

A Recurrent Echo: the “Jewish Question” in Politics and Memory of Eastern Europe
Paper Presented at the 2019 ASN World Convention, Columbia University, 2-4 May 2019
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Caustic, often ominous, intersecting discussions of citizenship and nationality are at the core of politics and memory wars today throughout Eastern Europe. Similar discussions emerged in late Imperial Russia. For most observers at the time, and generations of scholars since, xenophobic tropes of the far-right, violence perpetrated against national minorities and responses by radical movements informed images and analyses. Nowhere was this approach truer than in debates on the “Jewish question.”

This presentation explores liberal approaches to the “Jewish question” among significant parts of literate society embodied in three high-circulation newspapers. These dailies embodied an emergent national narrative in Russia that echoes today: in parallel to intolerance toward national minorities, Russia also had strong, popular liberal traditions and voices.

A most noteworthy feature of the “Jewish question” is its longevity. I dare say that the “Jewish question” and the larger nationalities questions that encompass it cannot be “solved.” Sadly, study of the “Jewish question” suggests to historians, activists and politicians that ethno-nationalist tensions are here to stay but do not irredeemably lead to only violent outcomes. And anyone interested in the viability of civil society in Eastern Europe today might want to look back to the 1906-1914 period, when the outline of a marginally democratic, liberal society first seemed possible.

Of course the region looks different now. Most of the Jews are gone. Some countries have successfully privatized their economies and allow for social and physical mobility that would have been unthinkable before 1989. But authoritarianism has returned to parts of Eastern Europe and some old ethnic antagonisms have resurfaced. Given these changes, it seems appropriate to reassess the history of liberal nationalism through a window opened through the “Jewish question.” We may want to listen for echoes from this past to formulate a more hopeful future.

Whether one sought to further restrict Russia’s Jews or embrace them, answers to this question

bore implications for the even more explosive Polish, Finnish and Ukrainian questions.¹

National struggles for emancipation often became “bundled” in the eyes of the major European powers. So for Russia’s rulers and other multi-ethnic empires at the turn of the 20th century, solving their “Jewish questions” might reveal a pathway toward solving other pressing issues. Conversely, not solving the “Jewish question” might destabilize the world order.²

At the crux of these old-new challenges is the coexistence of repressive impulses among ruling circles together with liberal ambitions and traditions among educated, cultured elites in proximity to those same ruling circles. If the spread of literacy and the proliferation of an active press spawned intensified public debates around the big questions of nationhood, sovereignty, identity and rights in late Imperial Russia,³ I wonder how access to the internet, social media and transborder networks will influence future debates and their outcomes.

Questions and Answers in Late Imperial Russia

The “Jewish question” first arose in public space nearly two centuries ago but still remains a troublesome concept to define.⁴ There was certainly no consensus in late Imperial society on what precisely the “question” or its solution meant.⁵

Newspapers introduced the “Jewish question” to the reading public starting in the 1880s. Liberals, no less than conservatives, often expressed racist views and manipulated the issue for political, or even business, purposes. Shocked by the publicized violence of the Kishinev pogrom of 1903, however, almost all of the early newspapers agreed that pogroms signaled the worst face of Russia: a weak state, bad leadership, and an ignorant populace.⁶ Even so, no publisher yet dared to confront the regime on behalf of Jews. This audacity appeared only after 1905.

Discourse on the “Jewish question” proliferated substantially between 1906 and 1914 as a result of post-revolutionary reforms, as well as the rapid rise in popular literacy. For their part, Russian officials understood the dangers of racism for their volatile, multi-ethnic empire. Most of them preferred

“Russification” or neglect over repression when dealing with minorities, including Jews.⁷ But a small core of nationalists and anti-Semites near the centers of power intensified anti-Jewish imagery in publications after 1905.⁸

The Press in Late Imperial Russia

Dynamism characterized the Russian press during the Duma era, including the newspapers examined here (*Gazeta kopeika*, *Rech'*, and *Russkie vedomosti*).⁹ These are the empirical core of my analysis. All were privately owned, mass-circulation dailies and saw the “Jewish question” as a flywheel for wider nationalities questions in the Empire. All had to survive from subscriptions, advertising space and daily street sales. Small-circulation newspapers published by the radical Right or Left enjoyed government or party subsidies.¹⁰ Although we cannot gauge the impact of the press on the reading public, it did expose growing numbers of Russians to a variety of views. Many of Russia’s decision-makers read liberal newspapers—particularly *Rech'* and *Russkie vedomosti*—even if they agreed with little of what they read and tried to limit their distribution.¹¹

The Moscovite *Russkie vedomosti* appeared in 1863 and had a reputation for non-political, thorough and reliable reporting.¹² Published in St. Petersburg from February 1905, *Rech'* was closely associated with the Kadets but no political party could claim it for its own. Very popular among politically active liberals, *Rech'* had little daily circulation outside the city. Unlike *Russkie vedomosti*, the publishers of *Rech'* were Jews or recent converts from Judaism.¹³ Jewish advocacy organizations from England and the United States helped subsidize the paper until 1908 in hopes that *Rech'* would spread liberal messages about Jews and other issues.¹⁴ During the period of study, *Rech'* and *Russkie vedomosti* had a combined daily circulation of between 117,000 and 150,000 copies, at least equaling the conservative stalwart, *Novoe vremia*.¹⁵

Any attempt to gauge the public mood in Late Imperial Russia must include the *kopeika* newspapers, perhaps better described as tabloids. Hundreds of thousands of copies of *kopeika* dailies sold

in the empire's major cities and in many cases were also read aloud to others.¹⁶ The unaffiliated *Gazeta kopeika* was published in St. Petersburg from 1908 to 1917 and targeted the working classes. The paper cannot be classified as liberal in a strict political sense but it was in essence.¹⁷

On the whole, the liberal press promoted inclusion of Jews into an egalitarian society under the rule of law. The three dailies examined here vacillated between valuing and pitying Jews. But the victimization of Jews was, overall, less important than the lessons to be learned from these injustices. All of them ignored the Jewish press in Russia. This was not an oversight or “blind spot”; many of their writers, especially in *Rech'* and *Gazeta kopeika*, knew Yiddish (and perhaps Hebrew). The newspapers I explored mostly put forth ideas and details *about* Jews, but did not include them in the conversation.

