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THE LITERARY BRIDGE  
OF  
REUBEN WALLENROD

David Freedman

Referee: Dr. Ezra Spicehandler  
1987

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for Ordination

Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion

To Cynthia--  
still my M.V.P.

\* \* \* \* \*

בתקווה

and

מתק תקווה

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The people at Genazim in Tel Aviv painstakingly photocopied their entire file on Wallenrod for me. Without that effort on their part, much of Wallenrod's biography could not have been written.

Without the financial support of my parents, these would have been even more difficult years for me.

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## DIGEST

Reuben Wallenrod was a major figure among the group of American Hebrew writers. Known primarily for his short stories, he also authored three novels, three Hebrew textbooks, a travelogue and a pair of books of criticism as well as numerous other short critical pieces. His personal biography contains more than 170 entries.

When one looks closely at Wallenrod's corpus, a clear pattern is discernible. He wrote in Hebrew about American literature and about the experiences of the average Jewish immigrant to America, while he utilized English to write about modern Hebrew literature. Inasmuch as he was the first writer to take on such subjects in these languages, it would be fair to characterize his pioneering efforts as attempts at building bridges between the two respective cultures.

Wallenrod's central preoccupation was the loneliness of the individual. He explored this problem using two principal methods: first, by contrasting Jewish existence in the Old Country with the immigrant experience in America and, second, by examining the inter-generational conflict between immigrant parents and their native-born children. Hardly any of his characters could be termed successful and, hence, the lesson which Wallenrod wanted to teach was that there is seemingly no escape from loneliness.

Wallenrod's strength as a fiction writer lay in his ability to draw out his characters in a simple, straightforward, realistic manner. He was always sympathetic to his characters but never overly so. Neither was he ever openly hostile to any of them.

With the exception of several early ones, Wallenrod's short stories were from the beginning solid pieces of writing. By contrast, his skills as a novelist showed marked improvement from the first novel to the last one.

As a critic, Wallenrod was undistinguished. While containing some specific Jewish insights, his book on major American writers was merely a good introduction to the subject. His book on modern Israeli literature was far from adequate.

The annotated personal bibliography as well as the bibliography of materials about Wallenrod found at the end of the thesis should form the basis of all future scholarly study of this important contributor to Hebrew Culture in America.



## PART I

## A BIOGRAPHY OF REUBEN WALLENROD

Reuben Wallenrod was born in the small town of Vizna near the city of Slutsk in White Russia close to the turn of the century. As with the spelling of his last name in Hebrew (וואלנרוד / וואלנרוד) -- (וואלנרוד / וואלנרוד) -- וואלנרוד / וואלנרוד, so one finds in the sources an array of dates of birth: Shevat 22, 5661 (=February 11, 1901);<sup>1</sup> Shevat 22, 5659 = February 2, 1899 (232, column 692); January 2, 1899 (262, page 534). In any event, he was young enough to have attended heder in Vizna, to have studied at a yeshivah in Slutsk and then to have graduated from a secular gymnasium also in Slutsk before the disruption caused by World War I reached that city.

The Vizna of Wallenrod's youth has been described as:

צ"ר קטנה ובה מאה וחמשים משפחות יהודיות, שני  
בתי כנסת, רב אחד ושוחט. תלמידי צ"ר היו צ"י רב יהודים חרדים,  
תלמידים חכמים, ואב"ד החבסיים, כביכול שארי מצוות ומסורת. התקיימו צ"י  
בית הכנסת וחדת ש"ס וחדת משניות. וגם קבוצת איגוד חסידים וקבוצת חסידים  
אנשי צ"ר המכונים כדרכ כל בני הציונות המסורתית, רובם חסידים  
בקיבות אצל אחרי יצחק אב"ד. את הבנים שלם אישיות סולדק, מיר, וואלנרוד  
מחזיקים גם-לאמנסי. היו רבנים יוצאי ויזא שישבו על כסא הבנות  
בדרך אחרות.

