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THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF HASHACHAR -1875-1884

by

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Abstract

Hashachar was a Hebrew Language monthly periodical, published, edited and printed by Peretz Smolenskin in the city of Vienna during the years 1868 to 1884. It was circulated with moderate regularity through Eastern and Western Europe, and the Netherlands. It appeared sporadically in all parts of the world where Jews resided.

For purpose of analysis, the material of Hashachar has been considered in two sections, i.e., 1875-1880; 1881-1884. Prior to 1881, Hashachar was given to presenting programs of revised education, modernizing of religion, and to a certain extent, Russification. Different groups among the "enlightened" Jews had different methods and motives for raising the standards of the masses. These groups ranged from the intelligensia with strong ties to traditional Judaism,--sincerely devoted to alleviating the suffering of the masses--, to the well-to-do, semi-assimilated bourgeoisie who felt their security, position, and reputation threatened by the separatism and coarseness of the ^{Jewish} masses.

The majority opinion held that the poor Jewish burgher's emancipation was up to himself, and it was he who must take the first step. With the proper training and education, the Jew will be made ready for acceptance in the general community.

The accession of Alexander III in 1881, and the black days that followed, necessitated practical and expedient answers to the problem of Jewish survival. No longer did the intelligensia look to the Jews as the cause and rectifiers of the problem. Educational reforms, Russification and the like were put

aside. Jewish Nationalism and the upbuilding of Palestine were turned to as the solutions. The idea of nationalism filled the need for: (1) the emergency demanding a place of refuge for the Jews; (2) an explanation for the rejection and persecution of those who were already enlightened and "Russified;" (3) a unifying ideal to bind together the religious with the non-religious Jews; (4) holding out hope of "return to Zion" for those non-religious Jews who no longer believed in salvation through the Messiah.

With very few exceptions, the critics either do not recognize, or are unconcerned with the marked change in Hashachar's policies immediately after the initiation of the pogrom period. Hashachar is dealt with as part of Smolenskin, and the analysis of the periodical is usually through the life of its editor. The critics do not deal with Hashachar as a reflection of the movements and forces in its contemporary society. The general approach is to accept those views which Hashachar disseminated during the post pogrom days, as being the same as those published during all the years of the periodical's circulation.

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Chapter I - Hashachar the Periodical

Hashachar is a Hebrew literary periodical which was published monthly in Vienna during the years 1868-1884. Except for a few months in 1869 and about seven months in 1880-'81,¹ the magazine was sent with moderate regularity to subscribers in Russia, Poland, England, France, Turkey, Denmark, Sweden, Austria and Rumania.²

The publishing, editing, composing, printing, and circulation of the journal was due in main part to the Herculean efforts of one man, - Peretz Smolenskin. In every issue, Smolenskin published a story, article, and critical notes, and in fact, the writings of Smolenskin make up about thirty-five per cent of the material included in the publication.

The stated aim of the publisher-editor was to have a periodical devoid of all the open and vehement fights between the Orthodox Jews and the Maskilim. Smolenskin envisioned the spreading of understanding and perhaps peace among the opposing camps within the Jewish fold of Eastern Europe. In the first article of the first issue, Smolenskin wrote that the purpose and aim is "to show the way to Jews, to open the eyes of those who have not seen wisdom, (יָנִיטִי), and do not know its value;...to propagate Hebrew and to multiply its supporters."³ However, it is apparent from the stated aims of the editor, and from the material which appeared during the first twelve years of publication, that the bulk of the thinking was focused on the

Orthodox Hasidic Jews. It is with the obscurantist Hasidim and the rigidly legalistic Orthodox in mind that Smolenskin wrote, "We will not call the Orthodox insane, nor try to force them to understand with a strong hand...but to carefully cause them to hear Haskalah...and once they hear it, they will want more."⁴ In this same article it is stated that Jews should be like all the Gentile nations, but only in their quest for knowledge and in their being faithful citizens - (Toshavim Ne'emanim). This refers to faithful citizens of Israel, for the writer admonishes the people not to be ashamed of the "rock from which they were hewn."⁵ "We must be like the other nations who's language is dear and so is the honor of the nation,"⁶ and thus we recognize the importance of Hebrew for Hashachar. "The language will hold us together as a nation."⁷ In partial fulfillment of the aim to stimulate and propagate Hebrew, the editor would accept articles written only in Hebrew. There are no translations of books or articles written and previously published in other tongues.

The periodical was also cognizant of, and very much concerned with the assimilationist aspirations of many of the Maskilim, and the editor points out that just as he will fight those who do not allow Haskalah to enter Judaism, so will he oppose those Maskilim who are trying to "seduce Israel from the inheritance of their fathers."⁸

It would appear then, that Hashachar was an attempt at a middle-of-the-road approach to the bitter struggle which had arisen between the Orthodox and the Maskilim. It

would appear to be an enlightened, rational presentation of scholarly matters and thinking aimed at raising the intellectual level of the Jews, and directing their attention and sentiments toward a poorly defined type of nationalism. The materials included in Hashachar are surveys of Jewish life in various countries; departments of poetry and Belles-lettres; articles on Jewish history and literature; exegetic notes and remarks on the Bible and Talmud; short and long stories; books published in serial form; critiques and announcements about current literature; letters of the life and times of the various communities to which Hashachar reached, and articles discussing issues of the day, such as education, religion, nationalism, etc. In short, Hashachar tried to include all that could be demanded of a literary and scholarly journal of the day.

Although Hashachar had subscribers in many parts of the world, it is obvious from the stated aims of the periodical that the bulk of the material would be concerned with Russia and Poland, for it is here that we find the great struggle between the Haskalah and Traditional Judaism.

Hashachar lived for seventeen years, and ceased publication shortly after the death of Peretz Smolenskin. Within the span of its publication, the Jewish community of Russia and Poland, as well as the countries themselves, underwent many changes. The situation of the Jews changed from one of apparently promising freedom, to one of horror and killing which to that time had been unparalleled in Jewish history.

During the past few generations, the contributors to Hashachar, as well as the periodical itself, have been the object of many studies. There are attempts to analyse the effects of the authors upon their contemporary readers; there are psychological studies of the development of certain views and beliefs in specific individuals, and there are studies of the art form and styles of the contributors. The general approach is one of concern with the Maskil, his attitudes, pro or con, toward Haskalah, Orthodoxy, Nationalism, and assimilation. There is some attempt on the part of certain scholars to measure the impact of Hashachar upon the readers of its period. Obviously, this must be a most subjective study, and it is not within the scope of this thesis. It should be noted, however, that there is evidence within the pages of Hashachar, of a friendly concurrence with, or vehement opposition to ideas and views expressed by the authors. Contrary to the stated aim of the editor for "peace", and "we will not use the pages of Hashachar for personal enmities and quarrels,"¹⁰ the opposite was more often the case. Feelings ran high on both sides of an argument; reactions were strong. One gets the impression that the pages of Hashachar are a literary battleground rather than a sedate, literary journal interested in "opening the eyes of those who have not seen wisdom."¹¹ From time to time, when the use of vindictive and villification ran too high, the editor would insert a note such as "since the publisher has no way to determine who is right, and who

is lying,...these slandering articles were published...But¹²
from now on Hashachar will not be opened to such conflict.
At times, even the editor could not restrain himself from
retaliation against the publisher-editor of the periodical
Hazephira, (a publication of the wealthy class Jews),
Smolenskin wrote, "I saw the faulty doings of the publishers
of Hazephira who cursed me and Hashachar - such curses as
would even have shamed a drunken farmer...Let us not pay
any attention to him because he is a senile old man who
throws stones and mud on peaceful passers by."¹³ V.II, p.
529.

There is one other point which should be mentioned
parenthetically concerning the influence of Hashachar upon
its readers. It would be fallacious to correlate influence
with circulation. Nevertheless, a very small circulation
would indicate a very limited following. Of course, within
that following there would be impact, reactions, and so
forth. This note concerns both of these points. "After
the first anti-Mendelssohn article, 1876, the number of sub-
scribers dropped by half - from 1000 to 500; the few patrons
in Vienna withdrew their subscriptions."¹⁴ This is stated,
not to belittle the significance of Hashachar, but simply
to indicate that the great quantity of scholarly writing
and discussion about Hashachar tends to give the student
the false impression that the importance of the periodical,
historically speaking, is as a moving force, shaping the
thoughts and future of its contemporary readers.

The historical significance of Hashachar is found in

other areas, and herein, we will define the limits of this study. A study of the material in Hashachar indicates that the periodical is of historical significance in both an active and a passive sense. It was active in that it publicized and propogated the ideas of certain individuals and groups, and to a limited extent, disseminated accounts and facts of contemporary occurrences. The passive, and probably the more important role of Hashachar, historically speaking, was its mirroring the forces, both internal and external, acting upon the Jews, and their reactions to these forces. It reflects the constant and progressive struggle of the intelligentsia trying to cope with the problems of their period. It records the attempts of the "enlightened" to guide and direct their fellow Jews. In connection with the last point, it must be mentioned that Hashachar also reveals the naivete to which the intelligentsia often fall prey. There is evidence of the manners and methods by which the temporal powers and controlling interest use the intelligentsia to meet their own ends. Moreover, the periodical clearly pictures the stratification of the Jewish Community, with the accompanying tensions and conflicts, including the partisan motives of the "privileged" class and the latter's attempts to find solutions to its own problems.

Chapter II - The Jewish Problem - Part I - Divisions

From the turn of the 18th century in Eastern Europe, through the 20th century, "The Jewish Problem" was a cliché common to the courts, the press, the masses and the Jews. To the Orthodox Jew it meant the problem of suffering the manifold deprivations and indignities levied upon him by the state, while at the same time trying to be faithful to his religion and eke out a livelihood.

To the enlightened Jew, and the Jew with assimilationist aspirations, the problem was one of raising the Jewish standard of living and culture, or of superimposing the general culture on the Jewish community. Different people had different means and goals. Some sought to revise the education, religion and the status of civil rights, while others tried to escape into the general Russian or Polish communities.

The Russian government was constantly occupied with "the Jewish Problem." Published for the masses, were the Tzar's intentions and means of "solving" the problem. Varying with the political and economic conditions, the "solutions" ranged from increased rights for the Jews, decrease in taxes and opportunities for a general education with an eye toward "Russification," to a carefully calculated program of forced conversions, pogroms, and mass murders.¹

In general, "the Jewish Problem", is the main concern of the Hashachar, i.e., definition, causes, current

manifestations, solutions and consequences. When the general environment shifts its attitudes and pressures, changes in the "Jewish problem" take place. Consequently, the material and the attitudes of the periodical undergo extensive revisions. Such a shift in environment took place in Russia in March 1881, with the assassination of Alexander II, and the subsequent orgy of murder, rape and pillage committed against the Jews. Such a catastrophe demanded emergency measures on the part of world Jewry in general, and on the part of Jewish leaders and spokesmen in particular. It was necessary to revise ideologies as well as tactics in the fight for survival. Hashachar was no exception. Beginning in 1881, Hashachar reflects two such revisions. The most obvious change is within the group of intellectuals sincerely interested in the salvation of Eastern European Jewry as a whole. The second noticeable change is in the policies of those segments of Russian and Polish Jewry which, under the "liberalism" of Alexander II, had attained limited status and wealth. The latter group's chief concern was in maintaining the position which it had already achieved.

