

The Image of America on the Pages of the Russian-Jewish Journal *Voskhod* (1881-1906)

By Anastasiia Strakhova

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Supervisor: Carsten Wilke

Second Reader: Michael Miller

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Abstract

The Russian-Jewish press signaled attempts of the Jewish elites to come closer to the Russian people, which was also in the agenda of the monthly *Voskhod* [The Sunrise] (1881-1906) when it started to be published. *Voskhod* was destined to become a sort of paradigmatic example in studying the Jewish publishing in Russia. The language of publications and comparatively high price for the subscription determined the elitist status of *Voskhod*'s readership. Its editors, first Adolf Landau (1881-1899) and then Maxim Syrkin (1899-1906), managed to fight harsh censorship and "save" *Voskhod*, when other Jewish periodicals in Russian were shut down. Being the only Jewish paper in Russian for fifteen years (1885-1899) *Voskhod* had to accommodate the majority of existing among Jewish intelligentsia views.

The aim of the present thesis is to study the image of America portrayed on the pages of the monthly *Voskhod* (1881-1906) and to examine attitudes towards emigration to America presented there. Studying relevant articles I reached the conclusion that it presented rather practical and opportunistic view on emigration, neither explicitly opposing it nor encouraging resettlement. This view challenges previous works, where authors associated assimilationist theories of Landau with the paper itself.

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Introduction

Since the Babylonian exile and until the creation of the State of Israel, throughout their long history, Jews were people on the move, migrants, who transcended cultural boundaries and opened a transnational space. Since their large scale immigration to the New World in the nineteenth century, Jews linked two continents in their demographic and mental map, as did Irish, Italian, Polish, German and many other immigrant communities. The resettlement of these populations in America inevitably caused a reaction among those who stayed in their home countries; and debates in the press about the migrants' new environment and living conditions were one of the most important forms of its expression. The flow of information inside the Jewish migrants' networks thus participated in the elaboration of an image of America in Imperial Russia and, later, Soviet Russia (especially during the Cold War), when the United States were seen as an ultimate "other" in cultural, political, ideological and economic terms. Particularly, the change of political systems created sharp contrasts in the presentations of the country. The "otherness" of America, put on a crossroad of cultures, mythologized or prejudiced, praised or, more often, condemned, helped to define "Russianness" as well. However, unlike the image drawn by non-Jewish Russian authors who in most cases traveled to America only temporarily, the interpretation suggested by Jewish intellectuals was shaped particularly by the mass migration. The aim of my work is to analyze the image of America as presented on the pages of the Russian-Jewish journal *Voskhod* (1881-1906). Jewish periodicals in Russian, indeed, represent a compelling case of linguistic and cultural mediation, the study of which will yield a better understanding of a larger discourse by unveiling a hitherto overlooked strand.

The encounter of the Russian Jews with America followed at a century's distance their own encounter with the Russian Empire, which started with the three partitions of the

Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, as a result of which by the beginning of the nineteenth century Russia acquired about one million Jews, more than half of all Jews in Europe. In 1791, Catherine the Great introduced the Pale of Permanent Jewish Settlement limiting the areas where Jews were allowed to live. This was the moment from which many scholars date the beginning of the ‘Jewish question’ in the Russian Empire, implying the existence of a problem the government had to deal with. Officially the Pale was proclaimed by Nicholas I in 1835.¹ Jewish emancipation, i.e. the recognition of civil and political rights of the Jewish population,² in the Western sense of the term, did not occur in the Russian Empire, and the most incisive restriction was, in particular, the ban to leave the Pale.

Emigration to America and integration into Russia were the two competing reactions to the overpopulation in the Pale. To put it mildly, the Empire was unprepared and just could not allow such an influx of Jewish people into the interiors, especially since they were not acculturated Jews of the Western European type (*Westjuden*), but traditionalists (*Ostjuden*). While comparing the legal situation of Jews in the Russian Empire and Western countries, one should bear in mind that not only Russia was slower in developing a proper legislation, but also the number of Jews she acquired was much higher than elsewhere and those Jews were considered to be too different from the rest of society. One of the steps ‘towards Jews’ from the Empire’s side was the opening, under the support of Count Sergey Uvarov, of tuition-free state Jewish public schools in the 1840s-1850s, which in fact created a new Russian-Jewish intelligentsia.³ Thus the Maskilim, supporters of Jewish Enlightenment, many of whom graduated from Uvarov’s schools, became visible in Russia in the 1860s. Their emergence was facilitated by the government itself. They became one of

¹ Alexei Miller, *The Romanov Empire and Nationalism: Essays in the Methodology of Historical Research* (New York: Central European University Press, 2008), 94-97, 100, 105.

² John D. Klier, “The Concept of “Jewish Emancipation” in a Russian Context,” in *Civil Rights in Imperial Russia*, ed. Olga Crisp and Linda Edmondson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 121.

³ *Ibid.*, 99, 105-106, 117.

very few privileged Jewish groups which were considered ‘useful’ by the government and candidates for exceptional treatment.

Although more than just the repressive legislation may have retained Jews in the Pale, the aim of a significant number of them was to leave it. Abandoning the Pale was seen as a precondition of individual emancipation. This resettlement was a gradual process open only to those who belonged to the higher estates of the society. For Benjamin Nathans, Russia’s backwardness and distinct social and sectarian divisions resulted in “a *selective integration* designed to disperse certain ‘useful’ groups of Jews into Russia’s hierarchy of social estates”.⁴

Jews were expected to engage this process of integration, merging and rapprochement without any similar effort from the Russian side. By advocating the right to reside beyond the Pale for merchants of the first and second guilds, graduates of Russian institutions of higher education, the most skillful artisans and retired soldiers⁵ Jews themselves facilitated further diversification of Russian Jewry, and the Maskilim played an important role here. Thus, the Pale’s doors were partially opened and promised further transformation of Jewish society.

To make the picture clearer some statistical data is needed. According to the Russian Imperial Census of 1897 5,189,400 Jews lived in the Empire, constituting 4.2 percent of the population. 314,765 Jews or 7 percent of the total Jewish population resided outside the Pale legally.⁶ Many of the Jews belonging to ‘useful’ categories settled in the capital city of Saint Petersburg (according to the same census 17,000 people lived there legally, but police reports indicate that the actual number was much higher, namely 27,000 people).⁷ Nathans believes that the government looked at the Jews living in the capital city and their ability to

⁴ Benjamin Nathans, *Beyond the Pale: The Jewish Encounter with Late Imperial Russia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 24.

⁵ Ibid., 50-64.

⁶ Ibid., 83.

⁷ Ibid., 91-93.

integrate into Russian society as a test of how the ‘Jewish question’ could be managed on a larger scale. In general, Jews were attracted to Saint Petersburg by the commercial markets and the vibrant urban and intellectual life. The acquaintance with ‘real’ Russia started for many Jews arriving there.⁸

Selective integration, together with the status of the capital city, made Saint Petersburg a major centre of commercial and intellectual life for Russian Jews. If many other European capitals became a magnet not only for the Jewish elites, but for ordinary Jews as well, selective integration determined the elitist nature of the local Jewish community. It was different from stateless minorities in other empires in one more aspect – this minority did not develop a national movement, but advocated integration to Russian society.⁹ These specific characteristics shaped the agenda of local Jewish periodicals, which we have to take into consideration while discussing a specific trend which the subject of the present study, the monthly *Voskhod*, pursued.

The focus of the present thesis on the image of America requires an explanation how Russian-Jewish publicists built transnational networks with their brethren across the ocean. The Assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881 was followed by a wave of anti-Jewish pogroms in the Pale of Settlement. The same year mass migration of Jews from the Russian Empire started. Although some scholars argue that the pogroms were the main push effect to the huge exodus of Jewish people from Russia, the reasons were more complex. Political oppression, civil inequality, restrictions imposed on communal life, economic problems (i.e. poverty and rapid population growth in the Pale of Settlement), and the hostile attitude on the part of the Slavic majority also should be named.¹⁰

⁸ Ibid., 87-91.

⁹ Ibid., 166-167.

¹⁰ Lloyd P. Gartner, “Jewish Migrants en Route from Europe to North America. Traditions and Realities,” in *The Jews of North America*, ed. Moses Rischin (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987), 26-27.

An overwhelming number of Jews emigrated to the United States of America; between 1881 and 1914 the total number of emigrants reached about 2 million people,¹¹ which signified an enormous population shift. Rebecca Kobrin even calls migration ‘the silent revolution.’¹² Emigrants called America ‘the Golden Land’ because of the myth about the quick and successful adaptation, which promised prosperity and independent cultural development. Moving there held a large significance, since in the new place poor Jews from small towns of the Pale were destined to have a dramatic impact on American Jewry, changing it to what it is known to be today.¹³ Emigration to America versus the appeal to return to Palestine as a historical homeland, which was gaining popularity at this time as well, is usually depicted as the opposition of economic and ideological motives. In this case the alternative of America versus Palestine was viewed as the choice between either joining the camp of the ‘double’ Diaspora (Russian Jews in America) or ending the Diaspora once and for all.¹⁴

Entering the country through New York, the majority of immigrants stayed there. It was the biggest, the most densely populated and cosmopolitan city in America. If the number of Jews who resided in New York in 1880 equaled 80,000 people, in 1914 it was already 1,400,000.¹⁵ Even attempts of Jewish charitable foundations to sponsor resettlement of Jewish people from New York to inner parts of the United States (for example, the Galveston movement in 1907-1914) or establish agricultural colonies failed.¹⁶ Jews from

¹¹ Ibid., 26.

¹² Rebecca Kobrin, *Jewish Bialystok and its Diaspora* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 3.

¹³ Eric L. Goldstein, “The Great Wave: Eastern European Jewish Immigration to the United States, 1880-1924,” in *The Columbia History of Jews and Judaism in America*, ed. Marc Lee Raphael (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 71.

¹⁴ For one of such comparisons see Gur Alroey, “Aliyah to America? A Comparative Look at Jewish Mass Migration, 1881–1914,” *Modern Judaism* 28 (2008): 109-133.

¹⁵ Gartner, *Jewish Migrants*, 25-27, 32; Gerald Sorin, *A Time for Building: The Third Migration, 1880-1920* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1992), 70-71.

¹⁶ Gartner, *Jewish Migrants*, 31.

different provinces had their own sub-neighborhoods in the Lower East Side,¹⁷ but all newcomers were united by the fact that they were extremely poor. During the first few years in America their living conditions were much worse than those they were used to back in the Pale.

In the process of absorption, new Jewish immigrants faced problems caused also by the ambivalent attitudes of American Jews towards them (primarily from Germany who immigrated to the United States in the middle of the nineteenth century and were already quite Americanized), which turned from being supportive to resentful. On a par with the outbursts of anti-Semitism at the influx of Russian Jews, the prevailing neglectful attitudes of established local Jewish communities were not conducive to their integration, which was also compounded by the fact that the number of constantly arriving East European Jews was several times the number of those who immigrated several decades before. In turn, Russian Jews demonstrated a disinclination to abandon their traditional ways of life and had a firm intention to keep their group identity from the very beginning.¹⁸

Grouping of emigrants coming from the same Eastern European towns into *landsmanshaftn* or Jewish immigrant hometown associations was another reaction to the hostile attitudes in a new country. By 1910 the number of officially registered *landsmanshaftn* reached two thousand. They functioned as beneficiary societies, and mutual aid was one of the first priorities. These organizations helped to save the memory about the once abandoned towns and retained 'shtetlikh' identity, remapping regional identities in a transnational context. Their members also kept in touch with the people from their native towns back in Eastern Europe.¹⁹ The more detached from the host society emigrants felt, the larger the transnational networks with brethren from the Russian Empire became. One of the

¹⁷ Moses Rischin, *The Promised City: New York's Jews 1870-1914* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), 76-80.

¹⁸ Sorin, *A Time for Building*, 86-88.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 97-98.

important elements of these tight connections was writing about the personal emigrant experience to Russian-Jewish periodicals, on which I will concentrate in the present study.

Talking about the historiography of the problem, it should be mentioned that if the literature on the history and culture of the Jewish population in the Pale of Settlement is robust,²⁰ very few works have been written about the Jewish community in Saint Petersburg, the significance of which in the intellectual development of Russian Jewry can be hardly exaggerated. Available studies, except Nathans' *Beyond the Pale*, are more descriptive than analytical.²¹

Although the role of the Jewish press in shaping the public opinion in the Jewish communities in the Russian Empire was enormous, the literature on this subject is also scarce. One of the very important contributions, *New Voices of Russian Jewry* by Alexander Orbach,²² is devoted to the Jewish Press in Russian, published in Odessa by the first generation of Russian Maskilim in the 1860s. Another book which I want to mention is *Making Jews Modern* by Sarah Stein,²³ devoted to the Yiddish press in the Russian Empire and the Ladino press in the Ottoman Empire. Although these works do not touch upon my subject directly, some of their approaches are useful.

²⁰ See, for example, Jonathan Frankel, *Prophecy and Politics: Socialism, Nationalism, and the Russian Jews, 1862-1917* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); John Klier, "The Concept of 'Jewish Emancipation' in a Russian Context," in *Civil Rights in Imperial Russia*, ed. Olga Crisp and Linda Edmondson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989): 121-144; Miller, *The Romanov Empire*; Nathans, *Beyond the Pale*; Michael Stanislavski, "Russian Jewry, the Russian State, and the Dynamics of Jewish Emancipation," in *Paths of Emancipation: Jews, States and Citizenship*, ed. Pierre Birnbaum and Ira Katznelson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995): 262-283.

²¹ As in Mikhail Beizer, *The Jews of St. Petersburg: Excursions through a Noble Past* (Philadelphia-New York: The Jewish Publication Society, 1989) or Natalia Yukhnyova, *Jews in Petersburg: The Northern Capital in Old Picture Postcards* (Saint Petersburg: Satis, 2003).

²² Alexander Orbach, *New Voices of Russian Jewry: A Study of the Russian-Jewish Press of Odessa in the Era of the Great Reforms, 1860-1871* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1980).

²³ Sarah Abrevaya Stein, *Making Jews Modern: The Yiddish and Ladino Press in the Russian and Ottoman Empires* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004).

The history and politics around the Jewish periodicals in Russian became the subject of several important books. Dmitriy El'yashevich²⁴ deals more with censorship and the contacts of the Jewish editors with the government. The press by itself is not the focus of Benjamin Nathans's work, thus, his account is very sketchy. Viktor Kelner²⁵ and Ilya Pechenin concentrate primarily on the personality of *Voskhod*'s editor, Adolf Landau, and gives very minor details about the content of the journal.

The image of America depicted in *Voskhod* has repeatedly been addressed by researchers of Jewish history, but it has never been studied in a comprehensive manner. The scholars who dealt with the question of emigration in *Voskhod* have polar views on the problem and their studies are quite fragmented. Let us start with those authors who call *Voskhod* and its successor *Knizhki Voskhoda* a journal with an anti-emigration agenda, the view which is going to be challenged in the present thesis. This opinion existed in the field of East European Jewry studies, presumably, under the influence of a statement pronounced by the great Jewish historian Simon Dubnow.²⁶ Judith Zabarenko's study,²⁷ for example, discusses only several selected years, although the name of her articles announces the time frame of 1881-1910. My research brought me to the conclusion that she does not present the full picture by concentrating only on the negative image of America arguing that it was the reason for many Jews to stay in Russia.

²⁴ Dmitriy El'yashevich, *Pravitel'stvennaya politika i evreyskaya pechat v Rossii, 1797-1917: Ocherki istorii tsenzury* [State Politics and Jewish Publishing in Russia, 1797-1917: Essays on History of Censorship] (Sankt-Petersburg: Mosty Kultury; Jerusalem: Gesheharim, 1999).

²⁵ Viktor Kelner, "Zhurnal "Voskhod" i ego izdatel-redaktor A.E. Landau" ["The Journal "Voskhod" and his publisher-editor A.E. Landau"], in *"Voskhod" – "Knizhki Voskhoda": rospis' soderzhaniya 1881-1906* ["Sunrise" – "Books of the Sunrise": Description of the Content 1881-1906], ed. A.R. Romyantsev (Sankt-Petersburg: Hersch, 2001).

²⁶ Simon Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland* (Bergenfield: Avotaynu, 2000), 352.

²⁷ Judith Zabarenko, "The Negative Image of America in the Russian-Language Jewish Press (1881-1910)," *American Jewish History* 75, No. 3 (March 1986): 267-279.

John Klier also claims that *Voskhod* opposed emigration in general.²⁸ While this may have been the ideology of its editor, Landau, the latter had to accommodate different views and ideologies in his paper as I will argue later. We can thus find very often quite positive views on emigration on the pages of *Voskhod*, not to mention *Knizhki Voskhoda*. Later in his study, Klier himself points out that “Landau’s editorial policy was to publish a full range of articles about all aspects of the emigration movement, *pro et contra*.”²⁹

Victor Kelner also notes that Landau tried to avoid articles, especially translations from Yiddish literature that would have voiced positive opinions about Jewish emigration, thinking that they would distract Jews from fighting for equal civil rights in Russia.³⁰ Nevertheless, he printed articles advocating both tendencies, sometimes more than one in an issue. According to Kelner, Landau never forgot about his initial intention to ‘draw together’ the Russian and the Jewish people,³¹ but we see many articles in *Voskhod* expressing criticism of Russia and its government, which doubtfully would facilitate the merging of two peoples.

Still, a couple of studies agree that *Voskhod* supported emigration, but they are not a research on the journal specifically. Thus, it is stated in the *Evreyskaya entsyklopediya* printed by Brockhaus and Efron Publishing House in 1912 that *Voskhod* did not support the colonization project in Palestine, but advocated emigration to America.³² Mikhail Beizer in *The Jews of St. Petersburg* also points to the disappointment which Maskilim encountered after the pogroms started and that pushed *Voskhod* to discuss whether America or Palestine

²⁸ John Klier, *Russians, Jews, and the Pogroms of 1881-1882* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 298.

²⁹ Ibid., 307.

³⁰ Kelner, *Zhurnal “Voskhod”*, 19.

³¹ Ibid., 11-12.

³² *Evreyskaya entsyklopediya* [The Jewish Encyclopedia], ed. Lev Katsenel’son and David Ginsburg (Saint Petersburg: Brockhaus and Efron Publishing House, 1912), vol. 5, c. 813.

was the better place for emigration and nobody could suggest what could be the other option for solution of the Jewish question if not emigration.³³

Thus, opinions of scholars who touched the topic of Jewish emigration to America differ radically. I will argue here that *Voskhod* has a clear pro-emigration agenda and will challenge the opposite view, which was formed most probably because none of mentioned authors explored the topic wholly. Nevertheless, the subject is quite compelling and the influence of the press on the emigration level is still underexplored. The present thesis is the first attempt to study the proposed problem consistently and will, I hope, add new knowledge to some important chapters of Russian-Jewish history.

My hypothesis is that during most of *Voskhod*'s activity a rather balanced observation was given (in spite of the efforts of censors who treated the journal exceptionally critically), depicting emigration to America more like a necessity and a lesser evil in comparison to the option of staying in Russia. To support my hypothesis I will develop my argument in several stages. In the first, theoretical chapter, I will describe the tools I am going to use in the course of my research relying on the theories of Diaspora studies and transnationalism and the approach to the press as an archive. In the second chapter I will give a short overview of the history of *Voskhod* and introduce the authors contributing to the monthly writing about America. In the third and forth chapters I am going to analyze the image of America as presented in *Voskhod* and how it changed over the time span when the paper was published. Finally, in the fifth and last chapter I will look at censorship and determine its influence on the image of America.

³³ Beizer, *The Jews of St. Petersburg*, 11-12.

Chapter 1: Theoretical Framework

The emergence of the discourse about America in the press was provoked by the mass migration of Russian Jews to the New World. Shifts of populations opened a transnational space due to the will of emigrants to preserve connections with their old motherland. Approaching the image of America constructed on the pages of the Russian-Jewish monthly journal *Voskhod* (1881-1906) I will look at the Russian press as one of the exemplifiers of how the transnational exchange between the Old and New Worlds functioned. I will also argue that representations transformed the monthly to America as a ‘thirdspace’ and that in general *Voskhod*, as a press organ, falls under the notion of an archive.

1.1. Diaspora Studies, Transnationalism and America as a ‘Thirdspace’

Jewish diaspora groups with their long history of exile became a sort of paradigm as far as the problem of migration is concerned. In spite of the fact that the term ‘diaspora’ usually implies a negative experience of people scattered around the world, my aim is to look at the definition with more positive connotations. A sociologist, Robin Cohen, for example, in his work *Global Diasporas: An Introduction* revisits the terminology: “until a few years ago most characterization of diasporas emphasized their catastrophic origins, their mass nature and their disturbing effects.”³⁴ But we can look beyond the victimization motif, defined often by a diaspora group itself or by others, and look at the power of diaspora. Cohen stresses the originally positive usage of the word ‘diaspora’ in ancient Greek, which

³⁴ Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 1.

referred to expansion and colonization.³⁵ In the same manner Rebecca Kobrin in *Jewish Bialystok and its Diaspora* shows that “Jewish Bialystok’s ‘expansive array of colonies’ demonstrate the power of migrant dispersal.”³⁶

To prove his point Cohen traces the history of the Jewish Exile since the Babylonian captivity. The destruction of the First Temple in 586 BCE “created the central folk memory of the negative, victim diaspora tradition – in particular the experience of enslavement, exile and displacement.”³⁷ Thus, the theme of uprootedness as a punishment for sins was created in association with insecurity and oppression in a foreign land. As Cohen mentions, in Exile a Jew was seen as a ‘half-person’ never to achieve ultimate happiness. On the other hand, the Babylonian Exile facilitated the creation of Jewish tradition canonized in the Torah, along with the redemption motif so essential to diasporic imagination. Thus, encounters with alien cultures, first Babylonian, then Greek and Roman, helped to shape a distinct Jewish identity.³⁸

For Cohen ‘the catastrophic tradition’ was affirmed by the destruction of the Second Temple by the Romans in 70 AD.³⁹ The story repeated itself, but this time with much more dreadful consequences. This Exile lasted for almost two thousand years and still had not come to an end at the period under consideration of the present work. Jews were not only scattered around the world, most of them also lived among adherents of a new universal religion – Christianity – whose followers, unlike Babylonians, tended to accuse Jews of deicide (the attitude was more tolerant in the Muslim countries).⁴⁰ Things changed in modern times, when the emancipated Jews of Western Europe developed a strong sense of loyalty towards their host countries, which brought them closer to their non-Jewish

³⁵ Ibid., 1-2, 28.

³⁶ Kobrin, *Jewish Bialystok*, 2.

³⁷ Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, 3.

³⁸ Ibid., 2-5.

³⁹ Ibid., 6-7.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 10-11.

compatriots rather than to Jewish brethren from other countries. Nevertheless, ongoing antisemitism (expressed among other things in the Damascus, Dreyfus and Beilis affairs) revived Jewish solidarity regardless of the state borders through creating transnational organizations and networks directed to political and financial support of coreligionists all over the world. Such transnational cooperation, based on a sense of the common past, traditions and language, became an incentive for antisemitic theories of a Jewish world conspiracy. As a chain reaction antisemitism generated a feeling of insecurity among Jewish communities no matter how tolerant the host countries were. An understanding of an urgent need to create a protecting Jewish state appeared as a result.⁴¹ This kind of vicious circle explains to some extent how Jews preserved their distinct identity living among other ethnic and religious groups for almost two thousand years and why ghetto walls were built by both sides.

With the advantage of hindsight, Cohen suggests that the Exile (or *galut* in Hebrew) was beneficial for Jewish tradition, at least in the Babylonian and Sephardi cases (here he refers mainly to the Jews in Muslim countries), because “those experiences were distinguished by considerable intellectual and spiritual achievements which simply could not have happened in a narrow tribal society like that of ancient Judaea.”⁴² For him the victimization line was confirmed by Zionist ideology. At the end Cohen concludes that “the diasporic experience in all areas has been enriching and creative as well as enervating and fearful.”⁴³

Theorizing diaspora, Cohen elaborates characteristics offered by William Safran⁴⁴ and suggests that a diaspora group is one which was dispersed, forcedly or voluntarily, from the homeland to several foreign lands some considerable time ago: this distinguishes a

⁴¹ Ibid., 15-20.

⁴² Ibid., 21.

⁴³ Ibid., 21.

⁴⁴ William Safran, “Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return,” *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 1, No. 1 (Spring 1991): 83-99.

diaspora from a community of recent emigrants, who might lose their original identity under the assimilationist pressure very soon, whereas a diaspora implies a stable identity preserved during a considerable amount of time. Dispersion usually follows a traumatic episode in the group's history, which "provides the folk memory of the great historic injustice that binds the group together"⁴⁵ and gives a ground for the collective memory which its members share. The group devotes itself to the maintenance, restoration, creation or imagining of a homeland and hopes for a return under favorable conditions, if not during the current, then during the next generations. In many instances devotion to a historical homeland is accompanied by the hostility of the host societies, a belief in the impossibility of total integration and a tendency to associate themselves more with people of the same ethnicity from other countries and not with compatriots of other ethnic origin.⁴⁶ Finally, Cohen stresses the 'usefulness' of a diaspora experience, when "the tension between an ethnic, a national and a transnational identity is often a creative, enriching one."⁴⁷ I cannot argue with him in a long-term run, but I do not believe that this is something which bonds a group in the present, but something which can be appreciated in the future.

No matter how well Jews were treated in some host countries, no matter how deeply the encounters with foreign lands enriched Jewish cultures and helped to crystallize Jewish self-identification, all this was seen in a bad light in Jewish national historiography as long as Jews lived in diaspora and not in the Promised Land. Nevertheless, I would support the affirmative implications of diaspora research and suggest that if a diaspora can be called a positive experience with a push for creativity, then a double diaspora, as Russian Jews in America, may be presented as something even more beneficial for Jewish tradition determining an even clearer Jewish self-identification.

⁴⁵ Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, 23.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 23-24.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 24.

Daniel and Jonathan Boyarin also stress the idea that Jewish particularism in the diaspora crystallized as a response by Christian universalism. As there are no slaves without masters, there would not be a distinct Jewishness without its opposition to Christianity, which Jews encountered in the ‘beneficial’ Exile. The Boyarin brothers “propose diaspora as a theoretical and historical model to replace national self-determination.”⁴⁸ In fact, the detachment of an ethnic group from the political domination in a certain land not only preserves a cultural identity, but prevents warfare, since the land is not seen as a criterion for identification. The Boyarin brothers claim that the diaspora and not monotheism became the most valuable contributor to Judaism⁴⁹ and refer to Harry Berger’s observation that the “status that depends on land is generally more precarious and alienable than status inscribed in the body”⁵⁰ (or in culture and religion as in the case of the Jews).

If the diaspora signifies a disjunction of a certain ethnic or religious group, the term “transnationalism” is more abstract and used in reference to bonds and social relations kept between members of a dispersed group across the borders, including cultural practices, engagement in political activity in both countries of emigration and immigration, economic networks, etc. The “transnational turn” occurred only at the beginning of the 1990s, but since then occupied a significant place in academia, as well as in political discourse. Transnational formations empower migrants and may retard their integration in a host country.⁵¹ It can be vice versa as well: slow integration facilitates strengthening of the transnational networks,⁵² which is very important in the case of Russian Jews in America and the ties they keep with the country of origin. Defined by a sociologist, Thomas Faist,

⁴⁸ Daniel Boyarin, Jonathan Boyarin, “Diaspora: Generation and the Ground of Jewish Identity,” in *Theorizing Diaspora: A Reader*, ed. Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Mannur (Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2003), 100.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 110.

⁵⁰ Harry Berger, “The Lie of the Land: The Text Beyond Canaan,” *Representations* 25 (Winter, 1989): 121.

⁵¹ Thomas Faist, “Diaspora and Transnationalism: What Kind of Dance Partners?” In *Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods*, ed. Rainer Baubock and Thomas Faist (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), 9-13.

⁵² Ewa Morawska, “Exploring Diversity in Immigrant Assimilation and Transnationalism: Poles and Russian Jews in Philadelphia,” *International Migration Review* 38, Issue 4 (2004): 1373-1376.

“the concept of transnationalism was coined to focus on the grassroots activities of international migrants across borders as being something distinct from the dense and continuous relations of macro-agents such as multinational or transnational companies.”⁵³ Oversimplifying, the diaspora implies a dispersed group’s orientation to the country of origin, and transnationalism studies concentrate on the relationships between people in both ‘home’ and ‘host’ countries.⁵⁴ As Faist puts it, “concepts of diaspora deal with dispersal, whether traumatic or not, and the resulting emergence and reproduction of some sort of collective identity, with varying intensities of ties to the country of emigration and the countries of immigration.”⁵⁵ Practical performance of those ties is a transnational experience bond with interchangeability of ideas and goods.⁵⁶ There is a differentiation between private and public transnationalism. If the former implies personal relationships, the latter is concerned with social, economic, political, etc. connections between communities in home and host countries.

Transnationalism, thus, helps to preserve the distinctiveness of an emigrant group. Rebecca Kobrin, for example, pointing to economic, literary, political and cultural connections existing between Jewish emigrants from Russia and those who stayed behind, stresses regional identities, which were not just preserved in the circumstances of new immigrant realities, but received a further reinforcement.⁵⁷ As Kobrin states, “transnationalism [which appeared as an area of studies in the late twentieth century] is nothing new” in the case of Eastern European Jews, “who distinguished themselves by having emigrated at a rate unparalleled by any other East European ethnic group. As a result, they forged new types of solidarities through print culture, organizations, and philanthropies simultaneously animated by very local concerns – namely their members’

⁵³ Ibid., 13-14.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 20.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 21.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 22.