(264, page 183)

The only details recorded of Wallenrod's family are his parents' names: נצחז and חיים סאב (263, answer to the Genazim questionnaire). On the basis of Wallenrod's attendance at both yeshivah and gymnasium, we can probably presume that Wallenrod's family, i.e., father, held a progressive, if definitely religious, outlook.<sup>2</sup>

In his speech at the memorial meeting held following Wallenrod's death, Nissan Goldberg stressed the importance of Wallenrod's rural-village background:

מבואתו של וואלנרוד היתה צורה קטנה... את שחר ילדותו  
לא השחיר, בחסרי ובפליטות אמות של חלום בלבד. וינא לא בפולין  
היתה ולא בליטא. המשפחה והשכלה לא התחברו לילדות ירוקים  
היו את ימינו, וכמוסד האופנים והחיימיקים. ואירסו פינקותא  
לא נשתכחה.  
... יש אחר שואלנו היה כל ימיו אגש-הכפר הכרמל, ולא  
פירוש וניגוד, מיושג, מתן צלול ושפוי, בחל מלך טוב, ונח  
אכרית ונחל כבוד בקטן ככל שוא.  
(241, page 276)

Goldberg felt that Wallenrod's rural youth can be seen in three distinct aspects of his work. The first is to be found in Wallenrod's embracement of America:

אין תראה שבבין וואלנרוד לרוח של אמריקה הצעירה, גיבוריה היו  
גיבוריו. הנהר אולגאנקה לא נבדל מן המיסיוניסטי אלא  
כשיצוריו מלבד. האקלברי פין ותלם סויר יפוצים היו לו כבר  
משחר ימיו. הלא כמנהל באופס.  
(241, page 276)

The second is seen in Wallenrod's conservative approach to life as well as to writing:

מתן היה וואלנרוד והתבונן מקיבוליות. ואם בצבא התבונן  
תפיר בין-הצורה המיושג והפאכה. פיר בנות, התבונן בנות  
וחשב בנות. מרגל היה בפיו הדיבור: "מה שלא יעשה  
השכל יעשה הזמן."  
כ"ש היה ושוקט, הקול לא איחד את חלנו אברהם לא היה  
בן אד שחל של יופנה או יארה. חלל פילי היה בציון אפסוד  
א ראשי צמ.  
(241, page 276)

In Wallenrod's writing we find a countrified simplicity and a sense

of realistic order:

הסיפור שלו מענין. הליבורים שלו נאמנים, ואתה יכול לפתוח  
 זמנם. הצליל אינו מושג לא אפסית סדר חירות וכחלק  
 הטבע מירוד לאירוד. לשון קרב וטפת, לא שאל מילים נפירות  
 וזירותים חדשים.... סלענו פשוט, ואתה יודע תמיד מה  
 מתרחש. וכתק הפסלות והטביות הפאורה אתה מבחין  
 ביד פאמן.  
 (241, page 276)

The third area in which this rural influence can be felt is Wallenrod's ability to paint nature in words. Hinted at in the first quotation from Goldberg above, this skill was well recognized by others as well. In his review of the novel "כיכר יוסף", Shimon Halkin stated:

חופים גאונים ברומן זה... הם מתייב שירת הטבע, שירי  
 הסברות בעברית האמיתית עד כה.  
 (193, page 126)

Having learned what he could at heder in Vizna, Wallenrod was then sent to Slutsk to study first at a yeshivah and later at a gymnasium. Slutsk was quite the "big city" for the small-town Wallenrod:

החוב הראשי בעיר החור [סלוצק] סוף אכנים  
 וקראים או "שני". פסלת פוסים מקישה בצלילים מהירים,  
 עגלות ומרכבות מקדשות ל חופי פאנים, ופנים חדשות  
 שלא ראיתם קודם לכן, אפשר ולא יתאס צד לעולם,  
 עברית אל בני פנדר שבא מן החיכה ומתייב את צליל...  
 מתעצב הוא ואינו מתעצב על השוק הרחב של ציירתו.  
 (128, pages 15-16 and 264, page 169)

One feels in this passage much the same sense of awe that Wallenrod (and many of his characters) must have felt in their first days in New York City with its omnipresent roar of traffic and trains.

