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DIRECTOR: JACOB RADER MARCUS, PH.D.
Milton and Hattie Kutz Distinguished Service Professor of American Jewish History

ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR: STANLEY F. CHYET, PH.D.
Professor of American Jewish History

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The American Jewish Archives

After Twenty-Five Years . . .

Self-congratulation would not be in order. It is true that the American Jewish Archives has grown prodigiously since its founding in 1947—but this is hardly surprising. The groves of academe in general, and those of Jewish academe in particular, have flourished and proliferated since World War II. It would have been remarkable had the Archives *not* grown, mirroring as it does the largest and —at least in secular terms—the most energetic community in the Jewish diaspora.

No one doubts the growth. No one doubts its present and potential value. A vexing question persists even so. How much of what has been accomplished—not only at the Archives but in Jewish academia generally—deserves to be seen as more than quantitative? How much of it has been exploited with passion and imagination to foster the growth of a Jewish spirituality?

Such questions, it may be, are not legitimate for the twenty-fifth anniversary of an academic enterprise. *Alle Anfaenge sind schwer* —to begin even quantitatively is hard enough, and perhaps quantitative factors do need to be given priority at first. Still, one cannot help thinking, what historian has even attempted to achieve for the unfolding of twentieth-century American Jewish life what the novelist Charles Angoff has been at pains to do in his multivolume Polonsky saga? Does this say nothing about American Jewish historiography? But let us not wait with bated breath for a historical effort of Angoffian proportions. How long will it be before an authoritative *one*-volume history of the American Jewish experience becomes available?

Twenty-five years of activity have heaped up some four million pages of data at the Archives—not to mention a long and quite impressive list of essays, studies, bibliographies, and indices. But, as Ludwig Lewisohn once wrote, "Not what you do matters, but what your soul makes of the thing you do." The soul? Is there within Jewish academia something historians—or anyone else—might recognize as a soul? Maybe the next twenty-five years of the American Jewish Archives will see a positive answer to that question.

S. F. C.

Louis Marshall and Immigration Restriction, 1906–1924*

HENRY B. LEONARD

As the tide of emigration from Southern and Eastern Europe to the United States surged late in the nineteenth century and early in the twentieth, the nation's immigration policy became a fiercely debated public issue. Prominent among those who favored a continuation of America's traditionally liberal admission policies were many leading and wealthy German American Jews. Rejecting the suspiciousness and fear of the newcomers, especially of their own East European coreligionists, that was widespread in the German American Jewish community at the time, they believed that their religious ideals, their shared humanity, and their own self-interest demanded strong opposition to the rising sentiment in favor of restriction.[1]

Spearheading this fight was the American Jewish Committee. Founded in 1906 by, among others, Cyrus Adler, Mayer Sulzberger, Nathan Bijur, Julian W. Mack, Jacob H. Schiff, Oscar S. Straus, Judah L. Magnes, and Louis Marshall, all of whom were deeply disturbed by the rising tide of anti-Semitism, and represent-

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Dr. Leonard is Assistant Professor of History at Kent State University, Kent, Ohio.

* The author is very much indebted to James and George Marshall for permission to use their father's papers, an extensive and revealing body of material at the American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati, Ohio.

[1] For nativism and racism, see John Higham, *Strangers in the Land; Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925* (Atheneum edition, New York, 1963); Barbara M. Solomon, *Ancestors and Immigrants, A Changing New England Tradition* (Cambridge, 1956); and Thomas F. Gossett, *Race; The History of an Idea in America* (Dallas, 1963). For the antagonism between German American and East European Jews, see Esther L. Panitz, "The Polarity of American Jewish Attitudes Towards Immigration (1870–1891)," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly*, LIII (1963), 99–130; Zosa Szajkowski, "The Attitude of American Jews to East European Jewish Immigration (1881–1893)," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, XL (1951), 221–80; Moses Rischin, *The Promised City, New York's Jews, 1870–1914* (Cambridge, 1962), pp. 95–111, 237–41.

ing, on the whole, the viewpoint of upper-class Jews of German background, the Committee sought "to prevent the infraction of the civil and religious rights of Jews, in any part of the world . . . to secure for Jews equality of economic, social and educational opportunity [and to] alleviate the consequences of persecution. . . ."[2] The Committee's leaders immediately turned their attention to the defeat of impending restrictive immigration legislation because, first, they believed they had a special obligation to keep America open as an asylum for their persecuted brethren, and, second, because they realized that, since anti-Semitism failed to differentiate between East European and German Jews and since both racially based nativism and anti-Semitism shared common assumptions of inferiority, restrictive sentiment threatened their own hard-earned position in American life. In addition, since many members of the Committee were either immigrants themselves or the children of immigrants, they believed deeply in the principle of a liberal admission policy.

Men Are Essentially Alike

The Committee's most indefatigable spokesman against further restriction was Louis Marshall. The son of German Jewish immigrants, Marshall was born in Syracuse in 1856. After attending Columbia Law School, he practiced law in Syracuse until he moved to New York City in 1894 to become a partner in the prestigious firm of Guggenheimer, Untermyer and Marshall. In addition to being an influential lawyer, specializing in corporate and constitutional law, he was very prominent in the civic affairs of the state and city of New York and was a leader of the city's Jewish community, being particularly active in innumerable philanthropies, especially in those succoring East European Jewish immigrants.[3]

Much of his work was devoted to the American Jewish Committee. A founder of the organization, he was its president from 1912 until his death in 1929. Deeply involved in protecting Jewish rights

[2] Nathan Schachner, *The Price of Liberty; A History of the American Jewish Committee* (New York, 1948), pp. 1–28, 217.

[3] Morton Rosenstock, *Louis Marshall, Defender of Jewish Rights* (Detroit, 1965), pp. 24–31; *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1927–1936), VI, 326–28.

both in the United States and abroad, he led the Committee's well-organized and tenacious campaign against the numerous bills proposed in Congress between 1906 and 1924 to curtail immigration sharply or even to suspend it entirely. In the process of the struggle, Marshall usually reflected the attitudes of the Committee's leadership toward immigration and its assessment of the proper techniques for assuring victory to its cause.

Marshall defended free immigration on many grounds. America's economy, particularly the construction, mining, and manufacturing sectors, needed a continuous infusion of unskilled aliens, he argued, because "the native American shrinks from hard manual labor [and] . . . the elder immigrant, who begins as a laborer, gradually moves into the higher ranks of industry."[4] More important, however, was the foreigners' enrichment of American society and culture. Far from being a cause for alarm, ethnic neighborhoods, institutions, newspapers, and even ideals were manifestations of European civilization to be drawn upon for the nation's cultural and spiritual sustenance. The American way of life itself and its worldwide mission, in fact, depended partly upon free immigration because it was the asylum concept that had made the United States "the intellectual, the civilizing influence that we now are." To restrict immigration would be cruel to aliens and contrary to "the genius of our institutions." It would destroy "one of the fundamentals of our national spirit," endanger the ethical foundations of the nation, and break the hearts of the world's oppressed who saw the United States as a beacon of light.[5] Since restriction would endanger both the nation's physical growth and spiritual health, Marshall concluded, it "would be much more injurious to our country than the most liberal immigration policy that could be imagined."[6]

[4] "Memorandum in Opposition to Senate Bill 3175, Entitled 'An Act to Regulate the Immigration of Aliens to and the Residence of Aliens in the United States' " (dated 2/6/1913), p. 3, Louis Marshall Papers, American Jewish Historical Society, Waltham, Massachusetts [LM-AJHS].

[5] Copy of an address delivered before the New York University Forum on February 20, 1914, pp. 6, 8, 22–23, LM-AJHS; Marshall to Carroll S. Page, 1/28/1907, *ibid.*

[6] Marshall to Henry Cabot Lodge, 1/26/1912, *ibid.*

His confidence in the worth of the foreign-born applied to all European aliens. Denying the increasingly popular racial theories, he asserted that "men are essentially alike" and that southeastern Europeans, though poor and often illiterate, were of "practically the same stock as were the ancestors of the great majority of our present American citizenship." The nation's strength lay, in fact, in its "composite" population.[7] As a Jew, Marshall was especially interested in countering the arguments of anti-Semites who claimed that Jews comprised a particularly inferior and dangerous race, and he constantly sought through liberalizing amendments to soften the possible impact on persecuted Jews of proposed immigration legislation. Nevertheless, even when he succeeded, he still sought the defeat of even these less dangerous measures because severe restriction of any European immigration, and the racial assumptions lurking behind it, violated his principles.

Despite his championing of free European immigration, Marshall did not believe in a completely open door. Like Americans generally, he would exclude the physically, morally, and mentally unfit, such as criminals, paupers, prostitutes, the chronically ill, and the insane. He objected only to restriction that was severe and that was based on the assumption that all immigration was bad or that particular ethnic or religious groups were inferior and therefore especially dangerous and undesirable.

Marshall also frankly admitted that the continued arrival of hundreds of thousands of immigrants, unfamiliar with American urban and industrial living, presented a host of difficult problems. He was confident, however, that solutions other than restriction must and would be found. To relieve urban overcrowding, he encouraged the programs of the Industrial Removal Office and its Jewish Immigrants Information Bureau, and urged the Federal Division of Information and the New York State Bureau of Industries and Immigration to become more active in distributing aliens to rural areas or

[7] New York University Forum address, pp. 12–13, *ibid.;* "Memorandum in Opposition to Senate Bill 3175," p. 2, *ibid.;* Marshall to John L. Burnett, 5/28/1912, reprinted in Charles Reznikoff, *Louis Marshall, Champion of Liberty* (Philadelphia, 1957), I, 118.

to small towns and cities.[8] He devoted much more attention, however, to programs for the protection and assimilation of the bewildered newcomers. He was a trustee of the Educational Alliance, which offered New York Jews courses in English, American history, literature, and vocational subjects; he was on the advisory board of the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society; he supported the efforts of Jacob H. Schiff and others to direct the Jewish Theological Seminary to the religious adjustment of Orthodox East European Jews; he was involved in the Hebrew Free Loan Society; and he supported the Yiddish press as an important Americanizing agency.[9] Believing that government should assume a far more active role, Marshall was chairman of the New York State Commission of Immigration which, in 1909, recommended far-reaching public programs for aliens. As a member of the New York Bureau of Industries and Immigration subsequently established in 1910, he, together with Jacob H. Schiff and Felix M. Warburg, personally financed some of its programs when the state failed to appropriate sufficient funds.[10]

Marshall supported these schemes not only to solve real problems, but also with the hope that they might be sufficiently effective to convince fearful Americans that restriction was unnecessary. Yet they failed to turn back the tide of nativism, and Marshall and his associates were forced to pay constant attention to defeating innumerable Congressional proposals for severe restriction. The most important of these were two—first, the literacy test, brought up for final Congressional approval in 1907, 1913, and 1915, and finally

[8] United States Immigration Commission, *Reports* (42 vols., Washington, 1911), XLI, 153–54; Marshall to Cyrus L. Sulzberger, 2/9/1907, Louis Marshall Papers, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio [LM-AJA], Personal Correspondence [Pers. Corres.], box 1578. Marshall to Reuben Arkush, 12/6/1913 Immigration Letter File, American Jewish Committee Archives, American Jewish Commitee, New York City [AJCA].

[9] Oscar Handlin's Introduction in Reznikoff, I, xxi–xxii; Rosenstock, pp. 47–50.

[10] Marshall to Herbert Friedenwald, 10/27/1910, LM-AJA, Pers. Corres., box 1581; Marshall to Frances Kellor, 11/19/1909, 1/14/1910, 1/15/1910, 3/2/1910, 8/31/1911, *ibid.*, boxes 1580–1581; *Report of the Commission of Immigration of the State of New York* (New York, 1909), pp. 140–44.

passed in 1917, which required that for admission each alien above a certain age be able to read in a recognized language or dialect, and, second, quotas which would regulate immigration on the basis of ethnic origins and which were hotly debated in Congress after the First World War until a permanent, far-reaching quota law was enacted in 1924.[11]

The defeat of such measures was possible, Marshall believed, only if the campaign was conducted with great care and delicacy by moderate, knowledgeable men who relied primarily upon the application of private, quiet pressure upon important people, especially politicians and administrators at the Federal level. Utilizing the contacts of prominent Jews with Congressmen and eventually employing their own lobbyist in Washington, Marshall and the Committee constantly kept their finger on the legislative pulse, seeking to have their allies in Congress secure either the outright defeat of restrictive legislation or at least the weakening of its exclusion provisions.

Survival of the Fittest

Although Marshall earnestly sought cooperation from others, he always wanted it on his own terms. Many of his supporters, though well-meaning, he complained, were too emotional and ill-informed. They too often sought newspaper headlines, made intemperate statements, and called mass public protest meetings, all of which Marshall believed were self-defeating because they only stirred up a hornets' nest of restrictionists.

He was especially distressed when Jews pursued such immoderate tactics because, first, they thereby challenged those whom he believed to be the most knowledgeable and astute leaders of the anti-restriction effort, and, second, because they risked the labeling of the campaign as a "Jewish issue," a circumstance which Marshall believed to be both incorrect and also tactically disastrous in a period of rising anti-Semitism. He attempted, therefore, to persuade Jewish groups, including the American Jewish Committee, to "take a back seat" and, in appearing before Congressional committees,

[11] Higham, pp. 128–30, 189–93, 202–4, 308–30.

"to enlist other creeds to the fullest extent."[12] He complained that his own labors were made "inconsistent and ridiculous" by the appearance before Congress of every "Tom, Dick and Harry," of "every little [Jewish] lodge and society" which lacked the facts and which "think that a matter of this kind can be dealt with by the usual methods of ward politics. . . ." A public protest meeting planned by Jewish groups in Chicago in 1905 he labeled "an extremely unfortunate step."[13]

Especially exasperating to Marshall was the National Liberal Immigration League, whose programs he regarded as a personal insult to himself as well as a direct challenge to the American Jewish Committee. Founded in 1906 as a nonsectarian society to protest restriction and to further assimilation and distribution, it soon became known primarily as a Jewish organization because of its close identification with its founder, Nissim Behar, a Jew who had come to the United States in 1901 as a representative of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, a European Jewish defense society. Marshall distrusted Behar and argued that his reliance upon propaganda leaflets and his "resorts to a blare of trumpets and to mass meetings" were counterproductive. Behar's decision in 1913 to organize a public banquet to honor Congressmen opposed to the literacy test struck Marshall as "imprudent" and undignified, and he asked wearily, "Why must we always make ourselves conspicuous?"[14] Although an agreement was reached in 1907 by which the League would take no important action without consulting the American Jewish Commit-

[12] Marshall to Adolf Kraus, 1/6/1912, LM-AJHS; Marshall to Friedenwald, 1/29/1912, LM-AJA, Pers. Corres., box 144; American Jewish Committee [AJC], *Minute Books,* II, 12/25/1911, AJCA.

[13] Marshall to Adolph J. Sabath, 1/11/1917, LM-AJHS; Marshall to Abraham Cahan, 1/11/1923, LM-AJA, Jewish Matters, box 132; Marshall to E. M. Baker, 1/13/1915, Immigration Letter File, AJCA; Marshall to Joseph Stolz, 12/15/1905, in Reznikoff, I, 111–12.

[14] Marshall to Lillian D. Wald, 1/18/1911, LM-AJA, Pers. Corres., box 142; Marshall to Edward Lauterbach, 2/21/1913, *ibid.*, box 1584. For the changing relations between the Committee and the League, see the correspondence between Herbert Friedenwald and Cyrus Adler in 1906–1907 in the Cyrus Adler Papers, AJCA.

tee, it was never effective, and Marshall always regarded it as a very troublesome example of immoderate Jewish meddling.[15]

Marshall was so fearful of Jewish prominence in the fight against restriction that, humanitarian though he was, he rejected for tactical reasons pleas that attempts be made to secure the admission of special Jewish hardship cases despite the immigration laws. To Judge Leon Sanders, president of the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society, who sought the entry of normally excludable minor children, he wrote that success would mean the admission "of a few helpless, and probably useless, individuals" and the exclusion of "thousands upon thousands of worthy men and women. . . . The greatest good to the greatest number must constitute the determining factor. The survival of the fittest is a principle which cannot be ignored." The price of humanitarianism, that "we . . . lay ourselves open to the attack that we favor indiscriminate immigration, without regard to the welfare of our country," was unfortunately too high.[16]

The first test of Marshall's leadership occurred in 1906, when Congress considered numerous restrictive proposals, including a literacy test. Although he rejected the whole range of suggestions, such as a higher head tax, Marshall objected in particular to the literacy provision because it would penalize with special severity Southern and Eastern Europeans, most of whom were "mentally and morally unblemished, men and women capable of earning a livelihood, and of becoming useful additions to our industrial population," but who had not been able to obtain schooling. Yet, it would admit such dangerous aliens as socialists and anarchists, who were often highly educated. A gauge of opportunity rather than of quality, it would be inhumanely unfair to persecuted Jews whose illiteracy arose from the restrictions placed on their educational opportunities by the Russian government.[17] Equally harmful to Jews

[15] AJC, *Minute Books,* I, 11/9/1907.

[16] Marshall to Friedenwald, 10/27-1910, Max J. Kohler Papers, AJHS; Marshall to Sanders, 4/18/1913, in Reznikoff, I, 126.

[17] Marshall to Page, 1/28/1907, LM-AJHS; "Memorandum in Opposition to Senate Bill 3175," pp. 4–10, *ibid.;* Marshall to Jacob Ruppert, 1/21/1907, LM-AJA. Pers. Corres., box 1578.

was the proposed exclusion of aliens of "low vitality or poor physique" that would incapacitate them from earning a living. Having been subjected to "the most inhuman persecution," they were often in a state of mental depression, and, deeply religious, they had abstained in transit from eating prohibited food, which often made them appear "gaunt and emaciated." To apply such a vague requirement would result in "untold mischief."[18]

Through extensive lobbying, Marshall and the American Jewish Committee attempted to prevent any action on immigration by keeping the bills bottled up in the Congressional Conference Committee. Marshall told Representative Jacob Ruppert, of New York, a conferee whom some feared to be weakening, that he would be performing "a great public service" if he would "sit on" the legislation a while longer. Although he did not know Representative Benjamin F. Howell, of New Jersey, also a conferee, he wrote Jacob Wertheim who did, and asked him to persuade Howell to stand with Ruppert. For their part, Representatives Ruppert, William S. Bennet, of New York, and even the Speaker of the House, Joseph G. Cannon, kept Marshall and his associates advised of the Conference Committee's business.[19]

Suddenly, early in February, 1907, Marshall heard that Representative Augustus Gardner, of Massachusetts, a leading restrictionist, was attempting to have the Conference Committee discharged and, with the help of the Rules Committee, to ram a bill through the House.[20] Marshall himself immediately contacted many members of the Rules Committee, and he wired Max Senior in Cincinnati to appeal to Representative Charles H. Grosvenor, of Ohio.[21] Anxious to reach Representative D. A. DeArmond, of Missouri, Marshall not only was in touch with several influential Missourians but also, at

[18] Marshall to Page, 1/28/1907, LM-AJHS.

[19] Marshall to Ruppert, 1/21/1907; Marshall to Wertheim, 2/2/1907; Marshall to Mayer Sulzberger, 1/29/1907, LM-AJA, Pers. Corres., box 1578; Marshall to Page, 1/28/1907, LM-AJHS; Adler to Friedenwald, 1/23/1907; Friedenwald to Adler, 1/29/1907, Adler Papers, AJCA.

[20] Marshall to M. Warley Platzek, 2/4/1907, LM-AJA, Pers. Corres., box 1578.

[21] Marshall to Senior, 2/4/1907; Marshall to Isidor Newman, 2/4/1907; Marshall to Mayer Sulzberger, 2/6/1907, *ibid.*

the suggestion of others, concluded that he would probably be influenced effectively by John Fox, president of the National Democratic Club. Since Marshall did not know Fox, he asked one of his associates who did, M. Warley Platzek, to request Fox to telegraph DeArmond in opposition to Gardner's efforts and to sign his wire as president of the National Democratic Club.[22] But Marshall was always circumspect. When Platzek suggested that the Club's Board of Governors officially opposed restriction, Marshall objected that this was too partisan and would only offend such influential Republicans as Speaker Cannon.[23]

Gardner's ploy was defeated, and, although a bill was subsequently reported out and passed by Congress, "all of the provisions against which we fought have been eliminated," exulted Marshall, partly as a result of his intensive lobbying. "I think that we may all feel satisfied with the final phase of the immigration legislation. . . ."[24] The head tax was raised, but the literacy test and the low vitality clause were left out, and a Congressional commission was established to investigate the entire immigration question and to recommend legislative action.[25]

A Very Close Squeeze

Marshall had supported the Commission idea as a compromise to restriction and in the hope that it would be staffed with individuals sympathetic to his own viewpoint or would at least be susceptible to his pro-immigration arguments. Unfortunately, neither was the case. Despite personal appearances before the Commission and the presentation of extensive written briefs by Marshall and other members

[22] Marshall to Platzek, 2/4/1907, *ibid.*

[23] Marshall to Platzek, 2/5/1907, *ibid.*

[24] Marshall to Mayer Sulzberger, 2/18/1907, *ibid.*

[25] Marshall to Friedenwald, 1/17/1907, *ibid.* Naturally, Marshall and his associates were not entirely responsible for the 1907 outcome. For the especially important roles of Speaker Cannon and the Japanese school crisis in San Francisco, see Higham, pp. 128–30, and Blair Bolles, *Tyrant from Illinois: Uncle Joe Cannon's Experiment with Personal Power* (New York, 1951), pp. 71–77.

of the American Jewish Committee, the Commission's massive report, issued in December, 1910, "very much disappointed" Marshall because it concluded that Southern and Eastern Europeans endangered the nation and that a literacy test was the most practical way of blocking the flood of undesirables.[26]

The Commission's findings naturally resulted in the introduction in Congress in 1911 of numerous restrictive proposals, including the literacy test. To secure their defeat, Marshall and his associates pursued many courses of action. Acutely aware of the damage done by the Dillingham Commission, Marshall sought to counter its report at every opportunity, including financial contributions to the publication of Isaac A. Hourwich's *Immigration and Labor*, which the American Jewish Committee privately sponsored.[27] When it became known that Dr. Hourwich disagreed with the Commission's conclusions about the economic effects of immigration and would publish his objections if he received financial support, Marshall, Jacob H. Schiff, Julius Rosenwald, and Mayer Sulzberger, among others, contributed several thousand dollars. Marshall was so convinced that the volume would "inure largely to the advantage of our Russian brethren" that he persuaded Schiff to loan two thousand dollars from the Russian Massacre Fund. Schiff, believing that the resources of philanthropy should always be used productively, extended the credit at four percent interest! Although the Committee supported the publication of the book, Marshall, ever careful, insisted that only Hourwich's name be placed on the title page "so that there may be nothing to indicate that the Committee has anything to do with the publication of the book, and that it may be regarded as a scientific contribution, as I have no doubt it is, to the subject."[28]

[26] Marshall to Friedenwald, 1/17/1907, LM-AJA, Pers. Corres., box 1578; Marshall to Henry M. Goldfogle, 12/9/1910, *ibid.*, box 1581; United States Immigration Commission, *Reports*, XLI, pp. 140–57, 206–21. For summaries of the Commission's findings, and its conclusions and recommendations, see its *Reports*, I and II, most of which are severely criticized by Oscar Handlin, *Race and Nationality in American Life* (Boston, 1948), pp. 93–138.

[27] Isaac A. Hourwich, *Immigration and Labor* (New York, 1912), a study which contends that, far from harming the American economy and its workers, Southern and Eastern European immigration helped both.

[28] Friedenwald to Jacob H. Schiff (?), 3/29/1911, LM-AJA, Jewish Matters, box 127; Marshall to Morris Loeb, 5/31/1911, *ibid.*, Pers. Corres., box 143; Marshall

The attack on the Commission's findings, however, was only part of Marshall's broader effort to defeat the restrictive legislation before Congress. Although he continually reiterated his firm opposition to all restrictive bills no matter what their final form, he realized that since the surging currents of nativism seriously endangered his chances of success, his duty to achieve at least "a result favorable to our brethren" demanded that he seek to soften any legislation's impact on persecuted Jews.[29] He suggested, for example, an amendment to exempt from the literacy test anyone migrating "from any country wherein persecution is directed against the religious denomination to which he belongs by means of laws, customs, regulations, orders or otherwise" and any person "seeking to avoid persecution because of political beliefs or activities."[30] Although an exemption clause had already been added, Marshall believed it to be entirely inadequate because it covered only those fleeing "solely" to escape religious persecution, a fact which he argued would be almost impossible to prove, and because it failed to aid political refugees. He also objected to the proposed exclusion of "citizens or subjects of any country that issues penal certificates or certificates of character" who did not present them to the immigration inspectors. Persecuted Jews, Marshall contended, would be especially endangered because they would undoubtedly have to bribe anti-Semitic Russian officials for the proper documents.[31]

To defeat or at least to alter the proposals in Congress, Marshall and his associates lobbied extensively on Capitol Hill, appearing before Congressional committees, distributing copies of Hourwich's book, and contacting Congressmen. Marshall received detailed information about the legislative situation from his Congressional al-

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to Hourwich, 5/21/1912, *ibid.*, box 144; Marshall to Schiff, 9/5/1912 and 9/17/1912, *ibid.*, box 1583; AJC, *Minute Books*, I, 3/19/1911 and 4/23/1911.

