

## *Appendix A*

### *Shtetl Influences*

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Anna had little interest in her ancestry. She did not know the names of her great-grandparents or where they had lived. To better understand the conditions in which she lived as a child, however, it is helpful to know where her people had lived, why they came to the Ukraine, and how they had fared there.

Although Jews had earlier lived in the Black Sea region and in Kiev, their concentration in Eastern Europe stemmed from the First Crusade, which gave Jews reason to leave Western Europe, where they had lived since Roman times. In Western Europe, large Jewish communities had existed in Italy, Spain, Gaul (France), and a small strip of future Rhineland Germany (Cologne, Bonn). In the twelfth century, however, some of these Western European Jews in the area of Germany began to emigrate to Poland.<sup>1</sup>

Poland's practice of religious tolerance made it an attractive country to both Jews and non-Jews in the twelfth century.<sup>2</sup> A wave of emigration to Polish cities and towns was set off in small regions of Western Europe when Jewish residents there were murdered in 1096. The murderers were some of the Christians of the First Crusade together with some of the local burghers in the French city of Rouen and in several cities in the German Rhineland. Jews fled to Poland again and, for the same reason but in greater numbers, after the Second Crusade (1147), and after the Third (1189-1192). These Jews came from Germany, Bohemia, and Moravia.<sup>3</sup> Polish kings hired wealthy Jews as "minters, bankers or commercial agents" in the twelfth century.<sup>4</sup>

In the centuries that followed, Jews from Western Europe would often have reason to emigrate to Poland and other Eastern European lands, either in flight for their lives, or in hope for their livelihoods. In the mid-thirteenth century, Poland invited both Jews and Christians as settlers. Poland's population needed replenishment, having been reduced by the

Mongol invasions that began in 1241 under Batu Khan, founder of the Golden Horde, and grandson of Genghis Khan. The immigrants repaid their adopted land, a land of Polish nobles and their serfs, by forming a needed intermediate class of urban traders and craftsmen who enhanced the country's economic development.<sup>5</sup> Boleslav the Pious responded by granting rights to the Jews of Poland in his charter of 1264.

A century later, Jewish refugees escaped to Poland from Western European lands where they were being killed by Christians who falsely accused them of poisoning the wells to cause the Black Death. This plague repeatedly caused devastation in Western Europe from 1348 into the next century.<sup>6</sup>

Conditions thereafter became even more favorable for Jews in Lithuania than in Poland, since Grand Duke Vytautas gave them numerous "privileges (1388-1389), including tax-free concessions for their places of worship and burial, and the right to trade, hold any craft, and own land."<sup>7</sup> After another hundred years, "A number of Jewish physicians" who had been expelled from Spain in 1492 reached Poland, where they "became the attendants of Polish kings and high nobility."<sup>8</sup>

Regarding Ukrainian lands specifically, Jews displaced by the Crusades in the twelfth century formed small settlements in Galicia and Volhynia, regions associated with the origins of the Ukraine.<sup>9</sup> During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, these Ukrainian Jewish communities, having become part of Poland and Lithuania, increased in population from new immigration when the murder of Jews in the neighboring countries had become most widespread during the Black Death.<sup>10</sup>

Polish noblemen encouraged Jews to settle on their estates, their *latifundia*. Many Jews became agents for these landowners. This became especially frequent after Poland assumed control in 1569 over most of the Ukrainian lands, which lay to the east of the long-settled Polish cities and towns. Vast tracts populated sparsely by Ukrainians (Ruthenians) were given by the Crown to Polish nobles, the magnates.<sup>11</sup> The magnates welcomed the help of Jews in organizing and managing their holdings in these undeveloped regions as feudal estates. Eventually these Jews would often lease the land of the estates from the magnates, who preferred to let their holdings be managed while they used the rents to support their luxurious life in the cities.

The Jews who rented from the magnates were known as *arrendators* (lessees).<sup>12</sup> An individual renter would move with his family into one of the small towns and villages that were part of the magnate's holdings, part of his *latifundium*. A *latifundium* comprised a number of complexes, each complex consisting of up to ten manors, twenty villages, one or two towns, and the residence of the magnate or his manager. The magnate owned the

latifundium outright, including all of its dwelling places, lands, produce, and serfs.<sup>13</sup>

In these private towns that in the sixteenth century were the early shtetls, and in these villages, the Jews enjoyed protection by the magnates, a benefit often lacking for the Jews in the older towns and cities owned by the Crown and influenced by the Catholic Church. Poland did not lack rulers who acted constructively for religious tolerance, but neither did it lack Poles—priests and city-dwelling competitors of the Jews in business—who acted violently against Jews, a situation that would persist for centuries.<sup>14</sup>