Little definite can be said about Wallenrod's studies at the gymnasium. He must have read widely in Russian literature for

he often cited the Russian masters when reviewing other writers' works (e.g., citing Gorky in a discussion of Sherwood Anderson's writing--155, page 138).

It must have been while attending gymnasium that Wallenrod joined one of the Zionist youth groups which were active in Slutzk (see 264, pages 59-75). Which group is not known, nor is it known whether, or how, this group may have helped Wallenrod reach Palestine. Later in life, Wallenrod would merely state that he had belonged to "a Zionist party" (263, answer to Genazim's questionnaire).

Due to the chaos created in the waning years of World War I and during the Russian Revolution, Wallenrod returned to a Vizna whose Jewish character had been irretrievably altered:

בבואן הביתה / לוויצא<sup>4</sup> לימי פחלים הכישי בתמורה  
 הכבירה שמה שם. הדיירה נראתה כיקה יתב וצבבה יתב.  
 נצח קולג האברכים האמנצצים בשדה קראת מתלה....  
 גם בקרב בני גילו חלו שינויים. רובם עזבו את לימוד הגמרא.  
 ... בעזר האחוז פיתב האומח ומחצב לנשק פינציקס לו  
 והקחבים אליו, ואילו מן סלבר לו מ אנוש, אתם גב, שנבאו באומחמ  
 ולא יתאם צופ. (128, page 28 and 264, page 193)

Undoubtedly, another novel aspect of Jewish Vizna was the organization of an active Jewish self-defense which forms the background for the early story "מתק פחד" (item 9) as well as providing the needed motivation into Isaac Halber's immigration to the United States in the novel "באין פור" (item 128).

In 1920, along with other young people who formed the first wave of the Third Aliyah, Wallenrod left his homeland for Palestine. Shortly after his arrival, he joined the recently formed

לפני הוצאתו which was then building roads near Tiberias. Wallenrod remained with **לחצו הוצאתו** for two or three years,<sup>5</sup> the last part of the time with the group which was constructing roads near Kfar Yehezkel. If one were to judge from the tenor of Wallenrod's first published story, **"באמל"ק** (item 1), Wallenrod may have envisioned himself, at least initially, in the romantic role of the Third Aliyah halutz.

Sometime during this period, however, Wallenrod began to feel that he could better serve the Yishuv, were he to attain a university education. Therefore, in 1922 (or 1923),<sup>5</sup> he left Palestine for France. For reasons unknown, his stay in France was short and he arrived in New York sometime in 1923.<sup>6</sup>

Few details are certain about the seven years between Wallenrod's arrival in 1923 until he received his master's degree from Columbia in 1930. It is known that, while studying, he worked in a factory (263, answer to the Genazim questionnaire). This experience supplied him with the ingredients for two more of his early stories-- **"בדיואלי השלישי"** (item 2) and **"הנצחנות"** (item 4) as well as for part of the later novel **"באין פור"** (item 128). At some point he began to teach at a Talmud Torah, a position not much to his liking and one which he would afterward call **"מורה לילדים"** (263, letter to Abraham Aaroni dated November 7, 1931). The most significant event of the period occurred in 1925 when, as a student at a Tarbut School, Wallenrod first met Shimon Halkin, who was teaching Wallenrod's literature class (160, page 27). (For more on their relationship, see Appendix II). In 1927 or 1928 Wallenrod was married. In 1928, his first story was published.

Finally, in 1929 he earned his undergraduate degree from New York University.