A Debate Begins, 1906

Although not representative of the masses and invested with only marginal powers – foreshadowing Russia's post-1991 Duma – the Imperial Duma did offer an unprecedented platform for political expression. While the regime may have wanted to ignore the nationalities dilemma, intersecting trends of violence in the peripheries and politicization throughout Russian society reverberating in the wake of the 1905 Revolution forced the issue into the public sphere.¹⁸

Throughout 1906 *Russkie vedomosti* responded to repeated anti-Semitic articles in the press. Its editors saw slanders about international Jewish funding of revolution as a diversion by the Right.¹⁹ The paper also castigated maltreatment of Jews in Russian courts and drew attention to legitimate Jewish demands for equal civil rights.²⁰ It bemoaned recent pogroms and the suffering of the victims.²¹ Throughout 1906, the paper increasingly positioned the “Jewish question” as a vehicle to build a more civil society.²²

Rech' used the “Jewish question” mainly as a tool to bludgeon the regime and its allies -- *Novoe Vremia* and the Orthodox clergy. For *Rech'* the pogroms were a national humiliation and antithetical to progress.²³ Moreover, the paper attacked government fear-mongering about the demographic weight of

Jews in Duma elections.²⁴ Solutions for these ills were higher incomes for urban workers, replacing officials involved with pogroms and emphasizing Jews' capacity to bolster the national economy.²⁵

Rech' went further by reporting on the dysfunctional regime's funding of anti-Jewish incitement as a means of drawing "the people" closer.²⁶ Dispelling myths and anti-Semitic propaganda took on new importance in 1911. For example: did, as the Right claimed, Jews play an outsized part in Russia's revolutionary movements?²⁷ These papers argued that small, conniving groups manipulated common, honest Russians toward anti-Jewish violence.

Rech' proposed that Russia could learn from Germany, where the rule of law protected all citizens from the incitement that plagued Russia's Jews.²⁸ Comparisons continued five years later as *Rech'* asked how, in the midst of militarization throughout Europe, Russia's generals opposed conscripting Jews while arch-conservatives in Germany approved universal army service.²⁹

Rech' and *Russkie vedomosti* both battled the conservative mantra, "Russia for Russians," arguing that it could not apply like "France for the French," "Italy for Italians," or even "Austria for the Germans." Because Russia was a multi-ethnic empire (not a nation-state), loyalty among its minorities could be assured only by protecting their rights, not brute force. No less important, only social peace could avert Russia's slide toward political bankruptcy.³⁰ This orientation contradicted conservatives, who usually tried to separate the "Jewish question" from general nationalities policy.

From the start, the liberal newspapers' contributed to widening public discourse about ethno-national issues by providing an open platform for many voices. Articles, statements and petitions submitted by unions, professional associations, political émigrés, activists or local Jewish communities became a chorus.³¹ Given restrictions on print and broadcast media today in Russia, Internet-based platforms now serve the role taken by these liberal newspapers more than a century ago.

1911: A Question Confronts Turmoil

Crises threatened the empire throughout 1911, punctuated by the Beilis Affair, famine and P.M.

Stolypin's assassination. Added to these, a volatile diplomatic landscape, a spiraling international arms race and growing dependence on foreign loans troubled Russia's leaders and reading public.

Rech' seemed at least as concerned by the global and financial ramifications for Russia borne of its treatment of minorities than by the actual repression. In other words, *Rech'* did not want behavior toward Jews, Poles or Turkmen to allow England to label Russia an "Asiatic" nation or deter foreign bankers from extending new loans to Russia.³²

Part of this liberalism came from consciousness about class, religion and national identity. From one side, *Rech'* criticized "typical" gentry attitudes among those who called Jews "deceitful from the time of Adam."³³ From another side it debunked demographic fear-mongering that equated the proportion of Jews in the empire (approximately 5 percent) to a threat against the Orthodox Church. *Rech'* made a comparison to New York: 1.5 million Jews lived in a city of 5 million, yet no one in the United States considered them the national character.³⁴ From yet another side, *Rech'*s writers argued that if the conservative press and high-ranking clerics wanted to prove Russia "the new Israel," then the country must destroy not the Jews, but rather anti-Jewish biases.³⁵ By drawing attention to everyday transgressions against Jews, *Rech'* warned wider society about the true nature of autocratic governance.³⁶

By 1911, *Russkie vedomosti* identified antisemitism as a crutch on which Russo-nationalists stood, fearing the loss of their past predominance.³⁷ *Russkie vedomosti* also focused on implications for the national economy rising from the "Jewish question." After all, it argued, in other countries integration of Jews yielded economic gains, whereas Russia's people showed little economic vibrancy while primitive Russian nobles lived off state stipends and bank credits. Washington's cancellation of the 1832 Trade Agreement illustrated the price of governmental inaction.³⁸