Because of Hashachar's change in outlook and approach after 1881, this study is divided into two main parts, namely, Hashachar, 1875-1880; 1881-1884.

Part II - Dynamics

Hashachar emerged in an Eastern Europe just flexing its muscles to throw off the yoke of feudalism. The masses of people were steeped in poverty and superstition, kept in

virtual servitude by feudal overlords of home vintage, combined with capitalist imperialists from abroad. Such was the controlling power, but fermentation was also in process among the masses. The temporal powers were aware of the dangers, and it was no mean task to prevent an explosion. The government played a game of "no holds barred" in its attempt to anesthetize, beat down or divert the masses from the source of their woes. Quite naturally, the Jew was a most convenient whipping boy on which the masses could vent their frustration. The use of a "scapegoat" to deploy the attention of the masses, a concept generally accepted by modern historians, accounts in great part for the circumstances of the majority of Jews in Eastern Europe during the period under concern. The need for such a diversion was well phrased by Leon Trotsky. "In ordinary times the state elevates itself above the nation (masses), and history is made by specialists in that line of business - kings, ministers, bureaucrats, parliamentarians and journalists. But at those crucial moments when the old order becomes no longer endurable to the masses, they break over the barriers excluding them from the political arena, sweep aside their traditional representatives, and create by their own interference the initial groundwork for a new regime."² One method by which the "specialists" maintain their position is to provide an agent through which the masses can sublimate their discontent. The Jews in Eastern Europe were such an agent.

Another major factor which greatly affected the posi-

tion and role of the Jew prior to and during the period of Hashachar was the capitalist expansion into sovereign states by the Western European powers. In Russia, there was foreign capital investment, yet the state maintained its sovereignty. This was another area in which a limited number of Jews played an active role. The foreign capital stimulated a certain amount of domestic capital, and those Jews who had accumulated capital or developed skills, were encouraged to invest their wealth and talents. Thus, there was established within the Jewish community, a small middle class with greater privileges of movement and protection. It must be noted, however, that the development of domestic capital was small, and Jewish participation was in proportion. The economic apparatus in which the Jew found himself, is well pictured in this summary by Fritz Sternberg.

"Under the development of capitalism, Russia was one of the countries which maintained its political independence. To a great extent capitalist development was financed by foreign investments, and it took place in a country which was largely under a feudal system. At the Apex of the Russian social pyramid were the feudal aristocracy, the military caste, and the Tzarist bureaucracy; by the side of the old feudal landlords were the representatives of foreign imperialism. At the bottom of the pyramid, forming its broad base, were the overwhelming majority of the rural population, some of them rural laborers, some of them peasants who owned so little land that it was not enough to sustain them and they had to work for the "masters." Now,

as feudalism was still so strong in Russia, and as capitalist development was greatly dependent of foreign capital, there was no opportunity for strong urban middle strata to develop, and social antagonisms were very acute in this period."³ This weak middle class element, its struggle for security and betterment is reflected very clearly in Hashachar during the years prior to 1881.

Part III - Details

Nicholas I, Tzar of Russia from 1826 to 1854, early in his reign, referred to the Jews as "leeches....sucking the Government to the point of exhaustion".⁴ At best, the Jews, who were petty merchants, artisans, mill owners and tavern keepers, were looked on as transient foreigners. However, it was not the intent of the government to expel the "leeches," but to "correct and curb by such methods as are in keeping with a government based upon the principle of stern tutelage and discipline."⁵ The stated intentions to "correct and curb" are quite different from the true motives of the government, which the following case clarifies.

Admiral Grieg, a member of the Russian parliament, recommended action against all the indictments which had been brought against the Jews, saying in essence, "Expel the Jews, or give them commercial rights." Admiral Grieg had been influenced by the enlightened attitude in Western Europe. The government, however, let it be known that the "Western countries cannot serve as examples to Russia because of the large number of Jews,"....and, "partly because

our Government and people....are yet far from that indifference with which certain nations look upon religious matters." ⁶ When the problem of the "leeches," is revealed as economic, and economic methods are suggested to solve it, then the official Russian government interprets the problem as essentially religious.

As changes began to take place in the Russian economy, so did changes take place in the attitude toward the Jews. As Capitalism began to develop in Russia, so did a tiny middle class of Jews. During the early forties, the Jewish, "Committee," a bureau of Russian officialdom, divided the Jews into two classes. One of the groups was small, and was composed of merchants in guilds, artisans in trade unions, agriculturists, and burghers owning property with definite income. The other group, the overwhelming majority, consisted of petty tradesmen and paupers. This latter group was classified as "useless" and "detrimental," and as long as Nicholas I reigned, they were subject to ever increasing disabilities. It would appear from the such term as "useless" and "detrimental," that religion was not an issue, and lest there be any doubt about that, the term "useless" was later changed to "not engaged in productive labor." ⁷

It is clear that the Government used the Jews as it saw fit, and in order to keep them as defenseless as possible, ^{the powers did everything possible} to demoralize them. The effect of the system of conscription which annually wrenched thousands of youths from the bosoms of their families, was intensified by the

realization that the privileged Jews were obliged to pay recruiting money, but were exempt from military service. The burden of the governmental oppression fell upon the impoverished masses who could not afford to enter guilds.

The barracks which served as mission houses, the methods of stimulating and forcing the conversion of recruits, the abolition of communal autonomy, civil disfranchisement, persecution and oppression, all were set in motion against the Jews. The Government managed to rob the Kahal of its authority by degrading it to a kind of posse for the capture of recruits and extortion of taxes.

The establishment of secular, or "Crown" schools, was a further method of degrading the Jew. It was not only external pressure to enforce the new educational methods, but internal coercion as well. The privileged Jews were quick to take up the standard of "Russification," and so played into the hands of the government. Dr. Max Lillienthal, one of the German "enlightened," could not realize that his program of reform education was being used to multiply the strife within the Jewish camp. Together with a large circle of Maskilim, he naively believed the Government's offers of "benevolence" toward the Jews. Ultimately, Lillienthal realized that far from having the welfare of the Jews at heart, the Government was using Haskalah as a form of greater control of the Jewish masses, by a sort of "divide and conquer" technique. He abandoned the program, but the Haskalah continued to battle the Orthodox and Masidim.

The latter groups, however, heeding the command of

the rabbis and Tsaddikim, closed ranks and offered stubborn resistance to the dangerous cultural influences threatening them. Boys of school age often became husbands and fathers, continuing to attend Heder or Yeshivah after their marriage, weighed down by the triple tutelage of father, father-in-law and teacher. The slightest deviation from a custom, rite or old habits of thought were met with severe punishment. The reading of books written in a foreign language, or even written in Hebrew when treating of a secular subject, brought upon the culprit untold hardships.

At the close of the reign of Nicholas I, the masses of Jews were being "corrected" by police methods. Those Jews not owning property, or without guild status, were considered criminals. The Jew, demoralized became a beast of prey, either kidnapping his fellow for the enforced conscription, or mutilating himself in order to avoid it.

In view of these circumstances, the advent of Alexander II, with his "Coronation Manifesto," repealing many of the unjust draft laws, must have seemed like the Messianic age to the Jewish masses. During the late 1850's and early 1860's the government showed a great toleration of the upperclass Jews and the intelligentsia. Some educated Jews were admitted to government service, and those guild artisans who could obtain work outside the "Pale," were permitted to leave. (If they lost their position, they had to return.) The government even saw fit to close the Crown schools, and put their trust in the elemental process of Russification which had begun to sweep over the upper layers of Jewry. The

upper layers tried to bring their influence to bear on the lower masses. The motives ranged from those of genuine philanthropy, to those of "enlightened self interest", i.e., by raising the standard of the masses, the middle class thought it would be securing its own status. Through "Russification" the Jews would become acceptable beings worthy of rights and privileges, and at the same time, the Jewish community would be preparing to participate in the promising capitalistic growth.

The new opportunities and the peasant reform of 1861 were all signs to the Jewish "prophets" that a new era had dawned. The upper class Jews launched their program of reform, blind to the continued depression of their brethren, and seemingly unaware that the so-called "peasant reforms", while releasing some serfs to take jobs in factories, had placed the greater burden of paying for the land with accompanying taxes, on most of the serfs. The instruments for russifying the masses were such things as reform in religion, Haskalah, reform education, and the like. Those Jews who, under Nicholas I had accumulated money by usury, retail and wholesale trade, and the liquor trade increased their incomes under Alexander through such businesses as railroads, banking, and expended merchantry. Part of this profit was now diverted toward supporting a program of "diffusion of enlightenment." The program, however, was doomed to failure by both the "stiff-neckedness" of the masses, and the fact that the government would never allow it to come to fruition.

As early as 1871, there was a pogrom in Odessa. Prior to this the authorities had revived the old question of whether the Jews are harmful or useful to the State. As noted before, the opportunity for domestic capital was limited, so naturally, the opportunity for the Jew was limited. As soon as the Jewish merchants, stimulated by the partial extension of their right of residence and occupation, displayed a wider economic activity in a market unable to afford competition, the "original" Russian businessmen raised shouts of protest, demanding that the Jewish "exploitation" be curbed. What appeared to be policy of benevolence, was in reality a different type of governmental exploitation of the Jews. The alleviation of physical and mental anguish was very short-lived, and the spell of "liberalism" came to an end with the 1870's.

As early as 1866, when Southern Russia was no longer in need of artificial colonization, an ukase was issued ending altogether, the settlement of Jews in agricultural colonies. A little later, those Jewish colonies which had been established were deprived of their land, which was distributed among the peasants. In 1874 the "right" to serve in the military was "granted" to all Jews, and even the wealthy Jews had to give up their young, in the Russo-Turkish War. All Jews were required to register, and conscription was based on physical appearance rather than age. Before long, the old cry of "ritual murder" was raised, and from there to the era of pogroms was only a short step.

The reign of Alexander II hardly raised the status of

the rank and file of Russian Jewry, but it did cause a radical change within the intelligentsia. Those who had for years followed after the Positivists such as Chernyshevski and Pisaryev were filled with cheer and hope. The overtures of freedom offered to the Jews with proper qualifications ignited the fuse which finally ate its way to an explosion within the Jewish community, and the lack of civil emancipation did not dampen the burning enthusiasm for self-rejuvenation. The Jewish youth flocked to the new world of ideas of positivism, evolution and socialism. Condemned were the traditions of Rabbinic scholasticism and Hasidic mysticism. A tragic war of annihilation ensued, with the parties of extreme obscurantism and fanaticism on the one hand, and the negation of all historic form of Judaism on the other.