⁵⁷ Kobrin, *Jewish Bialystok*, 5-6.

underlying loyalty to a specific East European city or town – but also cognizant of the global network in which they now found themselves.”⁵⁸ One of the questions of this study is whether contributors to *Voskhod* developed any kind of regional identity after arriving in America, or whether it was only their “Russianness” which received reinforcement in the new conditions.

Michel Bruneau brings the terms ‘diaspora’ and ‘transnationalism’ closer without making a clear distinction: “a community diaspora first comes into being and then lives on owing to whatsoever in a given place forges a bond between those who want to group together and maintain, from afar, relations with other groups which, although settled elsewhere, invoke a common identity.”⁵⁹ The bond is not subjected to time; it can be formulated in religious, communal, social, political, economic terms, as well on a level of family and collective memory, which are reproduced through certain practices. Diaspora groups for Bruneau aspire to construct separate social formations, different from societies in both countries of origin and migration.⁶⁰ The scholar defines four types of diaspora according to their more salient entrepreneurial, religious, political or racial/cultural character, supposing that Jews fall under the second category.⁶¹ The connections, which members of diaspora communities establish, acquire a three-dimensional level:

Belonging to a diaspora implies being able to live simultaneously on the transnational world scale, the local scale of the community and the scale of the host or home country, thereby combining the three scales whilst privileging one or two of these... A diaspora is a patchwork of families, communities and religious networks integrated in a territory by a nation-state, within its borders... Through migration, diaspora members have lost their material relationship to the territory of origin, but they can still preserve their cultural or spiritual relationship through memory.⁶²

⁵⁸ Ibid., 6.

⁵⁹ Michel Bruneau, “Diasporas, transnational spaces and communities,” in *Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods*, ed. Rainer Baubock and Thomas Faist (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), 35.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 35-37.

⁶¹ Ibid., 39-40.

⁶² Ibid., 48.

Migration inevitably alters group identity. In a new territory the social environment changes cultural patterns. Deterritorialization changes the conception of a homeland making it in some ways imaginary, although it may still exist on the world map.⁶³ This imagination, expressed in literature, myths, etc., plays a crucial role in social life. A social-cultural anthropologist, Arjun Appadurai, for example, asserts media as a main actor in this drama and argues that people's lives at our modern age are closely connected with representations.⁶⁴ Appadurai uses the term "ethnoscape" to define the "territory" of group identity disconnected from any physical boundaries, but socially constructed and marked by cultural representations. Studying the discourse in the press, I intend to define the peculiar existence of Russian Jews in America as such an "ethnoscape".

Amanda Lagerkvist calls America "the most mediated nation in the world," which "has, by means of mediation, become a geo-psychic space across the globe."⁶⁵ This researcher investigates the images or even fantasies about America in Post-war Swedish travelogues. She concentrates on reactions that travelers experienced when their representation of the most mediated sights, imagined and fictitious, clashed with real objects, true and factual. Lagerkvist thus follows Lefebvre's theory of spatialisation of 'representational space'. In fact, objects may be real and imaginary at the same time, because even encountering a real object, the traveler sees it through the lens of the object he/she constructed in the mind before traveling to America.⁶⁶ "Journeys through America were journeys through mediascapes and memoryscape,"⁶⁷ as Lagerkvist puts it. Thus, after Edward Soja Lagerkvist calls America a 'real-and-imaged place,' something 'in-between' or a 'thirdspace,' where physical and imaginary geography clash. America as a thirdspace is

⁶³ Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 48-49.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 52-55, 64.

⁶⁵ Amanda Lagerkvist, "Terra (In)cognita: Mediated America as Thirdplace Experience," in *Geographies of Communication: The Spatial Turn in Media Studies*, ed. Jesper Falkheimer and Andre Jansson (Goteborg: Nordicom, 2006), 261.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 261-265.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 265.

different from real and imagined Americas, but also embraces and juxtaposes them both.⁶⁸

“As the physical world is superimposed by meditation, media consumers/travelers are left in Thirdspace suspense. In all its materiality, America was – potentially – a figment of the imagination.”⁶⁹

Russian-Jewish intellectuals who immigrated to America at the turn of the twentieth century also tended to perceive America as a thirdspace. First it was a ‘Golden Land’ luring with many opportunities. Then this image clashed with the reality and brought disappointment. These juxtaposed views were afterwards represented in articles and sent back to the Russian Empire producing a sort of vicious circle, which Lagerkvist mentioned in her work. But not all “Americas as a Thirdspace” found their way to the Russian-language press. Editors and censors took care of sorting materials with certain purposes. This brings us to the idea to look at the press as an archive.

1.2. Press as an Archive

The discourse following Jacques Derrida’s work *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* has called scholars in Humanities to revise the notion of archive again and again. The transitional nature of the archive, the question of its authority, accessibility and multiple interpretations are brought into academia repeatedly. Why do we want to collect and preserve different artifacts? In the process of archivization, who decides what should be archived and what should not? My aim is to problematize the notion of an archive and to argue that even the press, in this case the monthly journal *Voskhod*, can be regarded as an archive of ideas existing among the Jewish elites in the Russian Empire at the turn of the twentieth century.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 270-273.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 274.

The question of terminology is essential. Concerning the definition of an archive, a librarian, Marlene Manoff, refers to “the inflation of the term” when every repository and collection of artifacts can be defined as such.⁷⁰ To echo Derrida, “nothing is less reliable, nothing is less clear today than the word ‘archive.’”⁷¹ And regarding Michel Foucault’s conception one may conclude that it is easier to say what the archive is not, than what it is.⁷² In relation to the archive’s main features, it “preserves the records of the past and it embodies the promise of the present to the future”⁷³ and is a substitute of the reality of the past. But it also has to have a medium “to speak out”. Significantly, not only history writing is a construction, the archival materials are a construction as well and archives are neither neutral nor innocent.⁷⁴

Using the term ‘archive’ I mean not the brick building with four walls, full of stacks with documents, but the archive as an institution, as a notion of any kind of repository, the content of which helps to construct/reconstruct/deconstruct historical processes. Thomas Osborne proposes to situate the archive between literalism (the actual building) and total abstraction (virtual existence and transformation of certain concepts) and to look at material documents in knowledge production.⁷⁵ For the historian Patrick Joyce, everything can be seen as an archive (city, library, etc.).⁷⁶

Regarding the definition of the press, it can be simply determined as information distributed with a certain aim and with a certain attitude by a certain agency to a certain audience. The important question whether if we can integrate the history of *Voskhod* in the notion of the press as an archive, on the condition of accepting the view that the former can

⁷⁰ Marlene Manoff, “Theories of the Archive from Across the Disciplines,” *Portal: Libraries and the Academy* 4, No. 1 (January 2004): 10.

⁷¹ Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 90.

⁷² Manoff, *Theories of the Archive*, 18.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁷⁵ Thomas Osborne, “The Ordinarity of the Archive,” *History of the Human Sciences* 12, No. 2 (1999): 51-53.

⁷⁶ Patrick Joyce, “The Politics of the Liberal Archive,” *History of the Human Sciences* 12, No. 2 (1999): 47.

be regarded as the latter at all referring to Manoff's definition stated above. To begin with, many scholars look at the archive both as a product of history and as a history maker.⁷⁷ In this case a sort of vicious circle is created: only few evidences (official documents, private letters, diaries, newspapers, etc.) eventually find their way into the archive, and researchers, no matter how professional they are, cannot draw the full image of particular events and are limited in their judgments. The ultimate subjectivity of the reconstruction of the past *per se* is determined by worldviews, biases and prejudices of the 'construction workers' on the one hand, and the masses of evidence which were lost on their way to the archive on the other. This is a feature inherent to the press as well. In the case of *Voskhod*, its archive of texts was created by the 'self-censorship' of the authors, the selection operated by the editor being afraid of censorship and finally, the intervention of the authorities who, dealing through censors, influenced the collected representations which we see in the journal volumes today. In *Voskhod* a certain image of America was chosen to be presented in order to influence public opinion about emigration. It reflected the intentions of the writers, editors and censors.

In line with the transitional definition of the archive, the journalist Carolyn Kitch, calls journalism the first draft of history and memory.⁷⁸ She states that the aim of the press is to create a public discourse.⁷⁹ The press can be also regarded as a memory place: it passes "memory" to the next generations through its pages and provokes public discussions which leave traces in memory. The question is to what extent this memory is "authentic" and if the authority of the paper is strong enough to transform the individual messages of its authors and editor into a serious public discourse.

⁷⁷ Nicholas B. Dirks, "Annals of the Archive: Ethnographic Notes on the Sources of History," in *From the Margins: Historical Anthropology and Its Futures*, ed. Brian Keith Axel (Durham, London: Duke University Press, 2002), 48; Joyce, *The Politics*, 36.

⁷⁸ Carolyn Kitch, "Placing Journalism inside Memory - and Memory Studies," *Memory Studies* 1, No. 3 (2008): 312.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 314.

Osborne stresses that the archives “give access to the everyday and the mundane” and that “the everyday [...] is itself an effect of archivality.”⁸⁰ He meant first of all memoirs and diaries kept in the archive. Reflections on everyday life are inherent to the press in general and to *Voskhod* in particular, since the most impressive image of America is presented exactly in the extracts from diaries and memoirs of recent emigrants. Nevertheless, both high politics and the mundane are reflected in the archive.⁸¹

A sociologist, Harriet Bradley, goes further problematizing the complexity of interpretations and refers to the archive as a slippery concept presented in “multiple forms and versions” but with a steady “connective sequence of archive – memory – the past – narrative”. She relates the archive to “the repository of memories: individual and collective, official and unofficial, licit and illicit, legitimating and subversive.”⁸² Thus, the concept of the press content fits well to the notion of the repository of memories.

Summing up, the press can be treated as an archive in the broad definition of the term and both concepts have a lot of similarities. Not all evidence of the past found their way to the archive, as it was pre-selected by certain authorities or just lost, being regarded as unnecessary. In the same manner not all articles written for a specific periodical were published, some were rejected by an editor or by censors. Moreover, materials from both the archive and the press bear political implications, since the states and individuals of the past wanted to transmit through archival documents a certain, sometimes falsified, image for future generations. The press is also engaged in drawing a certain, often biased, picture of events. Knowledge extracted from both the archive and the press influence public opinion and is a serious tool in the hands of authorities. The inevitability of various interpretations brings the notions of the archive and the press even closer.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 60.

⁸¹ Ibid., 60-61.

⁸² Harriet Bradley, “The Seductions of the Archive: Voices Lost and Found,” *History of the Human Sciences* 12, No. 2 (1999): 108.

Applying theory provided here to the background information about Jewish emigration from the Russian Empire to the United States of America at the turn of the twentieth century presented in the introduction, we can conclude that migration can be seen as a positive experience, which enriched Jews culturally and crystallized their identity. Their failure to integrate to American society quickly resulted in creation of strong transnational networks between the New and Old Worlds. Writing about the new country to *Voskhod* was one of the elements of this transnational space transforming the representations in the journal into America as a ‘thirdspace’.

Regarding *Voskhod* as an archive we can say that its first editor, Adolf Landau, acted as a true archivist collecting and selecting images of America to be published. Now they are documents helping us to reconstruct emigrational experience of Jewish Russian-speaking population in America.

Chapter 2: Voskhod, the Lonely Herald of the Russian-Jewish Intelligentsia, and Its American Correspondents

The monthly *Voskhod* [The Sunrise] received permission to be published at a time when Jews in Russia still believed that the reforms of Alexander II would be continued and when Jewish intelligentsia nurtured hopes for emancipation. But the most troublesome period in the history of Jews in the Russian Empire started almost immediately after the periodical emerged. Eventually, *Voskhod* became the most famous and professional journal in Imperial Russia; and since most Jews of the Empire read only Yiddish and Hebrew, it was necessarily an elitist journal, destined to the Russian-Jewish intelligentsia.

In the present chapter I will characterize the Jewish community of Saint Petersburg, where *Voskhod* was published, give a short overview of the history of the journal and introduce the authors who contributed the articles about America and Jewish emigration to that country.

2.1. Jewish Community in the Capital City of Saint Petersburg

The numeric importance of Jewish intelligentsia in Saint Petersburg grew significantly towards the end of the nineteenth century.⁸³ Their Maskilic ideology developed under circumstances of the crisis in traditional Judaism, tuition-free state Jewish public schools mentioned above, the reforms of Alexander II, the flourishing of Russian culture, etc. In turn it facilitated the development of Hebrew and Yiddish literature, the study of the national historical past and later the spreading of socialism and Zionism. At the same time, Haskalah enhanced the diversification of the Jewish community, acculturation and even

⁸³ Yukhnyova, *Jews in Petersburg*, 14.

assimilation.⁸⁴ The usage of Russian language bears evidence of a high level of acculturation distinguishing Petersburg Jewry from their brethren in the Pale.⁸⁵ The table below shows the significant level of adoption of the Russian language among the Jews of Saint Petersburg:

Table 1. Mother Tongue Reported by the Jewish Population of Saint Petersburg, 1869-1910

<i>Language</i>	1869	1881	1890	1900	1910
Yiddish	97%	84%	67%	61%	54%
Russian	2%	12%	29%	37%	42% ⁸⁶

One of the most important aspects of the Petersburg Jewish community's life was the press. The capital became the centre of the Jewish press in the 1870s replacing Odessa in this role.⁸⁷ The largest number of the titles of the periodicals in all three languages used by Jews (Hebrew, Yiddish and Russian) appeared there. The language chosen for publishing a certain paper reflected its ideology. Thus, periodicals in Hebrew and Russian were more Enlightenment-oriented and circulated more among the intellectual circles, whereas the Yiddish press addressed primarily representatives of the traditional Jewish society living in the Pale. The difference between Hebrew and Russian Maskilic press was that the former was oriented mostly toward religious circles, whereas the latter applied to that part of the Jewish intelligentsia who stood for the rapprochement of the Jewish and Russian peoples.⁸⁸

The large majority of the Saint Petersburg papers in the given period were published in Russian and the choice of language was determined, of course, by the character of the Saint Petersburg Jewish community. The Russian-Jewish press is of particular interest because it also had a presumably non-Jewish audience and writing about inner Jewish

⁸⁴ Beizer, *The Jews of St. Petersburg*, 9-10.

⁸⁵ Yukhnyova, *Jews in Petersburg*, 21.

⁸⁶ Nathans, *Beyond the Pale*, 111.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 98.

⁸⁸ Steven J. Zipperstein, *The Jews of Odessa: A Cultural History, 1794-1881* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), 77.

affairs was also a way to position the Jewish minority and expose certain issues to the Russian people. Awareness of the potential non-Jewish reader was intensified by harsh censorship.

Some might say that the Petersburg community was extremely detached from their brethren in the Pale, but Petersburg Jewry often acted as spokesmen in defense of those who remained in the Western Russian borderlands. This was true for the press as well.⁸⁹ Such support was also in place during the big wave of pogroms starting in 1881-1882 following the assassination of Alexander II. These events made the Petersburg intelligentsia reconsider their integrationist ideas and involved the crucial change in the attitudes of the Jewish intelligentsia towards the masses of the poor Jews from the Pale of Settlement. The Maskilim's support of their unfortunate brethren became very pronounced,⁹⁰ which received its expression in *Voskhod* as will be demonstrated in the present thesis.

2.2. *History of Voskhod and Its Readership*

Voskhod's first editor, Adolf Efimovich Landau (Jewish name Aaron Khaimovich; 1842-1902), was brought up in the best traditions of Haskalah, the Jewish Enlightenment, and was a great supporter of Jewish emancipation.⁹¹ For his publishing activities he got the nickname of 'Jewish Sytin,' referring to Ivan Sytin (1851-1934), a famous publisher and owner of the biggest publishing house in Saint Petersburg.⁹²

Landau had bought his printing-office in 1873 at a period when a new generation of Jewish intellectuals emerged. These were young people who had graduated from Russian universities and were quite integrated into Russian society, while still staying attached to Jewish religion and traditions. For them Russian was not just a useful language, but the

⁸⁹ Nathans, *Beyond the Pale*, 167-169.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 193-194.

⁹¹ Kelner, "Zhurnal *"Voskhod"*", 7-8.

⁹² Beizer, *The Jews of St. Petersburg*, 8.

signifier of their belonging to a new Russian-Jewish culture. It was the right moment for the establishment of a Russian-Jewish press, and Landau used it. In September 1880 he wrote to the Chief Administration of Press Affairs with a request to transform his previously published historical and literary collection, *Jewish Library*, into a monthly journal called *Voskhod* without preliminary censorship.⁹³

Luckily, the request came at the period of liberalization in the government. Landau stressed there that the Russian government and the Russian-Jewish intelligentsia had a common interest, but this could only be pursued by the advancement of mutual knowledge. Landau argued that a lot of confrontations took place because Russian society knew almost nothing about Jewry and that the new journal could introduce the Russian public to Jewish culture. It is unlikely that Landau really believed in what he wrote, but he obviously struck the right chord to get *Voskhod* published. The Head of the Chief Administration of Press Affairs, Senator Nikolay Abaza, gave permission for publishing *Voskhod* on October 3, 1880 and the license was issued on January 8, 1881.⁹⁴

The approved program of the monthly was as follows:

- “1. Articles on the questions concerning civil, judicial and economic conditions of Jews in Russia and abroad.
2. Articles on the history of Jews in Russia and other countries.
3. Essays on the history of ancient and modern Jewish literature.
4. Ethnographic essays from everyday life of Jews, tales, novels, poems and other belletristic writings about the Jewish everyday life, in the original language and translations.
5. Biographies of famous people of the Jewish origin and those who have influence on the faith of Jews.
6. Commentaries on more or less significant events from the life of Russian Jews.

⁹³ Kelner, “Zhurnal “*Voskhod*”, 9.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 10-11.

7. Commentaries on significant events in the life of foreign Jews.

8. Literary chronicle: a) commentaries on the significant events in Russian journalism and literature concerning Jews; b) commentaries on the significant events in foreign journalism and literature concerning Jews and c) commentaries on the ancient Jewish journalism and literature.

9. Critical and bibliographical articles.

10. Correspondence from different places in Russia and abroad concerning Jews.

11. Feuilletons.

12. Reports on trials where Jews are accused, with explanations of their significance, but without discussing court decisions.”⁹⁵

In general, *Voskhod*’s agenda can be identified as progressive, moderately nationalistic and non-Zionist.⁹⁶ This is how Simon Dubnow described it: “for many years [it] was the only expression of opinion of the progressive intelligentsia, standing between assimilation and nationalism and gradually inclining towards the latter... It served for a long time as a citadel where, after the former fighters for emancipation had suffered defeat, the last zealots of progress and equal rights had built their stronghold.”⁹⁷

In June, 1881 Landau applied to the Chief Administration of Press Affairs again asking to publish a weekly supplement with the title *Nedel’naya khronika Voskhoda* [The Weekly Chronicle of the Sunrise]. At this time the situation had changed completely because of the assassination of Tsar Alexander II and the subsequent decrease in liberalization. Antisemitism became an official ideology. Nevertheless, the permission was

⁹⁵ The Russian State Historical Archive (henceforth RSHA), Fund 776, Register 6, Folder 501, fols. 6-6v. All translations from the Russian are mine, unless otherwise indicated.

⁹⁶ Simon Markish, “*Voskhod* – glavnyi zhurnal russkogo evreystva [*Voskhod* as the Most Important Journal of Russian Jewry],” *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* 28, No. 2 (Avril-Juin 1987): 174.

⁹⁷ Sited in Beizer, *The Jews of St. Petersburg*, 12.

given on August 15, 1881 and the monthly edition, freed from the necessity to publish day-by-day news, became a place for belles-lettres, research papers, literature reviews, etc.⁹⁸

The supportive attitude of the Russian authorities can be explained by the fact that they considered the Jewish press in Russian as being very ‘useful’. It was supposed to bring Jews closer to the Russian language and culture and would allow the government to follow the development of Jewish political and religious thought. Promoting Russian proficiency among the Jewish public had, however, a hidden threat: it would enable Jews to follow anti-Imperial discourse in Russian periodicals.⁹⁹ For a long period of time, *Voskhod* remained the only Jewish paper in Russian and thus the only press organ fighting for Jewish political and civil emancipation. Landau, thus, had to accommodate all ideologies, views and opinions on the pages of his journal, although he was personally a partisan of civil emancipation opposed to any sort of emigration.¹⁰⁰

The elitist status of the new periodical was determined already by the costly subscription: ten rubles per year and six rubles per six months for the monthly.¹⁰¹ The journal’s agenda was close to the ideology of Maskilim, predominantly for those who lived in Saint Petersburg and Kherson and Kiev gubernias.¹⁰² In comparison, the cost of the popular Yiddish daily *Der Fraynd*, which addressed primarily the Jewish population from the Pale of Settlement, was seven rubles per year, which was still a lot for ordinary people, so readers often shared a subscription.¹⁰³

Regarding subscription of *Voskhod*, its numbers grew from 2,300 copies in 1882¹⁰⁴ to 2,692 copies in 1883, to 3,909 copies in 1893, then to a maximum number of 4,397

⁹⁸ Kelner, “Zhurnal “Voskhod”, 11-12; RSHA, Fund 776, Register 6, Folder 501, fols. 14-14v.

⁹⁹ El’yashevich, *Pravitel’svennaya politika*, 396-398.

¹⁰⁰ Kelner, *Zhurnal “Voskhod”*, 13-14.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁰² El’yashevich, *Pravitel’svennaya politika*, 400.

¹⁰³ Stein, *Making Jews Modern*, 32-34.

¹⁰⁴ RSHA, Fund 776, Register 6, Folder 501, fol. 34.

copies in 1895.¹⁰⁵ At first sight, this is not a large readership, considering that approximately 5 million Jews lived in the Russian Empire at that time. For example, the number of subscribers of *Der Fraynd* reached 90-100 thousand in 1905,¹⁰⁶ when over a million Jews had already departed to America, Argentina, Palestine, and other countries. Still, I would agree with Viktor Kelner who argues that the impact of readership growth was considerable.¹⁰⁷ *Der Fraynd* addressed vast circles of Jewish folk masses, whereas *Voskhod* was published in Russian, a language the majority of Jews could not read, and was oriented towards elitist circles from the beginning. The data from the census of 1897 supports this opinion, since only one percent of the Jewish population indicated Russian as their mother tongue.¹⁰⁸ Of course much more Jews could understand and read Russian, but still their number was rather small. In other words, *Voskhod*'s circulation was sufficient to cover most of the Russian-speaking Jewish elite. Moreover, while only the Jewish public had access to the Yiddish press, *Voskhod* could be understood by every literate Russian, so we may assume that at least a small part of the subscriptions were made by non-Jews. And if we take into consideration that one journal was read by several people, we can conclude that *Voskhod*'s coverage was quite sufficient.

Voskhod was the only Jewish periodical in Russian that existed for the quarter of a century from 1884 till 1899. Dmitriy El'yashevich stresses bankruptcy as the main reason for the disappearance of two other Russian-Jewish journals *Rassvet* [The Dawn] and *Russkiy evrey* [The Russian Jew], which were shut down in 1883 and 1884 respectively.¹⁰⁹ But I assume that a loss of public interest could diminish the number of subscribers of those periodicals and consequently cause financial problems.

¹⁰⁵ Kelner, *Zhurnal "Voskhod"*, 14.

¹⁰⁶ Stein, *Making Jews Modern*, 31-32.

¹⁰⁷ Kelner, *Zhurnal "Voskhod"*, 14.

¹⁰⁸ El'yashevich, *Pravitel'stvennaya politika*, 403.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 409-410.

But fifteen years of the lonely existence as the tribune for Russian-speaking Jews were not an easy time for *Voskhod* either. At the beginning of the 1890s the government saw a threatening tendency among Jewish intellectuals to join the Russian liberal movement. *Voskhod* as the only Jewish periodical in Russian could not avoid suspicion and the journal's publication was stopped for six months in 1891,¹¹⁰ about which I will talk in detail in the last chapter of my thesis. Landau was disappointed by the overly indifferent attitude towards this event by the Jews in Saint-Petersburg. As at the same time receiving support from his Christian friends, Landau asked himself for whom he actually worked. Nevertheless, after publishing was resumed, the six missing volumes were printed at once (for April-September) under the same conditions as before, that is without preliminary censorship.¹¹¹ After the break in publishing, *Voskhod* became less critical¹¹² and, one might argue, less interesting.

In the 1890s Landau's health grew worse, and he had to leave his place of work more and more often. For the first time Landau informed the Chief Administration of Press Affairs about his leaving abroad in 1889. He temporarily entrusted the editing to a writer and a social activist, Dr. Samuel Iosifovich Gruzenberg (1854-1909), as well as the duty to explain *Voskhod*'s politics to the censors.¹¹³ Since 1893 Landau went abroad every summer because of the health issues and Gruzenberg fairly became his right hand in the editing process.¹¹⁴

Nevertheless, Landau was still an active publisher while living in Russia. On November 11, 1896 he petitioned again for the extending of the program and asked for

¹¹⁰ John Klier, "1855-1894 Censorship of the Press in Russia and the Jewish Question," *Jewish Social Studies* 48, No. 3-4 (1986): 264-265.

¹¹¹ Kelner, *Zhurnal "Voskhod"*, 28-33.

¹¹² El'yashevich, *Pravitel'stvennaya politika*, 414.

¹¹³ RSHA, Fund 776, Register 6, Folder 501, fol. 143.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, fols. 201, 203, 207, 209, 221; RSHA, Fund 776, Register 6, Folder 502, fol. 12.

permission to publish *Nedel'naya Khronika Voskhoda* twice a week.¹¹⁵ At the beginning of 1898 he finally got a response to his petition to add to the program sections on the government policies, commentaries on significant events in Russian and overseas life and an overview of the stock market. In the response it was stressed that such projected additions would change the character of the periodical to a general one when there are so many papers with such orientation besides *Voskhod*, but no other periodicals in Russian which would address the Jewish problems specifically. As a result, the Chief Administration of Press Affairs allowed adding to the program the overview of the stock market and publishing *Nedel'naya khronika Voskhoda* twice a week so that it became necessary renaming it *Khronika Voskhoda*,¹¹⁶ the word 'nedel'naya' ['weekly'] being elided.

At the beginning of 1899 Landau had to go abroad for recreation even before the summer period.¹¹⁷ But this time the situation changed radically. On April 8 Gruzenberg resigned from performing his duties at the time when Landau had to be away.¹¹⁸ The next day Landau reported to the Chief Administration of Press Affairs that in the light of such circumstances he authorized Maxim Syrkin to be in charge of the editorial office.¹¹⁹ Two months afterwards, on June 17, Syrkin informed the Chief Administration that due to the health issues Landau passed to him the publishing of the periodical.¹²⁰ Thus, on July 17, 1899 Maksimilian Geshelev (or Grigorievich) Syrkin took full responsibility for the paper.¹²¹

We know very few things about Syrkin. He was born in October 15, 1858, lived in Saint Petersburg, professed Judaism and in 1879 graduated from the Saint Petersburg

¹¹⁵ RSHA, Fund 776, Register 6, Folder 501, fols. 211-212.

¹¹⁶ RSHA, Fund 776, Register 6, Folder 502, fol. 2.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., fol. 12.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., fol. 16.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., fol. 15.

¹²⁰ Ibid., fol. 19.

¹²¹ Ibid., fol. 22.

University with a degree in Law.¹²² He retained the privilege to publish the periodical without preliminary censorship¹²³ and lowered its price because of the several complains about expensiveness of the paper.¹²⁴ The name was also changed. On October 29, 1899 (from the 11th issue) the journal was renamed *Knizhki Voskhoda* [Books of the Sunrise] and its weekly supplement became *Voskhod*.¹²⁵ Nevertheless, the journal still preserved its aim to give a voice to all trends within the Jewish national movement.¹²⁶ El'yashevich claims that Landau's weak health was not the only reason why *Voskhod* was sold: the ideology of gradual assimilation, which Landau followed at the beginning, already seemed to be irrelevant.¹²⁷

Gruzenberg left *Voskhod* a couple of months before Landau resigned to establish his own paper. Thus, a second Jewish periodical in Russian came into being, the weekly *Budushchnost* [The Future] with a Zionist agenda (there was not a single article on America during the first year of its publishing, for example). Henceforth Russian-speaking Jewry could choose the journal which was closer to their ideological views and *Voskhod* lost its 'domination' in forming public opinion. When finally the Jewish press proliferated at the beginning of the twentieth century, the censors could not control it so attentively any longer.¹²⁸

The history of *Voskhod*'s sale and the foundation of *Budushchnost* is quite peculiar and requires a further investigation. The most accepted opinion is that Landau's health weakened and he had to resign. However, he continued his publishing activity after losing the position of an editor in *Voskhod*.¹²⁹ Maybe he really could not cope with censorship

¹²² Ibid., fols. 20-21.

¹²³ Ibid., fol. 28.

¹²⁴ Ibid., fol. 41v.

¹²⁵ Ibid., fol. 35.

¹²⁶ Kelner, *Zhurnal "Voskhod"*, 37

¹²⁷ El'yashevich, *Pravitel'stvennaya politika*, 415-416.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 403-405.

