

Stanislawski

Nicholas I's reign - active intervention

- no sudden turning point in 1855
- "Berliners" transformed

Jewish Schools of 1840s (draft exemption)

1st 8 yrs. = +2500 in +70 primary/secondary
more than privately-run Haskalah schools
in every region, social class

2 rabbinical seminaries

Vilna 251

of Breslau : 48 students

Zhitomir 271

incl. list of future V.I.P.s

1840-1870s : intellectual leadership

became self-sustaining ; hired own graduates
schools gave n.s. power base ; security in nos.
new self-consciousness

every student → new Mendelssohn

united by MISSION → intelligentsia

① Jewish Tradition

a) 1st gen : Haskalah = tradition in proper perspective

→ restore tradition to pure state

b) 2nd generation less steeped in tradition

Mandelstamm Bros. 1839

condemned all rituals, all rabbis

Talmud must be harmonized with mod. theology

public apostasy

Eichenbaum ate $\frac{1}{10}$ on all

students in Vilna school ate $\frac{1}{10}$

Tarnopol pre-1855

② Language

a) must learn at least 2 foreign tongue

German stepping-stone to Russian

1st gen : Hebrew only in religious sphere

Vilna maoileim wanted secular culture in Hebrew

by 1855 : diversified opinions

Russian intell. itself turned inward

No notion of Russianness among Russian intellectuals till much later

3) Govt

myth of the royal alliance retained

1789 exemplar of blaming Jews for tsarist restrictions

Mandelstam Bros = illy apologetic

All late 1870s

Cantonists seen as benevolent

pre-1842: Odessa Jews petition for more civic rights

1849 Kulisher "An Answer to the Slavs" (published 1911)

* Views expressed in Russian-Jew. press formulated much earlier

Chap. One : The Conscription of the Jews

- in West Europe : byproduct of emancipation or imp. milestone on their road to legal equality

Austria : 1788 (6 yrs after Toleranz patent)

France 1790, 91

Internal desecration - quote from Buki ben Tzvi

quoting his grandmother - sense of the unprecedented; not in *Shema*

No, my child, to our great horror, all khapers were in fact Jews, Jews with beards & sidelocks. And that is indeed our greatest problem. We Jews are accustomed to attacks, libels, and evil decrees from the non-Jews - such have happened from time immemorial, and such is our lot in Exile. In the past, there were Gentiles who held a cross in one hand and a knife in the other, and said: "Jew, kiss the cross or die," and the Jews preferred death to apostasy. But now there come Jews, religious Jews, who capture children & send them off to apostasy. Such a punishment was not even listed in the [Tokbeha] Bible's list of the most horrible curses. Jews spill the blood of their brothers, and God is silent, the rabbis are silent.

- many children under 12 were drafted

∴ Jew. community couldn't fill adult quota

∴ marrying age was extremely low

∴ preferred to draft children over father to minimize social & economic strain

estimated 70,000 Jews conscripted from 1827 - 54

~ 50,000 were minors

at least 1/2 were conscripts were baptised & substituted no of adult Jew soldiers

Nicholas believed in military as agency of socialization, also conversion

Conscript battalions: 12-18; to serve there until they reach majority, then begin their full term of service (25 yrs)

used by Nicholas as broadly applied means of social, police control

* used systematically against entire pop. only in case of Jews
motivated by ~~conversion~~ missionary zeal

exemptions for graduates of state-sponsored academic institutions (only Jews), & Jew. children studying there or apprenticing under Christian masters; Jew. colonists → pupils in reb. seminaries

i.e. no Jew participating in any of govt "reform" schemes
their religious freedom flagrantly violated
used physical torture

Community took recruits from the poor & unemployed
(this was recommended by the govt)
sometimes "undesirables" were drafted

Khapers: searched out fugitives; kidnaped children from mother's
arms; would sometimes release them for \$
flourished esp. after 1835 law allowing community to present anyone
traveling without a passport

Response: ① mass conversions

② intensified religiosity

send them to yeshiva so that they would know enough not
to be converted; Kibul would be reluctant to draft good
students

Broke Jew. solidarity but intensified old values

Chapter Two Political Offensive - Statute of 1804

July 1839: in separate elections, Jews could be elected
members of city council or magistracy (exc. Vilna, Kiev)
but no more than $\frac{1}{3}$ could be Jews

nowhere could a Jew be elected burgomeister City Head

Korobka (Oct 1839) = basic internal tax
farmed out to tax farmers

Censorship

Uvzrov to Max Lilienthal: Believe me, if we had such Jews as I met
in the diff capitals of Germany, we would treat them with the
utmost distinction, but our Jews are entirely different.