Gazeta kopeika's coverage was comparable on what might be called everyday antisemitism "from above" and "from below."³⁹ Paying less heed to international and economic arenas, it focused on discussions about Jews in the Duma and at forums of professional and class-based organizations. *Gazeta kopeika's* correspondents heaped disdain on antisemitic deputies, revealing how they tried to deflect

attention from major issues with absurd antisemitism. Perhaps more important for our discussion, these reports explained to urban workers why the “Jewish question” was important for all of Russia’s minorities.⁴⁰ While not overtly sympathetic to Jews, *Gazeta kopeika*’s writers suggested that the good of Russia would be served by stopping anti-Jewish repression.⁴¹ Perhaps most remarkable about *Gazeta kopeika* in 1911 were the number of items that presented Jews and Judaism as normal fixtures in the national landscape: rational, legitimate, loyal, and deserving of equal treatment.⁴²

1914: War and Antisemitic Echoes

With the coming of war, the regime became even more suspicious toward *inorodtsy*, thus further intensifying anti-Jewish pressures.⁴³ The first issues of this year’s papers addressed the recently concluded Beilis trial and acquittal. The international embarrassment it had caused brought demands for a truly independent court system, accountable government and civil society.⁴⁴ This link to civil society repeated in coverage of a spectacular, new case: the murder of a young boy in the town of Fastov. Coming on the heels of Beilis’s acquittal, this could have exploded into another round of ritual murder accusations. It quickly became known, however, that the victim was Jewish. *Gazeta kopeika* urged calm, suggesting that the radical Right had orchestrated the murder to ignite pogroms.⁴⁵ It seems that the papers helped to prevent a new round of anti-Semitic smears by demonizing antisemitism while emphasizing the rule of law.⁴⁶

The winds of war brought *Russkie vedemosti* to position the “Jewish question” as a key to national unity.⁴⁷ *Inorodtsy* should be embraced whereas foreigners (especially “Germans”) who held disproportionate power in military industries should come under scrutiny. Moreover, Russia’s political elites, not Jews, were anathema to the state’s interests.⁴⁸ In fact, the empire would suffer if Jews and other minorities remained embittered toward Russia.⁴⁹

Interest in the “Jewish question” deepened as war drew closer. The papers aimed to educate the reading public about the lives, culture and challenges faced by Jews under an overarching question once

the war began: why did Jews still lack elementary rights when they had heroically fulfilled their civil duties?⁵⁰ Looking forward to the postwar period, *Russkie vedomosti* foresaw a new era of equality for Jews and other minorities forged on the battlefields and in the rear, although it still considered Jews as valued stepchildren of the empire compared, for example, to fellow Slavs.⁵¹ At other times, the papers skewered the regime with the “Jewish question”. For example, they reported on local officials who derived huge incomes by extorting disenfranchised Jews while normal Russians unnecessarily suffered because government repression denied skilled Jews entrance into crucial professions.⁵²

The papers did not see all minorities as equal victims of the autocracy. *Rech'* claimed that the Poles—whose loyalty to Russia always had been suspect—redirected that suspicion onto Jews.⁵³ It worried that creation of an anti-Jewish Polish nation-state would set an alarming precedent for the rest of the empire. While Polish concerns about demography and economy were legitimate, antisemitism could not be the solution. Russia, therefore, had to intervene on behalf of Poland's Jews.⁵⁴ *Rech'* also issued an ominous warning to Ukrainians, *not* to Jews, that Russia would never surrender its cultural uniformity.⁵⁵ By year's end *Rech'* suggested to Russia's conservatives that their aggression toward “foreigners” should be aimed only against Wilhelm II's troops, not the empire's minorities.⁵⁶

Rech' put a premium on the intersection between economics and minority rights. It strongly attacked restrictions imposed by the Council of Ministers on Jewish membership in joint-stock companies.⁵⁷ In fact, Jewish models of cooperative welfare, trade organizations and pull to post-secondary education should be models for emulation, not vilification.⁵⁸ From July onward it lauded the Jews' commitment to the war effort, both in Russia and abroad.⁵⁹ The common man – not just backward officials and politicians – needed to overcome their anti-Jewish instincts for the good of the nation.⁶⁰

Gazeta kopeika went farthest in promoting positive imagery. It portrayed Jews as proud, brave, loyal, productive, likeable citizens, who should be embraced by the nation.⁶¹ We cannot accurately gauge the effects of these messages on public opinion. Rather, my intent is to reveal their frequency. The “Jewish question” in late imperial Russia was not merely vitriol among antisemites. Never was this truer

than in 1914. Lest we overstate, this must be said: whatever the increased familiarity with the “Jewish question, the regime brutally deported hundreds of thousands of Jews from the western borderlands in early 1915.

Conclusions

In the case studied here, the proliferation of journalism brought disproportionate attention to what otherwise would have been an insignificant issue for most imperial subjects. Liberals surely did not all agree on much connected to the “Jewish question” or nationalities issues. Some called for inclusion while others espoused Russian chauvinism.⁶² Most believed that the answer to the question should be integration of Jews into the fabric of the multi-national empire in order to bypass cynical antisemitism among Russia’s gentry and large merchants and move toward a more civil society.

The shift in orientation on Polish-Jewish relations is highly instructive about the wider implications of the “Jewish question.” *Rech’* and *Russkie vedomosti* exuded optimism in 1906 and 1911, portraying Poland as a model of coexistence. I do not know whether these reports reflected ignorance of conditions on the ground for Poland’s Jews or a desire among Russia’s liberals to enlist the cooperation of Polish nationalists against tsardom. But by August 1914, Polish treatment of local Jews signaled to the newspapers that the former were disloyal, repressive hyper-nationalists. According to the liberal press, the forthcoming war demanded the acceleration of equal treatment for Jews and other nationalities.