¹²⁹ Ilya Pechenin, "A.E. Landau i russko-evreyskaya pechat [A.E. Landau and the Russian-Jewish Press]," in *Tirosh - Studies in Judaica*, Vol. 10, ed. Matvey Chlenov (Moscow: Judaica Rossica, 2010), 138-139.

anymore. In addition, the behavior of Gruzenberg, which looks a lot like betrayal, is quite suspicious.

The agenda of *Voskhod/Knizhki Voskhoda* changed under the guidance of the new editor. The new generation of Russian-Jewish intellectuals were of a completely different ideological background; they had lost hope in assimilation and sometimes shared membership in Zionist (not many though) and All-Russian democratic organizations.¹³⁰ Moreover, the atmosphere after the Kishinev pogrom of 1903 became very tense. In the face of the changing political situation, the weekly *Voskhod* reacting to day-by-day events became much more important than the analytical *Knizhki Voskhoda*.¹³¹ During the last year of the paper's existence Syrkin practically went on the similar path as Landau did - in 1905 he spent quite a lot of time abroad.¹³² In the middle of 1906, right after the First Russian Revolution, the latter ceased to exist giving way to new press organs of numerous emerging political parties.¹³³

In the following chapters I will argue that the tone of the articles about America changed radically during twenty-six years of *Voskhod/Knizhki Voskhoda*'s existence and that shifts in the attitudes occurred together with the beginning of every new period in the paper's publishing. In total I define three such periods:

- 1881-1891 – from the first issued volume till the six-month break in publishing;
- 1891-1899 – from the break in publishing till the sale to the new editor;
- 1899-1906 – from the sale to the final closing.

Thus, I will group representations according to the time when they appeared in the monthly.

¹³⁰ Kelner, *Zhurnal "Voskhod"*, 35-37.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 37-38.

¹³² RSHA, Fund 776, Register 6, Folder 502, fols. 315, 317, 340.

¹³³ Kelner, *Zhurnal "Voskhod"*, 37-38.

2.3. *The Personalities of the Authors Writing about America*

In order to understand the agenda with which each of the contributors wrote about America one has to be aware of their biographies. It is important to ask for the degree of loyalty that *Voskhod* correspondents felt towards America, whether they were recent emigrants or Russian citizens. Personalities of authors also help to define why they might have polar opinions about the same issues.

The first difficulty is that many contributors published their works under pseudonyms or initials (for example S., S.S., M.L., N.P and A.). The only person whose penname can be easily recognized is the great Jewish historian, publicist, social activist and ideologist of Jewish Autonomism, Simon Dubnow (1860-1941), who signed one article as “S.”, which was not his only pseudonym. He had never been to America and his articles about America bear the character of a historical overview.¹³⁴

The majority of authors who can be identified from the list of the contributors (sometimes from the content of their articles or writings of their colleagues) were emigrants to America. One of the most representative of them is George Price (1864-1942), an emigrant from Poltava¹³⁵ who in America became a chairman of the investigative committee of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control in the Cloak, Suit, and Skirt Industry.¹³⁶ He became well-known due to his diary where he described his emigrational experience after he left Russia in 1882 and publications about conditions of living of Russian Jews in New York in the American and Russian Jewish press.¹³⁷ Isaac Max Rubinov (1875-1936), an economist

¹³⁴ See, for example, S. [Simon Dubnow], “Istoricheskaya spravka: plan osnovaniya evreyskogo shtata v Severnoy Amerike v 1825 godu” [Historical Inquiry: Plan of the Establishment of the Jewish State in Northern America in 1825], *Voskhod* 6 (1886): 27-34.

¹³⁵ *The Concise Dictionary of American Jewish Biography*, ed. Jacob R. Marcus and Judith M. Daniels (Brooklyn, New York: Carlson Publishing, 1994, V. II, 497.

¹³⁶ Deborah Dwork, “Immigrant Jews on the Lower East Side of New York: 1880-1914,” in *The American Jewish Experience*, ed. Jonathan D. Sarna (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1986), 114.

¹³⁷ Irving Howe, *World of Our Fathers* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976), 27.

and social worker who emigrated from Grodno in 1893,¹³⁸ wrote about the same issues, but a decade later. Another contributor, Elieser Maschbir was one of the famous representatives of the Balta community, Odessa gubernia, and a teacher in a local college. During the pogrom in Balta in March, 1882 he organized a Jewish self-defense troop, but it was defeated by the police and soldiers.¹³⁹ Being disappointed by the Russian people, he immigrated to America the same year. Finally, S. Sokolovskiy from Kremenchug was a representative of the “Am Olam” society, who became in America a prominent agricultural colonist, a founder a colony “Beth-Lehem” in South Dakota.¹⁴⁰ He was probably also the correspondent who signed with initials ‘S.S.,’ since the article written by the author with such pseudonym was devoted to the description of Jewish agricultural colonies.¹⁴¹

Emigrant writers and journalists also wrote about America in *Voskhod*, as, for example, a the newspaper editor, novelist and public activist Abraham Cahan (1860-1951). Being born in Vilna, he immigrated to America in 1882, where he did not only manage to become a leading figure in the development of the American-Jewish press (editing such Yiddish periodicals as *Arbeiter Zeitung* [Workers’ News], *Di tsukunft* [The Future] and *Forverts* [Forward]), but to influence the general labor movement in America.¹⁴² No less important as a contributor was a Moravian Jew, Isidore Singer (1859-1939), who immigrated to New York in 1895 with the aim of finding financial support for implementing his project of a Jewish Encyclopedia, which was successfully accomplished in 1901-1906.¹⁴³

¹³⁸ *The Jew in the Modern World: A Documentary History*, ed. Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 484.

¹³⁹ Arkadi Zeltser, *Pogrom v Balte* [Pogrom in Balta], http://gatesofzion.od.ua/news_49.html (last accessed: May 30, 2013).

¹⁴⁰ George Price, “Evreyskie zemledelcheskie kolonii v Amerike” [Jewish Agricultural Colonies in America], *Voskhod* 4-9 (1891): 10.

¹⁴¹ S.S., “Pisma iz Ameriki: New York, avgust 1884” [Letters from America: New York, August 1884], *Voskhod* 10 (1884): 1-10.

¹⁴² *Evreyskaya entsyklopediya*, V. 9, c. 561.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, V. 7, c. 790.

A writer and journalist, Jacob Rombro (1858-1922) was born in the Podolian gubernia. After the assassination of Alexander II in 1881, he first fled to Paris and moved on only in 1889 to New York. He was the only contributor who came back to the Russian Empire. He did so in 1906, but already in 1907 returned to America because of the political situation in his new-old country.¹⁴⁴ To *Voskhod* he reported primarily about Yiddish literature in America.

Very few authors writing about America still lived and worked in Russia, namely the already mentioned Simon Dubnow, Mark Rivesman, and Mikhail Kulisher. The writer, Mark Rivesman (1868-1924) was born in Vilna, but then settled in Saint Petersburg, where he taught in the Jewish college.¹⁴⁵ The publicist and ethnographer Mikhail Kulisher (1847-1919) was also born in the Pale of Settlement, in the Volhynian gubernia, and then moved to the capital city. He is known first of all as a vice-chairman of the Jewish Historical-Ethnographic society.

One author stayed, so to say, in between Russia and America. That was a journalist, Simon Rapoport, who in 1891 emigrated from Russia, however not to America, but to England.¹⁴⁶ Unfortunately, I could not identify at all quite a number of other authors: I. Petrikovskiy, F. L-n, G. Ieshurun, Wig-us, A. Tiraspolskiy, Max Ettinger, and those who signed with initials M.L., N.P and A. From the context of their articles it seems that all of them, except Ettinger and A., were emigrants (Tiraspolskiy at first came as a tourist). Thus, the group of *Voskhod*'s writers who wrote about America amounts to about twenty persons, fifteen of whom could look back at a trans-Atlantic migratory experience.

Some of the contributors to *Voskhod* published just one article about emigration, others managed to voice their opinion in more than ten publications. In all, the image of emigration in particular and America in general was produced in many different genres,

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., V. 13, c. 599; Markish, *Voskhod – glavniy zhurnal*, 178.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., V. 13, c. 96-97.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., V. 13, c. 308.

such as memoirs, diaries, letters, poems, belles-lettres, historical notes, bibliographical reviews, and recent surveys. The trans-cultural character of many of these texts is expressed by their vocabulary, which includes a considerable number of terms borrowed from English and occasionally from German. Quite a remarkable fact is that whereas all quotations from English were translated into Russian, those from Hebrew were not. It was thus assumed that the whole readership understood Hebrew, which means that the editor did not reckon with non-Jews or Jews without a traditional education as potential readers of his journal. Moreover, wherever some words are given in English, they are usually written with mistakes. This may mean that the emigrant authors were not yet familiar with this language or that the editor and typesetters made mistakes during the publication process. Hence, some English expressions passed from the authors through *Voskhod* to the reader and even before the departure a potential emigrant would be familiar with relevant English terms. *Voskhod*, thus, serves as a mediator of cultural knowledge.

In all, the number of members of *Voskhod*'s transnational network was about fifteen people. Those contributors were neither Russian, nor American alone. They emigrated because of the disappointment and disbelief that merging with the Russian people was possible. But residing in America they still belonged to the Russian context, and *Voskhod* was their means of keeping in touch with the old motherland.

Summing up, the establishment of the Russian-Jewish journal *Voskhod* was destined to become a major event in the history of the Jewish people in the Russian Empire, as the periodical was not only a major opinion-shaping player, but also as an organ which provided tools for a transnational communication. Due to the strong personality of its first editor, Adolf Landau, *Voskhod* survived for twenty-six years as no other Jewish periodical in Russian in the Tsarist Empire. For fifteen years *Voskhod* was the only Russian-Jewish paper

and, thus, served as a tribune for representatives of Jewish intelligentsia who did not share its worldviews and had sometimes contradicting opinions on the same problem, including the debate about whether to emigrate or not, and if yes, then where. Thus, the extension of Landau's trans-Atlantic correspondence networks and the heterogeneous composition of his readership made him integrate information of considerably different tendencies. In this sense he became a real archivist converting *Voskhod* in a repository of ideas, circulating among representatives of the Russian-Jewish intelligentsia.

When Landau's health became weaker, he resigned and sold the periodical to Maxim Syrkin. That coincided with the time when the Jewish press started to proliferate due to the general favorable changes in the political environment in the Empire. Thus, the Russian-speaking Jewish intelligentsia received the possibility to choose to read a periodical whose ideology they shared, as well as contributors got several tribunes instead of one. Syrkin was not able to save *Voskhod* under such circumstances and the journal was shut down.

In the next two research chapters I will discuss the wide variety of opinions about emigration to America presented in *Voskhod* dividing them according to the periodization suggested in the present chapter. In the last chapter I will determine the influence of censorship on the image of America as it appeared in the periodical and ask which role its attacks played in *Voskhod*'s closure.

Chapter 3: Image of America I: Adolf Landau Presents a Wide Range of Opinions, 1881-1899

In the previous chapter I traced the history of the Russian-Jewish monthly *Voskhod* and the personalities of its editors and authors who contributed to the journal's writing about America. In the present chapter I am going to explore the representations of America which appeared during the time when Adolf Landau was in charge of publishing the periodical (1881-1899).

In general, as I will show, the view on emigration to America as pictured in *Voskhod* was rather balanced, presenting both positive and negative outcomes of the resettlement. Such an attitude differs from those expressed in other Jewish periodicals, both in Russian and in Yiddish, and likewise from the American image portrayed by non-Jewish writers from Russia. The perception of American life channeled by Russian Jewish and non-Jewish authors was the result of significantly distinctive experiences: as a rule, non-Jews came to America as occasional travelers,¹⁴⁷ whereas Jews entered the country as emigrants. Thus, from the 1860s Russian writers (as, for example, Grigoriy Machtet and Vladimir Korolenko) went to America in search inspiration and later shared their impressions with their readers. The image they construed was rather critical, underscoring the poverty of immigrants and racial and social inequality. The description presented by Maxim Gorky after visiting America in 1906 was definitely negative, portraying New York as a terrible place, which crushes people down.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ For a more detailed account see Robert V. Allen, *Russia Looks at America: The View to 1917* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1988); Olga Peters Hasty, Susanne Fuss, *America through Russian Eyes, 1874-1926* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).

¹⁴⁸ Sergiy A. Sychoy, *The Essayistic Vision: Representations of America in Russian Literary Essays, 1991-2004* (PhD University of Michigan, 2009),

Discussing the image of America in the Russian-Jewish press in 1881-1910, Judith Zabarenko concentrates on its negative sides and claims that in general emigration to America was portrayed as failed venture, an interpretation which I am going to call into question in the present chapter. She points out that Russian-language Jewish press expressed the views of either Maskilim or Zionists; and for supporters of both of these groups, emigration to America was highly undesirable – for Maskilim because they believed in the bright future for Jews in Russia (an attitude that changed in the course of time, as I will show) and for Zionists because they nurtured the hope of reviving Jewish statehood in Palestine.¹⁴⁹ Finally, the Yiddish press, the most accessible source of information for Jews from the Pale of Settlement, who constituted the majority among Russian-Jewish emigrants, was very positive about America and promoted emigration.¹⁵⁰

As it was stated earlier, *Voskhod* never painted any exclusively gloomy or bright pictures of America, although in some periods we see praise more often than condemnation and vice versa. To track how and why these images changed, I divided the representations from the period when Adolf Landau was an editor into two chronological periods – before and after 1891, the year when *Voskhod* was suspended for six months by censorship. This will allow me to see if the fear of another censorship attack influenced the opinions which appeared in the monthly.

http://deepblue.lib.umich.edu/bitstream/handle/2027.42/64613/ssychov_1.pdf;jsessionid=98E5537587884132D489F4B84C58B20E?sequence=1, (Last accessed: January 31, 2013), 6-8.

¹⁴⁹ Zabarenko, *The Negative Image of America*, 267-268.

¹⁵⁰ Paolo Sannino, “‘Di goldene medine’ im Spiegel der jiddischen Presse Russlands (1881-1914),” in *Die judische Presse im europaischen Kontext, 1686-1990*, ed. Susanne Marten-Finnis and Markus Winkler (Bremen: Edition Lumiere, 2006): 121-130.

3.1. A Double Disillusion: Neither Russia, Nor America Treats Jews as Equals, 1881-1891

The image of emigration to America which was presented on the pages of *Voskhod* from its establishment till the journal was suspended is quite peculiar. In the current subchapter I cover the most important topics which the contributors to the journal discussed in the articles devoted to emigration to America. I will start by discussing how the hope of gaining equality with the Russian population ended in a huge disappointment and America started to be seen as the Golden Land which would become a safe place for Russian Jews. A second disappointment followed almost immediately when immigrant reality struck resettlers. Finally, I will finish with a description of the attempts to analyze the result which emigration brought.

3.1.1. False Hopes for Emancipation in the Russian Empire Drive Poor Jews to America

Until the pogroms of 1881, Adolf Landau and a number of his journalists set hopes in a future emancipation of Russian Jews and spread the positive image of an empire that was on its way to liberalization. As S. Sokolovskiy notes, most of the members in the Jewish literary circles wished to encourage the Jewish people to merge socially and culturally with the Gentile population: “They strove [...] to change peculiar Jewish mindsets for wider and more modern outlooks of Europeanism and cosmopolitanism”.¹⁵¹ Thus, Russian culture was identified by Jewish intellectuals with that of modern European elites, which was a model to be followed. After the pogroms the author did not lose faith in this cosmopolitan model, but understood that contemporary Russia was a far cry from it and its population would not welcome Jews to become part of the Russian people.

¹⁵¹ S. Sokolovskiy, “Itogi emigratsionnogo dvizheniya” [Results of the Emigration Movement], *Voskhod* 6 (1885): 19.

Another contributor, Elieser Maschbir, describes how he comes to his mother to say goodbye before departure and finds her reading the Biblical passage about the Exodus from Egypt, a religious image symbolizing the redemption. She starts crying, uncertain what might happen with her son abroad, and wonders why suddenly he became so angry with the Russians, whom he respected and befriended before. The author regrets that he has spent his youth with vain effort to become one of them. He wants revenge, a ‘saintly’ revenge by becoming a useful citizen in another country. When his mother asks not to forget that he is Jewish though he would move to another corner of the world, the author comforts her saying: “it is possible to forget only what you need to memorize, not the thing that you feel.”¹⁵²

After the pogroms, the authors became ashamed of their previous desire to become similar to Russians and felt closer to the poor and traditionalist Jewish population of the Pale, from which they had tried to distance themselves in the past. The latter, according to the latest studies on emigration, emigrated because of the overpopulation and economic reasons, whereas the *Voskhod* contributors named as the primary reason for emigration the infamous pogroms that had shattered their confidence in the receptivity of Russian society.¹⁵³ Maschbir argues that the immediate motivations were two-fold: threatening hints from the Russian side and advice to save themselves from the Jewish side.¹⁵⁴ On his way to Brody, a border town in Galicia, he overheard the following conversation between Ukrainian peasants: “Why do all Jews run to *Amiriga*? – [...] Did not you hear what is going on in our country: they got bitten! – [...] Why so? – [...] Because they behave like Jews.”¹⁵⁵ George Price in turn points to the restrictions of three basic human rights - choice

¹⁵² Elieser Maschbir, “Moy perviy vyezd iz Rossii: iz dnevnika russko-evreyskogo emigranta (Posvyashchaetsya moyey sestre)” [My First Trip from Russia: from the Diary of a Russian-Jewish Emigrant (To My Sister)], *Voskhod* 9 (1883): 68-70.

¹⁵³ Sokolovskiy, *Itogi emigratsionnogo dvizheniya*, 18.

¹⁵⁴ Maschbir, *Moy perviy vyezd*, 79-80.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 82.

of the place of living, profession and education – which made so many Jews see no other option, but to emigrate.¹⁵⁶ Poor Russian Jews did not even care where they went; they just wanted to leave the country, where they were born,¹⁵⁷ and even the warning of the danger in abandoning traditional Jewish way of life in America could not stop them.¹⁵⁸

Thus, a new, negative, image of Russia was created for the hitherto Russophile elite, and the oppressive conditions played the role of a push-factor for emigration. Sokolovskiy describes the transformation of the traditional Jewish society in this period. Previously, being Moshke, the stereotype of the traditional, Yiddish-speaking inn-keeper, was considered to be shameful. Now Moshke became a martyr and a new aim arose - to revive Moshke's grandeur by emigration and agricultural labor.¹⁵⁹ In the current situation Jewish intellectuals became sensitive to the plight of Jews from the Pale of Settlement.¹⁶⁰

The poor Jews could not wait to leave Russia and Price gives a very poetic account of the moment when he left Europe:

The last pitch of European land was slowly fading away. I looked back in my thoughts. I saw an awful picture. On the Far East of Europe the flaming pillars came from the celestial heights; the air was permeated by deadly poison; gallows stretched above the land like white spider's webs. The strong Russian fist was swinging in the air to the right and to the left, but reached only the weak and the defenseless. An involuntary fear and a feeling of awful pain for the left brethren clenched my chest. Tears appeared in my eyes.¹⁶¹

Voskhod presents an idealistic understanding of the life in America in the minds of emigrants. They nurtured great hopes for the future, and a peculiar dream of America can be seen as a pull-factor in the emigration process. Thus, for example, Maschbir describes sleeping people he saw on his way to America:

¹⁵⁶ George Price, "Russkie evrei v Amerike: itogi emigratsionnogo dvizheniya" [Russian Jews in America: Results of the Emigration Movement], *Voskhod* 10 (1890): 68.

¹⁵⁷ Maschbir, *Moy perviy vyezd*, 89-90; Sokolovskiy, *Itogi emigratsionnogo dvizheniya*, 21.

¹⁵⁸ Elieser Maschbir, for example, describes how in Wroclaw Mr. Iolis gave travelers a lecture about the mission of Russian Jews in America and in Berlin Mr. Hildesheimer cautioned not to eat nonkosher food, not to smoke, and not to travel on Saturday in America (Elieser Maschbir, "Ot Brod do New Yorka: iz dnevnika russo-evreyskogo emigranta" [From Brody to New York: from the Diary of a Russian-Jewish Emigrant], *Voskhod* 6 (1882): 3-5).

¹⁵⁹ Sokolovskiy, *Itogi emigratsionnogo dvizheniya*, 22.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 19.

¹⁶¹ Maschbir, *Ot Brod do New Yorka*, 9.

Several emigrants stretched on the deck [of a steamship] and serenely slept on the bare floor. I could conclude from their smiling faces that they saw charming dreams. Apparently, they dreamt about America, this happy country, where they will be accepted as brethren with fatherly care and motherly love... They are cheerful, healthy, and full of strength and energy, seeking for honest labor. They take an axe and spade, plough and wooden plow, they toil, sow... Their last wish is to see Russian Jews in the close neighborhood, how many as possible, happy as they are.¹⁶²

Even Simon Dubnow foresees a bright future for Jews in the American continent. He envisaged that very soon Jewish immigrants would constitute a significant part of the American citizens. It would be possible that in one of the thirty-eight American states the Jewish population would be dominant. According to the American constitution, this Jewish element would be granted unlimited autonomy in addition to political rights. Thus, the people of Israel would achieve peace on the banks of the Mississippi river, which they sought for two thousand years.¹⁶³

3.1.2. The Second Disappointment: the Way to America and the First Encounter with the New Country

This idealized image would begin to crumble in the minds of *Voskhod*'s contributors already in the border town of Brody, which was destined to become a huge refugee camp for thousands of emigrants. When Maschbir comes there he estimates 12,000 emigrants.¹⁶⁴ Some of them spent from six to nine months in Brody on their way to America.¹⁶⁵ This is why the town looks very cramped - some people just sleep on the ground. Later Maschbir meets a writer, Karl Franzos, and they go to the women's section of the big synagogue, where they see several hundred women in rags, dirty children and dying old ladies. One woman is about to give birth to her sixth child and everybody is crying having no food for

¹⁶² Ibid., 11-12.

¹⁶³ Dubnow, *Istoricheskaya spravka*, 28.

¹⁶⁴ Maschbir, *Moy perviy vyezd*, 90.

¹⁶⁵ Maschbir, *Ot Brod do New Yorka*, 1.

two days. Franzos concludes that even after the expulsion from Spain (which is also often compared with the Exodus from Egypt) people did not suffer that much.¹⁶⁶

Thus, Maschbir finds the Brody Immigration Committee helpless sometimes, but concludes that it is not their fault, since people from the Committee knew very little about Russian Jews, but did much more for them than the rich in Russia.¹⁶⁷ They were so happy because they got rid of several hundred emigrants with the last train, forgetting that fifty times more people would come instead of them.¹⁶⁸ The evidence of Maschbir does not seem to be overestimated. Borries Kuzmany gives statistical data that 14,534 refugees were registered in Brody in the middle of June, 1882. Taking into account that there were 20,071 people living in Brody in 1880 altogether,¹⁶⁹ at some point the population of Brody almost doubled.

Nevertheless, the trip from Brody to one of the big port cities was quite pleasant. Almost in all European cities emigrants were greeted warmly; Maschbir remembers that local nobles served dinners to emigrants in Lvov, Breslau and Berlin. Emigrants not without a reason started to think that in America they would get even better treatment.¹⁷⁰ Unfortunately, such euphoria faded away quite soon. The rapid change of mood occurred on the Atlantic and was followed by an unwelcome reception in New York. Maschbir and Price describe similar experiences at sea. The former departed from Hamburg on the steamship *Huddersfield*, which was in fact a freight boat and people had to travel in four-place cabins without windows and sleep on bare wood:

There was no wind, but everyone got nausea; because of our full stomachs everyone had vomit and dizziness. It was impossible to sit in a cabin, where moaning of adults, crying of babies, swears of mothers cursing America – everything merged in common Gehenna, in which fire gave up before stench.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁶ Maschbir, *Moy perviy vyezd*, 87-88.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 89-92.

¹⁶⁸ Maschbir, *Ot Brod do New Yorka*, 1.

¹⁶⁹ Borries Kuzmany, "Center and Periphery at the Austrian-Russian Border: The Galician Border Town of Brody in the Long Nineteenth Century," *Austrian History Yearbook* 42 (2011): 79-80.

¹⁷⁰ Maschbir, *Ot Brod do New Yorka*, 2-5.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 6.

Expecting a warm reception, as there was in Europe, Maschbir and his co-travelers were surprised arriving in America - nobody from the Committees met newcomers in Castel Garden. Some emigrants, who arrived there earlier and had spent several weeks already, complained about the Committees, but nobody wanted to believe them. In the yard of Castel Garden emigrants had to sleep without beds “with parasites from different steamboats.”¹⁷² Price assures that according to the Americans’ belief, Europeans were used to bad conditions, and “can be satisfied by a dirty yard at ‘the gates of freedom,’ as the Yankees call this preliminary prison... Castel Garden appeared to be Jericho resisting against a throat of cast iron and crying.” After spending a week under the open air there, some emigrants were accommodated in apartments, and some were just let go: “our land is vast and fruitful; go and beg”.¹⁷³

3.1.3. Adjustment to the New Conditions of Life and Polemics against the Charitable Organizations

Together with negative accounts of America we can see positive ones quite often, which, however, sound very idealistic and, presumably, belong to those who still lived in Russia. For instance, someone, who preferred to sign his article as simply “A.”, stresses that Jews quickly adapt to the circumstances of the new life and succeed. In America they feel self-confident, and do not have to give up their religion and traditions: ¹⁷⁴ “America is a true motherland for many tens of thousands of Jews. The Jewish question here does not exist at all; it cannot exist because of the healthy conditions of social and political life, which the freedom-loving and original Yankees created by themselves and for themselves.”¹⁷⁵ For A.,

¹⁷² Maschbir, *Ot Brod do New Yorka*, 13-14.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ A., “Evrei v New Yorke” [Jews in New York], *Voskhod* 9 (1883): 17.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 16.

immigrants underwent a quick transformation from the oppressed Jew in the Pale to the emancipated citizen of America: “Look at him: it is absolutely unbelievable that this is the same Moshka or Itsko, who brought with him from home [Russia] a painful feeling of self-humiliation.”¹⁷⁶

Price is more practical and does not seem to share such positive feelings. He accepts that flats in New York cost less than in big cities of Russia. But rent is quite expensive, which makes the cost of living in New York approximately the same as in Kharkov, Poltava, Nikolaev and Odessa.¹⁷⁷ At the same time the living conditions are much worse. As an inspection of ‘Sanitary Commission of the 10th Ward’ revealed, people die like flies, food is bad, and children have to work “either by helping parents in cigarette-making and tailoring, or they have to go to factories from age six or seven, which kills them physically and mentally and pervert them morally.”¹⁷⁸

On the whole, the view on charitable organizations is even more controversial. On the one hand, I. Petrikovskiy stresses the generosity of American Jews for whom charity is a pleasure: “Centuries of persecutions turned Jewish charity into a religious duty, a habit, constituting the second nature of Jews”.¹⁷⁹ George Price agrees that the amount of donations made by New York Jews to different philanthropic organizations proves their wealth and extreme charity, whether they do it for good reasons or for fame.¹⁸⁰ The sad side of this is that a lot of emigrants got already used to free bread, they do not know how to earn money themselves and become the centre of the New York poor.¹⁸¹ Price notes that before 1881 American Jews did not have an opinion about Russian Jews, because they did not know them. At their first encounter, they felt sympathy towards the Russians. But already in May

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 17.

¹⁷⁷ Price, *Russkie evrei*, V. 3 (1891), 75.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 73.

¹⁷⁹ I. Petrikovskiy, “Evreyskaya blagotvoritelnost v New Yorke” [Jewish Philanthropy in New York], *Voskhod* 5-6 (1888): 1.

¹⁸⁰ Price, *Russkie evrei*, V. 3 (1891), 76.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., V. 10 (1890), 76.

1881 the newspaper *Jewish Messenger* voiced an opinion that since masses of emigrants do not have any money, it is better for European Jewish organizations to prevent emigration. Otherwise, such a huge mass would turn American Jews into Russians.¹⁸²

Moreover, local bureaucrats make America an even less desirable place than Russia, because they are dishonest and misuse donated the money for charity. For example, a complex of shelters was built on Ward's Island, but emigrants could not get out of this island. They were treated badly by the director ('the Father') and fed with bad food. Finally, emigrants rebelled and were calmed down by policemen. Some of them were barely alive after being beaten.¹⁸³

The United Hebrew Charities also do not treat emigrants properly. Price looked at their reports and found out quite peculiar data: the organization calls emigrants a burden on its shoulders, who only create competition; they should be checked before sending here to prevent the poor from wandering around streets and spoil the reputation of American Jewry.¹⁸⁴

The division of labor did not occur either as emigrants would like to: "Mr. Deutsch is responsible for finding jobs for emigrants, but he sends shoemakers to tailors, metalworkers to hairdressers, bakers to shoemakers, bakers for a quilted factory."¹⁸⁵ Price draws a very gloomy picture of the situation. There is no place for crafts in the States anymore and everything is displaced by technology, which improves every day. Thus, the Yankees push people out off factories and replace them by machines.¹⁸⁶ In particular, American Jews want to make peddlers from emigrants, who despise this profession, but have to do it in order to support their families.¹⁸⁷ But of course, immigrants expectations

¹⁸² Ibid., 77.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 73-75.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 78-81.