Stanislawski

Chapter III The Enlightenment of the Jews

its radical innovation: acceptance of the authority of non-Jewish thought is more or at least equal to traditional Jew. teachings & behavior, plus commitment to a fundamental reform of Jew. life according to "European" dictates & standards

See mishnegdim as "populous border-area"

Tendzh be Yisrael: :: singled out by gov't → gospel to enlightened eg Mattias Strashun (1834)

still received rabbinic endorsement; but his next book (1828) → didn't.
economic links with Galicia, Prussia → spread new ideas
direct econ. link for Galician Jews who immigrated to Russia seeking business (esp. Odessa)

∴ Censorship relegated to rabbis but all books burned anyway!

∴ no new maskeitic books published

by 1840: only 11 original works of Haskoleh

Educational reform - only modest success

culminated in Uvarov's summons to Lilienthal in 1839/1840

now gov't (= Uvarov) seriously embarked on spreading enlightenment

Commission of 1843 = 2nd turning point

Haskoleh now official policy of Russian gov't

stipulated that Russian had gradually to be intro to yeshivot

Menchem Mendel Schneerson attended as beginning of his counter-attack

→ Nov 1844 Law established special Jew primary schools & rabbinical seminaries

the new schools institutionalized & consolidated the Haskoleh

until 1840s, maskeitim were isolated, persecuted minority

now they gained a power-base & economic security, freed of their dependence on Jew community → security of numbers

reached several hundred followers by beginning of 1850s

Generational scheme

- ① Tendzh be Yisrael: Haskoleh = authentic Jew. tradition, ^{= Vilna} correctly interpreted
- ② Next cohort: reached maturity in 1840s
pick & choose from Tradition
2 Mandelstamm brothers

Generational scheme

- ① Levinsohn, Vilna medicine : moderate restorers
Haskalah = Tradition, correctly interpreted
anti-hasidic
- ② 1840 generation extreme reformers
pick & choose from Tradition ; wheat & chaff cliché
can't trust any rabbis, only modern-educated teachers
public violations of Haskalah
Yakov Eichenbaum, head of Zhitomir Seminary, ~~Ternopol~~
- ③ Back to religious reform - Moshe Leib Lilienblum
late 1860s, early 1870s
gradual rejection of basic tenets of Haskalah
penitents from extremism → moderation
anticipated by Tzochin Ternopol, grad of Odessa

Lang Russian culture turned inward, exclusionary, no Jews learned Russian
from polyglot cosmopolitanism → Russified inculturation

Govt : Levinsohn blamed abuses of conscription on Jews
story of the Deceitful Mr. X 'שגגה' 'ימלא' 'יפה' 'ניצח'
boundless patriotism until late 1870s
viewed Czarist system as benevolent

Chap IV Metamorphosis of Authority

Centrifugal forces = unparallelled

active resistance to keepers (from Kotik's memoirs, p. 182)
mass riots against kehil (1827) 1835
formal denunciations to govt of kehil
citizens petition for separate representation 1852
merchants protest their tax burden, judicial independence
kehil ceased to be automatic representative of all Jews
status of rabbis increased during latter 1/2 of Nicholas' rule
increased conversions
emergence of "Orthodox" Judaism

conscription → renewed piety (Fin's memoir)

Lubavitch militancy ; 1843 meeting

ended feud between hasidim/misnagdim

June 1851 - Feb. 1855 : increased quotas ; penalties

Edo 1853 : any passportless Jew could be drafted to fill quota

Epilogue : 127 leaders forced to select whom to sacrifice for community at large

Viner
Ettinger

150-1922

וי'ע (1) 1700

150-51

- apologist for excellence of "overseas" vol. 1: 194-240
- even granting that draft in Poland was milder & later (1842)

מ'י'ס'ת ה'א' ס'ב'ו'ס' ע'פ'ו' 1842 'ע' ה'א'ו'
ה'פ'ו'ל'י'ש'ת' ה'א' 'ו' ה'פ'ו'ל'י'ש'ת' ה'א' ה'א'ו'

ה'פ'ו'ל'י'ש'ת' ה'א' ה'א'ו'
ה'א'ו' ה'א'ו' '3' ה'א'ו'

- written ca. 1842

153

cites the oldest dated ז'ס' - ה'א'ו' (1836)

- ~~briva sketche by Mercator's quality of character~~
- alphabetical acrostic

175. n.

dates Lebensohn's (ה'א'ו') - ה'א'ו' ca. 1835

179

- most of the fictional works (Osip Rabinovitch, Bogrov, Nikitin) written after the drafting of minors was annulled, 1856

180

Gordon's א'ב'ו'א' א'א'ו' - almost idyllic

more a familial than social conflict
contaminant works himself up to general
has the hero forgive the khipers

