

WASTE LAND WITH PROMISE: CHAIM NACHMAN BIALIK'S AMERICA

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Close connections with the United States were forged by many Yishuv leaders in the interwar period. Although on first consideration, the poet Chaim Nachman Bialik might seem an unlikely person to have extensive American ties, in fact, he was instrumental in binding the cultural world of the Yishuv to America. Never conversant with American life or literature, Bialik was able nonetheless to develop personal ties with many American Jews, and he grew to appreciate the advances of American-Jewish culture. Like leaders in other areas of Yishuv life, he recognized the financial and diplomatic necessity of close American connections. He helped to pave the way for Israel's later close relationship with American Jewry and the United States.

What a foreign poet who died in the mid-1930s thought of the United States would seem to be an arcane, if not altogether frivolous question. In many cultures, however, writers exert considerable influence on public affairs. Witness, for example, the position of Vaclav Havel in post-communist Czechoslovakia, or that of Sartre and Camus in postwar France. Jews, "the

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people of the book," may be somewhat more open to the influence of the literati than others. Especially in the period between the Emancipation and the birth of Israel, when their political life was circumscribed and the influence of religion upon them declining, they filled some of the void with culture. They accepted poets, essayists, and novelists as tastemakers and expected them to assume a certain role in setting the communal agenda. And in the twentieth century the United States has occupied a prominent position on the Jewish communal agenda as a place of immigration, a source of funds, a diplomatic shield, and in other roles.

Of the many men and few women to achieve a position of prominence in Jewish letters between 1750 and 1948, Chaim Nachman Bialik unquestionably ranks first. It is not much of an exaggeration to say that he occupies a position in modern Hebrew literature analogous to that of Shakespeare in English literature. His contemporaries already recognized Bialik's pre-eminence. Few of them would have disagreed with the judgment of the *Washington Post*, which described him in 1926, as "the greatest of living Hebrew poets."¹ Most also appreciated the significance of his public and even his personal activities: his virtual abandonment of poetry for the task of collecting the literary treasures of the Jewish past and publishing them; his departure from Russia in 1921; his *aliyah* (immigration to the Land of Israel) in 1924.²

Even before his *aliyah*, Bialik enjoyed influence in the new Yishuv, as the Hebrew-speaking, Zionist community in Palestine was known. The revival of Hebrew as the spoken language of the Jewish people in its old/new homeland was both a main goal and a vital instrument of Zionism. The lion of modern Hebrew literature could not but have occupied a respected place in the communal pantheon. *Aliyah* ensured his primacy. David Ben-Gurion recalled that, on the day Bialik arrived in Palestine, "the whole city [of Tel Aviv] celebrated." Within a year of his immigration, noted Chaim Weizmann, the president of the World Zionist Organization and its foremost political leader, Bialik had become "the most valuable man in Tel Aviv" and the "one who may have the greatest influence."³ When, less than two years after settling in Palestine, Bialik journeyed to the United States on a cultural, fund-raising, and personal mission, *HaAretz*,

the country's foremost newspaper, noted that his absence, however brief, would be deeply felt.⁴ When he died in 1934, at the age of 61, the Yishuv — along with Jews outside of Palestine — was gripped with a sense of incomparable national loss. Berl Katznelson, the spiritual mentor of Palestine's Jewish labor movement and editor of the Labor daily, *Davar*, mourned "the father of Hebrew literature,...the educator of the people and enlightener of the masses,...the [first] citizen of the nation." Katznelson believed Bialik had benefited the Jewish people more than most of the heroes of their long "history. Rebellious and commanding, he elevated modern Hebrew poetry to the level of a mighty..., motive force in the life of the entire nation [and] with a wave of his brave hand...brought the nation back to life."⁵

I

As might be expected of a European/Palestinian writer in Hebrew, Bialik did not concern himself a great deal with the United States. He understood that modern Jewish schools had to teach "the culture of the new Europe." He knew no English, however, and even after his visit to America had but little appreciation of American culture. His writing was influenced by Russian and German novelists and poets. But unlike some of his contemporaries, such as the poet Saul Tchernihovsky, who had studied medicine and literature in Germany and acquired a taste for European and American literature (Tchernihovsky translated Longfellow into Hebrew, as well as Homer, Goethe, Shelley, Molière, and others), Bialik had almost no acquaintance with American literature, even in translation. Throughout his life Bialik's cultural and literary interests remained focused on the Jewish world. His Hebraism and Palestinocentric Zionism were tempered only by his rootedness in the Yiddish-speaking diaspora and the Russian landscape and by his feelings of kinship with all Jews.⁶

During his formative years, Bialik acquired the parochial and rather stereotypical views of many cultured Europeans regarding America, views which he never overcame entirely. Like other eastern European Jewish writers and intellectuals of his day, Bialik tended to view the Western world, in general, as

an insecure place for Jews, destructive of their authentic roots.⁷ America, in particular, they perceived to be unformed, uncultured, unscrupulous, and not serious.⁸ As a young writer in Odessa, Bialik shared with his friend, the comic Yiddish writer Sholem Aleichem (the pen name of Sholem Rabinovitch), the belief that American-Jewish writers were all “total ignoramuses, tailors and peddlers,” who would corrupt any genuine talent that happened into their midst from Europe.⁹ The poet tended to associate America with “noise, confusion, ta-ram-ram,...with those things we condemn in the strongest terms: bluff,...‘business,’ etc.” Bialik was known to assert that in America advertisements, “inflated, hollow, and lacking in content,” and not literature, flourished.¹⁰ Such views were not confined to Europeans. Snobbish Americans, like Henry James, undervalued American culture, if they did not regard it with utter disdain. American Hebraists of Bialik’s day, themselves of European origin and nurtured on the same genteel stereotypes as Bialik, tended to look down on “the national and cultural degeneration of the [Jewish-American] masses,” at their alleged “licentiousness, ignorance, rudeness, and...materialism.”¹¹

To an extent, the Hebrew writers can be excused their provinciality, for behind their prejudiced views of America lay an important reality. Before World War I the heartland of Jewish culture was eastern Europe, especially Russia. Life there was not easy nor pleasant, and conditions did not improve as time went on. Jews suffered discrimination, at best; physical violence, at worst. The writers Sholem Aleichem, S. Ben Zion (Simha Alter Gutman), and Mendele Mocher Sforim (Shalom Jacob Abramovitch), who were among Bialik’s closest Odessa compatriots, fled the violence, the first to America, the others to Switzerland. But Russia remained home to the Jewish cultural and intellectual elite, because only there could they find peers and an audience conversant with their languages. In Russia, where there was little possibility of assimilation, Jewish culture was safe, even if Jews were in danger.

Bialik remarked in 1922 that “Odessa [had] served...as a campground and meeting place of Hebrew writers for decades,...[even] in the most difficult period for Jews and Jewish culture in Russia and the Ukraine.”¹² In the turn-of-the-century years, the city was home to an incomparable Jewish literary and

cultural circle. Besides Bialik, Sholem Aleichem, Mendele, and Ben Zion, there were the historian Simon Dubnow, the essayist and philosopher Ahad Ha'Am (Asher Ginsberg), and a host of lesser lights. It is understandable that Bialik regretted the departure of any of them, especially to America, where Jews were safe, but where Jewish culture was believed to be in mortal danger, in part because of the freedom and openness which characterized that country. That is why Bialik sounded "a note of lament in his [1905] letter of farewell to Sholem Aleichem." The poet understood that in fleeing to the safety of America, his friend was "uprooting himself from the source of his vitality." He urged him to return as soon as he could and went so far as to claim that "no country was as good as Russia [for Jews], no city as good as Odessa," a wild assertion that makes sense only as a statement of cultural context.¹³

After World War I the center of Hebrew culture shifted to Palestine, reinforcing the Palestinocentrism of Hebraists, who now had a growing audience there.¹⁴ For Bialik, who believed that language was the only possible replacement for religion in a post-religious age, and that Hebrew was the only language that could "serve as the foundation and root" of Jewish civilization, the shift was not likely to draw him towards the United States or any other diaspora community. In fact, it severely undermined his interest in the diaspora, interest that had been sustained earlier by his ties to Russia.¹⁵ In this, Bialik was not much different from his colleagues. Shimon Halkin, the Hebrew poet and critic then still living in the United States, noted in 1929 that most writers and public figures in Palestine, even new immigrants, quickly came to look upon that country and its concerns as "altogether paramount" in their importance.¹⁶

Bialik's hesitations regarding the United States stemmed from another source, too — his own personal experiences. Born in a Ukrainian village and reared in the town of Zhitomir, the poet remained a "small-town boy" all his life, and found it difficult to tolerate the noise and confusion of the big city. Although Odessa, where he lived for many of his most productive years, was a metropolis of sorts, the poet was at home in the Russian language and spent much of his time within the confines of the city's large Jewish community. But even Odessa had frightened him at first. He was eighteen years old when he

arrived there. Yet Bialik drifted "for six months...like a lost lamb" in the "big city."¹⁷ Large, foreign cities he found still more daunting. Although he spoke German, he never overcame the sense that Berlin, where he lived between 1921 and 1924, was entirely "foreign," a city whose byways he "would never know." He felt alienated even from the city's Jews, who, he claimed, had "eyes and heart only for corruption."¹⁸ London, which he first visited in 1926, he found "depressing" for "a virtual village boy," like himself. Despite its world-class status, he believed it to be inferior in many ways to Jewish Palestine. On another visit some four years later, Bialik felt no more at home. He still needed the help of Shmaryahu Levin, the Zionist publicist and his friend and partner in the Dvir publishing house, to help him "find [his]...hands and feet." In 1926 London's Jews appeared "petrified" to the poet. By 1931 he was describing them as "uncircumcised of heart," people worthy of "Sodom and Gomorrah, among whom the God of Israel does not dwell." Exasperated after a long and unproductive stay, he wrote to his longtime colleague Yehoshua Ravnitzki that he hoped to "blot" London out of his "book and heart."¹⁹ In the last year of his life Bialik found even Tel Aviv, then hardly more than an overgrown village, unbearable; and he moved to the sleepy suburb of Ramat Gan in search of peace and solitude.

That he would have been intimidated by the size and tumultuousness of America, then, and that he considered the prospect of visiting teeming New York and the vast United States with "fear and trembling," were altogether in character. When, at last, he did consent to go, he insisted that Levin, who, as Berl Katznelson noted, knew better than anyone else how "to uncover the sparks in American Jews," be "his eyes in the New American World" and his "guide to the etiquette of English dining." His fears were not specific to America.²⁰

II

Whatever Bialik's prejudices and predilections, America could not be ignored. The mass emigration of Russian Jews began when he was still a child, and early on swept up members of his own family, friends, disciples, and colleagues.²¹ By the

1920s about a quarter of the world's Jews lived in the United States. Their material and political support had become crucial to the success of Zionism, perhaps to its very survival, as well as to the survival of Europe's Jews, increasingly threatened by poverty, Bolshevism, Fascism, and, finally, Nazism. Over the years Bialik learned more about America; he received reports from associates who visited there or emigrated, upon whose trustworthiness he could rely. Bialik met American scholars, Hebraists, and Zionist leaders, such as Judah L. Magnes, the Zionist Reform rabbi and communal worker who would become the first president of the Hebrew University in 1925. Magnes was one of the only people at the Zionist Congress at The Hague in the summer of 1907, whom the poet found impressive enough to mention by name in a letter to his wife. That Magnes had published an article some years earlier contrasting Bialik's creativity with the barrenness of American-Jewish culture had, perhaps, predisposed Bialik towards him.²²

As noted above, Sholem Aleichem emigrated to the United States in 1906. Bialik kept in close contact with him and followed his career with interest, rejoicing in "the great honor America [sometimes] bestowed upon" his friend, and railing when their shared prejudices regarding the New World proved correct.²³ Soon after the Yiddish writer arrived in New York, Bialik enlisted his aid in raising funds for the publication of the complete works of their mutual friend and mentor, Mendeley Moche Seforim. Bialik believed "American Jews had a duty to provide the funds," since they had impoverished Mendeley by publishing pirated editions of his works and not paying royalties.²⁴ Unfortunately, however, the required funds were not secured, and the project was only completed years later.²⁵

Y.D. Berkowitz, the son-in-law and translator of Sholem Aleichem, shuttled back and forth between Europe and America from 1906 until 1913, when he settled in New York. (Years later he joined Bialik in Palestine.) He provided Bialik with another living link to America. Over the years, the poet encouraged Berkowitz, an author in his own right, whose classical, if not old-fashioned, style Bialik considered "first class."²⁶ In 1915 Berkowitz became the editor of *HaToren*, America's foremost Hebrew journal. To Bialik, Berkowitz's advancement was a sign that even businesslike America recognized talent; and the latter used his

to acquaint Americans better with Bialik, whom he greatly admired. (Only a few of Bialik's poems had been published in America in Hebrew or in Yiddish or English translation before that date.)²⁷ A number of articles on the poet and his works appeared during Berkowitz's two-year tenure at *HaToren*, and in late April 1916, an entire issue was dedicated to him on the 25th anniversary of the publication of his first poem.²⁸ Bialik knew of his growing fame in America, since Hebraists on both sides of the ocean belonged to a kind of global Jewish village and read one another's publications. Although he eschewed lionization, he probably appreciated the recognition, as well as the fact that Americans considered themselves part of his world.

In addition to Sholem Aleichem and Berkowitz, other associates of Bialik settled in the United States before World War I. Among them were his literary disciples, Benjamin Silkiner and Simon Ginzburg, the scholar David Neumark, and others, all of whom served to connect Bialik positively with the New World. Silkiner and Ginzburg, aspiring Hebrew writers, had lived for a time in Odessa and come under Bialik's influence. In America they pursued successful careers in Jewish education and belonged to the nascent Hebrew culture movement. The editor of *HaToren* before Berkowitz, Ginzburg was to have a long scholarly and publishing connection with Bialik. Still in Odessa, he translated some of Bialik's poems into Yiddish, and after he left for America, the great bard offered to hold a job for him at the Moriah Publishing House.²⁹ Silkiner, also an editor of *HaToren* for a short time, had had only slight contact with Bialik in Odessa. The older poet, however, surely read Silkiner's long poem, "Mul Ohel Tmura," which described the clash of Indians and Spaniards in the New World. Dvir would become the publisher of Silkiner's volume of collected poems, *Shirim* (1927), and of the bestselling Hebrew-English dictionary, which he co-authored.³⁰ Neumark was an established scholar of medieval Jewish philosophy, whose research Bialik held in high esteem.³¹ After emigrating to America in 1907, he taught at the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. In Europe, he had published some of his research in *HaShiloah*, arguably the most important Hebrew literary-cultural journal of the turn-of-the-century years, and a journal with which Bialik was intimately connected from 1903 to 1919. Later he published a major work with the Moriah.

After emigrating to America, Neumark continued to publish in *HaShiloah*, helping to acquaint Europeans with some of the achievements of American Reform Judaism.³²

The pages of *HaShiloah*, of which he was an editor in the first two decades of the twentieth century, provide at least a partial inventory of Bialik's knowledge of America at that time. Among the American-based academics who appeared there in those years, in addition to Neumark, was Henry Malter, also a German-trained scholar of medieval Jewish philosophy who taught at the Hebrew Union College, and from 1909 at the new Dropsie College in Philadelphia, which specialized in Jewish studies.³³ Malter and Neumark demonstrated that America was fostering Jewish scholarship, as did the new *Jewish Encyclopedia* published in the United States, which drew favorable comment in *HaShiloah* in 1907.³⁴ Abraham S. Waldstein, an academic and Labor-Zionist activist before his *aliyah* in 1912, wrote unflatteringly of American-Jewish literature and scholarship, but more positively about American Zionism.³⁵ His first article in *HaShiloah*, which praised Yankee ingenuity and energy, pointed to American practicality as a cause of the gap between the immigrants and their children. Bialik proposed a simple, perhaps simplistic, solution to the Americans: "Let the child drink at the fountain from which his father has been nourished," he wrote in *The New Palestine* some years later, "and the rift will be healed."³⁶

Other authors appearing in *HaShiloah*, including Simon Ginzburg, wrote generally uncomplimentary portraits in poetry, fiction, and essays of materialism, crime, and alienation in American-Jewish life. A review of higher education was more mixed, pointing both to discrimination against Jews and to growing opportunities for them in American universities, some of which, the author noted, already rivalled the best in Europe.³⁷ In 1904, when Bialik was literary editor of the journal, Max Raisin, the American Hebraist and Reform rabbi, published a long article about Mordecai Manuel Noah, "the great American prophet," who proposed to establish a Jewish state on Grand Island in the Niagara River. (Over two decades later Bialik read with approbation Raisin's history of the Jews in America, written in Hebrew.) Another author in 1904 discussed "the advantages of the United States" as a land of immigration.³⁸

The American Hebrew and Yiddish journals which his friends and former colleagues sent him, and first-hand reports from American Jews and transplanted Europeans, together with *HaShiloah* and, undoubtedly, other European journals provided the poet with a balanced, if not always favorable, view of the New World. Thus he began to appreciate some of the potential of America for Jewish life, and overcame, to a degree, his annoyance at American Jews' lack of response to his Mendeleyev publication project. In 1916 he turned to them again, this time to help finance the reforestation of Palestine.³⁹ Increasingly, then, in these years the negative stereotypes on which Bialik had been nurtured were challenged, and willy-nilly his view of America became more nuanced.