[29] Marshall to Goldfogle, 1/24/1912, LM-AJHS.

[30] Marshall to William Sulzer, 12/4/1912, LM-AJA, Pers. Corres., box 1583; Marshall to Sabath, 1/1/1913; Marshall to William P. Dillingham, 1/1/1913, LM-AJHS.

[31] Marshall to Lodge, 1/1/1913, LM-AJA, Pers. Corres., box 1584; Marshall to Francis E. Warren, 1/23/1913, Immigration Letter File, AJCA; United States Immigration Commission, *Reports*, XLI, pp. 220–21; *Congressional Record* (62 Congress, 3 Session), p. 1763.

lies, especially Representatives William Bennet, Adolph J. Sabath, and Henry M. Goldfogle, and, with the able assistance of Fulton Brylawski, who had been hired in 1910 as the American Jewish Committee's Washington lobbyist to keep close tabs on immigration matters, he used his own powers of persuasion to convert wavering Congressmen to his position.[32]

The results of this often frantic activity, however, were meager. Although the requirement concerning police certificates was deleted, the bill as passed in its final form on January 30, and February 1, 1913, still contained the literacy test, without Marshall's exemption provision.[33] The only hope was a Presidential veto. Marshall wrote or wired many prominent Jews urging them to send President William Howard Taft telegrams opposing the measure, and he himself attended a meeting which the Chief Executive held on the immigration bill, reporting afterward that "everything looks very favorable."[34] After the bill was vetoed on February 14, Marshall mounted a nationwide campaign among Jews to pressure Congress to sustain the President.[35] Marshall himself aptly summed up the outcome—"We had a very close squeeze. . . ." Although the Senate overrode Taft, the House refused, but only by a few votes.[36]

There was no respite for the weary. A new literacy test measure was immediately introduced, and Marshall, increasingly pessimistic but trying "to save something from the wreck" for "our Jewish brethren," sought the acceptance of his amendment which, as re-

[32] Marshall to Sulzer, 12/4/1912 and 12/13/1912; Marshall to William Bennet, 12/4/1912, LM-AJA, Pers. Corres., box 1583; Marshall to Goldfogle, 1/24/1913; Marshall to Sabath, 1/1/1913; Marshall to Dillingham, 1/1/1913; Marshall to Lodge, 1/1/1913, LM-AJHS; Herman Bernstein to Felix M. Warburg, 12/16/1913, Felix M. Warburg Papers, AJA; AJC, *Minute Books*, I, 12/28/1909 and 1/1/1913.

[33] *Congressional Record* (62 Congress, 3 Session), pp. 2311, 2428.

[34] Marshall to Adler, 12/23/1912, LM-AJA, Pers. Corres., box 1583; Marshall to Simon Wolf, 2/4/1913; Marshall to Harry Cutler, 2/4/1913; Marshall to Victor Rosewater, 2/7/1913; Marshall to Adolph Lewisohn, 2/7/1913, *ibid.*, box 1584.

[35] Marshall to Bernard Bienenfeld, 2/14/1913; Marshall to Samuel H. Borofsky, 2/15/1913, *ibid.*, box 1584.

[36] Marshall to Isaac M. Ullman, 2/20/1913, *ibid.*



Courtesy, American Jewish Committee, New York

Louis Marshall

worded, would exempt from the test those "seeking admission to the United States to avoid religious or political persecution, whether such persecution be evidenced by overt acts, or by discriminatory laws or regulations."[37] But the application of the usual pressure by Marshall, others members of the American Jewish Committee, and Brylawski failed to prevent the enactment of a literacy test bill without adequate protection for persecuted aliens, a bill which reached President Woodrow Wilson's desk late in January, 1915.[38] Marshall again requested a veto, and, when that was secured, "moving heaven and earth" to have it sustained, he even tracked down the electoral districts of his Congressional opponents and wired their prominent Jewish constituents to exert pressure. Julian W. Mack in Chicago, Victor Rosewater in Omaha, and Isador Sobel in Erie, among others, received such requests. Discovering that a few New York Republicans had either supported the literacy test or had failed to vote, he asked an acquaintance in Albany to contact them. "Do not consider any expense so far as telegraphing is concerned, and do not fail to send me the bill," pled Marshall.[39] His efforts paid off, but again the House supported the veto by an uncomfortably thin margin.[40]

Even that margin disappeared in 1917, when the struggle over the literacy test reached a climax. As the emotions created by America's increasing involvement in the First World War fed the flames of nativism, the demands for immigration restriction became irresistible.[41] Marshall, nevertheless, was able to have the most onerous

[37] "Memorandum in Support of Amendment to Section 3 of H.R. 6060" (undated), LM-AJHS; Marshall to Montague Triest, 1/7/1914, Immigration Letter File, AJCA.

[38] See, for example, Marshall's considerable correspondence with Fulton Brylawski and many Senators and Representatives late in 1914 and early in 1915, LM-AJA, Pers. Corres., box 145.

[39] Marshall to H. Pereira Mendes, 1/30/1915; Marshall to Sobel, 1/30/1915; Marshall to Rosewater, 1/30/1915; Marshall to Mack, 1/30/1915; Marshall to Elon Brown, 2/1/1915; Marshall to Brylawski, 2/2/1915, *ibid.*, box 146; Marshall to William Barnes, Jr., 2/1/1915, LM-AJHS.

[40] *Congressional Record* (63 Congress, 3 Session), pp. 3077–78.

[41] Higham, pp. 194–204.

provisions eliminated from the legislation in 1917 and, what was especially important, persuaded Congress to accept his amendment exempting from the literacy test those aliens fleeing from religious persecution. This was accomplished, however, only after intensive lobbying and after assurances that the exemption would also assist persecuted non-Jews, such as Protestant Finns and Letts in Russia and Armenians in Turkey.[42]

Despite this success, Marshall still sought the defeat of the legislation when it was presented to President Wilson because its restrictive features violated his principles.[43] Although the President vetoed the measure, Marshall's best efforts to persuade Congress to sustain him failed, and the literacy test was finally enacted on February 5, 1917.[44] Marshall could nevertheless feel satisfied that his amendment had at least put the bill "in such form as to do the least possible injury to those whose interests we have sought to safeguard"—a considerable achievement, given the intensity of restrictive sentiment.[45]

Unfortunately for Marshall, America's involvement in the European conflict, and especially the aftermath of the War, only brought nativism to a fever pitch. When immigration began to increase in 1919, the result was widespread and at times hysterical demands either for its complete suspension or for its regulation according to quotas intended particularly to limit the entry of Southern and Eastern Europeans.[46] Both of these proposals Marshall rejected as entirely unnecessary, economically dangerous, and morally reprehen-

[42] Marshall to Isaac Siegel, 12/14/1916, LM-AJA, Pers. Corres., box 148; Brylawski to Marshall, 12/16/1916; James A. Reed to Marshall, 12/17/1916; Marshall to Bennet, 12/16/1916; Bennet to Marshall, 12/18/1916; Siegel to Marshall, 12/18/1916, LM-AJHS; Marshall to John L. Burnett, 12/19/1916, in Reznikoff, I, 157–58.

[43] Marshall to Harry Friedenwald, 1/20/1917, LM-AJA, Pers. Corres., box 149.

[44] *Congressional Record* (64 Congress, 2 Session), pp. 2456–57, 2629; Marshall to Adler, 1/20/1917, LM-AJA, Pers. Corres., box 149; Marshall to Schiff, 1/10/1917, Jacob H. Schiff Papers, AJA.

[45] Marshall to Sabath, 1/9/1917, LM-AJHS.

[46] Higham, pp. 234–99.

sible. Suspension, he argued, was "an arbitrary restrictive policy" which would make the United States "chauvinistic" and "insular" because it assumed that "no alien, however industrious, intelligent, and free from physical or moral taint he may be, shall be admitted . . . simply because he is an alien."[47] Especially dangerous were the racial assumptions which lurked behind suspension and, Marshall believed, behind the quota proposals in particular. The use of national origins as a criterion for selection was both biased and useless, he argued, because, as American history had demonstrated, blood was of no importance in determining the quality of immigrants. Ridiculing the racial theories of Lothrop Stoddard and Madison Grant as the evil imaginings of charlatans, he defended the recent arrivals, and especially Jews, as the equals of Northwestern Europeans.[48] The pseudo-scientific quota principle was cruel, and, as "class legislation," it would stimulate anti-Semitism and racial, national, and religious hatreds and jealousies in a period in which, as Marshall wrote Representative Nicholas Longworth, "We must cultivate the idea of unity, and not create artificial barriers to the existence of national harmony."[49]

Congress Would Not Listen

Marshall attempted to defeat both suspension and the quota plan by his usual tactics of appearances before Congressional committees, quiet lobbying, and the rejection of what he considered to be the impolitic schemes of his allies. The plan for the founding of a Jewish-supported steamship line to carry Jewish immigrants to

[47] Marshall to Siegel, 1/9/1919, LM-AJHS; United States House of Representatives, Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 65 Congress, 3 Session, *Prohibition of Immigration* (Washington, 1919), pp. 3–5.

[48] United States Senate, Committee on Immigration, 68 Congress, 1 Session, *Selective Immigration Legislation* (Washington, 1924), pp. 287–93; Marshall to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization of the House of Representatives, 1/25/1919, in Reznikoff, I, 162–63; Marshall to Charles E. Hughes, 4/27/1921, in *ibid.*, pp. 174–82.

[49] Marshall to Longworth, 3/18/1924, in *ibid.*, pp. 206–8; Marshall to Calvin Coolidge, 5/22/1924, in *ibid.*, pp. 208–14.

America, for example, he termed a "death-blow" which would only convince Americans that the battle against restriction was a plot by an international Jewish conspiracy.[50] Marshall failed to turn back the tide, however. Although immigration was never suspended and although President Wilson pocket-vetoed a quota bill in 1921, President Warren G. Harding, despite Marshall's appeals, signed into law in the Spring of 1921 a measure that limited immigration to 2 percent of each nationality in the United States according to the Census of 1910. This quota act, to be in effect for one year, was renewed for two years in the Spring of 1922, again despite Marshall's efforts.[51]

Marshall's use of his familiar tactics, however, belied the fact that important changes had occurred in his campaign. Although he fought on, his correspondence reflected a pessimism and a desperation almost always absent before 1917, a sense of despair which at times approached *ennui.* Although he kept in touch with Congressmen, his activities lacked that earlier sense of constant motion, optimistic urgency and even intrigue, which sought to take advantage of every opportunity. No matter what the odds, Marshall continued, but more out of a sense of obligation and habit than out of a conviction that any degree of real success was attainable.

Marshall's deep anxiety arose from his assessment of the strength and the virulence of his opposition and, especially, from his realization that even some of his Jewish allies were abandoning their support of free immigration. Max J. Kohler, for example, decided in 1921 that a brief temporary legislative curtailment of immigration, with suitable exceptions, might be in order, and Cyrus Adler, always a Marshall supporter, apparently stated that Jews themselves must assume some responsibility for the success of restriction because of their failure to assimilate rapidly.[52] Marshall wrote despair-

[50] Marshall to George H. Lubarsky, 2/7/1920; Marshall to Harry Schneiderman, 2/17/1920, LM-AJA, Pers. Corres., box 1588; Marshall to Morris Schlesinger, 7/15/1923, *ibid.,* box 1591

[51] Marshall to Woodrow Wilson, 2/26/1921, in Reznikoff, I, 166–69; Marshall to Warren G. Harding, 5/17/1921, in *ibid.,* pp. 182–90.

[52] Marshall to Felix M. Warburg, 1/22/1921, LM-AJA, Pers. Corres., box 156; Rosenstock, p. 232.

ingly to Israel Zangwill that "a very large percentage of the Jewish citizens have permitted their prejudices to get the better of their judgement and of their hearts and have favored this restrictionist policy," a fact partially confirmed by Marshall's receipt of a letter from Rabbi Morris S. Lazaron, of Baltimore, who contended that unrestricted immigration was dangerous.[53]

All of these changed circumstances affected both the final outcome and Marshall himself when new quota legislation was introduced in 1923 to replace the expiring act of 1922. As passed in May, 1924, the law, by reducing to 2 percent the number of each nationality to be admitted and by using the 1890 Census, both cut back the total influx of aliens and limited especially the entry of Southern and Eastern Europeans.[54] Marshall hoped for the complete defeat of the new quota proposal, but he realized that rampant "chauvinistic nationalism" and the obsessive "hatred of everything foreign" made it a virtual impossibility.[55] He therefore proposed as a compromise the extension of the 1922 quota law for two or three years, with administrative changes to humanize its enforcement, and the appointment of a commission, similar to the one established in 1907, to make a study of immigration upon which subsequent legislation could be based.[56]

Congress would not listen, however, and even Marshall himself seemed sapped by the power of his opposition. His campaign was neither so active nor so supple as those before 1917. Admitting that "from the beginning" it had been "almost a hopeless situation," he confessed to Cyrus Adler, in tones that revealed his own despair, that perhaps not enough had been done—"I am sorry that we did not have a number of meetings of the American Jewish Committee in order to consider various phases of the immigration legislation. I had in mind particularly a campaign of publicity. I do not think it

[53] Marshall to Zangwill, 6/24/1921, in Reznikoff, I, 191; Marshall to Morris S. Lazaron, 4/26/1921, LM-AJA, Pers. Corres., box 156.

[54] Higham, pp. 316–24.

[55] Marshall to Lucien Wolf, 8/15/1922, in Reznikoff, I, 204.

[56] Marshall to Fiorello H. LaGuardia, 2/11/1924, LM-AJA, Pers. Corres., box 1591.

would have made any difference, but perhaps some of the members of Congress might have been made to recognize the fact that they were riding for a fall and may have been stricken with madness." Despite an urgent appeal to President Calvin Coolidge, the quota act based on the 1890 Census became law, ending a long American tradition.[57]

Although ultimately unsuccessful, Marshall's campaign was nevertheless a wide-ranging effort to safeguard some of the nation's finer principles at a time when they were increasingly under attack. With the support and assistance of many concerned Americans, especially Jews of German extraction, Marshall at least delayed the passage of the literacy test until the First World War made his task virtually impossible. During the 1920's, when even some of his supporters either joined the ranks of the restrictionists or concluded that free immigration was no longer an important principle, Marshall himself did not succumb to the nativist hysteria. The moral victory lay with the vanquished rather than with the victors.

Whether Marshall and his associates must bear some of the responsibility for their own final defeat because of their tactics—their reliance upon quiet persuasion conducted by a small group and their rejection of public demonstrations—is essentially an unanswerable question. As Marshall himself realized, constant clamor by immigrants and Jews risked a serious backlash. Since, according to nativists, immigrants and Jews seriously endangered America, what could be more threatening and impudent, they cried, than demands that millions more of their "inferior" brethren be permitted entry? Marshall's failure arose not so much from weaknesses in his techniques as from the circumstances and tensions in America which breathed life into nativism and over which he could exercise little control. Unfortunately, the times conspired against the principles and the ideals which he advocated.

[57] Marshall to Sabath, 4/25/1924; Marshall to Adler, 4/29/1924, *ibid.*

Reminiscences of Early Denver

Dr. John Elsner's Toast at Banquet of
Medical Staff and Board of Managers of
N[ational] J[ewish] H[ospital] for C[onsumptives]

A few days ago, when I was informed that I was to respond to the toast, "Reminiscences," it reminded me of the fact that I am the only practicing physician living in the state, of those who came before, or at the time I did, and it at once carried me back to something over forty years, at the close of the Civil War, when I left New York, to cast my lot in the "Far West."

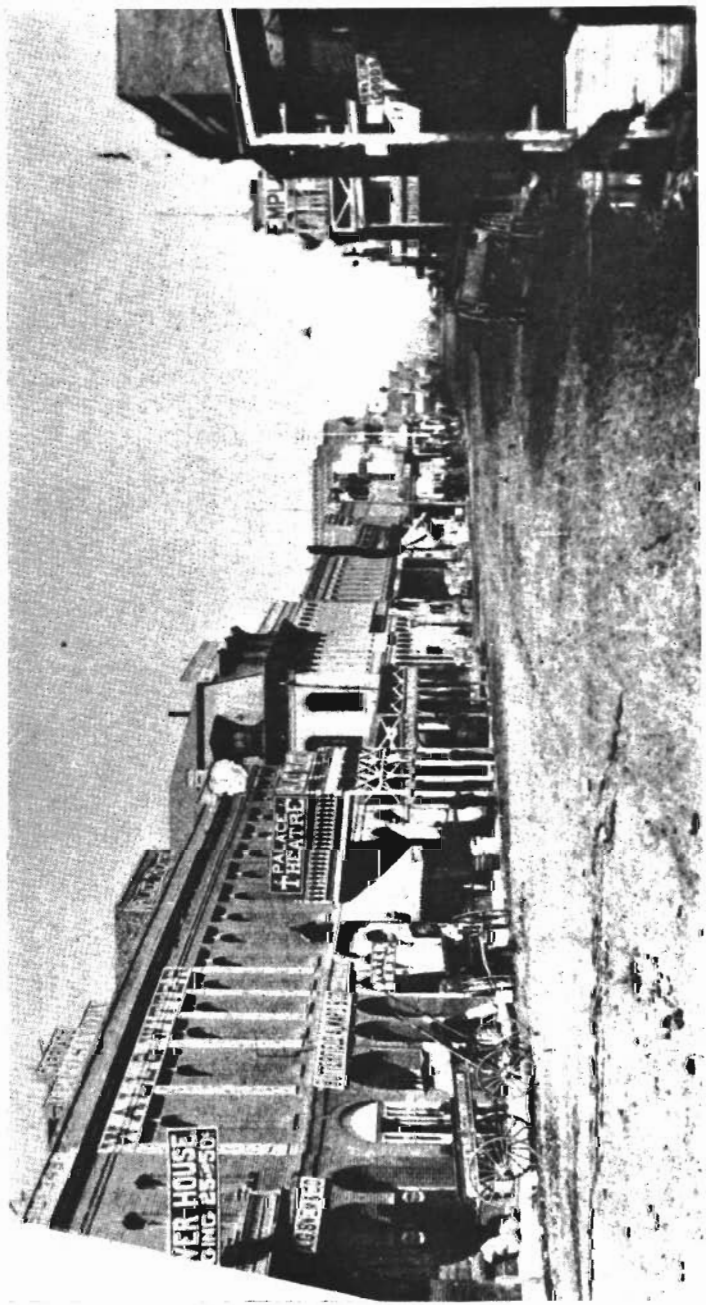
I did not leave New York on account of ill health, but became interested in a company, composed of wealthy gentlemen, who organized and purchased a mine, called the Onondaga, in Central City, and was to meet my [wagon] train in Waterloo, Iowa. I travelled by rail to Waterloo, and there was elected captain of the train, consisting of twenty-seven covered wagons, thirty-five men, fourteen women and a number of children. We took along a certain amount of mining machinery, as the majority of these men were to work this property. We averaged about twenty-four to twenty-six miles a day; had a number of encounters with Indians, and were compelled to corral our wagons befor dark, and station picket guards a short distance from our wagon for protection to ourselves, and the women and children, from unexpected attacks. On that account, it took us nearly forty days to reach Denver. Most of this distance, I either rode horse back or walked, although I owned a half interest in one of the wagons.

By the way, one of the wagons which joined us later on our trip, was called "The Ark"; this was painted in big red letters on the canvas. It contained two young men from Philadelphia; one a young lawyer, the other, the son of a very wealthy gentleman, a grocery merchant; both were in the acute stage of tuberculosis, and both were greatly improved upon their arrival in Denver. This, no doubt,

was due to their being night and day in the open air. They remained in Colorado a number of years, returned home in perfect health, and so far as I know are still living.

A very interesting circumstance occurred after we left Fort Kearney, [Nebraska]; one evening, at dusk, a young man, his face somewhat burned from the sun, his head covered with long, thick curly hair, his body clothed in a blue blouse, slouch hat, buck skin trousers, a belt around his waist, filled with ammunition, his revolver on one side and bowie knife on the other, came into camp. He was at once put under arrest, and was thought to be a spy from some Indian camp. My men were very much excited, and asked that he be put in chains, taken back to Kearney and turned over to the officers there. I remonstrated with them, and with one other member of my company, decided to examine him, in order to ascertain who he really was. He gave his name as William Seymore Howell. He said his father was a member of the House of Lords of London; that he had been out at sea, was wrecked and lost everything. On his return to America, he joined the army, served until the close of the [Civil] War, was honorably discharged, and, as he had but little money, decided to cross the plains from the Missouri river on foot, and seek his fortune in the Far West. He had a number of letters and papers addressed to him by his parents and others, an honorable discharge from the U.S. Army, a diploma, as being a Master Mason, with receipts, showing that he had paid up his dues and was in good standing.

After this examination, I informed him that he was welcome to travel with us, that he could ride when he felt like it in my wagon and partake of my food, but that it was necessary for me to ask him for a number of days to surrender his revolver and bowie knife, and that I would put a guard over him, and that he would be watched night and day, until we were fully satisfied that he was really William Seymore Howell. This man proved to be one of the most deserving, cultured and honorable gentlemen, and in course of time, having been successful in Denver, he returned to New York, thence to London. This was about the time that Gilbert and Sullivan were writing their operas, and it was he, who sang the leading part in "The Queen's Lace Handkerchief," and I had the pleasure of seeing



Denver in the 1870's

him when he came to Denver, when he informed me that he had married and was the father of two children. Only last year, I received a letter from his wife, informing me that he had died suddenly.

How Did It Pan Out Today?

I arrived in Denver, June 6, 1886 [*sic*—1866]. There were about seventeen thousand people, a military post, commanded by Col. Howard. The business streets were Blake, Lawrence, Larimer, Wazee, Fifteenth, extending across the Cherry Creek bridge, now the West Side, then called Auraria, parallel with Larimer and Blake, and what is now Walnut. On the right side of Blake street, between Fourteenth and Fifteenth, the side walk was covered with tables, where they carried on open gambling games of all kinds; behind these were the most noted gamblers known. The center of the street was crowded with ox trains and bull whackers, coming in from the East, with freight of all kinds. These bull whackers, having been for three or four months on the plains, were paid off here, and as long as the money lasted, would lose in at these games, and when they had no more, would play their watches or revolvers on a card, which, as a rule, they would also lose.

Back of the side walks, where were situated all these games, was a large beer hall, which was run by Billy Merchant and "Count" Murat; by the way, the "Count" claimed to be a Frenchman and a nephew of Bonaparte's King of Naples. He was, however, a German, and had been a barber all his life time, was a very fine looking man, and on account of his fine appearance, was dubbed "Count," and in time, believed he was one.

His wife was the third white woman in Denver, although [she] was thought by many to be the first, but Mrs. Booker and daughter, of Morman [a Mormon?] family, were the first and second, and Mrs. Murat was the third. Mrs. Murat is still living at Palmer Lake.

It has been said that when Mr. [Horace] Greeley visited Denver, the "Count" served as his barber, charging him one dollar for each shave, and Mrs. Murat charged him three dollars for laundering a half a dozen pieces of linen, which Mr. Greeley paid, remarking

that there was at least one man here determined to make the best of his opportunities.

There were quite a number of physicians here; the leading ones were Dr. McClelland, Dr. Strod, who was a brother-in-law of J. Q. Charles, Dr. Buckingham, Dr. McClain, who had charge of the Military department in Denver, and who died of blood poison, caused by a cut received from a pen knife while opening a nut. It was found necessary to amputate the hand, in a short time the arm, when death followed. The Doctor was a brother-in-law of Andrew Sagendorf, who is still living in Denver. There was also Dr. Treat, an eclectic, besides quite a number of physicians, who were not so noted.

Dr. Bancroft arrived just one month before I did. There were four banking houses: the First National Bank, Kountze Brothers, Warren Hussey & Co., and Cook & Sears, Banks. Money was worth five per cent a month.

On my arrival, I rented a room over the First National Bank, which was located on the corner of Fifteenth and Blake. Adjoining me, were the offices of the officers of the military post. Dr. Bancroft had the office directly opposite mine. Robert Wilson, Justice of the Peace, Francis Case, Surveyor General, Markham & Miller, Attorneys at Law, and Judge Perkins, Attorney, all had their offices in the same building.

My office was known as the headquarters for the New Yorkers and everybody else, and each evening, after our labors for the day had been completed, all in the building met in my office, where, in the center of the room, was a table on which was a large box of "Game Cock" tobacco, and plenty of clay pipes. We would smoke until the fumes so filled the room that you could not see your hand before your face, when the question would be asked, "How did it pan out today?" and the one who did the best or made the most, was expected to "set them up." Very often they would indulge in a game of "seven-up," the favorite game.

After banking hours, I would sometimes go into the back room to witness the interesting games of poker occasionally played there. I recall one, where the participants were Judge Hughes, Governor McCook, Mark Shaffenburg and Colonel Waddingham. It so happened that Shaffenburg held four nines, Jack Hughes, four jacks;

the other two dropped out of the game. They bet until there were ten thousand dollars in the pot. You can well imagine the excitement, when four jacks, held by Jack Hughes, won the ten thousand dollars.

I would here say that Mr. Dave Moffat was discount clerk in the bank, and was interested in a stationery and cigar store on the opposite corner, the firm being Wolforth, Moffat & Clark.

In 1870, I was appointed [Denver] County Physician. There was no hospital in Denver. I collected the patients, who were lying in the hen houses and barns and were treated heretofore for so much a visit, established a small hospital with twenty-nine beds, on Ninth Street, on the West Side. [I] was County Physician for six years; attended not only all the patients in the hospital, which in time was very much enlarged and is now one of the buildings of the county hospital, but all the insane, the prisoners of the jail and all the out door patients of the country.