- only Smolenskin has no words of forgiveness tho he sees it from
new maritic perspective

Viner

Vj. (1870s)

324

Model for Akenfeld's *צ'ינרן סע.?? סע.??*

- Nikolai Ilin's pop. play (Moscow 1804) which enjoyed a successful run thru the 1830s
- also focuses on the evils of the draft
- victimizing the brave only son of peasants

327

Joysef Vizner's unpublished Heb. tragedy on the draft

א'ו'ל'א ס'י'ן ca. 1828

only know of it from Gottlob's memoirs (1879)

328-330

Wolf Kamrask's *ס'ו'ל'ו'ן י'ל'ו'ן ס'י'ן*

written in 1854 when he was still a student in Zhitomir rabbinical seminary

- students performed it in Barditchev
- quotes censor's report of 1855
- poor widow's son inducted instead of a rich man's son
- far more critical than other Haskalah works
- forbidden to be performed or published

332

dates *צ'ינרן סע.?? סע.??* in 1834 or sep 1835

on basis of refs to *ס'ו'ל'ו'ן* which wasn't published till 1835

334

Follesong on the draft

~~songs in GM are from late in 19th cent when the bitter reality was translated into sentimental songs (?)~~

- cites a ms collection 1860-1890 from Zhitomir maskil
- song on the universal draft law of 1874 not so pessimistic
- GM Nos. 333-345 are also on universal draft, later than ms. collection; retain no memory of older draft laws

338-40

lengthy quotes from Lebensohn's *י'ו'ל'א י'ו'ל'ו'ן א'ו'ל'ו'ן* (1851) on the khaper

contradicts laws of the Torah & laws of the land

- 12 teachers brought in to swear falsely

Sacredious Rhymes

GM (50) < Quote entire say >
 סתם - סתם (17/1) - סתם

אין דינסטעט זיך אין דינסטעט
אין דינסטעט זיך אין דינסטעט

אין דינסטעט זיך אין דינסטעט
אין דינסטעט זיך אין דינסטעט

Yevonim: rabonim

יוניס : רבנים : יוניס

אין דינסטעט זיך אין דינסטעט
אין דינסטעט זיך אין דינסטעט

GM 52 clothing decree 1851

shrayen: Nikolayen

GM 54

אין דינסטעט זיך אין דינסטעט
אין דינסטעט זיך אין דינסטעט

אין דינסטעט זיך אין דינסטעט
אין דינסטעט זיך אין דינסטעט

Nos. 58-59 באקענען - פריער

331 - 348

503 - 510

LEVIN

לוי / לוי

68-71

from Gottlober's memoirs (1880)

- Haim - Mikhel the hasid whom kahal appointed to pick the recruits
- in mid hasid, used his position to keep all non-Husidim
- spread false rumor that decree had been annulled to keep the young men from fleeing

both Fin (1879) pp. 72-74 and Dik (76-89) tell of the false hopes deliberately spread on Shemini Atzeret by the Vilna kahal to dupe the populace; Fin cites renewed religiosity

120

N. Nikitin, converted cantorist wrote 2 imp. novellas

128-34

The Trial of the 2 Informers 1838

- hidden Jews who didn't appear in the draft lists = מזלפים
- nazlonim (?)
- this lowered the tax base of the community as well
- informers revealed the true figures or demanded hush money from kahal
- Schwartzman killed in shul, cut into pieces & burned in bathhouse
- Oxman fled but was killed en route
- the affair was covered up until a Jew police officer - a convert disguised himself as a religious Jew & got all the info.
- most had to run the gauntlet
- all 30 of them died → called "mizlafs"

146-1

Legend of the mass suicide

- all the cantorists drown themselves in Nicholas' presence
- based on fact (1854) - 2 out of 800

152-160
new
vocabulary

Folktales collected by Anski

שׂוֹדָאָס = פֿעגללעס וְיָרִיב עִיבָּ = וְיָרִיב עִיבָּ

- ① - how they were forced to go on review on Tom Kippur because of a provocation by a convert in the regiment - war himself demoted their commander!
- ② how a child hid in the chimney during a stop-over
- ③ פרעג עי עיבָּ פֿוֹר פֿיל פֿיל יִשׁ
chopped off his finger)
- ④ son of a lamed-vovnik - doesn't feel the blows

170 - ~~186~~
181 Excruciating episodes of the last 3 yrs (1853-6)
organized bands of Jew. kidnapers to catch Jews
without passports

177 - Polish Jews caught the moment they crossed the border
during Crimean War
- perhaps the most tragic years of the 17th cent (170)

185 188 - 182 313 פרס מ/1775 1772-73 .l.k
cites ep of rabbis who opposed kahal; ikuv hakriye ineffectual
dropner sold all his impoverished passengers as recruits!