¹⁸⁵ Maschbir, *Ot Brod do New Yorka*, 16.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Price, *Russkie evrei*, V. 1 (1891), 116-118.

from the charitable organizations were too high and could not be satisfied because of such a great influx of Russian Jews without a proper knowledge of English and adequate skills.

White collar jobs are not really accessible for emigrants. Russian doctors cannot find a proper work place because of the high competition in spite of the fact that they are much better professionals than Americans. They graduated from Russian and German universities and have much experience, whereas American schools are “a factory for producing doctors.” Thus, only very good doctors or big charlatans can earn decent money here.¹⁸⁸ Even people with a permanent job are in a bad condition since they are not used to hard labor, there are a lot of strikes, lockouts and stoppages, the salary is barely enough to “to keep body and soul together” and the perspective of poverty and hunger is always in place. Three-fourths of emigrants have a temporary job or do not have a job at all.¹⁸⁹

Some Jewish intellectuals nurtured hopes for establishing Jewish colonies in America, which turned out to be a total failure. The *Voskhod* contributors suggest that it happened because most of the colonies were initiated and supported by the Committee, where emigrants sit and eat “Committee bread”, and when they finish, they go to the Committee again.¹⁹⁰ The idea that charity is counterproductive will have place in the later periods of *Voskhod*’s publishing as well. Price believes that the situation could be different if the Committee distributed more money to the colonies from the beginning.¹⁹¹ On the other hand, toiling the land requires good physical preparation and abandoning the traditional religious way of life: “those who worked on a farm for one year are not afraid of America anymore.”¹⁹² Nevertheless, three Jewish colonies in New Jersey (“Alliance”, “Carmel” and “Rosenhayn”) did succeed and Jews proved that they can work hard.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 119-120.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., V. 3 (1891), 71-72.

¹⁹⁰ S.S., *Pisma iz Ameriki*, 2-3.

¹⁹¹ Price, *Russkie evrei* V. 10 (1890), 76.

¹⁹² Ibid., V. 1 (1891), 120.

¹⁹³ Price, *Evreyskie zemledelcheskie kolonii*, 13-14, 18.

3.1.4. Attempts to Draw the Conclusions from the Emigration Experience

After the short review of the main topics of the publications about emigration to America in *Voskhod* it seems appropriate to examine how the contributors analyzed the outcomes of the emigration and their general judgment. Some of the authors (such as Sokolovskiy and Price) recommend to learn more about emigration in order to avoid the mistakes which the first wave of emigrants made and for which the latter had much to suffer.

[The calamities of emigration] strengthened them [the emigrants] in economic fight, freed them from many deep-seated prejudices, developed self-respect, made them rely more on themselves. The Jews in the Pale were afraid of everyone, but here *evreychik* became a free and prideful American Jew... Emigration gave to a Russian Jew the understanding that if he is not afraid of work and suffering and possesses energy and certain skills, he can be sure that he will establish himself in the New World *individually* (in the original) if life in the Old World becomes repulsive.¹⁹⁴

Emigration was beneficial even for those Jews who stayed in Russia, because it made them discover new forms of communal life and become more curious.¹⁹⁵ Young representatives of the acculturated Jewish intelligentsia did not know much about their history and traditions and they did not care about the plight of their poor brethren from the Pale. As Russians, they cared more about the peasants, but the conditions of the Jews were much worse. Only the pogroms made the Jewish middle-class youth aware of the problems of the poor Jews and it was realized that radical measures had to be undertaken.¹⁹⁶ Moreover, pogroms and emigration united the Jews not only in the Russian Empire, but all over the world: "Emigration proved that Jewry, though it has lost territorial, economic, political and in many cases also religious connection, is still tightly connected by tribal ties,

¹⁹⁴ Price, *Russkie evrei* 3 (1891), 80-81.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 80.

¹⁹⁶ Sokolovskiy, *Itogi emigratsionnogo dvizheniya*, 19-20

and in spite of borders and oceans dividing Jews, there will be always one people, united by their origin with one ancestor and believe in one and only God.”¹⁹⁷

Writing about America in *Voskhod* during the first decade of its existence, the authors expressed their disappointment with Russia and its people, with whom they had wanted to merge, but then realized that this desire was not mutual. The pogroms revealed the impossibility of rapprochement between two peoples. Even intellectuals who already resided beyond the Pale of Settlement enjoying the privileges of selective integration realized that they do not want to live in a country which treats their brethren so badly. They headed to the Land of Freedom, which at the beginning, nevertheless, disappointed them as well; especially painful was seeing the indifference of those who were supposed to help emigrants. However, those intellectuals who stayed in Russia still imagined America in bright colors and highlighted the praise in their writings.

3.2. Self-Censorship and the Attempts to Draw a Realistic Image of America, 1891-1899

In this subchapter I will follow the description of the New York Jewish ghetto and its emigrant dwellers: the journalists mourn the sad situation when the strong religious beliefs of emigrants shatter. Then I will address estimations on to what extent the emigrants can succeed finding a proper job in America, the discussion of the development of the cultural level of emigrants and at the end I will turn to the arguments presented in support or rejection of the necessity to leave Russia.

¹⁹⁷ Price, *Russkie evrei* 3 (1891), 82.

3.2.1. *On the way to America*

Ten years after mass emigration started American Jews did not already believe that they were helping those who fled pogroms. Thus, the financial support for crossing the border became scarcer and resettlement more difficult. Max Ettinger crosses the border illegally in Yurburg (Georgenburg) by paying contrabandists.¹⁹⁸ On his way to America the author stops in Hamburg, where the Emigration Committee (it is not specified which one) is supposed to help emigrants, but, as it was revealed later, it assists only those who were expelled from Moscow in 1891. Those people have happy faces - they get better treatment and are called here 'aristocrats.' Other people are crying, but philanthropists no longer pay attention to them: "if all tears dropped in the Committee were collected, they would fill up all the building." Thus, Jews wander along the streets crying and cursing the Committees and the philanthropists.¹⁹⁹

Price's account is even more colorful, referring, again to the Biblical Exodus. He was taken from Hamburg "to the land of milk and honey" by the steamship 'Australia,' nineteen days on which made emigrants remember forty years in the desert. It was, again, a freight ship with dirty and uncomfortable cabins without a division for men and women: "Men put on their tallits and shouted psalms, and women cursed America, their husbands and the whole world." The bread was impossible to eat and meat was non-kosher. Almost everyone was sure that the steamship would sink, but finally emigrants "saw shores of our new fatherland, and I doubt if Columbus and his fellow travelers were happier than us, when they saw this new Promised Land."²⁰⁰

But then Price saw Castel Garden and New York and they appeared as something in between Brody and the steamship. "In Brody thousands were lying, here – dozens of

¹⁹⁸ Max Ettinger, "Iz ognya da v polymya: zapiski emigranta" [Out of the Frying Pan into the Fire: Notes of an Emigrant], *Voskhod* 2 (1895): 59-60.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., V. 3 (1895), 22-23.

²⁰⁰ Price, *Iz vospominaniy emigranta*, 6.

thousands; if people were hungry there, here they were dying; they were squeezed there and beaten here. Castel Garden is a big building, gehenna, through which all European newcomers had to go in order to be purified before becoming considered to deserve to breathe free air of the land of almighty dollar.”²⁰¹ These images remind those from the first period of the journal’s publication, but also add new details about adversities encountered on the way from Russia.

3.2.2. *The Jewish Ghetto in New York*

Many authors describe the conditions of life in the enormous so-called Jewish emigrant ghetto in the Lower East Side of New York. From Price’s words, emigrants residing there are highly dependent on charity and “a camel can go easier through a needle hole than a mass of ten thousand people through the Committee’s door”.²⁰² The Committee finds some work for emigrants at companies owned by the Committee members or their friends and for twice less money than the actual cost of their labor. Nevertheless, emigrants do not blame the Committee, because they understand that it relies on dishonest people. Since resettlers became so disappointed in the charitable organizations, from that moment on the ‘individual’ period starts, when emigrants have to fight for their living themselves.²⁰³

As for the ghetto itself, Jews live on twenty-five square streets similar to any of the cities in the infamous Pale; this is practically ‘American Berdichev’.²⁰⁴ This is because

At first emigrated those who ran away from the pogroms and because they were afraid of them; then followed those who were attracted by rumors about the Committee’s help; then ran those who felt that they were able to settle in the new country; then – their relatives, then they were followed by acquaintances, and then the mass of people flowed because they had nothing to live on in the motherland and went to America just because they had to go somewhere... First emigrants hoped for the Committees, the second – for themselves, the third – for the second, the forth – just for the chance or Jewish ‘bitohen’ [Yiddish for ‘self-

²⁰¹ Ibid., 7.

²⁰² Ibid., 8.

²⁰³ Ibid., 16-18.

²⁰⁴ Price, *Russkie evrei*, V. 10 (1891), 213.

assurance’]. Jewish neighborhood grows in breadth, up and down driving away other nationalities, helping to build ten-store barracks, filling out garrets, basements and streets. All these dwellers are poor, ignorant, intimidated people, who can hardly make both ends meet, who crowds in 100-200 families in one house... The Jewish quarter is one of the dirtiest, smelliest and anti-sanitarian parts of the city.²⁰⁵

As a result, emigrants had an isolated Jewish neighborhood, rising prices for flats and essentials, minimization of salaries, awful poverty, isolation from American population. They had no knowledge of English, wore special clothes, “different language, had a different life, a different press – everything is special and different from the surroundings.”²⁰⁶ Price asks “how one can help [emigrants] to do away with this abnormality and prevent further development of this European evil on the American soil?”²⁰⁷

G. D’Orse also mentions that the Jewish emigrants primarily settle in this area, which drives Christians away and now, one can hardly see a Christian or a notice in English there. “Only lonely gorgeous Christian Temples stand here, like oaks in a desert, and remind you that a kingdom of Jews was not always here, kingdom of poverty and dirt.”²⁰⁸

Abraham Cahan in his tale *Yekl: A Tale of the New York Ghetto* describes the ghetto as “the most overcrowded place among crowded places on Earth. It is a boiling human sea reinforced by a continuous influx of emigrants who speak in jargon and come from all centers of Europe.” The dwellers are very heterogeneous, and “all of them are put in an inordinate heap, in one common pot; all of them – one human pudding with changed ingredients, but still a part of one whole.”²⁰⁹

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 213-214.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 214-215.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 215.

²⁰⁸ F. L-n, “New Yorkskoe geto: istoriya geto, neogranichennoe prostranstvo dlya emigratsii, Hester Street” [New York Ghetto: History of the Ghetto, Unlimited Space for Emigration, Hester Street], *Voskhod* 9 (1893): 9-10.

²⁰⁹ Abraham Cahan, “Iekl: povest iz zhizni New Yorkskogo geto” [Yekl: A Tale of the New York Ghetto], *Voskhod* 2 (1897): 141-142.

Price, pointing out how useful Jewish emigration turned out to be for Americans, emphasizes that the two- or three-store houses in the 4, 7, 10 and 11th Wards of New York are changed now by six-eight-store tenement buildings.²¹⁰ L-n looks at the matter from another angle and describes how the neighborhood grows upwards and how “luxurious aristocratic mansions gave their place to special handboxes which are called here ‘tenement houses.’”²¹¹ There is a mysterious emergence of deadly epidemics even in rich houses and very often it can be explained by anti-hygienic conditions of en-suite houses, where “Irishmen, Italians and Jews are as crowded as were slaves in ancient Egypt near the millstones.”²¹²

Describing further the awful conditions of living, L-n mentions that there is so little air in the rooms of tenements that children cannot fall asleep at night.²¹³ People prefer to spend all the day outside the tenements and come back only when they have to go to bed. “Nothing here reminds of the tenants during the day; only when the night comes, beds grow from the ground in tight rows. Some worn-out workers lie having a thin pillow under their head, others make a bed from their own dresses, and others lie half-naked. The space left between two beds is occupied by less demanding tenants who are satisfied by the floor alone.”²¹⁴ In conditions when a family of twenty sleeps in one flat on the piles of old clothes instead of beds, the instructions of the *Schulhan Arukh* [the Jewish ritual compendium] cannot be kept.²¹⁵ The overcrowding of the neighborhood is unbearable. On the streets “the crowd seems to be so thick that it is impossible to distinguish faces or objects.”²¹⁶ This is an anthill, which can grow endlessly.²¹⁷

²¹⁰ Price, *Russkie evrei*, V. 12 (1891), 79.

²¹¹ L-n, *New Yorkskoe geto*, V. 9 (1893), 10.

²¹² G. D’Orse, “Evrei v New Yorke” [Jews in New York], *Voskhod* 9 (1892): 27-28.

²¹³ L-n, *New Yorkskoe geto*, V. 9 (1893), 13.

²¹⁴ L-n, *New Yorkskoe geto*, V. 9 (1893), 11.

²¹⁵ G. D’Orse, *Evrei v New Yorke*, V. 9 (1892), 28.

²¹⁶ L-n, *New Yorkskoe geto*, V. 9 (1893), 17.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

3.2.3. *Streets of the Ghetto and its Dwellers*

Jews living in the Lower East Side look very different from each other. L-n describes old Jewish people with side-locks, “whose wives and families are proud of them, because they cannot distinguish between five and fifty kopecks, so devoted they are to the study of Talmud.” Here, in America, everybody is equal and these representatives of the ancient stock, dreaming some time ago of becoming a rabbi, decide not to lag behind other Americans and start ‘business.’²¹⁸ Instead of prayers, the man murmurs advertisements, because nothing is possible in America without advertising.²¹⁹

The streets of the ghetto abound with food as on a market, but everything is of a bad quality. For example, one can see lemons that experience their second youth; now they are green again because of the mould. “The horseradish accomplishing the effect of this harmonious picture evokes tears of tenderness, when you become conscious of the fact that here, in America, everything is equal, that here alec, and cheese, and cakes live in one common union complementing each other’s smell, taste, etc.”²²⁰ “Everything now is moving, boiling; everything seems to be a sophisticated machine of a smart American.”²²¹ The language of the shop signs is also peculiar and, as Ieshurun writes, the unsuccessful builder of the Tower of Babel would perhaps find them similar to the mixture of languages which surprised their generation. “The language of the shop signs is a living conversational jargon of the local Jewish neighborhood. [...] The mixture of languages is practiced and proves the enormous digestive abilities of our beloved jargon, a loyal companion of Israel in his travels and unflattering history of his wondering.”²²²

²¹⁸ Ibid., 17-18.

²¹⁹ Ibid., 18.

²²⁰ Ibid., 19-20.

²²¹ L-n, *New Yorkskoe geto*, V. 10 (1893), 2.

²²² G. Ieshurun, “Literaturnaya letopis: zhargonnaya literatura v Soedinennyh Shtatah” [Literary Chronicle: Jargon Literature in the United States], *Voskhod* 11 (1896): 24.

Not only their language, emigrants themselves are changing both inside and outside. Price assures that the American air civilizes a person quicker than the efforts of American Jews to reform their Russian brethren. The first thing that is changed is clothes. People hurry to buy a jacket, hat etc. in order not to look like a ‘griner’ [a ‘green’ in Yiddish]. Side-locks, beards and wigs, unfortunately, become victims of the new spirit. Finally, beards and wigs also “fell on Moloch’s altar of the secular country of Columbus.” Pious emigrants fight mocking for a long time, but then a beard becomes acquainted with scissors and finally – with a lesser! Price, for example, describes how often he meets emigrants he used to know before, but now they look more like Irishmen than like Lithuanian or Polish Jews. The power of the public opinion is very strong and even someone like Reb Haykel’, who in Russia would rather allow burning himself, cut his beard. If you meet a woman in a wig, that means that either she is seventy years old and not even a coffin can change her, saying nothing about America, or a person whose own hair was eaten by a mouse.²²³

3.2.4. Decline in the Religious Observance

The worst thing, according to the contributors to *Voskhod*, is that emigrants stop observing the Shabbat. They prefer to work on Saturday rather than to die of hunger. For sure, George Price does not want to say that every emigrant becomes a godless man, but that his mental outlook becomes wider. An emigrant remains very religious, but now he understands that religion has nothing to do with clothes, the form of beard and other fanatic’s sacred things.²²⁴ Fanatics believe that if they change clothes they betray the faith of their ancestors, but in this case they mistake the form for the essence.²²⁵

²²³ Price, *Russkie evrei*, V. 12 (1891), 81-83.

²²⁴ Ibid., 83.

²²⁵ G. D’Orse, *Evrei v New Yorke*, V. 9 (1892), 34-35.

Synagogues here are not established for all Jews, but are divided by the country of origin of certain groups. Moreover, inner reforms in Judaism started dividing synagogues into Orthodox, Conservative and Reform.²²⁶ The American soil facilitates this schism; it separates the society into as many parts as the number of reformers, who have to say something on their own.²²⁷ L-n dislikes the Reform movement saying that it has a purely rational doctrine and observing the Ten Commandments is the only obligatory thing for its followers, which can hardly be called the fruits of progress as Reformers believe.²²⁸

The smelly and dirty Jewish neighborhood with Jewish inscriptions, faces, and language gives the impression of an independent Jewish state, which becomes even more salient during holidays. Beer bottles in bars give place to Torahs; and all buildings transform into prayer houses.²²⁹ Moreover, in America one can find establishments well forgotten in big European cities as, for example, beth-midrashim and academies, where old Talmudists with long side-locks chew and chew the Talmud, as if the last hundreds of years of development and progress did not exist. L-n has a negative attitude towards Talmudists: he says that they behave as if they did not have enough comfort to study the Biblical texts in their motherland and had to come across the ocean to build from the volumes a wall to protect the purity of the Jewish people. They worry about this purity so much that they sell patents valid for just one month, certifying that the meat in certain butchereries is kosher.²³⁰ Religious schools, in L-n's opinion, try to keep Jews in the same position of foreigners as at the day of their arrival, which for an American sounds like a curse. Thus, they secure the thick walls of the ghetto as they are.²³¹

²²⁶ L-n, *New Yorkskoe geto*, V. 12 (1893), 9.

²²⁷ N.P., "Ravvinskiy institut v Tsintsinnati" [The Rabbinical Institute in Cincinnati], *Voskhod* 7 (1899): 1.

²²⁸ L-n, *New Yorkskoe geto*, V. 12 (1893), 12-15.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 1-2.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 2-3.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 4-5.

Thus, the contributors to *Voskhod* condemn ‘sectarian’ divisions of Judaism in America. At the same time they argue that religious fanaticism, inherent to the majority of Jews in the Pale, should be abandoned and at least emigrants have to change their clothes, since religion is not about the look, but about the faith.

3.2.5. *The Ability to Work and Succeed*

Emigrants stopped thinking about America as a country of milk and honey, but they still believe that it is easy to earn money there even if one does not possess any skills,²³² which is clearly not true. “In America time is expensive”²³³ and Jews learn it fast. “Jews are beginners in America, but they have all the qualities to succeed, because America allows fair competition. As opposed to Russians, Americans do not stigmatize trade; for them – ‘competition is the soul of trade’ [original English] and the competitor’s nationality does not matter.”²³⁴ And even “the American press is unanimous in its recognition of the Jewish population of New York and other cities as useful, honest, and a hard-working part of the American republic.”²³⁵

Price states that most of the 300,000 Jews who moved to the States stayed in New York and, thus, they influence economic and political life there. They took almost all the sewing and tobacco industry under their control, but Americans appreciate Jews, because the latter use the first opportunity to become Americans and they are a very important productive and consumer force. Thus, Americans should recognize that resettlement of the Russian Jews was beneficial for their country. The population is increasing because of the Jewish emigration and this increase creates a boom in trade, industry, etc.²³⁶

²³² Price, *Russkie evrei*, V. 11 (1891), 74.

²³³ L-n, *New Yorkskoe geto*, V. 9 (1893), 19.

²³⁴ Price, *Evreyskie zemledelcheskie kolonii*, 5.

²³⁵ Price, *Russkie evrei*, V. 12 (1891), 84.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 77-79.

Price gives some citations from the American press and especially from the newspaper *Sun*, which expresses the opinion that America now should be in debt to Russia for its hard-working, energetic and useful people. “‘These Russian Jews are wonderful people,’ says the *Philadelphian Exponent*. ‘They are energetic, clever, smart and active. They penetrated into all sectors of labor and professions as if they were trying to make up the chances lost in their former motherland.’ [...] ‘Every country,’ says one American professor in his letter to *Jewish Messenger*, ‘has those Jews as she deserves. This is why it is clear why Jews in America, having all rights of citizenship, become a useful population of the country.’”²³⁷

D’Orse agrees that the salaries are low and Jews care only about their daily bread, but they are prudent, intuitive and entrepreneurial and like nobody else they can adjust to the conditions which modern civilization creates. “If Eastern Europe was able to use the energy of this hard-working people, it would not push them towards emigration, from whose aftermaths it will suffer as severely as France from the Edict of Nantes.”²³⁸ But not every author is so optimistic. L-n writes that the majority of emigrants can become only factory workers. Very few emigrants possess skills in crafts, but even those who were artisans in Russia can hardly apply their abilities in America, since manufacturing in Russia is only in its inchoate stage.²³⁹ Underage workers are one of the biggest problems among emigrants, but children have to work, otherwise their families would die from hunger.²⁴⁰

The significance of the labor unions is enormous. Before their emergence Jewish workers could not fight for better working conditions, because there was no solidarity between them; they were too poor to withstand a fight and too underdeveloped to understand its necessity. Meanwhile, American workers gather in labor unions, as in a

²³⁷ Ibid., 79-80.

²³⁸ G. D’Orse, *Evrei v New Yorke*, V. 9 (1892), 27, 30.

²³⁹ L-n, *New Yorkskoe geto*, V. 10-11 (1893), 11.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., V. 9 (1893), 15.

united family, in a working class, in an acknowledged political party. For a long time the isolation of the Jews, their unfamiliarity with English and the absence of newspapers in their mother tongue prevented them from knowing what was going on beyond the walls of the ghetto. Then Jews realized that only they can make their plight better;²⁴¹ “the labor movement took roots and became a power, which even the mighty of the American capital has to take into account.”²⁴²

Since the end of the 1880s, an intelligentsia appeared among Jewish workers as well. L-n describes this new element as dreamers who wanted to resurrect the dying out people and find then a new fatherland. These youngsters became a core of the Jewish workers’ movement and understood that the plight of a Jewish worker depends on his intellectual development, on the unity of Jewish workers and their merging with other Americans. The intelligentsia revived old Jewish workers’ unions and organized the new ones. But the fight became harder and harder, because with continuing emigration it became easier to hire other people instead of those on strike.²⁴³

Some authors express beliefs in the curing power of agricultural labor and nurture hopes for Jews to become farmers. Price, for example, praises agricultural labor as nobody else. In poetic words, inherent to his writing, he says that in their gloomy days peoples usually remember their ideals; and after the pogroms Jews “realized the high ideal of a Jewish agricultural colony.” It seemed that America had an obvious advantage, but soon it became clear that this was not really possible: the majority of Russian-Jewish emigrants were extremely poor and lacked organizational skills, while American Jews expressed indifference towards colonization.²⁴⁴ Thus, most of the colonies failed, but their history is astonishing. The colonists abandoned the comfort they had and went to the New World to

²⁴¹ Ibid., V. 10-11 (1893), 14-15.

²⁴² Price, *Russkie evrei*, V. 10 (1891), 209.

²⁴³ L-n, *New Yorkskoe geto*, V. 10-11 (1893), 17, 21.

²⁴⁴ Price, *Evreyskie zemledelcheskie kolonii*, 1-3.

work hard and suffer to win the respect of Americans. And Jews proved that they can work hard: even now a traveler can meet a Jewish farmer, former salesmen in the Pale of Settlement, who became useful land-owners in a country that was foreign, but free from national hatred.²⁴⁵ Price praises the Baron Hirsch Fund for helping to obtain such an achievement, but he points to some flaws in its practice, since ‘the professors’ did not consult with the ‘sheep,’ i.e. the emigrants, since the former believe that the latter are not intelligent enough to suggest a solution.²⁴⁶

The intelligentsia has a considerable influence on the American milieu and the life of emigrants themselves, although its number among Russian-Jewish emigrants was still insignificant. Price believes that emigrants managed to save and cherish the community and solidarity in America, the country of individualism and materialism, only because of the efforts of their intelligentsia. It was not economic needs which made these people move to America, but “a sense of human dignity, a wish to start a new life, a belief in the idea of colonization and a possibility of a better lot for the people of Israel.”²⁴⁷

3.2.6. *Emigrant Culture*

The views on American Jewish cultural life are quite ambivalent. L-n claims that it is very easy to start newspaper publishing. There are more Jewish papers in New York than in all Europe; they are published in Yiddish, English, German and even Russian. On the other hand, they contribute little to the intellectual development of the emigrants.²⁴⁸ the Jewish press is very significant for the life of those who do not speak good English and need some food for thought. It is true that the literary quality of the press is rather low, but not because there are no talented writers, but because Yiddish is poor and does not allow authors to

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 13-14.

²⁴⁶ Price, *Russkie evrei*, V. 11 (1891), 90.

²⁴⁷ Price, *Russkie evrei*, V. 12 (1891), 85-86.

²⁴⁸ L-n, *New Yorkskoe geto*, V. 12 (1893), 5.

express themselves properly. Most of the papers do not try to raise the masses up to their level, but descend to the bad taste and vulgar humor of the masses.²⁴⁹

Nonetheless, the Jewish neighborhood likes to read; and jargon literature as the product of emigration of the 1880s has a big potential. Emigration continues, a demand increases and the influence of the press on the population is growing.²⁵⁰ Half of the space is taken by advertisements, which is of more interest for some readers than the text itself. Thus, the taste of the readership determines the character of the periodicals.²⁵¹

There is some place for fiction and poetry as well. “Every newly-arrived immigrant is a hero in a tragicomedy; his ordeals are the inexhaustible material for a painter,” Ieshurun claims. There is also a popular science column, but the articles are not original. The quality is sometimes low, sometimes good. Sometimes one can see an article about anatomy or physiology “and then you do not know whom to pity – a poor plebeian reader who is immediately stricken by multistoried scientific terminology, or jargon itself dressed in peacock’s feathers alien to it. Sometimes such scientific articles serve only as an introduction to a cheap argument about the ‘harmful’ influence of religion and faith on the intellectual development of humankind.”²⁵²

The three Jewish theaters are not of a high quality, unfortunately. Actresses are untalented; plays make very little sense and lack morality, while there was at least a bit of it back in Russia, including a form of satire that reflected some of the unattractive sides of the Jewish reality. How, then, can a Jew from Russia change, if he remains in a milieu very similar to the one in which he was born?²⁵³ The utility of the Jewish theatre is questionable, but it still attracts people and sells a lot of tickets. The good thing is that it brings some joy

²⁴⁹ Price, *Russkie evrei*, V. 12 (1891), 88.

²⁵⁰ Ieshurun, *Literaturnaya letopis*, 13, 20.

²⁵¹ Ibid., 15-16.

²⁵² Ibid., 19.

²⁵³ L-n, *New Yorkskoe geto*, V. 12 (1893), 6-7.

to the monotonous emigrant life.²⁵⁴ It is difficult to talk about the influence of the theatre on the masses - rather the masses influence on the theatre. 'Actors' are just people from the crowd. But immigrants need to forget for some time about their shops and workshops; and the supply corresponds to the demand.²⁵⁵

In general, *Voskhod*'s authors are of a very low opinion of American Jewish culture, emphasizing that it does not facilitate the intellectual development of emigrants. On the other hand, they believe that it is good that at least such low culture exists letting emigrants relax from time to time.

3.2.7. *Polemics about the Question if Emigration Should Continue*

In spite of the fact that some contributors to *Voskhod* do not draw a very pleasant picture of emigrant life in America, they all agree that emigration should continue, because the so-called Jewish question does not exist on the American soil unlike some countries of Eastern Europe. There are no religious, economic or political restrictions for Jews in this secular country with free economy and political equality. If there is a Jewish question here is a part of the general immigration question.²⁵⁶ If sometimes Jews encounter antisemitism, this centuries-old religious and racial intolerance was imported to America from Europe and would soon disappear.²⁵⁷

Nevertheless, the authors accede with the fact that emigration should be regulated and potential emigrants should be warned about the hardships that they might encounter in America. "Do all emigrants know [about their little chances to find a job] when they go to the land of dollars light-heartedly and with even lighter pockets? This is unlikely... Thousands and hundreds of thousands are coming who should not come here, for whom

²⁵⁴ Price, *Russkie evrei*, V. 12 (1891), 89.

²⁵⁵ Ieshurun, *Literaturnaya letopis*, 22-23.