A very strange circumstance is that two of the County Commissioners, one the chairman at the time I was appointed, Mr. Frank Cram, died in the county hospital; in after years, Mr. Tommy Anderson, who had been alderman of the city of Denver and County Commissioner, died at the county hospital.

I was told that some time in the sixties, Dr. McDowell, son of the famous McDowell of St. Louis, established a hospital, received a tract of land for the purpose of erecting a building, and after the Land Company gave him this land, I do not know whether he built the hospital or not. A year or two after this, Dr. Cass and Dr. Hamilton established a hospital, where they treated the patients for the county, as I understand, by contract; but in a short time, Dr. Hamilton was made assistant surgeon of one of the Colorado regiments and the hospital was given up.

In the latter part of the sixties, Sister Eliza of the Episcopal Church and myself treated a large number of patients in a tent, where a few pay patients defrayed the expense of the others. Soon after I established the county hospital.

Father [Joseph P.] Machebeuf, afterwards [1887] Bishop, with a few of the Sisters of Charity, established a small hospital on Walnut street, which was then McGaa, and either Twenty-fourth or

Twenty-fifth. This was the nucleus of the present St. Joseph's Hospital, the ground on which that hospital now stands having been donated to them by Governor [William] Gilpin. The ground of the present county hospital was donated by Richard Whitsitt.

Diseases Peculiar to Colorado

In 1868, I performed what I believe to be the first operation for stone in the bladder, upon Judge Perkins, who was sixty years of age, and lived at the Planters House, then situated on the corner of 16th and Blake. The anesthetic was administered by Dr. Heimberger, now living in Denver. The operation was successful, the Judge living five years afterwards, dying as the result of an accident, having fallen into an excavation, one dark night in Golden.

The second operation for stone was performed about three months afterwards by myself, near Cimmeron Mines, on Mr. Maxwell, of Maxwell's Grant. The government furnished me an ambulance and a squad of soldiers, who escorted me there and back. In this case the anesthetic was given by a distant relative of Mr. Maxwell, from St. Louis. This operation also proved successful; Mr. Maxwell died many years after at his home.

Not long after this, I received a call from Mr. Staabe, to Santa Fe. The trip was made by coach, and it required four or five days to make it. Inside the coach there were eight passengers, seven men and one woman. Among them was Gen. Charles Adams, at that time U.S. Post Office Inspector, who was seated opposite me. The General was one of the unfortunate ones who perished in the memorable Gumry disaster [an explosion at the Gumry Hotel in Denver in 1895]. By his side sat the lady and by my side, Judge Kingsley, still living in Denver. One morning, during our trip, the general took from his pocket a pipe, took out a match box, got a match and, turning to the lady beside him, said, "Madam, is smoking offensive to you?" She said, "It is." He lit the match and with it the tobacco in his pipe and answered, "I am very sorry."

We changed horses about every twenty miles, and one evening, we arrived at a place called "The Red Lion Inn." We entered the hotel and found that we were compelled to remain there overnight.

The landlord informed us that his house was well filled, and he would have to put two of us in a bed. Judge Kingsley and myself decided to sleep together, and asked to be shown to our room. One of the boys took us around to what they called the "Plaza." Our room was on the first floor, there being no other rooms over them, as the ceiling was made of the starry heavens, the floor, Mother Earth. The door consisted of an army blanket. There was a small board table in the center of the room, on which was a candle stick, holding a candle about an inch in length. The bed was made of rough lumber; there was a straw mattress, no sheets, a couple of army blankets, and pillows that it was difficult to say, but the judge believed that they were made of cotton batting. We decided, however, that we would not go to bed, but sat on the bed, amusing ourselves telling stories.

The next morning we were called to breakfast, and found in the breakfast-room, a long table covered with oil cloth, benches on both sides, tin plates and the knives and forks chained to the table, and in a short time, a tall man, wearing a slouch hat, short coat, his trousers held up by a belt holding a revolver, entered, carrying a large wash basin, which I afterward learned contained hash. He dumped the basin on the table, took out his revolver, and with it in his hand, looked all the passengers in the eye, saying, with an oath, "Perhaps there is someone here, who is not fond of hash!" There was not a passenger, who didn't seem to think that he had always loved it. That was the last time I ever ate hash.

We finally arrived in Santa Fe; stopped at the Du Fonde [*sic*—La Fonda Hotel] only one day, when Mr. Staabe [Abraham Staab?] kindly removed me to his house, where I had the best of accommodations.

On my return to Denver, I learned of the Indian outrages on the Bijou [creek east of Denver] where a man by the name of Lindsey was accidentally shot. He was going to visit one of his friends, and instead of knocking at the door, said, "How," and his friends, believing him to be an Indian, fired through the door. The bullet passed through the upper portion of the left lung, and lodged in the back under the scapula. A telegram was sent to Mayor De Lano, then mayor of Denver, to send someone to remove the bullet. The

mayor offered a reward of one thousand dollars to any man who would ride there, he to furnish a guide, and cut out the bullet and attend the man. I accepted the offer, and, with a guide, we rode horse back, changing horses every ten miles, being compelled to ride around the Indian camps at night, and was successful in bringing back the bullet, and was fortunate enough to save my man, and come home safe.

In 1871, I called a meeting, at my house, of the medical men of Denver, extended to them a banquet, and then and there organized the first medical society, both city and state.

At that meeting, Dr. Buckingham, being the oldest medical man in the city, was elected president. At that meeting, also, was organized the nucleus of the first medical college; at that meeting Dr. Buckingham, Dr. Bibb and myself were elected delegates to the American Medical Association, to be held in San Francisco, May 2nd to 5th, 1871. I was also appointed a delegate to represent the county of Arapahoe. At that meeting Alfred Stille, of Philadelphia, was president. It was at that meeting, too, that I was appointed chairman of the committee on "The Diseases Peculiar to Colorado." While in San Francisco, a number of gentlemen from the east, besides myself, attended a meeting of the State Society of California and discussed the management and treatment of pneumonia in the different localities of the United States, and had the honor of being elected honorary members of the state society. At this time, too, a society, of which I was a member, was organized, called "The Rocky Mountain Medical Society," composed of all those, east of the Rocky Mountains, who attended the meeting, and strange to say, that so few are still living that the organization died, not being able to get a quorum. Time would not permit me to tell you anything more of the interesting happenings, during our stay in San Francisco, at the early day.

Take the Keg

In the early 70's, the building, on the corner of Fourteenth and Arapahoe, which is now the Conservatory of Music was a literary academy for higher education, and was conducted by Mr. Frank

Church and Mr. Bridges. This same Bridges had two brothers and a father, who were prominent physicians in Ogdensburg, N.Y. The younger brother graduated in the same class with me. Mr. Bridges came to me with a letter of introduction from this brother. After opening the school, I was appointed professor of physiology and hygiene, where I gave two courses of lectures, but the classes were so small that the school was abandoned, and the place was made into a bath establishment, conducted by Dr. Hart and a relative. After a few years, Dr. Hart returned to the east and in the course of time came back, having graduated in medicine.

I recall a funny circumstance which took place in '68 or '69; a survey was to be made of some lots between 18th and 23rd streets on Larimer. On this ground was Eam's Soap factory. Ben Whittemore, deputy surveyor of Denver, and a brother-in-law of DeWitt Talmage, of New York, was to make this survey, and was to receive, in payment, a lot, ten dollars or a keg of beer. He presented the proposition to those who met nightly in my office, and left it to them to decide. The decision was, "take the keg of beer," which he did, and we shared it with him.

When I first came to Colorado, some one was shot almost every night; many were killed outright. It gave opportunity for many gun shot wounds to be treated.

On my arrival in Denver, among other things, I had a silk hat and an umbrella, and after twenty-four hours I found a placard on my door, with skull and cross bones at the top, and underneath was printed, "Dispose of your hat and umbrella, as it is a violation of the vigilantes." It was not necessary for me to do this, as the following day, I missed my umbrella and discovered my hat cut into two parts. From that time on, I wore a felt hat.

There are many most interesting medical and surgical cases which I remember distinctly, where I was assisted by the physicians who were here then, and some who are here now, but these will be narrated at some future day, at some medical meeting.

Some of you who are here may perhaps remember when the D[enver] & R[io] G[rande Railroad] passed into the hands of a receiver. This caused the late Professor De Costa [Dr. Jacob M. Da Costa?] of Philadelphia, to come to Denver to investigate, as he had

$50,000 worth of stock. He discovered that unfortunately his stock had very much depreciated or was worthless, and he told me that "it was really too bad, as it would compel him to work very hard for at least two and perhaps three months, to make up his losses."

In conclusion, I must go back about eighteen years, to the time when a portion of the Jewish community was aroused to the necessity of having a consumptive hospital, and I can well recall when Dr. [William S.] Friedman, as well as myself, pictured to the community the vast amount of comfort, relief and possibly saving of life which could be given to the unfortunate who were sick but we were unable to open the complete building until through the aid of B'nai B'rith and the magnanimous subscriptions and donations towards maintenance. It was the first of its kind so far as I know, being the purest charity to all denominations and creeds, with neither profit nor gain to the board of managers or medical staff.

I can assure you all, for myself, that there is no institution with which I have been connected, in which I have a greater interest, and only regret my inability to do more.

[*The Jewish Outlook* (Denver, Colo.) May 29, 1908]

The American Jewish Archives announces two new publications:

AN INDEX TO SCIENTIFIC ARTICLES
ON
AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORY

Edited by Jacob R. Marcus

Published by Ktav Publishing House, Inc., New York

and

LIVES AND VOICES

A Collection of American Jewish Memoirs

Edited by Stanley F. Chyet

Published by The Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia

Two Baltic Families Who Came to America
The Jacobsons and the Kruskals, 1870–1970

RICHARD D. BROWN

For a century at least they had lived in the region which drained northward, into the Baltic Sea. And for as long as they could remember they had lived in and around Zagare, a town of two or three thousand located on the border between Latvia and Lithuania, in the midst of the fertile and productive plains of Courland. The countryside was largely controlled by German-speaking gentry, descendants of medieval Teutonic conquerors, the survivors of conquests by Danes and Poles as well as Swedes and Russians. On their manorial estates they produced grain and cattle in abundance. In the towns, the majority of them small like Zagare, the commerce generated by agriculture flourished. Trading cattle and grain, leather, tallow, flour—these, and the hundreds of everyday consumer goods connected with the lives of farmers and townsmen—brooms and buttons, scissors and scythes, muslin and gabardine—trading and the manufactures of dozens of artisans were the principal functions of towns like Zagare.

For the Jews of such a town, living in the prescribed ghetto, and cut off from social intercourse with the Lutherans who dominated both town and countryside, life focussed on the Jewish religion and Jewish culture. Surrounded by a society which was at best indifferent and sometimes unexpectedly, alarmingly, cruel, looking inward had become deeply ingrained into their custom and culture. Religion, moreover, reinforced this desire to look inward and backward to their past. For the days of glory were in ancient Jerusalem, and the rules for life had been set down during the centuries by sages now dead. Outsiders, *goyim*, possessed little intrinsic value or interest,

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Mr. Brown is Associate Professor of History at the University of Connecticut. He is both a Jacobson and a Kruskal on his mother's side.

and the present day, always a time of mediocrity, was best spent in studying the Hebrew Bible and the Talmud, the distilled wisdom of God and His people.

Backward, introverted, conservative in their outlook, the Jews of Zagare, Krettingen, and similar towns—the Bermans, Gordons, Jaches, Jacobsons, Jaffes, Kruskals, Mandelstamms, Milwitzkys, Piroshes, Trubeks, and the rest—had centered their lives within their families and within their religion, generation after generation, for centuries.[1] In 1870, there was little reason for any of them to believe that the future promised anything very different from the past. One after another the centuries had rolled by in the life of their people, yet still their religion and their families, so painstakingly nurtured, remained intact. Since they believed that the past was the best guide to the future, who could anticipate the revolution they would soon, unwittingly, initiate?

It was a revolution, a social revolution. By 1970, these families which had known each other for centuries, and mixed their blood, had become strangers to one another. A majority of their children had married Gentiles, and among the few who still practiced any religion at all, liberal Christianity was as common as liberal Judaism. Among the whole lot, scores of them, there was not a single rabbi, though there was at least one Protestant clergyman. Most astounding of all—from the viewpoint of 1870—these descendants were scarcely conscious, let alone remorseful, regarding this radical and historic transformation. Individualists in a world of individualism, they accepted their separation from the world of Zagare cheerfully, unconsciously.[2] They lived in a different world.

[1] Miriam Jacobson Kruskal, Letters and Memoirs, August, 1969 (hereafter cited as MJK, Letters and Memoirs). This study is primarily based on the recollections of MJK who patiently answered questions and who spent many hours probing her memory to recall and record events, both happy and sad. Her own writings, together with the other material on which this study rests, are in the American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati, Ohio. The author thanks the following scholars for reading and criticizing earlier versions: Irene Quenzler Brown, Arthur A. Goren, Oscar Handlin, Daniel Horowitz, and Helen L. Horowitz.

[2] These assertions are based on information supplied on the Family Data Questionnaire prepared by the author and distributed by MJK to family members in the spring of 1970.

This transformation was as dramatic as it was unpredictable. But how had it come about? Why, after a century or more of relative stability, was there a new diaspora, and why had it shattered traditional ways? The old ways had not been fragile; they had endured the test of centuries. And no one had envisioned the new pattern, much less attempted consciously to create it. Yet within a single century, a span of four generations, the revolution was complete. How it came about, and why, is a mystery which demands explanation.

At the most general level, where the bold outlines of large social forces are visible, scholars have long since unraveled the mystery. The Russian Empire in the second half of the nineteenth century was caught in the throes both of a welter of awakening nationalisms and of the industrial revolution. Together they generated powerful forces which propelled hundreds of thousands of Jews into Western Europe, South Africa, and the Americas, especially North America, where the expanding economy and open society of the United States made it most accessible despite its distance. Here, in a fluid, heterogeneous society, both the possibilities and the incentives for assimilation were numerous and alluring. As a result tradition lost its grip and was abandoned. The distinctive identity of centuries eroded and decayed.

For many purposes such a brief, short-hand explanation is sufficient. But it is also so abstract and general that at the level of families and individuals, it loses all meaning. Although this general explanation describes factors which bear on the behavior of individuals, it can neither account for personal decisions nor explain the complex patterns of intra-family behavior which lie at the root of individual motivation. The generalizations provide little help in understanding the actual people who voluntarily participated in the great diaspora. And without understanding them and their motives, the whole migration and its social consequences are necessarily opaque.[3]

It is in this context, then, that this sketch of the Jacobson and

[3] The outstanding attempt to write collective immigrant biography is Oscar Handlin's pioneering study, *The Uprooted* (Boston, 1951).

Kruskal families may be especially revealing. For by focussing on the interplay between social forces and individual circumstance, it can elucidate the dynamic relationships between environment and personal character. Neither family, Jacobson or Kruskal, possesses any special importance in conventional terms. In the last hundred years not one of them has impressed a substantial mark on their generation, and they have died as anonymously as they were born. Biographies of such families are seldom written. At best, historians treat them statistically, though more often merely in passing generalizations. Their behavior, where it is understood at all, is known only in terms of the large social forces—only in the publicly visible half of the human equation. This sketch of two Baltic families, the Jacobsons and the Kruskals, seeks to explore the intimate, private half—to examine the crucial intersection between individuals and society during a period of rapid and profound change.

THE JACOBSONS, 1870–1892

It was in my father's time that the young men began to go elsewhere to find work. Papa was prepared to be a rabbi, but as he did not marry a rich girl, that was impossible, so he got a job in Goldingen, Latvia, with Hertzenberg, one of the rich families, who had a large wholesale dry-goods establishment. . . . He liked his work, his fellow-workers, his boss, everything about Goldingen. He learned German in the year or two he was away from Zhagar [Zagare], where Mama and little Jeannot [John] had remained, until the time that he earned enough to send for them.[4]

Isaac Jacobson, born at Zagare in 1849, was the sixth and youngest child of Loeb Jacobson and his wife Gittel. Isaac's father, a sage, had insisted that his fourth son follow him and become a rabbi, since all of the older boys were in trade. Young Isaac himself would have preferred to study medicine after leaving the yeshiva at the age of twenty, but as it turned out, neither medicine nor the rabbinate was economically feasible. So in 1872 Isaac was fortunate merely to land a clerk's job at Goldingen (the present-day Kuldiga), where he sold "woolens, silks, thread, needles, whatever" to the dozens of

[4] MJK, Letters and Memoirs, August, 1969.

peddlers who "drove over the countryside selling."[5] By day Isaac Jacobson enjoyed the relaxed, convivial atmosphere of Hertzenberg's warehouse, and in the evenings and on Saturdays he was free to stroll in Goldingen's city park or to study. And he did study—German—under the tutelage of a fellow worker, Herr Davidson, until volumes of Goethe, Schiller, Lessing, and Heine took their place on his bookshelf beside the Bible and talmudic commentaries. Isaac Jacobson, who had longed to extend his learning into secular and "enlightened" works, found in romantic German literature a freedom and purity he would treasure for the rest of his life. Indeed, he became devoted to German culture. By the following year, when his young wife Pauline came to join him, bringing the baby John, he made German the language of his household and the Yiddish of the Zagare ghetto was laid aside. He *"adored* Goldingen." In certain ways, it was clear, Isaac Jacobson "did not feel close to his family."[6]

His inclinations, his desire to break free from the constraints of Zagare, had been implicit in his choice of a bride, Pauline Mandelstamm (1850–1922). She was the second daughter in a family of seven children, a family in which all surplus resources were spent on the education of the three sons. As a result, the dowry she brought Isaac, such as it was, could not possibly support his life as a rabbi; and so, while he could not be a physician and study science, at least his marriage provided a legitimate excuse for disappointing the father whom he revered, as did the entire Zagare community, for his kind, gentle spirit as well as for his *lamdonus,* his traditional Hebrew learning.

Perhaps Isaac Jacobson could not have made a rich marriage. It was, after all, a competitive market. But the son of a *talmid-chochom,* a scholar, he was well-educated, and he was slim and handsome, with finely chiseled features, a straight nose, and bright blue eyes. In Zagare, it is true, such looks may not have been a particular asset; surely they were better suited to cities outside the Pale, cities like imperial St. Petersburg (the present-day Leningrad) and the bustling old Hanseatic port of Riga and even modest Goldingen. At

[5] *Ibid.* Goldingen was outside the Pale of Settlement within whose confines Jews had normally been required to live since the end of the eighteenth century.

[6] *Ibid.,* February 13, 1970.

any rate, Isaac Jacobson chose to marry Pauline Mandelstamm in 1869, as soon as he left the yeshiva. He was only twenty, she nineteen. Presumably it was a love match, ratified by parental consent.

The Mandelstamms were not like the Jacobsons. Pauline's parents, Mendel Mandelstamm and Sara Berman Mandelstamm, were Jews of course, but though they lived in Zagare, they were not immersed exclusively in the Jewish religion. Mendel was a bristle merchant, and he came from a family which had been publicly inclined to assimilationism in Russia for more than a generation. Among his numerous uncles and cousins were three men who had become notable for liberal views: the brothers Benjamin (late 1700's–1886), Leon (1809–1889), and Max Mandelstamm (1838–1912), all born in Zagare. All had been liberally educated and trained in French and German, and all traveled widely. Benjamin, the eldest, became a distinguished writer of secular Hebrew prose. Leon had made his mark in 1844 by becoming the first Jewish graduate of the University of St. Petersburg. Subsequently he was placed in charge of all Jewish education in the Tsarist empire (1845–1857); and it was in this capacity that he had written a great deal, espousing progressive reforms and thereby alienating much of the Jewish community. Later, at Berlin in 1871, his Russian translation of the Hebrew Bible —considered a particularly assimilationist undertaking—was published. Although Leon Mandelstamm died a pauper, the great library which he had earlier collected was substantially preserved as the nucleus of the Jewish collection of the New York Public Library. The youngest brother, Max, studied at the universities of Dorpat and Kharkov in the 1850's and later at Berlin and Heidelberg before coming to prominence as one of the leading Russian ophthalmologists and as a writer of numerous scientific articles.[7] Mendel himself was no match for his cousins, but his aspirations were similarly modern. All three of his sons, Pauline's brothers, went to university; two, David and Leopold, became physicians, and the third, Moritz, a businessman in St. Petersburg. Pauline's father and mother were soon to move out of Zagare and settle in Riga for the rest of their lives.

[7] All of the information on the "famous" Mandelstamms is taken from *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York, 1901–1906 [*JE*], VIII, 288–90. A collateral descendant is the noted Soviet poet Osip Mandelstamm (1891–1938).

By contrast, Isaac's father Loeb was to die where he had lived, in Zagare. Clearly, by marrying Pauline Mandelstamm, Isaac Jacobson joined himself to a progressive, outward-looking family, one which was distinctly cosmopolitan by Zagare standards.

In large part, Isaac Jacobson's decision to emigrate from Zagare to settle in Goldingen was personal, like his decision to marry Pauline. But social forces were also at work. Within a dozen years on either side of the time Isaac Jacobson left Zagare, three of his brothers settled in the Baltic port of Libau (the present-day Liepaja), and a number of Jaffes, Kruskals, and Mandelstamms, among others, were also departing to the north, out of the Pale. Jewish communities everywhere were experiencing centrifugal pressures which produced a sharp rise in geographic mobility, and the community in Zagare, located at the northern boundary of the Pale, was no exception.

The new mobility resulted from the confluence of several distinct forces. First, there was the continuous, inescapable pressure of increasing population. Between 1800 and 1880, the number of Jews in Eastern Europe doubled every forty years—which meant that where there had been one Jew in 1800, eighty years later there were four. This population explosion was apparently caused by improvements in the regularity and quality of the food supply as well as by improvements in public hygiene and disease control. The result was "a crisis of Malthusian proportions."[8]

In addition, the traditional economic functions of Jews in the Russian Empire were becoming increasingly vulnerable owing to industrialization and the modernization of transport. Confined by Russian law within the Pale of Settlement since the end of the eighteenth century and generally forbidden to own land, Jews earned their subsistence in service occupations such as commerce, innkeeping, and estate management, as well as manufacturing—as artisans working in leather, wood, metal, and the building trades.[9] In the traditional economy these activities had provided sufficient resources

[8] Moses Rischin, *The Promised City: New York's Jews, 1870–1914* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), pp. 19–31; the quotation from p. 24.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 19–31.

to permit social stability. But the emancipation of the serfs in the early 1860's accelerated the modernization which had been developing for more than a generation. Now landlords were forced, in the interest of economy, to manage their estates themselves, while serfs freed from the land now furnished labor for the rapidly expanding railroads as well as for the nascent factory system. Simultaneously Jews found their traditional roles in the countryside diminished, while the larger-scale system of production and trade undercut their commercial and manufacturing roles. A few succeeded in making the transition owing to their wealth, ingenuity, and good fortune, but for the vast majority material existence became increasingly hazardous and the maintenance of both traditional family life and traditional scholarship more and more difficult.

Jews had, it is true, long been a preponderantly urban people, but only in the sense that Zagare and thousands of similar little towns were "urban." For most Jews had been living in tiny ghetto communities within pre-industrial towns of one or two thousand people, where intimacy, not anonymity, was the rule and where the matrix of social life was stable. The industrial cities now emerging were as alien to their experience as they were threatening to their traditional life-style. Raised within a conservative, introspective culture, Jews found the changes in Russian society enormously difficult and challenging. Their allegiance to tradition was being severely tested.

This was the context in which Isaac Jacobson decided to marry Pauline Mandelstamm, to take a secular job, and to settle in Goldingen. His father, born around 1808, was irrevocably immersed in the traditional way of life, but Isaac was modern. Recognizing the possibilities of suffocating in Zagare, he chose to leave, and in leaving, he disposed of his old ghetto identity as the son of the learned Loeb. He still revered his father and continued the Hebrew studies in which he had been trained, but he deliberately replaced Yiddish with German as his daily language and the language of his family. It was with pleasure that he accommodated himself to the advanced Germanic world of Goldingen. A community of perhaps 7,000 people about twice the size of Zagare, Goldingen was no great industrial city, but even to emigrate there meant a decisive break. Only



Isaac Jacobson
(1849–1930)



Pauline Mandelstamm Jacobson
(1850–1922)

seventy miles northwest of Zagare, Goldingen was radically different. It was outside the Pale and had no ghetto.

We had glass storm-windows, the space between filled with white cotton, wherein Fanny had placed straw flowers. These remained all winter long. The older ones skated on the frozen river, Fanny pushing along a chair with runners (sled) while I sat warmly wrapped and blissful. I had a fine early childhood.[10]

The home Isaac and Pauline Jacobson made for their family in Goldingen was a happy one. They were never rich, and in the more than twenty years he lived there, Isaac never went beyond employment by Hertzenberg, but both he and Pauline were satisfied. In their early years together their lives were twice crossed by deep sadness, once in Zagare when their tiny daughter, their first child, suffocated in the feather bed after Pauline had fallen asleep nursing her, and again, three years later, when their second daughter, Ida, died in infancy. But as the years went by, Pauline, a sturdy, cheerful woman with sparkling brown eyes, gave birth to more children, and the little family grew.

