

ИСТОРИКО-КУЛЬТУРОЛОГИЧЕСКИЕ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ

*Anastasiia Strakhova, Emory University,
anastasiia.strakhova@emory.edu*

WE ARE STRANGERS IN THIS CAPITALIST LAND: RUSSIAN-JEWISH INTELLECTUALS SHARE THEIR EXPERIENCE OF AMERICA, 1881–1906

Abstract: This article examines the Russophone Jewish immigrant experience in the United States of America and the reconceptualization of the borders of Russian-Jewish identity by analyzing the Russian-language Jewish press.

At the turn of the twentieth century, the émigré Russian-speaking Jewish intelligentsia in America significantly contributed to shaping public opinion back in the Russian Empire about their new homeland. The initial failure to integrate into new society amplified immigrants' sense of "Russian" identity, deepening their understanding of what it meant to be a Russian Jew. A desire to preserve contact with the abandoned motherland, share immigration experiences, and exchange ideas led to the establishment of transnational networks between the New World and the Old. The Russophone Jewish periodicals, organs of the acculturated and partially secularized Jewish intelligentsia, became a vital platform for linking Russian Jews on the two continents. Memoirs, diaries, and letters of expatriates ultimately presented a wide range of images of America — from "the land of murderous capitalism" to "the place where Jews could finally breathe freely," although the positive depictions prevailed. These cultural representations mediated by the Russophone émigré writers shed light on the immigrant experience in the late imperial period and help reconstruct the transnational cultural production and fashioning of new Russian-Jewish identities.

Keywords: pogroms, immigration, Russophone Jewish press, America, acculturation, the Russian Empire, Diaspora, identity.

МЫ ЧУЖАКИ НА ЭТОЙ КАПИТАЛИСТИЧЕСКОЙ ЗЕМЛЕ: АМЕРИКАНСКИЙ ОПЫТ РУССКО- ЕВРЕЙСКИХ ИНТЕЛЛЕКТУАЛОВ, 1881–1906

Резюме: Посредством анализа еврейской прессы на русском языке данная статья отслеживает пути русскоязычных еврейских иммигрантов в Соединенных Штатах Америки и переосмысление ими русско-еврейской идентификации.

На рубеже девятнадцатого и двадцатого веков русскоязычная еврейская интеллигенция в Америке внесла значительный вклад в формирование общественного мнения об их новой родине на пространстве Российской империи. Провал первых попыток интеграции в американское общество обострил «русскую» составляющую идентификации среди иммигрантов, усиливая их понимание того, что значит быть русским евреем. Желание сохранить контакты с покинутым отечеством, делиться опытом пребывания в эмиграции и обмениваться идеями побудил установление транснациональных связей между Новым и Старым Светом. Русскоязычные еврейские издания, являющиеся органами аккультурированной и частично секуляризированной еврейской интеллигенции, стали важной платформой, соединяющей русских евреев между двумя континентами. Мемуары, дневники и письма эмигрантов представили широкий спектр образов Америки — от «страны убийственного капитализма» до «места, где евреи наконец-то могут свободно дышать». Тем не менее, позитивные описания превысили число негативных. Таким образом, созданные русскоязычными еврейскими корреспондентами культурные образы проливают свет на эмиграцию из поздней Российской империи и помогают воссоздать межнациональное культурное развитие и формирование новой русско-еврейской идентификации.

Ключевые слова: погромы, эмиграция, русскоязычная еврейская пресса, Америка, аккультурация, Российская империя, диаспора, идентификация.

On the seventh day of Passover 1882, Elieser Mashbir went to see his mother and say goodbye to her. When his hometown, Balta, Podolia gubernia, suffered from the pogrom,¹ he abandoned his position as a teacher at the Jewish state school² and became an organizer of a Jewish self-defense unit. The violent

¹ For more on the pogrom in Balta, which started on March 29, 1882, see John Klier, *Russians, Jews, and the Pogroms of 1881–1882* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 44–48.

² Primary and secondary (partially) state-sponsored Jewish schools and rabbinical seminaries were opened in the Russian Empire in the 1840s. In Tsar Nicholas I and his government's view, these institutions were supposed to uplift the Jewish population and make Jews useful citizens. Despite the small number of students that those schools attracted, it was enough to create a generation of Jewish intellectuals who would later form a hard core

attack against his coreligionists led Mashbir to decide to cut ties with Balta permanently and immigrate to a country that seemed much friendlier and more welcoming — the United States. Now, in his parents' house, Mashbir found his mother reading the Torah passage describing the Exodus from Egypt. She cried and could not understand what had made her son decide to leave Russia, a country for which he had always shown respect. Her words hurt Mashbir and made him regret the times when he wanted to integrate into Russian society. Now he felt like he had wasted his youth trying to achieve this unattainable goal. The best way to correct this erroneous past, he believed now, was to become useful in another country.³

Leaving the Old World on a steamship, Mashbir was sure that he was doing the right thing and only regretted that he could not take all Russian Jews with him:

The last pitch of the European land was slowly fading away. I looked back and in my thoughts saw an awful picture. In the far east of Europe, flaming pillars came from the celestial heights; the air was permeated with a deadly poison; gallows stretched above the land like white spider webs. A strong Russian fist was swinging in the air to the right and to the left, but reached only the weak and defenseless. Involuntary fear and a feeling of an awful pain for the brethren, that I was leaving behind, clenched my chest. Tears appeared in my eyes.⁴

But not long into his journey to the New World, however, Mashbir sensed that something was going not the way he planned:

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 the moaning of adults, crying of babies, swears of mothers cursing America — everything merged in a common *Gehenna* [hell], in which the stench was stronger than the fire.⁵

The first days in New York confirmed Mashbir's worries, especially when he tried to find a job and noticed that immigrants' preferences or occupational profiles were not taken into account. "Shoemakers [were hired] as tailors, metal-

of the Russian-Jewish intelligentsia. Teachers at these schools were usually *maskilim* — supporters of Haskalah, the Jewish Enlightenment, which as a movement started in the Russian Empire roughly in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

³Elieser Mashbir, "Moy perviy vyezd iz Rossii: iz dnevnika russko-evreyskogo emigranta (Posvyashchaetsya moye sestre)" [My First Trip from Russia: from the Diary of a Russian-Jewish Emigrant (To My Sister)], *Voskhod* 9 (1883), 68–70.