²⁵⁶ Price, *Russkie evrei*, V. 10 (1891), 212-213.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 215.

nothing is waiting them in the new country, for whom it would be better to stay where they were.”²⁵⁸ The problem is that emigrants do not write home about their failures, but only about their achievements, however small these may be. Thus, correspondence creates the wrong impression, and relatives are coming to America as well, although their living conditions in Russia might be better. Price concludes that only those who really feel bad in Russia should emigrate and only after due consideration.²⁵⁹

In brief, Price sees the first step towards the solution of the emigration question in spreading correct information about America. This will end the mass migration, which makes emigrants suffer and is dangerous for those who are already in America.²⁶⁰ In general, some of Price’s suggestions sound unsympathetic towards Jewish emigrants. For example, he mentions that migration of some peoples became undesirable. Immigrants are like food for America; but too much food, especially if it is of bad quality, can be bad for health. This is why a diet is needed, i.e. some restrictive legislation.²⁶¹ He suggests that emigrants have to be strictly examined in the border towns of Austria and Prussia; this should be done for their own good in order to prevent them from dying in the streets of New York from hunger and cold when they have run out of money.²⁶² Only those emigrants for whom accommodation can be found outside New York should go to America. For others it is better to wait in the border towns. They would spend much less money there and live in better conditions than in the damp basements of New York.²⁶³ Emigrants without special qualifications should stay in Russia and free American Jews from the responsibility to take care of them while they are already burdened enough by those who have already arrived.²⁶⁴

²⁵⁸ Price, *Russkie evrei*, V. 11 (1891), 75.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 75-76.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 76-77.

²⁶¹ Price, *Russkie evrei*, V. 10 (1891), 212.

²⁶² Price, *Russkie evrei*, V. 11 (1891), 78.

²⁶³ Ibid., 80.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 81.

G. D'Orse sometimes also sounds critical towards emigration. "Masses of people come from Russia with their barbarian language and a strange outlook that was developed under the influence of long constraints."²⁶⁵ And this undesirable emigration does not stop - those who receive some support from Baron Hirsch tell it to their relatives and then tens of thousands of Russian Jews come to America.²⁶⁶

Nevertheless, neither of both authors can deny that a radical transformation happens with emigrants after arrival: "Abjection, which constitutes a distinct feature of a Slavic Jew and which developed in him as a result of a lack of intellectual development and hopeless conditions, gradually disappears; and an emigrant starts to understand that he is an equal member of American society."²⁶⁷ "[An emigrant] walks more cheerfully, sees brighter, acts braver than before. His gait, look, talk and acts bear evidence of liberation from the unbearable nightmare of Judeophobia."²⁶⁸ At some point Price even comes to the conclusion that whereas ten years are nothing for World History, this period of emigration became one of the most important moments in the history of Russian Jewry: "The emigration of 300-400 thousand Russian Jews and their settlement in the New World mark a new period in Jewish history; the separation of one-tenth of Russian Jewry is a sad result of an unenviable past and, at the same time, a bright gleam of hope for a brighter future."²⁶⁹

Arguing for the necessity of emigration, authors present not only Russia as old and backward, but Europe in general. Price mentions that Americans will endeavor to surprise "rotten Europe":

No other country on the globe, no other nation in the world can be more proud of its progress than the United States. A hundred years ago it was just thirteen paltry colonies scattered in vast prairies and divided from one another by deep forests, pathless mountains and plains of thousand miles. But now they became a half hundred states with millions of people; they stay on a higher level of civilization and look with pity on senile Europe, which is always shivering because of inner and outer enemies. [...]

²⁶⁵ G. D'Orse, *Evrei v New Yorke*, V. 9 (1892), 23.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 23-24.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 24.

²⁶⁸ Price, *Russkie evrei*, V. 12 (1891), 84.

²⁶⁹ Price, *Iz vospominaniy emigranta*, 1.

The fields of this country are immense; its natural resources are innumerable; its political mighty is great; its industrial success is amazing; its civilization is grandiose. But involuntarily you ask a question: how did this Colossus-people achieved this height so quickly; what is the name of this wizard who with such miraculous speed transformed a desert into a greatest country in the world?

The name of this wizard is the immigrant... All desperate, strong, courageous and brave people from the Old World took off to the New World for the booty, for the success, for the markets, for the gold, for adventures... Energy and power of those [emigrants] are looking for a place in a much broader country, where individual natural abilities are not limited by innumerable artificial political and social limitations, where is a place for free power... The country's progress is highly dependent on immigration.²⁷⁰

We will see that a harsh censorship limited the expression of the strong anti-Russian attitudes especially after 1891, so that after the suspension the journal became less critical towards Russia. Nevertheless, even in its 'milder' version the negative image of Russia was explicitly presented in *Voskhod*. Sometimes, the arguments against the Tsarist Empire were hidden by discussing 'the Old World' or 'Europe'. In general, description of life in Russia becomes very scarce and the reasons for emigration are touched upon very superficially. Nevertheless, it is mentioned that more and more people started to come to America not because they fled hardships and limitations of all kinds, but out of a desire to enrich themselves after hearing that the first wave of emigrants succeeded in America.

A new sort of emigrants comes to the scene, namely the intelligentsia. Their motivation is based on ideological reasoning; and they go to America not because of pogroms or bad economic conditions, but because they want to revive Russian Jewry culturally and morally. But the majority of emigrants are still poor. *Voskhod* advises them to learn more about America before departing, so that they would not suffer in the new country even more than they suffered in the old.

In sum, the image of America presented before and after the time when *Voskhod* was suspended differs in several ways. The reason for this might be not only the fear of

²⁷⁰ Price, *Russkie evrei*, V. 10 (1891), 205-207.

censorship, but the general change of attitudes, in the course of the two decades when the periodical was published under Adolf Landau's guidance. During the first period, writing about America elicits the expression of sorrows about the unsuccessful attempt to merge with Russian society and share values of Russian culture. Much space in the articles is devoted to drawing a bad image of Russia and envisaging how life would change after emigration, which slowly started to incorporate negative experience as well. In *Voskhod's* second decade, the comparison with Russia occupies much less space in the descriptions of America, whether these are positive or negative. The authors draw gloomy pictures of the life in the immigrant ghetto, discussing in particular the Jewish neighborhood in New York. Nevertheless, in spite of the unattractive consequences brought about emigration as for example low ability to find a good job and keep religious observance, the authors optimistically predict a bright future to America's Jewish immigrants.

In general, explicit counter-emigration argument are absent from the journal with an exception of Price's suggestion to suspend emigration of the poor Jews. Other views of authors extend from those who idealistically praise America (as A. and I. Petrikovskiy), to those who expressed more rational points of view, honestly showing all negative and positive sides of emigration (as Elieser Maschbir, S. Sokolovskiy, F. L-n and George Price). The authors from the latter group showed emigration to America more like a necessity; and although they brought to light numerous frustrations of life in America, often attributing them to disunity of American Jews and corrupt bureaucrats, they hint to the fact that emigration was a lesser evil in comparison to the option of staying in Russia, and its experiences had to be precisely studied in order to help future emigrants.

Chapter 4: Image of America II: Maxim Syrkin and the Praise of Emigration, 1899-1906

In the previous chapter I looked at the representations of America which appeared in the monthly *Voskhod* during the eighteen years when Adolf Landau was editor of the periodical. This period was characterized by the variety of opinions sometimes praising, sometimes condemning America and its lifestyle, but still finding acceptable the current situation in Russia. During the next six years when Maxim Syrkin became an editor we do not see such huge variety of opinions. Generally, the presented image of America was very positive. This can be explained in part by the fact that although the number of articles discussing America published during this period roughly equaled the number printed during all the previous years, more than one-third of them were written by the same author – Isaac Rubinov. This fact is difficult to explain. The only possible answer that I can offer is that the new editorial office concentrated most of its attention on the weekly supplement and filled the space in the monthly with whatever articles were at hand. The fact that Syrkin did not have such a large number of correspondents also should be taken into account.

This period can be also characterized by attempts to summarize more than two decades of continuous emigration starting by discussing the reasons which led to emigration and ending with a suggestion that America is an ideal place for the Jewish revival. In the present chapter I will first sum up the arguments for and against dispersing the Jewish population concentrated in the Lower East Side of New York. This question was recognized by the contributors to *Knizhki Voskhoda* as the core of the Jewish question in America, which by no means had political implications according to them. Then I will explore the favorable position of agricultural workers and intellectuals among the emigrant mass. After

describing the inner diversity of American Jewry, I will ask to what extent nostalgia for abandoned Russia determined a separation of immigrants from others. At the end I will present how the authors twisted facts in order to persuade their readers that emigration could definitely improve the economic situation of a large part of Russian Jews for the better, not immediately though but in a couple of years. They emphasized however that the poor were more likely to improve their status because of their lower expectations.

4.1. Reasons for Emigration: Drawing Conclusions

The attempts to analyze the reasons which led to emigration published during the last period of *Voskhod/Knizhki Voskhoda*'s existence are really significant to my research. For example, Kulisher hints to religious intolerance. Describing the ways how Jews appeared on the American continent he starts with the history of Spanish Marranos and emphasizes the fact that faith was the motivation for fighting and no one should be surprised that Jews got interested in the recently discovered continent.²⁷¹ Here we can clearly see the implicit comparison with the exodus from Russia.

Kulisher refers to statistical data emphasizing the rapid increase of the Jewish population in America, which grew from 230,257 in 1880 to 400,000 in 1888, to 937,800 in 1897 and, finally, to 1,058,135 in 1900. He connects such growth in numbers with the pogroms, May Laws and the expulsion from Moscow and Moscow gubernia,²⁷² almost disregarding the favorable conditions that America had to offer. Stressing the push factor more than the pull factor, he points to the previous small waves of Jewish emigration to

²⁷¹ Mikhail Kulisher, "Evrei v Amerike: istoricheskiy ocherk" [Jews in America: Historical Essay], *Knizhki Voskhoda* 12 (1901): 47.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, 69-70.

America which took place after the Uman massacre during the Haidamak uprising of 1768, and the partitions of Poland at the end of the eighteenth century.²⁷³

Wig-us also points to the Russian political oppression as the primary reason for emigration. The pull factor, namely the economic prosperity of America, is very strong for him, but the push factor – conditions in Russia – is even stronger: “It is obvious that in the Pale of Settlement the chronic conditions were created in such a way that pushes people to the other side of the ocean. These conditions are known: the Jewish population suffers from a deep economic crisis connected to the restrictive legislation and especially to harsh use of ‘The Temporary Laws’”. Emigration provoked by the ‘Laws,’ the author assures, is much bigger than the one provoked by the pogroms. The periods of depression in the States have made emigration rates drop temporarily, but it could not stop it because of the unbearable conditions in Russia. The peak was noticed in 1881-1882 and 1891-1892, when the catastrophes broke out over Russian Jewry.²⁷⁴ Furthermore, many Jews go to America because their children cannot study in Russia after the introduction of the *numerus clausus* in 1897.²⁷⁵ Thus, the correspondents stressed political factors more than economic.

4.2. *The New York Cityscape and Its Economy*

Under the leadership of a new editor we can see fewer reflections on the experiences on the journey from Russia as authors concentrate more on what was happening already in America. The essay *On the Way to America: an Episode from the Life of an American Citizen to Be* by S.I. Rapoport is rather an exception. It shows the hardships emigrants suffered during the trip and the neglectful attitude from the side of bureaucrats which they

²⁷³ Ibid., 57-58.

²⁷⁴ Wig-us, “Immigratsiya evreev v Soedinennye Shtaty Severnoy Ameriki” [Jewish Immigration to the United States of Northern America], *Knizhki Voskhoda* 4 (1903): 102-103, 106.

²⁷⁵ A. Tiraspolskiy, “Russko-evreyskie emigranty v Soedinennyh Shtatah Severnoy Ameriki: vpechatleniya turista” [Russian-Jewish Emigrants in the United States of Northern America: Impressions of a Tourist], *Knizhki Voskhoda* 2 (1904): 68.

met in the big port cities.²⁷⁶ But the comparison with the moment when America was discovered by Columbus is still there. Thus, A. Tiraspol'skiy describes how on the ninth day of the trip across the ocean, when he suddenly saw many boats around him, he concluded that the land was close and understood the feeling that what Columbus's crew experienced.²⁷⁷ The author was impressed by the beauty of America. "You cannot see such a dawn and the huge purple-and-red sun in the land where we come from, the south of Russia. It [the light] illuminated everything and we saw a wonderful panorama which can be hardly pictured by a painter". Tiraspol'skiy saw this 'monster-city' and understood that everything was different here than in the Old World. He felt like a new born, when everything was new and strange: "Intuitively you start to understand that as soon as you step on the soil of this gigantic global Babylon, you will get lost there as a grain of sand in the sea."²⁷⁸ This prospect did not scare him, but made him feel excited.

Tiraspol'skiy is highly impressed by New York and says that Berlin, Vienna and Hamburg, which seemed so significant and interesting before look almost miserable compared with this city as to the movement on its streets and the daunting height of the buildings. He points out that one can hardly imagine New York before experiencing all its parts and long streets. To understand how this city lives, a reader has to come and live there for several years, to stop being 'green' and become 'yellow'.²⁷⁹ For Isaac Rubinov, New York is also a mysterious space, a fairy country, as it is the gates to Northern America. He stresses that it serves as a shelter for hundreds of thousands of Russian and other Jews. As a

²⁷⁶ Simon Rapoport, "Na puti v Ameriku: epizod iz zhizni budushchego amerikanskogo grazhdanina" [On the Way to America: an Episode from the Life of an American Citizen to Be], *Knizhki Voskhoda* 2 (1905): 114-135.

²⁷⁷ Tiraspol'skiy, *Russko-evreyskie emigranty*, *Knizhki Voskhoda* 2 (1904), 72.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 73-74.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, V. 3 (1904), 132-133.

rule emigration betters the economic conditions of the majority of those who decided to leave their motherland.²⁸⁰

The parallel with the Biblical Exodus can be seen everywhere. Tiraspol'skiy indicates that there are more Jews in New York than Moses led from Egypt, namely about 600,000.²⁸¹ The Jewish mass in America maintains its appearance and even changes the American image. When one is in New York one may seem that he is in Warsaw or Nalevki. It is a real Jewish ghetto. One can see traditionally dressed Hassids whose sons are shaved and dressed fashionably and do not understand Yiddish. There are peddlers who look very intelligent: probably, these are 'greens' who lost their fortune in shtetls. The view is so similar to Warsaw or Vilna that one can hardly realize that he is not there only seeing some pictures reminding that people in this place are equal citizens of the free republic who live with ambitions about which they could not even dream in the motherland.²⁸²

Rubinov even tries to justify the miserable conditions in which Jews live in New York by saying that they are not ashamed of their segregation, because it is voluntary.²⁸³ From Jews from other cities he heard that New York is the best place to live in, because the society is intelligent and social life is interesting. At first an old Jew coming from the Pale expects that somebody will hit him, but then he becomes attracted to local social activities and understands that their freedom is much better than the former disability to speak up. Of course, America is not the land of milk and honey, but Jews live here not worse than in others.²⁸⁴

However, the contributors pay some attention to the disadvantages of emigration as well, trying to justify them nevertheless. The major problem is overcrowding. Emigrants of

²⁸⁰ Isaac Max Rubinov, "Evreyskiy vopros v New Yorke" [Jewish Question in New York], *Knizhki Voskhoda* 5 (1903): 92.

²⁸¹ Tiraspol'skiy, *Russko-evreyskie emigranty*, V. 5 (1904), 111.

²⁸² Ibid., V. 4 (1904), 141-142.

²⁸³ Rubinov, *Evreyskiy vopros*, V. 6 (1903), 103.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., V. 5 (1903), 99-100.

other nationalities are not that packed as Jews, which makes Manhattan “the most ailing place of Jewish emigration.” The reason for staying in New York is probably poverty and the presence of women and children who block further movement. Yiddish also plays some role, because it loses its utility further from the port cities and emigrants can hardly speak English. Though some Jews have moved westwards, the problem of overcrowding remains because emigration is constantly continuing. For Wig-us Jews living in the New York ghetto have to move to other places in order to clear space for new emigrants: “Rationally organized resettlement would ease the need in New York and increase the capacity of the United States of absorbing the emigrational flux of East European Jews.”²⁸⁵

Rubinov states that although it is believed that the concentration of Jews in big cities is an evil, working places available there saved many Jews from having to rely on charitable organizations. Moreover, Russian Jews play an enormous role in the economic development of New York: “The Russian-Jewish needle made Americans the best-dressed people on earth”. One may say that tailoring is not a sophisticated occupation, but at least Jews did not push other nations out of certain economic niches, but created a new one; moreover, Jewish labor unions tried hard to improve the conditions of Jewish workers. “[A Russian Jew’s] extreme poverty and social conditions of existence made him weak and a coward.” Sometimes Jewish emigrants are blamed that their standard of life is lower than of other workers and that they bring the salaries down, but this seems all natural for Rubinov. He cannot deny the known inconveniences of the sweatshop system, but it allows a Jewish emigrant to earn money the day after entering America.²⁸⁶ Interestingly, Rubinov defends sweatshops in several articles. He informs the reader that American society stood against them and some laws were issued, but sweatshops give the possibility to observe Shabbat;

²⁸⁵ Wig-us, *Immigratsiya evreev*, 123-124.

²⁸⁶ Isaac Max Rubinov, “*Ekonomicheskoe polozhenie russkih evreev v New Yorke*” [Economic Conditions of Russian Jews in New York], *Knizhki Voskhoda* 1 (1905): 136-140.

this is why many Jews prefer them to a clean factory.²⁸⁷ In addition, the sweatshop system secures emigrants from returning back to the motherland.²⁸⁸

4.3. Overcrowding in New York as Necessary Evils

Some of the authors are irritated by rumors that a ‘Jewish question’ allegedly exists in the States and they try to dissuade the reader of this opinion. Rubinov mentions that it is believed that Jewish emigration provokes the appearance of the Jewish question including economic, moral and intellectual aspects. Some people are sure that the Jewish ghettos are evil, but they forget about Italian, Irish and other even poorer ghettos. The decision to stay in New York is “not an economic mistake, but a result of economic insightfulness, even if it was made unconsciously.” In the 1860s-1870s it was possible to go westwards, but now the United States are overpopulated. There is no cheap land anymore, the remaining land is very dry, and independent farming is almost impossible. Rubinov assumes that the reports of the United Hebrew Charities may give another image, but their authors, dealing only with the poor population, have become biased. And societies of mutual help organized by emigrants themselves work much more efficiently. By establishing such societies Jews in fact show that they learnt from Americans the great principals of unity and power.²⁸⁹

Rubinov is surprised that the news about the overcrowding of Jews in big American cities penetrated even in the Russian-Jewish press, but he doubts their reliability since usually they do not present first-hand experience. He believes that nobody can make a Jew move westwards just by asking him to resolve the ‘Jewish question,’ especially since there are many good reasons to claim that such a problem does not exist in America.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁷ Ibid., 141-142.

²⁸⁸ Isaac Max Rubinov, “Moim korrespondentam: pismo iz Ameriki” [To My Correspondents: A Letter from America], *Knizhki Voskhoda* 10 (1904), 117.

²⁸⁹ Rubinov, *Ekonomicheskoe polozhenie*, 145-146; Rubinov, *Evreyskiy vopros*, V. 7 (1903), 130-131.

²⁹⁰ Rubinov, *Evreyskiy vopros*, V. 7 (1903), 130-131.

Rubinov does not understand why Jews worry so much about the congestion of their brethren in New York. He recognizes the right of non-Jews to be afraid that New York would fall in ‘Jewish hands’ when Jews would constitute the majority of the city population, but he does not see why this should be a problem for Jews. Furthermore, even if New York became a Jewish city, this would not cause antisemitism; on the contrary, antisemitism would vanish with the bigger influx of the Jewish population to America, because people in this country are afraid to insult Jews. The percentage of Jews would never go beyond thirty-fourty percent, because there is not only Jewish emigration, but of other nationalities as well. Not only the Jewish population of the cities grows, but the cities grow as well. There is an opinion that Jews should move to the countryside, but history made them people of trade and industry, so they should keep populating cities.²⁹¹

Even if one assumes that a Jewish question exists in America, Rubinov argues, it would be limited to the neighborhood of the poor Jews in the Lower East Side of New York. And their misery is the outcome of economic and moral problems and by no means has any juridical implications as in Russia. Rubinov argues that the conditions of living in the Jewish ghetto are not worse than in other emigrant neighborhoods, which does not mean that they are satisfactory.

In a few months Rubinov already changed the tone of his claiming that the Jewish question in New York is illusory. In sum, emigration is exactly what East European Jews need: “We can offer to the Russian Jew a medicine to end his sad situation, but we see that emigration to America, to New York is still a prevailing remedy.” The author agrees that not everything is so bright and that a Russian Jew should not expect rivers of milk and honey, but if he works hard, after some time of loss and suffering he would manage to earn some

²⁹¹ Ibid., V. 7 (1903), 135-137; Rubinov, “Pismo iz Ameriki” [A Letter from America], *Knizhki Voskhoda* 4 (1905): 139, 144.

money and to live even better than the majority of German, Italian and Irish workers.²⁹² Before, Rubinov says, the East Side was a rich neighborhood, and now it belongs to the poor, but he foresees that gradually it will transform to the neighborhood of the middle class.²⁹³

4.4. The Potential of Jews to Become Agricultural Workers

The option of agricultural labor is still discussed, but to a lesser extent and much less significance is attributed to it. Rubinov mentions that there was a time when agriculture was considered to be the only solution for the Jewish question, but people who believed so were disappointed. The progress in agricultural technology has lowered the need of human resources; and the tendency is to move from the village to the city and not vice versa. The author does not understand why anybody should try to move a Jew from the city to a village when he has no money to move and no chances to find friends.²⁹⁴

Tiraspolskiy has a more positive view of the question. He sees that many Russian Jews go across the ocean dreaming to become farmers and this desire has to be supported and directed to the states with lots of free lands. ‘Green’ emigrants are not able to organize farms by themselves. Those with money are not powerful enough to make their dreams about becoming farmers come true, because the land in the American East is bad and requires special knowledge about how to work it. Jews are not prepared for this; they try for two years or so, then they sell the farm for nothing and return to the city, cursing Columbus. Thus, no one should be surprised that a ‘green’ abandons his farm after two or three years, but that he managed to hold out for so long.²⁹⁵ A special bureau has to be organized to protect Jews from such mistakes, like some time before the Russian government hired

²⁹² Rubinov, *Evreyskiy vopros*, *Knizhki Voskhoda* 8 (1903), 113.

²⁹³ Rubinov, *Ekonomicheskoe polozhenie*, 125.

²⁹⁴ Rubinov, *Evreyskiy vopros*, *Knizhki Voskhoda* 7 (1903), 131-132.

²⁹⁵ Tiraspolskiy, *Russko-evreyskie emigranty*, *Knizhki Voskhoda* 3 (1904), 138-140.

experienced teachers and practitioners to help Jewish colonists on the state lands in New Russia. Hiring such teachers in America would cost very little compared to the use they would make. Before, it was impossible to pay them because only the poor emigrated. Now even rich Jews emigrate with the only purpose to live in peace and give their children an education. These immigrants can become agricultural pioneers.²⁹⁶

Tiraspolskiy visited the perfect agricultural colony of Woodbine in New York State. The dairy man whom he met there managed to save a couple of thousand dollars and buy a house on credit.²⁹⁷ In sum, Tiraspolskiy concludes, everything is possible in America. Then Tiraspolskiy paid a visit to the local agricultural college and talked to its prefect, professor Sabsovich, who is also an administrator and a mayor of Woodbine. The author immediately recalled the infamous Osovetskiy, an administrator of Baron Rothschild's colony in Palestine, whom he met fifteen years before. Osovetskiy treated colonists like serfs and they despised him, but Sabsovich is completely different. He believes that it is not that difficult to succeed in America, but being 'green' many emigrants make mistakes which are difficult to correct afterwards.²⁹⁸ In general, the colony made a very positive impression on Tiraspolskiy. In the evening he saw people who sang English songs and drank beer. The gramophone played Kol Nidrei and the author could not believe it is true; it was like a sweet dream.²⁹⁹

4.5. The Role of the Jewish Intelligentsia

What distinguishes this latest period of emigration from the previous years is the fact that the mass of Russian-Jewish emigrants grew intellectually³⁰⁰ and that the Jewish cultural

²⁹⁶ Ibid., 144-145.

²⁹⁷ Ibid., V. 4 (1904), 145.

²⁹⁸ Ibid., 136, 139.

²⁹⁹ Ibid., 135.

³⁰⁰ Rubinov, *Evreyskiy vopros*, V. 6 (1903), 111.

life of the ghetto – the press, literature, theater – is organized by Russians.³⁰¹ Isidore Singer is even sure that America might be the place for Jewish revival, although European Jews ask themselves whether this barbarian country of America (for the first time America and not Russia acquired such an epithet) is really destined to become such a place. Singer himself has no doubts: “These fervent defenders of Jewish interests [the Maskilim – A.S.] almost unconsciously lay the ground for the revival of Jewish scholarship in the Western Hemisphere.”³⁰²

The strong presence of the Jewish intelligentsia among emigrants is also due to the fact that more and more young people want to go abroad because they cannot study in Russia. Rubinov alerts readers that although the conditions at American universities are very good, the fee is huge and it is better to earn some money in a factory first. Significantly, education is accessible for women almost to the same extent as for men. Primary and secondary education is even free.³⁰³ In primary school, relations between pupils and teachers are excellent, which is completely different from the experience in the former motherland. If a student is good, he can advance to the next class even during the same academic year. Only the ‘practically-minded Yankees’ could come up with such rules: “it is easy to imagine what an impression all these conditions have on emigrants from Russia, for whom thoughts about school are inseparably connected with the percent norm.” Very often Russian-Jewish emigrants appear among the most talented students, who are one big family; they not only study at American universities, but even become citizens.³⁰⁴

Singer argues that a good Jewish press is needed for raising the intellectual level of all emigrants. But now the press is very poor financially and informatively, and the Jewish public does not find it useful and interesting enough. It cannot be influential either because

³⁰¹ Rubinov, *Ekonomicheskoe polozhenie*, 141.

³⁰² Isidore Singer, “Evreyskoe vozrozhdenie v Amerike” [Jewish Revival in America], *Knizhki Voskhoda* 3 (1902): 61, 63-64.

³⁰³ Rubinov, *Moim korrespondentam*, V. 9 (1904), 205, 208, 210.

³⁰⁴ Tiraspol'skiy, *Russko-evreyskie emigranty*, V. 5 (1904), 115-119.

it has very few subscribers, but this sad situation can be ended with the help of Jewish philanthropists. Now the press is so weak that the editors of the Yiddish periodicals themselves know that the children of their subscribers would rather read American newspapers.³⁰⁵ This situation is quite sad, because in Russia Jewish intelligentsia were used to good newspapers. Local periodicals can attract readers only by their advertisements.³⁰⁶

The initiative of Isidor Singer to publish the *Jewish Encyclopedia* also wished to raise the intellectual level of emigrants, as well as to develop interest in Jewish studies among non-Jews. In his article Singer calls philanthropists to support those who study Judaism. So far, Jewish studies have to live the life of nomads and wait to be accepted to universities and academies.³⁰⁷

4.6. Heterogeneity of the Jewish Population in America

When Rubinov talks about those Jews who moved to America before 1881, he finds no mutual respect and understanding between them and the Russian-Jewish emigrants. When mass emigration started, American Jews felt that they had to do something for their brethren, but their pity was mixed with disgust. Charity was offered, but it was not large enough. Americans and American Jews cannot understand Russian Jews in general; and this incomprehension is a real crime on the side of the latter. Americans felt sympathetic towards Russian Jews because of the religious persecutions from which the latter suffered and because they appeared to be hard-working. But German Jews, who had come to America several decades before, forgot who they were when they arrived and how they were treated by the Portuguese Jews, this is why they were ashamed of their brethren.³⁰⁸

³⁰⁵ Singer, *Evreyskoe vozrozhdenie*, 74-76.

³⁰⁶ Tiraspolskiy, *Russko-evreyskie emigranty*, V. 5 (1904), 123-124.

³⁰⁷ Singer, *Evreyskoe vozrozhdenie*, 76-83.

³⁰⁸ Rubinov, *Evreyskiy vopros*, V. 6 (1903), 110.

Quite often in Rubinov's articles, the Jewish 'masses' of the East Side are contrasted to the Jewish 'classes' of the Uptown.³⁰⁹ It is true that the huge New York ghetto is a big nest of poverty and pauperism. Nonetheless, there are 2.5 times more Jewish millionaires than of any other origin if we count proportionally. Thus, the Jewish population is quite contrasted socially; and Russian Jews are also among themselves very heterogeneous. There are Russian-Jewish employers and employees; they all belonged to the same social class as before, because there are almost no really rich Russian-Jewish emigrants.³¹⁰ Both richer and poorer emigrants are at first 'green', mute, blind and exploited. Poor emigrants go from one 'boss' to another until they become 'yellow,' which takes from one to three years. The 'yellow' workers always feel sympathetic towards the 'green'.³¹¹ In America an employee can become an employer in one day. Because of a high number of hired workers, Rubinov calls Americans the people of exploitation. Even if we take a green emigrant, who usually falls into the hands of an exploiter, his condition is however not as bad as it is usually described by pessimists: "without any doubts they are much better off than their brethren who stayed in the far away motherland. Otherwise we would not have continuously increasing emigration; this fact is impossible to argue against."³¹²

But of course the social gap dividing Russian Jews is not as huge as that which separates them from those who emigrated earlier. It is believed that the 'Jewish question' in general was invented by the Jews from Uptown. If they looked at Italian, German or Irish poor neighborhoods they would understand that the social problem has nothing to do with nationality. Just because of the German Jews, the debate prostitution in New York was narrowed to the question of prostitution in the poor Jewish neighborhood.³¹³

³⁰⁹ Rubinov, *Ekonomicheskoe polozhenie*, 129.

³¹⁰ Ibid., V. 1 (1905): 123-124.