It is difficult to delineate the role of the Maskil, the "Lover of Enlightenment," in all of this, by the very fact that there was no one role. Some Maskilim were sincere in their attempts to reform Judaism, while others were interested in Russification only. Some looked on Judaism as a Nation, while others defined it as a Religion. Many threw in their lot with the Government and tried to change the Jews by invoking governmental intercession, while others worked slowly and patiently with the ignorant masses.

The motives of the individual were greatly varied, ranging from desires for personal gain to those of self-sacrificing altruism. Some became hired propagandists for upper class assimilationists, or even worse, for Christian

anti-semites. Others, men of great devotion, gave up their health and even their lives for the sake of reforming and modernizing Judaism. It is with and in the role of the Maskil that Hashachar deals so extensively. Typical of the movement, was the Chevrat Marbey Haskalah, (The Society for the Diffusion of Enlightenment,⁸) whose motto was, "the enlightenment of the Jews through the Russian language, and in the Russian spirit."⁹

The Intelligentsia exploited all available means of communication to reach the people. The best way was the Yiddish, Hebrew and Russian press, and from the different political ideologies of the publications we learn that the ranks of the intelligentsia ranged all the way from the chauvinistic Jewish national to the Russian Red Revolutionary. Ironically, it is the latter group which helped precipitate the cataclysm which befell the Jews in 1881, for there were Jewish revolutionaries counted among the terrorists who assassinated Alexander II in March of that year.

With the murder of Alexander II and the accession of the intolerant zealot, Alexander III, all liberal tendencies vanished, and the reactionary party of the "grand inquisitor," Pobyedonoszev and the absolutist regime triumphed. The ferment of the Russian masses over the curtailment of their rights was systematically diverted against the Jews with pogrom propaganda inspired from high authorities until, in 1881, the peasant masses of Southern Russia were unleashed to commit mass crimes against the Jews. The pogroms were followed by the infamous May Laws of 1882, which were kept

in force with inexorable severity for thirty-five years. This ordinance sanctioned the persecution of the Jews as an "economically harmful element." The Jewish Intelligentsia were necessarily purged because of the advantages they wielded by nature of their intellectual superiority. Millions of Jews were penned in the stifling Pale of Settlement; denied all rights to own or lease land, or even to buy houses, and exposed to the rudest administrative arbitrariness. In time, an authorized, systematic legal pogrom took the place of the pogroms in the streets.

This Russian answer to all the dreams of emancipation came like a most horrible mockery. All too obvious was the ludicrous ineptitude and political naivete of the Haskalah which so tragically overlooked reality.

The courageous among the Maskilim searched for a new ideal for the next generation. Whereas they might explain the Russian hatred of the Jewish masses as stemming from Jewish separatism, how could they explain the fact that the Russian masses turned on their Jewish benefactors, and that the Russian government took the lead in stifling the Russified Jewish Intelligentsia.

The answer was national self-discovery. The Jews are a people in exile, a homeless nation. It is after 1881 that the movement of Jewish Nationalism and Political Zionism began to gather momentum.

It is necessary to mention one more fact. In spite of the crime and outrages committed against the Jews, there was still a significant element of well-to-do Jews, - those

with vested interests, who still held out for some sort of Russification, or at least for a maintaining of the status quo. We will now turn to the material which reveals that the ideologies of this group, though a major factor in Hashachar prior to 1881, were hardly acceptable after 1881.

Chapter III - Russification - Hashachar 1875-1880

The Hashachar of the years prior to 1881 was sensitized by Western Europe which had already granted emancipation to the Jews and was focused on Eastern European Jewry, where the "liberalism" of Alexander II gave the Jews reason to hope for emancipation. In Russia and Poland, the upper class Jews had already achieved certain status in the general community, and they believed that the Jewish masses, if properly educated, could also come to share in the new life. This philosophy, of course, was predicated on the theory that the source of the Jewish Problem lay within the Jews themselves, and through proper methods of training and treatment, they could be purged of their malady.

There were some observers among the Maskilim who recognized the source of the Jewish oppression from without the camp, but their voice is all but lost in the confusion of curriculae, institutions, training programs and the like, designed to make the Jew acceptable to his fellow man, and ready him for the part he is to play in the growing capitalistic economy.

Western Europe had set the pace. "Austria has twice as many Jews as Germany, and they are ten times as rich,... They should now have a teacher's college....the Government is not standing, and will not stand in their way....she is willing to do anything the Congregation of Israel asks for.... In Galitzia, however, the conditions of the Jews are terrible since they were given rights....They still deal in usury....

They should have schools to teach them what is right."¹
One is not certain about the definition of "right", but at any rate, the statement is clear as to the source of trouble and the curative power of education. It might also be gleaned from this, - in comparing the Austrian regime to the Russian government, that the latter is benevolent in its intentions. This was not the case, and it was only a few years later that the Maskil was shaken from his naivete.

Even in Roumania, where the Jews had been suffering untold hardships for decades, the recommended remedy was proper education. Hashachar, in 1876, published an article by the Rumanian Executive Committee of the Alliance Israelite University (Kol Yisrael Chaverim,) appealing to the Jews of Rumania to help themselves. How? "Build two schools for teachers in Rumania....and do not fight among yourselves for this weakens you...."² It is frustrating for the modern student to contemplate how close this thinking came, yet never arrived to the conclusion that the policies of the government were established precisely to foster strife within the Jewish camp. What better way to control? And the reforms which the Maskilim recommend, add fuel to the conflagration already roaring in the Orthodox and Hasidic communities. How far these "Physicians of society" were from the true sentiments of the government is revealed by the following statement. Hashachar says that if enough money for the schools is made available, "the Rumanian Jew will be in as high a position as the Russian and Polish (middle class) Jews. Soon the Rumanian Government

is going to give them freedom, -But Oh! to freedom without³ enlightenment."

The coming of the age of Capitalism requires all sorts of technical studies. Hashachar recommends a school of commerce in Vienna that is beginning to teach Russian. "Many who finish their studies in this school will want to go to Russia where there appears to be good hope for them....Those Jews from Russia who study here and do not know the Russian language feel this lack greatly....For a small sum anyone⁴ can study Russian here."

One cannot help but recall the stated aim of the editor that one purpose of the periodical is to "propagate⁵ Hebrew and multiply its supporters." As will be noticed in the above and in ensuing accounts of recommended studies, Hebrew is of little importance. Yet, the love of Smolenskin and his fellow Maskilim for the Hebrew language cannot be denied, when one considers the stories and books written in the language. The only conclusion that can be drawn, is that Hebrew was merely an intermediate step toward Russification for a number of the groups to which Smolenskin lent the strength and support of Hashachar.

Different groups among the "enlightened" Jews had different methods and motives for raising the standards of the masses. These groups ranged from the intelligentsia with strong ties to traditional Judaism, sincerely devoted to alleviating the suffering of the masses - for the sake of the masses, to well-to-do semi-assimilated bourgeoisie who felt their security, position and reputation threatened

by the separatism and courseness of the Jewish masses.

The majority opinion, as noted above, was that the poor Jewish burgher's emancipation was up to himself, and it was he who had to take the first step. The minority opinion, placing the responsibility on the Russian government will be considered later. There can be no doubt that the editor meant to help the masses through education when he stated in his first editorial the aim and purpose "to show the way to the Jews, to open the eyes of those who have not seen chachma, (wisdom), and do not know its value."⁶

One of the major groups involved in the process of educating the oppressed millions, was the Chevra Marbey Haskalah, - The Society for the Diffusion of Enlightenment. This group was one of the largest contributors to Hashachar in terms of both financial support and written material. However, it cannot be deduced from this that the Chevra dictated the policy of Hashachar. The views of Smolenskin and the Chevra did coincide at many points, but there were still many questions on which the editor, as well as other Maskilim denounce the Hevra, especially on the luke warm attitude of the Chevra toward Hebrew. It is obvious, however, that the Chevra was permitted to use Hashachar as a vehicle for the dissemination of its views and propoganda.

The Chevra was composed mostly of wealthy Jews, i.e., bankers, professionals, merchants, railroad owners, etc., and many Maskilim who served as spokesmen for the group. Numbered among the latter were such men as Lillenblum and Y. L. Gordon, who, up until 1881 were the staunchest

supporters of "Russification." The founder of the Chevra was a Baron Joseph Ginzburg, and the number of its members in 1880 totaled an exclusive 340 people. Its headquarters were in St. Petersburg, where only Jews of some means⁷ resided.

The purpose of the organization, for reasons of both self-interest and philanthropy, was the Russification of the Jews. "We constantly hear men in high positions, with whom we come in contact, complain about the separatism and fanaticism of the Jews and about their aloofness from everything Russian, and we have received assurances on all hands that, with the removal of these peculiarities, the condition of our brethren in Russia will be improved, and we shall all become full-fledged citizens of this country. Actuated by this motive, we have organized a league of educated men for the purpose of eradicating our above-mentioned shortcomings by disseminating among the Jews the knowledge of Russian and other useful subjects."⁸ This was in 1863.

In 1872, less than one year after the pogrom in Odessa, the Chevra published the following article. It is quoted in order to show both the process of the Chevra, and the heights of naivete which can be reached by the intelligentsia. "Nine years have passed since the founding of our Chevra....and we have given money to authors and students who write good and helpful books....Our aim is to spread Haskalah, teach the language of our land, (Russian), and to elevate wisdom in Israel. We will help youth who seek wisdom and knowledge....The members of our Chevra are those

who pay and those who do not pay....the latter give us advice on how to reach our aim....in study as well as being, to let us know the financial and moral position of the Jews. They tell us the number of Jewish children who attend schools, and what kind of schools there are. They help us to influence you to study the language of the country, go to school, and learn a craft or a job....Those who wish to join the Chevra should write us concerning his status and his way of earning a livelihood. When he is chosen, we will notify him. Our aim is to procure someone we know, but if he is not known to us, he must send a letter of recommendation from a member of the Chevra.

"We also address the Rabbis....our Chevra does not deal with religion or faith....only teaches the children of Israel the language of the state, a craft, and work that pays for its doer....so that whatever they do will be right and successful according to our Bible and the laws of our kingdom...

"Now is the time to educate ourselves, for the Government does many favors for us....Many of our people say, 'when the good of the land will be shown to us, and we will receive the rights of a citizen in the land of our birth,....then we will naturally get Haskalah. How can we accept Haskalah when we are so down trodden....?' To this we answer and say, 'Our brethren, hope and you will be redeemed.' Think of all the righteous acts and good deeds that have befallen us since our righteous king ascended to the throne (Alexander II,)....our salvation is near....the rights of the citizen

will blossom like a rose." ⁹ Remember, this was addressed to masses suffocating in the deprivations and indignities of the Pale.