⁴Elieser Mashbir, "Ot Brod do N'yu Yorka: iz dnevnika russko-evreyskogo emigranta" [From Brody to New York: from the Diary of a Russian-Jewish Emigrant], *Voskhod* 6 (1882), 9. All translations from the Russian are mine, unless otherwise indicated.

⁵Ibid., 6.

workers as hairdressers, bakers as shoemakers,”⁶ he explained. It seemed to him, at least at this initial stage, that America was no more a desirable place for Jews than Russia.

This story was typical for the Russophone Jewish intellectuals residing in the Russian Empire (and especially in the Pale of Settlement) who made the decision to abandon their motherland as a result of the pogroms of 1881–1882. Similar aspects can be found in almost every article published in the Russian-language Jewish press by recent immigrants, who shared Mashbir’s frustration with America. Although the majority of immigrants were poor and barely educated, the present paper discusses the experiences of the Jewish intellectual elite, whose life paths were very similar to Mashbir’s. Before emigrating, they imagined the New World as “the golden land,” where dollars laid on streets for everyone who was not too lazy to bend down and pick them up. Like Mashbir, who connected his departure from Russia with Passover and the Exodus, they often compared Russia with Egypt, a country of slavery, from which Jews were liberated to settle in the Promised Land of America.

However, the first encounters with the American way of life, small salaries, unsanitary conditions in immigrant neighborhoods, and many other destabilizing changes from their former way of life led Russian Jews, regardless of status, to reconsider their appreciation of the New World. Still, having no money to return to Russia (and oftentimes no place to return to, even if they had the funds), immigrants generally stayed in America.⁷ The most educated and articulate among them expressed their concerns, as Mashbir did, in diaries, memoirs, poems, and short stories.

As Mashbir’s story indicates, the pogroms that followed the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881 were a major factor in propelling Jewish immigration in the early 1880s.⁸ However, recent scholarship has suggested that they may not have played as direct a causal role as many previously assumed. The more complex view that now prevails points to overpopulation in the Pale of Settlement, economic hardships, political oppression, civil inequality, restrictions imposed on communal life, and antisemitism among the factors which triggered mass migration. Pogroms are now seen more as having a psychological effect on the Jewish population in the Russian Empire, which eventually

⁶ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁷ For more on remigration see Jonathan D. Sarna, “The Myth of No Return: Jewish Return Migration to Eastern Europe, 1881–1914,” *American Jewish History* 71, no 2 (1981), 256–268.

⁸ Such an opinion was expressed, for example, in Simon Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland* (Bergenfield: Avotaynu, 2000), 334–336 (first published in 1916). The research of this great Russian-Jewish historian and ideologist of autonomism has been guiding scholars for many decades and only recently his views started to be challenged. On the same issues see Shmuel Ettinger, “The Modern Period,” in *A History of the Jewish People*, ed. Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 860–863.

provided the final push for resettlement. Many immigrants came from the regions where no pogroms took place, but the awful news about the unrest and its Jewish victims reached their shtetls, making the residents wish to escape as they feared for their lives. For the intellectual elite, introduction of the *numerus clausus* in 1887 also added to the desire to search for better plight elsewhere.⁹

Indeed, for Mashbir and other Jewish intellectuals, the pogroms were feared not as much as a life-threatening danger, but rather as a milestone that divided lives into two halves: the period when the Jewish intelligentsia believed in the possibility of rapprochement with the Russian people, and the one when they realized that such hopes were in vain. Although a huge debate arose as to whether America or Palestine should be the main destination for immigration, only a few thousand people at that time followed the Zionist dream of building a new Jewish society in the undeveloped setting of the Jewish Biblical homeland. The greater majority chose the established urban centers of the American continent, where nearly two million Jews emigrated during the period between 1881 and the outbreak of World War I.

Addressing representations of America and examining the Jewish immigrant experience by looking at the Russophone Jewish press published in the Russian Empire at the turn of the twentieth century, I use the concept of transnationalism and transnational networks as discussed by Rebecca Kobrin in *Jewish Bialystok and its Diaspora*.¹⁰ While building her narrative on press publications, immigrants' memoirs, and institutional records, Kobrin points to economic, literary, political and cultural connections existing between Jewish immigrants and those who stayed in the Old World. She particularly stresses the staying power of regional identities, which were not only preserved in the face of new immigrant realities, but also received further reinforcement. Therefore, by sharing his experience in the Russian-Jewish press, Mashbir became a part of the transnational network, which grew as a response to immigration. Through contributing to the Russian periodicals after all hardships of the immigrant life, he and other representatives of the Russophone Jewish émigré elite also expressed loyalty to the old country no matter how badly they were treated there before deciding to emigrate.

While the majority of Jewish studies scholars concentrate primarily on the Hebrew and Yiddish sources, this paper deals with the Russian-language

⁹Lloyd 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; 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), 72; Simon Kuznets, "Immigration of Russian Jews to the United States: Background and Structure," *Perspectives in American History* 9 (1975), 35–124.

¹⁰Rebecca Kobrin, *Jewish Bialystok and its Diaspora* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010).

periodicals, which are often overlooked because Russian does not belong to the “internal bilingualism” of Ashkenazic Jewry, as the great linguist Max Weinreich described it.¹¹ Hence, sometimes the Russophone Jewish papers are treated as not “Jewish” enough and therefore ignored. Indeed, the periodicals in Russian had a lesser appeal to the general Jewish audience and attracted a limited readership of acculturated and partially secularized *maskilim*, who stood for the rapprochement of Jewish and Russian peoples.¹² On the other hand, Hebrew and Yiddish periodicals experienced a higher degree of censorship control than the Russophone papers.¹³ Although the Russian-Jewish press was greatly affected by censors’ critiques too, the Russophone periodicals were more tolerated precisely because they were easier to censor.¹⁴ Moreover, they served for the advocates of Jewish emancipation too, since the Russian-language publications were expected to be noticed by the Russians too, who, through getting acquainted with Jewish history and culture, were hoped to realize that Jews were indeed a “useful” part of the population. Therefore, the examination of the Russian-language sources might add to the understanding of such phenomenon as Jewish emigration from the Russian Empire to the United States at the turn of the twentieth century.