When thinking about echoes of these legacies in Eastern Europe today, several points seem salient. First, Jews were a focus of journalistic competition for profits and prestige between the right-wing and liberal press. Second, the empire would be shackled by its autocratic, “Asian” inheritance as long as organized, government-condoned antisemitism persisted. Third, national economic vitality would lag as long as the “Jewish question” remained unresolved. Liberals demanded equality for Jews not to save them, rather for Russia’s own good. Fourth, these types of publications adroitly criticized the state but proved weaker in proposing actionable reforms. As we now know, liberal Russian intelligentsia of the

time did not have—nor would it ever gain—substantial experience in formulating actionable national policy.

Russia today hovers between a kind of economic liberalism, a return to political authoritarianism, and antagonistic nationalism. What might all of this history mean under current conditions in Eastern Europe? I and other scholars have examined how political advocacy on behalf of Jews – and to a lesser extent other national minorities – influenced the policies and conduct of Russia’s leaders. Before 1914, Russia’s chronic need for foreign capital created leverage for westerners to pressure St. Petersburg on behalf of minority rights. Russia’s current petro and mineral riches speak against such vulnerabilities today but can play a role when dealing with governments in Eastern Europe.

What role liberal might media outlets have today in offsetting xenophobia in national discourses?

There are glimmers of hope, albeit rather banal:

- Unlike the early 20th century, literacy is nearly universal.
- The profit motive for publication remains as true today as it was during the first decades of the 20th century.
- If only printed dailies, “thick” journals and political pamphlets disseminated liberalism in the early 20th century, today a dizzying array of media platforms exist.
- Authoritarian regimes then and now have many ways to deter unwanted voices. But the sheer volume and anonymity of modern media allow space for expression.

It would be disingenuous for us scholars in the Western “cheap seats” to preach the importance of public discourse to liberal-minded activists in Eastern Europe under an encroaching authoritarian shadow. We can, however, ease the darkness by pointing light toward historical models that yielded positive results and how contemporary realities measure up.

- ¹ For example, see Johannes Remy, *Brothers or Enemies: The Ukrainian National Movement and Russia, from the 1840s to the 1870s* (University of Toronto Press, 2016), passim.
- ² Holly Case, *The Age of Questions* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018), 104–112, 122–133, 215–216.
- ³ I first encountered this observation in Case, *Age of Questions*, 3.
- ⁴ Heinz-Dietrich Löwe, *The Tsars and the Jews: Reform, Reaction and Anti-Semitism in Imperial Russia* (Chur, Switz.: Harwood, 1993); Stefani Hoffman and Ezra Mendelsohn, eds., *The Revolution of 1905 and Russia's Jews* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Jonathan Dekel-Chen, David Gaunt, Natan Meir, and Israel Bartal, eds., *Anti-Jewish Violence: Rethinking the Pogrom in East European History* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2010); John Doyle Klier, *Russians, Jews and the Pogroms of 1881–1882* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). Perhaps most remarkable among all recent works is Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn's controversial 2-volume work, *Dvesti let vmeste* (Moscow: Russkii put', 2009–2010).
- ⁵ For example, see John D. Klier, "The Jewish Question in the Reform-Era Russian Press, 1855–1865," *Russian Review* 39, no. 3 (1980): 310, 307; and Eli Weinerman, "Racism, Racial Prejudice and Jews in Late Imperial Russia," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 17, no. 13 (1994): 470.
- ⁶ John D. Klier, "The Russian Press and the Anti-Jewish Pogroms of 1881," *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* 17, no. 2 (1983): 202, 208–9, 220–21; John D. Klier, *Imperial Russia's Jewish Question* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 130, 303, 313, 319, 383; Galai, "The Jewish Question," 34–36.
- ⁷ Weinerman, "Racism, Racial Prejudice," 442.
- ⁸ Robert Weinberg, "The Russian Right Responds to 1905: Visual Depictions of Jews in Postrevolutionary Russia," in *The Revolution of 1905 and Russia's Jews*, ed. Stefani Hoffman and Ezra Mendelsohn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 55–69; Richard Wortman, "Nicholas II and the Revolution," in Hoffman and Mendelsohn, *The Revolution of 1905*, 31–45; Galai, "The Jewish Question," passim.
- ⁹ My thanks to Natalya Goykhman for translation of materials from *Gazeta kopeika*. All other translations are mine.
- ¹⁰ David R. Costello, "Novoe vremia and the Conservative Duma," *Russian Review* 37, no. 1 (1978): 32–33; Louise McReynolds, "Imperial Russia's Newspaper Reporters: Profile of a Society in Transition, 1865–1914," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 68, no. 2 (1990): 278.
- ¹¹ Vladimir I. Gurko, *Features and Figures of the Past* (Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press, 1939), 423, 432, 433, 533; McReynolds, *The News*, 221, 240; Gosudarstvennaia Duma, "Gazeta kopeika [henceforth: "GK"], 21 May 1914, no. 2099, 2–3; James H. Krukones, "To the People: The Russian Government and the Newspaper *Sel'skii vestnik*, 1881–1917" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 1983), 266, 293, 348.
- ¹² Costello, "Novoe vremia," 34.
- ¹³ Thomas Riha, "Rech': A Portrait," *Slavic Review* 22, no. 4 (1963): 665.
- ¹⁴ Gary Dean Best, *To Free a People: American Jewish Leaders and the Jewish Problem in Eastern Europe, 1890–1914* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982), 167–68.
- ¹⁵ Riha, "Rech' ", 663; McReynolds, *The News*, tables 5–6 in appendix A.
- ¹⁶ Solomon Volkov, *St. Petersburg: A Cultural History*, trans. Antonina W. Bouis (New York: Free Press, 1995), 152–53.
- ¹⁷ Mikhail B. Gorodetskii (a liberal Jew) and V. Anzimirov published *Gazeta kopeika* from 1908 until 1917. For this reason, material for the year 1906 could not be accessed. Individual copies of the daily sold for 1 kopek; a yearly subscription cost 3 rubles. For an advertisement of the extraordinarily varied subscription packages for the year 1912, see *Gazeta kopeika*, 18 November 1911, no. 1198, 2. A separate daily under the same title appeared in Moscow from 1909 to 1910.
- ¹⁸ Hans Rogger, "Was there a Russian Fascism? The U.R.P.," *Journal of Modern History* 36, no. 4 (1964): 398; Weeks, *Nation and State*, 50; Ascher, "Prime Minister Stolypin," 521; Dominic Lieven, et al., eds., *British Documents on Foreign Affairs: Reports and Papers from the Foreign Office Confidential Print*, part 1, series A, vol. 4 (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1983), 115, 244–45, 266.
- ¹⁹ For example, see *Russkie vedomosti* [henceforth "RV"], 18 July 1906, no. 182, 1.
- ²⁰ "Uchastie evreev v revoliutsionnom dvizhenii," *RV*, 18 July 1906, no. 182, 2; *RV*, 12 December 1906, no. 300, 3; *RV*, 1 October 1906, no. 241, 2.
- ²¹ "Posle pogromov," *RV*, 1 September 1906, no. 217, 3; "Posle pogromov," *RV*, 7 September 1906, no. 222, 4.
- ²² "Chernosotennaia demagogia," *RV*, 16 September 1906, no. 228, 2; *RV*, 31 August 1906, no. 216, 2; "Chto tvoritsia v Odesse," *RV*, 11 November 1906, no. 276, 3.
- ²³ *RV*, 12 December 1906, no. 300, 3; "Uchastie evreev v revoliutsionnom dvizhenii," *RV*, 18 July 1906, no. 182, 2; "Ob antisemiticheskoi pechati," *Rech'*, 6 June 1906, no. 92, 1; "Po povodu pogromnogo nastroeniia vcherte oseldlosti," *Rech'*, 18 June 1906, no. 103, 2; "Iudofil' svoei redaktsii," *Rech'*, 11 June 1906, no. 97, 2; "Mery priniaty," *Rech'*, 28 February 1906, no. 6, 2; "Milost' evreiam," *Rech'*, 4 March 1906, no. 10; "K russkomu obshchestvu," *Rech'*, 17 March 1906, no. 23, 3; "Bialistokskii pogrom," *Rech'*, 11 June 1906, no. 97, 2; "Eshche o Bialistoke," *Rech'*, 8 July 1906, no. 120, 2; "Neidgardt opravdan!" *Rech'*, 18 March 1906, no. 24, 1; "O chernosotennom dvizhenii," *Rech'*, 1 April 1906, no. 37, 2; "Bialistokskii urok," *Rech'*, 4 June 1906, no. 91, 2.