To judge solely on the basis of duration, Wallenrod's nearly forty-year marriage to his wife Rae would seem to qualify as a success. However, the writer in Wallenrod seems to have suffered from the demands on his time and energy which the marriage required. In an undated letter to Shimon Halkin, Wallenrod volunteered:

הבדל אגלה לך את סוד הנשואים ואתה לכל הפחות לא  
תבטל.... רוב חיינו בן אדם צוברים במחשבות, בדמיון  
ב"פואנציה". והנה באים הנשואים ואנחנו אלה  
הפואנציה נמנו.  
... העיקר שדמיון מצאנו. טוב לך עוד לאדם אדם  
בא מוצא אשה רעה, אז הוא חשבי ארבעה. אבל אדם אשה טובה,  
נעשה מאוהב - אז הוא doomed לצורק ועד.  
(263)

In another undated letter to Halkin, he wrote:

בכפר אני נמצא עכשיו. בהוטל, אשתי פה ואני מוכרח  
לחיות, להיות מאוהב ולא לחשוב על אדם צדק.  
(263)

In 1930, Wallenrod traveled to Paris to undertake doctoral studies at the Sorbonne. Rae joined him slightly later. The two years he spent in Paris were difficult ones. Wallenrod repeatedly had to ask friends in the United States, especially Avraham Aaroni, to send both money and needed books. The Wallenrods, it seemed, were always short of money. On top of it all, Wallenrod did not seem to be learning very much.

In the middle of his studies in late 1931, Wallenrod and his wife made what they knew was going to be a painful trip to Warsaw. From there, Wallenrod, on his own, reached the Russian border, which

was then in the post-war period not far from Vizna. Of his friends and acquaintances whom he had not seen for slightly more than ten years, he wrote:

השאלות צעירות, מאלי חיים ותקוות ומצאתים  
יבואים צמחיים נאגות ומחוסרי פרנסה.

In the very next sentence in the letter we learn that his pain arose not only out of his reaction to seeing their poverty (in more than one sense) but also from a new self-evaluation:

הסתכלתי בצורותיהם העצומות ולחשתי עצירה גולה  
על עצמי... ובהלתי.

(263, letter to Aaroni dated April 27, 1931)

After the trip to Poland, Wallenrod returned to Paris to write his dissertation. His experience with his dissertation was not unlike those of many doctoral students: complaints about his advisor's demands, particularly one requiring a near perfect knowledge of French; worries about his advisor's health and the consequent delays in his reviewing Wallenrod's text; and, finally, but inevitably, agonizing delays at the typist's, or, in Wallenrod's case, at the printer's. At last in March 1932, the travail was over and the dissertation, John Dewey, Educateur, was published. Its cost was the then enormous sum of \$230 (263, letter to Aaroni dated February 1, 1932). More important to Wallenrod had been the waste of the year it had taken to write it--"באשה וחורפה" (from the same letter).

While the two years in Paris may have been disappointing from an educational standpoint, Wallenrod's literary career did not suffer. A major short story, "בפיוטה תולדות" (item 2), was published



and a number of other stories were presumably drafted.

Plans for returning to Palestine had already begun in 1931. Shortly before August 25, Rae and their daughter, Naima, left on their own for Palestine (263, letter to Halkin dated August 25, [no year--but it could only have been 1931 from its contents]). In the same letter, Wallenrod expressed some worry about his obtaining a visa. His concern turned out to be well founded, for in early 1932 he was refused an entry visa by the British consul in Paris. Wallenrod was outraged, especially in light of recent events in Palestine:

לא אולם לכתוב רק היום הרבה. אני נרדף מאד מצד  
הקונסול. תאר לעצמך, כל אשמתו היא שאני יפואי. רק מפני  
אין נותנים לי אישור, "ביתנו האומי" וכל זה צד הצדן שגור  
ישראל עורכים "מבניה" ו"יריב המצנח" ודממהם האנשים  
מחמיצת פנים כאילו היא עוצרת אדם בנוצז אדם.

(263, letter to Aaroni dated [month uncertain] 25, 1932)

Various alternatives were considered, among them a most dangerous return to Russia, but they were not needed, as by April 23, 1932, Wallenrod was to be found in Tel Aviv (263, letter of that date to Aaroni).