³¹¹ Tiraspolskiy, *Russko-evreyskie emigranty*, V. 3 (1904), 134.

³¹² Rubinov, *Ekonomicheskoe polozhenie*, 129-130, 133-134.

³¹³ Rubinov, *Evreyskiy vopros*, V. 6 (1903), 115.

Such an attitude led Russian Jews to the decision to become independent and they said “we do not want your honey and relieve us from your sting.” A suggestion was even made that this is a fight between western and eastern civilizations. But Rubinov does not understand why one group should copy the other. Russian Jews, for instance, brought to America some examples of Jewish traditions and the Russian models in the field of literature, theater and music and there is no need to strangle this with fast Americanization. In Rubinov’s opinion, a rich Jew tries to forget that he is a Jew, but Russian Jews remind him of his Jewishness. This is why he wants to Americanize the Russian Jew, but it is a question if he should.³¹⁴ The opposition is really harsh: an American Jew is conservative, but a Russian Jew is radical and red; and the former is always ready to call his Russian brethren incorrigible anarchists.³¹⁵

But the biggest difference between these two groups is their polar attitude to religious observance. Intelligent Russian Jews do not go to the synagogue, but sermons in the synagogues of American Jews are very similar to those in Protestant churches, what makes sincerity of their religious feelings appear doubtful. They go to the synagogue as if it were the opera house. Russian Jews therefore call American Jews goodies, who in turn call them atheists.³¹⁶

However, when observant Jews from the Pale (and they represent the majority of emigrants) become Americanized, their religiosity declines and they express almost indifferent attitudes towards rituals. There are almost a thousand synagogues in New York, but they do not offer the kind of view, that one used to see in the Pale. All people arriving to America want to group with people coming from the same region, and this explains why Jewish community life is so heterogeneous. Tiraspolskiy finds this natural and not bad at all,

³¹⁴ Ibid., V. 7 (1903): 123, 126-128.

³¹⁵ Rubinov, *Pismo iz Ameriki*, V. 4 (1902), 121-122.

³¹⁶ Ibid., 122-123.

but it creates unfavorable conditions for unity of Judaism.³¹⁷ Jews born in different countries live in different neighborhoods and have their own synagogues, because freedom in New York gave birth to too many forms of Judaism. Of all synagogues one can hardly find two where customs would be similar. Some of the Jews are still very Orthodox, but the synagogues of others can hardly be distinguished from English churches, and sometimes the latter even rent out as synagogues for holidays. Nonetheless, all congregations consider themselves as true Jews³¹⁸ and all Jewish shops are closed on Yom Kippur. Americans know about Jewish holidays and buy their provisions in advance. “Cosmopolitan New York is used to respect the holidays of others”. Even those who do not go to the synagogue all year long, come to pray on Yom Kippur.³¹⁹

With such a variety of congregations, rabbis do not respect each other and compete among themselves. Sometimes they have political interests. Since synagogues do not have a stable budget, they are sustained by selling seats and become quite commercialized. Before the New Year one can see advertisements everywhere offering a place in a synagogue, which is similar to a bazaar. So, this is not a wonder that the youth is not interested in religion at all and does not respect the synagogue. If there are many children in a synagogue, this only means that parents have no one to look after them at home. When they reach fifteen or sixteen years of age, they would rather go playing, do some sports or partying.³²⁰

Not only synagogues became commercialized. Butchers, for example, sell kosher meat three times more expensive, exploiting the piety of Jews outside synagogues. Last year one kosher butcher left a shop and a German butcher bought it. He sells pork and nobody cares that all the boards about kosher meat are still there, which basically means that the

³¹⁷ A. Tiraspolskiy, “Evreyskie emigranty v Soedinennyh Shtatah: upadok religioznosti” [Jewish Emigrants in the United States: Decline of the Religious Observance], *Knizhki Voskhoda* 2 (1905): 86-87.

³¹⁸ Tiraspolskiy, *Russko-evreyskie emigranty*, V. 5 (1904), 111-112.

³¹⁹ Rubinov, *Evreyskiy vopros*, V. 5 (1903), 96.

³²⁰ Tiraspolskiy, *Evreyskie emigranty*, 88-91.

German sells kosher pork. One *mohel* (a circumciser) even put an ad that children circumcised by him live longer, are more pious, etc.³²¹ It is surprising that in this free country Jews abandon rituals which formerly they did not even abandon in the fear of the Inquisition and expulsion. Once Tiraspol'skiy heard a conversation between a pastor and a Russian-Jewish emigrant, and the latter said that Jews suffered so much that God would forgive them their present sins.³²²

In sum, the content of this section illustrates Kobrin's theory that the immigration experience facilitates the reinforcement of the regional identities, which, among other things, manifests in the desire to attend a synagogue together with immigrants coming from the same province. The question of religion appears to be crucial for *Voskhod*: whereas an exaggerated positive image of America is presented, the contributors cannot hide their dissatisfaction with the fact that a synagogue as an institution becomes commercialized and the general decline in religiosity takes place.

4.7. Nostalgic Feelings for Russia

Nostalgia for the previous motherland is brought up in the journal several times. Rubinov, for instance has lived in New York for more than ten years; and only after this significant amount of time his homesickness was replaced by an interest in the new country and a feeling of solidarity with it. Maybe for the same reason some of the Orthodox Jews living in America for ten-twenty years have not received citizenship yet. They are interested in state affairs, but "passivity which was nurtured in them for centuries keeps them at a distance from active participation in the political life of the country."³²³

³²¹ Ibid., 91-92.

³²² Ibid., 93, 98.

³²³ Rubinov, *Evreyskiy vopros*, V. 5 (1903), 93.

Some of the emigrants started to feel some positive emotions towards Russia only at the moment of departure. Thus, Tiraspolskiy states that the way to the United States of Northern America is very recognizable for millions of emigrants and tourists, since it is covered by blood and tears of hundreds of poor Russian emigrants. At the moment of departure he saw faces of emigrants expressing sadness for what they left. They started crying because they may never land in Europe again, which just now became so important for them.³²⁴

Rubinov mentions that many Russian Jews lack nationalist feelings for their new country and still call themselves Russians.³²⁵ Jacob Rombro in his essay about Yiddish Literature in America even published a poem *Motherland* by one Babad, where the author describes his longing to go back to Russia and save his vanishing youth.³²⁶ Furthermore, when Tiraspolskiy visited Woodbine, people started to ask him so many questions, that he understood that his arrival revived reminiscences about the motherland, so far away and suddenly so dear.³²⁷

The strong attachment to Russia creates one more difference between American and Russian Jews. An American Jew is a patriot, but Russian Jews still bear sentimental feelings towards their stepmother. An average American Jew is satisfied with himself and his motherland and cannot understand how emigrants from the ‘barbaric country’ of Russia can see any flaws in it. The Jews from the Lower East Side see the other side of the coin, and even some of those who managed to become rich remember their past sufferings and still see the suffering of their less fortunate brethren.³²⁸ It is quite peculiar how living for a long time in America, immigrants still felt ‘Russian.’

³²⁴ Tiraspolskiy, *Russko-evreyskie emigranty*, V. 2 (1904), 63, 66.

³²⁵ Rubinov, *Pismo iz Ameriki*, V. 4 (1902), 123.

³²⁶ Jacob Rombro, “Zhargonnyaya literatura v Amerike” [Jargon Literature in America], *Knizhki Voskhoda* 1 (1900): 31-32.

³²⁷ Tiraspolskiy, *Russko-evreyskie emigranty*, V. 4 (1904), 131.

³²⁸ Rubinov, *Pismo iz Ameriki*, V. 4 (1902), 121-122.

4.8. There Are No Real Obstacles for Emigration: America Opens Its Door Wide

Many authors reflect on the opposition to immigration which started to be expressed in America with an influx of so many immigrants, but they try to justify the measures and assure potential emigrants that they should not worry because of this.

The Promised Land of America, as Rubinov calls it, started to be burdened with immigration and especially with the Jewish one, but the opposition to it did not start yesterday and was not caused by the influx of Jews. Moreover, opposition against immigration coexists with encouragement. Rubinov believes that America needs ‘new blood’ for economic reasons, because cheap labor is needed for industrial development. In addition, the opposition does not bear the footprints of antisemitism. The anti-immigration campaign was never specifically anti-Jewish; and if the country wants to limit the immigration of criminals, mad people, idiots and people with contagious and deathly diseases, Rubinov cannot blame it. Jews should not be afraid of those limitations, since they do not come just to enrich themselves and are open to embrace the American culture. Jews bring with themselves not only hungry mouths, but much diligence as well. Still, the fate of immigration depends on those Jews who are already in America. The more Jews come to the States, the more support immigration will get. The more Jews live in America, the more political influence they would achieve. In general, Rubinov sees the door to America opened for Jews.³²⁹

Kulisher also believes that immigration should continue. The scheme showing that “the way of modern development goes from humanity through nationalism to bestiality” can hardly be applied to America. Jews here are different from others only because of religion. If popular attitude is hostile, it is directed against them as immigrants and not as adherents

³²⁹ Rubinov, *Evreyskiy vopros*, V. 8 (1903), 105-112.

of Judaism. Moreover, in 1891 two commissioners, Weber and Campster, were assigned to investigate the reasons for mass migration and they reached the conclusion that its banning would mean acting against the American spirit and the principles of humanity: “America [...] creates places for many millions and will give them the possibility to stay on the free land among free people.”³³⁰

While praising America, the authors resort to condemning the countries where they came from. However, they do not refer to Russia specifically, but to Europe in general. Thus, for example, Rubinov complains that Jews in America are equal with others only officially, but not always in personal relations, because most of the non-Jews in New York are immigrants or children of immigrants and they brought antisemitism with them from Europe.³³¹ But still there is no reason to be afraid of migrating to America and Rubinov is a good example of it. When he was young and lived in Russia his Jewishness caused him troubles and suffering. He was interested in Russian culture; and his Jewishness was an obstacle to appreciate its values to its full. Everything has changed since he came to New York, as here Rubinov does not regret being a Jew. In Russia the image of a Jew was ridiculed, but in New York it does not have a bad connotation and there is no severe social ostracism.³³²

Tiraspolskiy also assures that life in America is much better than in the Pale of Settlement, especially because Jews participate in the political and social life of the country. Children of emigrants get education and have a bright future as “citizens worthy of the great free republic” and will definitely show how grateful they are to their new country for the adoption.³³³

³³⁰ Kulisher, *Evrei v Amerike*, 72-74.

³³¹ Rubinov, *Evreyskiy vopros*, V. 6 (1903), 103-104.

³³² Ibid., 100-103.

³³³ Tiraspolskiy, *Russko-evreyskie emigranty*, V. 4 (1904), 140.

Wig-us proudly points out that the productive force is going to America and the unproductive stays in Russia.³³⁴ It is true that Jews do not like physical labor, but this changes in America.³³⁵ If Jews are weak and sallow, this is not of their fault: “During many centuries of history the conditions cut him [a Jew] from honest and healthy labor and pushed him to trade; this became especially acute in Russia during the last century. And still under the first possibility [in America] a Russian Jew became a diligent, patient, and [...] very useful worker.”³³⁶ Rubinov also points out that “a big change will happen on the spiritual and civil level: he [a Jew] will break free from any specifically Jewish adversities, will live his own life not depending on the opinion of others. He will be engaged in social life [...] and he will raise his head which he bowed down for centuries, thanks to being respected by the surrounding society.”³³⁷ Moreover, Jews are respected in America; Americans even read translations from jargon and go to the Jewish theaters, thus they learn to respect Jews. Mixed marriages are the best example of friendly relations between Jews and non-Jews.³³⁸ It is quite atypical that here intermarriages are presented as something positive, as usually they are viewed as a result of losing the specific Jewish identity.

Singer also stands for rapprochement with American people. He argues that the specific Jewish hospitals should be abandoned, because there are no specifically Jewish illnesses. The same should happen with Jewish charitable organizations and then non-Jews will see the wealth of the Jewish community, which in turn would facilitate the merging of two peoples.³³⁹ On the one hand, Singer disapproves of American Jews saying “America is our Palestine, Washington is our Jerusalem.”³⁴⁰ On the other hand, he suggests to Theodor Herzl and Max Nordau to organize the sixth Zionist congress in New York. Referring to his

³³⁴ Wig-us, *Immigratsiya evreev*, 114, 120.

³³⁵ Rubinov, *Ekonomicheskoe polozenie*, 127.

³³⁶ Ibid., 136.

³³⁷ Rubinov, *Evreyskiy vopros*, V. 8 (1903), 113.

³³⁸ Ibid., V. 6 (1903), 105-108.

³³⁹ Singer, *Evreyskoe vozrozhdenie*, 73.

³⁴⁰ Ibid., 85.

own experience, Singer says that coming here six years ago and not knowing the language, he managed to find a ‘savior’ for his encyclopedia among Christian publishers. The Zionist leaders can also try to find Christian supporters in America. “You, European Jews, [...] accept without further hesitations your younger sister from the other side of the ocean as the queen of Jewry! Europe got old and European Jewry bears traces of this old age... The ground for Jewish revival is ready here, in America.” Reformed Judaism also seems to Singer better than its Orthodox counterpart: “In local synagogues it smells like fresh morning air: here people stopped looking at temples as a sort of communal apothecary.”³⁴¹

Rubinov voices the even more audacious opinion that in America *galut* (exile, dispersion) is ended: “As a result we see the vivacity and vigor of New York Jewry, which is atypical for a Russian Jew. Jews are changing radically when living in New York, but this is not because of the city, but because *galut* and the Jewish question are absent.”³⁴²

4.9. The Poor as the Better Candidates for Emigration than the Rich

The question whether it is worth emigrating from Russia or not also takes place in the journal; and it seems that the aim of *Knizhki Voskhoda* was to encourage emigration only of the poor Jews and provide them with useful information on how to do it better than those emigrants who had preceded them. Thus, Tiraspol'skiy states that people should emigrate if they really cannot live in their motherland any more. He advised to do this in parts: first a husband and adult sons should go and then invite the rest of the family after becoming ‘yellow’. He stresses that good family relations and keeping family tradition is the best way to success and comfort themselves after all the troubles that happened in the forever dear motherland Russia.³⁴³

³⁴¹ Ibid., 87-88.

³⁴² Rubinov, *Evreyskiy vopros*, V. 5 (1903), 100-101.

³⁴³ Tiraspol'skiy, *Russko-evreyskie emigranty*, V. 5 (1904), 125-126.

Rubinov shares this attitude. He starts by mentioning that not a single family can be found which does not have relatives in America.³⁴⁴ But those who emigrated ten or fifteen years ago had better chances, partly because they were not afraid to find themselves at the bottom of a social ladder. They passed some hardships, but would never ever go back to the motherland, although they are still sentimentally attached to it. Those for whom emigration is the only solution to the question of mere existence do not wait until someone guarantees them success, but go at random with hope and faith and this helps them a lot.³⁴⁵ Thus, they definitely should emigrate: “As said one great German-Jewish economist,³⁴⁶ ‘they have nothing to lose but their chains and they can win the whole world.’ To win the whole ‘world’ is a hyperbola of course, but they will find ‘a piece of bread’, and for a hungry mouth this is the whole world.” Rubinov knows that the poor may curse him after emigration, but the period of suffering for them would be shorter and less painful than for the rich and all particular incommunities would be forgotten sooner or later.³⁴⁷

On the contrary, people who became successful already in Russia should not go to America unless their reasons for emigration are more than purely financial. But even in the latter case they should first decide for themselves what hardships they are ready to endure in order to satisfy their spiritual needs. For an ordinary emigrant, for example, being hired in a factory is great luck, but for a professional it is a shame. To the same extent, people who believe that they would be able to become tutors or writers in America should start learning how to sew pants.³⁴⁸ All practical and commercial knowledge gained in Europe is of no use here. But many Jews exaggerate their miserable conditions. They take other names, sometimes of a famous rabbi, and then sew shoes or lead a carriage; and finally they cursed

³⁴⁴ Rubinov, *Moim korrespondentam*, V. 9 (1904), 196.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 197-202.

³⁴⁶ Here Rubinov refers to *The Communist Manifesto* by Karl Marx.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, V. 10 (1904), 116.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 108-112.

‘Columbus’ and ‘America’ for the reason that a rabbi has to become a tailor or a coachman.³⁴⁹

Summing up, in many articles published in the period when Syrkin was editor we can see attempts to exaggerate the opportunities which America could offer and a claim that prosperity could be reached quite fast. The authors try to summarize the reasons that provoked emigration and put much stronger emphasis on the unfavorable conditions in Russia – pogroms, the expulsion from Moscow and the introduction of the percent norm at educational institutions. The majority of the presented arguments speak in favor of the necessity to emigrate. The contributors to the journal even tried to twist the facts in order to make the image of America more attractive to the potential immigrants. Thus, the overcrowding of the Jewish ghettos is recognized to be a problem, but nearly the only difficulty which emigrants can face. Even sweatshops are presented from the positive side, since they allow earning money quite fast without possessing any special skills.

The authors try to comfort potential emigrants that any harshening of the emigrational legislation in America would not touch them, stressing that the more Jews come to this country, the better. America, and not Palestine, is called a perfect place for the Jewish revival, since so many intellectuals came there lately and there is a place for the development of Jewish studies. Although there is a gap between those Jews who arrived earlier and those who came with the last wave of emigration, and although some of the Russian Jews feel nostalgic for their abandoned motherland, still it is better to suffer for several years in America until the hardships of adjustment are overcome, than to stay in Russia and suffer from the political oppression. Nonetheless, *Knizhki Voskhoda* argues

³⁴⁹ Tiraspol'skiy, *Russko-evreyskie emigranty*, V. 3 (1904), 135-137.

rather for emigration of the poor, who literally have nothing to lose and will be less discouraged if something goes wrong.

Chapter 5: Voskhod's Complicated 'Romance' with Censorship: Emigration as one of the Safest Topics to Write about

Usually (and not without a reason) the Russian Empire is pictured as a highly bureaucratic and autocratic state compared to other European countries which in the nineteenth century, with different level of success though, developed at least some principles of democracy in the ruling system. Although some of the Russian rulers (like Peter the Great, Catherine the Great or Alexander II) looked at the West and tried to 'pull up' the state to the level of the European neighbors, the tendency was to hold the population 'in grip' and to attempt to prevent spreading of revolutionary ideas dangerous to the current system of affairs. Such control became much more difficult with the proliferation of the press.³⁵⁰

As we can see, tight censorship control was regarded as one of the elements of the autocratic Imperial regime. Benjamin Rigberg, for example, points out that the autocratic state based itself on censorship, the police, the church and educational institutions.³⁵¹ Propaganda and agitation of different radical movements had to be prevented from appearing in the press. Consequently, the history of censorship is tightly connected with a constant fight for the freedom of the press. The pace in gaining it in the Russian Empire, sadly, was much therefore slower than in the countries of Central and Western Europe.

After the assassination of Alexander II, the new Tsar Alexander III (1881-1894) was especially afraid of the spread of radical ideas through the press. His fears caused the creation, under the influence of Count Nicholas Ignatiev, of the Supreme Commission on

³⁵⁰ Charles A. Ruud, *Fighting Words: Imperial Censorship and the Russian Press, 1804-1906* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 201-202.

³⁵¹ Benjamin Rigberg, "Tsarist Censorship Performance, 1894-1905," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 17, No. 1 (March, 1969): 59.

Press Affairs, which was authorized to banish from journalism editors and publishers accused of publishing materials menacing the existing regime.³⁵² The Commission issued an act on August 27, 1882 according to which periodicals had to be suspended after three warnings and resume publishing under preliminary censorship only.³⁵³ Censorship became very sophisticated and complex, as we will see it in the case of *Voskhod*.

During the first decade of the reign of Tsar Nicholas II (1894-1917), there were attempts to make censorship less critical, but already in 1904 the number of topics forbidden by the Ministry of Interior peaked at 570, including the Jewish question and censorship itself. Nevertheless, during the First Russian Revolution the government had to direct its efforts in other directions and censorship became less powerful.³⁵⁴ At the same time the need to reform the press laws was realized by the authorities taking into consideration requirements of moderate papers and it was suggested to continue harsh scrutinizing only of radical periodicals. At the beginning of 1905 Nicholas II formed a special Commission to put an end to the “unnecessary restrictions” imposed on the press.³⁵⁵

New rules for the press (which worked not so well on practice though), so called ‘Temporary press laws’ based on European laws as a model, culminated discussions during 1904-1905.³⁵⁶ The final Statute of April 26, 1906 put an end to censorship. Nevertheless, publishing remained suppressed and publications could be confiscated after the court’s inculpatory decision, also exacerbated by the danger of a heavy fine or even the editors’ arrest. The word ‘censorship’ in fact stopped being used and censorship committees were now called press committees. In reality censorship was completely abolished only after the

³⁵² Charles A. Ruud, “Russia,” in *The War for the Public Mind: Political Censorship in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Robert Justin Goldstein (London: Praeger, 2000), 246.

³⁵³ Ruud, *Fighting Words*, 197.

³⁵⁴ Ruud, *Russia*, 246-247, 257-259.

³⁵⁵ Charles A. Ruud, “The Printing Press as an Agent of Political Change in Early Twentieth-Century Russia,” *Russian Review* 40, No. 4 (Oct., 1981): 385-391.

³⁵⁶ Arlen Blium, *Za kulisami ‘Ministerstva pravdy’: taynaya istoriya Sovetskoy tsenzury, 1917-1929* [Behind the Curtain of ‘The Ministry of the Truth’: Secret History of Soviet Censorship, 1917-1929] (Sankt-Petersburg: Gumanitarnoe agentstvo “Akademicheskii proekt,” 1994), 29.

February Revolution of 1917 by the Provisional Government, but, unfortunately, for a very short period of time.³⁵⁷

The history of censorship in the Russian Empire can be very well illustrated by the example of *Voskhod*'s relations with censors. In the present chapter, I will examine the development of censorship attitudes towards *Voskhod*, which subdivided the journal's existence into the three periods. Censorship went from being aggressive through being to some extent supportive to the high point of hostility which ended with the paper's closure. At times the main editor of *Voskhod*, Adolf Landau, developed a peculiar symbiosis with the censors and even a sort of 'romance'.

Even though Landau received the permission to publish his journal without preliminary censorship, he had to fight continuously in order to retain this privilege. The editor had to present himself at the Chief Administration of Press Affairs quite often, since censors treated the only Jewish journal in Russian harshly. Their biased attitude became more and more vigilant with the growth of antisemitism and the reinforcement of anti-Jewish legislation. Nevertheless, emigration seemed to be quite a safe subject to write about. The censors addressed the problem of emigration to America touched in the paper just twice during the entire twenty-six years of *Voskhod*'s existence. And even in those rare cases censors were much more concerned with the bad image of Russia and its discriminatory legislation that quite often accompanied the implicit or explicit call for emigration. Some of the articles with a moderate tone concerning inner politics were treated as highly undesirable and harmful, while articles devoted to emigration (not necessarily to America), containing sometimes a similar message and published in the same issues, even on the same page, were ignored.

³⁵⁷ Paul Foote, *Censorship Practice in Russia: Circulars of the Directorate of Censorship 1865-1904*, http://web.princeton.edu/sites/english/csbn/papers/censorship/censorship_russia.pdf (accessed: January 12, 2013), 4-5; Ruud, *Russia*, 247-248.

5.1. The period of Trials and Errors: Adolf Landau Tests the Ground of the Relations with Censorship

The experienced publicist Adolf Landau practically walked on a tightrope during the first years after the monthly *Voskhod* and its weekly supplement *Nedel'naya khronika Voskhoda* started to be published. These years were a testing period for his understanding of which topics were safe to write about and which topics were not. With the exception of one poem devoted to America, the emigration theme proved to be of no interest for censorship. Censors acted as if they followed Count Nikolay Ignatyev's remark that "the western border is open to the Jews".³⁵⁸

In general, *Voskhod's* first year, 1881, passed without any intervention from censorship. Interestingly, no article devoted to emigration to America was published during that time. Kelner argues that censorship started to react to critical articles on Russian antisemitism after January 30, 1882, when one of the heads from the Ministry of the Interior, Dmitry Gotovtsev, published a decree in which he cautioned Russian-Jewish journals not to offend the Russian people when defending Jewish interests.³⁵⁹ But actual problems with censorship started a little bit earlier. On January 16, 1882 Landau was called to visit the Chief Administration of Press Affairs for the first time to give an explanation on the articles he had published in *Nedel'naya khronika Voskhoda* one day before.³⁶⁰ Less than one week later, on January 22, 1882, a censor, A. Petrov, wrote a report about the harmful information which was contained in three items included in issue 12 of the previous year: "The significance of the Talmud for Christian theology" by A.L. Vol' (which stayed in the table of content of the issue, but was cut from the final version of the issue), "The Literary

³⁵⁸ John Klier, "New Politics for Old: A Reassessment of the Traditional Jewish Political Leadership in 1881-1882," in *Jewish Studies at the Central European University*, V. II, 1999-2001, ed. Andras Kovacs and Eszter Andor (Budapest: Central European University, 2002), 134.

³⁵⁹ Kelner, *Zhurnal "Voskhod"*, 23-28.

³⁶⁰ RSHA, Fund 776, Register 6, Folder 501, fol. 26.

Chronicle” by Mevakker³⁶¹ and the poem “In the Thunderstorm” by Simon Frug.³⁶² In March 1882, *Nedel'naya khronika Voskhoda* was mentioned twice in the censorship reports. Once again Landau was called to the Chief Administration of Press Affairs.³⁶³

The censors paid attention to an article implicitly calling for emigration for the first time in spring 1882. On May 3 the Committee on the Press Affairs following the report of the censor recognized several articles published in issues 1-2 of *Voskhod* as extremely harmful and the Minister of the Interior, Count Nikolay Ignatyev, deemed it necessary to suspend publishing of the issue. This happened just 4 weeks before Ignatyev was replaced in the office by Count Dmitry Tolstoy. It is interesting to look at the articles which evoked such a wrath from the side of censorship. These were the articles “The Lantern: from the Shores of Euxinos Pontos” by an anonymous author, “About the Jewish Question in Russia” by O.N. Steinberg, “The Family of Hillel: Historical Novel from the Times of the Destruction of Jerusalem” by M. Ring, “About the Necessity to Reform the Jewish Religion” by Moshe Leib Lilienblum and, finally, the poem “To the Ocean” by A.M. Verbov. The censor particularly reproved four lines from the last named poem: on page 21 “Carry us faster to the country where the Tsar is freedom, where no difference exists between the castes, where equality lives” and on page 24 “And let all people on the Earth unite for brotherhood, love and freedom.”³⁶⁴ Nevertheless, the poem was published without any changes.³⁶⁵

It is obvious that the country to which Mr. Verbov alluded is the United States of America. If any hesitations may remain after reading the lines picked by the censor, other parts from the poem leave no doubt: “In painful grief we are sailing westwards from our

³⁶¹ From Hebrew ‘a critic.’ A penname, which Iehuda Leyb Gordon used writing in *Voskhod*.

³⁶² RSHA, Fund 776, Register 6, Folder 501, fols. 27-27v.

³⁶³ Ibid., fols. 30, 31, 33.

³⁶⁴ Ibid., fols. 35-37.

³⁶⁵ A. Verbov, “To the Ocean,” *Voskhod* 1-2 (1882): 20-24.

darling East through the stormy ocean.”³⁶⁶ Interestingly, the rather innocent lines “And let all people on the Earth unite for brotherhood, love and freedom,” that praised humanity and not only America, caught the censor’s attention, while he was insensitive to some other verses accusing the Russian people of humiliating the Jews: “You, violent sons of the fatherland, let your conscience sleep, if we can sleep at all”³⁶⁷ or “Enable to find mercy and protection, they made their trembling feet run. It is easy to stigmatize them! Stigmatize them as much as you want! Beat, rob and slander them – there is no punishment for that! The insane crowd laughs with its blind hostility, and the indifferent world is silent...”³⁶⁸

Although the poem praises America, it has a rather Zionist approach. The ocean is calm for only a moment, ready to become stormy again. Indeed Jews do not know for sure if people in the new country will treat them better than those in the old one. “[The ocean] looks as if it promised the return to Zion’s sacred abundance,” but the return is impossible as long as nations fight against each other.³⁶⁹ If the censor suspected the author of a call for cosmopolitanism, it is strange why he saw a danger in the lines about the need for human brotherhood, but did not include in the report, what was probably, the most dangerous line: “[unite] in one great nation!”³⁷⁰ However, no amendments were ordered, and at the end the poem was published as it was without any changes. Surprisingly, censors had complained when Russia herself was depicted in a bad light in other articles from the issue, but was left the same polemics unnoticed in the poem about the ocean.

In the next few months, censors found something undesirable in almost every issue of *Voskhod*’s weekly supplement.³⁷¹ Nevertheless, Landau was audacious enough to petition for the permission of adding to *Voskhod*’s program sections on inner and foreign general

³⁶⁶ Ibid., 20.

³⁶⁷ Ibid.

³⁶⁸ Ibid., 21.

³⁶⁹ Ibid., 23.

³⁷⁰ Ibid., 24.