III

Bialik's poetry, most of it written in the two decades before the outbreak of World War I, reflects acute awareness of the breakdown of the traditional foundations of Jewish life. Often the poet seems himself to be encouraging, if not demanding, that very breakdown, although at other times he laments the loss of a coherent world.⁴⁰ Even at his most rebellious, however, Bialik, who wrote in Hebrew and spoke Yiddish, assumed the existence of the Jewish people as a national and cultural entity. They were, perhaps, a people in flux, undergoing the agonies of modernization, as had other European peoples. If the new contours of Jewish nationhood and culture were not altogether certain, there was confidence in a future that was struggling to be born. Like most Europeans on the eve of the war, Bialik did not suspect the dimensions of the catastrophe that lay ahead. Retrospectively he described the period just before the war as a time when all the newly erected "fortresses" of Jewish national life appeared to be "standing strong. Russian Jewry was vital and productive, at the height of its power. The [glittering] exterior of German Jewry masked its inner poverty...[while in] America a period of growth and development had begun. It seemed that in those strongholds we should be able to hold our own, even in the diaspora."⁴¹

The war and its aftermath, however, swept away the existing European-Jewish world no less completely than it did the Rus-

sian and Austro-Hungarian empires. As Bialik lamented at an extraordinary international meeting of Hebraists held in Carlsbad, Czechoslovakia, in 1921, "this whole beautiful, magnificent structure was razed...to the ground...and on the pile of rubble stands Jewry, broken and shattered."⁴² Polish Jewry was left impoverished by the war and ravaged by the post-war fighting. Like their governments, the Jews of Britain, France, and Germany would never recover their pre-war prosperity. In Russia, Jewish culture, in general, was coming under proscription; and Hebrew, the language of Palestine-centered Jewish nationalism, was particularly threatened. The Bolsheviks forced Moriah to cease publishing. Together with a number of other writers Bialik was allowed to leave Russia in 1921 only after Maxim Gorky interceded with Lenin. The less fortunate were imprisoned; but Bialik was not thankful. He compared the national Jewish loss to the destruction of the ancient Temple by the Romans, and he acquired a hatred of the Bolsheviks that would last to the end of his days.⁴³

The cataclysm brought about radical changes in Bialik's life and attitudes. After a three-year interlude in Germany, he settled in Palestine in 1924, and, as noted earlier, his sense of the importance of the Land of Israel to the Jewish people grew stronger. No longer, he declared in 1921, was there "any hope for [Jewish] property or the [Jewish] heritage in the diaspora....[An evil] spirit was uprooting and obliterating them."⁴⁴ Whereas once he penned fiery, sometimes subversive poetry, now he devoted himself almost entirely to salvaging the Jewish literary and religious treasures of the past and making them accessible to present and future generations. He permitted himself, albeit reluctantly, to be harnessed to the national bandwagon as a cheerleader and fund-raiser for Zionism. Not surprisingly, he began to look upon America through different spectacles. He poignantly cautioned against dependence on the New World, since Jewish history had seen "great diaspora centers that had disappeared completely." Nonetheless, he told a London audience in early 1926, "America is now our only comfort."⁴⁵

The devastation in Europe notwithstanding, it must be remembered that the post-war era was not a time of unrelieved gloom for the Jewish people. The incorporation of the Balfour Declaration into the British Mandate for Palestine put the weight

of the British government, at least formally, behind the Zionist dream. For the first time in centuries, if not millennia, the reestablishment of Jewish autonomy in the Land of Israel appeared to be possible. But the realization of Zionism would require huge sums of money, and those funds could only be raised in America, which had been untouched by the war. Soon after the hostilities ended, the dispatch of high-level Zionist fund-raising delegations from Europe and Palestine to North America began. Among the dignitaries who came in 1921 and 1922 were Chaim Weizmann, Vladimir Jabotinsky, Berl Katznelson, Prof. Otto Warburg, Nahum Sokolow, and Albert Einstein.

A number of people on both sides of the ocean encouraged Bialik to participate in the search "for the Golden Fleece," as Weizmann put it, including Weizmann himself, Shmaryahu Levin, and the executive of the American Keren Hayesod. The last was charged by the World Zionist Organization with arrangements for its delegations on the American end. In the summer of 1921 the Americans listed Bialik fifteenth on a list of fifteen desirable visitors.⁴⁶ The poet himself, worried about his health, preoccupied with the affairs of Moriah and Dvir, ever shy of big cities, and reluctant to allow himself to become a national icon, had doubts about going. Moreover, he still tended to regard "the ways and customs of America," as an "abomination,...its crowds and confusion and the noise of its gears" detestable. Publicly debating the trip with himself in a two-hour speech in Berlin that same year, he declared, probably with irony, that he was "not, by nature, an agitator." Still, he felt a responsibility to make the trip "at this difficult hour...[when] the nation is gripped by [the kind of] apathy that leads to decay and death."⁴⁷ In early November the New Yorkers were preparing for Bialik's arrival. He never went, however, largely because the Americans and the London headquarters of the World Zionist Organization decided the visit would not be "worthwhile." Bialik was delighted with the reprieve, but the following summer the Americans again gave serious thought to issuing him an invitation. Apparently, however, they decided once more against a visit.⁴⁸

During the next few years American Jews became better acquainted with Bialik from afar. The first edition of his col-

lected works, published in Berlin in 1923, had sold over 800 copies in America by 1926; his essays and poetry and articles about him appeared regularly in American Hebrew-language journals, the New York *HaDoar*, *HaToren*, *Miklat*, and *Luah Ahiever*, and the Detroit *Mikeren Zaviv*. (One laudatory article, notable in retrospect, is a piece in *HaToren* by Abba Ahimeir, the future militant Revisionist-Zionist, who would be accused of murdering labor-leader Chaim Arlosoroff in 1933.) Readers of the Yiddish and Anglo-Jewish press also became increasingly familiar with his life and works.⁴⁹ In early 1922 Daniel Persky, the "totally dedicated" Hebraist whose "sometimes exaggerated honesty" appealed to the older poet, sent Bialik a packet of favorable clippings from American publications, which "touched [him] to the depths of...[his] soul." He was undoubtedly also pleased with the celebrations of his 50th birthday, which included a special jubilee issue of *HaDoar* and a mass meeting at which Weizmann spoke at the Apollo Theater in New York's Harlem, then a middle-class, Jewish neighborhood. Ripples of the growing recognition of the poet in America included the establishment of Agudat Bialik — a group which aimed to foster Hebrew-speaking among young people — in Worcester, Massachusetts.⁵⁰

During these years it began to seem possible, for the first time, that America might succeed eastern Europe as the center of a vibrant Jewish culture and Hebrew-language movement. For several months in 1921 and 1922, when Warsaw's *HaTzefira* had temporarily ceased publication, the United States was home to the only Hebrew-language daily appearing outside Palestine. And, as Bialik noted, the New York *HaDoar* was exemplary "in its content, its language, and its excellent style." He felt kinship with the paper's sponsors, who shared his goal of "revivif[ying]...the nation of God" through the medium of the Hebrew language. He perceived them to be lonely knights "fighting mightily for the establishment of our tongue in the land of dollars...among the walls and pillars of iron America."⁵¹ Another significant manifestation of America's growing promise was the Hebrew-language children's magazine, *Eden*, published in New York from 1924 by Batsheva Grabelsky with Persky and later Y.D. Berkowitz as editor. Bialik found the early issues of the magazine in need of "improvement upon improvement."

(He was happier when Berkowitz took over.) Still, he responded positively to Persky's diffident invitation to contribute some of his stories and poems for children. It was an innovative venture; education was a primary concern of Bialik; and Mrs. Grabelsky, Persky's student who bankrolled the venture, agreed to pay the poet \$25 a month (not always promptly) for his labors. As a result of his collaboration with *Eden*, between 1924 and 1926, ten of Bialik's poems for children and a story were published first in America.⁵²

IV

Bialik's business relations with the United States during the early twenties were not limited to *Eden*, and they were often troubled. He had some success in selling books published by Dvir. But he complained in 1922 that the Americans were hurting his never adequate income through discount purchases of his volume of collected poems made possible by the weak German mark. The poet seemed to be a poor match for the land of business and dollars, although on occasion he himself tried to take advantage of the fact that it was cheaper to print in Germany than in the United States.⁵³

Bialik had problems with writers, and personal and business relationships became entangled. Although their friendship had cooled, Bialik asked Simon Ginzburg to assist the novelist Yohanan Twersky when the latter immigrated to the "strange land" of America in 1924. Bialik repaired the breach when he undertook, on behalf of Dvir, to print Ginzburg's edition of the works of the eighteenth-century, Italian-Jewish mystic and poet, Moshe Haim Luzzato. It was a project on which the poet and his partner, Yehoshua Ravnitzki, had themselves embarked in Odessa, but which they had abandoned because of war and revolution. Bialik graciously yielded to Ginzburg, taking care to praise the younger scholar's customary "good and faithful work." When he read in *HaDoar* that Ginzburg's wife had died, he wrote a letter of condolence urging Ginzburg to come to Palestine and renew their former working relationship.⁵⁴

Business complications also led to temporary estrangement from Y.D. Berkowitz. The latter failed to persuade the "brigands and thieves" of the Hebrew Publishing Company of New York to

pay royalties on works pirated from Moriah; a project suggested by Berkowitz to co-publish an illustrated children's pamphlet series seems to have been stillborn; Berkowitz was slow in paying a debt to Dvir; and Bialik admitted to less than whole-hearted enthusiasm for a new Yiddish drama of Berkowitz, "Under the Cross." The relationship improved when Bialik decided to let the Dvir office worry about the debt, while committing the company to publishing a new fifteen-volume edition of the works of Sholem Aleichem with Berkowitz's translation.⁵⁵

Shalom Ber Maximon was another American Hebraist with whom Bialik had an uneven relationship in these years. Maximon failed to meet a deadline for an essay on *Ahad HaAm* in early 1923, and five years later he held up publication of the second edition of *Sefer HaAgada*, annoying Bialik once again. But, like the others, he was forgiven. In 1925 Bialik thanked him for a copy of his new book, adding that Maximon's works "had always appealed" to him. The next year he tried to intercede with Rabbi Stephen S. Wise to have Maximon reinstated as a lecturer at the Jewish Institute of Religion in New York. (The touchy writer accused Bialik of not trying hard enough.) When he died, Bialik noted magnanimously, but not effusively, that Maximon had been "an important Hebrew writer."⁵⁶

Bialik established a more fruitful long-distance relationship in these years with Israel Davidson, professor of medieval literature at New York's Jewish Theological Seminary. Bialik had heard of Davidson's work, some of which paralleled his own interest in the poetry of the Middle Ages, although for some time he could not acquire copies in Europe. By 1925 the two were carrying on a regular correspondence about scholarly matters and exchanging publications. Davidson's "magnificent craftsmanship and the enormous amount of labor invested" in his work, as well as the extraordinary Seminary library of which the poet became aware, were further demonstration to him that America was no cultural nor scholarly wasteland.⁵⁷

On the other hand, the long Yiddish poem, "Kentucky," sent to Bialik in 1925 by its author, I.J. Schwartz, suggested that everyday Jewish life in America was ever more barren. Schwartz, a Yiddishist and Hebraist whose writing was heavily influenced by Bialik, as well as Lermontov, Pushkin, and others, had

published a Yiddish translation of one of Bialik's poems while still in Europe, and it was natural that he should send him a copy of his *magnum opus*. Schwartz's American works reflected his broad experiences in the New World. "Kentucky" chronicles the increasing dilution of Jewishness from generation to generation in America. Bialik reported to the author that he had been unable to put the book down until "he reached the last page." The poem surely renewed Bialik's doubts about America as the replacement for Jewish eastern Europe and reinforced his conviction that the Yishuv was now of supreme importance.⁵⁸

By 1925, then, Bialik had gained considerable knowledge of Jewish America from reading and from his contacts and business dealings, although he seems to have remained largely ignorant of non-Jewish American society and culture. He was particularly well acquainted with the impressive advances of American-Hebrew letters and had a network of contacts in the American-Jewish cultural world. He was not unmindful of America's shortcomings, but he was also painfully aware of the devastation of the old European-Jewish heartland and of the massive assistance needed by the Yishuv if its culture and society were to become viable. At the same time, American Jews had come to regard Bialik as an important Zionist figure. A word of encouragement from him could now serve to "strengthen the hand of" the American Zionist leadership, whom he had come to perceive as "energetic and dedicated," ready to lead in financing "the redemption...[of] our national land."⁵⁹ He was gradually overcoming his reluctance to solicit funds from the Americans and they now seemed prepared to extend a measure of support to the Jewish cultural institutions with which he was most concerned.⁶⁰ The moment was ripe for closer involvement with American Jewry and the poet was ready, more or less.

V

Bialik's 1926 American tour is the only aspect of his connection with the New World to which scholars have paid much attention, and it has usually been treated as if it were a dramatic turning-point in his relationship with the United States.⁶¹ In fact, however, as the foregoing indicates, the tour followed almost

naturally from the poet's experiences and from his changing attitudes toward a changing world. The trip came about as a result of the confluence of a number of forces.

By the second half of 1925 the coffers of the Zionist movement were empty and the future of the Yishuv, which depended on outside funds not only for growth and development, but even for the maintenance of some of its institutions, was endangered. Matters grew more desperate as the weeks went by, but Weizmann pronounced himself unable to travel to the United States in search of funds. He turned to Shmaryahu Levin, who was recuperating from a severe heart attack, telling him his "presence [in North America was] imperative," and suggesting he "use all [his] influence" to induce Bialik to go along. Aware of how "difficult the time [is] for our [Zionist] Federation and the Yishuv," Bialik, like Levin, was sympathetic to Weizmann's command and to the pleading of Ahad HaAm, the grand old man of Hebrew letters and Bialik's friend and neighbor in Tel Aviv. Not only Weizmann, but other European Zionist leaders were "grateful to" them both for their willingness to undertake "the mission," and to Bialik, especially, for overcoming his "discomfiture at being sent to deal with matters of the pocket."⁶²

This time the Americans were also eager. They were attempting to raise an unprecedented \$5,000,000, and they were faced with stiff competition for the Jewish charitable dollar. Yeshiva University was launching a major fund-raising effort at the same time. A much more serious problem was posed by the campaign of the American Joint Distribution Committee for \$25,000,000 to aid Jewish farming colonies in the Crimea. The latter appealed not only to the wealthy non-Zionist and anti-Zionist Jews who led the Joint, but also to many of the socialist Jewish workers, who tended to regard the Soviet Union, rather than the Yishuv, as the fulfillment of Messianic prophecies. Zionist fund-raising in America was built on the "star system." For the 1926 campaign to succeed a major star would be needed and Emanuel Neumann, the director of the American Keren Hayesod, "was running out of 'stars.'" Neumann, who seldom underestimated his own importance, claimed that he, independently of Weizmann, "hit on the idea of inviting" Bialik.⁶³

As had not been the case when the poet was previously approached about an American tour, now he had his own

reasons for wanting to go. In mid-1925 he wrote to Batsheva Grabelsky that he “wholeheartedly wished to visit America, just once, to witness the life of our brethren there.” Some months later he spoke of his “natural desire to see with [his]...own eyes the largest Jewish aggregation” in the world.⁶⁴ In addition, as the symbol of nascent Hebrew culture and its best known spokesman, he felt a strong personal obligation to perform “the spiritual task” in America — to strengthen Jewish culture and education and Hebrew letters there — which “combined with the material task.” As Levin put it at a “state” send-off in Tel Aviv attended by the city’s mayor, Meir Dizengoff, just before their departure: “Without a nation, there can be no poetry. Bialik must go to America in order...to elevate [Zionist] propaganda so that it can speak to the soul....Our brethren there...thirst for vision.”⁶⁵

Curiosity and culture were not all that motivated Bialik to put aside his “longstanding inner fear of American Jews” and his newly acquired anxiety that they would “desecrate his...honor.”⁶⁶ There were his own “matters of the pocket,” Dvir, which needed funds, and his shaky personal finances. Keren Hayesod agreed that Bialik and Levin could take time during the tour to attend to the affairs of Dvir. Bialik, moreover, was paid \$5,000 by the American Keren Hayesod and Levin \$1,000 for their five months of labor, tidy sums in 1926. As well, short-term loans, which were repaid promptly, were arranged with the Keren Hayesod head office in Jerusalem for Dvir and for Bialik himself. (Neumann thought the arrangements and the negotiations “sordid,” but others who were involved seemed to feel they were justified.)⁶⁷

Whatever reservations there were on the part of the poet or his sponsors before the start of the tour, once it was under way, spontaneous American enthusiasm combined with painstaking orchestration by Neumann, Meyer W. Weisgal, the secretary of the Zionist Organization of America and future head of the Weizmann Institute in Rehovot, and others, gave it the dimensions of a triumphal state visit. When the Labor Zionists or Jabotinsky came to America, their “tours” consisted of gruelling one-night stands with stays in inexpensive lodgings. Bialik, his wife, and Levin, in contrast, were given red-carpet treatment befitting “the poet-laureate of the Jewish people,” as the *New*

York Times called him. The poet paid a courtesy call on London Jews, when he passed through Britain. There he was joined by Louis Lipsky, the president of the Zionist Organization of America, who had come to smooth the party's path across the Atlantic. Lipsky, however, was unable to calm the waves, which kept the Bialiks in bed seasick during most of the journey.⁶⁸

While Bialik was making his way towards New York, America was preparing for his arrival with unprecedented media hype.⁶⁹ The Histadruth Ivrit, the association of American Hebraists, distributed "campaign buttons" with Bialik's picture and published a biographical pamphlet by A.R. Malachi; *The New Palestine*, the English-language organ of the Zionist Organization of America, published his *Selected Poems*, newly translated by Maurice Samuel, "to serve as a worthy introduction to the singer of the Jewish Renaissance"; the press was flooded with information about the poet and his upcoming tour; and on the sabbath before his arrival sermons about him were preached in synagogues across the land. The week of Bialik's advent was declared "Bialik Week" in Jewish America (to be followed soon after by "Bialik Month"). *HaAretz* reported that "all the men of business" in America had begun "to prophesy" in Bialik's honor.