The main periodicals I examine here are the monthly *Voskhod* [The Sunrise], later renamed *Knizhki voskhoda* [Books of the Sunrise] (1881–1906), and two weeklies, *Russkiy evrey* ([The Russian Jew], 1879–1884) and *Razsvet* ([The Dawn], 1879–1883). Although the opinions about America offered in these three periodicals were at times ambivalent, the overarching question was the same: do America’s advantages outweigh its disadvantages? Although my research demonstrates that the answer was positive in the majority of cases, the opinions presented in a handful of historical works addressing the Russo-

¹¹ See Max Weinreich, “Internal Bilingualism in Ashkenaz,” in *Voices from the Yiddish*, ed. Irving Howe and Eliezer Greenberg (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1972), 279–288.

¹² Since the periodicals discussed here were all published in Saint Petersburg, it is important to mention how many Jews spoke Russian in the capital city. In 1881, 12 % of the Saint Petersburg Jews reported Russian as their mother tongue, whereas this number increased to 29 % in 1890 and to 37 % in 1900 (Benjamin Nathans, *Beyond the Pale: The Jewish Encounter with Late Imperial Russia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 111). The number of Jews who did not consider Russian their native language but still understood it was probably higher.

¹³ At the period when mass emigration started, only one Yiddish weekly (*Volksblatt*, 1881–1890, editor Alexander Zederbaum) was published in the Russian Empire. As for the Hebrew papers, one was published in Saint Petersburg (*Ha-Melitz*, 1860–1903, editor Alexander Zederbaum), one in Warsaw, further from the censors’ eyes (*Ha-Tsefirah*, 1862, 1874–1931, editor at that time Chaim Selig Slonimski), and one was constantly smuggled from Berlin (1856–1903, *Ha-Magid*, editors at that time David and Dov Gordon).

¹⁴ Some writers discussed in the current paper also published works in Yiddish and English, but these sources are beyond of the scope of this research and will be addressed in the future papers.

phone Jewish press earlier varied. Judith Zabarenko, for example, concentrates only on the negative image of America, arguing that it influenced many Jews' decision to remain in Russia.¹⁵ Mikhail Beizer, on the contrary, while discussing one of the journals, *Voskhod*, points out that many of its contributors reached an understanding that emigration was a solution to the Russian-Jewish sorrows. In Beizer's view, the monthly became mainly a platform for a debate about whether America or Palestine would be the better place for a new Jewish home.¹⁶

My research aims at resolving the debate and adding new insights to the field of American Jewish history by addressing the image of America that Russian-Jewish immigrants wanted to create among their associates in the Russian Empire and by analyzing the new identities that they fashioned in the process of adjustment in America. Through analyzing these issues, I expect to demonstrate that after immigration to America the contributors to the Russophone Jewish press took on the roles of the Diaspora spokesmen. Acting from their new position, they presented at times an unpleasant portrayal of their new country to people from the old motherland, but still believed that emigration was a solution for Russian Jewry due to the unfavorable Russian politics in relation to the Jewish minority.

IDENTITIES OF THE RUSSOPHONE JEWISH DIASPORA SPOKESMEN

Similarities of fates and outlooks allow us to draw a collective portrait of the foreign correspondents contributing to the Russophone Jewish press, who as it was noted above by no means were ordinary immigrants, the majority of which were poor and hardly educated. Even if before immigration many of them still resided in the Pale of Settlement, they were usually people who back in Russia qualified for what Benjamin Nathans calls "selective integration."¹⁷ Being graduates of Russian establishments of higher education,¹⁸ they earned

¹⁵ 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.

¹⁶ Mikhail Beizer, *The Jews of St. Petersburg: Excursions through a Noble Past* (Philadelphia-New York: The Jewish Publication Society, 1989), 11–12.

¹⁷ See Nathans, *Beyond the Pale*, "Introduction" and "Part I". Nathans explains how from the second half of the nineteenth century certain groups of Jews received permission to reside beyond the Pale of Settlement (merchants of the first two guilds, students of the establishments of higher education, retired soldiers, and artisans). Representatives of these categories were more inclined to settle in the Imperial capital of Saint Petersburg, where they formed a distinct community of Jewish intelligentsia. The city became a major center for Jewish publishing too.

¹⁸ Nathans gives some statistical data on the number of Jewish students in the Russian Empire. For example, in 1886 (before the enactment of the *numerus clausus* for Jews in 1887) there were 7,562 Jewish gymnasia and progymnasium students, which constituted

their living as writers, journalists, and teachers and while still in Russia were eager to serve the Jewish community and help to “merge” it with the Russian people. Although literate in Yiddish and to a lesser extent Hebrew, writers preferred Russian as the language of everyday use, indicating their acculturated status and position to serve as community guides of cultural integration and modernization.

The beliefs in integration of these self-appointed community leaders were shattered after the pogroms of 1881–1882, which signaled for them the impossibility of rapprochement with the Russian people and triggered their emigration to America. Driven westwards by ideological rather than economic motives, they were ready to suffer the adversities awaiting them as long as they could stay Jewish without fearing for their lives. Although being significantly Russified and partially secularized, the Jewish intellectual elite still could not imagine itself not being Jewish.

Although drawing a rich image of their new country, writers rarely described their own tribulations. Even Elieser Mashbir, while giving a vivid personal account of his tragic departure from Russia, did not devote such a degree of attention to the problems of his adjustment in America. The tendency to speak more about the poor Jewish immigrants instead of describing their own standing makes reconstructing the contributors’ identities a methodological challenge. This can be overcome by following the argument that the way one group describes the other sheds light more on this group itself rather than the depicted object.¹⁹ Patronizing attitudes expressed towards “ordinary” Jews, therefore, reveals the correspondents’ self-positioning as culturally superior and advanced, as well as their willingness to perform a function of cultural ambassadors and leaders, even in a foreign land.