³⁷¹ See, for example, RSHA, Fund 776, Register 6, Folder 501, fols. 49, 55, 56, 58, 59, 61, 63.

events (not exclusively Jewish) and a market chronicle. On January 28, 1883 the Head of the Chief Administration of Press Affairs, Evgeniy Feoktistov, rejected the petition with the explanation that “the publisher and editor of the journal *Voskhod* repeatedly violated orders of the censorship department, for which he got reproofs.”³⁷² Landau petitioned again several months later and got another rejection on December 17, 1883.³⁷³ The same happened on November 8, 1886.³⁷⁴ On the one hand, these rejections seem to be quite logical consequences of the many of censors’ reports which had been received on *Voskhod* and its supplement. On the other hand, we can assume that the Chief Administration of Press Affairs generally did not want a Jewish periodical to comment on matters that were not exclusively of Jewish character. This would probably have given censors much more work if they wanted to keep *Voskhod* ‘decent’.

On September 2, 1883, in another report, the censor, reproved the articles “On a Visit: Travel Notes” by P.Y. Levenson, “Trips to the Land of Pogroms” by L. Lyakhovetskiy and “The Movement towards Religious Reforms among the English Jews: Letters from London” by L. Gurvich, which had all been published in issue 5/6. He accused *Voskhod* of “total disinclination towards Russian society, malicious attacks on the government and even highly improper mockery of the dogmas of the Christian Church.”³⁷⁵

Although *Voskhod* was mentioned in the censorship reports three times during 1883-1884, and its weekly supplement only twice,³⁷⁶ censor O. Elenev petitioned on July 10, 1884 for a reinforcement of the control over the weekly. Until this moment with a certain degree of success Landau managed to withstand the interventions, which were mostly directed against *Nedel’naya khronika Voskhoda*. The latest critique addressed the weekly

³⁷² Ibid., fol. 69.

³⁷³ Ibid., fol. 84.

³⁷⁴ Ibid., fol. 133.

³⁷⁵ Ibid., fol. 78.

³⁷⁶ Ibid., fols. 77, 78, 82, 88, 92.

supplement as well, but being treated as an inseparable whole,³⁷⁷ both the monthly and its weekly got the first warning from the Ministry of Interior on July 24, 1884, which had found a biased attitude towards Christianity on the pages of the papers. Particularly, it was said that “*Nedel'naya khronika Voskhoda* very often allows itself to bluntly reproach laws and the act of the government and deceitfully interpret their meaning and goals; by selecting fictitious or twisted facts with irksome qualities it supports in a certain part of the population hostile feelings towards other citizens. The harmful trend of this paper appeared lately with particular unrestraint in the front-page articles of issues 24, 27, 28, in the articles “Tempora mutantur” and the correspondence from Vitebsk in issue 27, as well as in the letter from Sopotskin and in the article “By the way” in issue 28.”³⁷⁸

The censors completely ignored the praise of America expressed in various other articles of these much criticized issues. For instance, in issue 24, The Foreign Chronicle had reported wondrous news on flourishing Jewish agricultural colonies in America. People there, the correspondent wrote, do not need the support of charitable organizations; on the contrary, colonists send quite a lot of money back home, so that their families and friends can also emigrate from Russia to America. To assure the readers of the success of the emigration movement, the author concludes that there is no lack of jobs in America at all and that everyone can be hired.³⁷⁹ The publication of a private letter sent from New York on June 15, 1884 is very peculiar, and some parts of it deserve to be cited textually:

I have to talk with you about your trip to America; and because my opinion about this country might affect your decision, I wish to be unbiased in spite of my huge desire to see you near me. If everyone looked at America through my experience, he/she would advise you to come to America without hesitation. As for me, I bless the time when I decided to come here. I left Russia as a pauper without any skills, and now, after one and a half years, I acquired some technical knowledge and work in a roundhouse. [...] The bright future is close. The life of freedom and labor in a country where human labor is paid much better than everywhere else – such life completely replaces from memory those bitter moments which we always meet on the way in our beginnings.

³⁷⁷ Kelner, *Zhurnal “Voskhod”*, 23-28.

³⁷⁸ RSHA, Fund 776, Register 6, Folder 501, fols. 98-100v.

³⁷⁹ *Nedel'naya khronika Voskhoda* 24 (1884), 680.

[...] I am not going to hide that I initially suffered a lot. [...] Now, in spite of the fact that I am spending much money, I managed to save quite a significant amount.

As for applying to local universities, it is not difficult at all: every poor student has to show a paper signed by a famous person (which everyone would gladly give) assuring his modest means and he will be exempt from paying a tuition fee. [...]

Thus, my dear friend, you should not delay your trip to America. The sooner you arrive – the closer you will get to happiness. If you decided to come (which would be your great happiness and redemption), write me as soon as possible and I will send you money for the trip and a ‘Schiffskarte’ from Hamburg to America, and later we will square accounts somehow.³⁸⁰

The letter obviously has a hidden purpose of profiting from naive emigrants. An easy way to success, the possibility to learn quickly some professional skills, work honestly, get good money and study at a university for free would obviously attract a lot of people. And one would not cast any doubt on the author’s honest desire to help his brethren left in Russia, if in the last paragraph he did not offer money to potential emigrants in order to enable them to make the trip. But for some reason Landau chose to publish this letter from all his correspondence; and for some other reason the censors ignored such an urgent call for resettlement.

After he received the first warning, Landau became extremely careful in selecting and revising articles. Nevertheless, six months later, on February 8, 1885, the censors still discovered some undesirable tones in the articles “The Role of the Bourgeoisie in the Faith of Jews: A Historical Parallel” by Jacob Rombro, “A Theory of the Jewish Question” by I. Leb, “Literary Chronicle. History of Deprived Shmul” by M.M., and “On the Way” by S.O. Yaroshevskiy, all published in issue 2 of *Voskhod*. A second warning came very soon after, on July 3, 1885, accusing *Voskhod* of blaming the Russian population for its resentment towards Jews: “In spite of the first warning, *Nedel’naya khronika Voskhoda* continues to reproach vigorously laws and the orders of the government concerning Jews and incite the latter against the existing order, instilling among them the conviction that the Government and all estates of the Russian people treat them with merciless and blind cruelty. This trend

³⁸⁰ Ibid. 28 (1884): 789-790.

was also expressed with a special bias in the article “By the Way” [by Jacob Rombro – A.S.] in issue 29 of *Nedel'naya khronika* of the previous year, in an article with the same name in issue 48 of the previous year [by Ben-Ami – A.S.], in the front-page article in issue 24, in the front-page article and in the Foreign Chronicle in issue 25 of the current year, and in the articles “The Role of the Bourgeoisie” and “A Theory of the Jewish Question” in the issue 2 of the journal *Voskhod* of the current year.”³⁸¹

These experiences made Landau himself very cautious towards the materials he published. Nonetheless, the publication of his journal was suspended once in 1887 and again in 1888.³⁸² Three times *Voskhod* was criticized by the censors in 1890.³⁸³ Finally, on February 20, 1891, Elagin, *Voskhod*'s main censor objected to the critical tale “A Nag or Sympathy towards Animals” by Solomon Abramovich's (Mendele Mocher Sforim) and the tale “The Adventures of a Nag” by Burstein, where the Jewish people was presented as an old horse beaten by everyone. Elagin claimed in his report that “the Committee [on the Press Affairs] repeatedly informed the Chief Administration of Press Affairs about the reprehensible trend of the Jewish paper *Voskhod*; and the mentioned examples [...] eloquently prove that the editorial office stubbornly and bluntly follows the chosen path of protest against the acts of the Government.”³⁸⁴

Soon after, on March 13, 1891, the third warning was received. Besides Abramovich's tale, a historical novel “Between a Rock and a Hard Place: A Tale from the Times of ‘The Uman Massacre’” by Dmitry Mordovtsev (a non-Jew by the way) published in issues 1-3 was mentioned as harmful. Publication of the journal and its supplement was stopped for six months.³⁸⁵ After the resumption of publishing censors would have the right to confiscate any issue if they did not like something printed there. Victor Kelner claims that

³⁸¹ Ibid., fols. 120-121.

³⁸² Ibid., fols. 138, 140.

³⁸³ Ibid., fols. 148, 149, 153.

³⁸⁴ Ibid., fols. 162-171.

³⁸⁵ Ibid., fol. 174.

Landau's task became even harder from this moment as he had to censor the materials himself in such a way that censors would not find any undesirable details.³⁸⁶ Nevertheless, maybe his plight was not really changed for the worse: the issues had to be shown to the censor in the draft layout.³⁸⁷ Thus, at least Landau could avoid financial losses if the issues were blocked or some paragraphs had to be changed.

Interestingly, none the issues of *Voskhod* that censors disliked between 1882 and 1891 contained any articles concerning emigration. We may even assume that the censors deliberately ignored those volumes where such articles were printed. Nevertheless, in issue 1 for the year 1891 we find a serial article "Russian Jews in America: Results of the Emigration Movement" by George Price,³⁸⁸ whose second part was published after the break in publication.

Surprisingly or not, Price is the most critical author writing about America to *Voskhod*. He does not paint any bad image of Russia, and he is the only one who talks about emigrants who return to Russia of their own will disappointed by the emigration experience. Although he mentions that after abandoning stepmother Russia, nobody would think about going back, he writes elsewhere that there were people who nevertheless did so. Those remigrants who did not have any money left were sent on the cattle steamers and had to take care of the cattle. If traveling in third class of an ordinary steamship can be called drudgery, travelling on cattle steamers can be compared with suffering in the hell, according to Price.³⁸⁹ He is sharply critical of emigration when he concludes that "the number of Russian Jews who became victims of emigration, who were impoverished, destitute, robbed, broken-down for the rest of their lives or even killed is much higher than the number of victims from

³⁸⁶ Kelner, *Zhurnal "Voskhod"*, 28-33.

³⁸⁷ RSHA, Fund 776, Register 6, Folder 502, fol. 48.

³⁸⁸ Price, *Russkie evrei*, V. 1 (1891), 111-124; *Voskhod* 3 (1891), 71-82.

³⁸⁹ Price, *Russkie evrei*, V. 1 (1891), 113-115.

the first pogroms.”³⁹⁰ Then he continues that the division of labor and professions occurred, with an exception of very few cases, not according to the will and inclinations of emigrants: “There is no other place with such instability in labor and profession as America. Today someone can be a shoemaker, tomorrow a tailor, the day after tomorrow he will have to become a farmer, after sometime an accountant, etc. *ad infinitum*. [...] Hunger makes them [the emigrants] continuously submissive to the whims of capitalist production and change their professions as a chameleon changes its color.”³⁹¹

Furthermore, Price points out that graduates from Russian universities are much more qualified than those from American ones.³⁹² He is critical of capitalism and industrial development, pointing out that work in a factory is not usually hard, but monotonous and mechanical: “a worker becomes a sort of living automatic adjustment to the machine. Such labor is very tiring, usually simply unbearable and atrophies brain activity.”³⁹³ The relationship with employers was very tough: employers consider workers just “hands” without any feelings. Employees inversely consider their employers as “capitalists,” that is vampires who suck all their blood and parasites who are getting fat on account of their workers.³⁹⁴ Price eloquently depicts the poverty in which emigrants live, assuring that even the most skillful writer cannot describe their plight:

If somebody is not convinced, let him walk the stinky streets of New York; let him look at sticky and dirty hovels in which emigrants live their miserable life; let him look at people crowding in front of the doors of factories and plants in the mornings, begging in vain for any labor and salary; let him look at the offices of Jewish philanthropic organizations; let him contemplate hundreds of skinny, hungry martyrs in rags who besiege the Jewish Committee of the 8th St. begging for food, shelter and help; let him visit Jewish clinics and hospitals where hundreds of poor emigrants broken by grief and misery are withering and dying to free place for masses of new patients – let him see, know and feel this, and if his heart will not shiver in a mute horror, he does not have a heart.³⁹⁵

³⁹⁰ Ibid., 115.

³⁹¹ Ibid., 116-117.

³⁹² Ibid., 119-120.

³⁹³ Ibid., 121.

³⁹⁴ Ibid., 122.

³⁹⁵ Price, *Russkie evrei*, V. 3 (1891), 72.

Only the huge amounts that American Jews donate to charity prove that they “have not totally soaked into the murderous American materialism.”³⁹⁶ In continuation, Price admits in a short paragraph that emigration has had some positive results, but he then concludes:

[It] is proven that mass resettlement of Russian Jews is impossible, inconceivable and unpractical. What is possible and convenient for dozens, hundreds and even thousands or dozens of thousands, is impossible for four million Jews tightly connected with their motherland. [...] 95 percent of Jews will still stay in Russia, and it is better to think how to improve their plight there. Everyone has to think about this. The energy and power of Jewish activists should not be directed to spreading an unrealizable dream about emigration to Palestine, America or Argentina, but to prepare people for future equality, which must come and will come, sooner or later.

Thus, the articles devoted to America in these volumes say practically nothing positive about the new motherland.

Dmitry El'yashevich argues that *Voskhod* in fact was supported to some extent by censor organs notwithstanding all warnings coming from the governmental side. The government preferred to let Jewish intelligentsia voice its opinion on the pages of *Voskhod*, so that they did not resort to more radical means of expression. Articles published in Russian also were easier to censor than publications in Hebrew or Yiddish. Any anti-governmental propaganda in the latter would have been more accessible for the larger Jewish public and more difficult to track for the censors. Thus, suspending *Voskhod* was seen as dangerous by the authorities. To be sure, *Voskhod* had among all Russian-Jewish periodicals the highest number of censorship warnings, but that was mostly due to its long history. El'yashevich suggests that the authorities made their warnings to *Voskhod* not in order to close it, but to make it more submissive. *Voskhod*, he explains, remained the only Jewish periodical in Russian for so many years (1885-1899) not because harsh censorship had suppressed its rivals, but simply because no one else wanted to publish Jewish information in this language. The already scant interest in Russian language and Russian

³⁹⁶ Ibid., 76.

publications among Jewish readers, El'yashevich claims, dropped rapidly at the end of the nineteenth century.³⁹⁷

This explanation of *Voskhod*'s singularity does not seem to be convincing, because the number of Russian-Jewish periodicals started to grow from the beginning of the next century. What I would suggest is that the censor's intervention in fact targeted certain subjects. After the first ten-year period of *Voskhod*'s existence, at the price of three warnings, the topics dangerous to publish henceforth were determined: pogroms, dogmas of the Christian religion and critique of the Government's discriminative policies towards the Jewish population. Only one out of fourteen publications devoted to America in the monthly, the poem published in 1882, was criticized for presenting America as 'the land of freedom,' while its concomitant attack on the Russian neighbors was surprisingly ignored. Later, articles about emigration to America were carefully ignored, even such articles that explicitly called for resettlement and that appeared in the issues which were heavily criticized and got warnings for other reasons.

5.2. The Period of a Relatively Peaceful Existence: Landau Learns how to Avoid the Censorship Attacks

The second period of *Voskhod*'s existence went relatively well as far as relations with the censors were concerned. Nevertheless, the journals' hidden enemies started to act against it. The following incident could serve as a proof of El'yashevich's suspicion mentioned in the previous section, that *Voskhod* was in fact supported by the censors. At the beginning of 1892 Elagin wrote to the Committee on the Press Affairs an interesting report, some parts of which deserve to be quoted here:

³⁹⁷ El'yashevich, *Pravitel'stvennaya politika*, 401-403, 409-410, 413.

Voskhod, the only periodical of the Russian Jews in Russian, with its weekly supplement *Nedel'naya khronika* has been published in Saint Petersburg without preliminary censorship for 11 years. Since its first steps, the paper opposed the acts of our government in a harsh and biased form because of the limitations concerning Jews that were introduced in Russia and coincided with the emergence of the paper. The Jewish pogroms in the South and the famous "Temporary Laws" issued on May 3, 1882, gave it lavish food for picturing in gloomy colors the extreme oppression of Russian Jewry. In addition, *Voskhod* during all the time of its existence did not and does not stop opposing the extreme stagnation of the dark mass of Russian Jewry, rightly considering that this stagnation and the fanatic devotion to the purely external ceremonial side of religion disserves Jewry itself. The biased approach of the periodical led to a number of repressions. Thus, *Voskhod* received two warnings, and was repeatedly detained until, finally, in March 1891, it got the third warning and was suspended for six months together with its newspaper. [...] The consequences followed fast: the periodical put the tone down significantly, the content became comparatively harmless, although the tendency remained the same, which is understandable, otherwise the journal would lose its *raison d'être*.

Now Mr. The Head of the Chief Administration of Press Affairs received an anonymous denunciation of extremely harmful trends of the newspaper *Nedel'naya khronika Voskhoda*. A nameless author of Jewish origin (as he says himself) accuses *Voskhod* of the following:

1. The newspaper encourages Jews to awful emigration printing inciting articles devoted to this question [and presenting emigration as though it freed Jews from civil duties and lawful subordination to the Russian government, impudently trampling the Jews' patriotism and sacred feelings towards Russia. In addition, *Voskhod* presents Argentina as a paradise on earth concealing the atrocities taking place there, so that the Jewish reader wanders in a fog. [...]

6. In numerous articles the newspaper makes Jews hate Russia presenting it as the Egyptian captivity. [...]

The author tries to support all these accusations with references to the articles.

Addressing these accusations I feel the necessity to say several words about the goals, which *Voskhod* now pursues. Complaining continuously on the oppression of Jews, fighting for extending their rights and the destruction of the infamous "Pale of Settlement," *Voskhod* always tried to keep Jews in Russia and not to encourage their emigration. When the famous colonization project of Baron Hirsch appeared, *Voskhod* was fast to react to it, devoting a number of articles to its analysis. This summer, after the proclamation about giving permission to the corporation to open their activities in Russia and about the policies of its activities in connection with the fact which already took place, *Voskhod* started to publish articles on the question of emigration, but it did not publish anything inciteful and did not conceal anything either. The summary of *Voskhod*'s view on emigration is given in the front-page article in issue 23 of *Khronika* for the current year, where the following is said: "by no means do we consider emigration as the radical remedy which can lead towards the solution of the disastrous Jewish question... More than that: *we consider as our sacred duty to oppose emigration* (original italics)." And in the front-page article in issue 30, Russia is recognized for Jews as *"the motherland in the full sense of this word* (original italics)." The author of the denunciation, while ignoring these articles, draws the reader's attention to the Foreign Chronicle in the issue 36, where allegedly the fantasy is lulled with dreams about a Jewish kingdom in Argentina. After reading the highlighted lines in columns 1001-1002 of issue 36, Your Excellence, I must say that there is nothing laudatory there: it talks about the fact that the sun shines in Argentina and that it is possible to settle in there comfortably. I condoned the accusation in paragraph one as false.³⁹⁸

³⁹⁸ RSHA, Fund 776, Register 6, Folder 501, fols. 188-189.

Elagin's tone sounds extremely apologetic. To prove his strangely supportive attitude, let us examine the articles which the censor and the informer referred to. The anonymous informer adduced the Foreign Chronicle from issue 36 for the year 1892, where the brochure "Die russischen Juden, ihre Leidensgeschichte und unsere Rettungsversuche" ("The Russian Jews, their History of Suffering and our Rescue Attempts") by the Memel rabbi Dr. Isaac Rülff³⁹⁹ is discussed. It is said that the author was a great supporter of Russian-Jewish emigration since the 1860s. But he was first of all a Palestinophile and opposed the establishment of agricultural colonies in the United States of America and Argentina.⁴⁰⁰ *Nedel'naya khronika Voskhoda* opposes this view saying that

the rabbi furnishes the ideological basis for the colonization to the Holy Land, because according to his doctrine, the sun shines for Israel only there. Believers are blessed, of course. We understand that it would be strange to connect any lofty poetic feelings with the Argentinian colonization. But we repeat over and over again our *caeterum censeo* that first of all a man has to be fed and provided with food for the future and then, in the spare time, you can talk to him about lofty matters. From this prosaic point of view it is necessary to admit that the sun shines quite welcoming to Israel [meaning the people of Israel – A.S.] in Argentina as well.⁴⁰¹

The author further explains that the heart of the people of Israel will always stay in Palestine, but Jews have to create a convenient place for living wherever they would settle. "It is possible to find in Argentina prosperous and comfortable life, good schools, decent synagogues, Jewish science, communal independence, flourishing Jewish thought, political autonomy, and who knows what else. Why not establish there a cozy hearth and home for Jewry?"⁴⁰² Then the author mentions that emigration to Argentina is not a barrier for emigration to Palestine, as both of the countries combined would not be able to absorb in their colonies all the mass of emigrants. This is why it is necessary to organize emigration to North America.⁴⁰³

³⁹⁹ "The Foreign Chronicle," *Nedel'naya khronika Voskhoda* 36 (1892), 999-1002.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., 999-1000.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., 1001.

⁴⁰² Ibid., 1002.

⁴⁰³ Ibid.

Thus, the informer wanted to accuse *Voskhod* for some purpose, but was not really careful in selecting articles to illustrate his points. The author of the article does not support emigration exclusively to Argentina, but to any place where Jews would be able to establish a community, work on the land and give education to their children. Particularly, the author points to emigration to America as an alternative place in case Palestine and Argentina would not be able to provide a place for everyone aspiring to leave Russia. The censor pursuing his own goal, which is, surprisingly, to defend *Voskhod*, preferred to close his eyes on this explicit call for finding a better place than Russia. Indeed, he reduced the content of the article to the phrase “the sun shines in Argentina,” as if it was literally about weather conditions and not metaphorically about determining a good place for resettlement. Both the informer and the censor ignored other passages in the same issue where one of the main members of the Berlin Central Emigration Committee, Karl Emil Franzos, reported about the triumphant activities of the Committee when it helped 140,000 emigrants in the last 15 months to successfully settle in America.⁴⁰⁴ They also ignored the report about the flourishing agricultural colony Woodbine in the United States of Northern America, also founded with support of the Baron Hirsch Fund. The article paints its success in bright colors, describing how quickly emigrants adjusted there under the guidance of Mr. Sabsovich, who had emigrated just three years ago.⁴⁰⁵ The informer ignored these articles because the accusation was his first priority and he was not concerned with selecting each and every article provoking ‘awful emigration’. Elagin, obviously, preferred to do so not to aggravate *Voskhod*’s case.

Let us now examine the articles to which Elagin referred in order to show what he wished to present as *Voskhod*’s ‘true’ intentions. The front-page article in issue 30 of *Nedel’naya khronika Voskhoda* appeared as a reaction to information published by the

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid., 996-997.

Russian daily *Russkaya Zhizn* [The Russian Life]. *Voskhod* argued here that the Jewish Colonization Association based in London and sponsored by Baron Maurice de Hirsch did not support Jewish emigration from Russia. In fact, the author claims, it pursues exclusively philanthropic goals aiming to help needy Jews who decided to settle in Argentina on their own will. *Voskhod* is afraid that a mistaken opinion given in *Russkaya Zhizn* may turn the Jewish intelligentsia against the Association: “It is a fact that the Jewish intelligentsia, as far as we can judge about its mood, does not see in Jewish emigration the solution of the Jewish question in Russia. Only hundreds, thousands or tens of thousands of Jews can emigrate, but hundreds of thousands and millions will stay in their motherland. As it was rightly mentioned in *Vestnik Evropy* [The Messenger of Europe], Russia is for Russian Jews *the motherland* (original italics) in the full sense of this word.”⁴⁰⁶

It seems that Elagin, trying to defend *Voskhod*, just took the quote randomly, probably because the word ‘motherland’ was accentuated in the original text of the front-page article. In fact, the sentence which he picked has another meaning in its original the context. Moreover, it was not even the opinion of *Voskhod*, but a quote taken from the influential Russian monthly *Vestnik Evropy*. *Voskhod* quoted it with the hidden intention of improving the support of the Jewish intelligentsia for the Jewish colonization. Moreover, the arguments and even the wording that the author used are reminiscent of Price’s writings. If the anonymous informer had closely looked at this issue, he would even have found support for his own statement. One article defends the strictness of the infamous administrator of the colonies in Argentina, Colonel Goldsmith, whom settlers allegedly hated.⁴⁰⁷ Then, in one of the published letters an emigrant blesses God for being in Argentina and especially for working in one of Baron Hirsch’s colonies.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁶ *Nedel'naya khronika Voskhoda* 30 (1892), 817-818.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 818-819.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 831.

The meaning of the quote from issue 23, which Elagin used, was also distorted by the censor. The author of the front-page article argued that the emigration of Jews is disadvantageous for Russia, which is by no means overpopulated, but the problem is the uneven distribution of the Jewish population. The newspaper says that Russian Jews want to work on the land and defends the right of Jews to move outside the Pale of Settlement with the purpose of colonization. Therefore Jews emigrate not for the sake of emigration, but for the sake of colonization. Jewish colonization in Russia would be beneficial for both the country and the Jews. Emigration is a disorderly flight, in which people lose a lot, and everyone should thus be grateful to such a man as Baron Hirsch who decided to take it under control. The author concludes that his activities deserve sympathy and cooperation.⁴⁰⁹ In sum, where *Voskhod* allegedly argued against emigration, the journal only had the purpose to defend the right of Jews to reside in the inner gubernias of Russia. Under the disguise of counter-emigration arguments the author tries to present emigration as a necessity and finishes with praise of Baron Hirsch. Moreover, as was the case with the previous issue, the positive feedback on the results of emigration was given in subsequent articles.⁴¹⁰ The question why Elagin turned from being hostile towards *Voskhod* to supportive still needs further investigation.

The incident has an interesting aftermath. About a month later, on October 21, 1892, the censor reacted for the second and last time to a *Voskhod*'s publications concerning emigration. Again a poem attracted the censor's attention. This time it was "The Wind' Song," a literary creation by I. Tager. Another poem "The Prayer" by Simon Frug got a critique as well. The censor mentioned that both were "devoted to the most appreciated authors' topic: oppressions which Jews endure nowadays and which drive them from the

⁴⁰⁹ *Nedel'naya khronika Voskhoda* 23 (1892), 633-635.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 643-644, 648-650.

motherland to other lands, where their freedom may emerge.”⁴¹¹ It was suggested by the censor to delete Tager’s poem from the volume and to change the ending of Frug’s writing, which was subsequently done.⁴¹² Nevertheless, a copy of “The Wind’s Song” was saved in the archive, so that we can see which lines the censor disliked. The poem makes the wind speak while he is moving a ship full of European outcasts across the ocean. The wind is happy to help the ship to reach its destination faster. The place is not named, but we can guess that the author speaks about America because of the following lines:

“Where a savage Indian fought with a lion
 Among eternal trees covered with ivy.
 Where the still waters of the Atlantic stream,
 Where shady palms look at water,
 Where the sun does not hide its golden disk,
 The night wind sang a song about marvelous dreams. [...]

This is not a mysterious sigh of the wind!
 [It is the place] where God spread his gifts generously,
 Life and freedom were born there
 Together with the happiness of our people.”⁴¹³

Such an isolated intervention against the articles devoted to emigration on the pages of *Voskhod* must seem suspect to say the least. It seems that the censor directed his attention to the poem only because of the recent denunciation. It gets even more interesting if we take into consideration that the mentioned issue contains one more article about America – the second part of the article “Jews in New York” by G. D’Orse, originally published in the

⁴¹¹ RSHA, Fund 776, Register 6, Folder 501, fol. 191.

⁴¹² Ibid.

⁴¹³ Ibid., fol. 194.

Revue Britannique in February, 1892 and translated from the French.⁴¹⁴ The author gives his personal impressions after a visit to America and does not talk about Russia or Russian-Jewish emigrants specifically. His attitude is rather unbiased and he is not judgmental either. In the same context, he describes the limitless love of American Jews towards their country, which some of them even prefer to Palestine: “For a reformed Jew, a thought about returning to a motherland is not really attractive. ‘New York is my Jerusalem,’ - he says. – ‘The United States is my motherland. Jerusalem for me is where I feel good.’”⁴¹⁵ At the end D’Orse comes to the conclusion that the life of American Jews, which he described, shows that they can come to terms with the fact that the ungrateful King Philip II expelled them from Spain: this is how the first Jews reached America.⁴¹⁶

To conclude, the censor was more concerned with *Voskhod* articles that might present Russia in a bad light than with those that pictured America in bright colors and could facilitate emigration. One can assume that the poem “The Wind’s Song” simply happened to contain descriptions of suffering outcasts and of marvelous America at the same time. In this case, one can wonder why it did not seem sufficient to the censor to change some lines only, as he advised to do with the poem by Frug, but that he insisted upon deleting the poem completely.

In all, something unprecedented must have happened in the second period of *Voskhod*’s existence. The journal is accused by an anonymous reader on several instances, and pro-emigration propaganda was one of them. Surprisingly, the censor takes *Voskhod*’s side and defends it against all the evidence proved by the informer. After going so far as to distort facts, Elagin praised the journal for its improved circumspection and careful avoidance of dangerous topics.

⁴¹⁴ D’Orse, *Evrei v New Yorke*, V. 10 (1892): 77-86. The first part was published in the previous issue, pp. 17-39.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 85-86.

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 86.

5.3. *New People, Old Problems: Voskhod and Censorship after Landau's Resignation*

The period of a relative peace with the censors ended with the change of the editor. El'yashevich claims that Landau's weak health was not the only reason why *Voskhod* was sold. The enthusiastic publisher just could not cope any more with the moderate tone that the circumstances of harsh censorship imposed on his periodical.⁴¹⁷ The previous subchapter demonstrates that Landau learned how to deal with censorship, but El'yashevich may be right in presuming that such circumstances turned out to be too burdensome for the experienced editor who had been fighting for his convictions for such a long time.