The achievements of the publicity build-up were only somewhat less dramatic. In the coming weeks Bialik would be hailed and heard by thousands of Americans, most of whom had only the vaguest notion of what he had to say or even who he was. (He complained of being led "like a circus elephant to places where [his]...name was unknown." On one occasion he was introduced as "the [gentile] biblical [king,] Balak.") In the midst of the "roaring twenties" in America with its insatiable appetite for flagpole sitters, goldfish swallows, and other curiosities, the Hebrew-speaking poet became a nine-day wonder, not only to Jews, but even to President Coolidge, whom he met at the White House. There was, perhaps, more enthusiasm for the more comprehensible, but no less wondrous, all-Jewish HaKoach soccer team from Palestine, which toured the United States at the same time. (Over 50,000 people came to see them play the final game of their series at New York's Polo Grounds in April, and Coolidge sent them a farewell telegram.) For a poet, however, Bialik generated enormous excitement, and those who did

know something about him were overwhelmed at meeting a classic face-to-face.⁷⁰

The ballyhoo came to its first climax when Bialik reached New York harbor. Strings had been pulled in Washington to ensure that normal immigration procedures would be waived, and the entourage was greeted on board ship by an all-star delegation of Jewish notables. On shore a band waited. New York Mayor Jimmy Walker, ill with bronchitis and unable to attend the reception, lent a launch. A parade scheduled for that afternoon had to be cancelled because of a heavy snowfall and the late arrival of the ship, but the "ta-ra-ram" was hardly over.

The poet's first major public appearance the next night drew a sell-out crowd of more than 3000 to the Mecca Temple in mid-town Manhattan with another 1000 standing in the cold outside. The event united, at least for the moment, Hebraists and Yiddishists, Zionists and non-Zionist Jewish labor leaders, supporters of both the Weizmann camp and of their opponents (the "Brandeisists") within the Zionist Organization of America (hereafter, ZOA). Judge Julian Mack, a Brandeisist who probably knew little, if any, of Bialik's poetry, opened the evening with a speech in English which the poet could not understand. He was followed by Nahum Sokolow, the number-two person in the World Zionist Organization, Lipsky, Yehoash (Solomon Bloomgarten), the Yiddish poet and Bible translator, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, and others. Bialik, himself, delivered a speech in Yiddish, which failed to meet the expectations of the charged audience. Nonetheless he received a twelve-minute ovation, according to the *New York Times*, and the tour had begun.⁷¹

During the next five months the poet became a fixture of the New York Jewish community. Fund-raisers called upon him freely, sometimes arranging events without his permission. He spoke at grand charitable happenings on behalf of the Jewish National Fund (Keren Hayesod) in the Hotel Astor and the auditorium of Cooper Union, and at modest events in local synagogues, sharing the platform with everyone from Congressman Sol Bloom to Yossele Shlisskey, "the Yascha Heifetz of the vocal artists."⁷² A few weeks after his arrival Bialik was dispatched on a by-then familiar mission to Boston, where he appeared together with Professor Nathan Isaacs of Harvard University. During April and May he went to several of the large

Jewish communities in the Northeast and Mid-West, and south to Baltimore and Washington. In Baltimore, journalist Norman Hapgood shared the program with him. It was one of the few contacts he had with non-Jewish people of letters. His visits were all well publicized in advance, and the financial results were satisfactory. By April he felt sufficiently knowledgeable about fund-raising in America to proffer advice regarding the large loan which the Keren Hayesod hoped to negotiate.⁷³

Bialik did not limit himself to money-raising in America. He had some involvement with the affairs of the ZOA, "endear[ing]...himself," as Louis Lipsky inelegantly put it, to "Zionists who were never aware of the deep sources of Hebrew tradition and had never seen or heard a personality of such varied Jewish quality." (Lipsky himself was American born and knew no Hebrew.)⁷⁴ Bialik intervened with the National Executive Committee of the ZOA to prevent their making an accommodation with the ultra-Orthodox Agudath Israel movement, which, he claimed, had done "practically nothing" for the Yishuv. (Henrietta Szold and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise were among those present at that meeting; Abraham S. Waldstein, known to Bialik from *HaShiloah* and now back in America, sent his regrets.) A few days later the poet held a press conference to a "packed house" at the offices of the ZOA, in which he offered an update on conditions in Palestine. His most significant political activity was his White House appearance, which can be seen as part of the campaign to enlist the support of the United States government for the Zionist enterprise. Bialik, who was undoubtedly well coached, took the opportunity to thank the president for the Congressional Resolution of 1922, which expressed the legislators' support for the Balfour Declaration and the British Mandate, but did not bind the government. When he left the White House, Bialik was entertained by the British ambassador to Washington, which seemed to indicate that His Majesty's Government appreciated the potential political import of the meeting of poet and president. After his return to Palestine, Bialik maintained some slight interest in American-Zionist affairs.⁷⁵

More important than his political involvement and perhaps even than his fund-raising were Bialik's cultural activities, "the spiritual task" he had set out for himself before leaving Palestine. These included ceremonial functions, such as accepting

honorary degrees from the Jewish Theological Seminary and the Hebrew Union College, and delivering formal addresses on aspects of Jewish culture to the national conventions of the Young Judea youth movement, of Avukah, the student Zionist association, of the Keren Hayesod and the ZOA, as well as to a mass meeting of Hebraists held in his honor in New York in March. He even debated publicly the importance of Hebrew to the national revival with Vladimir Jabotinsky, the translator of his poems into Russian, who was in the United States on behalf of the militant opposition movement to the World Zionist Organization leadership.⁷⁶

In talks at dozens of less formal events, a visit to the National Hebrew School on New York's lower East Side, a faculty-student lunch at the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, a gathering of young intellectuals in Cleveland, an evening for Hebrew writers at Lipsky's home, he spread his aura over those with whom he came in contact. In fact, his mere presence in the United States served as a catalyst, even to those who did not get to meet him. From Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, to Waco, Texas, and beyond, Hebraists and teachers, especially, were energized by the visit. The interest he generated in education and culture moved the ZOA to establish a National Cultural Corporation with the goal of raising the cultural level of American Jewry. The Corporation was launched with great fanfare at a special conclave in New York with Bialik in attendance, but it quickly proved to be a failure.⁷⁷

In addition to his public appearances, Bialik spent a great deal of time meeting informally with American Hebrew and Yiddish writers and with scholars of Judaica. He was able to renew contact with old friends and associates, such as Simon Ginzburg, Y.D. Berkowitz, Silkiner, and the family of Sholem Aleichem, who had died a decade before. He met Max Raisin and Persky and others with whom he had corresponded over the years, and established valuable contacts for the future with other American Hebraists. His visits to the Hebrew Union College and the Jewish Theological Seminary also sowed the seeds of future cooperation. He had hoped to meet Israel Davidson at the Seminary, "the only person [in the world] able to lend much assistance" to his Spanish poetry project. The two crossed paths in mid-ocean, however, as Davidson headed for a

visiting post at the new Hebrew University in Palestine.⁷⁸ Bialik met Joseph Marcus, his American research assistant and the liaison man with Davidson, and Prof. Alexander Marx, the Seminary librarian whom he also knew by correspondence, as well as other members of the Seminary faculty, and he luxuriated in the "uniquely rich" Seminary library.⁷⁹

The poet's contacts with American Yiddishists were, for the most part, less pleasant. He was disturbed by the crassness of much of the American-Yiddish press. Advertisements placed in at least one Yiddish paper used his name without permission to promote land sales in Palestine ("Bialik says:... 'Buy land...in *Eretz Yisroel!*'"). The ads cheapened his image, as he had feared might happen in America, and served to reawaken some of his old prejudices about the United States.⁸⁰ Bialik disagreed passionately with the diaspora nationalism of many of the American Yiddishists, who negated the value of the Hebrew language and of Zionism and looked to the Soviet Union as a model for the Jewish future. The largest Yiddish-language daily in the country, the socialist New York *Forverts*, was politely but predictably non-committal about his visit to America. At a banquet ostensibly tendered in his honor by New York's Y.L. Peretz [Yiddish] Writers' Association, he was impolitely attacked. A journalist affiliated with the communist Yiddish daily, *Die Freiheit*, who was, no doubt, aware of Bialik's hatred for Bolshevism, accused him of "selling himself to the devil," by whom were meant the moneyed American Jews who were sponsoring his tour. Although he answered in kind with a vigorous defense of his principles, the incident left an unpleasant aftertaste.⁸¹

The work for Dvir proved to be a mixed experience. Bialik left America with "a box full of new manuscripts" for publication. Together he and Levin had some success in arranging for better distribution of Dvir books and for them to be reviewed. Money, however, was the real concern. Levin, the more businesslike of the two, had set a goal of £20,000 to be raised for the company in America to ensure its solvency.⁸² As his contribution to the effort, Bialik published a piece on Dvir and Moriah in Hebrew and in English, in which he surveyed the history of his publishing endeavors. He emphasized, quite truthfully, that his "main object" had never been profit, but, rather, the revitalization "of Hebrew education, which," he feared, "was gradually

becoming emptied of its national and human content."⁸³ The "lion's share of the worry," that is, the actual money-raising, Bialik left to Levin, as the latter remarked with some annoyance. The poet's *amour propre* made any fund-raising difficult for him; fund-raising for his own company was particularly distasteful. Levin labored arduously and they delayed their departure from America from late April to early July because of Dvir. Levin worried that they would return to Palestine without sufficient funds to guarantee the existence of the company. Bialik feared that the company's workers and management would assume "there was no limit to" American largesse and waste whatever they received. In the end, they were both proved right. The original goal was not met, and by late 1926 Dvir was on the brink of bankruptcy and support had to be sought elsewhere than the United States.⁸⁴

VI

Assessing the results of Bialik's American foray requires a consideration of its effects on America, on Bialik himself, and, in the longer term, on the Yishuv. In general, the American sponsors of the trip, as well as the leaders of international Zionism and of the Yishuv, pronounced themselves satisfied at the conclusion of the visit. In the United States Zionists felt the tour had "ushered in a feeling of joy and renaissance in American Zionism." *HaDoar* described the period of the visit as "days of blessing," especially for the aficionados of Hebrew culture. Levin wrote to Weizmann that "Bialik's visit to America had brought tremendous benefits," and Emanuel Neumann conceded that the poet had "served our practical purposes well." (The United Palestine Appeal raised over 80 percent of its quota, "the largest sum ever secured [in any place to that date] in one year for Palestine.") Americans were particularly pleased that Bialik, unlike many of the Palestinian emissaries, had felt "obliged not only to teach [about Palestine], but also to learn" about America. A few naysayers felt the "mission had not been much of a success," perhaps because the American-Jewish community had not been culturally transformed during those five months. The continuing interest in Bialik after his departure, the intense and widespread enthusaism generated by his 60th birthday in

1933, and the deep sense of communal loss at his death a year later, are indications that the poet succeeded in making an impression on America, the fluff and ballyhoo notwithstanding. Even in the land of dollars, according to Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, "one Bialik" was now worth a "thousand Warburgs."⁸⁵

The poet, himself, left America as he had come, ambivalent, but the scale tipped farther to the positive side than it had before. He had experienced American-Jewish life at first hand, and he had become very minimally conversant with the culture of the United States. He renewed acquaintance with former schoolmates and others he had known in Europe, and he met Americans such as writer and translator Maurice Samuel, who "tried to give him some sort of insight into the nature of American civilization." If his former notions about America did not lose all their weight, they were now well balanced by knowledge of aspects of American life with which he had not previously been familiar. Almost never in the future would he lose sight of America as a significant factor in Jewish life, particularly in the welfare of the Yishuv, his mixed feelings notwithstanding.⁸⁶

Just after leaving New York, Bialik wrote to his friend and mentor, Ahad HaAm, summing up his recent experiences in familiar tones. During his stay, he complained tongue in cheek, he "hadn't [even] found a free moment to read about himself in the American papers," so busy had the Americans kept him with "meetings, banquets,...parties, interviews, discussions, visits, declarations, proclamations, commencements, [and a hundred other meaningless activities, all of them accompanied by]...American noise, confusion, tumult, ta-ra-ram, bluff, and humbug."⁸⁷ He struck some similar, if more oblique, notes in a long poem penned in New York and published in *HaDoar* just after his departure.⁸⁸ Elsewhere, he even cast doubt on the physical security of American Jews. Their future, he asserted, was no more certain than that of Jews elsewhere, their achievements no more than "a soap bubble."⁸⁹

On the other hand, he acknowledged publicly that his longstanding apprehensions regarding America had been exaggerated, and admitted to Ahad HaAm and others that he "had no regrets" at having undertaken the trip.⁹⁰ Although he knew no English and spent almost all of his time in the United States within the confines of the Jewish community, Bialik had come to

sense the vitality and potential of America. He arrived convinced that America was "the apotheosis of a mechanical civilization, a machine itself," but had discovered "living organisms, alive and awake," continually renewing themselves. Like many Europeans before him, he was attracted by the "unlimited power" of America enhanced by freedom from "the spiritual and cultural baggage of the past." He recognized the opportunity for Jews inherent in the absence of European social and religious traditions, and in the new notions of cultural pluralism espoused by Ralph Waldo Emerson [?] and John Dewey.⁹¹

The poet's deepest prejudices had, of course, related to American Jewry, and they were not entirely dispelled during his stay. After five months in America, he remained painfully aware that "American Jews produced...little...distinctive Jewish art and literature," that they talked "glibly about Jewish culture," but remained largely ignorant of "the original sources of our spiritual treasures." He was "deeply shocked" to discover on a visit to the home of Professor Louis Ginzberg of the (Conservative) Jewish Theological Seminary, one of the world's greatest Talmudic scholars, that Ginzberg's children "knew no Hebrew." Reform and Conservative rabbis, he asserted, had contributed "no new or original ideas whatsoever" to Jewish culture, while Hebrew teachers in the United States were "over-Americanized" and ineffectual. Hebrew letters in America were in a "degraded condition." And in any case, he declared, Jewish culture in America could never be more than a pale imitation of the holistic cultural life that had once existed in eastern Europe and now was achievable only in the all-Jewish society of the Yishuv.⁹² Zionism, which elsewhere offered the greatest promise for a creative Jewish existence, amounted to little more than sterile philanthropy in America, according to Bialik. "Most of the leaders" of American Zionism, like Louis Lipsky, were "steeped in alien culture," hardly able to awaken a "hunger for Hebrew" learning.⁹³

On the other hand, he was not blind to "the revival of interest in Jewish culture" in the New World, to the "undefined longing for stature and self-recognition,...[the] firm will to...emerge out of spiritual penury onto the...royal highway of Jewish history." Bialik sensed the potential benefits for Jewish creativity inherent in the well-being and prosperity of the United States. To an

extent, he now excused the spiritual shortcomings of American Jewry on the grounds of its "relative youth and newness." He asserted the conviction that the first period of American-Jewish history, "the period of adaptation to the living conditions of the new country," was ending. He came to perceive the Jews of the United States as "fallow soil," which, if "properly cultivated,...[would] yield rich harvests."⁹⁴ All in all, despite its deficiencies, American Jewry evinced great, if as yet unrealized, promise. In his farewell to America delivered at the ZOA convention in Buffalo in June, Bialik reiterated the statement he had made in London at the beginning of his trip. "American Jews," he declared in words tinged with despondency and dependency, but also with expectancy and faith, are "the sole hope of the Jews of the world and...the Jewish homeland...[will] be restored and rebuilt by" them. On a number of occasions before he left the United States and afterwards, the poet went even further, pronouncing American Jewry less than "total compensation for the destruction of our life in the other countries of the diaspora — but [certainly] partial compensation." This was great praise, indeed, although hardly unqualified.⁹⁵

Because of his position as a pundit, Bialik's reflections on America evoked considerable interest in the Jewish world at large, and especially in the Yishuv, where "culture rotated about his personality." He broke the return trip in London where he reported his impressions to the executive of the World Zionist Organization.⁹⁶ His views were given their most dramatic airing in Tel Aviv, however, where he addressed a crowd of several thousand at the outdoor Beit HaAm on October 6th. The large audience — perhaps one of every ten Tel Avivians — and the extensive coverage in *HaAretz* and *Davar* testify not only to the prominence of the speaker but also to the importance of the topic.⁹⁷ The speech, which represents Bialik's fullest exposition of the meaning of America, gave very broad exposure in Jewish Palestine to the issue of the relationship of the Yishuv with the New World and its Jewry. The poet repeated much that he had said before in other forums, but he sounded a new tone, altogether different from the sense of resignation which had marked his send-off nine months earlier. While he did not now "eliminate the negative" entirely, he chose now to "accentuate the positive."⁹⁸

Although the talk contains some interesting misreadings of the American scene (an assertion that Americans evinced little nationalistic sentiment before World War I, for example) and errors of fact, it is perceptive, on the whole, if somewhat over-optimistic. Like foreign visitors from Crèvecoeur and de Tocqueville to Jabotinsky, Bialik spoke of the United States as "the land of unlimited possibilities," which was giving birth to "a new life" and "a new type of human being," free of the constraints of Europe. He spoke admiringly of American youth, energy and plenty, and the willingness even of writers and intellectuals to get their hands dirty with daily affairs, which made it possible to accomplish things undoable elsewhere. Rather than uncultured brashness, American "naturalness" was the "most legitimate and beautiful" character trait. American bluster he now perceived as the "clean, pure" self-expression "of youngsters;" in "bluff" he recognized Americans' sense of "playfulness." Ever the small-town boy, he seemed almost in awe of Americans who were able effortlessly to negotiate their huge, populous country. Americans were "generous of spirit" and remarkably peaceful; the "near absence of crime in New York" he found incredible. (This in the Prohibition Era!) Americans were also not without cultural achievements. In certain fields of intellectual endeavor, especially the applied arts and sciences, such as psychology, "Torah would come forth from America." Americans had their culture heroes, such as Washington and Lincoln, who already served as "examples with respect to matters of the spirit;" and in the future there would develop strong indigenous traditions.⁹⁹

Bialik turned the tables on American Jews, in finding them one of the "wonders" of the world. Their arrival in the New World he pronounced "a mini-exodus from Egypt," a compliment fraught with implied meaning, although he feared they remained precariously perched on the political and economic borders of their land of milk and honey. Although the struggle to become established had "dulled them" spiritually, unlike other Americans, they had not entirely thrown off the yoke of the past. In fact, they retained strong Jewish loyalties, which made them eager to create a viable, vital, "communal, Hebrew life." They possessed "a special sentiment" for the Land of Israel, and appropriate emissaries, "who would take them to heart and seek

to draw them near," could create "an enthusiastic [Zionist] movement" in the United States.¹⁰⁰ In short, whatever its failings, America was a land of great promise for all, including the beleaguered Jews of the Yishuv, so much in need of moral support and funds in their epic struggle to create a renewed Jewish society and culture in Palestine.