Little John was an "only child" for the first five years of his life, with no other children at home for playmates. He was his father's darling. But in 1876 his sister Fanny was born, and then came a rapid succession of brothers and sisters: David in 1878; Max in 1880; and Clara in 1881. By the time John was ten years old, he had two little brothers and two little sisters, all under the age of six. Together they must have monopolized most of their parents' attention. Six years later, in 1887, baby Miriam was born, and she also was separate from the cluster. But if Miriam, little "Mitzchen" (kitten), sometimes felt left out and alone, she at least received the attention babies command as well as the mothering caresses of her older sisters, Fanny and Clara. To them she was not so much a rival as she was a real, live, gurgling plaything—someone to dress and undress, to feed and wash, to teach and scold. Little Miriam gave them importance in the family and an opportunity to act out the feminine role.[11] Within this relationship affection flowed freely, and a lifelong intimacy was created.

[10] MJK, Letters and Memoirs, February, 1969.

[11] *Ibid.*, August, 1969.

But for John, adolescence was more difficult. Cast out of his solitary eminence by the births of his brothers and sisters, he would have to compete for parental approval in a world which grew more stringent and demanding with each passing year. In the late 1880's, when John and David were both attending Gymnasium, and their cousin Willy Milwitzky was living in their home and excelling them both, John felt the pressure especially keenly, as well as the edge of his father's reproofs.[12] John remained the dutiful son, but beneath his filial subordination lingered a hostility bred of circumstance.

All the same, life at home was comfortable, often cozy. They lived in a spacious apartment on the ground floor of a two-story house with a large, sunny courtyard. When the children were young, Isaac sang them happy children's songs and folksongs of pleasures and philosophy like *Rozhinkes mit Mandlen* ("Raisins and Almonds"). Pauline also sang, sometimes with tears in her eyes, her own Mendelssohn's wedding march, a melody fiddlers played at weddings in Zagare.[13] On Saturday afternoons, while Pauline rested, Isaac took the children for walks, often to the beautiful Goldingen park. If it was cold, they might come home to find "a pot of hot coffee, a pitcher of hot milk, each with its cozy, standing on the table, together with Mama's good home-baked bread and butter." Eighty years later the experience was still vivid for Mitzchen.[14]

When the weather was milder, the young children played in the courtyard, under the watchful eyes of their mother, the maid, or an older sister. There, "one magical day, a troupe of acrobats entered, dramatically threw off their capes—there they were in green tights —spread a carpet and proceeded to tumble about, build pyramids and other such unheard of things."[15] There were other exotic experi-

[12] *Ibid.* On one occasion, John took some *shnapps* after coming home with an unsatisfactory report card. When Isaac discovered it, he gave John a smack on the face which sent him reeling, and John passed out. Isaac feared he had hurt his son, and after John revived made no further mention of the incident. Throughout adult life, it appears, there was significant tension between Isaac and his eldest son.

[13] *Ibid.*, March 20, 23, 1970.

[14] *Ibid.*, February, 1969.

[15] *Ibid.*, August, 1969.

ences to be had. Before Passover each year the Gypsy tinsmiths came to reline the copper pots: "There was a small kettle of bubbling tin; to me it looked like silver, resting on a small brazier. The dark man had a wooden stick with [an] iron knob at its end, which he placed into the boiling tin, quickly lined the inside of the pot, repeated this over and over until the entire surface was bright and shiny. One after the other all the pots got their new lining."[16] Such were the delights of a Goldingen childhood.

The rules of family life were stern, "duty was so important," but they were sweetened with affection and occasional indulgences. "Papa," his youngest daughter recalled, "was a tyrant" and both she and her older sister Clara later asked themselves what invisible ability Isaac Jacobson possessed, "to exert such power over us." It was he who meted out punishment ("he spanked me and it still hurts").[17] They "loved and admired him," but also "feared his displeasure *and anger*." Pauline, too, was stern, so "there was no permissiveness." Complaining was not tolerated.[18] In this climate a little girl might wonder whether she really was a *bona fide* member of the family, or whether she might only have been deposited with the Jacobsons by Gypsies.[19]

Affection, however, was a constant part of the family, always visible in the playtimes of the children, both with their parents and among themselves. The children were expected to show respect; they would kiss their parents on the hand, but on birthdays there were presents and sometimes there were treats. The children felt the warm bonds of kinship wrapped around them, controlling and reproving, but also protecting and nurturing. The family in Goldingen, unlike Zagare, was no longer interwoven with neighboring families into a communal web. Instead, it was separated from the rest of society both by its Jewishness and by its recent arrival. Faced with this new isolation, the family in Goldingen did not become looser and more flexible; its embrace continued firm, even defen-

[16] *Ibid.*, March 20, 1970.

[17] *Ibid.*, August, 1969.

[18] *Ibid.*, November 17, 1969.

[19] *Ibid.*, March 20, 1970. Both Miriam and Fanny Jacobson had such fantasies.

sive. Isaac and Pauline held their family together and maintained their authority largely by strength of will. And as time went on, it became apparent that maintaining its integrity was paramount in the outlook of both Pauline and Isaac.

It was, in fact, this commitment which finally brought the family of Isaac Jacobson to leave Goldingen for America. For as time went on, by the beginning of the 1890's, it became more and more apparent that there was little opportunity for John and David not only in Goldingen, but in the entire Russian Empire. Neither was sufficiently distinguished in the Gymnasium—part of the Gymnasium's top two percent—to attend university even if Isaac's job at Hertzenberg's could have financed further education. Isaac was equally unable to pay the large "Guild" tax required of Jews who wished to move to a large city like Riga or St. Petersburg. Restrictions on Jews, moreover, were multiplying. So far the Jacobsons had been successful in avoiding the conscription of their sons into the Russian army, a six-year term if one was not rich enough to buy an exemption. But who could predict how long their good fortune would last, especially with David and Max soon to come of age?[20] In 1891, thousands of privileged Jews were unexpectedly and arbitrarily expelled from Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Kiev. Within the decade the Russian Empire had witnessed great pogroms, and the rising tide of official anti-Semitism was enough to make even the most optimistic assimilationists tremble.[21] One could, of course, continue to be a Jew in Russia, millions did, and the greatest wave of migration did not occur until after 1900 (1900–1914). But the Jacobsons were not deeply rooted in Goldingen, and with their children approaching maturity, the time for decision was at hand.

Still, it was a difficult choice. Isaac Jacobson had already moved once, twenty years earlier; he had already learned a new language and once before adapted himself to a new environment. And he was happy in Goldingen. Now in his early forties, he was not at all eager to leave. For Pauline, too, the decision to move was painful. Her

[20] *Ibid.*, August, 1969. MJK reports on subterfuges used to deceive government officials as to the number of sons in the family.

[21] Rischin, *Promised City*, pp. 20, 24.

family was still in Russia, her brothers never would emigrate as they were launched on what appeared to be promising careers, and her parents had settled at Riga. She, too, had emigrated once before, and to move an entire household and recreate it thousands of miles away would surely be difficult. But both Isaac and she agreed that it would be best for John, David, and Max. The family must be held together, she believed, and so she persuaded Isaac that they should all leave.

But they did not all leave together. John, who had been trained as a bookbinder, would leave first and prepare the way. Then David, who at the age of thirteen was already learning to be a cabinetmaker, would follow. When both had found work, then Isaac, Pauline, and the four other children would follow. At the age of twenty-one John Jacobson was to bear primary responsibility for the great undertaking. Thus in 1891 he traveled alone from Goldingen to Libau (via Hasenpot [the present-day Aizpute]) and then by boat to Hamburg, where he embarked on the final voyage by steamship to New York. Now he was out from under his father's authority and free of his critical gaze. Now it was he who would lead the family. It was a trying experience, but also exhilarating.

Several months later word came back to Goldingen that John had found work as a bookbinder, and so it was now David's turn to leave:

> One middle-of-the-night, all of us except John, who was in America, walked somewhere. We took up the entire roadway; I was impressed. It was to take David to his point of departure. . . . He chucked me under the chin, an unusual display, as he was not the kissing kind. My beloved big brother, just past fourteen.[22]

He was setting out on his greatest adventure, to join his older brother in New York City, United States of America. The days of Gymnasium and studying and report cards were over. Now he would truly become a man. The trip all by himself was both frightening and exciting. Many years later he recalled that in his homesickness on shipboard he had written a letter home on a Saturday, but when he realized he had written on *Shabbos* he was panic-stricken and so threw the letter overboard. Perhaps he had remem-

[22] MJK, Letters and Memoirs, February, 1969.

bered the story of Jonah. By the law of religion he was a man, but he was also still a boy.

Now it was time for the rest of the family. By this time, Isaac's two sisters, Deborah Jacobson Jaffy and Mara Jacobson Katz, had already moved to America with their husbands and were established there, the Jaffys in New York, the Katzes in Baltimore.[23] So the unknown immensity of the enterprise was reduced to human scale. John and David had found work which would provide immediate support, and the presence of both Deborah and Mara offered further security, while demonstrating that such a move was actually feasible. Goldingen was hard to leave, but gradually the departure became a reality.

First, however, both Isaac and Pauline journeyed to the homes of their parents to say goodbye, knowing that they would never see them again. To break the sadness of the final separation, they took little Miriam along. The bubbling incomprehension of a five-year-old would cheer and divert them. Who knows what passed through their minds? Loeb, a widower now in his eighties, had long since understood that his world and the life of the family as he had known it were passing away. None of his children had remained in Zagare. His eldest son, Feiva (born in 1830), had long since married a rich girl and moved to Moscow, where he had prospered. In the past year (1892) Feiva Jacobson had been expelled from Moscow, and at the age of sixty-one had moved his family to Palestine, where he was to found a dynasty of citrus growers. The middle sons, Yisroel and Motte, had moved north to Libau in Latvia years before, and Loeb's daughters were already in America. Now his youngest, Isaac, the yeshiva boy who preferred to speak German, was also going beyond Goldingen with his family, all the way to America. Loeb was not a passionate, temperamental man. For more than half a century, since he left the Zagare yeshiva, he had been listening to other people's problems, providing comfort and advice. He did not reprove his son for doing what he believed necessary; he was pleased they had come. Even little Miriam was touched by the expe-

[23] Although "Jaffy" and "Jaffe" are variant spellings of the same name, the two families referred to in this article are in fact distinct and are not, to my knowledge, connected.

rience: "He had a long white beard, wore a long black coat and a skullcap, was sweet and gentle. . . . Before we left he placed his hands upon my head, [and] blessed me."[24]

The visit to Riga, to the home of the Mandelstamms, was quite different. The family was doing well in Russia in spite of persecutions, and Pauline was the third to leave for America. Earlier her sisters Hinda Mandelstamm Milwitzky and the widowed Lena Mandelstamm Gordon had settled in Newark, New Jersey. Little Miriam received a warm welcome from her Grandma Sara, and was given a present, "a jockey cap with a deep visor; when I returned to Goldingen, Clara thought I looked really elegant." Here there were no solemn blessings and presumably no long faces. Miriam went home remembering how beautiful Riga was, and how there were ice cream vendors all dressed in white and crying "Sacher Marosina."[25] The following year, in the early spring of 1893, the Jacobsons left Goldingen following the path that John had marked out little more than two years before, first to Isaac's brothers in Libau, and then on to Hamburg and New York.

THE KRUSKALS, 1870–1891

Some marriages, it is said, are made in heaven, but the marriage in March,1879, between Moses David Kruskal (1850–1892) and Rosa Jaffe (1862–1924) was arranged in Dorpat (the present-day Tartu), Estonia. Moses David was twenty-nine; Rosa was barely seventeen. Her father, Rabbi Dov Ber Jaffe, and her older brothers, Rabbi Joshua Hoeshel and the merchant Abraham David, were all in straitened circumstances, so they believed that they could not afford to pass up the prospect of marrying Rosa to Moses David Kruskal, a solidly-established Dorpat white goods merchant. The fact that she was in love with a young man in her home town of Schaden was not permitted to interfere with the match. Abraham David Jaffe had himself recently married Moses David's younger sister Yetta, and he liked both the family and its solvency. Rosa was young,

[24] MJK, Letters and Memoirs, February, 1969.

[25] *Ibid.*, February, 1969.

pretty, and headstrong, but it was believed she would outgrow her earlier infatuation. Moses David was already very much taken with her, and given his solid, mature qualities as well as his affection and gentleness, she would, they were sure, learn to love him. Rosa, who did not get along with her stepmother, was in no position to defy her father and brothers, and so accepted their arguments and Moses David Kruskal.[26]

Though their social ranks were roughly comparable, she was, in a sense, stepping down to marry Moses David. The Jaffes came from a most distinguished family of rabbis and scholars who traced their descent back to the great Mordecai Jaffe (1530–1612), a renaissance scholar who studied philosophy, astronomy, and mathematics at Prague and Venice before becoming head rabbi in Posen and Grodno. At Lublin, in 1590, Mordecai Jaffe had published the *Lebushim,* an important rabbinical code distinguished for its emphasis on logic, its unequivocal opposition to usury, and its scientific explanation of the calendar, complete with tables and illustrations. Mordecai Jaffe himself was said to be descended from the great eleventh-century biblical commentator Rashi of Troyes (1040–1105).[27] Thus, in their genealogy at least, the Jaffes far outshone the Kruskals. More immediately, two of the Jaffes actually were rabbis, the most respected of occupations among Jews.[28]

Moses David Kruskal, on the other hand, could claim a back-

[26] This paragraph is based on MJK recollections and on the following contemporary letters: Dov Ber Jaffe to Rabbi Joshua Hoeshel Jaffe, Dorpat, Wednesday, 3rd of Adar (no year given, probably 1879); Abraham David Jaffe to Rosa Jaffe Kruskal, Schaden, March 20, 1879; Dora Jaffe to Rosa Jaffe Kruskal, Schaden, March 20, 1879. Original copies of these letters are in the possession of Professor William H. Kruskal, Dept. of Statistics, University of Chicago.

[27] Information on Jaffe genealogy (including Rosa's father, Dov Ber Jaffe) and Mordecai Jaffe is from *JE,* VII, 53–63.

[28] It is significant that, in 1879, Dov Ber Jaffe wrote a personal letter to his son in Hebrew rather than the more common Yiddish. This suggests that the Jaffes were participants in the *Haskala* ("enlightenment") movement of the nineteenth century and were advanced and progressive rather than traditional in their cultural orientation. See Rischin, *Promised City,* pp. 38–42, for a sketch of the *Haskala* and its significance.



Moses David Kruskal
Dorpat, *ca.* 1879



Rosa Jaffe Kruskal
Dorpat, *ca.* 1879

ground which was merely respectable. His father, Isaac Kruskal (born Klueber-Kruskal), a native of Krettingen (the present-day Kretinga), a small town of less than 2,000 close to the Baltic coast, had moved northward out of the Pale to Dorpat in the 1840's.[29] Later Isaac Kruskal married his niece or cousin, Hinde Kruskal; Moses David was their eldest son. He was raised in Dorpat in a comfortable Yiddish-speaking home, and after his marriage he was able to provide similar comforts for his own family.[30] Rosa Jaffe may have missed romance, but there were other compensations.

A houseful of children came quickly. One year after their marriage, in 1880, Rosa presented her husband with a son. They named him Isaac Kruskal, for Moses David's father. A year later came a second son, Aaron Herman, and in 1883 and 1885 two more sons were born, William and Joseph Bernard. Within six years after their marriage, Rosa had borne four sons, and three years later, in 1888, she was to give birth to a fifth, Eugene. It was remarkable. With such a string of sons, Moses David might found a dynasty, and Rosa was only twenty-six.

For a while it seemed like a real possibility. Dorpat in the 1870's and 1880's was booming. In those years the population was rising sharply from around 10,000, when Moses David's father had come, to around 35,000 in 1890. Moses David was an enterprising and successful merchant who dealt mostly with Gentiles, since the population was overwhelmingly Lutheran (96 percent), Estonians primarily, with a few Germans, Russians, and Swedes, and only a

[29] The origin of the name "Kruskal" is not definitely established, but appears to be taken from the name of a tiny cross-roads village in Latvia nine miles northwest of Zagare, today called "Krūškalne" (United States Board on Geographic Names, *Official Standard Names, Gazetteer No. 42,* 2nd ed., *U.S.S.R.,* III [Washington, D.C., 1970], 710). According to family legend the name had previously been Michaelson but had been changed in order to avoid administrative identification as Jews.

[30] These inferences are drawn from Moses David Kruskal's surviving letters, facts known about his Dorpat lifestyle, and by the survival of a few pieces of heavy mid-nineteenth-century Russian silver marked with the initials of Hinde Kruskal, Moses David's mother. MDK was born with a clubfoot and limped; this defect may have been due to the kinship of his parents.

handful of Jews.[31] In the 1880's his children were being educated by German schoolmasters in the Dorpat schools, and if the assimilationist trends of the previous generation had continued, his sons would probably have remained in Dorpat for a third generation. But the same political pressures which were facing Jews elsewhere in the Russian Empire reached them also at Dorpat. Even before the expulsion of privileged Jews from Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Kiev in 1891, it is apparent that Moses David Kruskal was looking out for a friendlier environment in which to raise his family. Life was still good in Dorpat; and the family was still spending the summers at the *dacha* (country house) they rented on the Peipus See, where the boys so admired the fishermen with their spears; but Moses David had his eye on the future. If he could liquidate his business in Dorpat and bring his capital to New York, then he could make a secure home for his darling Rosa and the children (now six, since Deborah was born in 1890). Over forty, he was no longer young. It would be hard to leave his birthplace and the *dacha,* but the lives of his sons were more important. So in 1890 or 1891 he and his younger brother Nicholas Kruskal, a Dorpat-trained pharmacist, and their brother-in-law Abraham David Jaffe decided to join forces and go together to New York. They left Estonia in the summer of 1891 and arrived in New York on September 15.[32] Abraham David Jaffe brought his family with him, but Moses David Kruskal left Rosa and

[31] *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th ed., Cambridge, England, 1910): articles on Courland, Estonia, Lithuania.

[32] MJK, Letters and Memoirs, n.d., information supplied by Isaac Jaffe (b. 1882), son of Abraham David Jaffe and nephew of Rosa Jaffe Kruskal. Moses David was not the first Kruskal to emigrate to America. His first cousin, Mordecai Moshe Kruskal (1847–1911), eldest son of Hinde Kruskal's older brother, Wolfe Kruskal, had settled in Cincinnati, Ohio, around 1880 after having first spent the years 1876–1880 seeking opportunities in South Africa. Since Moses David Kruskal had been raised in Dorpat and his cousin Mordecai in Lithuania (probably Plungian), and since Moses David went to New York rather than Cincinnati, there is no reason to believe that the cousins were in contact. Subsequently, however, in the years between 1900 and 1920 there were significant contacts between the New York and Cincinnati Kruskals, including occasional visits in both cities. See note 68 below. All information on this branch of the Kruskal family comes from a series of letters from Reva Sussman Olch of Dayton, Ohio, to the author during February, March, and April, 1971. Mrs. Olch's mother, Gail Gertrude (Gella Gita) (1882–1970), was Mordecai Moshe Kruskal's daughter.

the children in Dorpat, planning to bring them later to a real home in New York.

New York in the 1890's

The city to which the Jacobsons and Kruskals came in the early 1890's was a booming congeries of disparate economic activities, neighborhoods, and ethnic groups. Boss Tweed and his gang had been put out of business twenty years earlier, largely by the *New York Times* and a few crusading reformers, but the conditions which had produced Tweed continued to dominate New York City public life. Divided and localized by ethnic and economic relationships, the people of New York seldom perceived "the general good" and instead thought about and voted for their short-term, immediate local interests. It was on this base that Irish New Yorkers, together with Germans and some upstate and out-of-state Yankees, created the Tammany machine, a mechanism which provided stable, predictable government (and non-government), as well as a modicum of social security, from the mid-1800's to the emergence of Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia in the 1930's.[33]

The population statistics for the period 1870 to 1900 give some indication of the explosive magnitude of New York City's growth. Already by 1870 it was one of the world's largest cities with 1.5 million inhabitants; by the turn of the century its population had more than doubled, and now stood at 3.5 million. Native New Yorkers were in a minority, and of the many foreign ethnic groups which had flocked to the city, immigrants of German and Irish birth were the most numerous.

Jews, however, were also present in large numbers and visible well before 1890. At the end of the Civil War, there had been some thirty synagogues in the city, and twenty-five years later, in 1890, there were 134.[34] A Jewish ghetto had emerged on the Lower East

[33] Seymour J. Mandelbaum, *Boss Tweed's New York* (New York, 1965); Rischin, *Promised City*, p. 9.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 4. According to the U.S. Census of 1890, there were 125 Orthodox and nine Reform congregations in Manhattan. See Bureau of the Census, *Eleventh Census: Report on Statistics of Churches in the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1894), pp. 416, 418.

Side, with a distinctive character and community life. It was not as large or as culturally developed in 1890 as it would be ten or twenty years later, but it had already become the largest and most diverse "Jewish city" in the world. Here Jews from all over Central and Eastern Europe, and even the Mediterranean, were brought together in close proximity. Old ways and new ways, a thousand localisms, dozens of variants of Yiddish and Hebrew, all came together under the pressure of immigration and adaptation to a new world. The "ghetto" of New York was like no other ghetto in the world—for it was, like the rest of New York, highly fluid, a polyglot, diverse community. As in the ghettos of Europe, its inhabitants were Jews, but in New York they were not bound in their Jewishness by external governmental restraints, or by self-generated, centuries-old internal constraints. The structure, the cohesion, the tradition of a European ghetto were all absent. Instead, the ghetto resembled the larger New York City, a helter-skelter, laissez-faire environment of competitive enterprise.

All of the immigrants must have found the city a bewildering, even frightening place. Separated from the familiar and traditional, they were brought into immediate contact with a society of rapid, kaleidoscopic change. For some, however, the shock was greater than for others. Moses David Kruskal was doubtless confused by much of what he saw, but his surviving letters, written only a few months after arrival, indicate that he was adjusting to New York quickly. He was mastering a most exciting challenge, and his letters express the confidence of one who knows he is being tested and who believes himself equal to the test. Dorpat was not New York City, but Dorpat was an expanding commercial center which had already grown to a size where urban anonymity existed. Moses David Kruskal was used to dealing with strangers in business, and even before leaving Dorpat, he had often traveled in the course of his work. Now he was engaged in similar work, and past experience, as well as personal chemistry, enabled him to take hold in New York.

For Isaac Jacobson, however, it was a different story. Raised in Zagare, he had regarded provincial Goldingen as a large, cosmopolitan place. There he had worked as an employee in a single outfit for twenty years, seeing the same faces and making the same decisions again and again. His world had been almost entirely stable. The

contrast with New York City was overpowering. His response would be to withdraw into the safety and intimacy of his own family, where his identity was secure and the competitive struggle of American life could be shut out. It was his sons who would fight those battles.

The Kruskals in New York, 1891–1908

When Moses David Kruskal arrived in New York in September, 1891, the American economy was booming. Every industry was expanding and modernizing, and the textile and garment industries were no exception. The only shortage was capital, and he and his Jaffe in-laws had brought their own. It was a propitious moment to launch a new enterprise, and their plans rapidly took shape.

Abraham David Jaffe, by virtue of a Kruskal connection, had been placed in charge of a boardinghouse for immigrants owned by the United Hebrew Charities. It was located on East 12th Street near University Place, and it was there that Moses David Kruskal, his brother Nicholas, and his sister Yetta Kruskal Jaffe and her children lived briefly when they first arrived. Within four months, however, both Abraham David Jaffe and Moses David Kruskal were already doing business and beginning to turn a profit. They were already taking hold in the competitive world of the garment trade.

In January, 1892, Moses David wrote in Yiddish to Rosa describing his circumstances:

> I am at business all day [until 9 or 10 P.M.] and work hard. I have reason to hope that my business will develop very nicely. However, one must have patience. The income is fair. . . . I prefer to open a dry-goods business with Jaffe. First of all, I know this line. . . . The dry-goods business here is very prosperous, they manufacture all sorts of articles. . . . Nicolai [Nicholas] and I live in back of the business. We prepare our own breakfast and supper. We are trying to arrange now about dinners.

The business was located at 126 East Broadway, at the southern edge of the Jewish quarter. Kruskal was a prudent entrepreneur and husbanded his capital, believing "it is better to start small and have things develop."[85] But he was basically confident, and it is this confi-

[85] Moses David Kruskal to Rosa Jaffe Kruskal, New York City, January 13, 1892. This and the MDK letters cited below are written in Yiddish and are in the possession of Prof. William H. Kruskal, University of Chicago.

dence which forms a prominent theme in his letters: "one hopes that things will work out for the best"; "one is bound to prosper"; "the dry-goods business will undoubtedly develop"; "business is progressing nicely"; "prosperity is in the offing"; "my business is prospering and I am able to provide for the future." Labor, he reported, was "very cheap and the output very great." These were the conditions that enabled capitalists to flourish; and Kruskal and Jaffe were petty capitalists experiencing the first thrill of a booming economy which was free of social and political constraints. After the first months he and Jaffe ran the business themselves, and Nicholas was able to take up "a very good position" as a pharmacist.[36]

Moses David Kruskal worked so hard that he had little time for homesickness. From morning until night, Monday through Saturday, he was busy. He accepted American custom and took his day of rest on Sundays, and it was only occasionally that he could afford to "go out in the evening" during the week, and then only for a short visit with one of the relatives or friends from Dorpat. He longed for Rosa and his children and became increasingly impatient for them to join him. When Rosa's letters were delayed, he fretted, and when the children were slow to write, he was quick to ask why. He was eager to learn about "everything" at home, and he treasured the photographs they sent. Concentrating all day on becoming established, he found that whenever his mind wandered and his imagination was active, his thoughts were filled with visions of his family and domestic happiness.[37]

Rosa also had an imagination, and she was anxious. She was fearful of the unknown, and occasionally a disturbing letter from someone else would arrive in Dorpat giving rise to worrisome rumors. So Moses David was reassuring. They were merely "painting the picture in dark colors. Pay no attention to this, everything in America is in perfect condition. I have a good business and trust it will prosper." Concern and reassurance were in all his letters, and his love for Rosa was visible in his eagerness to have her with him. He expressed his dreams with certainty: "I wish we could be here together

[36] Moses David Kruskal to Rosa Jaffe Kruskal and Hinde Kruskal, New York City, letters of January and February, 1892.