Hence, after migration writers did not cease to see themselves as the community’s intellectual leaders. On the contrary, given the new emigrant realities, they felt that their guidance was needed here even more and that the emigrant audience, puzzled and lost in the face of the unknown, would be more responsive to their advice than back in the Russian Empire. They still believed in the power of acculturation and its benefits for Jewish society. From their new location in America, correspondents started to put forward their views on how

10.9 % of all learners, and 1,856 Jewish university students, or 14.5 % of the entire student body (Nathans, *Beyond the Pale*, 218). This number was much higher than the proportionate number of Jews residing in the Russian Empire. Thus, when the first all-Russian census was conducted in 1897 (by then several dozens of thousand Russian Jews had already emigrated), Jews constituted about 5.2 million people or 4.2 % of the total population (Nathans, *Beyond the Pale*, 83). Although it is difficult to estimate from this data what was the overall number of Jews possessing the high education degree, we can assume given the 1886 data that the percentage was quite miniscule.

¹⁹For example see Eric L. Goldstein, “The Unstable Other: Locating the Jew in Progressive-Era American Racial Discourse,” *American Jewish History* 89 (2002), 384.

Russian Jews could adjust to the new country more smoothly and quickly. With a feeling of cultural superiority, they adopted new roles as Diaspora leaders responsible for the successful adaptation of their less educated brethren. Just as they argued for Russification before the wave of pogroms, after persecution and resettlement, contributors started to support moderate Americanization and in most cases encouraged further immigration.

Indeed, a wide range of opinions about America was presented on the pages of the Russophone Jewish press. Sometimes the authors praised this country and exaggerated its favorable conditions for immigrants. Sometimes they tried to justify unpleasant immigrant experiences. Sometimes they explicitly cursed America and the moment when Columbus discovered the new continent. Nevertheless, all of them agreed that in any case immigration to the United States was a necessary move given the unbearable for Jews living conditions in Russia as exploration of the main themes raised by the contributors indicate.

RIGHT FROM SHORE: NOSTALGIC FEELINGS FOR RUSSIA

As we could see in the story of Elieser Mashbir, Russian-Jewish intellectuals at first appeared to be highly disappointed with what America offered to immigrants. Although highly disillusioned with Russia, the émigré correspondents did not immediately appreciate America's blessings. And even disenchantment with the "old" motherland did not prevent the authors from feelings of nostalgia. This was the case with Isaac Max Rubinov, an economist and social worker who emigrated from Grodno and became one of *Voskhod's* most prolific émigré writers. It took over ten years for him to replace feelings of homesickness with an interest in American politics and a feeling of solidarity with the local people. Many immigrants, he asserted, lacked patriotic feelings for their new country and even after living in America for a while continued to call themselves "Russians."²⁰

Many similar articles were still full of filial affection and attachment to Russia, but instead of being seen as the "mother", the old country began to be referred as a "stepmother," who failed to treat the stepchildren as her own. Still, the correspondents often called the Jewish immigrant community "the Russian colony," emphasizing the influential role of the parent state on the other side of the ocean as the prime determinant for the group identification. "Russian" here signified the place of origin, a location from which immigrants came, but also, in the case with the Russophone Jewish elite, the language

²⁰Isaac Max Rubinov, "Evreyskiy vopros v N'yu Yorke" [Jewish Question in New York], *Knizhki Voskhoda* 5 (1903), 93; Isaac Max Rubinov, "Pismo iz Ameriki" [A Letter from America], *Knizhki Voskhoda* 4 (1902), 123.

used in the everyday life. The majority of members of the “Russian societies” in New York who aimed at the promotion of Russian culture and heritage in America were in fact Russian Jews, as some of the authors sarcastically pointed out.²¹

Hence, encounters with America deepened the immigrant writers’ self-perception as “Russians.” These sentimental feelings combined with initial migration difficulties fostered a desire to preserve contact with the abandoned homeland and share immigration experiences. This exchange of ideas turned the Russophone Jewish press into practical emigration manuals. Authors not only mediated their impressions of America, they also shared useful advice for those considering moving westward. Such writers not only positioned themselves as the Diaspora spokesmen, but they also aspired to establish their group as transnational agents of cultural exchange and overseas prophets of a new era in Jewish history. Realizing the potential influence of the produced image of America on readers’ decision to emigrate, correspondents felt responsibility for constructing what they felt was an accurate and unbiased picture, honestly showing American realities as they were, good or bad.

Nostalgia for Russia, therefore, deepened intellectuals’ self-identification as Russians, a feeling of solidarity with fellow immigrants and, as described by Rebecca Kobrin, provoked the creation of a transnational network between America and Russia in the form of sending articles to be published in the old motherland.

THE IMMIGRATION COMMITTEES AND THE AMERICAN JEWS

Oftentimes, the correspondents were not able to cope with the hardships of adjustment in the new country. Then, they tended to lay all the blame on America itself, American Jews (who were seen as not generous enough to support their East European brethren), and more than anything else — the immigration committees in New York. These committees, as described by the contributors, were organized as benevolent societies with the purpose of helping newcomers during their first days/weeks/months in a new country by providing them food, money, jobs, or at least an advice. Surprisingly, the committees were described in the Russophone Jewish press rather as enemies acting against immigrants. Their financial assistance was criticized for being too insignificant, their bureaucrats for being too detached from the immigrant problems, and most importantly, the process of applying for help was perceived as too humiliating. As described, newcomers had to stay in front of the committee’s door for hours in order to receive so insignificant amount of money that it was spent immediately.

²¹ See, for instance, Rubinov, *Pismo iz Ameriki*, V. 4 (1902), 121–122.

Moreover, as Abraham Cahan, a socialist writer and a future editor of the *Jewish Daily Forward* (*Forverts*), pointed out, while waiting immigrants were often assaulted by the policemen and in “free America” their heavy sticks “walked freely on immigrants’ body parts.”²² In general, the epithet “free America” is often ridiculed in the Russophone Jewish press, stressing that in this “free” country all the bad things also came for free.

Cahan sounded remarkably critical about the committees’ activities and their organizational structure, especially about *The Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society* (HIAS). In his view, the HIAS’s members were the rich who would donate money only because they wanted to win a place for their names on the pages of the Jewish press, but in reality these “buyers of honor” did not care about the lamentable Russian Jews at all.²³ Cahan wholeheartedly celebrated when one of the committees was closed upon immigrants’ request. Cursing malevolent committees, he practically equated them with everything American. In voicing his anger, Cahan could not hold back his aggression: “shiver and chill grabs me when I start thinking about these poor victims of all-pervading emigration. Be damned you, emigration! Be damned the reasons, which caused you! You broke so many lives; you brought to ashes so many fresh, strong people!”²⁴ Although Cahan here did not explicitly attack the capitalist nature of America, this can be definitely read between the lines.