- ²⁴ “Preduprezhdenie pogromov,” *Rech'*, 15 March 1906, no. 21, 2; “Ni'chto o pogromakh,” *Rech'*, 1 April 1906, no. 37, 2; “Bialistokskii pogrom,” *Rech'*, 11 June 1906, no. 97, 2.
- ²⁵ Galai, “The Jewish Question,” 54–61; “Bialistokskii urok,” *Rech'*, 4 June 1906, no. 91, 2; “K evreiskomu voprosu,” *Rech'*, 23 June 1906, no. 107, 1; K postanovke evreiskogo voprosa,” *Rech'*, 27 June 1906, no. 99, 1; “Eshche o Bialistoke,” *Rech'*, 8 July 1906, no. 120, 2; “Bialistokskii pogrom,” *Rech'*, 11 June 1906, no. 97, 2; “Bezpravnye na zhitel'stvo,” *Rech'*, 14 April 1906, no. 48, 2; Po povodu kravovago naveta,” *Rech'*, 7 December 1911, no. 336, 3; “K priedzdu evreev v Tiumen,” *Rech'*, 18 June 1911, no. 164, 4; “Vyselenie evreev iz selo Bezsonovki,” *Rech'*, 23 February 1911, no. 52, 7; “Evreiskoe zasil'e,” *Rech'*, 9 November 1911, no. 308, 4.
- ²⁶ “Iapansko-evreiskie i istinno-russkie liudi,” *Rech'*, 22 August 1906, no. 144, 1; Preduprezhdenie pogromov,” *Rech'*, 15 March 1906, no. 21, 2; “Eshche ob agenstvo,” *Rech'*, 8 April 1906, no. 42, 1; “Ni'chto o pogromakh,” *Rech'*, 1 April 1906, no. 37, 2; “Po povodu pogromnogo nastroyeniia vcherte oseldlosti,” *Rech'*, 18 June 1906, no. 103, 2.
- ²⁷ “Uchastie evreev v revoliutsionnom dvizhenii,” *RV*, 8 March 1911, no. 54, 2.
- ²⁸ “Ob antisemiticheskoi pechati,” *Rech'*, 6 June 1906, no. 92, 1.
- ²⁹ “Russkaia armia i natsional'nyi vopros,” *Rech'*, 31 March 1911, no. 88, 2; “Evreiskii vopros v voennykh sferakh,” *Rech'*, 4 October 1911, no. 272, 2.
- ³⁰ *RV*, 3 December 1906, no. 294, 2; “Russkaia zemlia i russkii narod,” *Rech'*, 4 May 1906, no. 64, 1.
- ³¹ “K russkomu obshchestvu,” *Rech'*, 17 March 1906, no. 23, 3; *RV*, 21 March 1906, no. 78, 3; “Perepiska mezhdru Burtsevym i dep. Purishkevichem,” *GK*, 13 January 1911, no. 892, 3; “O chem pishut: Protest evreev,” *GK*, 8 April 1911, no. 977, 3; “Russkie pisateli i obshchestvennye deiateli o dele Iushchinskago,” *GK*, 30 November 1911, no. 1210, 3; “2-oi vsrossiiskii remeslennyi c'ezd,” *GK*, 30 January 1911, no. 909, 5.
- ³² “Rokovyia nedorazumeniia,” *Rech'*, 22 January 1911, no. 21, 3; “K voprosu o natsionalizatsii ekonomicheskoi oblasti,” *Rech'*, 6 August 1911, no. 213, 2.
- ³³ “Malenki feitelion—evreiskii vopros,” *Rech'*, 14 February 1911, no. 44, 3.
- ³⁴ *Rech'*, 17 July 1911, no. 193, 2.
- ³⁵ “Natsionalizm i religiiia,” *Rech'*, 21 October 1911, no. 289, 2.
- ³⁶ “Proverka evreiskikh kvartir,” *Rech'*, 26 May 1911, no. 142, 3; “Mystarstva privileirovannoga evreiiia,” *Rech'*, 2 July 1911, no. 178, 2; “Sionizm pred sudom senata,” *Rech'*, 8 July 1911, no. 184, 3; “Proizvol s protsentnoi normoi,” *Rech'*, 9 August 1911, no. 216, 3; “Nemtsy v mesto evreev,” *Rech'*, 9 November 1911, no. 308, 4; “Zhelezo,” *Rech'*, 8 September 1911, no. 246, 2; “Teoriia pogromov,” *Rech'*, 13 September 1911, no. 251, 2; “Po povodu kravovago naveta,” *Rech'*, 7 December 1911, no. 336, 3; “Professor, Novoe vremia i ubistvo Iushchinskago,” *Rech'*, 18 December 1911, no. 347, 3.