[37] *Ibid.*

this very moment, it is the great hope of my life. Shall build a nice home, be comfortable."[38]

By the end of the winter his dream seemed to be nearly within his grasp. After Passover, in May, he planned, they would all come over to the new homeland. On Rosa's birthday he wrote that it was an American holiday: "They call it in our country 'Washington's Birthday,' " and he sent a dollar as a gift and with it the "hope that next year we will celebrate your birthday together."[39] But suddenly his dreams were cut off. In March, just two months before the expected reunion, Moses David Kruskal contracted typhus together with Yetta's ten-year-old son Isaac Jaffe. Both were sent to the hospital for contagious diseases on North Brother Island in the East River, and it was there on March 14, 1892, that Moses David Kruskal died.[40] He was, according to an outsider who knew him, the "nicest of all the Kruskal men," a fine man who had "all of the qualities" his sons were to develop, "but none of their failings."[41] Rosa, whose baby Deborah had just died of diphtheria, was now a widow at the age of thirty, and her five sons were fatherless.

But there was no turning back. The ties with Dorpat had already been severed and the Kruskals no longer possessed any livelihood there. Rosa, together with the children and her mother-in-law Hinde Kruskal, had already departed. So it was on to America, Moses David's new country where, fortunately, Nicholas and the Jaffes were already established. Only when they arrived in New York in the summer of 1892, did Rosa learn that her husband was dead and that her boys, twelve-year-old Isaac, eleven-year-old Aaron Herman, nine-year-old William, seven-year-old Joseph, and four-year-old Eugene were now fatherless.[42]

[38] Moses David Kruskal to Rosa Jaffe Kruskal, New York City, February 5, 1892.

[39] Moses David Kruskal to Rosa Jaffe Kruskal, New York City, February 22, 1892.

[40] MJK, Letters and Memoirs, n.d., information supplied by Isaac Jaffe.

[41] *Ibid.* MJK reports the judgment of her eldest brother John Jacobson.

[42] This is the traditional family account of the sequence of events and it squares with surviving data. See letter of William H. Kruskal to author, November 28, 1970.

Their survival was tied to the family. For two women to come to New York with five young boys would otherwise have been a horror in 1892. In the following year, the United States sank into the deepest depression it had ever known, a depression which lasted until 1897. Public social agencies were virtually non-existent, and the private organizations were few and under-financed. Without Nicholas Kruskal and the Jaffes to fall back on, there is little doubt that Rosa's family would have dissolved. The women would have been sewing in sweatshops if they were lucky, and the boys growing up in the street. Instead, the assets Moses David had left behind were liquidated and used to purchase a pharmacy which Nicholas operated to support the family. The pharmacy, and Nicholas' good health, provided a crucial decade of maintenance until Isaac, Herman, and Joseph Kruskal were self-supporting.

It was a turbulent household in which Rosa's boys grew up. Grandma Hinde lived with Uncle Nicholas behind the pharmacy, and Rosa's family had a separate apartment. Though Uncle Nicholas did his best to serve as a father for his nephews, discipline was bound to suffer with no man at home. Rosa, while frequently demanding, was also indulgent with the boys. They were all she had, and since her future with Moses David had abruptly ended, her dreams and aspirations centered on her sons. And generally they did not let her down, although they each paid a personal price and their rivalry as brothers was often intense.

They all went immediately into public school, where they quickly learned the language and manners of their Jewish-American peers. Isaac, the eldest, and William, the third son, both finished high school and went on to become pharmacists in the family drugstore. But shortly after 1900, Isaac opened his own pharmacy uptown on 57th Street, and when in 1905 he began to attend Bellevue Medical College, he gave up his drugstore to devote himself full time to medicine. He became an intern in 1907 and so fifteen years after his father's death and his own arrival in America, he had succeeded in entering a learned and honored profession, medicine, which he would practice until his death forty-five years later.

Aaron Herman Kruskal, the second son, left school in 1896 at the age of fifteen to go to work. He had attended Public School No. 2, and in 1896 he was awarded the medal for "Deportment," but

although he would have liked to continue in college and study law, money was needed.[43] That autumn he got his first full-time job. Now playtimes were over, and the vacation summers spent barefoot, picking blueberries, and savoring nature on a farm in Chesterfield, Connecticut, like the summers at the *dacha* on the Peipus See, were over. The well-behaved A. Herman Kruskal became a workingman at $2.50 per week.

Herman worked for A. Beller and Company, a manufacturer of ladies' coats and suits; and it was from Mr. Beller that he learned the standards of an honorable businessman. Beller grew to like Herman, who was honest and sensible and a hard and imaginative worker. Before long Herman was promoted to become Beller's assistant. By 1905, shortly before he left Beller to start his own business at the age of twenty-five, he was earning a handsome salary, $80 per week in a time when the average man was earning about $12.[44] It was largely on the strength of Herman's salary that the family moved to 340 East 18th Street and that Rosa toured Europe in 1906. As yet none of the boys were married. Isaac was involved in medical education, and Eugene was still in high school. The others, Herman, Willy, and Joe, all contributed to the household. Joe was already "on the road" much of the time, selling.

From a personal standpoint, Herman's rapid success and the move to East 18th Street had important consequences, since it brought the Kruskals and Jacobsons together. They had known of one another's existence for many years, and the two families had previously been linked, but in 1904 they both moved into the same apartment building.[45] Within two years Herman Kruskal was engaged to Miriam, the youngest of the Jacobson girls, and in 1908 they were married.

[43] Medal now in possession of the author; judgment as to reasons for decision comes from MJK, Letters and Memoirs.

[44] MJK, Letters and Memoirs, reports AHK salary. For the comparative statistics, see *Historical Statistics of the United States to 1957* (Washington, D.C., 1960), p. 91.

[45] The immediate link between the two families was between Hinde Kruskal and Pauline Mandelstamm, who were first cousins. Hinde's mother, Rochele Berman, was an elder sister of Pauline's mother, Sara Berman Mandelstamm.

THE JACOBSONS IN NEW YORK, 1892–1908

John and David Jacobson had done their jobs well. When the rest of the family arrived in May, 1893, they found a small apartment waiting for them at 133 Madison Street, only a couple of blocks from where Moses David Kruskal had located his store. Isaac Jacobson's married sister was living across the street, and so, as such things go, the shock of arrival was cushioned. Both John and David were working, Isaac had brought a little money, and so their subsistence was momentarily assured. The family, moreover, was intact. No one was sick, and they were all together. The new beginning was at hand.

But for Isaac Jacobson the task was not so simple as for his sons. In middle age, he lacked the flexibility of youth, and he had a keen sense of *amour-propre*. Shortly after their arrival the depression of '93 hit, so jobs of any sort were scarce and poorly paid. He, a learned man erudite in both Hebrew and German writings, was not about to go upon the streets as a common peddler, begging for sales, haggling so as to earn a few pennies. Others, by the thousand, more pressed for survival, had to swallow their pride and do precisely that.[46] But Isaac Jacobson had alternatives. No, he would not even permit his wife to open a store as she wished. She must be in the home. As Miriam later recalled: "He was unhappy here, too proud to do the work he could have found, too timid to try and find what he would have liked, so—he taught Hebrew and the children all went to work (except Clara and I . . .). We attended school."[47] Now

[46] Hutchins Hapgood, *The Spirit of the Ghetto* (rev. ed.; New York, 1909), discusses this phenomenon in chapters one and two. From time to time, Isaac Jacobson did work at home, giving Hebrew lessons, and when they lived on East 4th Street (1895–1904), acting as an agent for Burns Brothers Coal Company. Later, he worked part time as a bookkeeper for his son John's printing firm. He never, however, left the protected environment of home and family. In 1904, his son David planned to set him up with a small stationer's store, with Miriam acting as his clerk. But shortly before the plan was to go into operation, Isaac had a headache, called David in to speak to him, and said: "Davit, ich kann nicht." (Source: MJK, Letters and Memoirs, November 17, 1969, and March 8, 1970.)

[47] MJK, Letters and Memoirs, August, 1969.

Fanny, who was almost seventeen, and Max, who was only thirteen, joined John and David as breadwinners. Isaac Jacobson was willing to sacrifice his happiness in Goldingen for the sake of the children and to preserve family cohesion, but his own life and sensibilities also counted. The competitive, abrasive style of New York business, and his realistic fear of rejection and brutal defeat, the fate of so many, kept Isaac at home.

Miraculously, with Mama and Papa at home, and four of the six children out supporting the family, they were able to maintain its traditional, patriarchal structure. Pauline, a sensitive woman, declared that the children should not give their household contributions to her, even though she did the shopping and spent most of the cash. She understood Isaac's humiliation and worked to preserve his old role and status, declaring that "Papa should be the manager, he being the head of the household." [48] Thus the forms, if not the entire substance, of family relationships were maintained at the Jacobson home.

But in the streets it was different. Four of the Jacobsons were coming to terms with the customs of their working life, and Clara and Miriam were in the public schools. Miriam's vivid recollections of her life in the neighborhood reveal some of the ways in which Goldingen manners and traditional authority were undermined, with "Americanization" taking place:

> I loved it, played with the kids, where I was the "greenhorn," but soon learned English [including gutter slang]. . . . There was a horse-car on Madison Street. . . . I loved hitching on the cars (I was 6–9 [years old]). Also, the kids played on the roof and one of the games [was walking around the edge of the roof on a raised coping]. . . . I did it.
>
> In order to be really "Americanish" one had to eat a banana, so my cousins, who lived across the way, said. . . . I remember forcing myself to eat that soft, strange-looking fruit, so unlike an apple or pear.

Miriam passed through the initiation rites and enjoyed an exciting time. With the girls she learned to play "jacks" on the stoops of houses, and though she and the other little girls were forbidden to talk to boys, they did so secretly, their experience enhanced by stealth. "When the organ-grinder came several times a week, *all* the

[48] *Ibid.*, November 17, 1969.

girls danced to his music, and very pretty it was, sort of folk dances with a waltz or a polka thrown in. I learnt dancing right there, when I was 9–12 years old."[49]

Isaac and Pauline were aware of the influences that lurked in the street, and they were anxious to shelter their daughters from them. Nearby was Allen Street, where red lights were literally hung and prostitution flourished under police protection. Later, Miriam recalled:

> My parents were suspicious of strangers, and I see now, with good cause. There were ice-cream parlors, some of the slick Greek owners were of questionable morals. . . . When one of my school friends induced me to go to an ice-cream parlor, my father (who did not approve of her because she had poor manners, was loud) followed us and I had to leave that gorgeous strawberry mound and go home with him . . . . my parents were terrified. Also they feared missions.[50]

And well they might, though they did not know that as the Salvation Army went from street to street with its band blaring *Onward Christian Soldiers,* young Miriam sang with them, sometimes following to the mission-hall, where she "was given a tambourine, and had one wonderful time." Nor did they know that Miriam went to the German Methodist Church with her friend Lucy Beckmann and joined a singing group called "Christian Endeavor." She proudly wore their emblem "CE," telling her family it stood for "Evening Circle" —and they believed it until Cousin George Mandelstamm Milwitzky put an end to the deception by telling Miriam's parents the truth.[51]

The Jacobsons maintained a Jewish home, but it was hard to withstand the friendly pressures of Christian Americanization. By 1898 or 1899, even Christmas was secretly imported by the children:

> In spite of a sort of austere home, we had fun, Clara and I, Dave and Max. Once we were envious of all the Xmas doings, so after Mama and Papa went to bed (no later than 9), we four hung up our stockings near the

[49] *Ibid.,* August, 1969; November 17, 1969.

[50] *Ibid.,* December 25, 1969.

[51] *Ibid.,* November 17, 1969; December 25, 1969.

kitchen stove, stuffed them with whatever was edible, then, after an interval, snuck into the room and had a jolly time.[52]

It was fun becoming an American, but there was a strain in simultaneously maintaining Judaism. It seemed to be old-fashioned, European, and generally "foreign" in America, a society where religious identity was as much a matter of choice as of birth.

Moreover, there was an identity problem at the core of the entire family, a problem compounded by their emigration. Isaac Jacobson himself was not entirely at home in traditional Judaism; he had been growing away from it ever since he left the yeshiva, and Pauline's commitment to it was more passive and habitual than active and positive. Judaism in the Jacobson home had become customary—without fervor and without theology. It was a beautiful habit, but not vital:

> [Mama] accepted wholly the religion she was brought up in. I don't believe she questioned nor pondered about it. She *believed*—in a personal God, I think, also in rewards, as well as punishments. Friday evening was to her a beautiful end to a busy and often difficult week. The brass candlesticks were gleaming, the white tablecloth, the *challah* with its embroidered cover, for my papa to make Kiddush (the prayer). The good, good meal, all six of us at the long table (Fanny and John were married). It was beautiful also for me. Papa . . . had a good voice, chanted the prayers and blessings, and it was very special. Not one of us four [children] felt it as something religious, just *Shabbos* at home. Many years later Papa told me that while his beliefs had changed, the rituals still were beautiful to him, tied him to a tradition he wanted to hold onto. He said that nothing in his new surroundings brought him inner satisfaction, so he continued the old.

The Jewish holidays were celebrated at home, but there was little synagogue-going. On the high holy days, Isaac and Pauline attended and the children visited them for an hour here or there, but Isaac, unlike Pauline, did not observe the fast of Yom Kippur, and when he returned home from services, he always had a headache. The boys were instructed in religion and became bar mitzvah, but there was no training for the girls and no explanations of ritual at home. Pauline stopped wearing a *sheitel* (traditional wig) at Isaac's request, and he ceased to say his morning prayers a few years after

[52] *Ibid.*, November 17, 1969.

arrival. The *shabbos-goy* whom they had employed on Madison Street in 1893 and 1894 did not follow them in 1895 when they moved to East 4th Street. Pauline never did cook on *shabbos,* but in other respects their observance of the Sabbath largely disappeared.[53] David Jacobson need not have worried when he wrote his shipboard letter on the sabbath; his act was precursor to a family pattern.

Isaac Jacobson clung to Jewish ways defensively. They were a part of his identity which he had partially rejected, but could not replace. To have let go, to have let Jewish ritual fall completely by the wayside as Rosa Kruskal and her boys had done—the Kruskals did not even "eat kosher"—would have been to sever himself from his father entirely and to become anonymous. As time passed, all of Isaac's children except the eldest, John, drifted away from Judaism, remaining Jews only by descent. Yet they did not "go over to the other side"—they never converted, never became Christians. Once, in the 1920's, when David Jacobson was asked by his suburban friends why he was so against joining the Unitarian Church even though he shared most of its tenets, he produced a picture of Loeb Jacobson in beard and skullcap, explaining "this is the reason."[54]

The children left Judaism gradually, their attachment eroding, so there was never any dramatic break. Isaac, himself something of an enlightened freethinker in his youth, was hardly the one to criticize the beliefs of others. Perhaps he remembered his own father's tolerance. Pauline, too, seems to have understood. Anyway, in a family where religion was mostly ritual, there were other more immediate issues to absorb their emotions. By 1895, the first marriage among their children had occurred, and soon there would be grandchildren.

The marriages of the six children generally reflected their lingering Baltic provincialism. Only David, who married late and who had always eagerly sought out a wider circle of friends, married someone with no previous link to the family or to Goldingen. Nor was it

[53] *Ibid.* Also, Richard D. Brown interview of MJK, July 25, 1970, New Milford, Conn. One indication of Isaac Jacobson's values as well as his attachment to Jewish identity is illustrated by the fact that he always kept a framed engraving of Sir Moses Montefiore (1784–1885). Montefiore, a wealthy English Jew, was a champion of Jewish liberty and advancement in mid-nineteenth-century Europe.

[54] MJK, Letters and Memoirs, November 17, 1969.

any wonder, given the pattern of social life the children encountered in their teens and twenties. Though all of the teenagers attended what might be called "Jewish community center" programs at the University Settlement and the Educational Alliance, much social life was at home and with the family. Papa Isaac and David would sing together. David would also whistle John Philip Sousa marches, and John sang German drinking-songs. For variety, Clara and Miriam sang popular songs—even "while doing the dishes, then danced on the smooth kitchen oil cloth floor." When they went out to dance it was normally with relatives to an immigrants' social club, the "Kurlander Verein."[55]

Perhaps it was there that Fanny Jacobson first danced with Moses (later called "Morris") Trubek, the son of a prosperous Riga merchant (Meyer Trubek), a chemical engineer in his twenties who held a degree (valedictorian) from the Riga Polytechnic Institute.[56] Moses proposed to Fanny, she accepted, and in 1895 they were married and set up housekeeping in New York. He was twenty-eight; Fanny was nineteen. One year later, in February, 1896, the first grandchild, the first native American, was born, Leo Trubek.

Two years later, in 1897, John Nicholas Jacobson married Esther Hirschmann, of Springfield, Massachusetts. John had not been scouring New England in search of a bride; it just happened that Esther's parents were from Goldingen, where she had been born, and the families were already acquainted. It was a similar story in 1907, when Clara married the twenty-six-year-old Sigmar Pirosh, M.D. Doctor Pirosh was from Chicago, but he had Goldingen cousins—his grandfather was from Zagare—and had met Clara when she was visiting a girlhood friend in Baltimore in 1906. Perhaps there was some matchmaking going on as Clara was already twenty-five, but in any case it was the Goldingen link that brought them to the marriage canopy on New Year's Day, 1907.

[55] *Ibid.* MJK reports that David Jacobson was actually a member of the "Kurlander Verein."

[56] All information on marriages and "in-laws" comes from Family Data Questionnaires and from MJK recollections. Moses Trubek left Riga secretly against his family's wishes, and was the only member of his family to come to America. Ironically, he did not encourage his sons to pursue independent careers as he had done.

Then in 1908 Miriam married Aaron Herman Kruskal, the young, successful garment manufacturer. They had met when the Jacobsons moved to their brand-new six-room apartment at 340 East 18th Street in 1904. The Kruskal boys lived across the courtyard and "snooped." Moreover, "street musicians often played there, [and] heads appeared at all the windows. . . . Proximity played cupid." Miriam by this time was on the verge of womanhood. When she took her first job as a stenographer in 1905, she was exhilarated to be earning money, to be out in the world, and independent. Now she "was going with Herman and life was wonderful."[57] In 1906 they were engaged, and two years later they married. He was twenty-six; she twenty-one. After their marriage they moved one block west, to 245 East 18th Street. Marriage notwithstanding, family ties remained powerful.

One year later, in 1909, Miriam's older brother Max married Meta Jacobson, who was no relation, but a native of Goldingen. He had met her through a Goldingen friend. A quiet, sweet, somewhat timid person, Max had always been overshadowed by his older brothers John and David. He was a "middle child" who got lost in the middle.[58] But he was not the last to marry. Instead, it was the dynamic, outgoing, ambitious David who did not marry until 1912, when at thirty-four he married the thirty-six-year-old schoolteacher Martha Goodkind. Martha, of German-Jewish descent, had no Baltic connections. She was a native New Yorker.

American Roots: The Jacobsons and Kruskals, 1908–1930

The America in which the Jacobson and Kruskal children came of age, married, and began their own families was already significantly different from the way it had been when their parents arrived in the early nineties. Material changes were visible everywhere in New York: skyscrapers were being built, and horsecars were being replaced by electric trolleys; subways carried people from one end of Manhattan to the other and across the East River to Brooklyn;

[57] MJK, Letters and Memoirs, December 25, 1969. Pauline Mandelstamm Jacobson's mother, Sara Berman, was the sister of Hinde Kruskal's mother.

[58] *Ibid.*, December 25, 1969.

automobiles had supplanted horse-drawn carriages; and in the home electricity had replaced gaslights and supplied the energy for a dozen work-saving appliances. In politics it was a new generation, Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson instead of Benjamin Harrison and Grover Cleveland. In 1892, the big questions had centered on the currency and on tariffs, but by 1910 American concern had shifted to the issues raised by the Progressives—the maintenance of a competitive and democratic society in a modern industrial state. Now debates revolved around reform in government, the control of corporations, and maintaining a competitive economic system. In New York, a leading Progressive state, legislation dealing with the labor of women and children, with the health and safety of all workers, with tenements and public health—all were receiving prolonged attention. American social sensibilities, overlaid by economic ambition for two generations, were once more aroused and operative in public life. The consequences were largely—but not entirely—positive.

With the increasing concern for the quality of American life went a mounting alarm regarding the extent and impact of immigration. Even though the percentage of immigrants in the population remained almost constant from 1850 to 1920, hovering around 15 percent, anxieties grew. From 1900 through 1910 the average annual migration into the United States stood at 840,000, and in four individual years it topped one million. By 1910 some eastern cities such as New York had immigrant populations exceeding 25 percent, and if first-generation Americans were added to the newcomers, then the numbers often soared close to 50 percent. In the Northeast, moreover, the immigrants were mostly Catholics and Jews, so that American Protestants were fearful of being engulfed. Birthrates among immigrant families were significantly higher than among native Americans, and if this trend together with unlimited immigration continued, then it was not unrealistic to fear that the American way of life was in danger. By 1910, all Oriental immigration into the United States had been banned. In 1924, all immigration would be drastically curtailed.

Americans were anxious also for other reasons. Most of them had experienced some migration within the United States. They had left

the farms and small towns and flocked to the cities. Within individual families, old patterns were under challenge, and new manners were forever intruding. The old national identity with its agrarian heritage was crumbling before the rise of industrialization and urban development. Native Americans, with identity problems of their own, indulged themselves in chauvinism and in anti-Catholicism and anti-Semitism. All of these elements had been present to some degree throughout the nineteenth century, but in the Northeast they did not flourish until after the turn of the century. The wonder is not that they flowered, but rather that they remained such minor themes in American public life and, unlike anti-Negro sentiment, so limited in their over-all impact.

But for those American Jews coming to maturity in the first third of the twentieth century, American anti-Semitism was an important force. In some it stimulated the proud desire to assert Jewish identity and to promote Zionist causes, while in others it acted as a stimulus to renounce Jewish identity and assume characteristics antithetic to the anti-Semite's stereotype. Among the Jacobsons and Kruskals, for whom Judaism had ceased as a profound religious attachment, the latter tendency was most evident. But this "assimilationism" was always tempered by a lingering sense of Jewish identity and a refusal to deny family ties. They married Gentiles, but they did not convert. Their surnames remained intact.

For both families, 1910 was a kind of dividing line. Those who married before that year married among Baltic Jews, while those who married later, David Jacobson and Isaac, Joseph, and Eugene Kruskal, all chose native American mates from outside that circle. Isaac and Eugene Kruskal married women from Christian backgrounds. As Goldingen and Dorpat became more and more distant memories, success in America and accommodation to its standards became increasingly influential for their behavior. If there was anti-Semitism in America, there was also wide opportunity open to middle-class Jews like the Jacobsons and the Kruskals. Opportunity existed not only within their chosen occupations, but also in a broader cultural sense. Here there was no conscription, no established Church, and the public drew no official distinctions against Jews. Museums and libraries, theatres and public events were open to

them, and the political process encouraged their participation, wooing them with the rhetoric of popular democracy—"equality," "liberty," "justice." Who could turn his back on such a society, one whose material benefits were flowing and whose invitation to enter as a full member was repeatedly offered in a dozen ways? In all of the new families, from that of Moses and Fanny Trubek, who had married in 1895, to that of Joseph and Lillian Vorhaus Kruskal, who were married in 1918, the language of the home was English and the sense of nationality American.

The Trubeks left New York around 1901 and moved to Bergen County, New Jersey, first to Wood-Ridge, then to the predominantly German community of Carlstadt. There Moses Trubek established himself as a manufacturing chemist. His business was small at first, but when the First World War cut off German imports, Trubek Laboratories and the American chemical industry in general boomed. By this time Fanny and Moses had six children: Leo (born in 1896); Max (born in 1898); Paula (born in 1900); Herbert (born in 1903); Robert (1906–1965); and Walter (born in 1913). According to their Aunt Miriam, who visited frequently before 1908, it was a happy home. Leo and Max, the eldest, had lively senses of humor and were full of practical jokes. The others, who absorbed their mother's warmth and sensitivity, were sweet, playful children. The happiness of the household was abruptly halted, however, in 1914 when Fanny Jacobson Trubek died prematurely at the age of thirty-eight. Suddenly the family was disrupted. Leo, Max, and Paula were already in their teens, and their upbringing was largely complete. Now they assumed new and heavier family responsibilities. But Herbert was only eleven, Robert eight, and Walter, the baby, not even a year old. In crisis, the decision was made to have Fanny's brother Max Jacobson and his wife Meta take care of little Walter. Fourteen-year-old Paula, a high school girl, became mistress of the household until 1918, when Moses Trubek married again.