There can be no doubt that this group felt its social and financial position threatened by the supposed Russian reaction to the coarseness of the Jewish masses, and they used Hashachar as one means for disseminating their "enlightenment." At frequent intervals in Hashachar, there are printed thank-you notes to the Chevra from various individuals and communities for sending them copies of the periodical. ¹⁰ Smolenskin advertized that those who want copies of Hashachar, and cannot pay for them, should write to the Chevra. ¹¹ Typical of the thank-you notes is this from one of the Rabbis educated under the government system, - a system supported by the Chevra. "To the Honorable Company of the Diffusers of Enlightenment: How can I thank the honorable company....for all the kindness and favors they did for me when the Government sent me here....to a place without Torah and wisdom, no knowledge of Haskalah or secular books....and the Chevra rescued my soul from the pit, and sent me continually new and helpful books, as well as the newspaper, Hashachar." ¹²

It cannot be construed from the above evidence that the Chevra dictated the policy of Hashachar. Smolenskin's struggle to keep the periodical in publication could have been greatly alleviated had such wealthy groups contributed significant sums to support Hashachar. The Chevra and the Maskilim not belonging to the group had points of general

agreement, and points of disagreement. Prior to 1881, they come together in Hashachar for the purpose of offering secular knowledge and means of spreading it. It would appear that Hashachar was still too far from the line of the Chevra to be deserving of extensive financial support.

As mentioned before, the Chevra proposed educational reforms in order to russify the masses, and prepare them for participation in the capitalistic economic system which the middle class naively thought was waiting for the Jews.¹³ They did not try to conceal their belief that the Jews are the cause of their own grief. In an open letter to the Jews, the Chevra makes known its views and intentions.

"This is the second time we request the Jewish communities to open schools....we will help you....Russian must be taught so that the Russian people will have respect for you....because you don't know Russian the masses ridicule and hate you."¹⁴

These are some of the rules which must be followed in order to obtain the support of the Chevra. "The schools asking for support have to be founded with Government permission, and permission is to be sought by the founder himself....The Chevra will not establish schools, but will support the founders. The main means for keeping the school going should come from tuition or from a communal fund. The Chevra will give money once or twice a year....The school is eligible to receive money whether the students are boys or girls....The name of the school and the studies are not of importance to the Chevra, but the Russian language must

be included. If Russian is not taught, the school will not receive support from the fund....Complete reports must be given to the Chevra concerning students, studies, accomplishments, and plans for the future...The Chevra has the right to visit the school and test the students..."¹⁵

The place of Hebrew in the program of the Chevra is conspicuous by its absence, yet such Hebrew authors as Gordon lent their support. (It is interesting to note that the Chevra dispensed with the services of Y. L. Gordon in 1880 after he had been jailed in a case of mistaken identity. Even though he was not guilty of any wrong doing, his tainted name could not be associated with the Chevra.)¹⁶ For the Chevra, Hebrew was little more than a means for reaching those Jews who did not know Russian. Until 1883, its support of Hebrew was only incidental, - by way of subscriptions to Hebrew publications such as Hashachar. The books which the Chevra helped to publish were all in the Russian language.¹⁷ It is all too clear that the Russian Government did not intend to allow the educational program of the Chevra to be successful. The masses of Jews were far too useful as they were. In an account of its accomplishments published in 1880, the Chevra states, without comment, that the government has informed the Chevra that they may no longer establish funds to help students or send scholarship funds out of the country.¹⁸ The Chevra could not afford to criticize the Government. With the worsening conditions, the middle class could only hope to maintain its own position.

But the Chevra did not have a monopoly on the "surety"

that to find the cause of the Jewish Problem one must look within the Jewish masses. Even to the very end, i.e., till March of 1881, there were Jewish men of letters searching within the Jewish communities for the causes of and the means to alleviate the oppression of the Jews. By the end of 1880, the government had set in motion a calculated system of deprivation aimed at keeping the Jewish masses as they were, and handy for emergency use. The Jewish poet, dedicating his poem to the new year of 1881 is blind to all this, and he sings, "Wake up my nation, it is right that kings and ministers have given you freedom....but your Rabbis have taken it away from you, and now you are poor and sick....Wake up and take this yoke off yourselves....The gates of the land are open, there is no oppressor....your brothers have stolen your freedom."¹⁹ Four months later the axe of the pogrom fell.

The Maskil of Hachachar was fighting the obscurantism and fanaticism of the rabbis and hasidim. Once these were removed or enlightened, the Jews would shine forth. This theory, of course, has the blessing of the upper classes of Jews. Typical of the old voice of the intelligentsia is this article addressed to the Jews of Southern Russia. "Because of the guilt of your Rabbis you don't have civil rights....so too the education of the Heder....choose for yourself a Maskil and a religious man....love the land in which you were born....Then the hatred will pass away, and you will hear the legislators saying, 'Open the doors of freedom!'"²⁰

The battle against the Orthodox and the Hasidic leaders was relentless, for these were the cause of superstition and obscurantism. "The Tzadik sells talismen to keep away evil spirits....it must be that he has intimate contact with evil spirits and can do business with them."²¹

For many years the Maskil had been very careful not to include the Russian government as cause in his diagnosis of the Jewish sickness. On the contrary, the Government had proved its friendly intentions toward the Jews by the alleviation of the unjust draft laws in 1856. The few crumbs of privileges thrown to the intelligentsia went a long way. Later, when a heavy meat tax was levied on the Jews, and more strife was fomented within the Jewish community, the blame was placed not on the government, but on the Roshe HaKahal, (heads of the community.) Hashachar explains it thus, "After the Government saw the poorness of my nation, and gave them freedom from the kidnappers who made a business with the souls of people, they, (Roshe HaKahal), instead of taking taxes for army exemption, turned to another weapon. The Roshe HaKahal levied a meat tax, and they could have no better livelihood than that."²² (Ironically, the tax on Kosher meat went to support the Crown schools, the express purpose of which was to seduce the children away from Orthodoxy.)

The great dangers and difficulties involved in the reforms of the upper class and the old-line radical Maskilim were recognized by many of the contributors to Hashachar. Side by side with the advocacy of Russification, we find

Maskilim raising objections to what many young men, by assimilation and conversion, have proved to be the logical results of such a program. The Maskil of Hashachar feared this, and realized that each young man leaving Judaism not only weakened the community, but added coal to the hatred of the Orthodox for any sort of reform.

Hashachar devotes a great deal of print to the examination of the Haskalah. "The Maskil should not have mocked the old beliefs, but rather explained them (their fallacies,) patiently and slowly....then the people would have followed him."²³ In other words, the program was failing because the type of education was wrong. It is necessary to revise the methods of education! "Those, (in Germany during the period of German enlightenment), who were under the shadow of Chachmah, or under the shadow of money....who found by it protection and a hiding place from their enemies....did not look to the rock from which they were hewn, and did not want to remember their religion or their brethren....The reason is their education....the upper class secular education...."²⁴ Similar results have already been established in Southern Russia, where many Jews have followed the old Haskalah formula to its logical conclusion. Lamenting the conditions, Hashachar says, "The parents are happy to send their children to the Gymnasium....The Melamdin (heder teachers), learned Russian and mathematics (Al Regel achat) with great ease, and now they are Morim (teachers in secular school)....We even heard from Russians saying, 'we didn't see Jews in those places, only Russians'....The Jews are not recognized....

The students and the teachers are leaving Judaism....even in the new teacher's college, (to train Jewish teachers,) Judaism fares badly."²⁵ The education must include more Judaism along with the secular studies. The Positivists have lead too many of the youth astray. Such things as the Talmud should be brought into the curriculum, for "even if it does not give life, it gives knowledge; even if it does not make the body healthy, it broadens the soul and sharpens the mind."²⁶ The move now, was to find a compromise. Some of the Maskilim sensed a worsening of conditions, and only through religion would the Jew find strength to unite his community, meet the crisis, and alleviate the pain. (They ultimately found another answer in Nationalism, but this will be considered later.) The Maskil was reacting against the old Haskalah, but his thought was still channeled in terms of education. "From Zhitomir went forth the proclamation that all Jews should learn secular knowledge, - but this is not the remedy....The teachers made eligible by government standards are ignorant of Judaism and its beliefs....They are like missionaries!"²⁷ The solution, according to this author, is to be found with the old Jewish teachers. "The Melamdin who are willing, should be helped, especially financially, and Jewish schools should be opened in each city to train teachers to be well versed in Judaism as well as Russian....Practicing teachers must be encouraged to study Judaism after school."²⁸

The type of school which the Maskil proposed was functioning in St. Petersburg in 1876. The curriculum, (similar

to that of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion), was the "enlightened lover of Judaism's" concept of a happy combination of religious and secular learning. The studies pre-requisite to enrolling in the School are "Greek, Latin, French and the language of the land", i.e.,²⁹ Russian. Other required studies are general history,³⁰ geography, and a little arithmetic. Graduation from a Gymnasium, or secular high school, meets the requirements.

The curriculum of the Jewish school, Beth Midrash Chachmah, spans four years, and includes Talmud, Jewish History, philosophy of religion, commentaries to Holy Writings, and preaching. The first two years are spent learning the facts, (*עובדות*), and the last two years are for the purpose of (*ספיקות ופירושים*), to sharpen the mind. During the fourth year "the students gather twice weekly to preach before their colleagues after which the sermon is discussed and criticized for contents, style and language."³¹

Education, it would appear, is the solution for those who believe that freedom awaits the Jew. The ignorant can be taught and trained to earn his civil liberties. But there are other voices recorded in Hashachar which claim that the process should be reversed. The Orthodox Rabbis had long rebuffed the efforts of "enlightenment", demanding that first the Government must show and prove its good faith with the Jews. Likewise the Maskil who read realistically the signs of oppression during the 1870's, looked outside the Jewish community for the source of Jewish affliction. He wondered if the cause is from the Jews, and if the enlightenment is

the solution. Hashachar gives significant space to such views.

"Those men who blame the lack of enlightenment among the Jews as the cause of their trouble are wrong. Dr. Lillienthal, who was sent by the Government to Lita and Minsk, (cf. 1846), to speak about the government's desire to give them enlightenment, was answered by the wise men of Minsk saying, 'Until the government gives us rights, Haskalah will only bring us oppression.' Some Jews believed Lillienthal, and cuccumbed to a position of no honor."³² In other words, some accepted as sincere, the benevolent offers of the government. "Yet, at the same time, the government decreed to remove all Jews who lived within thirty versts of the border....so that the Minskiers decided that it was not for their good that the government was trying with a generous hand and a commanding voice to enlighten them....at that time there was a political reason behind it. She (the Government), wanted the Jews for some political uses....There is no difference now (1879)....freedom and rights are not things given to a man for good behavior, but because he is a man."³³

Education was not the panacea as many of the Maskilim had proposed. "Once a student studied for the sake of knowledge, but today having a Doctorate means material gain.... We are sure that the government will give us citizenship rights, see our talents, and agree that we too, are human beings, yet we teach merit about our own people who curse us and blame us, and who say that we are not ready for it....³⁴ This is flattery and to reward such people is wrong."