187 - in Brachet, organized hunt lured 500 Litvaks
Russian Jews vs. Polish; Ukrainians vs. Lithuanians
quotes ה'נש"ב 'ה'נ"א' who travelled with a revolver!

191 - 188 (1904) פרס 2'1-77,77'
sense of siege
young & old live in constant terror

199 - 192 פרס הקטר'
names the local keepers
scenes in the kheyder - how they try to protect the orphans
finally caught when he tried to see his mother
the recruits set ^{under} local arrest for several weeks
mother died of grief
- tells of torture
- Torale returns a yr later - catatonic; for lack of food

tells of the last 3 yrs -
Keepers from other towns work at night under police guard
tells of pitched battles between keepers & families in the home
- the worst insult in town was to call someone by the
keepers name
!772"17 פרס 77? 60'2 13

206 - 200 ה'תקפ"ו .'.lc

conscious of class differences in Kapulie

40-50 "wealthy" Jews had to support the entire communal structure
no indiv. income tax - corporate taxes levied thru kahalWhat masses:The memory of sacrifice

children no soldiers in huge grey coats

torn from their mothers

taken off to interior Russia in mid-winter

kheper vs community

home as battlefield

kahal vs. community

prisoners in their own town

region vs. region

only sons

registered vs non-registered

desecration of the synagogue

rich vs. poor

Christian world vs helpless Jew

military might vs civilian

torture & conversion

184

What Dinezon remembered from his father, no told to Fridberg
episode in shul

Reb Yankele Bopker swaps the crowd with

ה'תקפ"ו ה'תקפ"ו ה'תקפ"ו ה'תקפ"ו ה'תקפ"ו ה'תקפ"ו

n. 185

ikuv hakriye in Mink 1835

involves Akedah - I would gladly sacrifice my child - but
for the sake of conversion?!

203

205

Paperna tells of gentile khapers in the employ of the Rosh Hakool

ikuv hakriye

lost 3 yrs: passports were no avail

khapers would destroy them

blames the rabbis!

From 1856 - 1874 - only adults over 18 were caught!

208-212

S. Beilin's description of a kheper from later yrs (1914)
from Novaradok

draft would take place near goshik New Year, but victims began to

< cf Binko's Recruits >

209

be taken right after 11/10
 they were wine & dined on kzhel's expense & worked into
 appearing "voluntarily" as substitutes
 even taken to whores
 paid 200-300 rubles a head
 (Paperna tells of a higher price in Kzputie [204])
 must become wild in internment
 this allowed kzhel to rationalize its behavior - look, they're all free
 loaders anyway!

219

Folkways:

draft call usually come during High Holidays

ימים נכבדים ביום זה, ביום הזה
 ביום הזה, ביום הזה, ביום הזה
 ביום הזה, ביום הזה, ביום הזה
 ביום הזה, ביום הזה, ביום הזה
 ביום הזה, ביום הזה, ביום הזה
 ביום הזה, ביום הזה, ביום הזה

בין משואה ופסח (ברפ"ח 1910)

GM

הולדתו - אלוהים יברכה
 את ישראל ואת ארץ ישראל
 ואת כל בני ישראל ואת כל
 ארצות ישראל ואת כל עממיה

ביום הזה, ביום הזה, ביום הזה
 ביום הזה, ביום הזה, ביום הזה

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ביום הזה, ביום הזה, ביום הזה
 ביום הזה, ביום הזה, ביום הזה

ביום הזה, ביום הזה, ביום הזה
 ביום הזה, ביום הזה, ביום הזה

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פיר קאמט זאמל
 נ' גאסען פון פאך פון פאך
 פון פאך פון פאך פון פאך
 פון פאך פון פאך פון פאך
 פון פאך פון פאך פון פאך

Y.L. Gordon

233-230

"3"ע א"ע אשכנזי"

song to tune of a Russian lullabye - 1845
 father long since dead
 patriotic note

234-41

פון פאך פון פאך פון פאך
 פון פאך פון פאך פון פאך

mock-epic build-up
 why aren't they taking out the Torah?
 Mother of J whose 3rd son, the breadwinner, now being taken
 widowed 2 yr before
 Tsipe who has a store at the town gate
 Another woman, just ^{gave birth} ~~miscarried~~, protests the taking of her husband
 followed by Shmerl der shmid

dissociated sensibilities - chapters were religious Jews
 saw no discrepancy between kidnapping & halacha
 see memoir, p. 275

Cf to Inquisition

indiv. cut off from community - lost forever
 enemy shows his true colors
~~then~~ having to negotiate on alien turf
 deep-seated religious hatred