The rights to distill and sell liquor in the villages had been preferentially given to Jews. In addition, Jews leased the rights to dairying, logging, milling, salt mining, and other enterprises. They came to control the hide and lumber businesses, both in Poland and internationally. They also collected taxes and tolls from the peasants. In the eyes of the peasants, therefore, the Jews became the hated tax collectors, thereby adding festering social and financial grievances to the peasants' anti-Semitism.<sup>15</sup>

Some cities enacted a law called "*de non tolerandis Judaeis*," which forbade Jews from living inside the city. Jews were barred from some occupations, and in some towns they were forced to live in prescribed areas. Still, conditions were so much better for Jews in Poland than in Western Europe that Poland from 1580 to 1648 has been called "heaven for the Jews, paradise for the nobles, hell for the serfs."<sup>16</sup> Jews could travel freely in Poland and abroad, could engage in many occupations, and had religious freedom. The Jewish community in an individual town was governed by its own *kahal*, a Jewish self-government, which in turn was subject to the Jewish Council of the Four Lands (the four regions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth), from about 1580 to 1764.<sup>17</sup>

This heaven, however, descended into a series of catastrophes. The Cossack and peasant uprising led by the Cossack Bohdan Khmelnytsky against Polish rule in 1648 killed tens of thousands of Jews and destroyed a large number of Jewish towns. Then, during the Swedish-Polish War of 1655-1660, Jewish communities in Poland were destroyed by Poles, and those in Lithuania and White Russia were ravaged by invading Russian armies.<sup>18</sup>

Many Polish Jews who had survived these onslaughts of death and destruction yearned for the long-promised deliverer. A Turkish Jew, Shabbetai Tzevi, declared himself the Messiah in 1646, repeating this declaration publicly in his hometown of Smyrna, Turkey, in 1665, only to leave many disillusioned Jewish followers in Eastern Europe when, under threat of torture by the sultan, he converted to Islam in 1666.<sup>19</sup> Some remained faithful, however, forming a new sect, most of whose members followed a second false Messiah, a Ukrainian Jew named Jacob Frank, who eventually converted publicly to Catholicism in 1759, as did many of his followers.<sup>20</sup>

Meanwhile, after the Khmelnytsky massacres of 1648, and in the first half of the eighteenth century, Poland's economy, like the spiritual life of Jews, was in decline. Poland's legislatures imposed progressively larger and more crippling taxes on the Jewish communities in the cities. The number of Jewish men who were both poor and without an occupation was increasing, a situation that led people to coin the term "*luftmentsh*" ("air man"), the man without a trade, who had to make a living "out of the air," by his wits.<sup>21</sup> Many Jews deserted the cities for small towns and villages, where they were physically safer as well as legally and financially better off because the magnates needed their services. The Jews in private towns and villages had reestablished their devastated communities, their relationship with the magnates, and their healthy economies by the beginning of the eighteenth century. In the aftermath of the Khmelnytsky massacres, then, the small market town, the *shtetl*, became important as an established part of the Polish economy and as an established locus for Jews. The *shtetl* maintained that importance through the nineteenth century and into the twentieth.<sup>22</sup>

More than half of the 750,000 Jews in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1765 lived in towns and villages of the privately owned *latifundia* "under the direct jurisdiction of nobility—especially magnate—owners."<sup>23</sup> A significant minority of Jews lived in the villages, and of these, more than three-fourths worked in three occupations. The *arrendators* leased lands and rights, such as taxation of peasants, from the nobles. The *kretshmers* kept village and roadside taverns. Most of the third group, the *shenkers*, worked for the other two.<sup>24</sup>

The killing of Jews recurred during a series of eighteenth-century wars and "virtually continuous" *haidamak* rebellions (Cossack and peasant uprisings) that expanded into three major revolts, the last one in 1768.<sup>25</sup> As this hundred-year period of Jewish tribulation and disillusionment that had begun with the Cossack massacres of 1648 neared its end, Hasidism, a new branch of Orthodox Judaism was spreading across the Ukraine.<sup>26</sup> It found a welcome among the common people in the small towns and villages. Its founder, the legendary Israel Baal Shem Tov of Podolia, Ukraine, then a Polish province, died in 1760. By 1800, Hasidism was so popular in Russian Poland that it had become the dominant branch of Judaism. The exception was Lithuania, the stronghold of the traditional branch, the *Mitnagedim*. Their leader was a monumental scholar named Elijah ben Solomon Zalman, known as the Vilna Gaon (1720-1797). He denounced Hasidism as heresy and excommunicated its followers.<sup>27</sup>