If the answer to the Jewish problem is not education, then what are the Jews to do? One possibility is interference in politics, either through revolution (a movement which attracted many Jews during the Seventies), or interference through already established channels and institutions. For example, one critic asks, "Why are the Jews of Galizia subservient when they total one third of the population of Galizia?....Because the government wants to control us....they do not want us to have a say in the general government, so they give us autonomy....They keep us separate." Therefore, "the Jews must split up....take sides, and work in politics."³⁵

Still others are not even hopeful of Jewish acceptance, and we find stirring the idea that the Jews are really different. The groundwork for the idea of Jewish Nationalism is laid and begins to develop. In the South, the Jewish agricultural colonies were harassed to the point of failure by government and local officials. The final failure of the colonies "proved" that the Jews do not make good farmers, and such was the propaganda circulated among the Russian peasants. For those nationalists who held the belief in return to the homeland, it was doubly important to have the Jew keep faith in his ability to go "back to the land." Accusations against the Jewish farmers are answered by Hashachar in blunt, almost childish terms, "If not for the unjust stumbling blocks, the Jews could have been good farmers....they told lies about us....The Jew was not given a fair chance....The more we show our righteousness, the

more they will hate us....They know in their hearts that we are better than they....that's why they hate us....if all of us were like them, then their anger would cease." ³⁶

In the years preceding 1881, Jewish nationalism is a subject of significant concern in Hashachar, especially in the stories of Peretz Smolenskin. However, the motives for the nationalism, as well as the clarity of the idea of nationalism, are confused and illusive. It is reasonable to assume that Hashachar must be one of the best sources for the genesis of the idea of modern Jewish nationalism, since the editor-publisher is reputed to be the "father" of modern Jewish nationalism. Yet, the periodical reveals a combination of a nebulous type of spiritual zionism together with a "return to Zion" movement for the purpose of removing some of the surplus Jews, and the consequent relieving of pressure from the Jews remaining in Russia.

It was not until after the pogroms that nationalism, as a secular movement of "return", took a firm hold on the intelligentsia, filling the void left by the discarded belief in "return" through the Messiah. As yet, the emergency had not arisen. The question of nationalism was discussed and argued back and forth almost exclusively in Maskilim circles. The practical side of nationalism was little more than a solution to rid the country of surplus Jews, and as late as 1880 we hear the "nationalist" saying, "Thank God the kingdom of Russia has not expelled the Jews....to the contrary, she, (the Government,) is seeking advice to better their conditions....The Government the power to remove the

impediment from our achieving rights, but surely, they will not give all a field and money."³⁷ It is here that we begin to understand the interest that the upper class Jewry would take in the "return to Zion" phase of Jewish nationalism. "It is our obligation to support these destitute (for whom the government will not be able to supply a field and money), so that there will not be more impediments placed in our way by these destitute. For these people, whom the 'good laws' cannot reach, we must provide sustenance and settlement in another place....Only then will those who remain in the land be able to enjoy the 'good laws'!"³⁸

There can be little doubt that the pre-pogrom Hashachar did not feel a great need for a Jewish homeland. For one thing, Jews in many parts of the world were in fine condition. The letters from America speak glowingly of Jews as citizens of the United States. About the Jews of Vienna, Smolenskin writes on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Jewish community, "The members of the congregation are full citizens,³⁹ and there is almost no power that could uproot them."

Hashachar was far from interested in trying to influence the Jews to look to Israel as a homeland. In fact, the opposite appears to be the case. In the issues of 1878-1880, there is printed as series of letters from a Russian Jew visiting in Palestine. The entire series describes the conditions as dreadful, the opportunities as almost nil, and the Jews living there as the worst kind of people, living off the charity of the Jews in the diaspora. The writers

attitude is exemplified by a story he tells. A Tzaddik while sitting in an inn in Russia, was praying for the coming of the Messiah, so that he will be able to go to Israel. The innkeeper begged him to stop because, "it is better to live here, even if owned by a noble. It would be better," says the innkeeper, "if all the robbers and murderers were to go to Israel, and we could stay here." The writer of the story concludes that the innkeeper⁶⁰ *הוא נשאל* "opened his mouth to Satan, and Satan must have done as he said."⁴⁰

Is this the type of propoganda which would create love for Zion? One might expect a refutation by Smolenskin - otherwise, why print it? However, in 1880, Smolenskin adds a footnote to one of the letters in this same series of letters which describes all the bad points of the land. The series is to be published in book form called "Eretz Zvi." "This valuable book, which pictures for us in truth, the way of our brethren in the Holy Land....will be for eyes for all who want to know what is happening in the Holy Land....⁴¹ The man (author), is faithful, and all his words are true."

A return to Zion would requires work in the fields, and barns. But Hashachar, prior to 1881, does very little to influence the people to go back to nature. In fact, Smolenskin himself wrote, "You do not have anything which is against knowledge and dulls the heart like working the land. If we were to succeed in making all the poor of our nation into farmers, then in a short time we would remove all knowledge⁴² and culture from ninety out of one hundred of our brethren.

Such views as these, when placed beside the positive nationalism of many of Smolenskin's stories must have disturbed and confused many of the ardent nationalists. And too, some Maskilim were beginning to wonder about the place of Hebrew in this outlook.

In a letter to Smolenskin, Ben Yehudah states, "A spiritual nation is no good without a land....and that is the only place where Hebrew can be revived."⁴³ Smolenskin's reply was most elusive and indefinite. "The redemption is still far from us, not because they (the nations) will not give us the land, and not because our enemies will stop us, but because our brethren do not want it....We should now educate them, and return their hearts to that hope."⁴⁴

The eruption of the Russian masses settled the problem for almost all concerned.

Chapter IV - Hashachar - 1881-1884

The accession of Alexander III and the black days that followed necessitated practical and expedient answers to the problem of Jewish survival. The intellectual work of Hashachar seemed to be arrested by an actual movement in which men could no longer consent to be the sport of mere abstractions, but in which there was a strong contest of human sufferings, needs, interests, hopes and wishes. "The fine web of reasoning, the confident deductions of logic and the demonstrations of what must be the future of the Jewish national idea, seemed to have been brought to a practical termination in those stirring days of hasty, perplexed and planless experiments of emigration and colonization."¹

Hashachar reveals that many Maskilim suddenly began to develop more and more nationalistic ideas; gradually abandoning the position of the Haskalah. This is not surprising in view of the facts, (1) the emergency demanded a place of refuge for the millions of Jews; (2) There was need to explain the rejection and persecution of those who were already enlightened, and semi-assimilated into the general society; (3) There was need for a unifying ideal to hold together the religious with the non-religious Jews; (4) There was need to hold out hope of "return to Zion" for those non-religious Jews who no longer believed in salvation by the Messiah. The changes which took place in Hashachar during and after 1881 are, for the most part, changes without retrospect.

The tendencies and view are altered, without recognition of change.

In the first article after the pogroms, Hashachar gives the impression that it always had the view toward reality, the political insight and maturation that it now shows. "Is it only suddenly that thousands upon thousands are become our enemies over night.....this is the result of many councils, work and planning.....How do we know? Because it was so successful.....These (the pogroms) are the results of talent and thought."² The fact that Hashachar did not formerly reveal the truth or predict the catastrophe is explained. "If a Jew in Russia, one month before the evil....had said that it will be so, they would have laughed at him as at a mad devil."³

To the degree that the searchers for the cause of Jewish persecution looked within the Jewish community before 1881, they now direct their investigation outside the community. "We have sought and found that the reasons for the outbursts against us are; -- The Jews were not given rights as the rest of the people of the nation. Therefore the people think that since there are no rights for the Jews, anyone can do against them as he wishes....Furthermore, in this case of organized groups, the reason is also the fact that for the last twenty years no one has stopped the hate in the Russian newspapers."⁴"In Odessa, Kiev, Wilna, Petersburg, and Moscow many newspapers came out with the objective of igniting the masses."⁵ It is conceivable that Hashachar did recognize the newspaper as disseminating the

policies of the government, but expressed surprise rather than make a full-blown indictment of the government sponsored violence. Later, however, there are fuller explanations for the hatred of the Jews.

"The law does not give the Jews any protection. After the Jews were found not guilty of ritual murder at the trial in Pressburg, (Hungary) the masses began massacring and plundering their homes.." ⁶

Hashachar also began to develop a mature attitude toward apologetics. "There is no use in writing apologetics in foreign languages because the Christians will not read them, and if they do they will not believe them....anyway... The blood accusation is only an excuse to arouse the masses.." ⁷ There is recognition of the government's role in anti-semitism. "Any unclean occurrence in the economic or legal structure of the state is liable to be a source of trouble and sorrow (for the Jews)." ⁸

The new turn of events now makes it necessary for Hashachar to negate the attitudes and theories of the Jewish bourgeoisie. "The rich Jews, for whom doors were opened, imagined that there was no longer anything to fear.... and when they saw the words of the liberals they agreed aloud with them saying....' in us is the guilt, because we lend for interest and oppress the land,'.... and even when the evil came they (the wealthy,) said the same thing." ⁹

Hashachar now restates the problem and gives the solution. "When we open our eyes, we see that whatever we do, our enemies will hate us," and the solution,---

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"Let us leave!" Furthermore, Palestine is the place to which the Jews must go. The poet cries to his people.
"You are foreigners here, don't you know by now?....If for a moment the smiting stops, you comfort yourselves.... that good days will return....Return to your country (Israel) where you will work and be saved!"¹¹

Not even America is good enough. Since the answer of the intelligensia to Jewish suffering is that they are a nation without a home, it follows that they must oppose any further dispersion, and press for an "ingathering," and paint as attractive a picture of the land of Israel as possible. Hashachar realized that oppression, unless the threat of death is terribly imminent, is not enough cause to make the Jews emigrate. Using the case of Rumania, Hashachar states, "The Jews did not leave because they were earning money by credit and interest.....and they were afraid that they would not find jobs in the European States."¹² Here too, Hashachar shows its change in approach to history. The reasons for the bad conditions of the Rumanian Jews are, "Haskalah's teaching of 'let us seek the cause of our trouble inside ourselves'....", and also the fact that they did not leave for Israel. "Those who did leave, were mislead to America and later returned to Rumania."¹³

The place of hope is Israel, and the periodical must try to focus the attention of the people on that land. The Jew should look to Eretz Yisroel because of "the memory of parents -- tradition...to find bread...

a land to work...help raise the moral standard of those who live in Israel."¹⁴ Prior to 1881, Israel was considered very undesirable because of the abominations of its inhabitants. Now, however, "the ones who live in Israel... and make all kinds of abominations....will slowly be turned into a pure nation."¹⁵ And too, it really is not the fault of Israel that abominations are committed there. It is really the fault of the wealthy in Russia. "They sent only the poor and sick to Israel when they should have been sending the young and strong."¹⁶

There must be unity of strength and purpose in working for the up-building of "The Land." The Maskil begins to close ranks with the Orthodox in order to convince him of the hope and mission. Anyone, or any group, which does not bend every effort to establish the new national home--even well-meaning efforts to settle the Jews in some other safe place, cannot be tolerated.