In sum, initial disillusionments led émigré writers to put all the blame on the immigration committees and the American Jews, who, in their view, were incapable of easing immigrants’ hardships.

NEW YORK AND THE JEWISH IMMIGRANT NEIGHBORHOOD

Besides difficulties of immigrants’ adaptation to new realities, living conditions in the metropolis of New York was one of the most popular topics addressed by the Russophone Jewish intellectuals. Although some members of the Jewish émigré elite were familiar with life in Saint Petersburg, Kiev, or Odessa, most of them came from smaller towns in the Pale of Settlement. Seeing for the first time such an urban “monster” as New York, they became highly fascinated by its cityscape and grandeur.

Soon after resettlement, Aaron Tiraspolskiy, an intellectual who in America became a lawyer, described that he felt like a newborn child when arriving to America’s main port city, because everything felt new and strange to him. “As soon as you step on the soil of this gigantic global Babylon, you get lost

²² Abraham Cahan, “N’yu York” [New York], *Russkiy every* 39 (1882), 1474.

²³ *Ibid.*, 1475.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

there as a grain of sand in the sea,"²⁵ he said. But this prospect did not scare him; on the contrary, it made him excited. For Tiraspol'skiy New York was not only much better than any city in despised Russia, it was much more impressive than Berlin, Vienna, and Hamburg. If these cities seemed to be significant and interesting before, now they looked almost miserable compared to New York streets and the daunting height of its buildings.²⁶ But the most important in Tiraspol'skiy's account was, again, the parallel with the Biblical Exodus. Moreover, for him America exceeded the capacity of the Promised Land, since New York alone became a shelter for more Jews than Moses led from Egypt.²⁷

The beauty and magnificence of New York was contrasted with the Jewish immigrant neighborhood, or rather ghetto, in the Lower East Side, poor and overpopulated, where nevertheless the majority of incoming immigrants chose to settle for lack of alternative. Abraham Cahan described it 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 jargon²⁸ and come from all centers of Europe." He continues depicting the heterogeneity of the ghetto population, pointing out that "all of [the dwellers] are put in an inordinate heap, in one common pot; all of them are one human pudding with changed ingredients, but still a part of the one whole."²⁹ Mocking this "anthill," whose streets are at the same time a market, someone writing under the unidentified pseudonym F. L-n noted sarcastically that everyone and everything was equal in America, even at the market place, there "herring, and cheese, and cakes live in one common union complementing each other's smell and taste."³⁰

Indeed, if New York was described as a city par excellence, its Jewish immigrant neighborhood, the Lower East Side, was viewed as similar to any of the towns in the infamous Pale and was practically an "American Berdichev."³¹ Hence, the immigrant quarter was likened to a canonic Jewish shtetl in the Pale of Settlement, an important Jewish marketing and religious center that was often mentioned in Yiddish literature and folklore. Tiraspol'skiy warned, nevertheless, that the presence of the traditionally dressed Hassidim should not be deceptive. Although the view of the ghetto was so similar to the one in Warsaw

²⁵A. Tiraspol'skiy, "Russko-evreyskie emigranty v Soedinennykh Shtatah Severnoy Ameriki: vpechatleniya turista" [Russian-Jewish Emigrants in the United States of Northern America: Impressions of a Tourist], *Knizhki Voskhoda* 2 (1904), 73–74.

²⁶Ibid., V. 3 (1904), 132–133.

²⁷Ibid., V. 5 (1904), 111.

²⁸The term, in which the contributors to the Russophone Jewish press pejoratively addressed Yiddish language.

²⁹Abraham Cahan, "Tekl: povest iz zhizni N'yu Yorkskogo geto" [Yekl: A Tale of the New York Ghetto], *Voskhod* 2 (1897), 141–142.

³⁰F. L-n, "N'yu 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), 17, 19–20.

³¹Price, *Russkie evrei*, V. 10 (1891), 213.

or Vilna, he explained, one would quickly realize that s/he was not in Russia by seeing that here Jews were equal citizens of the free republic and they achieved goals about which one could not even dream in the old motherland.³² Rubinov agreed that although rivers of milk and honey did not pour over New York streets, if one worked hard, after some time of loss and suffering s/he would manage to earn some money and live better than workers of other nationalities. “We cannot offer a medicine to a Russian Jew to end his sad situation, but we see that emigration to America, to New York, is still a prevailing remedy,”³³ he determined.

To conclude, the Russian-Jewish intelligentsia was impressed by New York as much as they were disappointed with its Lower East Side immigrant ghetto. Notwithstanding, many authors shared an opinion that all sorrows could be overcome if only an immigrant worked hard and was diligent.

CHANGES IN THE IMMIGRANTS’ APPEARANCE AND WORLDVIEWS

Although the image of America pictured by the Russophone Jewish elite did not change during the period when the periodicals discussed here were published (1881–1906), changes happening inside the immigrant Jewish community, both in clothing and attitudes, were addressed constantly.

The quick pace of American industrial development and integration of Jews into industrial infrastructure were some of such popular themes among émigré journalists. The phenomenon of Russian Jews becoming a working class was celebrated by the majority of contributors as a transformative tool turning immigrants from “*greeners*,” newly arrived, to almost locals, or from disgraced Russians to honorable Americans. Although being practically silent about the importance of the labor movement in the Russian context, the correspondents sounded very enthusiastic about its development in America.

Oftentimes, the writers closely connected class consciousness with the rise of immigrant interest and activism in American politics. The first step to political awareness was, in their view, joining labor unions. Before unionism, as L-n noted, there was no solidarity between Jewish workers and they could not fight for better working conditions as individuals.³⁴ George Moses Price,³⁵ a native of Poltava and a chairman of the investigative committee of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control in New York, supported this opinion, saying that “the labor movement took roots and became a power, which even the mighty

³² Tiraspol'skiy, *Russko-evreyskie emigranty*, V. 4 (1904), 141–142.

³³ Rubinov, *Evreyskiy vopros, Knizhki Voskhoda* 8 (1903), 113.

³⁴ L-n, *N'yu Yorkskoe geto*, V. 10–11 (1893), 14–15.