Coincidentally with the spread of Hasidism, Poland had become so politically weak that Prussia, Austria, and Russia were each able to take control of part of its lands in a series of annexations (the partitions of 1772, 1793, and 1795). Catherine the Great's Russia, through these annexations,

had attained control of the Ukraine.<sup>28</sup> The Russian Empire, which had excluded Jews for almost three hundred years, found itself in 1795 to be sovereign over more than half a million Jews in what had become Russian Poland.<sup>29</sup>

Catherine isolated the newly acquired Jewish population by forbidding Jews to leave her "Pale of Settlement," which encompassed all three partitions.<sup>30</sup> Catherine was continuing the anti-Semitic policies of the Romanov tsars and their predecessors. Peter I [the Great, died 1725] "who imported thousands of non-Russian nationals for the sake of modernizing his empire, refused to admit Jews. 'I prefer,' he said, 'to see in our midst nations professing Islam and paganism rather than Jews. . . . It is my endeavor to eradicate evil, not to multiply it.'" Catherine herself "expressed the same hostility in denying entrance to a group of Jewish tradesmen. 'From the enemies of Christ,' she explained to the mercantilists in her council, 'I desire neither gain nor profit.'" This was in 1762, the same year in which she "permitted all foreigners to travel and settle in Russia . . . except the Jews."<sup>31</sup>

In the nineteenth century, three developments impelled most rural Jews to leave the villages. First, when Russia suppressed Polish rebellions in 1830 and 1863, many Polish nobles abandoned estates, forcing their Jewish leaseholders to move to the towns and cities. Second, after Tsar Alexander II freed the Russian serfs in 1861, some of them displaced Jews as moneylenders or businessmen in the villages. Third, the Russian government passed the "May Laws" of 1882, expelling Jews from all villages, prohibiting them from buying land outside the towns, as well as from leasing estates and farmland; and barring them from opening their businesses on Sundays and Christian holidays.<sup>32</sup>

The "May Laws" were not repealed until 1917, but while they were still in effect, it was possible for some people to safely do the things they were designed to prevent. When Anna was born in 1905, "many Jews . . . were still leasing estates, forests and taverns; still marketing nobility and peasant produce in the towns; and still selling finished goods in the countryside." They lived in small towns.<sup>33</sup>

The number of village Jews was now small. The Jews of Eastern Europe lived mainly in the towns and cities.<sup>34</sup> Many, if not most, of the Jewish shtetl-dwellers were poor.<sup>35</sup> Most were struggling shopkeepers, handcraftsmen such as tailors and shoemakers, or they were *luftmentshen*, without a store or a trade. Many Jews in Anna's time had remained religiously observant.<sup>36</sup> They were either Hasidim ("the pious") or the more traditional *Mitnagedim* ("the opponents" of Hasidism). Hasidism taught that God was everywhere and was best worshiped with joy rather than solemnity. Hasidic worship emphasized practices accessible to the common man—heartfelt individual prayer rather than reverential group prayers; singing

and dancing over religious learning and Talmudic scholarship. By Anna's time, Hasidism had strayed from its roots, as its spiritual leaders (*rebbeim*) had become charismatic wonder-workers. These *rebbeim* had often assumed the mantle of mediators between God and man, a practice foreign to post-biblical Judaism. The leader of the *Mitnagedim*, Elijah the Vilna Gaon, had judged this to be outside of Jewish belief and akin to idol worship.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, many of the *rebbeim* had acquired their positions by inheritance instead of through religious study and learning. In their luxurious homes they lived in the manner of potentates presiding over personal dynastic courts. This contrasted sharply to the demeanor of rabbis—men qualified by training and study to interpret and teach Jewish Law, and who had been the spiritual leaders of the Jews since their dispersion from Roman Palestine.