Hasachar is unyielding in its combat against the Orthodox leaders and "enlightened" leaders alike, if their efforts are not directed to the one purpose. "You Rabbis..... now is your time to do something for your people.... be not like the Rabbis of Minsk who decreed days of fasting and special prayers, and barked like mules to repent....even if you fast for years you will not have peace....Instead, this is the time to do....there is no doing without strong spirit....Lessen the number of afflictions, and speak fervently for settling Eretz Yisroel!"¹⁷

Also the wealthy do not escape the scathing pen of the nationalists. "As soon as the Jews become wealthy,¹⁸ they forget their Jewishness and their brethren."

"If among us, some will awake to do good for all Jews, they will be poor, because most of the rich among us will neither pay any attention to us nor to our condition....¹⁹ they will do anything the land dictates." When contemplating the attitudes of the wealthy, the author cannot help but express his doubt concerning fulfillment of the hope to "unify the nation all over the world, to teach it its language, and to change the hearts of the wealthy²⁰ to love and see us as a nation, not as strangers."

Hashachar's turn about in policy is even further revealed by the charges it brings against the pre-pogrom Maskilim. The nationalistic Maskil of the moment is not cut from the same cloth as the Maskil of the Seventies. Hashachar divorces itself from them with a most convincing indictment. "The old Maskilim were the foremost to do for the Russian nation. They bled on the hills of Siberia under general Cherkiov, and they even donated money to²¹ build a monument in Kiev to Chemelnitski."

No longer is "knowledge" the formula for the salvation of the Jew. Nachum Sokolow, who was an anti-nationalist Maskil even after the Pogroms, wrote a book in 1882, in which he claimed that if the land will be filled with knowledge (נֵדָר), "The wolf will dwell with the sheep, and the leopard will lie down with the lamb."

Hashachar's reaction to the idea is, "with more knowledge,²² there will be newer means for destruction of the Jews."

Only Smolenskin was willing to admit that he had changed his views, and it is only through him that we can speculate that Hashachar was conscious of its own change in policy. "Fourteen years ago, (1869), I wrote....that I saw light by means of Haskalah, which was like a fountain of salvation, without realizing that people would change it, and without knowing what it would do for us... Not seeing that it brought traitors and enemies..... We were happy because even Catholic countries let us live in peace....but the good days did not last....The children became spoiled....The present light is Eretz Yisroel, and it is for her that we must work."²³

All phases of Jewish life are looked to for aid in building the Jewish homeland. No longer is farming to be rejected by Jews because it keeps them from study."²⁴ Rather, "We must establish Agudot, (groups) who will collect money....From each group select one good, strong lad....about one hundred should go to Israel immediately to start a colony....After a few years all will be convinced that Israel is for us, and they will go."²⁵

Obviously, appeals are made to different groups in terms of their own interests. Religion too, has a great role in the upbuilding of the land. "It (Israel) will be a center for Torah, and from there Torah will go out to all the world."²⁶

Those who wanted to fight as revolutionaries in Russia, -let them fight for Israel. "Because the fight for the establishment of our nation is a Holy war, (חִיּוּת נַפְשָׁנוּ), and for anyone going out to the battlefield, it is as if he performs all the Mitzvot in the Torah."²⁷

One could almost consider sections of Hashachar as a hand-book for ways to aid the establishment of the land. "Help Eretz Yisroel by purchasing Ethrogim from her, and do not import them from Greece."²⁸ Money is needed, and individuals, as well as groups, can be of great help. "The Jews in Slovinc are, for the most part in bad condition....but there is one man who awakens the love of Israel in the hearts of the Jews and donates money....and is preparing to buy land in our Holy Land and give it to them, so that they will work and keep it."²⁹

"Each should place a box in his own home and collect money for our Land."³⁰ However, since such a great amount of money is needed, the philanthropy of single individuals is not enough. Some of the pleas are very touching, such as this account of a pogrom."....wild people, not humans... attack soft, delicate wives and daughters....before the eyes of their husbands and parents....Houses full of "Well Being" (Kol Tuv) are laid bare and empty in one night....Don't cry for us, but open your pockets and give to those leaving their birth country....to go to their home....You beautiful, kind women, have mercy on your

sisters....and influence your husbands to give."³¹ To save the "remnant of Israel", "we should collect the money to buy the land from Turkey."³²

Since so many people are about to go to Israel, the Hebrew language must be revived in all haste. There is a collective effort of scholars to formulate new Hebrew words, e.g., "nationalism; emancipation, etc."³³

Lest the Jews get the wrong impression that all the aid must come from outside of Israel, let them be assured that Israel is doing much to lift itself up by its own boot-straps. In 1883 the more fortunate of Jerusalem formed a "Society for Helping The Oppressed."...."To help as much as possible, all our brethren in Jerusalem, by teaching trades to youth, and helping them to find work and livelihood."³⁴ This semi-cooperative effort receives exhaustive praise from Hashachar. The structure of the society reveals that Israel is not to be a mere farm colony, but a productive manufacturing community, and they have the middle class to prove it. "Our society is to "1-Train youth in a trade or skill for one year. 2-Incline the hearts of Jews to live Jewishly in building and in business. 3-To make loans to talented business people. 4-To give support equally to Ashkenazim and Sepharadim. The income of the society is collected through charity from outside the land, from the well-to-do in Jerusalem, and a small sum from the worker's salaries."³⁵

Suffice it to say that the entire scope of Hashachar

is directed toward nationalism and the upbuilding of the land. No longer are there any complaints or any complimentary pictures of Israel.³⁶ Rather Hashachar tries to paint a desirable picture of Israel, and at the same time give the impression of being realistic and accurate. Here, for example, is a question and answer section dealing with matters of interest to the potential immigrant.

"Question-Climate? Answer-Good and healthful--a European can easily become accustomed to it....Question-Work in the fields? Answer-Generally easier than in Europe...." and so forth, about such matters as taxes, cost of living, cost of passage, produce of land, etc. The opportunities seem to be very enticing.³⁷ Even the stories have happy endings. Usually the wayward Maskil find his way back to the fold and to the land of Israel, where he finds happiness.

The movements which Hashachar deems praiseworthy are those which stimulate and intensify the feeling for Jewish nationalism. Of the Ahavat Tsion group started in Wilna, Hashachar says, "This wonderful group speaks about The Language and the unity of our people; it has established a Hebrew Library;....its members read Hebrew books together;.. all its members teach Hebrew."³⁸ "In Krakow they are forming groups to unify our brethren and help them settle in Eretz Yisroel....The university students have formed the Cherut Yisroel 'Freedom of Israel,' to watch the movements of our enemies....who write against us....These groups also look forward to settling in the land of our forefathers to

work the land....There is a "Speakers of the Hebrew Language" group to spread literature concerning the land of Israel and its history, especially among the students."³⁹

One other phase of Hashachar's mobilization of national forces remains to be considered. Namely, the utilization of Israel to take in surplus population in order to relieve the hard pressed areas of Eastern Europe. It may be that the intelligensia grossly over-rated the capacity of Palestine...In view of the entire policy, however, it appears that this type of appeal was conceived in order to gain the support of wealthy Jews, interested in maintaining their position in Russia. "In places where there is not enough food, then there is no hope except that the poor should leave the land....then the poor will have more, and the land which they leave will have more."⁴⁰ This is better understood in the light of a letter written collectively by the students of a "school for wisdom," asking the Jews who have means, to help organize groups to save the oppressed Jews of their own respective countries. If they will help the poor Jews to leave, then they too will stand to gain. "Be to your brothers as saviors, and you too will benefit by their departure.... there will remain a wider field for you to conduct your business or occupation, so as to bring a blessing to your homes."⁴¹

Hashachar, in changing to Nationalism as the hope for Jewish survival, could not tolerate apathy, opposition, or deviate point of view. First, and foremost among the

obstacles is the mass of Jews...-and Hashachar strives to arouse them. "We are like a dead body that feels no pain... that does not feel the zealousness of her enemies hate.... We are blind....it is a long time since the plague began.... the homes are desolate....money is as useful as the mud in the streets....wives and daughters are kept handy for passers-by....Yet what did the children of Israel do....Some sought refuge and died of hunger....and the rest of the nation who could have done something just froze and waited for the end--until the anger of the enemy would subside, and then they could make peace with the enemy....

We can only understand the Jewish lethargy when we realize that the children of Israel have lost the feeling and the will to return to their land and be a nation.... We are a dead nation because we do not do anything against our enemies....Even if there will be a shadow of peace in one place, we can prophesy with surety that soon the persecution will begin....There is no place in which we can have refuge from all oppressive and destructive forces, except in Israel...."⁴²

The type of education formulated to prepare the Jew for participation in the general culture is no longer valid. Prior to 1881 the move had been to reform religion and its leaders,--"to bring enlightenment to the Orthodox."⁴³ Now, however, when a book appears suggesting to the government that the rabbis should reform --that "the government enforce its influence with the rabbis to change the laws of the religion,"⁴⁴ Hashachar's reaction is one of cold

comfort in that "the book is written in Hebrew so that not many will hear of such outrageous advise."⁴⁵ The critic sums up the feelings of Hashachar by saying, "if it were not for the fact that we see the author knows how to organize words, we would say that he is completely mad."⁴⁶

The Chevra Marbey HaHaskalah, which had played such an important role in Hashachar during the former years, is now persona-non-grata because of its basic philosophy of Russification. The article quoted in chapter III, pages 28-29, was written by the Chevra in 1872, but is printed in Hashachar in 1882, without accompanying comment....What greater condemnation of the Chevra's philosophy and system of education could there be than to publish, just after the "May Laws"⁴⁷ have been invoked, the Chevra's statement and prophecy that "our salvation is here....the rights of the citizen will blossom like a rose."⁴⁸

It is most significant to note that the Chevra continue in its "unclean" state as far as Hashachar is concerned, until its policies begin to show some conformity with those of the periodical. In 1884 we suddenly find that the Chevra's policy was never one of "Russification of the Jews through the Russian language and in the Russian spirit."⁴⁹ Rather, "Among all the aims that Chevra made, the most honorable aim is to raise up the Hebrew language, to give it strength among the nation, and to circulate

helpful books in the Hebrew language....and the Chevra was faithful to her aim."⁵⁰ (This is the same group who's list of accomplishments published in 1880⁵¹ contained only Russian language publications.) The Chevra has lost most of the voice and influence it once had among the Jews, so a new department is to be instituted, --a department of "Dissemination of Haskalah among the Jews in the land of Russia." ((אגודת ישראל בין העגונים בישראל ורוסיה) "because the hour needs it....in time of pogrom, only in such language can our authors pour out their hearts and debate.... without fear of strangers mixing in."⁵² The aims of the new Hebrew Chevra are: 1-to uphold and disseminate the knowledge of the pure Hebrew language. 2-to instill in the nation good taste and knowledge of the history and sages. 3-teach all helpful things. "The department will publish books, articles, and so forth."⁵³ It would appear that the Chevra has not changed its program. In fact, it seems that Hebrew is utilized even more to facilitate implementation of the program. It is conceivable that the non-occurrence of wide-spread pogroms for about two years has rekindled the hope of the middle class that they, and the masses of Jews when properly trained, might rise above the then current, precarious status-quo.