³⁵ In journals George Moses Price is usually mentioned as simply G. Price.

of the American capital has to take into account.³⁶ The labor unions were also seen as a force to combat materialism and American capitalism, which the contributors overall regarded as a negative quality of their new country.

Criticism of the profit-driven American society dovetailed with a growing recognition of a shift in immigrant religious devotion, which was seen to be declining drastically. Although not being strictly religious themselves, contributors recognized the importance of Judaism for preserving the Jewish community cohesion in both Russia and America. New conditions, they asserted, created circumstances which made religious observance very difficult to uphold in the way it was back in the Pale of Jewish Settlement. But instead of condemning the immigrants, writers appreciated and supported their decision to abandon archaic traditions, which in their view was not compatible with modernity. Talking about immigrants ceasing to observe the Jewish Sabbath, correspondents sounded more compassionate than judgmental when acknowledging that the poor had to violate the holiday in order to survive in this “country of dollars.” Moreover, they argued that the rejection of “pure” traditionalism succeeded in widening the mental outlook of immigrants. Not totally abandoning their faith, many of them realized that religion had nothing to do with clothes, one’s beard length or “other fanatic’s sacred things.”³⁷ In this light, the authors criticized unconditional religiosity which “secures the thick walls of the ghetto,”³⁸ a highly undesirable phenomenon for the émigré intelligentsia.

On a par with praising living conditions in America, the contributors advised newcomers against trusting the American legal system. Continuing their guiding agenda, they warned the immigrants (as well as potential immigrants) about the evil American business rules, which drove the local capitalist machine. As Tiraspol’skiy cautioned, there were a lot of traps for the newcomers, since many locals tried to exploit and gain profit from them. Russian Jews were warned not to rely on the American laws, since they were composed in a liar’s favor. Moreover, the inventiveness of an evildoer, in Tiraspol’skiy’s view, would be celebrated by his victims: “a tattered and gone through the fire and water American is very curious to see a person who managed to sidestep and circumvent even him.”³⁹ He concluded that the immigrants should not trust even those people whom they knew back in the motherland, since new circumstances changed immigrants significantly:

³⁶G. Price, “Russkie evrei v Amerike: itogi emigratsionnogo dvizheniya” [Russian Jews in America: Results of the Emigration Movement], *Voskhod* 10 (1891), 209.

³⁷G. Ieshurun, “Literaturnaya letopis: zhargonnyaya literatura v Soedinennykh Shtatah” [Literary Chronicle: Jargon Literature in the United States], *Voskhod* 11 (1896), 83.

³⁸L-n, *N’yu Yorkskoe geto*, V. 12 (1893), 2–5.

³⁹A. Tiraspol’skiy, “Russko-evreyskie emigranty v Soedinennykh Shtatah: zapiski emigranta” [Russian-Jewish Emigrants in the United States: Notes of an Emigrant], *Knizhka Voskhoda* 1 (1906), 84.

a need corrodes even an iron: often former idealists, kind and honest people, plunge into the local fight for existence when they come to this land. They chase after profit and dollars, and unnoticeably for themselves transform into cruel exploiters and pitiless egoists able to sell or swallow anybody.⁴⁰

Although viewing America quite favorably in general, Tiraspol'skiy generated a high level of suspicion to everything American and novel.

To sum up, this section reveals the contributors' generally positive attitude towards changes in the Jewish immigrant community and its moderate Americanization. While the writers raised some concerns about the declining level of religiosity, they celebrated immigrants' adopting new, American occupations and clothing styles while cautioning them, nevertheless, not to fall into the trap that the American laws hold against newcomers.

CULTURE OF THE IMMIGRANT NEIGHBORHOOD

In general, the émigré writers did not appreciate immigrants' quick adoption of the American culture on a par with devotion to the Yiddish culture, about which they had a low opinion. Being highly sympathetic and compassionate with the plight of the poor Jewish immigrants, the Russophone press contributors still positioned themselves as superior because of their higher level of education and better knowledge of non-Jewish languages and cultures.

Such an attitude was best expressed in the discussion about Yiddish (or *jargon*) cultural production. This critique addressed both the low status of the mother tongue among the majority of immigrants and the popular and cheap amusements of American society, which supposedly degraded the cultural level of the immigrants instead of uplifting it. Thus, L-n said, the Yiddish press contributed very little to the intellectual development of the immigrants, even when so much was expected from this genre since it was a major source of information for those who spoke little English and still needed "some food for thought."⁴¹ Many writers connected the problem of the low quality of the Jewish press not with the absence of good and talented Jewish writers, but with the deficiency of Yiddish itself, which was seen as a poor language not allowing authors to express their thoughts properly. The question about the quality of the cultural product versus its "selling" ability was addressed as well. Hence, many periodicals tried to cater to "the bad taste and vulgar humor of the masses" instead of lifting them up.⁴²

⁴⁰Ibid., 84–85.

⁴¹L-n, *N'yu Yorkskoe geto*, V. 12 (1893), 5.

⁴²Price, *Russkie evrei*, V. 12 (1891), 88.

Correspondents appealed to increase the quality of Yiddish periodicals, since, due to the constant immigration, they would be in more and more demand. Authors sadly concluded that in response to the American consumer culture half of the space in the press would be taken by advertisements, which were of even more interest for some readers than the text itself. Another problem with the Yiddish press was hidden in the fact that many articles were, alas, not original, but translations from the English papers. What kind of news was in the evening Jewish press, some correspondents asked? The answer was simple — a translation from the American morning dailies plus a product of creative imagination of the Jewish editors. Such translations seemed ridiculous for the Russophone writers, as for instance, for someone by the name G. Ieshurun. When seeing such an article he wandered “for whom to feel sorrier — a poor plebeian reader who is immediately stricken by the multistoried scientific terminology, or the jargon itself dressed in a peacock’s feathers alien to it.”⁴³ But the most appalling was the fact that the Yiddish periodicals lied and could publish unreliable information for money. Therefore, unlike in the case with the Russian-Jewish press, the immigrants were warned against trusting the data appearing in the American-Jewish papers.