- ³⁷ *RV*, 5 January 1911, no. 3, 2; *RV*, 1 May 1911, no. 99, 2; *RV*, 22 September 1911, no. 217, 2; *RV*, 4 November 1911, no. 254, 1.
- ³⁸ *RV*, 7 December 1911, no. 281, 1; *RV*, 10 August 1911, no. 183, 1; *RV*, 31 July 1911, no. 176, 2; “Zakonproekt ob otmene . . .,” *RV*, 11 February 1911, no. 32, 5; “Priem detei lits iudeiskago . . .,” *RV*, 20 May 1911, no. 114, 5; *RV*, 1 September 1911, no. 201, 2.
- ³⁹ “Reorganizatsiia advokatskago sosloviia,” *GK*, 9 August 1911, no. 1097, 2; “Antievreiskie bezporiadki v Ferganskoi oblasti,” *GK*, 27 September 1911, no. 1146, 2; “Telegrammy [from Odessa],” 16 October 1911, no. 1165, 2.
- ⁴⁰ “Gosudarstvennaia Duma,” *GK*, 25 March 1911, no. 963, 3; “Gosudarstvennaia Duma,” *GK*, 1 April 1911, no. 970, 3; “Gosudarstvennaia Duma,” *GK*, 30 April 1911, no. 997, 2–3; “Zaprosami ob ubiistv P.A. Stolypina: Zapros' oktiabristov,” *GK*, 16 October 1911, no. 1165, 4; “Zapros ob ubiistve Iushchinskago v komissii g. Dumy,” *GK*, 3 November 1911, no. 1184, 3; “Gosudarstvennaia Duma,” *GK*, 8 November 1911, no. 1174, 4–5; “Okolo g. Dumy,” *GK*, 18 November 1911, no. 1198, 2; “Vserossiiskii c'ezd ob edinennago dvorianstva,” *GK*, 12 February 1911, no. 923, 4–5; “15 February 1911, no. 925, 4; 16 February 1911, no. 926, 5; “2-oi vsrossiiskii remeslennyi c'ezd,” *GK*, 20 January 1911, no. 899, 5; 21 January 1911, no. 900, 3; 24 January 1911, no. 903, 3; 26 January 1911, no. 905, 3; 27 January 1911, no. 906, 4; 29 January 1911, no. 908, 3; 30 January 1911, no. 909, 5. “Za den',” *GK*, 31 January 1911, no. 910, 3; “Rezul'taty remeslennago c'ezda,” *GK*, 8 March 1911, no. 946, 4; “Sredi natsionalistov i monarkhistov,” *GK*, 14 September 1911, no. 1133, 4.
- ⁴¹ “Gosudarstvennaia Duma,” *GK*, 10 February 1911, no. 920, 2–3; “Okolo g. Dumy: zakonproekt ob otmene cherty osedlosti,” *GK*, 3 March 1911, no. 1941, 2.
- ⁴² “O chem pishut: Protest evreev,” *GK*, 8 April 1911, no. 977, 3; “Soveshchanie o prosveshchenii sredi evreev,” *GK*, 16 April 1911, no. 983, 3; “Raz'iasneniia k zakonu o svobode ispovedaniia,” *GK*, 12 May 1911, no. 1009, 3; “Pochemu?,” *GK*, 19 August 1911, no. 1107, 3; “Deputatsiia ot evreiskago naseleniia g. Kiev,” *GK*, 4 September 1911, no. 1123, 6; “Sud: Eshche o evreiskikh imenakh,” *GK*, 20 November 1911, no. 1200, 5; “Rabyki v dvadtsatom vek,” *GK*, 22 May 1911, no. 1019, 5–6; “Delo d-ra Ravvicha,” *GK*, 9 September 1911, no. 1128, 1; “Sud: Semeinaia drama,” *GK*, 14 September 1911, no. 1133, 4.
- ⁴³ Löwe, *Tsars*, 291; “V Polshe,” *RV*, 21 March 1914, no. 67, 5.
- ⁴⁴ *RV*, 1 January 1914, no. 1, 24; “Koshmarnaia zagadka,” *Rech'*, 10 January 1914, no. 9, 4; “Vendetta synov Iakova,” *Rech'*, 6 February 1914, no. 36, 2; “Delo advokatov,” *Rech'*, 8 June 1914, no. 153, 2; “Kievskie prizraki,” *Rech'*, 19 January 1914, no. 18, 2; “Nabroski,” *Rech'*, 3 April 1914, no. 91, 2; “Delo V. V. Shul'gina,” *GK*, 21 January 1914, no. 1981, 2–3; “Posle