We are not able to trace the development farther in Hashachar, for shortly after Peretz Smolenskin's death in 1884, the periodical ceased publication. However, there is one reaction to the new development in the Chevra

Marbey Hashkalah. Smolenskin's brother, for reasons about which we can only speculate, saw fit to have Hashachar once again, come out in favor of the Chevra. During its last years of publication, Hashachar was in critical straits financially, and it seems likely that supporting the new Chevra might be profitable. Writing for Peretz Smolenskin, his brother asks the people to support the new movement from the North, (St. Petersburg). "From the North there have arisen well known people, (Baron David Ginzburg, head of the Chevra, and Leon Rosenthal, secretary) blessed with wealth, to help us and our language....In them we should trust, because they are trustworthy people."⁵⁴

The wrath of Hashachar also descended upon the organization known as Kol Yisrael Chaverim, or Kiach. Translated- "All Israel are Companions", and known most commonly as the Alliance Israelite Universelle. The main purpose of this organization was to raise money for the resettling of Jewish refugees. The Alliance utilized any available haven as locations for new Jewish settlements, and of course, Hashachar could not tolerate this. (It will be recalled that Kiach was one of the main supporters of Hashachar⁵⁵ prior to 1881.

Shortly after the initiation of the pogroms, when according to Hashachar, Israel is the only place to which Jews should go, a letter is sent from Rumania to the editor of Hashachar. "Is Oliphant, (the head of Kiach) sincere in his offer to help Jews settle in Eretz Yisroel.....

There are three hundred families in B---- waiting to leave. The government hates us, and tries to break any support or livelihood that we may have....There is a new law that a Jew cannot be a middle-man (71070) between a buyer and a seller....A Jew cannot even sell salt." ⁵⁶ To the Jews, steeped in such poverty and oppression, Smolenskin answers, "Oliphant is just telling fables....Kiach is sending the Jews to America." ⁵⁷ Since Kiach utilizes places other than Israel, it would seem that they are not to be trusted or followed, even, it would seem, at the expense of the refugees' lives.

Since Israel is now the only goal of Hashachar, every effort must be made to "lift up the barrier from the path of my people." ⁵⁸ The "barrier" is Kiach. Ignoring its former alliance with Kiach, the periodical now reveals the "true" Kiach. "When the news of the pogrom was first heard, our brethren in Europe arose and collected money to help the Jews and save them.... Kiach urged the Jews to hurry and depart for America....Kiach did not discuss it with those who understand the problem, nor with the Jews in America....Ellinger from America, who later was exposed while making a "business" out of his brethren, influenced many Jewish leaders, including Rothschild.... 10,000 Jews went to America, and soon after thousands more... ⁵⁹ but suddenly Kiach stopped.... because the Jews of America were afraid that with the coming of the poor and unenlight-

ened Jews, persecution would come upon all the Jews in
America.⁶⁰"

The above is a very poignant observation, but Hashachar was interested in more than the attitudes of American Jews. Kiach must be discredited for non-support of Israel. "Kiach committed a sin of deceit....Kiach spread lies and sent people to America against their will." The real grievance that Hashachar has with Kiach is that "Kiach has brought back the division and broken the unity... Kiach can only be forgiven if it will again collect money and send the Jews to Israel who want to go there....We should all first try to make Kiach understand, and if then,⁶¹ they won't help, we should fight them."

The attempts to help Kiach understand are coupled with attempt to destroy its reputation in the eyes of the people. It would appear that the major purpose is to discredit rather than correct, and there are no holds barred. "The directors of Kiach are not really guilty, it is just that they are far away and do not know the condition of
their brethren."⁶²

"To send our brethren to America is like converting them, and not to help them buy an estate in Israel is as if to make them change their religion....Kiach will not remain if it continues in this way."⁶³

"Kiach is sending the Jews far away so that they will not come back and be a burden on them."⁶⁴

Hashachar appeals to reason in explaining why Kiach does not incline toward Israel, and at the same time builds up an emotional case against the efforts of Kiach. Kiach does not favor Israel because of "1-dual allegiance.... 2-the Reform idea that salvation can be found in other countries has negated the hope of 'next year in Jerusalem'.. and 3-if Jews go to Israel they may return, and then Kiach will have to send them to America anyway." ⁶⁵ Coupled with this is a footnote to the effect that "From America come hundreds of letters which curse their day, and curse them who brought them there to be sold for slaves and bondsmen." ⁶⁶

Eventually, Hashachar abandons its attempt to convince Jews in countries where they have rights and freedom to support a nationalist movement. The only course for the nationalist is to condemn Kiach. "Kiach has turned to be a Satan, and has increased our wounds more than our enemies by putting thousands in hell by sending them to America." ⁶⁷ "Kiach should be destroyed and another Chevra whose aim is Eretz Yisroel should be formed, and it should include not only Reform people." ⁶⁸

The fight which Hashachar wages against anti-nationalist Jewish organizations, was also waged against publications and individuals. Such men as Levanda and Bogrov ⁶⁹ still believed in assimilation. Bogrov even went so far as to advertise in a Russian language periodical in 1882 for increased inter-marriage. ⁷⁰ Hashachar considered this, as well as any question of the ultimate success of the return

to Zion, as a threat to the movement. "When Mr. Sokolow claims that the nationalists advocate that 'the Jews should leave without delay,' and that the nationalists know neither law nor bounds, and further, that we teach our youth that 'hope is lost if we cannot establish routes to Palestine,' then he, (Sokolow) is fabricating lies and putting them in the mouths of those who uphold our national system.

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Last but not least of the movements to come under the whip of Hashachar was the German Haskalah. Much of the blame for the current trouble, as well as the waywardness of the pre-pogrom Maskilim is placed upon it, rather than upon the Russian teachers of Haskalah. Smolenskin writes, "I opened the eyes of my readers to see that all the sorrows that befell us were brought about by the Berlin Haskalah....the idea that we are not a nation destroyed our being, and the zealousness of the Berlin Haskalah destroyed the rest of our institutions. It was not a loving hand that the (German) government extended to the people....but a hand to destroy them....The Jews did not close the gates of the Jewish street---from outside watchmen were placed....The Jews did not refuse to reap and sew, but with a strong hand they were kept from doing so.... Yet any time that quiet reigned, the Kaiser was immediately thanked and honored....The result of the Berlin Haskalah was to uproot the main pillar, i.e., that we are a nation....

To remedy the Jewish position, we should not put far

from our dwellings knowledge and wisdom....but we must fight the following kind of Haskalah." Smolenskin then lists what he considers the "Ten Commandments" of the Berlin Haskalah. "1-We have to choose the ways of other nations. 2-change all that we inherited from our parents so that it will not be recognized. 3-remove all ties of love for our nation so that it will completely assimilate. 4-remove all hope of our being a nation again and of having honor because we live in our own land. 5-eliminate the Hebrew language. 6-do anything which is right in the eyes of the gentiles, even if it means dividing and classifying. 7-promise that we will be like all other men. 8-deceive ourselves with the talk and hope of peace when there is none. 9-agree with the gentile that we are the source of our trouble. 10-do not praise ourselves, lest our enemies will say that we are proud of what they do not love."⁷³

It is fairly clear that Hashachar's one main interest after 1881, is in Israel as a nation in exile, yearning and striving for the return to its homeland. As long as the children of Israel are in exile, governments will continue to use them and oppress them as the need arises. But the hope of return will give them strength and fortitude to bear the pain, and work for their brethren. "We must believe that we are a nation....study the Hebrew language....bring money to Eretz Yisroel....make Israel the recipient for charity and philanthropy....teach the people how to work....encourage the capable to settle in

Israel now....seek our help within ourselves.... and
bring the love of our country and our language into
the hearts of our youth."⁷⁴

Chapter V - An Appraisal of the Critics

The data of chapters III and IV reveal a definite change in Hashachar's policies and orientation after 1881. Most of the critics do not mention this. Simon Halkin, however, does give some hint when he states, "It is true, of course, that the Russian pogroms of 1881-1882 were the immediate cause of the earliest initiation of Zionism.. as an organized movement in Jewish life."¹ As far as Smolenskin and the Hashachar are concerned, Halkin make only passing mention of that fact that "Peretz Smolenskin did not embrace Zionism before the eighties, but as early as 1868, in the programmatic editorial in which he introduced his epoch making Hashachar, ~~He~~, (Smolenskin,) had declared that it is not at all unseemly for the modern Jew to aspire to political independence in a Jewish State in Palestine."² There is no other mention of Hashachar.

Except for Halkin's appraisal, none of the scholars deal with material of Hashachar as a reflection of movements and forces in society. Hashachar is dealt with as part of Smolenskin. We even find the statement that "Hashachar is Smolenskin,"³ and that the analysis of Hashachar is usually through the life of its editor.

The approach to the life of Smolenskin is developed in personal and psychological terms, rather than in a socio-historic analysis, and this approach is understandable in view of the scholars' ideologies. It seems

reasonable to assume that the only scholars who can deal with Hashachar are those who are proficient in Hebrew. The scholar who is proficient in Hebrew, and sets his life's task to deal with Hebrew Literature, must do so out of a love for the language. Furthermore, those who love the Hebrew language are usually Jewish Nationalists, and too, they are usually prejudiced in favor of material written in Hebrew. Now,--since Peretz Smolenskin was such an ardent Zionist,--even reputed to be the "father" of modern nationalism,--and his periodical was composed in Hebrew, it follows that we might expect the scholars either to place Smolenskin's periodical in a favorable light, or, as in the case on Halkin, not deal with it at all. This is precisely the fact. Smolenskin's drive and fire, his love of Hebrew and Jewish nationalism which were paramount in the years 1881-1884, captured the favor of the scholars, and this fervor carried over into Hashachar. The only policies of Hashachar which we find scholars recording are nationalism, and pro-Hebrew, including the years prior to 1881. The only recognized change, except for Halkin, is that after 1881 the nationalism was intensified. It is true that Smolenskin was interested in nationalism before 1881. But (as the material in this thesis proves) Smolenskin was not all of Hashachar. There were other elements opposed to nationalism before 1881, and they are part of Hashachar.