The impact of Fanny's death on the lives of her children can hardly be exaggerated. Although Moses Trubek was an affectionate father, full of stories for his rapt children, Fanny was sorely missed.[59]

[59] Paula Trubek Spevack letter to the author, October 5, 1970.

Moses was deeply absorbed in his work, thrifty, industrious, and authoritarian, and his standards of performance for himself and his children were high. Fanny's comforting warmth had brought a joy to the family that could not be replaced. But life went on. All of the children pursued education after high school, Leo winning a scholarship to Columbia, Max earning his undergraduate degree at Johns Hopkins (he lived with the Piroshes those years) and his medical degree from the University of Maryland, Paula studying textile design, and later marrying a textile manufacturer, and Herbert and Robert both becoming chemical engineers. Even the baby, Walter, who was formally adopted by the Jacobsons, later took a higher degree in chemistry.

John Nicholas Jacobson's children were much more fortunate in that both of their parents, John and Esther, survived their childhood. Arthur, the first child, was born in Brooklyn in 1899, followed by Leo in 1900, Shirley in 1903, Edward in 1904, and Florence in 1906. The family was supported by the stationery and printing business which John developed after leaving his original craft, bookbinding. Never rich, the Jacobsons owned their own house in Brooklyn and were comfortable. But they, too, had their sadness. Edward, the third son, had been a blue baby, and though unexpectedly he lived to maturity (1904–1934), he was retarded. He was taught to read and write, and he responded warmly to affection, but he remained the ward of his parents and his siblings all of his life. With Edward in their midst, the family drew inward, protectively. The drive and ambition of the Trubeks was scarcely visible. Arthur left home after the First World War and made his career independently in the printing business. At about the same time Leo, the second son, joined his father's company, where he would become a mainstay for more than half a century. Shirley also went to work for John N. Jacobson and Son, simultaneously taking courses in the evening, especially fine arts and painting in which she excelled. Some years later she married a social worker with a degree in Divinity. Florence, the youngest, took secretarial training, but she, too, was attracted to art and later worked for an art gallery. Toward the end of her life—she died in 1962—she became a practical nurse.

The household of Clara and Sigmar Pirosh was free of natural calamities, and with two lively and outgoing parents, it was a cheerful home. The three children, Bert (born in 1908); Robert (born in 1910); and Ruth (born in 1915), were raised in a home where Mama prepared memorable meals, Papa was forever cracking jokes, and cousins were frequently coming for extended, eagerly awaited visits. They lived in Baltimore, where Sigmar had moved from Chicago in 1909 to take over a cousin's medical practice largely composed of merchant seamen. Until the First World War curtailed overseas trade, it was a thriving practice, but then it languished. Dr. Pirosh, moreover, had a bedside manner more suited to sailors than genteel, middle-class patients. He could be brusque and had no time for currying his patients' favor. Once, indeed, he is said to have told a relative who was a patient to "jump in the lake," since she seemed to be suffering imaginary pains. In this instance not only she, but also her numerous clan, repaid him by finding another doctor. Never noted for his tact, Sig Pirosh seems to have been less than totally committed to his profession. His family, his cigars, his whiskey, baseball, football, horse racing, and a good joke all competed with medicine for his attention.

Under the circumstances, it is not surprising that neither of his sons pursued medical careers. Both attended the University of Maryland briefly and then went on to work in the Hollywood movie business. Bert became a film buyer for theatre chains, and Robert an Academy Award-winning writer and director. Ruthie, the beloved baby girl, worked as a secretary before marrying an attorney.

Miriam and her husband Herman Kruskal had a comparatively small family. They, like John Jacobson's family, remained in New York. Herman's business, while uneven from year to year, generally prospered, and he could afford repeated trips to Europe for both business and pleasure as well as private schools for his daughters Ruth Selde (1909–1957) and Dorothy (born in 1912). Between 1920 and 1927, he joined his brothers in the fur business and thereafter retired at the age of forty-six to manage his investments and properties. Ruth, who was married briefly to an attorney, aspired to become a singer after graduating high school. She never went to college, and later became a stenographer, engaging on the side in Left-

Wing politics. Dorothy married a businessman in 1935, one year after graduating from Radcliffe College where she had majored in history and literature.

Max Jacobson and his wife Meta had no children of their own after their marriage in 1909, but shortly after Fanny's death adopted Walter Trubek and raised him as their own. Max, a quiet man who had gone to work at the age of thirteen in 1892 to help support the family, never made very much money working as a bookkeeper, and when he died in 1919 at the age of fifty, Meta was left alone with five-year-old Walter. Family contributions tided her over, and she later went to work, but of all the members of the family, her plight was hardest. Walter, however, was her joy, and he became a chemist.

David, Max's older brother, became the most prosperous of the Jacobsons. After knocking about as a boy in downtown New York business, he became a wholesale silk merchant and later a commercial banker. With his earnings, he and Martha bought a house and moved to the suburbs, to White Plains, after their marriage in 1912. There, in White Plains, all three of their children were born: Jean (1913); Margaret (1915); and David, Jr. (1919). David and Martha, both eager for intellectual life and cultural experience, raised their children in a home where books and studies counted. Their orientation toward achievement is visible in the fact that, of all the Jacobson cousins, this was the only family all of whose children, two girls and a boy, completed college, Jean at Barnard, Peggy [Margaret] at Berkeley, and David at M. I. T. (in architecture).[60] No doubt David Jacobson's financial status was a contributing factor, but his schoolmarm wife Martha and his own eagerness to learn and to meet new experience were more important.

Among the Kruskals, however, the standard of achievement was somewhat higher than among the Jacobsons. Moses David Kruskal

[60] Jean Jacobson married Winston Strong, a native of Portland, Oregon, who became a professor of agronomy. Peggy Jacobson married Nathan J. Roberts an attorney who became a law professor after retiring from the Army as a Brigadier General. Roberts, whose family name had been "Rabinowitz," was the nephew of Solomon Rabinowitz (1859–1916), who wrote in Yiddish under the pseudonym "Sholem Aleichem."

himself had been a much more ambitious, enterprising person than Isaac Jacobson, and after his death his boys grew up under their mother's eye in a keenly competitive atmosphere. The costs of their ambition and sibling rivalry were substantial. The Jacobson family never knew a period when brothers were not on speaking terms, but such splits developed among the Kruskals. And of the six Jacobson marriages, not one ended in divorce, whereas two of the four Kruskal marriages were terminated by divorce.

Isaac Kruskal, the eldest, married Bessie Reilly in 1913, five years after Herman's marriage to Miriam Jacobson. Over the violent objections of her father and the more restrained advice of her uncles who were priests, Bessie left Roman Catholicism to marry Isaac. Her reasons and feelings can only be guessed, but she must have been deeply committed to Dr. Isaac Kruskal. Her mother had made a similarly radical break from her own Scotch Presbyterian family years before by marrying an Irish Catholic. Bessie and Isaac, who never had children, did develop an extremely close and durable relationship, and their ethnic differences seem to have had no serious consequences.

Isaac, indeed, rose to the top of his profession. In 1908, he had a tubercular kidney removed and thereafter, in order to reduce the strain of general medical practice, became an anesthesiologist. But this specialty did not compel his interest, and so in 1910 his brothers Herman, Joe, and Eugene financed his study in ophthalmology at Vienna and London where Isaac remained, with one interruption, until the outbreak of the World War in 1914. On his return, the brothers financed his office equipment and supplied a year's nest egg with which to become established. Isaac rewarded their confidence, developing a fine practice and later going on to head the department of ophthalmology at Brooklyn Jewish Hospital.

William Kruskal (1883–1912) was a middle child, number three of the five who survived, and he was less enterprising and more gentle than any of his brothers. Whereas Isaac, the eldest, had used the family pharmacy as a springboard into the medical profession, William was more easygoing and content to remain a pharmacist. One summer, when he was twenty-three, he decided to practice his occupation at a resort where he could have a good time. He went

to Saratoga Springs, passing much of his leisure at the race track during the daytime and working late into the night. There he developed tuberculosis, and despite the vigorous efforts and large expenditures of his devoted older brother Herman, he never recovered. After six years at sanatoria in New York and Arizona, William died in 1912—"a great loss to Herman."[61]

Joseph, their younger brother, had a very different temperament. Eager, ambitious, quick, he early in life learned the "ways of the world" and mastered most of them. He left school at the age of thirteen because of a quarrel with his German teacher over some technical point, and then took a job with a manufacturer in 1899.[62] The following year he went "on the road" for the first time, and soon was doing it regularly. Bright, articulate, with a sharp eye for shortcuts, he rapidly became an effective salesman. Within a decade, he had established a business of his own, with a partner, much as his older brother Herman had done. But Joe, still a bachelor and carrying less family responsibility, was a good deal more "sporty" than Herman, and it was Joe who around 1908 purchased the first car in either family—a racy Stutz Bearcat.

When the youngest of the Kruskal boys, Eugene, graduated the City College of New York in 1909, he had a brief stint teaching high school Greek, but Joe soon convinced him to come to work for him. Before long they established their own wholesale furriers firm, Kruskal and Kruskal. But Joe and Gene both lived well and had some difficulty accumulating capital. Moreover, their business as fur wholesalers made heavy short-term demands on capital, inventories

[61] *Ibid.*, MJK, Letters and Memoirs, memo on AHK and siblings. Martin David Kruskal in a letter to the author of Dec. 5, 1970, asks: "Was William's death a greater blow to Herman than to the other brothers? I have at least a slight reason to think it was a significant blow to my father; he once expressed to me concern that I might get TB and die like his brother." Moreover, it should be noted that Joseph named his first son after his deceased brother. But while there is no way of evaluating the meaning of this death to the brothers, it is true that while William was ill it was Herman who assumed responsibility for him.

[62] The story of the quarrel with the German teacher comes from Martin David Kruskal letter to the author, Dec. 5, 1970. Before leaving school Joseph achieved some distinction, having been awarded a copy of *The Travels of Marco Polo* (letter of William H. Kruskal to the author, Nov. 28, 1970.)

being as valuable as they were. Thus in 1912 Joe and Gene invited Herman to join them. They had an eye on his capital, which was very substantial and would help their credit with bankers, and they also believed their line would be less of a strain than manufacturing —Herman's work—since wholesalers had no worries concerning labor and unions. Joe and Gene, both excellent salesmen, sold Herman on the idea, and he agreed to join them. Later he had second thoughts and changed his mind, but since he had first agreed, he felt duty-bound to share his capital and so divided it, lending half to his brothers at considerable risk as well as damage to his own opportunities for expansion. Twenty years earlier, in 1892, Moses David Kruskal had considered the same problem in deciding whether to join in business with a close friend or relative and had concluded that in such matters "it is best to maintain a distance between oneself and his good friends."[63] Now, in 1912, Herman followed the same path, while Joe and Gene worked together. Eight years later Herman would again change his mind and this time actually join Kruskal and Kruskal.

In 1915, Eugene Kruskal took a cruise in the Mediterranean, and on the ship he met a twenty-three-year-old St. Louis debutante, Helen d'Aubert Hall, who had studied in Rome with Maria Montessori. Bright, eager, and active, she captivated Eugene, and she was impressed by his good looks and charm. It was a shipboard romance which flowered, and in June, 1916, they were married. Eugene, at twenty-eight, was a successful furrier, and Helen, at twenty-four, was a liberated, stylish American woman. Her family were longtime New Yorkers and New Englanders, attorneys and merchants, who had moved west in the mid-nineteenth century. They had always been Protestants, but religion was not very important either to Helen or to Eugene. They were part of the secular world, and their interests and tastes were nonsectarian. In July, 1918, two years after their marriage, they had a daughter. She was named Elizabeth Eugenia—for Helen's mother Elizabeth Beardslee and for Gene himself. Betty Kruskal would graduate from Wellesley in 1939 and marry a professor of romance languages immediately thereafter.

Joseph Kruskal, the last son to marry, also went outside the tradi-

[63] Moses David Kruskal to Rosa Jaffe Kruskal, New York City, January 13, 1892.

tional circle. His bride in October, 1918, was the petite, vivacious Lillian Vorhaus. He was thirty-three, she barely twenty, and the differences in their ages and outlook were to strain their marriage almost from the outset. Lillian, a native New York Jewess of Austrian, Hungarian, and Czech ancestry, was the daughter of Bernard Vorhaus, an attorney who never practiced law but instead made his career importing furs. Lillian was enthusiastic about music and art, and such decorative interests fitted Joe's idea of a wife, but when, after her children were born, Lillian wanted to join her husband in business, Joe was vexed. As he saw it, Lillian should involve herself in child-rearing, service work, amateur theater, and the like—occupations that were appropriate for a suburban matron. Lillian, confined by her husband to a role not entirely to her liking, took special pleasure in child-rearing and after her husband's death developed her own enterprises while revelling in the role of *materfamilias* to her numerous children and grandchildren.[64]

Whatever the tensions that ultimately led to the divorce of Joe and Lillian Kruskal, child-rearing soon became a central concern of their marriage. In 1919, just a year after they were married, their first son was born, and they named him William Henry after Joe's deceased brother. Two years later, in 1921, Molly Louise was born, named for Lillian's mother Molly Grossman. In 1923, Rosaly was born, named for Rosa Kruskal. In 1925, Martin David was born, named for Moses David Kruskal, and then in 1928, Joseph Bernard, Jr.[65] Though they lived in a modern suburb, New Rochelle, with five children, Joe and Lillian had the largest, least "modern" family of all the Kruskals. In its structure it more resembled a family begun in the 1890's, like Fanny J. Trubek's or John Jacobson's, than a family of the 1920's. But both Joe and Lillian enjoyed their

[64] This interpretation is based partly on the views presented by Martin David Kruskal in his letter to the author of Dec. 5, 1970.

[65] In *ibid.*, Martin David Kruskal reports: "I was named M. David after Dad's father. In fact Dad wanted to name me Moses David, but mother didn't like the name Moses (because it sounded too Jewish? that's my guess), and prevailed to have me named Martin after her brother, by whose children I am called Martin David to this day. The rest of the family calls me David, the 'compromise' adopted by my parents for daily use."

offspring together, and the children seem to have helped maintain the marriage.

Joe's drive and Lillian's creativity were reflected in the educational achievements of all the children. William, the eldest, graduated *summa cum laude* from Harvard and then from Columbia with a doctorate in mathematical statistics, going on to become a Professor of Statistics at the University of Chicago. Martin David, the second son, went first to the University of Chicago, and then took his Ph.D. at New York University, subsequently becoming Professor of Astrophysical Sciences and Applied Mathematics at Princeton. Joseph, Jr., also did his undergraduate work at Chicago, then a doctorate at Princeton, going on to work as a mathematician at Bell Telephone Laboratories. The girls, too, Molly and Rosaly, graduated from college, one with a B.A., the other a B.M. from the Oberlin College Conservatory. Both were to marry businessmen. Significantly, none of the children chose a career with Kruskal and Kruskal as Joe had deeply wished. Joseph Kruskal was stimulated by the challenge of making money in a competitive world, and he was unusually gifted at it. But if he was committed to it, and there is some doubt, his interest was not transmitted to his children. Only his desire to excel did they share.[66]

[66] For several years following the Second World War, the eldest son, William, tried a career at Kruskal and Kruskal, but soon returned to mathematics. Martin David Kruskal in his letter to the author of Dec. 5, 1970, comments: "I for one never received from Dad the slightest indication that he would have liked me to go into the business, though I do recall on several occasions mother telling me that he would like one of his sons, at least, to do so. Whether she got the idea from anything he ever said or merely romanced it I have no idea. I think Bill has a different impression in his own case, though, from a discussion with him, I have the impression that even in his will and such arrangments there is nothing concrete to suggest that Dad was concerned with this issue. I don't really believe he was all that attached to making money (per se); my recollection is that he was concerned that his children be able to make a decent living, not that they become especially successful in a worldly sense. In any case I never had the slightest feeling that he objected to my own pursuit of academic interests, nor that I was in any way 'rejecting his priorities.' I can remember how proud of and gratified by Bill's numerous academic awards and recognitions he was—also more generally by the mere fact that his children hadn't 'turned out badly' like those of some of his friends and acquaintances. . . . Did you know that Dad considered retiring at a quite early age? In a serious way, I mean—so much so that the year before I was born he 'experimented' with

FAMILY PATTERNS, 1900–1930

The most striking feature of the Jacobson and Kruskal families during their first full generation in America is their continuing commitment to bourgeois values and a bourgeois life style. In this, at least, the continuity with the values of the first immigrants and even the European ancestors was unbroken. Secure, comfortable families in secure, comfortable homes, education and respectability, these were the common denominators. Far from being unusual in this regard, the aspirations of the Jacobsons and Kruskals were typical and represent merely one microcosmic example of the kinds of motives which spurred hundreds of thousands of families in Europe and America.

What was unusual was not the nature of their goals, but the degree of success which they met in achieving them. Certainly they enjoyed a head start, beginning in the middle class of immigrants who were neither illiterate nor poverty-stricken, but their accomplishments were also substantial. Several amassed capital sums of hundreds of thousands of dollars, and they could all afford to provide their children with more than the average level of education. In the period before the Second World War, college degrees were still a luxury enjoyed by a comparatively small percentage of the population—not more than 10 percent even as late as 1940. The fact that roughly half of the children born in the first generation completed at least four years of college is a significant indicator of the success both families had in establishing themselves in America. If one looks at the Kruskals alone, the statistics are even more startling, since seven out of eight completed college, and five of the seven

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retirement by taking the whole family (i.e. household, with nurse, governess, etc. included; maid, I think, too) abroad and settling in a hotel in Nice (the Negresco, where by coincidence Laura and I were assigned when we attended the International Congress of Mathematicians in Nice this Sept.), from which mother and Dad made various excursions throughout Europe and elsewhere, I believe. . . . This to me does not suggest a man obsessed to any extent with money and power. The fact that he couldn't stick it merely means, in my interpretation, that he got bored."

later took higher degrees.[67] In life style as well, both families enjoyed a high standard—the European tours, country houses, country clubs, and household servants characteristic of the upper end of the middle-class spectrum. There was, moreover, a perceptible shift from commerce and manufacturing to the learned professions—a shift with ambiguous consequences in terms of status, since the former were more rewarding financially, while the latter carried greater prestige. In any case, they never broke out of the middle class entirely into the topmost echelon of American society where wealth and power are combined and endure beyond a single generation. Though their levels of income and education rose, together with their consumption patterns, some of the rise was merely part of a general rise and proportional to the level at which they had begun. For a few individuals, the rise was fairly spectacular, but for the group it was moderate.

One aspect of the bourgeois mentality which pervaded this generation in making its life in America was its profound involvement in personal concerns. One's occupation, family, and leisure generally bounded the horizons of members of both families. The connections with Europe rapidly melted away. After Loeb Jacobson's death in 1896, Isaac Jacobson's ties were ended. Pauline Mandelstamm Jacobson had brothers in Russia, but both of the physicians, David and Leopold Mandelstamm, died in the nineties—Leopold of tuberculosis and David in a duel while he was serving with the Russian army in the Caucasus. Only Moritz Mandelstamm survived, but after the Soviet Revolution of 1917 it became almost impossible to maintain connections even had the desire been there. Among the Kruskals there were significant efforts, largely confined to the period between the First World War and the Depression. Nicholas Kruskal, who now operated a pharmaceutical laboratory, organized a Kruskal Fund, dunning himself and his nephews, Kruskal and Jaffe, $10 per month, the money being used to aid sick or needy family members on the Continent, from Paris to Leningrad. The fund was actively operated through the 1920's and the 1930's, but the Depres-

[67] Of the seven who went to college, at least four were elected to Phi Beta Kappa and several were graduated with Latin honors.

sion reduced its magnitude, and the migration in 1928 of Nicholas Kruskal to Tel Aviv, where he died, removed its founder and chief impetus.[68] For the most part, both the parents and the children of the new generation had little interest in maintaining past connections which grew more and more distant with each passing year. Today and tomorrow were much more important than yesterday and the day before yesterday.

A similar bourgeois preoccupation with immediate personal concerns kept both families out of public affairs and indeed out of most external institutional involvements, whether they lived in New York, Baltimore, or New Jersey. Like most middle-class Americans, they voted regularly and discussed politics at home. They all admired first Theodore Roosevelt and then Woodrow Wilson, but that was the limit of their participation. The private, personal sector absorbed their energies and attention, as was characteristic of most Americans. When the Jacobsons and the Kruskals regarded public affairs at all, it was usually from afar, with little sense of personal involvement or active commitment. They made donations to charity, to Jewish philanthropies before 1910 and later more broadly, but the donations were to aid the sick and the poor, not to promote political causes.[69] Politics and public service were not their area of responsibility. Not until the third and fourth generations would ac-

[68] The Kruskal fund was perhaps maintained beyond 1940. William H. Kruskal reports in his letter to the author of Nov. 28, 1970: "I'm not absolutely sure of the linkage, but my Uncle Eugene maintained a Kruskal fund that my sibs and I continued and that still, I believe, has some contingent viability." Between 1900 and 1920 it is apparent that Nicholas Kruskal served as a leader in maintaining family connections. Reva S. Olch reports that her mother (Gail Gertrude Kruskal Sussman) often visited Nicholas in New York and also went "up to the fur emporium to see Joseph who called us his 'mishpocha'." They also had their eyes examined by Dr. Isaac Kruskal. After Nicholas departed for Tel Aviv the connections collapsed. Mrs. Olch reports: "My real belief is that Cousin Nicky held all together" (letter to the author of March 18, 1971). More recently William H. Kruskal has been interested in preserving family connections and maintained a sporadic correspondence with Nicholas' daughter Victoria K. Youdin in Tel Aviv.

[69] According to MJK, family members opposed all parochial schools, including Jewish ones. It is notable, however, that the pharmacist Nicholas Kruskal, who settled in Tel Aviv in the late 1920's, willed his house as a charitable bequest to the University of Tel Aviv on the death of his daughter Victoria Youdin.

tive engagement in public affairs become visible to any significant degree and then as part of a general reform awakening among American youth in the 1960's.

Other institutional commitments were similarly limited. Among the eight sons of Isaac Jacobson and Moses David Kruskal, only two joined synagogues, both Reform—John Jacobson in Brooklyn, and Joseph Kruskal in New Rochelle. David Jacobson and his wife became members of the Ethical Culture Society, as did Herman and Miriam Jacobson Kruskal, and Miriam also joined the Child Study Association as a young matron. But almost without exception these links were partial, temporary, and not passed on to the children. Assimilationist in many ways, neither the Jacobsons nor the Kruskals ever became "joiners," or absorbed themselves in group activities.

In the decade 1920–1930, the older generation passed away. Pauline Mandelstamm Jacobson died in 1922 at the age of seventy-two, and in 1924 the sixty-two-year-old Rosa Kruskal died. She had been active to the end, and the new passport she had just secured for still another European tour was never used. Isaac Jacobson lived on until 1930. In many respects, old age was easier for him than the first years had been. Now his refusal to speak English and his reluctance to compete in the world no longer mattered. He could talk politics and philosophy with his nieces and nephews, and John had found a place for him as a bookkeeper in his shop, so he went there several mornings a week. Pauline and he had always lived near Miriam, and after Pauline's death, Miriam looked after him. He delighted in his grandchildren, and the affection he had felt for his own children when they were little was renewed. When his health deteriorated in 1926, it was believed best that he move in with Clara Jacobson Pirosh in Baltimore, so that Dr. Pirosh could supervise his care. There, at the age of eighty-two, he died quietly and peacefully, with the anxieties of youth and middle age already laid to rest.[70] With his death in 1930, the last link to the life of centuries was broken. He had been the last one raised within the Pale of Zagare and educated in a ghetto yeshiva.

[70] Judgment based on MJK recollections and on Isaac Jacobson's last letter to MJK written (in German) the day before his death (this letter is in the author's possession).

FAMILY PATTERNS, 1930–1970

With the passing of time, generational lines have blurred to a point where each generation no longer possesses temporal cohesion.[71] Even in the first generation, the space between Fanny Jacobson Trubek's first child (born in 1896) and Joseph B. Kruskal's last child (born in 1928) was thirty-two years, a time-span longer than the twenty to twenty-five years normally associated with a single generation. Moreover, the number of families has multiplied to a point where unraveling individual stories is neither feasible nor rewarding as family history within the present framework. After all, the first generation born in America was only one-half Jacobson or Kruskal, and by the second generation, everyone within the family was only one-quarter. At this level, the Jacobson or Kruskal identity is largely conventional, an accident of family name. As a result, the only generalizations which can have any meaning are those with a

[71] The interpretation of the direction of family development that follows is largely conventional. The assumptions on which it is based are open to question, however. Martin David Kruskal comments in his letter of Dec. 5, 1970: "I certainly don't question that there has been a tremendous change in the role of the family, one of the major theses your story illustrates. But I do wonder a bit what the effect is of tracing 'downward' the descendants of a single man and seeing what happened to his progeny and how they spread out geographically, etc. Tracing backwards, i.e. 'upward,' one gets the impression of great immobility, since the family stayed in the same (Baltic) region for generations or centuries (supposedly—how definite is that?). But going upward there is only a single line that is at all easily traceable, the male line which keeps the family name; and even if you could trace both sides there would be only two per generation, a doubling, in contrast to the case of descendants where there are many more than two children per generation. This may explain, at least in part, the seeming contrast between the static, confined, immobile, traditional, conservative, etc., etc. families of our ancestors some generations back, and the assimilationist, individualistic, mobile, etc., etc., families of the present. If you would choose one of our ancestors of, say, two centuries ago, in the Baltic area, and trace his descendants downward, are you sure you wouldn't get the same impression of explosive diversification, etc., as in your recent history? I would at least expect to see (with fairly high probability) numerous branches splitting off (from the 'main' line), spreading out geographically, quite possibly assimilating to some noticeable extent, even intermarrying perhaps with Christians. While the distances of geographic dispersion would undoubtedly not be so great as in modern times, relative to the technology of the period they might be just as significant. What I am suggesting, in short, is that the necessities of historical methodology *may* be introducing tremendous bias into your generalizations."

relatively broad base, derived from the experience of more than a handful of family members.