- prigovora po delu Shul'gina," *GK*, 22 January 1914, no. 1982, 2; "K delu advokatov," *GK*, 30 January 1914, no. 1990, 3; "Otkliki dela Beilisa," *GK*, 4 June 1914, no. 2112, 3; 5 June 1914, no. 2113, 3; 6 June 1914, no. 2114, 3; 7 June 1914, no. 2115, 3. *Gazeta kopeika* reported on a similar case in Vilna; "Po Rusi: Ritual'nyi shantazh," *GK*, 13 May 1914, no. 2091, 5.
- ⁴⁵ "Koshmarnoe prestuplenie," *GK*, 11 January 1914, 1914, no. 1971, 3–4; "Ubiistvo v Fastove," *GK*, 31 January 1914, no. 1991, 1–2; "Ubiistvo v Fastove," *GK*, 1 February 1914, no. 1992, 2; "Fastovskoe ubiistvo," *GK*, 2 February 1914, no. 1993, 2; "Fastovskoe ubiistvo," *GK*, 4 February 1914, no. 1995, 1–2; "Fastovskoe delo," *GK*, 5 February 1914, no. 1996, 2; "Fastovskoe ubiistvo," *GK*, 6 February 1914, no. 1997, 1; "Pod ritual," *RV*, 12 January 1914, no. 9, 3; "Final Fastovskago dela," *RV*, 18 July 1914, no. 139, 2.
- ⁴⁶ For example, see "Zaiavlenie zashchitnikov Beilisa," *GK*, 23 January 1914, no. 1983, 2; "Fastovskoe delo," *GK*, 7 February 1914, no. 1998, 2.
- ⁴⁷ *RV*, 26 January 1914, no. 21, 2.
- ⁴⁸ "Inorodtsy i inostrantsy," *RV*, 1 February 1914, no. 26, 3; "Voprosy dnia i zhizni," *RV*, 29 January 1914, no. 28, 2.
- ⁴⁹ "Na zapadnoi okraine," *RV*, 7 March 1914, no. 55, 5; *RV*, 10 September 1914, no. 207, 2; "Tsennoe priznanie," *RV*, 5 October 1914, no. 229, 2; *RV*, 14 December 1914, no. 288; "Izo dnia v den'," *RV*, 8 May 1914, no. 105, 2.
- ⁵⁰ "Antropologicheskii tip evreev," *RV*, 9 January 1914, no. 6, 4; "Voprosy dnia i zhizni," *RV*, 29 January 1914, no. 28, 2; "Rol evreev v khoziaistvennoi zhizni," *RV*, 11 March 1914, no. 58, 6; *RV*, 13 March 1914, no. 60, 2; "Tragediia evreiskago naroda," *RV*, 3 August 1914, no. 178, 6; *RV*, 12 August 1914, no. 184, 2; "Pomoshch' poliakam i evreiam," *RV*, 11 October 1914, no. 234, 2; "Prikaz' gradonachal'nika o evreiaikh," *GK*, 5 January 1914, no. 1965, 4; "Telegrammy," *GK*, 17 January 1914, no. 1977, 2; "Telegrammy," *GK*, 22 January 1914, no. 1982, 2 (see reports from Kiev and Zhitomir); "Okolo ros. Dumy," *GK*, 23 January 1914, no. 1983, 2; "Okolo ros. Dumy," *GK*, 24 January 1914, no. 1984, 3; "Telegrammy," *GK*, 4 February 1914, no. 1995, 2; "Partinaia konferentsiia K-D," *GK*, 25 March 1914, no. 2044, 3; "Telegrammy," *GK*, 20 May 1914, no. 2098, 2.
- ⁵¹ "Tragediia evreiskago naroda," *RV*, 3 August 1914, no. 178, 2, 6; *RV*, 3 August, 1914, no. 178, 2; "Za chertoi," *RV*, 10 August 1914, no. 183, 3; *RV*, 12 August 1914, no. 184, 2; *RV*, 10 September 1914, no. 207, 2; "Pomoshch' poliakam i evreiam," *RV*, 11 October 1914, no. 234, 2; "Gordiev uzel," *RV*, 29 November 1914, no. 275, 2.
- ⁵² "Naivnost'," *Rech'*, 9 February 1914, no. 39, 1; "Evreiskie anekdoty," *Rech'*, 6 April 1914, no. 94, 7; "Evreiskii dela," *Rech'*, 6 May 1914, no. 121, 4; "Evreiskii vopros," *Rech'*, 14 June 1914, no. 159, 2; "Evreiskie anekdoty," *Rech'*, 18 August 1914, no. 225, 4; "Gosudarstvennaia Duma," *GK*, 23 January 1914, no. 1983, 2; "Zabotlivye soiuzniki," *GK*, 7 February 1914, no. 1998, 2; "Dvoriaskii c'ezd," *GK*, 6 March 1914, no. 2023, 3; "Gosudarstvennaia Duma," *GK*, 14 May 1914, no. 2092, 2–3; 21 May 1914, no. 2099, 2–3; "Tsar Iudeiskii," *Rech'*, 23 February 1914, no. 52, 4; "Fariseiskaia borba s pianstvom," *Rech'*, 3 May 1914, no. 118, 3; *Rech'*, 19 April 1914, no. 105, 3.
- ⁵³ "Politicheskaia naglost' i anti-evreiskaia ideia," *Rech'*, 24 August 1914, no. 226, 5; *Rech'*, 13 December 1914, no. 337, 1; "Beseda s M. M. Vinaverom," *Rech'*, 17 December 1914, no. 341, 3.
- ⁵⁴ *Rech'*, 22 November 1914, no. 316, 1. *Gazeta kopeika* repeated this in the early weeks of the war. See "O chem pishut: Russkie o evreiaikh," *GK*, 8 September 1914, no. 2208, 3.
- ⁵⁵ *Rech'*, 6 August 1914, no. 208, 2.
- ⁵⁶ *Rech'*, 8 November 1914, no. 302, 1; "Vnutrennii mir," *Rech'*, 14 December 1914, no. 338, 1; *Rech'*, 5 December 1914, no. 329, 1. See also Richard Pipes, *Struve: Liberal on the Right, 1905–1914* (Cambridge: MA: Harvard University Press, 1980), 210–14.
- ⁵⁷ *Rech'*, 1 May 1914, no. 117, 1.
- ⁵⁸ "Idei kooperatsii v evreiskikh trudovykh krugakh," *Rech'*, 20 May 1914, no. 135, 7; "Vrednaia agitatsiia," *Rech'*, 24 September 1914, no. 257, 2; "Ob uchashchikhsia evreiaikh," *Rech'*, 3 October 1914, no. 266, 5; "Otklonenie khodataistva o prieme evreev," *Rech'*, 10 October 1914, no. 273, 5.
- ⁵⁹ "Evreiskaia manifestatsiia v Lodzi," *Rech'*, 30 July 1914, no. 201, 4; "Angliiskie evrei i voina," *Rech'*, 3 September 1914, no. 236, 3; "Vozzvanie varshavskago rabbinata pered Sudnym dnem," *Rech'*, 20 September 1914, no. 253, 6; "Ot evreiskago komiteta dlia povsemestnoi pomoshchi," *Rech'*, 15 October 1914, no. 278, 4; "K russkim liudiam o pomoshchi evreiam," *Rech'*, 11 November 1914, no. 305, 2; "V obshchestve evreiskago remeslennago truda," *Rech'*, 24 December 1914, no. 348, 4. Jews themselves tried to project more positive images among the Russian reading public. See Vladimir Levin, "Preventing Pogroms: Patterns in Jewish Politics in Early Twentieth-Century Russia," in Dekel-Chen et al., *Anti-Jewish Violence, 95–110*; and Benjamin Nathans, "The Other Modern Jewish Politics: Integration and Modernity in *Fin-de-Siecle* Russia," in *The Emergence of Modern Jewish Politics: Bundism and Zionism in Eastern Europe*, ed. Zvi Gitelman (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2003), 20–34; Gassenschmidt, *Jewish Liberal Politics*, 7–8, 14.
- ⁶⁰ "Iz avstriskikh vospominanii," *Rech'*, 7 October 1914, no. 270, 2; "Pisma in redaktsiiu," *Rech'*, 28 December 1914, no. 351, 7; "Otkrytoe pismo Shakhovu," *Rech'*, 13 November 1914, no. 307, 2; "K russkim liudiam o pomoshchi evreiam," *Rech'*, 11 November 1914, no. 305, 2; *Rech'*, 1 November 1914, no. 295, 1.
- ⁶¹ "Evreiskii universitet," *GK*, 2 March 1914, no. 2021, 4; "O chem pishut: Otoloski kievskago protsessa," *GK*, 26 June 1914, no. 2134, 2; "Gosudarstvennaia Duma," *GK*, 9 May 1914, no. 2087, 2; "O chem pishut: Kn. Meshcherskii o evreiaikh," *GK*, 30 June 1914, no. 2138, 2; "Patrioticheskaia manifestatsiia evreev," *GK*, 22 July 1914, no. 2160, 2; "Priem' evreev v Kr. Kresta,"