Bitter adversaries at first, the two branches of Judaism had found commonality in opposing several late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century social, religious, and political movements that had significantly affected the life in the cities and in the towns like Anna's. The Socialist "Bund" (organized in 1897) agitated and struck for workers' rights in the cities. Emigration beckoned, starting in the 1880s, chiefly to America, known as the "Golden Country." Many who had seen enough poverty, persecution, and pogroms chose to emigrate.<sup>38</sup> Other Jews chose to follow the Enlightenment philosophy born in Western Europe. They discarded many of the traditions of Orthodox Judaism in the hope that to adapt to the modern, non-Jewish culture would be to gain political and social equality. The failure of this hope in the nineteenth century was a significant factor in the growth of the Zionist movement, which held its first international conference in 1897 and which urged emigration to Palestine, where a new nation would form to provide security and political freedom.<sup>39</sup> These four movements—emigration, assimilationism, socialism, and Zionism—together with such factors as economic crises, urbanization, and the extension of the railroad to smaller towns, were features that defined a new age, a modern age that had important destabilizing effects on the shtetl. Although the prevailing opinion has been that the shtetl deteriorated or disintegrated, and did so because of this modernization, that view has recently been challenged.<sup>40</sup>

During the nine hundred years since the First Crusade, then, the experience of the Jews in the Ukraine had been mixed. They had come to a Ukraine ruled by Poland, arriving sometimes when pushed by peril, sometimes when pulled by prospects. Once there, they had been fortunate to enjoy protection and even prosperity under the magnates, but had also been reviled and assaulted under the Crown and the Church. The change from Polish to Russian rule made the experience of the Ukrainian Jews in the nineteenth century even less desirable. The Polish magnates could not be a shield against the centuries-old anti-Semitism of the tsars and the Or-

thodox Church. The poverty that had been in place in the shtetls under Poland did not abate under Russia. By the time Anna was born in 1905, the *luftmentsb*, the airman, had become a solid symbol of the economy. And by the time Anna emigrated to America in 1922, the shtetl had entered a new phase, that of the interwar years.

## Appendix A

1. H. H. Ben-Sasson, *A History of the Jewish People*, map, p. 365; Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, vol. 1, pp. 13–38; Margolis and Marx, *History of the Jewish People*, pp. 525–31.

2. Rosman, *Lords' Jews*, pp. 1, 9, 36–37; Chimen Abramsky, Maciej Jachimczyk, and Antony Polonsky, *The Jews in Poland*, pp. 1–3; Robert Chazan, *European Jewry and the First Crusade*, pp. 54, 63; Ben-Sasson, *History of the Jewish People*, pp. 1096–97; Martin Gilbert, *The Jews of Russia*, p. 37; Judah Gribetz, *The Timetables of Jewish History*, p. 110 passim; Magocsi, *History of the Ukraine*, pp. 146–47; Margolis and Marx, *History of the Jewish People*, p. 528; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, qv Poland [re Batu Khan], p. 639.

3. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, qv Christianity, vol. 4, p. 467; qv Crusades, vol. 5,

p. 299; Margolis and Marx, *History of the Jewish People*, pp. 359-63, 527-29; Rosman, *Lords' Jews*, pp. 36-37.

4. Rosman, *Lords' Jews*, p. 36; Abramsky, Jachimczyk, and Polonsky, *Jews in Poland*, pp. 1-3.

5. Margolis and Marx, *History of the Jewish People*, pp. 528-29; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, qv Poland, History of, p. 639 and map p. 647.

6. Margolis and Marx, *History of the Jewish People*, p. 528.

7. Magocsi, *History of the Ukraine*, pp. 146-47; Gribetz, *Timetables of Jewish History*, p. 157; Margolis and Marx, *History of the Jewish People*, p. 527.

8. Celia S. Heller, *On the Edge of Destruction: Jews of Poland between the Two World Wars*, p. 20. Only two such Spanish physicians—Isaac Hispanus and Solomon Ashkenazi—are identified by Dubnow (*History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, vol. 1, pp. 131-32). As for possible emigration to Poland by any other Jews who were expelled from Iberia in 1492-1497, clear evidence is lacking (Bernard D. Weinryb, *The Jews of Poland: A Social and Economic History of the Jewish Community in Poland from 1100 to 1800*, pp. 32, 114; Iwo Pogonowski, *Jews in Poland: A Documentary History*, p. 64).

9. Magocsi, *History of the Ukraine*, pp. 146-47.

10. Margolis and Marx, *History of the Jewish People*, p. 528.

11. The Ukraine had been under Polish rule from 1569, when the Kingdom of Poland united with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to form the vast Commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania, whose territory ran from the Baltic nearly to the Black Sea. Most Ukrainian nobles had been Polonized (*Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, qv Poland; Lublin, Union of; Ukraine (Ukraina); Ben-Sasson, *History of the Jewish People*, p. 630).