Bialik's trip and subsequent reconsideration of America were of greatest consequence with regard to the relationship of the Yishuv to the New World. As noted above, his more positive views of the United States gained a wide hearing in Palestine, where any pronouncement by him aroused interest. That he proposed re-evaluating some of the basic negative notions of Palestinians about America at a mass gathering organized by the Hebrew Writers' Association, a group known for strong nationalistic sympathies and suspicion of the diaspora, especially the United States, gave his comments added bite. (It may also have contributed to the souring of his relations with many members of the Association.)¹⁰¹ In the years following his trip to America, Bialik worked to realize his rosy prognosis. He did what he could to further the development of Zionism and Hebrew culture in the United States; he exploited the contacts he had made with American Hebraists, Yiddishists, and scholars; and he acted as an intermediary for American philanthropists interested in aiding the Yishuv.

In the United States the afterglow of Bialik's visit lingered even after his death in 1934, helping, according to Morris Rothenberg, erstwhile president of the ZOA, "to give new direction to...Jewish destiny and new courage to...Jewish character."¹⁰² He continued to be written about often in the American-Jewish press; and his own essays and poetry appeared in print frequently in Hebrew and in English and Yiddish translations, and even in a medium which the "village boy" had "never imagined," a phonograph record.¹⁰³ His ongoing popularity, despite the occasional gaffe, such as forgetting to greet the sensitive Lipsky on his fiftieth birthday, emboldened Bialik to intervene from time to time in American Zionist affairs on behalf of the Yishuv, albeit not very effectively. In late 1927, for example, he appealed through Henrietta Szold to the executive of the ZOA and to a national United Palestine Appeal conference "to avert [through increased remittances the] calamity" of bank-

ruptcy and collapse that faced the educational network of the Yishuv.¹⁰⁴ At the least, however, a more sustained effort was needed to get the Americans to fulfill their obligations.

Two years later Bialik became embroiled in a nasty squabble involving American and Palestinian Zionists and their opponents. Reuben Brainin was a veteran Hebrew writer and a longtime vice-president of the ZOA, with whom the poet had had considerable contact over the years. In the mid-twenties Brainin began to exhibit growing interest in the communist experiment in Russia, and especially in the Crimean Jewish agricultural colonies. The American-Jewish philanthropists bankrolling the colonies co-opted him to publicize their cause and to raise funds, exploiting his Zionist connections. In the Yishuv, which he had visited about the time of Bialik's sojourn in America, and in the United States, Zionists grew increasingly eager either to silence Brainin or to distance him from the Zionist movement. His public attacks on Bialik, as well as the latter's passionate Zionism and fierce antagonism to Bolshevism, brought the poet into the fray in 1929, when, after a tour of Russia, Brainin wrote glowingly of what he had seen without mentioning Soviet oppression of Zionism.¹⁰⁵ "The battle of the books" was joined in several arenas: the press in America and Palestine, a Tel Aviv meeting of "activists and writers," chaired by Bialik, which acted as a kangaroo court, and, finally, a hearing held in Berlin by a World Zionist Congress tribunal, with Bialik as plaintiff and Brainin as defendant. Bialik was vindicated. The court and many other Zionists seemed to feel, however, that the poet and his colleagues had over-reacted, and the feud was allowed to recede into history without final resolution.¹⁰⁶

Bialik's heightened involvement with American-Jewish cultural affairs between 1926 and 1934 proved more rewarding and constituted an important link in the chain binding the Yishuv to the New World. Building on old relationships and on the new connections he had established during his trip, Bialik began to work closely with a number of American scholars, especially those of the Jewish Theological Seminary and the Hebrew Union College, his strictures regarding Reform and Conservative rabbis notwithstanding. He read the publications of the latter institution with approval, although he believed its *Annual* (HUCA) should contain more articles written in Hebrew.

Neumark had died in 1924, but Bialik established ties with other scholars at the College, Zvi Diesendruck, the linguist and philosopher, for example, whom he had met during the latter's brief tenure at the Hebrew University. He solicited manuscripts for Dvir and contributions for the journal, *Reshumot*, which he had founded together with Ravnitzki and Alter Druyanov, from the College's eminent musicologist, Abraham Zvi Idelsohn, and others. (Bialik was most enthused about Diesendruck's book on the Hebrew language, *Min HaSafa VeLifnim*, which Dvir published in 1933, but he condescendingly told Idelsohn, who had lived and taught in Jerusalem for many years before Bialik had come to Palestine, that one of his submissions might "satisfy the needs of the American Jew," but not "our clintele.")¹⁰⁷ Scholars affiliated with the Reform wing of Judaism — but not the College — with whom Bialik corresponded in these years, included Max Raisin, Haim Tchernowitz (Rav Tza'ir) of the Jewish Institute of Religion in New York, an old friend and colleague from Odessa, and Hyman G. Enelow, whose critical edition of the fourteenth-century *Menorat HaMa'or*, the poet recognized as "precious and wonderful, [in fact,] incomparable."¹⁰⁸

Although most of the American Reformers with whom Bialik was in close contact were transplanted eastern Europeans, he seemed to have more in common with the scholars at the Conservative Seminary. He admired the work of Alexander Marx, Louis Ginzberg, Shalom Spiegel, Michael Higger, and, of course, Israel Davidson. He made certain that the Seminary library received all the books published by Dvir, and he attempted unsuccessfully to persuade Ginzberg to remain in Palestine when the latter visited there in 1928 and 1929.¹⁰⁹ Joseph Marcus, Bialik's poorly-and-not-always-regularly paid research assistant and scribe in the field of Spanish-Jewish poetry, has already been mentioned. Isaac Rivkind, another denizen of the Seminary library, assisted Bialik in a number of ways and contributed to *Reshumot*.¹¹⁰ With Davidson the scholarly collaboration begun earlier remained particularly close. Their work on the medieval Spanish poets overlapped. They shared material and offered critiques of each other's work. Through Davidson the Seminary "opened to [Bialik]...the gates of its book treasury." The relationship, however, was not always amicable, partly because of the unavoidable element of competition. The prickly Davidson

accused Bialik on several occasions of overlooking his works and Marcus's contributions; the poet felt slighted, at times, by Davidson, who undoubtedly regarded him as lacking in scholarly methodology. Their long-distance relationship seems to have survived, however, until Bialik's death.¹¹¹

Academic relationships were not limited to the Seminary and Hebrew Union College circles. The poet corresponded with Orthodox scholars, such as Rabbi Yekuti'el Greenwald of Columbus, Ohio, and several Jewish academics.¹¹² He seems to have felt particular closeness to people who had lived in Palestine, such as Samuel Faigin and Israel Eitan of Pittsburgh and Nehemiah Samuel Libowitz, a Brooklyn dealer in precious stones and an enthusiastic amateur researcher, who, over the years, published more than twenty books on mysticism and rabbinics. He encouraged Eitan to write in Hebrew and to contribute to the new linguistic and academic journals of Palestine, and he maintained a lively correspondence with Libowitz. He kept the jeweller, his "exalted and precious friend," at arm's length from Dvir, however, perhaps mindful of his unpleasant experiences with Simon Bernstein.¹¹³ Bernstein, the longtime editor of *Dos Iddishe Folk*, the Yiddish organ of the ZOA, was interested in Italian-Jewish poetry. Bialik concluded an agreement, sight unseen, for Dvir to publish a critical edition of unknown poems, which Bernstein, who held a doctorate and other academic credentials, was preparing. When the manuscript arrived, however, Bialik adjudged the poems to be "garbage." He asked to be released from his commitment, even though Bernstein had agreed to pay the initial costs of publication himself.¹¹⁴

Simon Ginzburg bridged the worlds of scholarship and Hebrew *belles lettres* of Odessa, New York, and Tel Aviv. His reunion with Bialik in America re-envigorated their friendship and literary collaboration. Between 1927 and 1933 Dvir published three works of Moshe Haim Luzzato edited by Ginzburg and two volumes of the latter's own writing, as well as the Haverim series of books in Hebrew by young American authors (Silkner, Avraham Sho'er, Ephraim Lissitzky, and Simon Halkin) of which Ginzburg served as the American coordinator.¹¹⁵ The two exchanged publications, comments on current events, and gossip (Bialik confided to Ginzburg that he found the American-Hebrew poet, Hillel Bavli, to be a "bag of wind"); and the senior

poet responded with measured words to his colleague's requests for a critique of his poetry (on one poem — "excessive muscularity," on the full corpus — "your own singular voice"). In 1933 Ginzburg finally followed Bialik to Palestine, although he returned to the United States in 1939.¹¹⁶

During these years Bialik, himself, served as a bridge between the cultural worlds of America and the Yishuv. He felt keenly the responsibility to fulfill the obligation with which he had been charged in 1926 by Simon Bernstein, "to lay the broad spiritual groundwork for...a Hebrew renaissance" in America, which many Palestinians were increasingly recognizing as the only viable community in the diaspora.¹¹⁷ Hebrew and Yiddish writers in the New World sought Bialik's stamp of approval, which he conferred generously, and he helped to promote writers and artists from the Yishuv, such as painter Pinhas Litvinovsky, in the United States. From afar he was called upon for such tasks as judging the annual writing contest sponsored by *HaDoar*.¹¹⁸ His most sustained undertaking was the publication through Dvir of the works of American authors, especially in the *Haverim* series. The Americans agreed to share publication expenses, but, hardpressed themselves, they frequently complicated the task by not meeting their financial obligations on time. Bialik, however, persevered. He found some of the young writers "imitative." Others, however, such as Yohanan Twersky, he recognized as "first-rate" talents who would be a credit to the firm; but even the "derivative" Americans, he averred, exhibited "richness of content, form, and style." The size of the talent pool he found staggering, especially in light of his previous assumptions — accurate enough for an earlier era — about the cultural poverty of Jewish America. (He was reduced to asking the author of a praiseworthy collection of "authentic" Yiddish poetry in 1929, "Who are you?")¹¹⁹

That Dvir published American authors served not only to strengthen Hebrew culture in America. It enlarged the firm's list of authors and gave it added variety. More importantly, it served to broaden the scope of the emergent culture of the Yishuv by connecting it with the much larger American-Jewish community, which Bialik and others hoped would become its hinterland. In addition, although the publishing company had quickly become rooted in Palestine, like other institutions of the

Yishuv, it rested upon a shaky financial foundation. That it survived during these years was in large part due to the volunteer assistance and financial support of Jews "all over the world, including America," as Max Raisin noted, support which was forthcoming because of the love "felt for the poet."¹²⁰ Not only did American authors — or their wellwishers — subvent their own books. As the economic and political situation in Poland deteriorated, the United States became the principal diaspora market of Dvir. Vigorous efforts were now made to sell the firm's books — and shares — there. By 1929 about a third of those company shares not held by Bialik, Levin, and Ravnitzki had been purchased by Americans, while almost half of its outstanding accounts were owed by one American bookseller. A year later, when "crushing debts...and interest were devouring" the firm, Bialik appealed to Levin, who was then in New York, "to become the redeemer of Dvir" by negotiating an interest-free loan, no easy task in Depression-era America.¹²¹

If Americans' love for the poet did not bring instant relief for Dvir, it did make it easier for Bialik to obtain assistance for a number of cultural and charitable enterprises in Palestine in those years. Before they had met personally, American philanthropists had shown little interest in Bialik and, as noted earlier, he had exhibited an ample measure of disapproval of their values. During his New-World sojourn, however, the man of letters learned to value practical entrepreneurs. He would never suffer gladly those he considered to be rich fools. (Witness his snappish letter to Robert Marwill in 1929, in which he declared that "only the blind would fail to recognize the great things we have done in this small land," and his annoyance with Julius Rosenwald's openhandedness towards blacks and lack of generosity towards Jews!) Still, he came to believe that the wealth of the United States was of such magnitude and so easily obtained that there the rich would be able to free themselves of the possessiveness that gripped even the fabulously wealthy in the Old World. Americans, he now asserted, "would [ironically] be the first to break the thrall of the dollar fetish." Unlike many in Palestine, he trusted non-Zionist, American millionaires sufficiently to support Weizmann in his efforts to enlist them in the service of Zionism in the reorganized Jewish Agency.¹²²

There were several American "mycaenases" with whom Bialik became closely connected, among them the Rosenbloom family of Pittsburgh and Nathan and Lina Straus of New York's R.H. Macy Department Store clan. More important to Bialik personally were his connections to Israel Matz, head of the Ex-Lax Company and a generous supporter of Hebrew culture in the United States and elsewhere, and to Samuel Simon Bloom, a Philadelphia manufacturer of false teeth, who moved his factory to Palestine in 1926. Through the poet the latter two became significant contributors to the development of culture in the Yishuv.

Probably hesitant because of the poet's iconoclastic past, Sol Rosenbloom, an early munificent supporter of the new Hebrew University in Jerusalem, had expressed doubt in 1923 that Bialik was "the type...to be entrusted" with overseeing Jewish studies there. Already during the poet's American visit, however, Rosenbloom's widow decided to support his appointment to the advisory committee to administer her \$500,000 gift to the university in memory of her husband.¹²³ Bialik headed the building committee for the Nathan and Lina Straus Health Center in Jerusalem in 1927 and then for a similar center in Tel Aviv. Straus provided some support for indigent writers and Bialik entertained hope that funds would be forthcoming for a writers' residence. His ties to Straus, a "sensitive, old man [who had] endeared himself to all residents of the Yishuv," brought the poet into close contact with Henrietta Szold, who provided yet another window onto America.¹²⁴

Matz established a foundation "for the promotion of Hebrew literature and culture and for [the] relief of Hebrew writers" in 1925, with Bialik as a member of its advisory council. Until his death the poet acted as an advocate for indigent writers and their survivors in Palestine, the United States, and even Russia, and for the cause of Hebrew letters, in general. Usually his pleas received a favorable hearing. Sometimes, however, the Foundation applied criteria more stringent than Bialik thought appropriate. In 1933, for example, he had difficulty in securing support for a new monthly publication of the Palestine Writers' Association.¹²⁵

Bloom was "an ordinary Jew, a simple businessman" with healthy "Jewish intuition," according to Bialik, an idealist who

had come to Palestine "to lend a helping hand to the up-building of our beautiful land" after 30 years in America of "personal sacrifices for Zionism," by his own description. He financed the erection in 1928 of Ohel Shem, a community center in Tel Aviv, which had been a dream of Bialik. The latter hoped such a center would provide educational and cultural programming for secularized adults, especially on the Sabbath, and serve as a model for similar centers elsewhere in the country. Bloom felt betrayed and unappreciated in Palestine by what he perceived to be a lackadaisical Zionist administration in Jerusalem, unacquainted with American standards of efficiency, despite the participation of Henrietta Szold; and he felt exploited by workers, whom he believed to be lazy, greedy, and overprotected by a union unaccustomed to American standards of productivity. Bialik's depiction of Bloom indicates no deep mutual understanding between them. Still, the industrialist was attracted by the poet's plans and volunteered his aid. Later he attempted to raise funds in America for expanding the programs of Ohel Shem. Their cooperation is an indication of how successful Bialik had become over the years, not only in strengthening the cultural bonds connecting American Jewry and the Yishuv, but also in garnering the support of wealthy Americans for his pet projects.¹²⁶

VII

During a period of some three and a half decades, Bialik had gradually overcome, to an extent, the prejudices of a small-town, European-Jewish intellectual regarding America. He became involved in certain facets of American-Jewish life, and he drew Americans into the cultural life of the Yishuv. With him one sees that aspect of life in Palestine which should have been most impervious to American influence becoming intertwined with the affairs of that country's Jewry. Especially in the last two decades of his life, the poet became increasingly aware that the Yishuv would never realize its potential, even in the realm of culture with which he was most directly concerned, without massive assistance from the American diaspora. That understanding, together with an appreciation of positive aspects of America, led Bialik, the outstanding cultural and literary per-

sonality of the Yishuv and a strong critic of the shortcomings of the United States, to become intimately connected with Americans.