Viewed from this perspective, the history of the families in the past forty years seems to be quite typical of the American upper middle class. Family members have, with rare exceptions, remained secure in their social status, and in the post-Second World War period virtually all have attended college. There has been the marked geographic dispersion characteristic of the class. The concentrations in the metropolitan New York region and in California are comparatively high, but there are also a couple of dozen living elsewhere, in New England, in the Middle West, and Britain. The size of individual families has generally decreased, again following patterns common to the class. Both families, anonymous enough in 1870, have remained anonymous, and no one individual of the Jacobson or Kruskal name, however competent, has as yet made any very distinctive mark on his generation, even within a given profession. Within the past decade, a diminution of the conventional forms of achievement motivation has been visible, but this, too, coincides with a general American phenomenon. One is tempted, therefore, to say merely that the Jacobson and Kruskal families, having risen into the upper middle class, have become typical.

But there is one area, at least, where their behavior pattern seems striking in a significant way. Of the first group of nine marriages (1895–1918) made by the sons and daughters of Isaac Jacobson and Moses David Kruskal, seven were with Jews and only two with Christians. But of the next round of marriages (1923–1957), fifteen were with Christians and only ten with Jews. Although statistics on intermarriage have not been compiled which would permit detailed comparison, it is apparent that neither the Jacobsons nor the Kruskals were typical in their loose association with Judaism and their readiness to melt into the American melting pot. The assimilationist urge has been powerful and has operated at the expense of Jewish identity. By 1970, only a very few family members were practicing Jews, and an almost equal number were practicing Christians. The great majority, on the other hand, had moved away from formal religion entirely. This, too, reflects a general phenomenon, but in this instance it is exaggerated in its extent. One reason perhaps is that both families were ethnically detached from New

York Judaism's dominant groups. Coming from Latvia and Estonia, they were distinctly outside the German-Jewish community, but since they had become Germanicized for a generation or two in Goldingen and Dorpat, they also found the Yiddish culture of Russian Jews alien. As a result, the dynamics of ethnicity within the Jewish population reinforced the movement away from traditional connections that had begun years before.[72]

Retrospect: The Meaning of Family Experience, 1870–1970

When Moses David Kruskal and Isaac Jacobson left the Baltic region and the Russian Empire, they acted primarily for their children's well-being. Both middle-aged, they wanted to protect their children from the hazards a Jew faced in Russia and to provide them with greater opportunity. They could not see into the distant future; they saw only the prospects which lay immediately ahead in the Romanov empire—repression, declining status, a contraction of their liberties. Had they foreseen the Soviet Revolution and the two world wars, their decisions would have been confirmed. They were, in 1890 and 1891, wiser than they knew. Of all the countries they might have chosen, the United States turned out to be best suited to their aspirations. They were not Zionists or "political" men; for each, his first interest was the well-being of his immediate family.

Within a generation their aspirations had been substantially realized. Their offspring enjoyed better material status, greater personal liberty, and broader freedom for individual development than their counterparts in Russia. The goals of the fathers were fulfilled beyond their expectations. But it was these same elements of American life which destroyed the delicate balance which had helped to provide family cohesion and identity. Already in the second half of the nineteenth century, the family was facing serious challenges as an institution, but it was still, for the Jacobsons and Kruskals, the Mandelstamms and Jaffes, a vital, cohesive organism which provided lifelong security—psychological, social, and economic. In

[72] This interpretation was suggested by Professor Helen L. Horowitz of Union College. The Piroshes in Baltimore found that they were in precisely this position—regarded as outsiders by both the German and Russian Jewish communities.

America, however, it gradually lost most of its positive functions. In the early years, family members called on their kinfolk when they were in need—in personal crises and also in business dealings.[73] But in time these needs were provided for in other ways, by voluntary friendships and social institutions—banks, insurance companies, social agencies—and so the extended family became an empty husk. Its strength, both for nutrition and constraint, was soon exhausted. Even the nuclear families which survived lost many of their functions. Peer groups replaced the family as sources for children's norms, and parental authority lost much of its weight as well as its rationale. Nuclear families survived, but largely as incubators for individual development rather than as conduits for the transmission of familial norms. Only in their individualism and assimilationism can parental norms be said to have survived; yet even here the story is ambiguous. Between 1870 and 1910, marriages had been contracted between people with family connections, and parental consent played on active part. Today, however, parents play virtually no role in marital choices; they are spectators, and this most crucial decision from the perspective of family identity and continuity has been entirely individualized.

It is this pervasive individualism, the primacy of individual values and choices, which traditional families held in check. Moses David Kruskal and Isaac Jacobson, themselves operating under individualist influence, could not anticipate its development of virtually unrestrained power. The consequences of individualism, challenging, rewarding, and dangerous, will dominate the history of these families in the next century. Ironically, rampant individualism and the fragmentation of the family have created a modest interest in family history. A longing to discover their "roots" and to maintain some association with them is a reaction to the individualistic, socially fragmented environment of contemporary America. But such a family history is also an anachronism. It is a testament to a once vital institution which embraced our grandparents, but has died with us.

[73] In a conversation, July 25, 1970, between the author, MJK, and Isaac Jaffe this theme of familial interdependence was emphasized, together with the realization that it could also lead to misunderstandings, broken promises, rivalry, and hostility. It is no wonder, then, that people often preferred to avoid intra-familial social services, since the emotional cost was often high.

Contemporary Problems, 1855

BY ISAAC MAYER WISE

I. Their Cause

Every period of time has its problems, because each one produces new conditions and new occurrences. The conditions and occurrences of the present time are, however, so manifold, so complicated, and follow upon one another so rapidly, that our time has multiple, substantial, and very numerous problems to solve, which, partly through their direct touching upon life, and partly through their close contact with feelings or with understanding, demand quick solution.

The realm in which we are active, that is to say, the Jewish one, likewise has its contemporary problems, because conditions and occurrences have had such an effect upon the Israelites, whose standpoint in society, in religion, and in manner of observation has been of such kind that everything has shaped itself as new, as never perceived, and as unsuspected. Hence the struggling, the striving, and the contention among our coreligionists in old Europe.

Our American Israel is now especially agitated by important contemporary problems, because quite peculiar conditions and events have affected us very powerfully. We have hastened through remarkable metamorphoses with such lightning-like rapidity that we did not even have the time to recognize the various phases, and thus to comprehend our present standpoint correctly. We shall cite a few changes which have occurred among us.

At one time we moved in slow, deliberate, orderly, and pedantic Germany, where every human impulse, the physical and moral as well as the religious and intellectual, limped along slowly on the crutches of rules which were taken for granted. All of a sudden we were transplanted into the whirlpool of American life, which is youthful and fiery, unbridled, and in constant pursuit, in which hu-

man beings, animals, and plants shoot up more quickly; where the roses bloom and fade more rapidly; where wealth, honor, and respect are more quickly gained and lost; where the power of steam seems to be too sluggish; and where everyday life becomes rejuvenated. From the land of stability we have been transposed into the land of quick motion; out of old age we have been transposed into youth, almost as through a magic stroke.

We seize upon and utilize this revolution quite rapidly in our business activities, because the satisfaction of physical needs and the desire for possessions impel us forward. But in this very way there have arisen also important problems in the spiritual realm, problems which are not the less important because so few persons have the desire to solve them. Nonetheless, they must be solved if our spiritual life is in some manner to be harmonized with the lightning-like pursuit.

Formerly we were subjects of the kings, emperors, princes, or however the great lords in old Europe are called. Then [in addition] there were Jewish laws, Jewish taxes, Jewish police, Jewish quarters, Jewish registration, and a hundred other petty and offensive vexations. But then there were also a thousand considerations with regard to the state, the ruling church, the authorities, officials, police, priests, clerks, chancery servants, etc. And suddenly we stand here, free citizens of the freest country. Everything petty and irritating has been dashed to the ground. The compulsory and humiliating considerations are no longer in existence. We have entered upon a new existence. We quickly comprehend and utilize the republican attitude, because it is too glorious and offers too many advantages not to be comprehended. But the political change has also shaken all the foundation-pillars of the spirit; important and urgent problems have emerged in this area, problems whose solution is of the most pressing necessity.

Another, no less effective, change has taken place among us, and it is this: many of us were born and brought up in villages or little cities, and the law bound the Israelite to his village or to his little city, just as a tree is attached to the earth. There everything proceeds at its customary snail's pace, everything is slow, traditional, and old. Custom decides every problem of life. That's the way the

father did it, and that's the way the son does it, and the grandchildren do it no other way. But now, for the most part, we all live in large cities, where in four weeks palaces rise from the ground, where one invention replaces the other, where each day the entire history of a little German city unrolls, and where anyone who walks along slowly is run down. This has produced, in the manner of thinking and in the way of viewing things, a transformation which only a few persons are still able to comprehend. But this has also cast up contemporary problems which urgently demand solution.

No less important, again, is the following phenomenon. In Europe generally, and in Germany in particular, people stand too far removed from one another, separated by a thousand prejudices, abuses, laws, and regulations, and torn apart from one another by dialects, clothing, district authorities, priestly cunning, and implanted stupidity. But here we are in one country, where twenty-four million people speak one language and one idiom, have the same customs, usages, virtues, and vices, and the same laws and public institutions; where the food, the clothing, the names of the streets, and the architectural style of the houses are everywhere almost the same; where each one is bound to the interests of the common state, and to its institutions with the same force; where people are always traveling and wandering, hastening with the speed of the wind through the vast territories. Here people stand far closer together; they argue more freely; here the angular, rough points of prejudice are more easily repelled; here people listen more attentively to their neighbors, visit other institutions with less prejudice, admire the beautiful, respect what is true, and ridicule what is petty and replete with prejudice. But here they direct their judgment more easily to themselves and to their favorite institutions, and then more and more rid themselves of their prejudice, and with a smile lay aside their puffed-up egoism.

Now it is evident how this new relationship has affected the Israelites especially; indeed, it is obvious in our business life, in our domestic system, and in our public life, in our societies, in our speech, and in our usages, which are all thoroughly Americanized. It is evident in our intimate relations with non-Israelites, in political life, and in communal arrangements.

No rational person can possibly arrive at the belief that our manner of thinking and our point of view in spiritual and religious respects have not also similarly been strongly affected and revolutionized. We think quite differently about things, and we conceive of them in a totally different way. This change has forced upon us contemporary problems whose discussion and solution have become an urgent necessity.

Without entering further into their causes, we shall, in the next issue, discuss the importance of these contemporary problems.*

[*Deborah* (Cincinnati), August 31, 1855: translated by Abraham I. Shinedling]

* Apparently, Wise never printed the second part of this article in the *Deborah.*

A NEW POSTER SERIES

In anticipation of the Bicentennial of the American Revolution, the American Jewish Archives has issued six new multi-colored posters depicting important scenes and events involving Jews during the Revolutionary War.

These posters, and the earlier series:

Jewish participation in the Civil War
Immigrants from Eastern Europe
Episodes in eighteenth-century American Jewish life
Abba Hillel Silver at the United Nations

are available without charge for display by all schools, libraries, congregations, and organizations or agencies interested in American Jewish history.

When properly matted and mounted on heavy cardboard, these posters make a very attractive exhibit.

Inquiries should be addressed to the Director of the American Jewish Archives, Clifton Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio 45220

Book Review

EMMANUEL, ISAAC S. and SUZANNE A. *History of the Jews in the Netherlands Antilles.* Cincinnati: American Jewish Archives, 1970. 2 vols., 1,165 pp. $35.00. Distributed by Ktav Publishing Co., New York, N.Y.

The Emmanuels have produced an important work. Curaçao is the only place in the Western Hemisphere which can rival New York in having had a Jewish community for more than 300 years. For more than half of that period, Curaçao's community was far larger, far more prosperous, and far more important than New York's. The synagogue of Congregation Mikve Israel of Curaçao, erected in 1732, is thirty years older than the oldest surviving Jewish house of worship in the United States, the Touro Synagogue at Newport, Rhode Island. According to the Emmanuels, the 1732 building was the fifth house of worship used by the Jews of Curaçao!

The history of this significant community needed to be written. In 1897, Joseph Moses Corcos, serving as hazzan in the community, published an inaccurate and inadequate 48-page *Synopsis of the History of the Jews of Curaçao.* It remained for Isaac Emmanuel, assisted by his wife Suzanne, to bring forth this definitive work. Rabbi Emmanuel brought to his task the experience of having written two volumes about the Jewish community of his birthplace, Salonika, Greece. One volume contained biographies of 500 individuals whose epitaphs he copied from the tombstones in the Salonika Jewish cemetery; the other was a history of the community. These works he paralleled for Curaçao when in 1957 he published his *Precious Stones of the Jews of Curaçao; Curaçaon Jewry, 1656–1957,* a valuable and monumental record of Curaçao's ancient "beth haim" (cemetery)—which could not be written today, since the epitaphs have been heavily damaged by fumes from an adjacent oil refinery. Although Emmanuel served Mikve Israel for only three years, 1936–1939, he was sufficiently inspired by its history to persist in returning to the island for various extended periods between other employment, and subsequently spent many months in Amsterdam perusing records which added flesh to his story.

The result is a carefully documented account of more than three hundred years of Jewish life, chiefly in Curaçao, but with valuable insights into such satellite communities as Aruba, St. Eustatius, and St. Maarten.

Volume I is devoted to history. It is definitely a rabbi's eye-view. While other factors, economic and political, are dealt with, it is chiefly the story of Congregation Mikve Israel and its leadership, lay and spir-

itual. Anyone who believes that battles between rabbis and lay leaders are strictly contemporary phenomena has only to read this work to learn how bitter such battles have been throughout Jewish history in the New World. And Rabbi Emmanuel does not hesitate to editorialize about each of these battles. This subjectivity makes the account more colorful and enlivens the reading. That the book achieved publication is a tribute to the tolerance of the present-day leaders of Mikve Israel, who not only sanctioned the printing of this "washing of dirty linen" about their ancestors, but contributed to the cost of its publication. The authors are especially critical of the 1963 merger of Reform Congregation Emanu-El with Mikve Israel under the banner of Reconstructionism, effected by the then incumbent rabbi, Simeon J. Maslin, the first alumnus of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion to serve in Curaçao. This merger ended a century-old schism in the Sephardic community. Emmanuel's Orthodox bias had brought his ministry to an end at Mikve Israel and now overcame any recognition that this venerable congregation had long since deserted many of the traditions of Orthodoxy, and that merger represented the salvation rather than the destruction of this historic community.

Volume II consists almost entirely of documents: the "hascamoth" (regulations) adopted by the congregation; lists of plantation owners, shipowners, and captains; commercial lists and documents; items pertaining to charity for the Holy Land; taxpayers and homeowners in the early 18th century; lists of parnassim (presidents and vice-presidents) and other officers; documents relating to the synagogue property and erection. A fascinating section deals with the relationship of the Curaçao Jewish community to other Caribbean islands and to the American mainland. Here we see how many of the North American communities were aided financially by Curaçao, especially in the construction of synagogues.

One of the largest and genealogically most valuable sections is the list of marriages in Mikve Israel. While the records are not complete, Emmanuel has endeavored to identify the individuals. It is regrettable that he did not include other extant vital records, notably the birth records, which exist in two incomplete forms: one in the archives of Mikve Israel, and the other (discovered by this writer) among the papers given the American Jewish Archives by descendants of the Rev. Solomon Cohen Peixotto (1785–1837), who served in Charleston, S. C., from 1823 to 1835. Peixotto, a native of Curaçao, took the trouble to copy out the regulations and birth records of Mikve Israel when he went to serve as hazzan in St. Thomas.

Along with further lists of Jews in Curaçao, Emmanuel provides us with all the extant records of the defunct Jewish community of St. Eustatius. He gives the full story of Admiral George B. Rodney's seizure of

this island, the first foreign authority to recognize the American flag. As a result of Rodney's dispersal of the Jews of "Statia," the communities of St. Croix, St. Thomas, and St. Maarten grew strong enough to erect synagogues.

Although hundreds of individuals are named in the course of the history, few emerge as personalities. Certainly many must have left personal documents which would afford insights into our knowledge of them as people. One such, whom Emmanuel does biograph briefly, was the philanthropist Abraham Mendes de Castro. He is singled out for his piety, for sponsoring in Holland the publication of a Spanish-Hebrew Bible, and for his generous will. The only other individual to whom Emmanuel accords a biography is the late Jossy M. L. Maduro (1891–1964), a scion of Curaçao's leading mercantile family and a man of broad historical interests, who was very much Emmanuel's patron in the preparation of this magnum opus.

The historian and genealogist will ever be grateful to the Emmanuels for this encyclopedia of lore. The economic historian and the sociologist will find ample material here for study. The Jewish traveler to the Caribbean will understand the sights that he sees there—ruined synagogues as well as living ones, ancient Jewish cemeteries, and strange customs—far better after perusing these volumes.

The publishers have put together two handsome volumes, sturdily bound and beautifully illustrated with photographs of people, places, documents, tombstones—all of which help to make this history live. Yes, this is an important book!

New York, N.Y. MALCOLM H. STERN

LOAN EXHIBITS

Sixty-three exhibit items dealing, for the most part, with the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The American Jewish Archives will be pleased to make these exhibit items available on loan, free of charge, for a two week period, to any institution in the United States or Canada. A selection of twenty to thirty items make an adequate exhibit. The only expense involved is the cost of return postage.

Inquiries should be addressed to the Director of the American Jewish Archives, Clifton Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio 45220.

Brief Notices

DAVID, JAY, Edited by. *Growing Up Jewish.* New York: Pocket Books, 1970. xi, 289 pp. 95¢ [Paperback]

The Americans growing up Jewish in this collection of childhood memoirs are Raphael Jacob Moses, Oscar S. Straus, Rebekah Kohut, Edna Ferber, Lewis Meyer, Harry Golden, Sam Levenson, Alfred Kazin, Edna Sheklow, Gertrude Berg, Robert Kotlowitz, Allan Sherman, and Elsa Rosenberg.

DAVIES, ROSEMARY REEVES. *The Rosenbluth Case: Federal Justice on Trial.* Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1970. xxvi, 252 pp. $9.95

Professor Davies tells the story of a Jewish army captain, Robert Rosenbluth, who struggled during the early 1920's to exonerate himself from charges of having murdered Major Alexander Cronkhite, a Christian, during World War I. Anti-Semitism, militarism, anti-radicalism, and political ambition were all involved in the Rosenbluth case, but not substantially, suggests Leo Pfeffer in a foreword: "It is because . . . what happened to Rosenbluth is essentially a case study in the ordinary rather than in the extraordinary that it merits careful and concerned study." Included in the volume are photographs, an appendix, documentation, and an index.

DECTER, MOSHE, Edited by. *Redemption! Redemption! Redemption!—Jewish Freedom Letters from Russia.* New York: American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry and Conference on the Status of Soviet Jews, 1970. 93 pp. 75¢ [Paperback]

As Bayard Rustin observes in his foreword, "the authors of the letters in this volume suffer from a form of oppression far more subtle than that exercised by the Nazis . . . the major threat to Soviet Jewry is not the destruction of life but the obliteration of the Jews as a *people.* . . . The cry for redemption in these letters takes the simple form of the request to go to Israel."

DINNERSTEIN, LEONARD, and FREDERIC COPLE JAHER, Edited by. *The Aliens: A History of Ethnic Minorities in America.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1970. viii, 347 pp. $3.95 [Paperback]

Among the articles by various authors on ethnic minorities in America reprinted here is "Jews in America" by the editors of *Fortune Magazine.* The article first appeared in the February, 1936, issue of *Fortune.* Drs. Dinnerstein and Jaher have supplied introductory material.

DOROSHKIN, MILTON. *Yiddish in America: Social and Cultural Foundations.* Rutherford, N. J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1969. 281 pp. $10.00

Dr. Doroshkin, a sociologist on the faculty of Bronx Community College in New York, takes as "the heart of [his] study . . . the social and cultural role of Yiddish in the community of 'Russian' immigrants." His method "is to analyze the cultural institutions that the Eastern Jews have created and thus reveal the

role of the Yiddish language." The book includes a number of appendices relating to immigration statistics, the Yiddish press, and the *landsmanshaften*. There is also an extensive bibliography, and an index.

ESSLIN, MARTIN. *The Peopled Wound: The Work of Harold Pinter.* Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1970. x, 270 pp. $5.95

"The time . . . is not yet ripe for a biography of Harold Pinter," writes Mr. Esslin, of the British Broadcasting Corporation, but the career of this notable playwright is given in outline form, and his "oeuvre as a writer is examined work by work, with special emphasis on his plays." Pinter, Esslin concludes, "has remained in the forefront of contemporary . . . dramatists and has steadily consolidated his position. This . . . must be regarded as empirical evidence . . . of a genuine contribution to contemporary drama, its style, idiom, subject matter, and flavour."

GARTNER, LLOYD P., Edited by. *Jewish Education in the United States: A Documentary History.* New York: Teachers College Press, 1969. xv, 225 pp. $6.95

Part of Columbia University's "Classics in Education" series, this volume traces Jewish education, "its various definitions and redefinitions from the first formal efforts . . . in New York during the provincial era through the great debates that divided the Jewish community during the first half of the twentieth century."

GINSBERG, LOUIS. *Chapters on the Jews of Virginia, 1658–1900.* Petersburg, Va.: Privately published, 1969. x, 108 pp.

Charlottesville, Harrisonburg, Alexandria, Danville, Lynchburg, and Staunton are among the communities discussed in Mr. Ginsberg's monograph. The book includes twenty-six illustrations and an index.

GLANZ, RUDOLF. *Studies in Judaica Americana.* New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1970. ix, 407 pp. $14.95

What Dr. Glanz offers here, for the most part, is a collection of essays on the German Jewish experience in the United States. As Jacob R. Marcus says in his foreword, "these essays are a quarry for the historian." They range in subject matter from nineteenth-century immigration to "German-Jewish Names in America," "The Rothschild Legend in America," and "Jewish Social Conditions as Seen by the Muckrakers." A pity that the publisher did not enhance the book's usefulness by providing an index.

GOLDBURG, NORMAN M. *Patrick J. McGillicuddy and the Rabbi.* Los Altos, Cal.: Geron-X, 1969. 247 pp. $5.95

The author, rabbi of the Walton Way Temple in Augusta, Georgia, and a member of the philosophy department at Augusta College, has written a clever satirical sketch of American Jewish community life. The book includes drawings by Stephen Osborn.

GOREN, ARTHUR A. *New York Jews and the Quest for Community.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1970. x, 361 pp. $10.00

Boston-born Dr. Goren, a member of the Hebrew University faculty in Jerusalem, received Columbia University's annual Bancroft Award for this work. Subtitled "The Kehillah Experiment, 1908–1922," Dr. Goren's book has as its "ultimate concern" an exploration of the "dual process" evinced by immigrant Jews in early twentieth-century New York City: "the struggle to maintain ethnic integrity and to achieve social accommodation." More immediately, he deals with "the striving of key elements of New York Jewry during the second decade of the . . . century to establish a comprehensive communal structure." This masterly book contains notes, a bibliography, and an index.

GROLLMAN, EARL A. *Talking About Death: A Dialogue Between Parent and Child.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1970. 32 pp. $6.00

Rabbi Grollman has written this unusual book "with the hope that when a death does occur, the child may be sympathetically guided toward an honest understanding of its real meaning." There are splendidly appropriate illustrations by Gisela Héau.

GROSSMAN, RUTH and BOB. *The Chinese-Kosher Cookbook.* New York: Pocket Books, 1970. 107 pp. 75¢ [Paperback]

———. *The Italian-Kosher Cookbook.* New York: Pocket Books, 1970. 113 pp. 75¢ [Paperback]

To quote Grandma Slipakoff, to whom one of these books is dedicated (the other is dedicated "to the ladies of Hadassah, God bless them, every one!"), *"as men lebt, d'lebt men alles"*—if you live long enough, you experience everything! The recipes in both books "have been authenticated as Kosher by Rabbi Norman Siegel of the Jewish Center of Kings Highway, Brooklyn, New York."

GUTMANN, JOSEPH, Edited by. *Beauty in Holiness: Studies in Jewish Customs and Ceremonial Art.* New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1970. xxvi, 513 pp. $19.95

Professor Gutmann, of the Wayne State University faculty, offers here, in addition to a lengthy and detailed introductory essay of his own, twenty-one previously published, but no longer easily available "basic essays which answer in authoritative fashion a good many of the questions scholars and laymen ask about Jewish customs and ceremonial art." Among the scholars represented in the collection are Mark Wischnitzer, Guido Schoenberger, Alfred Werner, Franz Landsberger, Jacob Z. Lauterbach, Solomon B. Freehof, and Dr. Gutmann himself. Illustrations accompany many of the studies, but no index has been provided.