The Yiddish press was not the only cultural production attacked. The theaters got a similar portion of the critique. The actors were described as untalented and the plays as making very little sense and lacking morality. As in the case with the press, the low quality of the theater was also attributed to the demand of the poor Jewish immigrant workers with deficient tastes and high expectations from the cheap amusements they could afford. The only good thing mentioned about the Yiddish theaters was that they brought some joy to the monotonous emigrant life, far from grocery shelves and sweatshops.⁴⁴

Some of the immigrant entertainment activities were nevertheless celebrated. Surprisingly or not, they were creations of the Russian-Jewish intelligentsia, such as coffee saloons, the alcohol free counterparts of the American saloons akin to Viennese and Parisian coffee shops. True, such enterprises still stayed elitist, since not many immigrants could afford to dine out. But their increasing popularity as places of interaction gaining a status of political clubs gave rise to a cheaper version — gatherings in the delicatessen stores.⁴⁵ Describing such places for socializing, the Russophone writers suggested them as a way to enrich themselves culturally while still staying in the Russian-Jewish milieu.

Hence, the Russophone writers heavily criticized Americanizing Yiddish culture. In their view it was putting down the intellectual level of immigrants.

⁴³ Ieshurun, *Literaturnaya letopis*, 19.

⁴⁴ Price, *Russkie evrei*, V. 12 (1891), 89.

⁴⁵ I. Rubinov, “N’yu Yorkskie vpechatleniya” [New York Impressions], *Knizhki Voskhoda* 1 (1906), 133–134.

In turn, they highly recommended raising the quality of the American-Jewish press and joining social and political clubs in the sort of saloons, where the Russian-Jewish intelligentsia socialized.

JEWISH COLONIZATION

As immigrants' living conditions in New York were oftentimes criticized, many authors suggested ways for immigrants to escape the overcrowded ghetto. One of the main alternatives was to become farmers and toil the land somewhere in South Dakota, Louisiana, and Oregon, or closer, in North Carolina. Back in the Russian Empire, Jews were not involved in agricultural labor; they were not allowed to own the land or even settle in villages. And the necessity to turn to productive and honorable agricultural labor from unproductive and despised peddling was a recurrent argument in the Russian-Jewish press. Several contributors recognized occupational restructuring as the ultimate purpose of the Jewish people's presence in the New World, where the Jewish farmer would mark the ultimate transformation into an American. Some authors saw it also as something beneficial for all of American Jewry, as, for example, Joseph Petrikovskiy, a student. In his opinion, only the agricultural colonization by the Russian Jews could efficiently reinforce "the Jewish element" in the American society.⁴⁶

Agricultural labor, therefore, was seen as a curing power, which was reflected in the ideology of the "Am Olam" society,⁴⁷ the camp some of the writers discussed here belonged to. One of its representatives was Samuel Sokolovskiy, the president of the Cremieux colony in South Dakota, who saw toiling the land as the true destiny of Jewish immigrants in America — their mission, in other words. To prove his view Sokolovskiy introduces "Moshke," a collective name he used to describe stereotypical Yiddish-speaking inn-keepers. It was shameful to be such Moshke back in Russia, but escaping the pogroms a pitiful inn-keeper had to leave the Old World. Here, Sokolovskiy set a new goal for Moshke, which was to restore his grandeur by toiling the land in America, the country of farming.⁴⁸

Although the project of Jewish agricultural colonies, whether organized by Am Olam or other societies, turned out to be a failure because of unpreparedness for the local conditions, the benefits of agricultural labor were constantly raised in the journals. Price explained unfortunate results by the reasons that the majority of the Russian-Jewish immigrants were extremely poor and lacked

⁴⁶ Joseph Petrikovskiy, "Odisseya emigrantov. Na novom meste" [The Emigrant Odyssey. In the new place], *Razsvet* 51 (1881), 2021.

⁴⁷ The "Am Olam" ("The Eternal People") society was founded in Odessa in 1881 and developed a utopian idealistic ideology guiding Jews towards immigration to America, where they were supposed to establish agricultural colonies on the communal principle.

⁴⁸ S. Sokolovskiy, "Itogi emigratsionnogo dvizheniya" [Results of the Emigration Movement], *Voskhod* 6 (1885), 22.

organizational skills, while American Jews expressed indifference towards colonization.⁴⁹ But for Price the mere fact that these colonies had existed was much more important than their sad end, since former peddlers from the Pale of Settlement became useful land-owners, even if for a short period of time. In a country that was foreign, but free from national hatred, as Price put it, they proved that they could work hard.⁵⁰

Tiraspol'skiy also agreed that Jews did not possess special knowledge to toil the infertile land of the American East,⁵¹ but accepting the role of a Diaspora spokesman, he offered a solution. In his opinion, in order to protect Jews from mistakes, a special bureau had to be organized on the model of what the Russian government did during the brief period when it promoted establishment of the Jewish farms on the state lands in the New Russia province. Recommendations of the experienced teachers and practitioners would save the Jewish colonies in America, he assured.⁵²

Rubinov, in turn, described how Jewish farms closer to New York served other purposes than growing crops and animals and functioned corresponding to the demand of the new growing culture of leisure. There were experimental farms, where Jews would learn farming during their vacation time “for fun.” They could rent a room in a farm cottage, the owners of which provided kosher food and did not bare antisemitic sentiments as in some more expensive hotels.⁵³ Thus, Jewish parents tried to save some money from their weekly salaries to win for children an opportunity to have a good time on a farm in summer, far from urban noise and stench. The future plans also included building farms close to each other, Rubinov reported, so vacationers living in different cottages would be able to interact with each other. So, in this way Jewish farmers could make money on the recreation activities regardless of whether their farms yielded a good harvest or not.⁵⁴ And most importantly, no matter how much overcrowding of the immigrant neighborhoods in New York was criticized and the agricultural colonies were praised, “a Jewish worker from the cities created a possibility for a Jewish farmer’s existence in a village.”⁵⁵

Overall, agricultural labor was highly praised by the Russian-speaking Jewish intellectuals. Its ultimate value was emphasized as an antidote of living in overcrowded New York and, what is even more vital, as a statement that, contrary to the beliefs held in Russia, Jews could be farmers and toil the land.

⁴⁹G. Price, “Evreyskie zemledelcheskie kolonii v Amerike” [Jewish Agricultural Colonies in America], *Voskhod* 4–9 (1891), 1–3.

⁵⁰Ibid., 13–14.

⁵¹Tiraspol'skiy, *Russko-evreyskie emigranty*, V. 3 (1904), 138–140.

⁵²Ibid., 144–145.