Lachover, when considering the general development

of nationalism, mentions that "...only later does one find the positive side in the fight for nationalism."⁴ However, he does not relate this to Hashachar. Lachover makes no attempt to relate Hashachar to the society from which it emerged. Aside from considering literary form and style, Lachover does little more than give the details of Smolenskin's life, and try to analyse a few personal and psychological factors that may have caused him to develop as he did. The essence of Lachover's criticism is, "Smolenskin was an author of strong will and great imagination, and a strong sense of the pulse of the current of life, yet he was without great artistic feeling, and he lacked the proper balance in terms of truth..." In other words, Smolenskin was given to exaggeration. As far as Hashachar is concerned, it is strictly Smolenskin. "Through Hashachar⁵he tried to renew the spirit of the Hebrew reader." It is clear that there was no attempt to deal with Hashachar as a medium reflecting the forces of its contemporary society.

S. Dubnow, being an ardent nationalist, does not attempt to find fault with Hashachar, as he does with other publications, such as "Dyen", (a Russian Jewish publication) which advocated "complete fusion of the interests of the Jewish population with those of the other citizens."⁶ For Dubnow, Smolenskin is the "Harbinger of Jewish Nationalism."⁷ Likewise for Dubnow, Hashachar is part of Smolenskin, and the only change in Smolenskin in 1881 is that "He laid aside

the question of the development of Jewish nationalism in the Diaspora, and became an enthusiastic preacher⁸ of the restoration of the Jewish people in Palestine." Dubnow deals in a devastating manner with such assimilationist groups as the Chevra Marbey Ha'Haskalah, but he does not relate them to Hashachar. As far as Hashachar is concerned, "Hashachar exerted a tremendous influence upon the mental development of the young generation.... here they learned to distinguish between essential elements in Judaism and mere accretions....Hashachar was the staff of life for the generation of that period of transition."⁹

Klausner, too, is more interested in Smolenskin than Hashachar. Klausner was interested in Hashachar insofar as it was a medium of expression for Smolenskin. His feeling for Smolenskin is nobly expressed,--"He was head and shoulders above them all, not only as writer, but also as a man. Smolenskin was a fighter all his days....one of the greatest Hebrew fighters of all generations."¹⁰ In view of this, one would hardly expect Klausner to be critical of Smolenskin's publication.

Klausner makes no attempt to analyse the contents of Hashachar except for Smolenskin's stories and articles, so that there is very little with which to take issue. However, he does mention that for Smolenskin, "Jewish nationalism is a progressive idea and not a reactionary one."¹¹ Since Klausner equates Hashachar with

Smolenskin, it is safe to assume that the same holds true for the periodical. A study of the material in Hashachar reveals that as far as Smolenskin is concerned, there is a progression in his nationalism from 1875 on, but the reaction in 1881 to the upheaval in Russia was most extreme. However, as far as the periodical is concerned, there is a great deal more included than just the writings and sentiments of Smolenskin, and among many of the elements included, nationalism was definitely a reaction to persecution in 1881.

There is little value to be gained from discussing other critics, for their general approach is to accept those views which Hashachar disseminated during the post-pogrom days, as being the same as those published during all the years of the periodical's circulation.

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1. Publication was interrupted in 1867 and in 1880 because of fund shortages. Spolenskin was constantly publishing requests for subscribers to send in their fees. In 1880, tuberculosis, as well as lack of money, forced the publisher to cease activities. In an article printed after resumption of publication in 1881, Spolenskin describes the encouragement and financial help he received during a visit to St. Petersburg.

2. 3, fly leaf following page 188.

3. 1, pp. III-IV.

4. 1, p. V.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. It is only indirectly that Rebinder gives us facts concerning the news of the day. Incidents and occurrences are mentioned only when evoking comment or criticism. There is an attempt to keep the reader posted about "current events."

References to Hashachar are noted simply by the volume number and page, e.g., 8, p. 200, refers to volume eight, page 200.

Volume 1 through volume 10, page 209, covers the period from 1868 to March, 1881. Volume 10, page 210, through volume 12 covers the period to the end of publication in 1884.

Notes to Chapter I.

1. Publication was interrupted in 1869 and in 1880 because of fund shortages. Smolenskin was constantly publishing requests for subscribers to send in their fees. In 1880, tuberculosis, as well as lack of money, forced the publisher to cease activities. In an article printed after resumption of publication in 1881, Smolenskin describes the encouragement and financial help he received during a visit to St. Petersburg.
2. 9, fly leaf following page 188.
3. 1, pp. III-IV.
4. 1, p. V.
5. *ibid.*
6. *ibid.*
7. *ibid.*
8. *ibid.*
9. It is only indirectly that Hashachar gives us facts concerning the news of the day. Incidents and occurrences were mentioned only when evoking comment or criticism. There was no attempt to keep the reader posted about "current events."

10. 1, p. VI
11. See page 1 of thesis.
12. 7, p. 331--footnote.
13. 11, p. 529.
14. Sokolow, Hibbat Zion, p. 144. The figures were given to Sokolow by Hashachar's general agent for Russia and Poland.

Notes to Chapter II

1. See Dubnow, S. History of Jews in Russia and Poland, vol. II, chapter 21, for copies of documents describing the cooperation of Russian officialdom in both the street pogroms, and the court, or legal pogroms.
2. Trotsky, Leon. History of the Russian Revolution, Preface, p. XVII.
3. Sternberg, Fritz. Socialism and Capitalism On Trial, p. 119.
4. Dubnow, S. vol. II, p. 14.
5. *ibid.*
6. Quoted by Dubnow, vol. II, p. 36.
7. Dubnow, S. vol. II, p. 65.
8. See pp. 26ff. of thesis.
9. Dubnow, S. vol. II, p. 215.

Notes to Chapter III

1. 9, pp. 59-60.
2. 7, end of volume. (no page number.)
3. *ibid.*
4. 7, p. 753.
5. See thesis chapter I, note 3.
6. *ibid.*
7. 10, p. 100.
8. Quoted by Dubnow, vol. II, pp. 214-215.
9. 11, pp. 60-63.
10. 8, p. 11. "Thanks to the 'Dear Chevra' and its agent for sending copies of Hashachar to Eastern Siberia.
7, p. 155.
7, p. 578.
9, p. 176.
11. 8, p. 136. The announcements usually include the name of the Alliance Israelite Universelle, which also lent support to Hashachar.
12. 7, p. 286.
13. See thesis, pp. 27-28.
14. 7, p. 337.
15. *ibid.*
16. Klausner, Joseph. היסטוריה של דתנו ודעותיה, vol. 4, p. 429.
17. 10, p. 100.
18. *ibid.*
19. 10, p. 143.

20. 8, pp. 108-110.
21. 7, p. 136.
22. 7, p. 619.
23. 7, p. 239.
24. 7, p. 66.
25. 9, pp. 70 -72.
26. 7, p. 233.
27. 7, p. 121.
28. *ibid.*
29. 7, p. 71.
30. *ibid.*
31. *ibid.*
32. 9, p. 7.
33. 9, p. 10.
34. 9, p. 11.
35. 9, p. 255.
36. 7, p. 428.
37. 9, p. 286.
38. *ibid.*
39. 7, p. 297.
40. 9, p. 20.
41. 10, p. 17.
42. 10, p. 159.
43. 9, p. 241.
44. 9, p. 248.

Notes to Chapter IV

1. Sokolow, Nachum. Hibbat Zion, p. 167.
2. 10, p. 210.
3. 10, p. 211.
4. *ibid.*
5. 10, p. 212.
6. 11, p. 538.
7. 11, p. 543.
8. 11, p. 19.
9. 10, p. 213.
10. 10, p. 220.
11. 11, pp. 403-405.
12. 10, p. 642.
13. 10, pp. 644-645.
14. 10, p. 227.
15. *ibid.*
16. 11, p. 427.
17. 11, pp. 22-24.
18. 11, p. 368.
19. 11, p. 307.
20. *ibid.*
21. 11, p. 383.
22. 11, p. 129. Sokolow's book is entitled שנאת העולם,
"Hatred of the World for the Nation of the World."
23. 11, p. 637.
24. See thesis chapter III, p. 39.
25. 10, p. 450.

26. 10, p. 224.
27. Stated by Smolenskin and quoted by Fichman, p. 215.
28. 11, p. 266.
29. 11, p. 521.
30. 11, p. 18.
31. 11, p. 29.
32. 12, p. 78.
33. 11, p. 277.
34. 12, p. 166.
35. 12, p. 68.
36. See thesis chapter III, p. 44.
37. 10, p. 568.
38. 11, p. 648.
39. 12, p. 101.
40. 11, p. 370.
41. 11, p. 665.
42. 11, pp. 1-11.
43. See thesis chapter I, p. 2.
44. 11, p. 299.
45. *ibid.*
46. *ibid.*
47. See thesis chapter II, p. 22.
48. 11, pp. 60-63.
49. See thesis chapter II, p. 21, and note 9 of chapter II.
50. 12, p. 522.
51. 10, p. 100.
52. 12, p. 523.

53. *ibid.*
54. 12, pp. 584-586.
55. See note 11 of chapter III. Also, According to Fichman, השכונות והיהדות, p. 215, "Help was given to Hashachar by Kiach....a yearly support of 500 Franks."
56. 10, p. 356.
57. *ibid.*
58. 11, p. 73.
59. After the first pogrom, Kiach did help thousands to emigrate, but rumors of refuge for all spread through Russia, and tens of thousands of Jews funnelled into the section of Brody to await passage to somewhere. Kiach had long since depleted its funds, and tried to check the rumors of safety for all, --but to no avail. See Dubnow, vol. II, p. 268f.
60. 11, pp. 73-76.
61. 11, p. 82.
62. 10, p. 527.
63. 10, p. 529.
64. 10, p. 591.
65. 10, pp. 649-650.
66. 10, pp. 650--footnote.
67. 11, p. 19.
68. 11, p. 208.
69. See Dubnow, vol. II, pp. 241f. Bogrov had often thought of leaving Judaism except for "four million people innocently suffering from systematic persecutions...He embraced Christianity before he died."

70. 11, p. 366.

71. Later, Sokolow became an ardent Zionist.

72. 11, p. 366

73. 11, pp. 133-139.

74. 11, pp. 17-18.

1. 1914, p. 216.

2. Sokolow, S. History of the Jews in Russia and Poland,

vol. II, p. 200.

3. 1914, p. 213.

4. 1914, p. 214.

5. 1914, p. 215.

6. Sokolow, Joseph. History of the Jews in Russia and Poland,

vol. I, p. 214.

7. 1914, p. 214.

1. Halkin, S. Modern Hebrew Literature, p. 96f.
2. *ibid.* p. 79.
3. Fichman, Jacob. האלימות והפחד, p. 208.
4. Lachover, F. תולדות הספרות העברית והחברה,
vol. II, part 2, p. 219.
5. *ibid.* p. 216.
6. Dubnow, S. History of the Jews in Russia and Poland,
vol. II, p. 220.
7. *ibid.* p. 233.
8. *ibid.* p. 236.
9. *ibid.* p. 218.
10. Klausner, Joseph. הספרות העברית והחברה,
vol. 5, p. 264.
11. *ibid.* p. 266.