212–32; V. Levitskii, "Pravye partii," in L. Martov, P. Maslov, and

A. Potresov, eds., *Obshchestvennoe dvizhenie v Rossii v nachale XX-go veka*, vol. 3, bk. 5 (St. Petersburg, 1914), pp. 347–469; Don Rawson, *Russian Rightists and the Revolution of 1905* (Cambridge, 1995); Heinz-Dietrich Lowe, *The Tsars and the Jews: Reform, Reaction, and Anti-Semitism in Imperial Russia, 1772–1917* (Chur, 1993), pp. 221–30; S. A. Stepanov, *Chernaia sotnia v Rossii (1905–1914 gg.)* (Moscow, 1992); Iu. I. Kir'ianov, *Pravye partii v Rossii, 1911–1917 gg.* (Moscow, 2001); Iu. I. Kir'ianov, ed., *Pravye partii, 1905–1917: Dokumenty i materialy*, 2 vols. (Moscow, 1998).

3. Charles Press, *The Political Cartoon* (East Brunswick, N.J., 1981), p. 76.

4. Victoria Bonnell, *The Iconography of Power: Soviet Political Posters under Lenin and Stalin* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997), p. 14.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

6. Presumably, the Black Hundreds attacked Bobrinskii because he believed the Duma could contribute to the restoration of political stability and social order.

7. The quote is from Abraham Ascher, *The Revolution of 1905: Russia in Disarray* (Stanford, Calif., 1988), p. 241. See also Sidney Harcave, *Count Sergei Witte and the Twilight of Imperial Russia: A Biography* (Armonk, N.Y., 2004), pp. 42–43 and 46, and Rawson, *Russian Rightists and the Revolution of 1905*, pp. 69, 128, and 131–32.

8. In addition, the Trudoviki split on whether private landowners were entitled to compensation. Nevertheless, all Trudoviki agreed that the state—not the peasants—should be responsible for compensating the gentry.

9. Abraham Ascher, *The Revolution of 1905: Authority Restored* (Stanford, Calif., 1992), pp. 195–201.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

11. A similar drawing appeared virtually at the same time in an American publication. Titled “Gulliver Knickerbocker and the Lilliputians,” the American version of Gulliver, shown as a descendant of the early Dutch settlers of New York, has been overwhelmed by hordes of Jews who have taken control of many branches of the local economy, including clothing, jewelry, real estate, and the theater. Money, not political influence, motivates the Jews in this depiction. See Richard Levy, ed., *Antisemitism in the Modern World: An Anthology of Texts* (Lexington, Mass., 1991), p. 140.

12. A variation on this theme of Jews’ tending gardens appeared in the November 26, 1906, issue of *Veche*. Titled “A New Kike Garden,” the drawing depicts a traditional Jew watering a crop of sprouting Jewish youths armed with guns and daggers.

13. See Andrea de Jorio, *Gesture in Naples and Gesture in Classical Antiquity* (Bloomington, Ind., 2000), pp. 214–15. De Jorio’s book first appeared in 1832. Similarly, Black Hundred disdain for parliamentary politics is evidenced on the cover of issue no. 9 of *Knut* from 1907. In the drawing, labeled “The State Duma’s Easter Egg for the Russian People,” a Duma politician with a pointed head is dwarfed by an immense egg that has been dyed red. Six fists giving the *mano in fica* have punctured the egg’s shell.

14. The cover of the first issue of the journal *Gudok* from 1906 shows two sinister-looking, devil-like hands giving the *mano in fica* to a rising sun that symbolizes the dawning of freedom in Russia. The caption reads, “The double-headed . . . *fica*,” a play on the double-headed eagle, emblem of the Romanov dynasty.