⁵³There was a debate at the turn of the twentieth century about some hotel owners who rejected accommodating Jews on the fact that they did not like their origin.

⁵⁴Rubinov, *N'yu Yorkskie vpechatleniya*, V. 9 (1905), 154–155, 158–163.

⁵⁵Ibid., 158.

AMERICA AS THE PROMISED LAND

In general, the writers saw a great potential in America for leading Russian Jewry to a cultural and moral revival. In turn, the Jewish intelligentsia was viewed by authors as designated to salvage communal solidarity in the new land. Although perceiving it as the country of individualism and materialism, writers often called America “the land of milk and honey.” They acknowledged its abundant opportunities and transformative power to ameliorate the Jewish population. Such an opinion, for instance, was several times voiced by Price. In a celebratory mood he pointed out that finally the Russian “*evreychik*,” a little Jew humiliated back in the old land, became a free and proud American Jew. Price noted that in America, “[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.”⁵⁶ As evidenced here, Price and his associates regarded America as a free country with no “questions” about how to treat Jewish or other national minorities (like the Jewish Question or Muslim Question in imperial Russia).

Listing all possible American vices, the Russian-Jewish intellectuals nevertheless argued that emigration was a still better option than staying in Russia given the recent development in the politics towards the Jewish minority (the May Laws of 1882, the implementation of the *numerus clausus* in 1887, and so on). However, the poor were seen as better candidates for emigration, since they had nothing to lose in Russia and every small success in America was an achievement and joy for them. They did not perceive working in factories and sweatshops as shameful and, as a rule, after some period of time managed to accumulate a little money and have a more comfortable living. The wealthy and highly educated, in turn, were advised to move to the United States only in the case that their lives in Russia became really unbearable. The contributors argued that the wealthy would find immigrant jobs available in America demeaning. Even having a start-up budget, in correspondents’ opinion, the intelligentsia would not be able to initiate a new business due to unfamiliarity with the local market.⁵⁷ Just recently being in the position of new immigrants, the Russian-Jewish Diaspora spokesmen wanted to prepare their counterparts in Russia for financial and psychological hardships (including nostalgia) and help them avoid unnecessary stress.

Hence, America ultimately did become for the Russophone Jewish elite the true Promised Land. They acknowledged, however, that for the poor, who had practically no means to survive in Russia, America would reveal its potentials much faster than for the rich, who would have much more difficult adjustment.

⁵⁶Price, *Russkie evrei*, V. 3 (1891): 80–81; V. 12 (1891), 84.

⁵⁷See, for example, in I. Rubinov, “Moim korrespondentam: pismo iz Ameriki” [To My Correspondents: A Letter from America], *Knizhki Voskhova* 9 (1904), 196–202; V. 10 (1904), 108–112, 116.

To conclude, after arriving in America, the Russophone press foreign correspondents realized that it was not the land of milk and honey as they thought before leaving Russia. The New World appeared to them not only as the country of freedom, but also as that of the “almighty dollar.” But even this did not make America a less desirable destination, especially when compared with the humiliation Jewish people had to endure back in Russia. Indeed, the contributors saw America as a suitable place for a Jewish cultural revival. Rubinov even went so far as to say that in America the Jewish exile or *galut* had ended,⁵⁸ thus unseating the Land of Israel as the traditional Jewish land of return. What had to be done was a careful planning and preparation for immigration which would guarantee successful adaptation to new conditions. Remaking themselves as a transnational intelligentsia and Diaspora spokesmen, the writers positioned themselves as immigration consultants and guides to immigration success. By analyzing and mediating American realities, they suggested paths to uplift the immigrant masses, through agricultural labor or joining labor unions, in the case of industrial workers. For those deciding whether to emigrate or not, correspondents drew what they believed to be an accurate portrait of America and offered some practical advice.

In sum, the cultural representations of America mediated by the Russophone émigré writers shed light on the immigrant experience in the late imperial period, or how elites understood it, as well as their role in shaping that experience. These representations also help to reconstruct elements of transnational cultural production and the fashioning of new Russian-Jewish identities in the widening Russophone diaspora at the turn of the twentieth century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Beizer, M. (1989) *The Jews of St. Petersburg: Excursions through a Noble Past*. Philadelphia-New York: The Jewish Publication Society.

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

Ettinger, S. (1976) The Modern Period, *A History of the Jewish People*, ed. Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Gartner, L. P. (1987) Jewish Migrants en Route from Europe to North America. Traditions and Realities, *The Jews of North America*, ed. Moses Rischin, 25–43. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Goldstein, E. L. (2008) The Great Wave: Eastern European Jewish Immigration to the United States, 1880–1924, *The Columbia History of Jews and Judaism in America*, ed. Marc Lee Raphael, 70–92. New York: Columbia University Press.

Goldstein, E. L. (2002) The Unstable Other: Locating the Jew in Progressive-Era American Racial Discourse, *American Jewish History*, 89, 383–409.

⁵⁸Rubinov, *Evreyskiy vopros*, V. 5 (1903), 100–101.

Klier, J. (2011) *Russians, Jews, and the Pogroms of 1881–1882*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Knizhki Voskhoda: zhurnal uchebno-literaturniy i politicheskii [Books of the Sunrise: Scholarly, Literary and Political Journal]. Saint Petersburg, 1899–1906.

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

Kuznets, S. (1975) Immigration of Russian Jews to the United States: Background and Structure. *Perspectives in American History*, 9, 35–124.

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

Razsvet [The Dawn]. Saint Petersburg, 1879–1883.

Russkii evrey [The Russian Jew]. Saint Petersburg, 1879–1884.

Sarna, J. D. (1981) The Myth of No Return: Jewish Return Migration to Eastern Europe, 1881–1914. *American Jewish History*, 71, 2, 256–268.

Voskhod: zhurnal uchebno-literaturniy i politicheskii [The Sunrise: Scholarly, Literary and Political Journal]. Saint Petersburg: Typography of A. E. Landau, 1881–1899.

Weinreich, M. (1972) Internal Bilingualism in Ashkenaz, *Voices from the Yiddish*, ed. Irving Howe and Eliezer Greenberg, 279–288. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Zabarenko, J. (1986) The Negative Image of America in the Russian-Language Jewish Press (1881–1910), *American Jewish History*, 75, 3, 267–279.