Yet however closely Bialik worked with Americans, and however much he revised his early preconceptions, he never became a wholehearted enthusiast of the New World. He remained skeptical about American culture and character. His optimism regarding the prospects of American Jewry was ever guarded, his efforts to strengthen the community and his sense of its importance to Zionism notwithstanding. He never faltered in his conviction that the Yishuv would be the only viable center of Jewish culture in the long term, and perhaps the world's only viable Jewish community.

Toward the end of his days Bialik was again expressing deep reservations about the United States. He thought the contemporary generation there "degraded." He could appreciate the movie, "Ben Hur," and the work of George Foote Moore, the gentile, rabbinics scholar at Harvard; but he continued to find the "sensational" American press well below any acceptable journalistic standard. He deplored the way in which American Jews had reduced Weizmann, "the leader of the generation," to little more than "an itinerant beggar." He was appalled that the Hebrew poet, Menahem Mendel Dolitzky, who had once dwelled on "the heights of 'Parnassus'" as the chosen successor to the towering Yehuda Leib Gordon, had been condemned in the United States first to "the cellar of the Yiddish-language, yellow press" and then to death "in a poorhouse." When he heard that Y.D. Berkowitz was at last coming to Palestine to live, he rejoiced and allowed himself the wish that one day "all of our worthy comrades who are laboring faithfully at God's work [that is, the Hebrew writers of America], will become rooted here in the Land of Israel."¹²⁷

If it was "partial compensation" for the Jewish civilization of Europe that had been destroyed in World War I, America was still *galuth* (exile) to Bialik. To him it was a land like any, other than Palestine, of exile and alienation for Jews, of "weakening of the national will.... Nothing in the Exile has happened," he wrote to American Jews in 1929, "to modify our belief that it is the scene of our nation's degeneration, a blind alley with no hope or way out, whereas in Palestine, everything we dreamt of is

coming true to an unhopd-for degree."¹²⁸ Whatever Jews do in the diaspora "in the fields of science and culture," he told an American audience on another occasion, "belongs to strangers." During the years "in the Exile," the Jewish people has "produced men with great ideas that embrace the whole universe." To Bialik, however, "the smallest creation in the Land of Israel" was worth more than all that they had done because of the direct benefit to the Jewish people.¹²⁹ Even after Hitler had come to power, Bialik remained convinced that the New World was only marginally different from other lands of the diaspora, if at all.¹³⁰ In 1927, soon after his return from the United States, the erstwhile iconoclastic poet penned some words of old-fashioned faith to an American journalist with the hope that he would convey them to his readers. Palestine, Bialik said, is "the single, central location, towards which God has pointed his finger...saying: 'This is the only place where you will find rest; and there is no other.'"¹³¹

Notes

1. "Bialik, Greatest of Living Hebrew Poets, Speaks Here," *Washington Post*, 18 April 1926.
2. Compare Michael Keren, *The Pen and the Sword* (Boulder, San Francisco, and London: Westview Press, 1989), p. 26; and Gershon Shaked, "The Great Transition," in *The Great Transition: The Recovery of the Lost Centers of Modern Hebrew Literature*, eds. Glenda Abramson and Tudor Parfitt (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Allenheld, 1985), pp. 117-25.
3. David Ben-Gurion, *Zichronot*, 1 [Hebrew] (Tel Aviv: Am Oved Publishers, 1971), p. 47; Weizmann, letter, Tel Aviv, 1 October 1924, to his wife, Vera Weizmann, London, in *The Life and Letters of Chaim Weizmann*, Series A, vol. 12, ed. Joshua Freundlich (Jerusalem: Transaction Books, Rutgers University, and Israel Universities Press, 1977), pp. 242-43.
4. [Pahaz], "Bialik Nassa," *HaAretz*, 20 January 1926. All translations, unless otherwise noted, are the author's.
5. "Evel Yahid," *Davar*, 13 July 1934; and "Bli Bialik," *Davar*, 7 July 1934, both in Hebrew. On Bialik's influence on his generation, see David Aberbach, *Bialik* (London: Peter Halban, 1988), p. 15, and the sources cited there.

6. [H.N. Bialik], "Dvir" *Hotzaat Sfarim Leumit Tziburit* (Berlin: Dfuss "Ever", 5682 [1922]), p. 6. This prospectus was signed by Dr. M. Glickson and Dr. Shmaryahu Levin, as well as Bialik. It may be assumed, however, that his colleagues left the task of writing to the poet.
 See also, Shalom Spiegel, "Saul Tchernichovsky," *The New Palestine*, 7 December 1928, pp. 463-4, 471; Yaakov Fichman, "Im Bialik (Zichronot U-Reshimot MiPinkasi)" [Hebrew], *Knesset — Divrei Sofrim Le-Zecher H.N. Bialik*, II, eds. Yaakov Cohen and F.[ishel] Lahover (Tel Aviv: Dvir, 5697 [1937]), pp. 93ff; Aberbach, *Bialik*, pp. 37-55.
7. Baruch Benedikt Kurzweil, "The Image of the Western Jew in Modern Hebrew Literature," *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book*, VI (1961), p. 181.
8. See Joel S. Geffen, "Whither: To Palestine or to America in the Pages of the Russian Hebrew Press, *Ha-Melitz* and *Ha-Yom* (1880-1890), Annotated Documentary," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly*, 59 (December 1969), passim; and Harvey Richman, "The Image of America in the European Hebrew Periodicals of the Nineteenth Century (Until 1880)," unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1971, passim; and other sources.
 Compare also, Hillel Bavli, "Al HaTarbut Halvrit BeAmerica" [Hebrew], *Moznayim*, I (20 August 1926). Bavli, an American Hebraist who was visiting in Palestine, told his audience of Palestinian Hebrew writers that their "notions about America" were conceived in ignorance and "far from the truth." On the date of Bavli's talk, Bialik was still making his way home from America. To an extent, however, Bavli was talking about him, if not to him.
9. As quoted by his son-in-law, Y.D. Berkowitz, in *Harishonim Kivnei Adam* [Hebrew], 5 vols. (Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1938 [vols. 1-2], 1943 [vols. 3-5]), I, p. 177. On the ambivalent attitude of Sholem Aleichem towards America, see Khone Shmeruk, "Sholem Aleichem and America," *YIVO Annual*, 20 (1991):212ff.
10. Haim Nahman Bialik, "Al America," speech at Bet HaAm, Tel Aviv, [Hebrew], *Tishrei*, 5687 [1926], in his *Dvarim SheBeAl Peh*, 2 vols. (Tel Aviv: Dvir, 5695 [1935]), 2, pp. 93-94.
11. K.[alman] Whiteman, "HaRa'ayon Halvri," *HaToren*, 3 (9 February 1917):3. See also, Michael Brown, "All, All, Alone: The Hebrew Press in America from 1914 to 1924," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly*, 59 (October 1969):138-77.

12. "Dvir," p. 4.
13. Berkowitz, *HaRishonim*, 2, p. 262; and Bialik, letter, Odessa, 19 Teveth 1905, to Sholem Aleichem, n.p., in *Iggrot Haim Nahman Bialik*, 5 vols., ed. F.[ishel] Lahover (Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1938 [vols. 1-4], 1939 [vol. 5]), 2, p. 9. Compare also, the letter of Mendele Mocher Seforim, Geneva, 8 January 1907, to Yehoshua Ravnitzki and Bialik in Odessa, in *Correspondence Between S.J. Abramovitsch, Ch. N. Bialik and Y. Ch. Rawnitzki, 1905-1908*, ed. Chone Shmeruk (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1976), pp. 89-90; and Bialik's letters from Odessa on 14 Kislev 1905 and 11 Shvat 1906 to S. Ben Zion, n.p., in *Iggrot*, 2, pp. 3-4, 10-12.
 Noah H. Rosenbloom, in "America BeEinei Bialik," in his *Iyyunei Sifrut VeHagut* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Rubin Mass, Ltd., 1989), pp. 281-313, claims that Bialik's statement about Russia and Odessa is to be taken at face value and was motivated by his extreme animus towards America. It stretches credulity, however, to believe that in the year of the Kishinev pogrom, Bialik would have sincerely praised Russia as the fairest of countries. In fact, the same day he wrote to Sholem Aleichem, Bialik wrote to Y.D. Berkowitz recalling recent pogroms in Odessa which threatened to put an end to Jewish spiritual and cultural life in the city. About a month later, Bialik wrote to S. Ben Zion: "How fortunate you are...to be dwelling in peace...in the Alps under the skies of Switzerland, a place without bombs or fear of death or pogroms; we, on the other hand,...are like the dead." (letters, Odessa, 19 Teveth and 11 Shvat 1905, in *Iggrot*, 2, pp. 7-8, 10-11).
14. See Keren, *Sword*, pp. 23-25.
15. H.N. Bialik, "Od Al Kinnus HaRuah" [Hebrew], speech at a gathering of the New York Histadruth Ivrit, 1926, in *Dvarim*, 1, p. 70. See also, Natan Rotenstreich, "Haguto Shel Bialik BeInyenei Tarbut" [Hebrew], *Knesset* (New Series), 1 (5720 [1960]), p. 208; Aberbach, *Bialik*, pp. 6-7, and the sources cited there.
16. Sh.[imon] Halkin, "HaItton Eretz-HaYisraeli VeHaGolah," *Moznayim*, 1 (22 March 1929), p. 9.
17. Quoted in Aberbach, *Bialik*, p. 4. See also, pp. 58-59. The implications of Bialik's being a small-towner were suggested to me by Shulamith Nardi in a discussion in Jerusalem, 26 March 1991.
18. Bialik, letter, [Berlin], 6 February 1922, to Daniel Persky, New York, in *Iggrot*, 2, p. 249. See also, Z.[alman] Schneur, *H.N. Bialik U-Vnei Doro* [Hebrew] (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 5713 [1953]), p. 94.
19. "Bialik Al Reshamav BeLondon," and "Haim Nahman Bialik BeDarko LeAmerica," both in London *HaOlam* [Hebrew], 29 January 1926; Bialik, letters, London, 26 December 1930, to [Dvir,

Tel Aviv], [London], 17 February 1931, to editorial board of *Moznayim*, Tel Aviv, and [London], 12 February 1931, to Y.H. Ravnitzki, Tel Aviv, in *Iggrot*, 5, pp. 127, 142, 141. See also, Mordecai Ovadyahu, *MiPi Bialik* [Hebrew] (Tel Aviv: Massada, 5705 [1945]), p. 28; and Shlomo Shva, *Hozeh Brah!* [Hebrew] (Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1990), pp. 301-03.

20. "Al America," in *Dvarim*, 1, p. 93; Shmaryahu Levin, letter, n.p., 15 November 1925, to Chaim Weizmann, [London], in *Iggrot Shmaryahu Levin — Mivhar* [Hebrew] (Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1966), p. 411; Berl Katznelson, "Orah Hayyav" [Hebrew], eulogy for Shmaryahu Levin, *Davar*, 10 June 1935; Bialik, letter, on board ship off Marseilles, [January 1926], to [Yehoshua] Ravnitzki, [Tel Aviv], in *Iggrot*, 3, p. 95; Leah Naor, *Hameshorer — Sipuro Shel Bialik* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem and Tel Aviv: Yad Yitzhak Ben-Zvi and Hotzaat Am Oved, 1991), pp. 200-07. See also, Bialik, letter, Tel Aviv, 15 January 1926, to [S.] Ben Zion, n.p., in *Iggrot*, 3, pp. 92-93; and "Neshef HaPreida LeVialik U-LeDr. S. Levin" [Hebrew], *Davar*, 17 January 1926.

In "Al America" and elsewhere, Bialik speaks of his "*aimah beheimit*" regarding America. Rosenbloom in "America" (pp. 289-90) translates the term as "animal fear" and insists that it be understood to refer to a pathological condition. The puckish Bialik, however, may just have liked the rhyme (*aimah shel behaimah*). The phrase could be rendered "blind fear," which would be much less freighted. And, as shown, Bialik feared big cities, in general, not just American cities.

21. Compare Bialik's letter, Tel Aviv, 21 October 1925, to his nephew, Shmuel Zalman Bialik, Har[t]ford, [Connecticut], in *Iggrot*, 3, pp. 71-72.
22. Bialik, letter, [The Hague], 23 August 1907, to his wife, Manya, [Odessa], in H.N. Bialik, *Iggrot El Raayato, Manya* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Mossad Bialik and Hevrat Dvir, 1955), p. 21; Judah L. Magnes, "Some Poems of H.N. Bialik," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 1 (1904).
23. Bialik, letter, Odessa, 8 December 1906, to Sholem Aleichem, New York, in Shmeruk, *Correspondence*, p. 145. See also, Bialik, letter, [Odessa, November 1906], to Sholem Aleichem, [New York], *Iggrot*, 2, pp. 27-28; Berkowitz, *HaRishonim*, 2, pp. 351ff; and Nina Warnke, "Of Plays and Politics: Sholem Aleichem's First Visit to America," *YIVO Annual*, 20 (1991):239-76.
24. Bialik, letter, Odessa, 25 December 1906, to Shmaryahu Levin, [New York], in *Iggrot*, 2, p. 36.

25. See the exchange of letters in 1906-07 among Bialik and Yehoshua Ravnitzki in Odessa, Mendele in Switzerland, and Sholem Aleichem in New York, in Shmeruk, *Correspondence*, pp. 84-87, 95-96, 120-21, 137-53, 157-60. See also, the Bialik letter cited in n. 23.
26. Bialik, "BiVe'idat HaSofrim," opening address at the Hebrew Writers' Conference, Tel Aviv, Nissan 1927, [Hebrew], in *Devarim*, 1, p. 126. On Bialik's relationship with Berkowitz, see Avraham Holtz, *Isaac Dov Berkowitz* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973), *passim*.
27. See Z. Fishman, "Haim Nahman Bialik (Biografia U-Vivliografia)," *Ein HaKorei*, 1 (Nisan-Elul 5683 [1923]); *Bibliography of Modern Hebrew Literature in English Translation*, comp. Yohai Goell (Jerusalem: The Executive of the World Zionist Organization, Youth and Hechalutz Department and Israel Universities Press, 1968); and *Bibliography of Modern Hebrew Literature in Translation*, comp. Yohai Goell (Tel Aviv: The Institute for the Translation of Hebrew Literature, Ltd., 1975).
28. See *Ha-Toren*, 28 April 1916; 12, 19, 26 May 1916; 21 July 1916; 1, 8, 15 September 1916; Berkowitz, *HaRishonim*, 5, pp. 1028-29; and Brown, "Alone," pp. 152-57.
29. Simon Ginzburg, "BiKhe'eiv Demama Daka" [Hebrew], in *Sefer Zikaron LeB.N. Silkiner*, ed. Menahem Ribalow (New York: Hotza'at Ogen Al Yad HaHistadruth HaIvrith, 5694 [1934]), p. 26; H.N. Bialik, letter, photocopy, Odessa, n.d., to Simon Ginzburg, New York, in Genazim, Machon Bein Bibliografi Al Shem Asher Barash, Tel Aviv (hereafter, ABTA), File 51-48038a; *Literature in Translation*, p. 83; and other sources.
30. See Ginzburg, "Bi-Khe'eiv," p. 27; L. Eliav, "Kav Ve-Naki" [Hebrew], in *Silkiner*, p. 60; Israel Efros, Binyamin Silkiner, Yehuda Even-Shmuel Kaufman, *Milon Angli-Ivri* (Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1929 and 25 times subsequently to 1963). On "Mul Ohel Tmura," see [Yosef Haver] Yosef Haim Brenner, "Baltonut U-VaSifrut" [Hebrew], *HaPoel HaTza'ir*, 9 December 1910. Bialik would certainly have read an article by Brenner, one of the most important Hebrew writers of the day, writing in one of Palestine's few Hebrew journals, as well as the poem, which was published in Palestine.
31. See Bialik, letters, Tel Aviv, 4 Tishrei [1924], to S.P. Mendelssohn, n.p., in *Iggrot*, 3, pp. 17-18; and Tel Aviv, 4 June 1925, to Ze'ev Rosenblum, editor of the student monthly of the Jewish Theological Seminary, [New York], in *Iggrot*, 3, pp. 35-36.