12. The system of leasing was called, in Polish, *arenda* or *dzierzawa* (leasing). The lessee (renter), who obtained the lease (contract) from the magnate noble (lessor), was called *arrendator* in Polish and Russian, and also either *arendarz* or *dzierzawca* in Polish, and *arendar* in Russian. The Yiddish equivalent word, *randar*, came practically to mean "village Jew . . . since most were Jewish" (Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, vol. 1, p. 93; Rosman, *Lords' Jews*, pp. 106, 110, 114, 216).

13. Rosman, *Lords' Jews*, p. 10 ff.

14. Steven J. Zipperstein, "The Shtetl Revisited," p. 18; Pinchuk, "How Jewish Was the Shtetl?" p. 111; Adam Teller, "The Shtetl as an Arena for Polish-Jewish Integration in the Eighteenth Century," pp. 29, 39; Rosman, *Lords' Jews*, pp. ix, 37, 39-40, 71; Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, vol. 1, p. 55 ff; Margolis and Marx, *History of the Jewish People*, p. 529 ff). The anti-Semitic horrors persisted across the centuries, but one example will suffice. In 1399 the Archbishop of Posen had the rabbi and thirteen Jewish elders tried for allegedly obtaining and desecrating three hosts. The fourteen Jews were roasted alive (Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, vol. 1, p. 55; Margolis and Marx, *History of the Jewish People*, p. 529).

15. Abram L. Sachar, *A History of the Jews*, p. 311; Louis Greenberg, *The Jews in Russia*, p. 8; Rosman, *Lords' Jews*, pp. 4, 106, 110, 114, 115-16, 213, 216, map

p. 12; Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, vol. 1, pp. 93, 112. Jews also were dominant in some local and regional commerce, in contrast to the magnates' control over the export of the same material—for example, in the important grain export, in which the produce from the magnates' latifundia went down the Vistula River to the port of Gdansk (Rosman, *Lords' Jews*, pp. 87–89).

16. Abramsky, Jachimczyk, and Polonsky, *Jews in Poland*, p. 3. The limits of a Golden Age for Jews in Poland are given variously as 1580–1648; unknown date–1586; and “the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries” by the following respective authors: Heller, *On the Edge of Destruction*, p. 24; Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, vol. 1, p. 89; and Lucjan Dobroszycki and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Image before My Eyes: A Photographic History of Jewish Life in Poland, 1864–1939*, p. 41. Poland (the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) was the largest country in Europe in 1634. Among the non-Polish ethnic groups living in Poland and making up 60 percent of the population were “Germans, Ruthenians or Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Belorussians, Armenians, Turks, Italians, Scots, and the largest concentration of Jews in the world at that time. . . . Protestant, Catholic, Orthodox, Armenian, Muslim, and Jew . . . [lived] in close proximity. . . . Poland [was] the main supplier of food and natural products to Western Europe” (Rosman, *Lords' Jews*, p. 1).

17. The *kahal*, however, had been established by the Crown to facilitate the levying of taxes (Daniel Tollet, “Merchants and Businessmen in Poznan and Cracow, 1588–1668,” pp. 28–29; Bridger, ed., *The New Jewish Encyclopedia*, qv *Kahal*). The four regions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were Great Poland, Little Poland, Lithuania, and the Ukraine (Abramsky, Jachimczyk, and Polonsky, *Jews in Poland*, p. 3).

18. Magocsi, *History of the Ukraine*, pp. 200–02; Stampfer, “What Actually Happened to the Jews”; Margolis and Marx, *History of the Jewish People*, p. 555–56. In Ukrainian history, the period of “disintegration of Ukrainian statehood and general decline” from 1657 (death of Khmelnytsky), or earlier to 1687 (rise of Mazepa) is known as “the Ruin” (*Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, qv *Poland*; *Ruin*).

19. Heller, *On the Edge of Destruction*, p. 27; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, qv *Shaabetai Tzevi*; Margolis and Marx, *History of the Jewish People*, p. 565.

20. Heller, *On the Edge of Destruction*, p. 27.

21. Margolis and Marx, *History of the Jewish People*, pp. 578–79, 581.

22. Rosman, *Lords' Jews*, p. 210.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

24. Heller, *On the Edge of Destruction*, p. 28.

25. Magocsi, *History of the Ukraine*, p. 295. See *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, qv *Poland*; *Haidamaka Uprisings*; Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, vol. 1, p. 182–86; Rosman, *Lords' Jews*, p. 4.