GUTTMANN, ALEXANDER. *Rabbinic Judaism in the Making.* Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1970. xx, 323 pp. $17.95

Subtitled "A Chapter in the History of the Halakhah from Ezra to Judah I," this volume "is unique in that it demonstrates for the first time in English how the development of Jewish legal tradition was directed and implemented by the Pharisaic and rabbinic leadership from the earliest times to the end of the tannaitic period, ca. 220 C.E." The author is professor of Talmud and

rabbinics at the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati.

HENTOFF, NAT, Introduced by. *Black Anti-Semitism and Jewish Racism.* New York: Richard W. Baron, 1969. xvii, 237 pp. $5.95

What is Black Anti-Semitism, and how are we to account for its apparently sudden appearance in recent years? Has it corroded what had been regarded as a traditional "special relationship" between Jews and Blacks? Or is that relationship no more than myth, and the issue itself something of a racist tactic? Nat Hentoff, James Baldwin, Earl Raab, Jay Kaufman, Alan W. Miller, William H. Booth, Walter Karp, H. R. Shapiro, Harold Cruse, Albert Vorspan, and Julius Lester argue these and related questions.

HERMAN, SIMON N. *American Students in Israel.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970. ix, 236 pp. $7.50

The author, a South African, is a member of the Hebrew University faculty in Jerusalem, and conducted his study of American students in Israel between 1965 and 1969. "For the Jewish students who came to Israel," he writes, "the academic side of their stay was of secondary import; they came because of their interest in a country to which they saw themselves related by virtue of their Jewishness." Prof. Herman's account is documented and supplemented with tables, a bibliography, and an index.

HOWE, IRVING. *Decline of the New.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1970. x, 326 pp. $7.50.

In these essays, most of them written during the 1960's, Mr. Howe keeps returning "to the idea that the literary culture of the last century has been dominated by a style of perception and composition—a style at once iconoclastic, difficult, and experimental—that we call modernist and . . . to the possibility that we are now living through the unsettling moral and intellectual consequences of the breakup of modernist culture." Among the essays are "I. B. Singer: False Messiahs and Modern Sensibility" and "The New York Intellectuals."

IGNATOW, DAVID. *Poems, 1934–1969.* Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1970. xvii, 262 pp. $7.95

Brooklyn-born Ignatow is a former editor of the *Beloit Poetry Journal* and a former poetry editor of *The Nation.* He is by any measure one of America's outstanding poets, and also in many respects a very Jewish poet. The present collection includes, *inter alia,* poems of Jewish reference like "We Came Naked," "Europe and America," "A Semblance," and "The Bagel."

JAFFE, HAROLD, and JOHN TYTELL, Edited by. *The American Experience: A Radical Reader.* New York: Harper & Row, 1970. xiii, 460 pp. $3.95 [Paperback]

Their "radical reader," the editors declare, "employs a variety of unconventional forms (manifestoes, speeches, interviews, a symposium, poetry, rock-lyrics, and scenarios), in addition to the essay, to speak directly to—not down

to—students about life in contemporary America." Of particular Jewish interest are the contributions of Allen Ginsberg, Norman Mailer, Abbie Hoffman, Louis Kampf, Martin Duberman, Leo Litwak, Harold Rosenberg, Allan Kaprow, Jerome Rothenberg, Susan Sontag, Lenny Bruce, Alan and David Arkin, Barry Wallenstein, Edward Field, Denise Levertov, and Paul Goodman. An author and title index enhances the value of an exceptionally interesting volume.

Jewish Book Annual: Volume 28 (5731—1970–1971). New York: Jewish Book Council of America and National Jewish Welfare Board, 1970. 276 pp. $6.00

This indispensable annual contains, in addition to the usual bibliographies, Sidney L. Berger's "The Jew in Recent American Drama," Salamon Faber's "Judaica Production of University Presses," Sefton D. Temkin's "A Review of Judaica Reprints," Nathan M. Kaganoff's "Library of the American Jewish Historical Society," Charles A. Madison's "Marvin Lowenthal, 1890–1969," and A. Alan Steinbach's "Solomon Grayzel: On . . . His 75th Birthday," *inter alia.*

KANOF, ABRAM. *Jewish Ceremonial Art and Religious Observance.* New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1970. 253 pp. $25.00

Dr. Kanof, observes Louis Finkelstein in a foreword, brings to his book "a knowledgeability and devotion made even more remarkable by the fact that he combines his avocation in [art] with the rigorous demands of a medical career." The volume is splendidly illustrated; twenty-five of its 270 illustrations are presented in full color. Dr. Kanof has included notes and a glossary-index.

RIBALOW, HAROLD U., Edited by. *My Name Aloud: Jewish Stories by Jewish Writers.* South Brunswick, N. J.: Thomas Yoseloff, 1969. 560 pp. $8.95

"American Jewish writers," Mr. Ribalow declares in his introduction, "have made a substantial contribution to the American short story." Their stories "describe, explain and illuminate American Jewish life sharply, intelligently and artistically." Certainly the stories—nearly forty of them by as many writers—which Ribalow has collected here support that statement. Among the writers represented are Charles Angoff, Jerome Charyn, Stanley Elkin, Richard Elman, Joel Lieber, Bernard Malamud, Hugh Nissenson, Cynthia Ozick, Henry Roth, Philip Roth, and Samuel Yellen.

ROBBINS, HAROLD. *The Inheritors.* New York: Trident Press, 1969. 407 pp. $6.95

With this novel, the author completes a trilogy on the motion picture industry. The other two novels in the series are *The Dream Merchants* (1949) and *The Carpetbaggers* (1961). Needless to say, some of Robbins' protagonists are Jews.

ROSE, PETER I., Edited by. *The Ghetto and Beyond: Essays on Jewish Life in America.* New York: Random House, 1969. viii, 504 pp. $8.95

"Radical in thought, reformist in action, bourgeois in manner—and Jewish": this is what Dr. Rose expects today's young Jewish activists to become. His expectation harmonizes with the views expressed by many of the essayists whose writings make up *The Ghetto and Beyond.* Among the essayists are Seymour

Martin Lipset, Marshall Sklare, Sherwin T. Wine, Louis Ruchames, Milton Himmelfarb, Philip Roth, and several more.

ROUNTREE, MOSES. *Strangers in the Land: The Story of Jacob Weil's Tribe.* Philadelphia: Dorrance & Company, 1969. xvi, 177 pp. $4.95

Without the German-born Weil brothers who settled at Goldsboro in the 1860's, North Carolina Jewish history would have been much different—and much less memorable. It was largely due to the Weils and their descendants that Goldsboro Jewry became what Iser L. Freund calls in his introduction a "community where American integration and Jewish loyalty were upheld with dignity and responsibility." Mr. Rountree's text is attractively supplemented by a number of photographs.

SANDERS, RONALD. *The Downtown Jews: Portraits of an Immigrant Generation.* New York: Harper & Row, 1969. xi, 477 pp. $10.00

What Mr. Sanders offers in this superb book is a venture in "ethnic archeology," as he calls it—in particular the archeology of the old Lower East Side Jewish culture which was centered south of Houston Street and slightly east of Second Avenue in pre-World War I New York. The hero of this book—the Downtown Jew *par excellence,* as it were—is Abraham Cahan. Sanders' book is an excellent companion piece to *The Education of Abraham Cahan.* There are also a number of photographs, a glossary, a bibliography, and an index.

SCHULZ, MAX F. *Radical Sophistication: Studies in Contemporary Jewish-American Novelists.* Athens: Ohio University Press, 1969. xvi, 224 pp. $2.95 [Paperback]

As Professor Schulz sees it, "the humanistic exploration of man's place in society" is what characterizes post-World War II American Jewish fiction. It is, he feels, an exploration which gives rich evidence of "radical sophistication" on the part of its perpetrators. The post-war writers on whom he focusses include Isaac B. Singer, Bernard Malamud, Norman Mailer, Saul Bellow, Leslie A. Fiedler, Edward Lewis Wallant, Bruce Jay Friedman, and Jerome David Salinger. There is also a chapter on their predecessor, Nathanael West. Dr. Schulz provides notes and an index.

SCHWARTZ, GWEN GIBSON, and BARBARA WYDEN. *The Jewish Wife.* New York: Peter H. Wyden, Inc., 1969. vi, 308 pp. $6.95

As the authors see it—and, though married to Jews, they are both non-Jews—"the Jewish wife is . . . perhaps the world's most libeled female. The fact is that 30 years ago the caricature that still makes people chuckle today contained more than a kernel of truth. Today it is absurdly obsolete."

SCHWARZ, JOSEPH. *Descriptive Geography and Brief Historical Sketch of Palestine.* Translated by Isaac Lesser. New York: Hermon Press, 1969. 519 pp. $13.75

When the Bavarian-born rabbi Joseph Schwarz (1804–1865) visited the United States in 1849, Isaac Leeser was inspired to translate his Hebrew-language *Tevuot Ha-Aretz* (1845) into English. The work first appeared at Philadelphia in 1850; it has been reissued by Hermon Press in a facsimile reprint complete with maps and several engravings. Judah David Eisenstein, biographizing Schwarz in *The*

Jewish Encyclopedia (XI, 119), spoke of Leeser's translation as "probably the most important Jewish work published in America up to that time."

SELZNICK, GERTRUDE J., and STEPHEN STEINBERG. *The Tenacity of Prejudice: Anti-Semitism in Contemporary America.* New York: Harper & Row, 1969. xxi, 248 pp. $8.95

This volume, part of the University of California Five-Year Study of anti-Semitism in the United States and underwritten by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, poses three questions: "*How much* anti-Semitism is there? *Where* —among what kinds of people—is it most prevalent? And . . . *Why* are some kinds of people more likely than others to be anti-Semitic?" Sixty-two tables and charts plus an index contribute to the book's usefulness.

SHARABI, HISHAM. *Palestine and Israel: The Lethal Dilemma.* New York: Pegasus, 1969. 224 pp. $6.95

Professor Sharabi would have it that "three main factors . . . have directly or indirectly governed the formulation and implementation of American policy in the Arab world." The first factor "stems from a fundamental American cultural antipathy towards the Arabs." The second reflects "Russia's brilliant successes in the area." The third "has to do with the American political system" and "the role which pressure groups . . . play in influencing foreign-policy decisions." An index is included.

SHERMAN, BERNARD. *The Invention of the Jew: Jewish-American Education Novels (1916–1964).* New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1969. 256 pp. $7.50

The American Jewish *Bildungsroman*—a genre depicting "the initiation into experience of a boy or youth, tracing his passage from innocence to awareness, his realization of the particular meaning of the life of a Jew in the American city"—is the focus of Dr. Sherman's interest. He begins with Nathan Kussey's *The Abyss* (1916), goes on to Abraham Cahan's *The Rise of David Levinsky* (1917), and brings his account up to Bruce Jay Friedman's *A Mother's Kisses* (1964). A bibliography and an index are supplied.

SINGER, HOWARD. *Bring Forth the Mighty Men: On Violence and the Jewish Character.* New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1969. 259 pp. $6.95

"One of the least foreseeable casualties of the Arab-Israeli [Six-Day] War [of 1967] was . . . the hopeful Christian-Jewish theological dialogue in the United States." Jews discovered again that "they have always bled for everybody, but nobody bleeds for them." Singer retells the story of the war and its impact on both American and Israeli Jews as a drama in which Jews struggle to refit themselves for survival.

SINGER, ISAAC BASHEVIS. *The Estate.* New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1969. 374 pp. $6.95

Singer's novel is a sequel to *The Manor* (1967), listed in the "Brief Notices" of April, 1970. *The Manor* began with the Polish rebellion of 1863; *The Estate* takes the story to the last years of the nineteenth century and describes the emigration of some of the characters to America.

STEIN, GERTRUDE. *Narration: Four Lectures.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969. viii, 62 pp.

The four lectures on literature which are presented in this handsome "Collector's Edition" were delivered at the University of Chicago in March, 1935, and were first published that same year. "The great reward of these lectures," says Thornton Wilder in introducing them, "lies in the richness and vitality of the ideas contained in them."

STERN, PHILIP M., with HAROLD P. GREEN. *The Oppenheimer Case: Security on Trial.* New York: Harper & Row, 1969. xii, 591 pp. $10.00

In a way, it might be said, J. Robert Oppenheimer's unhappy encounter with the United States Government in 1954 is only the pretext for this remarkable book. The text is "the vices of the security system itself and their malign effects on American society." Included is a special commentary on the Oppenheimer case by Lloyd K. Garrison, who served as Oppenheimer's chief defense counsel. The authors offer extensive documentation and also provide an index.

SUKENICK, RONALD. *The Death of the Novel and Other Stories.* New York: Dial Press, 1969. 175 pp. $4.95

Not a few readers will be puzzled by the six stories in this book. Brooklyn-born Sukenick is nothing if not unorthodox in his approach to fiction. Who can say what American (and American Jewish) literature will be tomorrow? But perhaps a *soupçon* glimmers here.

TORRES, TERESKA. *The Open Doors.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1968. 220 pp. $4.95

The author—she is Mrs. Meyer Levin—has written a novel whose American Jewish protagonist becomes involved in the Haganah's clandestine efforts to bring Jewish D. P.'s, survivors of Nazism, to Mandatory Palestine.

VAUGEOIS, DENIS. *Les Juifs et la Nouvelle-France.* Trois-Rivières, Québec: Éditions Boréal Express, 1968. 155 pp. $3.75 [Paperback-French]

In four chapters, Vaugeois discusses—not invariably with a lack of anti-Jewish bias—the first Jews to appear in present-day Canada, the services rendered the French crown by the Gradis family, those rendered the English crown by the Frankses, and the Jews who established themselves in Canada after the British conquest. An index and a bibliography are supplied.

VELIE, LESTER. *Countdown in the Holy Land.* New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1969. xii, 224 pp. $5.95

Velie's attempt to explicate American-Soviet relations in the Middle East suggests that "an atomic clock is ticking in the Holy Land" and "the Middle East, which gave birth to three major world religions, could be the burial ground of civilization." Velie offers some documentation and provides an index.

VORSPAN, ALBERT. *My Rabbi Doesn't Make House Calls.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1969. xii, 151 pp. $3.95

"If you begin to understand how Jews think, feel, behave and respond to stim-

uli," the author, a self-described "Jewish bureaucrat," assures us, "you will be a better, more sensitive person. And you will know a hell of a lot more than I do." Nonetheless, he has somehow managed to put together thirteen chapters plus an epilogue in a memorable volume which the dustcover properly characterizes as "a guide to games Jews play."

WASKOW, ARTHUR I. *The Freedom Seder: A New Haggadah for Passover.* New York: Holt/Rinehart/Winston, 1970. vii, 56 pp. $3.95

Dr. Waskow, a member of the board of the National Jewish Organizing Project and of Jews for Urban Justice in Washington, D. C., is active in radical circles. As he sees it, "a Freedom Seder should be not *only* a ritual remembrance, not *only* a shared promise for the future, but itself a political act . . . as the first Passover was. . . ."

WEINBERG, HELEN. *The New Novel in America: The Kafkan Mode in Contemporary Fiction.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970. xix, 248 pp. $6.95

In this very well-written and documented work, Dr. Weinberg examines the novels of Saul Bellow, Norman Mailer, Jerome David Salinger, and others "whose writing in the 1950's and early 1960's represented a reaction against New Critical aestheticism and the self-protectively thin academic novel to which that aestheticism had brought the novel form." These anti-New Critical writers, she suggests, evince a "renaissance of human concern" and a "search for meaningful human value." They "implicitly acknowledge that value resides in or in relation to an undefined, often undefinable, spiritual region, not in or in relation to society." The book includes a selected bibliography and an index.

WELLBORN, CHARLES. *Twentieth Century Pilgrimage: Walter Lippmann and the Public Philosophy.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969. vii, 200 pp. $6.50

Walter Lippmann published *A Preface to Politics* in 1913, and—writes Professor Wellborn—"he remains active and productive in the later years of the 1960's." Lippmann's "life and thought provide a window which permits us to see—not, to be sure, the whole interior of twentieth century man, but a fascinating and well-lighted room within that structure." A bibliography and an index enhance the book's value.

ZELDIS, CHAYYM. *Seek Haven.* New York: Reconstructionist Press, 1968. Unpaginated. $3.95

Zeldis' poems bespeak a profoundly sensitive response to the modern Jewish experience. Some of them appeared originally in periodicals like *Commentary, Midstream, Jewish Frontier, Jewish Quarterly,* and *Reconstructionist.*

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Albany, N. Y. Speech by Mayor John B. Thatcher at the dedication of Temple Beth Emet, 1887; and consecration service of Congregation Beth Jacob, 1848; *Printed; Yiddish* and *English; Xerox*
(Received from Naphtali J. Rubinger, Chicago.)

Argentina. Report by the World Union for Progressive Judaism on the Jewish community, July, 1969; *Typescript*
(Received from Leon Klenicki, Buenos Aires.)

Atlanta, Ga., Hebrew Benevolent Congregation. Correspondence between Arnold Shankman and Hon. Richard B. Russell regarding the October, 1958, bombing of the Temple, 1969; *Typescript* and *Xerox*
(Received from Arnold Shankman, Atlanta.)

Billings, Mont. "Billings, A Continual Community," by Samuel Horowitz, 1970; *Typescript*
(Received from Samuel Horowitz, Billings.)

Braddock, Pa., Agudath Achim Synagogue. Minutes, 1917–1926; *Manuscript; Yiddish*
(Received from Walter Jacob, Pittsburgh.)

Brooklyn, N. Y. References to Jews in the Flatbush Court Records and the King's County Court and Road Records, 1670–1747; *Typescript*
(Received from Malcolm H. Stern, New York.)

Buenos Aires, Argentina, Congregación Emanu-El. Report by Rabbi Rifat Sonsino, 1969; *Typescript; Mimeograph*
(Received from Leon Klenicki, Buenos Aires.)

Curaçao, West Indies, Nederlandsche Portugeesche Israelitische Hoofd Synagoge. Constitution, 1833; *Printed; Dutch; Xerox*
(Received from Isaac S. Emmanuel, Cincinnati.)

Evansville, Ind., Washington Avenue Temple (Congregation B'nai Israel). Minutes and correspondence, 1902–1925; *Manuscript* and *Typescript; Microfilm*
(Received from the Washington Avenue Temple.)

Fairbanks, Alaska, Congregation Bikur Cholim. Material and certificates pertaining to Mrs. Jessie S. Bloom and the first Jewish congregation in Fairbanks, 1908–1967; *Manuscript, Typescript,* and *Printed*
(Received from Mrs. Jessie S. Bloom, Seattle.)

Lima, Ohio. "The History and Development of the Jewish Community of Lima, Ohio, and Vicinity, 1890–1915," by Milton L. Shulman, n.d.; *Typescript; Xerox*
(Received from Milton L. Shulman, Ardmore, Pa.)

Montgomery, Ala., Temple Etz Ahayem. Correspondence, 1947–1969; minutes of the sisterhood, 1958–1966; temple minutes, 1946–1956; miscellaneous documents dealing with the congregation's history, 1868–1935; constitution and bylaws, 1929; *Manuscript* and *Typescript*
(Received from Temple Etz Ahayem.)

New Milford, Conn. "The Jews of New Milford," by Dannel I. Schwartz, 1971; *Typescript*
(Received from Bertram W. Kom, Philadelphia.)

New York, N. Y. Mayor's Court minutes, 1674–1786; *Manuscript; Microfilm*
(Received from the County Clerk and Clerk of the Supreme Court, New York.)

Pasadena, Cal., Temple B'nai Israel. Scrapbooks, 1925–1934, 1937, 1940, and 1961–1971, pertaining to the temple and the activities of Rabbi Jacob L. Halevi; *Manuscript* and *Typescript*
(Received from Jacob L. Halevi, Gadsden, Ala.)

Philadelphia, Pa., Har Zion Temple. "Synagogues Without Ghettos," by Samuel Z. Klausner and David P. Varady, 1970; *Typescript; Xerox; Restricted*
(Received from Bertram W. Korn.)

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Braddock, Pa., B'nai B'rith, Lodge No. 516. Correspondence, ledgers, and minutes, 1901–1915; *Typescript* and *Manuscript*
(Received from Bernhardt Blumenfeld, Pittsburgh.)

Charleston, S. C., Kalushiner Society. Minutes, 1947–1961 and 1962–1968 (incomplete); ledger, 1951–1967; correspondence and miscellaneous material, 1947–1970; *Manuscript* and *Typescript; Microfilm*
(Received from Walter H. Solomon, Charleston.)

Chicago, Ill., Jewish Home Finding Society. Manual for the social service staff, 1923; *Typescript*
(Received from Stephan F. Barack, Madison, Wis.)

Cincinnati, Ohio, Jewish National Fund Council. Minutes, 1935–1962; *Manuscript* and *Typescript; Original* and *Microfilm*
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Cincinnati, Ohio, Sir Montefiore Association. Minutes of the reunion meetings, 1937–1956; and articles of incorporation, 1898; *Typescript*
(Received from Louis Weiland, Cincinnati.)

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Helena, Mont., Hebrew Benevolent Society. Minutes, 1872–1929; and articles of incorporation of the Home of Peace Cemetery Association, 1931; *Manuscript* and *Typescript; Microfilm*
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Newark, N. J. "A Study of Jewish Case Work Agencies in Essex County (Newark), New Jersey," 1946; *Typescript; Mimeograph*
(Received from Saul Schwarz, Jewish Community Council of Essex County.)

Seattle, Wash. "78 Years of Jewish Education in Seattle—Seattle Hebrew Academy, 1893–1971"; *Typescript; Mimeograph*
(Received from Mrs. Jacob Kaplan, Seattle.)

Sumter, S. C., The Sumter Society of Israelites. *The Early Minutes of the Sumter Society of Israelites,* by Herbert A. Moses, 1936; *Typescript; Xerox*
(Received from Marion Moise, Sumter.)

Youngstown, Ohio. Zionist District minutes, 1926–1929; *Typescript*
(Received from Mrs. Helen Levine, Board of Jewish Education, Cleveland.)

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ADELSHEIMER, JACQUES; Pittsburgh, Pa. Service and pension records, 1864–1911; *Manuscript; Xerox*

(Received from the National Archives, Washington.)

CARDOZA, F. L., Charleston, S. C. Petition to the Union League and the Republican Association, signed by Cardoza and others, on the need for aid in communicating with freedmen in South Carolina, 1867; *Typescript; Xerox*

(Received from Philip D. Sang, Chicago.)

CONVERSION TO JUDAISM; Ottumwa, Iowa. "Pledge of Faith for the Proselyte" and "Certificate of the Admission of a Proselyte," 1970; *Typescript*

(Received from Gerald Kaplan, Ottumwa.)

HUBERT, CONRAD; New York, N. Y. Last will and testament of Hubert (*né* Akiba Horowitz), 1929; *Typescript; Photostat*

(Received from the Surrogate's Court of the County of New York.)

SABBATH OBSERVANCE; Cincinnati, Ohio. Brief filed in the Supreme Court of Ohio in the case of Max Kut *vs.* Albers Super Market, *et al.*, 1945; *Typescript*

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ADLER, ROBERT S.; Chicago, Ill. Correspondence with Max R. Schrayer regarding Christmas celebrations at the Standard Club, Chicago, 1948; *Typescript*

(Received from Robert S. Adler.)

ANTI-SEMITISM. Report on synagogue desecration, 1965–1970, prepared by the Trends and Analyses Division of the American Jewish Committee; sticker found on the Emory University Library copy of the November 21, 1970, issue of the *Southern Israelite;* articles and editorial cartoons published in the *Atlanta Journal,* pertaining to the bombing of the Hebrew Benevolent Congregation, Atlanta, 1958; material connected with Henry Ford, collected by Lucian and Lazar Kahn in the 1920's; and items relating to the activities of the American Nazi Party and other anti-Semitic groups, 1963–1970; *Printed, Manuscript,* and *Typescript; Original, Photostat,* and *Xerox*

(Received from the American Jewish Committee, New York; Arnold Shankman, Atlanta; and Jacob R. Marcus, Cincinnati.)

ARMED SERVICES. Letter from Senator John V. Tunney to Dr. Alfred Gottschalk regarding the draft, 1971; *Typescript; Xerox*

BARUCH, BERNARD M.; New York, N. Y. Letter to Irwin J. Miller, and article referring to Baruch, 1953; *Typescript; Xerox*

(Received from Irwin J. Miller, Stamford, Conn.)

BRICKNER, BARNETT R.; Cleveland, Ohio. Doctoral dissertation, "The Jewish Community of Cincinnati, Historical and Descriptive"; various papers and correspondence, 1918–1958; and manuscript of biography by Rabbi Samuel M. Silver, 1959; *Manuscript* and *Typescript*

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COHEN, CORDELIA MOISE; Denver, Colo. Poems "War Song" and "Impromptu," 1867; *Typescript*

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COHEN, GABRIEL; London, England. Papers and business ledgers, 1784–1788; *Manuscript; Microfilm*

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COHEN, JACOB X.; New York, N. Y. Miscellaneous material dealing with Rabbi Cohen's activities, 1938–1942; *Typescript* and *Manuscript; English* and *Yiddish*

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Robert Shosteck, of the B'nai B'rith, Washington, D.C., and his associate Samuel Rezneck will appreciate receiving any information concerning Jewish participants in the American Revolutionary War.

Send information to: Robert Shosteck, Curator
B'nai B'rith
1640 Rhode Island Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036