32. Neumark published two lengthy reviews and a major article on "the new philosophy" in vol. 13 of *HaShiloah* (January-June 1904), a shorter review in vol. 15 (January-June 1905), and a lengthy review of David Philipson's *The Reform Movement in Judaism* in vol. 19 (1908). His scholarly work in Hebrew, *Toldot Halkarim BeYisrael*, was published by Moriah, the first volume in 1912, and the second in 1919.
33. See his "HaPilosophia HaAravit VeHashpaata Al HaYahadut," *HaShiloah*, 15 (1905), pp. 99-115, a continuation of an article that had appeared in vol. 6 (1899), pp. 38-52; and "HaDeot BeMahut HaNefesh Lefi Rabi Sa'adia Gaon," *HaShiloah*, 26 (1912), pp. 128-37.
34. "Hoveret Le-Dugma," vol. 14, pp. 381-86. It should be noted that foreign authors from many countries, including Charles Dickens and Gilbert and Sullivan, complained bitterly about American copyright laws, which legalized the piracy.
35. "Kitvei Iteinu," on the American-Jewish press, vol. 14 (1904); "Min HaSifrut HaYehudit BaLashon HaAnglit (Bikoret)," on books by Bernard G. Richards, Rabbi H. Pereira Mendes, and Mary Antin, vol. 15 (1905), pp. 80-86; "Otzar Yisrael (Bikoret)," on the new encyclopedia by J.D. Eisenstein, vol. 19 (1908), pp. 59-70; "Hakiroth BeYahadut," on Solomon Schechter's *Studies in Judaism*, Second Series, vol. 21 (1909), pp. 533-34; "HaTziyonut BeAmerica," on American Zionism, vol. 17 (1906), pp. 56-64.
36. A.[braham] S. Waldstein, "Mei-America," *HaShiloah*, 13 (1904), pp. 465-72; Bialik, quoted in *The New Palestine*, April 1916, as cited by Gertrude Hirschler in "Bialik's Tour of the United States," *Midstream*, 30 (August-September 1984):31.
37. David Auerbach, "HaAmerikani — (Sipur [a story])," vol. 23 (1910), pp. 298-309; [HaDod Mordecai], "Anashim U-Maasim," vol. 25 (1911), pp. 78-86; Menahem Ribalow, "HaNoded," a poem, vol. 27 (1912), p. 545; Simon Ginzburg, "HaHinuch Halvri BeArtzot HaBrit (Michtav MeiAmerica)," vol. 27 (1912), pp. 270-78; Gedalia Bublick, "Yehudim Ba'alei Homer (Michtav MeiAmerica)," vol. 28 (1913), pp. 81-83; Dr. A. Levinson, "HaStudentim Halvriyim BeAmerica," vol. 28 (1913), pp. 365-72.
38. Mordecai [Max] Z. Raisin, "Mordecai Emanuel Noah" [Hebrew], vol. 13 (1904), p. 519. See also, pp. 213-22, 313-19, 411-25, 505-19; [Z-S], "Yitronoteihen Shel Artzot HaBrit," vol. 14, pp. 333-43. On Raisin's *Yisrael BeAmerica*, see Bialik letter, Tel Aviv, 19 June 1928 to M.Z. Raisin, New York, in *Iggrot*, 4, p. 135.
39. See H.N. Bialik, circular letter in Hebrew, 28 April 5676 [1916], to Young Judaea, New York, in ABTA, File 51-2098.

40. See Aberbach, pp. 60-96, and 114ff, and many other sources.
41. "Al Kinus HaRuah," speech at a mass meeting of Hebraists in London, Shvat, 1926, in *Devarim*, 1, p. 66.
42. "Ne'umo Shel H.N. Bialik" [Hebrew], speech at the Council for Hebrew Culture in Carlsbad, *HaToren*, October 1921, pp. 49-50.
43. See among other sources, "MiSihotav Shel Bialik" [Hebrew], *HaDoar*, 21 November 1921; "*Dvir*", p. 3; Bialik, "Al Matzav HaYahadut VeHaSifrut Halvrit BaGolah," conversation, Adar Sheni 5684 [1924], in *Devarim*, 1, p. 47; Bialik, "Al Hurban HaYahadut BaGola U-Vinyan Eretz Yisrael," speech at a reception held in London for Bialik by the British Zionist Federation, Shvat 5686 [1926], in *Devarim*, 1, p. 59; H.N. Bialik, "*Dvir*" U-"*Moriah*" [Hebrew] (New York: n.pub., 5686 [1926]); Emanuel Neumann, *In the Arena* (New York: Herzl Press, 1976), p. 73.
44. Speech to the Twelfth Zionist Congress in Carlsbad, Elul 5681 [1921], in *Devarim*, 1, p. 30. For another view of the radical effects of World War I on European-Jewish life, see Judah L. Magnes's "Opening Address of the Academic Year of the Hebrew University," 29 October 1939, in *Dissenter in Zion*, ed. Arthur A. Goren (Cambridge Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1982), pp. 358-59. Magnes quotes there the introduction of Bialik and Ravnitzki to their edition of the poems of Solomon Ibn Gabirol.
45. "Al Hurban HaYahadut BaGola," p. 60.
46. Chaim Weizmann, letters, London, 22 October 1921, to Bella Berligné, Geneva, and 16 October 1921, to Nahum Sokolow, Berlin, in *Life and Letters*, Series A, vol. 10, ed. Bernard Wasserstein (Jerusalem: Transaction Books, Rutgers University, and Israel Universities Press, 1977), pp. 263, 258; Levin, letter [Hebrew], Berlin, 16 October 1921, to Chaim Weizmann, [London], in his *Iggrot Levin*, p. 388; minutes of meeting of the Temporary Executive Committee of the American Keren Hayesod, 3 August [1921], in Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem, American Keren Hayesod Papers (hereafter, CZA-AKH), File KH7-197. See also, M. Ungerfeld, "Bein Bialik LeWeizmann" [Hebrew], *Moznayim*, 9, (July 1959):151.
47. Bialik, letter, [Hebrew], Berlin, Hoshana Rabba, [1921], to Y.H. Ravnitzki, [Tel Aviv], in *Iggrot*, 2, p. 220; and as quoted in "Bialik Al Dvar HaSifrut VeHaSofrim HaLvriyim" [Hebrew], *HaDoar*, 2 December 1921. See also, Bialik, letter, [Hebrew], Berlin, evening after Yom Kippur, 1921, to [Alter] Druyanov, n.p., in *Iggrot*, 2, pp. 217-18; and B.Z. Goldberg, "Bialik, Hebrew Poet and Pio-

- neer," *Der Tog*, English section, 14 February 1926; Aberbach, *Bialik*, p. 107.
48. Minutes of a meeting of the Committee of Three [Temporary Executive Committee, American Keren Hayesod], 25 November 1921, in CZA-AKH, File KH7-189. See also, minutes of meeting, 29 November 1921, File KH7-197; minutes of meetings of Administrative Committee, American Keren Hayesod, 6 July and 11 August 1922, in CZA-AKH, File KH7-174; Rabbi Samuel Schulman, copy of letter, New York, 1 November 1921, to Samuel Untermeyer, chairman, Reception Committee, New York City, in Papers of Gershon Agron(sky), Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem, (hereafter, CZA-AGR), File A209-12; "Conference Today About the Reception for the Sokolow Delegation" [Yiddish], New York *Di Tzeit*, 2 November 1921; Shmaryahu Levin, letter, 16 October 1921, [Hebrew], Berlin, to Chaim Weizmann, [London], in *Iggrot Levin*, p. 388; Bialik, letter, [Hebrew], [Berlin], 21 December 1921, to [Yehoshua] Ravnitzki, [Tel Aviv], *Iggrot*, 2, p. 245.
 49. See Fishman, "Biografia," p. 4; Goell, *English Translation*, pp. 10-18; Abba Ahimeir, "Bialik Shel Mi?" [Hebrew], *HaToren*, Iyar 5683 [1923].
 50. Ovadyahu, *MiPi*, p. 89; Bialik, letter, [Hebrew], [Berlin], 6 February 1922, to Daniel Persky, New York, in *Iggrot*, 2, p. 248. See also, *HaDoar*, 27 February 1922, 9, 16 March 1923, and 22 October 1926.
 51. Bialik, [Berlin], letter, [Hebrew], 6 February 1922, to Daniel Persky, New York, in *Iggrot*, 2, p. 248; and his letter in *HaDoar* [Hebrew], 31 March 1922. See also, Brown, "Alone," pp. 157-65; and Rosenbloom, "America," pp. 286-87.
 52. Bialik, letter, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 26 May 1924, to Editorial Board of *Eden*, [New York], in *Iggrot*, 3, p. 5; *idem*, letter, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 17 August 1925, to Editorial Board of *Eden*, New York, in *Iggrot*, 3, p. 59; Daniel Persky, letter, [Hebrew], New York, 24 April 1924, to H.N. Bialik, [Tel Aviv], in ABTA, File 21/68623/1; A.R. Malachi, "Yetzirat Bialik" [Hebrew], in *Sefer Bialik*, ed. Ya'acov Fichman (Tel Aviv: Hotza'at Va'ad HaYovel BeHishatfatut Hotza'at "Omanut," Shvat 5684 [1924]), p. 161. See also, Bialik, letter, [Hebrew], Berlin, 22 July 1924, to his wife, Manya, in *Ra'ayato Manya*, pp. 64-66; *idem*, letters, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, to Editorial Board, *Eden*, New York, 15 September 1924 and 18 March 1925, in *Iggrot*, 3, pp. 15-16, 26; *idem*, letter, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 24 June 1925, to Batsheva Grabelski, New York, in *Iggrot*, 3, pp. 46-47; advertisement for *Eden* in *HaDoar*, 26 December 1924, which highlights Bialik's "regular participation" in the journal; and Rosenbloom, "America," p. 287.

- When the journal ceased publication in 1928, Persky returned to Bialik a number of his unpublished manuscripts. (Bialik, letter, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 28 September 1928, to Daniel Persky, [New York], in *Iggrot*, 4, pp. 165-67.
53. See *HaDoar*, 16, 17 November 1921; Bialik, letters, [Hebrew], Berlin, Hoshana Rabba, [1921], to Y.H. Ravnitzki, [Tel Aviv], 6 February 1922, to Daniel Persky, New York, 20 February and 30 March 1922, to Yehoshua Ravnitzki, [Tel Aviv], in *Iggrot*, 2, pp. 218-38, 248-54, 257-62, 264-73.
 54. Bialik, letters, [Hebrew], Berlin, [9 Adar Sheni 5684 (1924)?], Tel Aviv, 15 May 1925, and Tel Aviv, 29 December 1925, to Simon Ginzburg, New York, in *Iggrot*, 3, pp. 3-4, 30-32, 87. An original fragment of the second letter can be found in ABTA, File 51-86380a.
 55. Bialik, letters, [Hebrew], [Bad Homburg], 20 June 1922, to [Yehoshua] Ravnitzki, [Berlin], in *Iggrot*, 2, pp. 281-84, and Tel Aviv, 14 June 1925, to Y.D. Berkowitz, New York, in *Iggrot*, 3, pp. 41-42.
 56. Postcard, [Hebrew], Berlin, 14 January 1923, to S. Maximon, [New York], in ABTA, letters to Maximon file, not signed by Bialik. Bialik, letters, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 19 September 1928 and 19 February 1929 to S.B. Maximon, New York, and 19 September 1928 to [Y.L.] Riklis, [New York], in *Iggrot*, 4, pp. 160, 218-19, 161, Tel Aviv, 27 April 1925, to S. B. Maximon, New York, in *Iggrot*, 3, p. 27; Asher Ginzberg [Ahad HaAm], letter, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 25 October 1926, to S.B. Maximon, New York, in *Iggrot Ahad HaAm*, 6, ed. Aryeh Simon (Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1960), pp. 270-71; Bialik, letter, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 7 July 1933, to Dr. Joseph Marcus, New York, in *Iggrot Bialik BeNogea LeHotza'at Shirei Rabi Shlomo Ibn Gvirol VeRabi Moshe Ibn Ezra BeHosafat Ketaim MiPiyutei Rashbag*, ed. Joseph Marcus (New York: privately by Joseph Marcus, 1935).
 57. Bialik, letter, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 1 June 1925, to Prof. Israel Davidson, New York, in *Iggrot*, 3, p. 32. See also, letters, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 26 July, 7 August, 2 October, and [15 December] 1925, to Prof. Israel Davidson, New York, in *Iggrot*, 3, pp. 53-55, 69, 82-83.
 58. Bialik, letter, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 10 June 1925, to I.J. Schwartz, n.p., in *Iggrot*, 3, p. 40; Dov Sadan, introduction to I.J. Schwartz, *Shirat Kentucky* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1962), pp. 7-8. My thanks to Mrs. Shulamith Nardi, the niece of Schwartz, for calling "Kentucky" to my attention.

59. Bialik, letters, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 27 Kislev 5686 [1925], to the Zionist Executive, Jerusalem, in Archives of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency, Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem (hereafter, CZA-JAPD), File S25-527, and 11 November 1925, also to the Zionist Executive, Jerusalem, in *Iggrot*, 3, pp. 74-75.
60. Bialik, as quoted in A.S. Orlans, "Siha Im H.N. Bialik," [Hebrew], *HaDoar*, 1 January 1922; Bialik, letter, "Iggeret H.N. Bialik Al Dvar Malachut 'Tarbut' Be America," [Hebrew], London *HaOlam*, 10 October 1924; Bialik, letter, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 11 Teveth 5685 [1925], to [Shmaryahu Levin, Chicago], in *Iggrot*, 3, pp. 20-21.
61. Compare, for example, Rosenbloom, "America," and Hirschler, "Tour."
62. Weizmann, London, telegram, 12 November 1925, to Shmaryahu Levin, Tel Aviv, in *Life and Letters*, Series A, vol. 12, p. 439; Bialik, Tel Aviv, letter [Hebrew], 8 Kislev 5686 [1925], to Chaim Weizmann, London, in Ungerfeld, "Bein Bialik," p. 152; Philip Guedalla, British Zionist leader, quoted in "Bialik in London," *London Jewish Chronicle*, 29 January 1926; Bialik quoted in "Neshef HaPreida LeVialik U-LeDr. S. Levin" [Hebrew], *Davar*, 17 January 1926. See also, Levin, letter, n.p., 15 November 1925, to Chaim Weizmann, [London], in *Iggrot Levin*, pp. 410-11; Max Raisin, "Haim Nahman Bialik," [Yiddish], in his *Groyse Yidn Vos Ich Hob Gekent* (Paterson, New Jersey: N.J. Branch of the Central Yiddish Cultural Organization ["CYCO"], 1950), pp. 66-69; Hirschler, "Tour," p. 30.
63. Neumann, *Arena*, pp. 72-73. See also, Neumann, cable, New York, 7 January 1926, to Col. [F.H.] Kisch, Jerusalem, in CZA-JAPD, File S25-527.
The original goal of the Joint had been \$15,000,000, but the campaign went so well, that they raised it to \$25,000,000 ("Jews Raise Quota to \$25,000,000," *New York Times*, 11 May 1926).
64. Bialik, letter, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 24 June 1925, to Batsheva Grabelsky, New York, in *Iggrot*, 3, pp. 46-47, also quoted in Rosenbloom, "America," p. 288; Bialik, "Al HaBikur BeAmerica" [Hebrew], a talk with reporters on the boat sailing to America, Shvat 5686 [1926], in *Devarim*, 1, p. 75. See also, S.P., "Nesiat Bialik LeAmerica," [Hebrew], London *HaOlam*, 29 January 1926.
65. Levin and Bialik quoted in "Neshef Preida LeH.N. Bialik U-LeDr. S. Levin," [Hebrew], *HaAretz*, 18 January 1926. A slightly different and no doubt edited version of Bialik's remarks appears in *Devarim*, 1, pp. 62-63. See also, S.P., "Nesiat;" "Bialik, Greatest of Living Hebrew Poets, Speaks Here," *Washington Post*, 18 April

- 1926; Reuven Crossman, "Bialik BeAmerica," [Hebrew], *HaTziyoni HaKlali*, 6 January 1933.
66. Bialik quoted in "H.N. Bialik Al Kaf HaMoznayim" [Hebrew], a report of his first speech in the United States at the Mecca Temple in New York, in *HaDoar*, 19 February 1926; Bialik, letter, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 8 Kislev 5686 [1926], to [Chaim] Weizmann, London, in Ungerfeld, "Bein Bialik," p. 152. See also, n. 20 above and the sources cited there, as well as other sources.
 67. Exchange of cables and letters among Col. F.H. Kisch, member, Palestine Zionist Executive, M. Friedenberg, treasurer, Palestine Zionist Executive, Emanuel Neumann, and Shmaryahu Levin, 11-19 January 1926, in CZA-JAPD, File S25-527; Israel Malkin, auditor, [Zionist Organization of America, New York], letter, copy, 4 June 1926, to Shmaryahu Levin, New York, in Zionist Organization of America Files, Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem (hereafter, CZA-ZOA), File F38-437; Minutes of Meeting, Administrative Committee, American Keren Hayesod, 21 June 1926, in CZA-AKH, File KH7-178.
 The word, "sordid," is actually quoted from G.[ershon] A.[gronsky, later, Agron], the former American and future mayor of Jerusalem, then the director of the Press Office of the Palestine Zionist Executive, in a letter from Jerusalem, 10 March 1926, to Neumann in New York, CZA-JAPD, File S25-527. Since Agronsky is replying to Neumann and defending Bialik, the word conveys more Neumann's sense of the affair than Agronsky's. Neumann's "private" letter to which Agronsky is responding is not in the files.
 - Hirschler ("Tour," p. 30) and Rosenbloom ("America," p. 289) claim that Bialik made the trip unwillingly. They may have been unaware of his own reasons for going.
 68. "Applause Delays Bialik," *New York Times*, 11 February 1926; Shva, *Hozeh*, p. 243. It should be noted that Bialik often received "a royal welcome," when he visited a Jewish community. See, for example, Shmaryahu Levin's description of Bialik's arrival in Warsaw in 1931, in letter, [Hebrew], London, 28 September 1931, to Maurice Samuel, New York, in *Iggrot Levin*, p. 445.
 69. The comparison with the press treatment of the arrival in the United States some nine months later of Chaim Weizmann on a similar mission is striking. See, for example, *HaDoar*, *The New Palestine*, and other publications for November 1926.
 70. *HaDoar*, 29 January 1926; A.R. Malachi, *Chaim Nahman Bialik* [Hebrew] (New York: Histadruth Ivrit, 5686 [1926]); Meyer W. Weisgal, editor's note, in Chaim Nachman Bialik, *Selected Poems*, tr. Maurice Samuel (New York: *The New Palestine*, 1926), p. 5;