26. Rosman's study of Polish latifundia leads him to the following conclusion about Hasidism that is contrary to the common view: “The picture of Jewish life on the eighteenth-century magnate latifundia presented here cannot support the idea that Hasidism was a response of downtrodden people seeking a mystical release from the desperation of everyday life, or of disillusioned messianists needing

an outlet to diffuse their frustrated beliefs. Hasidism did not begin in the wake of 1648, nor in response to the abolition of the Council of Four Lands, nor in the aftermath of Frankism" (Rosman, *Lords' Jews*, p. 211).

27. Bridger, ed., *New Jewish Encyclopedia*, qv Gaon of Vilna; qv Hasidism.

28. Abramsky, Jachimczyk, and Polonsky, *Jews in Poland*, map, p. x.

29. Lucy S. Dawidowicz, ed., *The Golden Tradition: Jewish Life and Thought in Eastern Europe*, p. 13. After the Judaizing heresy in Russia in the last quarter of the fifteenth century was suppressed, Jews were to be denied entrance into Russia. The Russian army also routinely exterminated Jews in territories they conquered, until the end of the Polish partitions at the end of the eighteenth century (Ben-Sasson, *History of the Jewish People*, p. 571).

30. The Pale, formed by Catherine, was effectively abolished by Alexander Kerensky in 1917, in his first act as head of the Provisional Government (Henry Abramson, *A Prayer for the Government: Ukrainians and Jews in Revolutionary Times, 1917-1920*, pp. 3, 4, 34).

31. Howard M. Sachar, *The Course of Modern Jewish History*, pp. 73, 74; Daniel Beauvois, "Polish-Jewish Relations in the Territories Annexed by the Russian Empire in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century," pp. 78-90; Abramsky, Jachimczyk, and Polonsky, *Jews in Poland*, p. 78.

32. Ben-Sasson, *History of the Jewish People*, p. 790.

33. Rosman, *Lords' Jews*, p. 212; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, qv Poland.

34. *Ibid.*

35. Martin Gilbert states that 14 to 20 percent of Jews in any province in the Pale of Settlement received poor relief from the Jewish community (Gilbert, *Jews of Russia*, p. 25). Joachim Schoenfeld estimates that in his shtetl, 20 percent of the Jews were extremely poor, and "many" of these "depended on charity" (Schoenfeld, *Shtetl Memories: Jewish Life in Galicia under the Austro-Hungarian Empire and in the Reborn Poland, 1898-1939*, pp. 22-23).

36. Ben-Sasson, *History of the Jewish People*, p. 794.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 773.

38. When Tsar Alexander II was assassinated in 1881 (March 1), one of the six conspirators sentenced to death was a Jew. The government abetted a series of pogroms beginning in Elizavetgrad in mid-April and spreading rapidly to more than one hundred other Ukrainian towns and cities, including Kiev and Odessa. Scattered pogroms continued through 1884. A deadlier kind of pogrom would begin in April 1903 in Kishinev, Bessarabia (Greenberg, *Jews in Russia*, p. 151; Ben-Sasson, *History of the Jewish People*, pp. 881-83, 886-87).

39. Roth and Wigoder, *New Standard Jewish Encyclopedia*, qv Hasidism; Catherine; Bridger, ed., *New Jewish Encyclopedia*, qv Hasidism; Haskalah; Ben-Sasson, *History of the Jewish People*, pp. 782, 790, 794. The first Zionist Congress met in Basel, Switzerland, in 1897 (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, qv Zionism).

40. Ruth Wisse, *A Shtetl and Other Yiddish Novellas*, pp. ix, x, 16, 25, 252-53. Zipperstein, "The Shtetl Revisited," pp. 19-21. Pinchuk, in a set of articles in preparation for his promised book about the shtetl, contends that the shtetl was a distinctively Jewish town that not only did not deteriorate from the late nineteenth

century onward, but in fact was reinvigorated (Pinchuk, "The Shtetl: An Ethnic Town"; "How Jewish Was the Shtetl?"; "Jewish Discourse and the Shtetl"; and "The East European Shtetl"). The prevailing concept of the disappearing shtetl appears to be based on the view that the preeminence of Orthodox Jewish practice and its accompanying community were disappearing. In contrast, the challenge is based on the view that population numbers were stable, and the "Jewishness" of both the shtetl community and its individuals remained, because it "consisted of many elements, most of them not related to religion (e.g., language, social structure, external appearance, etc.) whose sum total was distinctiveness relative to the surrounding society" (Pinchuk, "The East European Shtetl," p. 196).