“Germanskii varvary v Kalishe,” “V germanskikh lapakh,” *GK*, 3 August 1914, no. 2172, 3–4; “Evreiskii vopros,” *GK*, 7 September 1914, no. 2207, 3; “O chem pishut: Russkie o evreiakh,” *GK*, 8 September 1914, no. 2208, 3; “Boevoe naputstvie evreiam,” *GK*, 18 September 1914, no. 2218, 2; “V L’vove,” *GK*, 1 October 1914, no. 2231, 5; “O chem pishut: Anglichanin’ v Grodne,” *GK*, 23 October 1914, no. 2253, 3; “Dep. Savenko o galiskikh poliakakh i evreiakh,” *GK*, 31 October 1914, no. 2261, 2; “Russkie bel’giitsy,” *GK*, 12 November 1914, no. 2273, 3; “Blagodarnost’ verkhovnago glavno-komanduiushchago,” *GK*, 8 September 1914, no. 2208, 3; “Ob”iavlenie komendanta grodnenskoii kreposti,” *GK*, 23 September 1914, no. 2223, 2; “Nashi geroi: Bezrukii Iosif’ Trumpel’men’,” *GK*, 25 September 1914, no. 2225, 2–3; “Za den’,” *GK*, 1 December 1914, no. 2292, 3.

⁶¹ For example, see Weeks, *Nation and State*, 26.

⁶² For example, see Weeks, *Nation and State*, 26.