- Hirschler, "Tour," p. 30; *The New Palestine*, 5 February 1926; "Sabbath Sermons About Bialik in Synagogues and Temples" [Yiddish], *New York Morgn Zhurnal*, 5 February 1926; [Sfog] S. Tchernowitz, "MiYam Eidim" [Hebrew], *HaAretz*, 9 March 1926; Max Raisin, "Haim Nahman Bialik" [Yiddish], *Tzukunft*, 10 (October 1944), p. 633; Fichman, "Im Bialik," p. 79; Eliezer L. Sherman, *Der Mensh Bialik, Zikhroynes Un Eyndrukn* [Yiddish] (Philadelphia: Ber-Kay Press, [1936]), p. 32; interview by the author with Mrs. Shulamith Nardi, Jerusalem, 26 March 1991; "Bialik Received by President Coolidge," *The New Palestine*, 14 May 1926; *London Jewish Chronicle*, 16 April 1926; Raisin, *Groyse Yidn*, p. 67. See also, A.M. Klein, "Chaim Nachman Bialik, 1873-1934," *Canadian Zionist*, July, 1937.
71. Exchange of letters between Meyer Weisgal, secretary of the Zionist Organization of America, New York, and Max Rhoads, Washington, 31 January to 2 February 1926, in CZA-ZOA, File F38-527; "Bialik, Hebrew Poet, Welcomed to America," *New York Times*, 10 February 1926; Raisin, *Groyse Yidn*, pp. 67-68; "From the Heights," *The New Palestine*, 12 February 1926; "Neshef Kabbalat HaPanim" [Hebrew], *HaDoar*, 12 February 1926; "Applause Delays Bialik," *New York Times*, 11 February 1926; *New York Forverts* [Yiddish], 31 January-11 February 1926; *New York Morgn Zhurnal* [Yiddish], 8-14 February 1926; Hirschler, "Tour," p. 31; Rosenbloom, "America," p. 291.
 72. See "\$75,000 for Jewish Fund," *New York Times*, 15 February 1926; *The New Palestine*, 12 February and 16 April 1926; *HaDoar*, 5 March 1926; "\$105,000 for Palestine," *New York Times*, 4 March 1926; "Chaim Nahman Bialik in Williamsburgh" [Yiddish], *New York Der Tog*, 18 April 1926; unsigned letter, copy, 23 April 1926, to Shmaryahu Levin, New York, in CZA-ZOA, File F38-437; and other sources.
 73. See, among other sources, *New York Der Tog*, 1-15, 30 April, 9 May 1926; *The New Palestine*, 12 February, 23, 30 April, 18 June 1926; *HaDoar*, 25 February 1926; A.[vraham] Harzfeld, New York, letter to Histadrut Executive Committee, Tel Aviv, 16 April 1926, in The Pinhas Lavon Institute for the Study of the Labor Movement, Tel Aviv, HaVaad HaPoel Shel HaHistadrut Archive, File IV-208-66b.
 74. Louis Lipsky, *A Gallery of Zionist Profiles* (New York: Farrar Straus and Cudahy, 1956), p. 109. See also, pp. 106, 110. Lipsky mistakenly dates Bialik's visit in 1923. In addition to their official contacts, the Lipskys entertained the Bialiks and Levin at home (unsigned letter, copy, 28 April 1926, to Shmaryahu Levin, New

- York, inviting him to spend the next Sabbath eve with the Lipskys and the Bialiks, CZA-ZOA, File F38-437).
75. Minutes of the meetings of the ZOA National Executive Committee, 22 February 1926, in CZA, Section F32; A. Gimel, "Our Future — As Bialik Sees It" [Yiddish], *Dos Iddishe Folk*, 26 February 1926; "President Receives Jewish Poet," *New York Times*, 11 May 1926; "Bialik Received by President Coolidge," *The New Palestine*, 14 May 1926; *Der Tog* [Yiddish], 11 May 1926; "Hirschler, "Tour," p. 33; Bialik, letter, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 30 November 1926, to L. Shapiro, New York, in *Iggrot*, 3, pp. 148-49. Shapiro was an official of the Jewish National Fund in America.
 76. "12 Become Rabbis at Seminary Here," *New York Times*, 7 June 1926; "Ve'idat Yehuda HaTza'ir" [Hebrew], *HaDoar*, 4 June 1926; "Young Judaea and Eretz Yisrael," *London Jewish Chronicle*, 2 July 1926; "Avukah Convention," *The New Palestine*, 9 July 1926; *Der Tog*, 22 February 1926; *The New Palestine*, 18 June 1926; "Tomorrow Evening the Debate Among Bialik, Greenberg, Dr. Levin, and Jabotinsky" [Yiddish], *New York Morgn Zhurnal*, 21 May 1926.
 77. "H.N. Bailik BeVeit HaSefer HaLe'umi" [Hebrew], *HaDoar*, 28 May 1926; Jacob L. Weinstein, *Solomon Goldman — A Rabbi's Rabbi* (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1973), pp. 8-9; "Bialik Al HaShira Halvrit HaTze'ira" [Hebrew], *HaAretz*, 11 April 1926; "Neshef H.N. Bialik" [Hebrew], *HaDoar*, 19 March 1926; advertisements in *HaDoar*, 12 February 1926; "All Preparations Made for National Education and Culture Conference" [Yiddish], *New York Morgn Zhurnal*, 10 May 1926; "American Zionists Found a National Cultural Corporation" [Yiddish], *Der Tog*, 17 May 1926; Dr. S[amuel] M. Melamed, "At the Cultural Conference" [Yiddish], *Dos Iddishe Folk*, 28 May 1926.
 78. Raisin, "Bialik," p. 633; Bialik, letter, [Hebrew], on board ship, 8 February [1926], to Y.H. Ravnitzki, Tel Aviv, in *Iggrot*, 3, p. 98, and in *BeNogea*, p. a.
 79. Bialik, letters, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 15 December 1925 and 3 Marheshvan [1926], to Alexander Marx, New York, and on board ship, [January 1926], to [Yehoshua] Ravnitzki, Tel Aviv, in *Iggrot*, 3, pp. 81-82, 122-24, 96. On Marcus, see the exchange of letters between Bialik and him in *BeNogea*, passim.
 80. Large advertisement in *Dos Iddishe Folk*, 26 February 1926. The ad was repeated in subsequent weeks but without mention of Bialik. Presumably he had successfully protested the effrontery.
 81. New York *Forverts*, 31 January to 11 February 1926. (The paper never greeted him in an editorial.) B. Shelvin, "This Is the Way

- Yiddishists 'Honor' Bialik" [Yiddish], in *Dos Iddishe Folk*, 19 March 1926; A.S. Orlans, "Proletarion Ruhani" [Hebrew], speech at the same writers' gathering, *HaDoar*, 26 March 1926. Compare also, Shva, *Hozeh*, p. 244.
82. Bialik, letters, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 25 November 1925, to Dr. Chaim Weizmann, London, in "Iggrot [Bialik]," *Knesset*, 5 (1940), pp. 22-23; on board ship off Marseilles, [January 1926], to [Yehoshua] Ravnitzki, [Tel Aviv], and London, 29 July 1926, to Our Comrades in Dvir, Tel Aviv, in *Iggrot*, 3, pp. 96, 118.
 83. Chaim Nachman Bialik, "'Dvir" and "Moriah,'" *The New Palestine*, 7 May 1926. The same essay appeared in Hebrew, in *Hadoar*, 30 April 1926, and printed separately as a pamphlet (New York, 1926), both under the same title, "'Dvir' U'Moriah.'"
 84. Advertisements in *HaDoar*, 14 May, 18, 25 June 1926, for various booksellers offering Dvir books; Shmaryahu Levin, letters, [Hebrew], New York, 29 April and 20 June 1926, to Eiga Shapiro, [Tel Aviv], New York, 9 May 1926, to Ahad HaAm, Tel Aviv, and [Tel Aviv], 29 December 1926, to Chaim Weizmann, New York, in *Iggrot Levin*, pp. 411-16; Bialik, letter, [Hebrew], London, 29 July 1926, to Our Comrades in Dvir, Tel Aviv, in *Iggrot*, 3, pp. 112-20. See also, Shva, *Hozeh*, pp. 246-47.
 85. "Revival Around Bialik" [Yiddish], *Dos Iddishe Folk*, 19 February 1926; "Birkat HaDerech LeVialik" [Hebrew], editorial, *HaDoar*, 9 July 1926; Shmaryahu Levin, n.p., letter, to [Chaim] Weizmann, London, 18 May 1926, in *Iggrot Levin* [Hebrew], p. 413; Neumann, *Arena*, p. 73; "American Zionists' Activities," *London Jewish Chronicle*, 25 June 1926; Sherman, *Mensh*, p. 28; Wise quoted in Melvin I. Urofsky, *A Voice That Spoke for Justice* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1982), p. 215. Wise was referring to Felix Warburg, the New York banker and Jewish communal magnate, who was a non-Zionist. For a negative assessment by a prominent writer of the Yishuv, see S.[hlomo] Tz.[emach], "Birkat HaShalom LeVialik" [Hebrew], in *Mo'adim, Hoveret LeTarbut, Sifrut VeOmanut*, 22 September 1926.
 86. Nardi interview; Maurice Samuel, "Chaim Nachman Bialik," *The New Palestine*, 15 July 1934. Compare also, Bialik, "Eretz Yisrael" [Hebrew], excerpts from a lecture in Kaunas, Lithuania, Elul 1930, in *Devarim*, 1, pp. 153-58.
 87. Bialik, letter, [Hebrew], en route from New York to London, 27 Tammuz [1926], to [Ahad HaAm, Tel Aviv], in *Iggrot*, 3, p. 105. The letter is quoted at length in Hirschler, "Tour," and Rosenbloom, "America," and in full in "As Bialik Saw America in 1926," in *Modern Jewish Life in Literature*, Book 2, ed. Azriel

Eisenberg (New York: United Synagogue Commission on Jewish Education, 1968)

88. "Yenasser Lo Kilevavo," *HaDoar*, 23 July 1926. The poem was also published in *HaShiloah*. See (Bialik, letter, [Hebrew], New York, 21 June 1926, to [Jacob] Fichman, n.p., in *Iggrot*, 3, pp. 102-03.
 In "America," Rosenbloom interprets the poem as a cathartic exercise on the part of Bialik, after which he was cleansed of his anti-Americanism. Such a claim requires Rosenbloom to downplay the development of Bialik's relationship to the New World prior to 1926. It also requires a straightforward, rather one-dimensional reading of the poem, which may not be justified.
89. "Bialik BeLondon — Reshamav MiNesi'ato LeAmerica" [Hebrew], London *HaOlam*, 23 July 1926.
90. B. Karpi, "Neshef Preida Lichvod H.N. Bialik" [Hebrew], *HaDoar*, 16 July 1926; Shmaryahu Levin, letter, [Hebrew], New York, 9 May 1926, to Ahad HaAm, Tel Aviv, in *Iggrot Levin*, pp. 412-13; Bialik, letter to Ahad HaAm cited above, n. 86.
91. Bialik, English version of address to the 29th annual convention of the ZOA in Buffalo, 29 June 1926, in *The New Palestine*, 9 July 1926; and the Yiddish version, "Towards a New Epoch," *Dos Iddishe Folk*, 25 June 1926; *idem*, quoted by Sherman, *Mensh*, p. 33; *idem*, "If Not Now — When? Concerning Jewish Education," *The New Palestine*, 16 April 1926, and also in the *Philadelphia Jewish Exponent*, 23 July 1926. See also the letter to Ahad HaAm quoted above, n. 86.
92. B.[ernard] G. R.[ichards], "Bialik in America," *The New Palestine*, 15 August 1926; Eli Ginzberg, *Keeper of the Law: Louis Ginzberg* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1966), p. 206; Bialik, "'Orah Hayim" Tziyyoni' [Hebrew], speech at a Hebrew cultural gathering in America, Adar 1926, in *Devarim*, 1, p. 86; "Mishteh 'Shvilei HaHinuch'" [Hebrew], *HaDoar*, 16 April 1926; "H.N. Bialik Al HaShavua Halvri" [Hebrew], *HaDoar*, 7 May 1926; Bialik, "Tarbut Yisrael BaGolah" [Hebrew], a conversation with the correspondent of *Ketuvim*, Elul 5686 [1926], in *Devarim*, 1, p. 90. See also, Bialik, letter, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 1 Rosh Hodesh Kislev [1926], to Head of the Histadruth Ivrit in America, New York, in *Iggrot*, 3, pp. 129-32.
93. Bialik, "'Orah Hayim" Tziyyoni,' p. 85. Bialik's comments on the philanthropic nature of American Zionism can be found in "Divrei Preidah LeYahadut America," p. 87; "Bialik Leaves the United States," *London Jewish Chronicle*, 16 July 1926; "Zionists in Lon-

- don Plan Syrian Work," *New York Times*, 25 July 1926; and other places.
94. "Chaim Nahman Bialik's Declaration on the Education and Cultural Movement" [Yiddish], *Der Tog*, 12 April 1926; Bialik quoted in "American United Palestine Appeal — First Report," *London Jewish Chronicle*, 6 August 1926; Bialik, "'Eis La'asos' A Word to American Jews" [Yiddish], *Dos Iddishe Folk*, 16 April 1926; *idem*, "Likrat Tekufa Hadasha" [Hebrew], *HaDoar*, 9 July 1926; Bialik quoted by Solomon [S. Zalman] Abramov, "Problems of Cultural Work," *Avukah Bulletin*, February 1932. See also, Hirschler, "Tour," and Rosenbloom, "America."
 95. "Zionist Convention Opens in Buffalo," *New York Times*, 28 June 1926; Bialik, "Likrat Tekufah Hadasha." Bialik spoke of American Jewry as compensation for the lost worlds of pre-war Europe on other occasions. See, for example, "Divrei Preidah LeYahadut America," p. 88; "American United Palestine Appeal — First Annual Report"; letter to Ahad HaAm, 27 Tammuz [1926], p. 110.
 96. Klein, "Bialik"; "Bialik BeLondon — Reshamav MiNesi'otav BeAmerica" [Hebrew], London *HaOlam*, 23 July 1926; "Zionists in London Plan Syrian Work," *New York Times*, 25 July 1926.
 97. *HaAretz* ("H.N. Bialik BeVeit HaAm," 7 October 1926) reported that the crowd numbered over 6,000, *Davar* ("H.N. Bialik Al Reshamav BeAmerica," 7 October 1926), "several thousands." Both papers offered very full summaries of the poet's hour-and-a-half long talk. *Doar HaYom* and the *Palestine Bulletin*, which leaned towards Revisionism, were preoccupied with Jabotinsky's visit to the Yishuv and ignored Bialik, who had close ties to the labor sector. See also, Sherman, *Mensh*, p. 37; Hirschler, "Tour," pp. 32-33; and Shva, *Hozeh*, pp. 248-49.
 98. The full speech appears in *Devarim*, I, pp. 92-105. All references here are to that text.
 99. "Al America" [Hebrew], in *Devarim*, I, pp. 94, 97-100, 96, 97, 100, 94, 101, 102, 99.
 100. *Ibid.*, pp. 102, 104, 103.
 101. See, for example, the less than enthusiastic article, "Birkat HaShalom LeVialik," by S.[hlomo] Tz.[emah], in *Moadim*, I (22 September 1926), a journal published by the Hebrew Writers' Association. The article was written before Bialik made his speech in Tel Aviv. Although Bialik had helped to found the journal, *Ktuvim*, of which *Moadim* was a special issue, he eventually broke with *Ktuvim* and in 1927 with the Writers' Association (Shva, *Hozeh*, pp. 272-74).