The post-1899 period is the moment of an unprecedented critique by the censors who treated the periodical harshly because some of its contributors tried to present Jewish nationalism as a part of the All-Russian anti-Imperial movement.⁴¹⁸ But Syrkin was audacious enough to oppose censors. Thus, reacting to the fact that the February issue of *Voskhod* for the year 1900 was confiscated, Syrkin wrote to the Chief Administration of Press Affairs complaining of the censor's unfair attitude, which caused a loss of money and the dissatisfaction of a reader.⁴¹⁹ It seemed that after almost 10 years of *Voskhod*'s more or less peaceful existence the *status quo* was violated. Elagin was furious. He pointed out that almost simultaneously with the change of *Voskhod*'s leadership appeared the weekly paper *Budushchnost* pursuing the same goals. The competition became harsh, but *Budushchnost* prevailed due to the better experience of Samuel Gruzenberg as an editor. To remain somehow interesting, *Voskhod* added poignancy to its materials and thus provoked the confiscation.⁴²⁰ Elagin disliked seeing that the relationship that he had built up with Landau had to be built now from scratch. He emphasized in his report that the paper started to

⁴¹⁷ El'yashevich, *Pravitel'stvennaya politika*, 415-416.

⁴¹⁸ Kelner, *Zhurnal "Voskhod"*, 37-38.

⁴¹⁹ RSHA, Fund 776, Register 6, Folder 502, fols. 44-46.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 48.

criticize the government harshly and kept opposing its policy concerning Jews.⁴²¹ And in about one week, on November 10, 1901, *Voskhod* and its new editor received the first warning. As always, the censor mentioned harmful trends expressed with extreme harshness in the weekly's articles "Winners and Losers" in issues 52 and 55, "About Religious Tolerance" in issue 60, "Hounding" and "Thoughts and Impressions" in issue 61.⁴²² Three days later the paper was criticized for sympathies towards the labor movement, which was considered to be harmful as well.⁴²³

But the periodical received especially harsh treatment after it reacted on the Kishinev pogrom, which took place on April 6-7, 1903. *Voskhod*'s issue 17 of April 24 was withdrawn from circulation⁴²⁴ and four days later it got a warning for the article "During a week". Surprisingly, for some reason censors forgot that the new *Voskhod* already had a warning and called it 'the first warning'.⁴²⁵ The next one was received just a couple of weeks after, on May 15, for another article about the pogrom "The Letter from Odessa".⁴²⁶ After another detention and calls from the Chief Administration of Press Affairs to explain certain opinions in the published articles⁴²⁷ on April 24, 1904, the weekly got the third warning for the publication "Towards the Characteristics of the General Deprivation of Rights" in issue 9, "No Way Out" in issue 14, in the letters from Odessa and Kishinev in issues 5 and 11, "Beyond the Pale" in issue 6 and feuilleton "From Memories" by N. Garin in issue 9, where the problem of pogroms was mentioned.⁴²⁸ It was decided to cease publishing for 6 months, but this time the punishment touched only the weekly

⁴²¹ Ibid., fol. 83.

⁴²² Ibid., fol. 93.

⁴²³ Ibid., fol. 99.

⁴²⁴ Ibid., fol. 145.

⁴²⁵ Ibid., fol. 159.

⁴²⁶ Ibid., fol. 180.

⁴²⁷ Ibid., fols. 186, 193, 194, 210, 213, 219.

⁴²⁸ Ibid., fol. 241.

supplement.⁴²⁹ Publishing was resumed one month earlier than expected;⁴³⁰ but now the paper could appear only after preliminary censorship.⁴³¹

Let us examine some of the articles which provoked censorship to suspend the newspaper for five months. In the letter from Odessa published in issue 5 an inhabitant of the city informed about the nationalistic student club “Unity is Strength” organized at the local university. The club was directed against minorities – Georgians, Armenians, Poles and Jews. The letter could be perceived as another attempt to accuse Russians (or Little Russians) of biased attitudes towards Jews, if not for the remark that the club had very few members and that it was condemned by all other students and intelligentsia.⁴³² Thus, the article does not bear an anti-Russian attitude at all, unlike another letter from the Mogilev gubernia written by S.M. Gurevich and published on the same page.

This author describes the awful conditions in which his shtetl lives. Trade and crafts are the only sources of income for the majority of settlers, but two big shops were opened and now nobody wants to buy goods in the small Jewish shops. There are so many craftsmen that the supply exceeds the demand. The young intelligentsia could shine with bright minds, but nobody needs its lessons and the intellectuals are extremely poor. The ban to leave the Pale created a harsh competition which cannot be remedied.⁴³³ “Not expecting any way out from this unbearable condition, people intuitively disrupt all connections with their motherland and head to the land of freedom, where they are called by relatives and friends who already settled there, as well as by the hope for a better life. There was never an emigration as nowadays, not even in the infamous year of 1881.”⁴³⁴ People are extremely poor, but officials still impose huge fines on them. This is why they are selling their

⁴²⁹ Ibid.

⁴³⁰ Ibid., fol. 253.

⁴³¹ Ibid., fol. 254.

⁴³² *Voskhod* 5 (1904), 26-27.

⁴³³ Ibid., 28-30.

⁴³⁴ Ibid., 30.

property for nothing, but nobody wants to buy a thing because everyone is thinking about emigration, even those who do not have money at all. Gurevich heard that there is a Committee in Vilna which helps to prospective emigrants; and it is possible to reach America for 25 rubles covering all the way from Odessa to New York. Gurevich finishes his letter with a desperate call: “A drowning man will clutch any straw. [...] People want to know if help is coming and from where. Please, answer!”⁴³⁵

The article “Towards the Characteristics of the General Deprivation of Rights” in issue 9 is not as critical as it may seem from the title. The author refers to a recent incident in which a wife was ordered to leave Kiev after her husband went to the front as a doctor. Ironically, according to the law, a wife not falling under the category of those who are allowed to reside beyond the Pale can stay there with her husband or after his death, but not when he went somewhere for a business trip. The rumor appeared to be false, but the author was positively surprised by the immediate reaction which the episode stirred up in the Russian press, which is usually indifferent towards Jews deprived of rights.⁴³⁶

The feuilleton “From Memories” indeed contains the description of atrocities committed in Odessa in the beginning of the 1870s. But the author is quite sympathetic towards killed Russians and mourns the loss on the Christian cemeteries. At the end of the tale we learn that the author is Russian and not Jewish. On the second day of the pogrom he for some reason entered the court-yard of a house full of Jews, who look at him from all the windows. The author is scared when thousands of eyes stare at him with tranquility and patience as if asking: “And you, when will you understand, feel what we experience?”⁴³⁷

It is difficult to say what the censor found harmful or undesirable in these articles. In the same issue, *Voskhod* reports about emigration. It is said here that ‘native’ American Jews are trying to oppose the influx of the Russian Jews. “But those American Jews who

⁴³⁵ Ibid.

⁴³⁶ *Voskhod* 9 (1904), 1-3.

⁴³⁷ Ibid., 40-44.

still have not forgotten the Pale of Settlement and have not become fat eating good bread understand very well that for many thousands of Jews emigration is the only way out.”⁴³⁸ Quoting the Yiddish periodical *Judische Gazetten*⁴³⁹ published in New York, the author expresses the opinion that the real problem is the overcrowding of the Jewish population in the big American cities. Thus, he concludes, “We should not make efforts to prevent resettlement in America of those people who are fleeing from hunger and deprivation of rights, but try arranging their lives there more wisely.”⁴⁴⁰

In his letter from Kishinev printed in issue 11, one D. Krimmer wrote quite extensively about the malfunctioning of the head of the local craftsmen association, obviously Russian, Andrey Stepanov, who finally was punished by the police. The article gets not really anti-Russian, but becomes quite defensive towards its end. The author refers to a publication in the newspaper *Znamya* (The Banner) with the name “Keep an Eye on your Children” spreading the rumor that children might possibly be stolen by Jews. No wonder that when once a two-year kid got lost, his mother started in a blood libel against local Jews. The child was found, but the explanation of the Russians was that the Jews just got scared and returned him.⁴⁴¹

The censor totally ignored the front-page article with the title “About the Regulation of Emigration,” which started with the following lines: “Spring is coming and the Jewish ‘exodus’ from the Pale of Settlement starts to assume the character of an epidemic flight. There is no Moses and there are no miracles, but there are Egyptian plagues, which strike even the refugees.” The author again points to the fact that not a discouragement of emigration, but its regulation is needed, and must be started already in Russia.⁴⁴²

⁴³⁸ Ibid., 31.

⁴³⁹ The name is transcribed as it was written in *Voskhod*.

⁴⁴⁰ *Voskhod* 9 (1904), 31-32.

⁴⁴¹ *Voskhod* 11 (1904), 26-28.

⁴⁴² Ibid., 1-3.

Probably, Syrkin understood well that he could write about emigration safely. This suspicion can be supported by the fact that the articles published in the monthly were almost all favorable of America. In the six-year period when Syrkin was the editor the number of articles devoted to America (more than 30) almost equaled the number published during the previous 20 years. Another fact which proves this view is that in the first issue of the weekly following the third warning and the suspension (number 18) Syrkin devoted 10 columns (almost a quarter of the whole issue) to the discussion of America, its protective attitude towards the Jews from Eastern Europe and emigration to the countryside. Moreover, a letter of one of the most influential American politicians is cited assuring that America does not distinguish people according to their race and country of origin, while condemning some countries of Eastern Europe who apply such discriminations.⁴⁴³ In another report the affluence of American Jewish charitable organizations is described.⁴⁴⁴

Finally, the longest article deals with two private Prussian shipping companies, the Hamburg America Line (with Albert Ballin as a general director, a Jew) and the North German Lloyd. Both received special permission from the Prussian government to stop everyone who travels through Berlin or Hamburg and might be suspected to be a Russian emigrant, that is everyone looking like a Polish Jew. Such people are arrested and made to buy a 'Schiffskarte' under the threat of being sent back to Russia, even though they might not have any intention to emigrate to America and simply wanted to visit their relatives in England. The author, someone 'L.', calls Prussia a purgatory and encourages boycotting the mentioned companies. At the end he voices the well-known opinion about the need to regulate emigration.⁴⁴⁵ In sum, all those publications have an obvious pro-emigrational character. Even though they point to some negative sides of migration, they argue that these must be eradicated by a regulation of the emigration flow.

⁴⁴³ *Voskhod* 18 (1904), 31-33.

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 34-40.

After this short respite, the situation with censorship aggravated even more when N. Kamorovskiy succeeded to Elagin in the position of *Voskhod*'s main censor. Not having any share in the long 'romance' of censorship with the paper, he could look at *Voskhod* with merciless critique. For example, he pointed to the article "Foreign Jews" published in *Voskhod*'s issue 21 from October 28, 1904 with the following words:

It is said that according to the News Bureau the Russian Government is ready to cancel the ban to enter Russia for American citizens of the Judaic faith. The newspaper assures that while implementing this measure, limiting the rights of all Russian Jewry would become nonsense.

Considering that there are no references on the existence of the Governmental order or any intention to realize such a measure the article obviously intends to spread rumors among the Jews which, though groundless, will nevertheless affect the Jewish population negatively, led by the aim to aggravate the Jewish question in Russia.⁴⁴⁶

Overwhelmed by the fear that the Jewish problem might become more acute, the censor completely ignores that in the same article (front-page one!) the author voices the opinion that Jewish immigrants to America quickly adjust and get comfortable in their new country, so they express no wish to come back even for a visit. Later he expresses the view that antisemitism in Russia originates from the political backwardness of the country.⁴⁴⁷

Another of Kamorovskiy's accusation, formulated on December 11, 1904, is quite peculiar:

The newspaper *Voskhod* is a political organ of Russian Jewry similar to the newspaper *Aurore* (also translated as 'sunrise') published in Paris and representing the same interests in France. It is published under the guidance of a Jew named [Ernest] Vaughan⁴⁴⁸ and distinguished by its extreme attitude.

The aim of both papers is the vivification and reinforcement of the Jewish element in France and Russia, the development of its distinctive existence and the achievement of its dominant position in both countries. [...] The leaders of the general Jewish movement abroad sympathize with such a way of thinking (that is, the strengthening of the Jewish dominance in France). [...] By political intrigues and even bribing they want to achieve the total emancipation of Jews in Russia and then put them, according to the French example, into the leadership of our political and civil development. It is quite obvious that appropriate press organs are needed in order to create such a Jewish question. In Russia the newspaper *Voskhod* serves the Jewish itch and is their fighting order. Hiding under the disguise of a liberal organ, this newspaper in reality serves the cause of the despotic dominance of Jews in Russia. [...] [Jews fight for a change of the regime, but] they do not pursue the well-being of the Russian

⁴⁴⁶ RSHA, Fund 776, Register 6, Folder 502, fol. 256.

⁴⁴⁷ *Voskhod* 21 (1904), 2-3.

⁴⁴⁸ Ernest Vaughan (1841-1929), the founder of the daily, is confused here with Georges Mandel (1885-1944).

land, but the parochial interests of Russian Jewry. [...] I would like emphatically to draw attention of Your Excellence to the unrestrained tendencies of the official organs of the Jewish separatism, the weekly *Voskhod* being at the leadership.⁴⁴⁹

To support his claims about a world Jewish conspiracy, *Voskhod*'s threatening transnational involvement and the struggle for dominance of the Russian Jewry, Kamorovskiy attached issue 26 to the report. *L'Aurore* in fact was an independent French daily, not connected to the Jewish community at all. Nevertheless, it became a platform for those who spoke to defend Alfred Dreyfus. Perhaps this matter made the censor think that the paper might belong to Jews.

It is interesting to ask why actually Kamorovskiy decided to show issue 26 as the one illustrating his point. In the front-page article "About New and Old Trends" Sarah Rabinovich indeed blames bureaucratic tyranny with all its limitations imposed upon the Jewish population of the country, but not only. She believes that the Jewish intelligentsia is guilty as well, because it is too detached from the ordinary people and their needs. The last paragraph of her article calls for the revival of the Jewish people. "Now, when we are told about freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of conscience, freedom of worship, we ourselves will have to solve the spiritual challenges with which we are confronted. The people are awakening, they want to live, they want to give their energy and labor to a living human ideal."⁴⁵⁰

This article, devoted to the inner politics of the country can hardly be referred to as one striving for the world domination. Probably, the censor was more concerned with the articles touching upon the events outside Russia, and the issue is affluent with them. There is, for example, a big report "The International Conference on the Question about the Jewish Emigration Regulation in Frankfurt am Main". The author sadly points out that only big dramatic events can make the indolent and satiated West European Jewry remember their

⁴⁴⁹ RSHA, Fund 776, Register 6, Folder 502, fols. 257-258.

⁴⁵⁰ *Voskhod* 26 (1904), 2-6.

poor brethren from Eastern Europe. This was the case in 1882 after the pogroms in Southern Russia and in 1892 after the expulsion of Jews from Moscow. Now the case in question is the enormous level of Jewish emigration from Russia, Galicia and Romania. The majority of emigrants sell all their belongings and leave without knowing where exactly they are going. They are the easiest prey for the swindlers. This is why the delegates reached the conclusion that emigration has to be regulated by united forces of world Jewry, which should supply emigrants with relevant information, keep them safe in the places of transit, find out if the most popular destinations can accept such a huge number of emigrants and, finally, look for new countries available for emigration.⁴⁵¹ This call to unite for a joint activity may have given Kamorovski the idea of a world Jewish conspiracy; at least that might have been for him a possible proof of its existence.

The last two articles were devoted, surprisingly, to Paris. In the first one, “A Letter from Paris” by someone signing ‘Yours’ is about the Russian-Jewish students studying in the capital of France. Nevertheless, at the end he concludes that those who hope to move to Paris, Berlin, Geneva or Brussels should better stay home, because they are going to be very disappointed. Life is expensive in these cities, and there is no possibility to earn some additional money by working as tutors or secretaries as students do in Russia; in Paris they can do that only by working in a factory.

The feuilleton “The Conquest of Paris” by Stellin sounds even more provocative. In fact, the author writes a critical review on a novel of the same title and the subtitle “Rosenfelds: The History of One Jewish Family during the Period of the Third Republic” by Victor Jose. The novel is quite interesting, but it has some major flaws nevertheless. Jose retells the history of the financial scandal around the Panama Canal, in which wealthy Parisian Jews were involved. The author changes all real names with fictional ones.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., 45-49.

Fictitious Rosenfeld family obviously represents the Rothschilds: “we have a group of people closely connected by family ties who spin a web around the heart of France – Paris,” but Stellin asks if this thesis suggested by Jose can be proven by the historical facts. He reaches the conclusion that they are not. The Jews turn out not to be the conquerors of Paris, but its victims. They had a short period of success, but their end was very sad. They did not pervert the politics and journalism in France, but they already found these spheres perverted. Moreover, Christians were engaged in the Panama Affair as well. “The author aimed at developing in a belletristic form the favorite antisemitic statement about the Jews acquiring domination in the country. [...] It appears to be false.”⁴⁵² Thus, we do not read about any desire for the world domination, but quite the opposite – a debunking of this very myth created by Christians.

Nevertheless, Kamorovskiyy stubbornly continued gathering the alleged proofs of *Voskhod*’s intention to get political domination in Russia and to overturn the existing regime. Thus, on March 7, 1905 he reported to the Chief Administration of Press Affairs that in issue 8 the newspaper recommends the transformation of Russia into a federal state which would mean the collapse of the Empire. Then, in issue 9 in the minutes of the meeting of “The Society for the Spread of Education among the Jews in Russia,” the participation of Jews in the legislative department of the government, as well as people’s delegates control over the country’s governing institutions are stated as desirable.⁴⁵³ Kamorovskiyy took this line from the resolution which was passed during the urgent meeting of the society: this text suggests two measures in order to improve the poor education that Jews can receive now, limited by *numerus clausus*, the bureaucratic obstacles imposed on private schools, the narrow range of subjects in the *hadarim* (Jewish religious primary schools), etc. The content is the following:

⁴⁵² Ibid., 54-58.

⁴⁵³ RSHA, Fund 776, Register 6, Folder 502, fol. 286.

1. The right organization of the Jewish education, adapted to everyday life and to the cultural specificities of the Jewish people, is possible only under the condition of a complete emancipation in equality with the other population in Russia.

2. The participation of people's delegates, elected by general, direct and secret ballot voting implemented by all citizens of the country without distinction of nationality, confession and financial status, in the legislative department of the government and the control over the country's governing institutions is required as a solid guarantee for an independent cultural development and total emancipation of the nationalities.⁴⁵⁴

The assembly did not aspire to any control exercised by Jews, but to the participation of all the nations in governing. To be sure it is also declared that the complete Jewish emancipation would only be possible under the condition of a radical change in the political system and that it is necessary for the Russian Jews to join the powerful general movement for liberation.⁴⁵⁵ Again, to support his conspiracy thesis, the censor extracted the lines randomly out of their context. What he understood in them does not correspond to the message that *Voskhod* wanted to get across to its readership.

In the same manner as *Voskhod's* reaction to the Kishinev pogrom was followed by three warnings and the suspension of the paper for almost half a year, its coverage of the Bialystok pogrom of June 1-3, 1906 precipitated the paper's closure. The censor incriminated the following articles published in issue 23 from June 10: "Bartholomean Days in Bialystok" by An-sky, "Bialystok Atrocities" and "The Resolution of the Socio-Political Club". It was decided to initiate criminal proceedings against the editor as well as other people who might be guilty and, finally, to confiscate the issue.⁴⁵⁶ This is the last document concerning *Voskhod* in the files of the Chief Administration of Press Affairs.

Thus, Syrkin's period is characterized by an urgent call to regulate emigration and to help poor emigrants. The censors attacked the paper as they never done before, but mainly the weekly was seen as undesirable and harmful because of its condemnation of the violence perpetrated by Kishinev and Bialystok. As a censor, Kamorovskiy, did everything he could

⁴⁵⁴ *Voskhod* 9 (1905), 11-13.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁶ RSHA, Fund 776, Register 6, Folder 502, fol. 347.

to bring about the paper's closure. He distorted the content of the articles and plotted some alleged transnational involvement of *Voskhod* in the activities of the world Jewish organization with the intent of rising to political domination. The articles calling for emigration and its regulation were, again, ignored.

Summing up, the monthly *Voskhod* and its weekly supplement were treated quite aggressively by censorship. Nevertheless, repression was directed primarily to the articles on governmental policies, dogmas of the Christian Church and the hostile attitudes of the Russian people towards the Jewish minority. Remarkably, censors left the coverage of emigration and the quick adjustment of emigrants in a new country, in many cases America, almost intact.

The first and the third periods are quite similar with respect to the captious treatment of censorship that the periodical got. That might be because these periods coincided with the major and sad turns in the history of Jews in the Russian Empire, such as the anti-Jewish pogroms of 1881-1882, the May Laws and the pogroms of the beginning of the twentieth century, to which both the monthly and weekly reacted critically. The second period is of a rather exceptional calm, partly because Landau managed to catch the mood of censors, partly because at this time Samuel Gruzenberg used to replace the main editor a lot when he was ill and applied another approach to selecting articles. A censor, Elagin, for example, voiced his positive opinion about Gruzenberg in one of his reports when the latter already worked as an editor of *Budushchnost*.

Although censorship was highly concerned with articles expressing a bad image of Russia, it practically ignored the representation of the negative representation of Russia in the articles about emigration in general and about America in particular. It objected to pronouncements in favor of emigration only twice and both times the poems were attacked.

Elagin even tried to persuade the Chief Administration of Press Affairs that *Voskhod* does not have a pro-emigration agenda. Thus, although officially censors were supposed to prevent propaganda of emigration, in practice the issue was ignored and, as we saw, sometimes even implicitly encouraged.

As a conclusion, it might be suggested that the authorities approved publications speaking favorably about emigration, because they wanted Jews to leave the country. *Voskhod* publications on America could thus be seen by the government as a form of emigrational propaganda, in which, it seems, it was quite interested in an unofficial way, because publicly this was forbidden.

Conclusions

The year 1881 opened a new chapter in the history of Russian Jewry. The infamous pogroms, together with political and economic oppressions, provoked mass migration of poor Jews from the Pale of Settlement across the Atlantic Ocean, to ‘the golden land’ of America. When Russians demonstrated their hostile attitudes towards their Jewish neighbors in such a rough manner, the state revealed its inefficiency in stopping the pogroms and defending its Jewish subjects. This situation resulted in a disillusion on the side of Maskilim, supporters of Jewish Enlightenment and Russian acculturation, and many of them also set off to America.

An enormous shift of the population opened a transnational space between the United States of America and the Russian Empire. A failure to integrate into the new society soon reinforced a ‘Russian’ identity in the minds of the Russian Jewish emigrants, deepened the understanding of what it meant to be a Russian Jew. It provoked a desire to share their emigrational experiences with those who stayed behind, to warn them about possible complications and provide the relevant information about the new country and, thus, save them from repeating similar mistakes. Since the journal *Voskhod* was the only Jewish periodical in Russian language in the Russian Empire from 1884 till 1899, many emigrants from the stratum of the intelligentsia, who before the pogroms identified themselves with Russian culture and nurtured hopes for integration into Russian society, established contacts with *Voskhod*’s editor Adolf Landau and became his trans-Atlantic correspondents.

The articles devoted to Jewish emigration to America that found their way to *Voskhod*, were written in various genres by authors with different political and ideological outlooks, although most of them were from Maskilic circles. My examination of these items allows rejecting the traditionally accepted view in the field of Eastern European Jewry

studies that *Voskhod* was a journal with an anti-emigration agenda. In spite of the fact that its editor Adolf Landau was a strong supporter of Jewish Enlightenment and advocated merging with Russian society, he did not impose his ideology when selecting articles for his journal. And during the long years when the monthly was the only Jewish periodical in Russian, every standpoint had to be presented and find its reader, and all views on emigration received their place in *Voskhod*. Thus, during eighteen years when Landau was an editor (1881-1899), the monthly practically became a repository of all attitudes to America existing among the Russian-speaking Jewish intelligentsia. Landau like an archivist stood aside, presenting various, often contradictory, opinions, without submitting them to a coherent ideology.

The political situation changed during the twenty-six years of *Voskhod*'s existence; and the contents and trends communicated in the monthly also changed in accordance with it. Censorship played an important role in this process. Even considering that with rare exceptions censors' attacks did not touch articles about emigration to America directly, they shaped the journal's agenda, which in turn affected the representations of the country. The censors' attacks in fact determined three periods in *Voskhod*'s existence with the first suspension in 1891 and the sale of the paper in 1899 as turning points.

Other Jewish periodicals in Russian started to appear during the six-year period when Maxim Syrkin was an editor. These papers usually had a Zionist or socialist ideology and the policy of accommodating all opinions in one journal did not seem to be advantageous any more. The image of America became less ambiguous; and the articles consisted primarily in praising this country. During the last period the editor's opinion about emigration was rather one-sided, portraying America only in the positive light. Thus, Landau was much more an archivist than Syrkin.

Examining the articles closer, we can reach certain conclusions. During the 1880s, when emigration just started, emigrants had especially high expectations for America. Pogroms, legal oppression and disillusioned hopes for integration created a negative image of Russia in the minds of Jewish intelligentsia, instead of the optimistic one which existed before. They also made Jewish society in Russia more cohesive; Maskilim started to feel sympathetic towards their poor brethren from the Pale, whom they used to criticize for their religious fanaticism and their disinclination to associate themselves with the surrounding society. The common opinion was that now is the time to revive the grandeur of the poor oppressed Jews from the Pale. As correspondents saw it, this process might happen in America. To be fully emancipated, which was already seen as impossible in Russia, Jews had to move to the United States, become equal citizens of this free country and be elevated by joining the camp of agricultural workers, an occupation which was hardly accessible for Jews in Russia. In general, condemning Russia was a distinctive feature in the articles about emigration published in *Voskhod* during the 1880s.

In this period, emigration to America was often compared with the Biblical Exodus from Egypt. But soon after arrival emigrants realized that America was not ‘the land of milk and honey’. Adaptation of Russian Jews in the new country was not smooth because they could not speak proper English and adapt their *shtetlikh* mentality to the new milieu. Rather they transformed New York, where the biggest Jewish ghetto in America was growing in dire poverty, into a shtetl penetrating it with signs of Jewish presence, such as board signs in Yiddish, Jewish theatres, publishing agencies, etc. Very often *Voskhod*’s correspondents tried to put the blame for the misery on somebody else: the charitable organizations which were not sensitive to the needs of emigrants, corrupt bureaucrats, American Jews who emigrated several decades earlier, even Columbus himself.

An important change happened in 1891. Censorship, which treated *Voskhod* badly from the very moment when it was founded, suspended its publishing for six months in reaction to certain articles that were seen as bearing a harmful trend towards criticizing the present government and its politics. This influenced Landau a lot, and he became much more cautious in the selection of materials for publishing. Thus in the 1890s, the negative image of Russia in the articles discussing emigration faded away, giving much more space to the image of America itself. Even if the authors wanted to say something against Russia, they tried to hide their subject of reference blaming ‘the Old World,’ ‘Europe,’ etc.

Talking about America specifically, a description of both its advantages and disadvantages was presented in order to alert potential emigrants about possible complications, but still tempting them with a range of wonderful opportunities. The overcrowding of the Jewish neighborhood in New York, the rapid decline in religious observance and the neglectful attitude encountered from the side of American Jews were named among the negative experiences. Instead, a possibility of being employed in industrial enterprises and obtaining equal civic and political rights were promised. Thus, contributors tried to draw a realistic image of America by giving an objective account on what was happening there. Even highlighting all the factors in disfavor of America, they still argued that emigration was a better option than staying in Russia.

Another important change in the history of *Voskhod* happened in 1899: Landau sold the periodical to Maxim Syrkin. If the former had already established connections with correspondents and censors, the latter had to do this from scratch. Thus, the number of contributors writing about America declined significantly and the censors’ attacks renewed. In general, articles criticizing the Russian authorities were most likely to get a warning. Nevertheless, such critique was totally ignored in the articles devoted to emigration, possibly because the authorities were encouraging emigration implicitly. It seems that

Syrkin understood that Russia could be condemned in the paper as long as America was praised. Thus, in the last period of *Voskhod*'s existence we see articles unrealistically exaggerating virtues of the latter country. It was stated that immigration was highly beneficial for America providing work force. Legislative restrictions for entering the country, news about which circulated among Jews in Russia, were underrated and it was stated that potential emigrants should disregard these rumors. It was even suggested that with the emigration to America, *galut* (Jewish exile) would be ended, so everyone should believe in the possibility of the Jewish revival in America. Finally, the importance of the local universities was emphasized with the aim of attracting intellectuals, for whom life in Russia became meaningless after the introduction of the *numerus clausus*. Nevertheless, stating that the door to America was open, the correspondents argued that emigration was much more favorable for the poor, since they had nothing to lose and, thus, had all good chances to succeed.

Situated in between imaginary and real Americas, the press image had a particular agenda to recruit more potential emigrants from specific social classes. From the materials, I discussed in the present thesis, it can be concluded that *Voskhod*'s correspondents quite often spoke out in favor of emigration. The view, shared among many scholars, that *Voskhod* was an anti-emigrational journal must therefore be rejected. In all, a wide range of representations appeared in *Voskhod* throughout the whole history of its publishing. This encounter of texts from two continents and different ideological standpoints transformed the journal's reporting on America into a thirdspace.

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