102. Morris Rothenberg, quoted in "Bialik Service Is Set For Tomorrow Here," *New York Times*, 15 July 1934.
103. Goell, *English Translation* (1968), pp. 8-18, 64, 85-86, 94. See also, H.N. Bialik, "America HaYehudit" [Hebrew], *HaDoar*, 9 March 1928; H.N. Bialik, "Der Koiach Fun HeChalutz" [Yiddish], *Farn Folk*, 30 March 1928; Chaim Nachman Bialik, "Making the Crooked Straight," *The Menorah Journal*, November-December 1930; John Tepper, "Palestinian Personalities" [about Bialik], *Avukah Annual* (1930), pp. 120-21; *HaDoar*, 24 February 1933, whole issue devoted to the poet; Bialik, letters, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 21 February 1933, and Ramat Gan, 1 Hol HaMoed Sukkot [1933], to Israel Osman, Los Angeles, California, in *Iggrot*, 5, pp. 204-05, 321; H.N. Bialik, "Die Legende fun Drei un Fir," tr. Israel Osman, in *Iddisher Kemfer*, 18 May 1934; *A Harvest of Hebrew Verse*, ed. and tr. Harry Herzl Fein (Boston: Bruce Humphries, 1934); Bialik, letter, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 7 July 1933, to Leib Glantz, New York, in *Iggrot*, 5, p. 247; and many other sources.
104. "The Turning of the Tide," *The New Palestine*, 11 November 1927; minutes, meeting of the National Executive Committee of the ZOA, 16 October 1927, CZA-ZOA, File F38-22; Chaim Weizmann, report to the Zionist Executive, London, 7 November 1927, in *The Letters and Papers of Chaim Weizmann*, Series B, vol. 1, ed. Barnett Litvinoff (Jerusalem and New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, Rutgers University, Israel Universities Press, 1983), pp. 521-24.
105. See, among other sources, Louis [Fischer], letter, Berlin, 30 September 1925, to Gershon [Agronsky, Jerusalem], in CZA-AGR, File A209-14; Sh. Dicker, "Reuben Brainin's Impressions of Palestine" [Yiddish], *Dos Iddishe Folk*, 23 April 1926; minutes of the meetings of the ZOA Administrative Committee, 17 August 1926, 27 January 1927, CZA-ZOA, File F32-90; [Yitzhak], Lamdan, "MiSaviv La'Braininiada'" [Hebrew], *Ktuvim*, 15 October 1926; minutes of the meetings of the ZOA National Executive Committee, 19 December 1926, CZA-ZOA, File F32-21; Reuben Brainin, "Anashim Gedolim SheHayu LeKetanim" [Hebrew], *Jerusalem Doar HaYom*, 8 February 1928, earlier published in the New York *Der Tog*; Ungerfeld, "Bein Bialik"; Shva, *Hozeh*, pp. 288-90.
106. See, among other sources, "Ha'Emet' Shel Reuven Brainin Al Russia," "Gilui Da'at Al Matzav HaYehudim BeRussia," "Meha'at Reuven Brainin," all in Hebrew, in Tel Aviv *HaAretz*, 14, 24 May, 25 June 1929; Reuven Brainin, "I Accuse My Judges" [Yiddish], New York *Der Tog*, 17 August 1929; Bialik, letter, [Hebrew], Berlin, 27 September 1929, to Reuben Brainin, Berlin, and the reply, 29 September 1929, in *Moznayim*, 14 (April-May 1962); D. Nissenberg, "Mishpat Brainin" [Hebrew], *HaDoar*, 8 November

1929. See also, Israel Cohen, for [World] Zionist Organization, London, cable, 29 January 1929, and follow-up letter, 30 January 1929, to Louis Lipsky, New York, in CZA-ZOA, File F38-426; and Louis Marshall, letter, copy, New York, 1 March 1929, to Mr. Alexander, [South Africa], in CZA-JAPD, File S25-1887. The animosity between Bialik and Brainin was so strong that of their 35-year correspondence, only three letters of Bialik and five of Brainin are extant (Ungerfeld, "Bein Bialik," p. 454).
107. Bialik, letters, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 5 May 1930, to Dr. Sh.[imon] Rawidowicz, Berlin, in *Iggrot*, 5, pp. 70-71; 27 March 1928, to Dr. Joseph Marcus, New York, in *BeNogea*, p. 25; 17 February 1927, to Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, 17 November 1926, and 16 January 1927, to A.Z. Idelsohn, Cincinnati, in *Iggrot*, 3, pp. 189, 139-40, 172; 16 June 1931, and Bad Gastein, 14 September 1933, to Zvi Diesendruck, Cincinnati, in *Iggrot*, 5, pp. 161-61, 294-95.
 108. Bialik, letters, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 10 November 1926, to Haim Tchernowitz, New York, in *Iggrot*, 3, pp. 132-33; 19 June 1928, to Dr. M.[ax] Z. Raisin, New York, in *Iggrot*, 4, p. 135; 2 April 1933, to H[yman] G. Enelow, New York, in *Iggrot*, 5, p. 212.
 109. Bialik, letters, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 17 July 1928, to Dr. Joseph Marcus, New York, in *BeNogea*, p. 28; 22 February 1929, to Prof. Rabbi Levi Ginzberg, Jerusalem, in *Iggrot*, 4, p. 221; 9 March 1930, to Beit Midrash LeHochmat Yisrael, New York, 10 March 1930, to Dr. Joseph Marcus, New York, 28 May 1933, to Mr. Stuchinski, Zurich, all in *Iggrot*, 5, pp. 45, 47-48, 232-33; Ginzberg, *Keeper*, p. 206. See also, Rosenbloom, "America," pp. 303-04.
 110. Bialik, letters to Marcus in *BeNogea*, *passim*; Bialik, letters, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, to Isaac Rivkind, New York, 14 February 1928, 10 July 1928, 5 June 1929, in *Iggrot*, 4, pp. 89-90, 139-40, 270-71; 4 May 1930, in *Iggrot*, 5, pp. 68-69.
 111. Bialik, letters, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, to David Sasson, London, 27 February 1929, in *Iggrot*, 4, p. 223; to Joseph Marcus, New York, 11 February 1927, and 24 April 1928, in *BeNogea*, pp. 14, 25-26, and 10 April 1929, in *Iggrot*, 4, pp. 249-50; to Israel Davidson, London, 19 December 1926, and New York, 24 January 1927, 10 May 1927, in *Iggrot*, 3, pp. 156-57, 174-75, 228; 22 February 1928, 12 July 1928, 12 September 1928, 30 May 1928, in *Iggrot*, 4, pp. 83, 151-52, 127; 17 February 1930, 2 April 1930, 27 March 1931, 8 March 1933, 11 May 1933, in *Iggrot*, 5, pp. 30-32, 56-58, 146, 208, 227-28.

See also, Rosenbloom, "America," pp. 301-03. Rosenbloom asserts that the strain in the relationship came in 1930. In fact,

however, the correspondence reveals strains at least two years earlier.

112. Bialik, letters, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 14 July 1933, to Rabbi Yekuti'el Greenwald, Columbus, Ohio, and 20 October 1930, to Dr. H.L. Gordon, New York, in *Iggrot*, 5, pp. 216, 105-06. See also, his letter, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 18 March 1930, to Dr. Moshe W. Lewinsohn, Brooklyn, N.Y., in *Iggrot*, 5, p. 51.
113. Bialik, letters, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 2 March 1927, to Shmuel Faigin, Pittsburgh, in *Iggrot*, 3, p. 192; 15 May 1928, 17 July 1928, 4 December 1928, to Israel Eitan, Pittsburgh, in *Iggrot*, 4, pp. 223, 246, 286; to Nehemiah S. Libowitz, Brooklyn, 15 May 1928, in *Iggrot*, 4, p. 121, 18 March 1930, 5 June 1931, 10 May 1933, 20 June 1933, in *Iggrot*, 5, pp. 51, 157-58, 225-26, 236-37. The letter of 10 May 1933 appears also in Fichman, *Sefer Bialik*, p. 51. See also, S[imon] Bernstein, *Nehemiah S. Libowitz (LeYovel HaShiv'im Shelo)* [Hebrew] (New York: Hotza'a Meyuhedet Mei"HaDoar," 8 Heshvan 5692), p. 12.
114. Bialik, letters, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 20 November 1928, 8 January 1929, 17 February 1919, 19 February 1929, 7 March 1929, and 22 March 1929, in *Iggrot*, 4, pp. 182-83, 196, 213-15, 219-20, 231-32, 237-38.
115. Rabbi Moshe Haim Luzzato, *Migdal Oz* [Hebrew], ed. Shimon [Simon] Ginzburg (Tel Aviv: Dvir, 5687 [1927]); id., *Sefer HaMahazot* [Hebrew], ed. Shimon [Simon] Ginzburg (Tel Aviv: Dvir, 5687 [1927]); id., *LaYsharim Tehillah* [Hebrew], ed. Shimon [Simon] Ginzburg (Tel Aviv: Dvir, 5688 [1928]); Shimon [Simon] Ginzburg, *HaDvir HaLavan — Osher — Sippurim* [Hebrew] (Tel Aviv: [Dvir-] Sifriyah Ketanah, [5687-1927]); id., *Shirim U-Fo'emot* [Hebrew] (Tel Aviv: "Ahim" al-yad "Dvir," 5691 [1931]). After Bialik's death Dvir/Mossad Bialik published an additional two volumes of Luzzato's work, by Ginzburg, *Rabbi Moshe Haim Luzzato U-Vnai Doro*, ed. Shimon [Simon] Ginzburg [Hebrew] (Tel Aviv: "Mossad Bialik" al-yad "Dvir," 5697 [1937]), and *Sefer HaShirim* [Hebrew], ed. Shimon [Simon] Ginzburg (Jerusalem: Mossad Bialik, 5705 [1945]), and a long Hebrew poem of Ginzburg's, *Hoshea — Poema* [Hebrew] (Tel Aviv: Dvir, 5696 [1936]). See also, the many letters of Bialik to Ginzburg, Silkiner, Sho'er, Lissitzky, and others, relating to the Haverim series, in *Iggrot*, 4.
116. Bialik, letters, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, to Simon Ginzburg, New York, 16 December 1926, in *Iggrot*, 3, pp. 151-52, 2 November 1927, 30 March 1928, 17 July 1928, in *Iggrot*, 4, pp. 20-21, 104-06, 145, among others. For Bavli's implied criticism of Bialik, see above, n. 8.

Ginzburg was more successful with Bialik now than he had been in Odessa. When Bialik was literary editor of *HaShiloah*, he rejected several of Ginzburg's poems, offering a detailed critique. (Shmuel Avneri, "Kavim LeDarko Shel Bialik BeArichat 'HaShiloah,'" in *Hallel LeVialik*, eds. Hillel Weiss and Yedidiah Itzhaki [Ramat Gan: Universitat Bar-Ilan, 1989], pp. 286-87).

117. S.[imon] Bernstein, "Ata HaIsh!" *HaToren*, Teveth 5686 [1926]. See also, Bialik, letter, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 17 July 1928, to Simon Ginzburg, New York, in *Iggrot*, 4, p. 145; and F.[ishel] Lahover, "Polania VeAmerica," in *Ktuvim*, 28 July 1927. The latter article, in a journal with which Bialik was closely associated, compares America most favorably to Poland with regard to Hebrew culture.
118. "Prass Sifruti Shel 'HaDoar'" [Hebrew], *HaDoar*, 28 January 1927; Bialik, letter, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 5 February 1929, to [Menahem] Ribalow, New York, in *Iggrot*, 4, pp. 210-11; *idem*, letter, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 24 December 1929, to Av.[raham] Goldberg, [editor of the daily, *Der Tog*, New York], in ABTA, File 51-45756a. See also, letters to various Hebrew and Yiddish authors in the United States in *Iggrot*, 4-5.
119. Bialik, letter, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 2 November 1927, to Simon Ginzburg, New York, in *Iggrot*, 4, p. 20; *idem*, Carlsbad, 14 Elul [1931], to [Yehoshua] Ravnitzki, Tel Aviv, in *Iggrot*, 5, pp. 178-79; *idem*, [Tel Aviv], 22 November 1927, to Y.[itzhak] Naiditch, Paris, in Fichman, *Sefer Bialik*, p. 70; *idem*, Tel Aviv, 24 March 1929, to Anna Margolin, New York, in *Iggrot*, 4, p. 242; and *idem*, Tel Aviv, 15 May 1929, to Naftali Gross, New York, in *Iggrot*, 4, p. 260. See also various letters of Bialik to Ginzburg, Silkiner, and others, in *Iggrot*, 4-5; and Rosenbloom, "America," p. 304.
120. Raisin, *Groyse Yidn*, p. 72. See also, Bialik, letter, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 28 September 1928, to Daniel Persky, [New York], thanking him for work he had done for a book on Y.L. Peretz to be published by Dvir, in *Iggrot*, 4, p. 166.
121. Shmaryahu Levin, letters, [Hebrew], n.p., 8 November 1927 and 16 January 1928, to Y.D. Berkowitz, New York; at sea, 12 August 1927, to H.N. Bialik and Y.H. Ravnitzki, Tel Aviv; in *Iggrot Levin*, pp. 424-27; Bialik, letter, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 25 January 1928, to Dr. A. Ginzburg, New York, in *Iggrot*, 4, pp. 60-61; audit of Dvir, 2 May 1929, in CZA-JAPD, File S25-10271; Bialik, letter, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 19 February 1930, to Shmaryahu Levin, New York, in *Iggrot*, 5, p. 36.
122. Bialik, letter, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 25 January 1929, to R.[obert] Marwill, Jerusalem, in *Iggrot*, 4, p. 206; *idem*, "Ptiha LeVe'idat

- HaSofrim" [Hebrew], *Moznayim*, 3 Tammuz 1931, and in *Devarim*, 1, pp. 168-69; *idem*, "Al America," p. 98. See also, S.[hlomo] Tzemah, "HaAdam Im Aherim" [Hebrew], *Knesset*, 4 (1939), p. 64; *idem*, letters, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 25 May 1927, to L. Shapira, New York, in *Iggrot*, 3, pp. 231-32, and 20 June 1929, to Chaim Weizmann, London, in *Iggrot*, 4, pp. 271-72.
123. Ginzberg, *Keeper*, p. 195; *The New Palestine*, 26 February 1926.
124. Bialik, letter, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 24 March 1927, to Herman Bernstein, Naples, in *Iggrot*, 3, p. 206. See also, his letters from Tel Aviv in Hebrew to Nathan Straus, New York, 2 May 1927, in *Iggrot*, 3, pp. 217-18, and 28 October 1927, in *Iggrot*, 4, pp. 9-11; to Henrietta Szold, Jerusalem, 3 February 1928, and to Po'alei Tel Aviv VeYaffo, 29 May 1929, in *Iggrot*, 4, pp. 70-73, 263; and Shva, *Hozeh*, p. 277.
125. *American Jewish Year Book*, 27 (5686 [1925]), p. 148; Bialik, letter, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 30 April 1925, to The Foundation for the Support of Hebrew Authors, New York, in *Iggrot*, 3, pp. 27-28. See also, *idem*, letters, [Hebrew], to Israel Matz Foundation, New York, 1925-33, in *Iggrot*, 3, 4, and 5; Shva, *Hozeh*, p. 277.
126. Bialik, "Al Te'udat Ohel Shem" [Hebrew], *Devarim*, 2, pp. 163-64; S.[amuel] S.[imon] Bloom, letter, copy, Tel Aviv, to Executive Council of Zionist Organization, London, 3 April 1927, in CZA-JAPD, File S25-525. See also, Bialik, 'Al "Ohel Shem" Ve"Oneg Shabbat"' [Hebrew], in *Devarim*, 2, pp. 160-62; *idem*, letter, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 5 June 1929, in *Iggrot*, 4, pp. 267-68; *Sefer Halshim — Lexicon Eretzyisra'eli* [Hebrew] (Tel Aviv: Masada, 5697 [1937]), pp. 80-81; Lipsky, *Gallery*, pp. 109-10; Shva, *Hozeh*, p. 260.
127. Bialik, letters, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 27 January 1928, to Prof. [P.] Schneurson, New York, and 4 April 1929, to Moshe Carasso and the representative of "Ophir," Mr. Molcho, [Tel Aviv], in *Iggrot*, 4, pp. 70, 245; *idem*, "LeShe'eilat HaTarbut Ha'Ivrit" [Hebrew], lecture at a Mapai seminar, Tammuz, 5692 [1932], in *Devarim*, 1, p. 192; *idem*, letter, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 16 January 1927, to L. Shapiro, New York, in *Iggrot*, 3, p. 173; *idem*, "HaSifrut VeHaSofer Ha'Ivri" [Hebrew], opening address to the convention of the Association of Hebrew Writers, Tel Aviv, Sivan, 5691 [1931], in *Devarim*, 1, pp. 166-67, also in *Moznayim*, 18 May 1931; *idem*, letter, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 14 February 1928, to M.[ax] Lipson, New York, in ABTA, File 51-43694a. For the reaction of Sholem Aleichem to Dolitzky's plight, see Shmeruk, "Sholem Aleichem and America," p. 217, and the sources cited there.

128. Ch.[aim] N.[achman] Bialik, "On the Tenth Anniversary of the Hechalutz," taken from a speech in Tel Aviv, in *Hechalutz*, eds. Dr. Chaim Arlosoroff, S.[hlomo] Grodzensky, Rebecca Schmuckler (New York: The Zionist Labor Party "Hitzchduth" of America with the cooperation of Avukah, American Student Zionist Federation, 1929), pp. 15, 19.
129. Chaim Nachman Bialik, "LeShe'eilat HaTarbut Ha'Ivrit," p. 177, and "The Chalutz," *The New Palestine*, 4 May 1928. See also, his "LeYesod 'Agudat Shoharei HaUniversita Ha'Ivrit'" [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 6 Nisan 5693 [1933], in *Devarim*, 2, pp. 79-80.
130. Compare Bialik's statement to the editorial board of *Judisk Tidskrift*, Stockholm, 17 January 1934, in *Iggrot*, 5, pp. 307-08, in which he makes no distinction between Europe and America.
131. Bialik, letter, [Hebrew], Tel Aviv, 24 March 1927, to Herman Bernstein, Naples, in *Iggrot*, 3, p. 205.