Before he left for Palestine, Wallenrod had expressed to Halkin his concerns about re-integration and his fears about prospects for finding a job:

הקין היקר, אתה יודע לפני. צדן בלדות מתקרב. בלימודי  
פחית את הקיץ. וזכשיו אני בחד. התאמין! בחד אני את  
ארץ ישראל. נעשית במשק הצדן, אפיק אסיראציה. בידי  
פולוצים אביה בטל, וחוג אחר לא תלמוד....  
בשק אופן לא ביית כוצב אפעות פקיד וחמול על  
ארכזים לפני כל פקיד גפול הימני. יבין פולוצים. האוכל

לשאת בעול? הלא מחויב חברי כבוד יצאתי.

(263, letter of August 25, [1931])

The employment opportunities were apparently as poor as Wallenrod had anticipated. Perhaps the best offer he received was for a half-time position at the Gymnasia Nordau to teach English to the upper grades (263, the above-mentioned letter to Aaroni of April 23, 1932; the previous teacher had quit because it had proven impossible to maintain order in the classroom!).

Although Halkin had been unable to help Wallenrod find work, it was perhaps he who helped Wallenrod make some of the important literary contacts which he made at this time. During Wallenrod's few months in Palestine, four short stories (items 5, 6, 7 and 9) were published in major Palestinian literary vehicles as well as two spin-offs from his dissertation (items 8 and 12). Even after his return to the United States and throughout the 1930's, Palestinian journals and newspapers remained the principal publishers of Wallenrod's work.

By the early fall of 1932, the Wallenrods had decided to return to the United States. Before leaving, Wallenrod worked out an arrangement with the newspaper "הארץ" to become its American correspondent.<sup>7</sup> It was a productive agreement for Wallenrod: during the coming four years, no less than 27 articles appeared under his by-line. It is difficult to characterize these articles. One thing which they are clearly not is straight news. A term which is applied to some of Wallenrod's fiction might be applicable here--reportage. In common with Wallenrod's "pure" fiction, these articles are realistic in tone and impressionistic in detail. Among these articles is to be found

the main story line for the novel "בי כנע יוס" in a much condensed form (item 20).

Returning to America at the height of the Depression, Wallenrod was forced to take work wherever he could find it: in factories, in Talmud Torahs and yeshivahs and even in agriculture. Although it seems that he was unemployed for only short stretches of time, the Wallenrods were never far from poverty and Reuben's chronic underemployment must have been a source of continuous frustration.

Like the protagonist in the story "מבול" (published only in the collection "הבילוי האליטי" [item 53]), Wallenrod apparently suffered most from teaching at Jewish educational institutions. He wrote to Baruch Katznelson in 1935:

חפתי לשמרי. אין פנאי לכתוב ואין יכול. הצבחה בשיעור  
אובד את כל זמני. בעד נניס ערשם וברתי את הכול.  
ונניס ערשם מאובדק ומימי. אני מומד פברם וילדים אין אלתרם  
רצום בכך. אין פדירקטורים רצום, אין המנהל רצום, וזא אחת  
באר ובאר המורים והתלמידים. ואמה חרק כלל נחשק ... אין  
יכול לפעול ... מין אינרליפ

(263, letter dated December 25, 1935)

Wallenrod's fortunes improved in the second half of the decade. In 1936 he was appointed to the faculty of the Teachers Institute at the Jewish Theological Seminary as instructor in Modern Hebrew Literature. Three or four years later,<sup>8</sup> he became the first instructor of Hebrew at Brooklyn College, apparently the first academic appointment ever made in the United States to teach Hebrew as a modern language. Later he attained the rank of full professor and served as chairman of the department. In 1937, after several trying years of

long-distance editing, Wallenrod's first literary book appeared--the short story collection **„ביטום השלגות“** (item 53). The collection, published by **דביר**, was received very favorably.

Although Wallenrod's very first published story had appeared in **הפוארי**, already in 1928, it was at this time that Wallenrod cemented his most important and reliable literary contact in America, namely that with Menachem Ribalow. Their often tempestuous relationship of writer and editor is fully traceable in the Genazim letters down to Ribalow's death in 1953. Despite having to constantly demand that Ribalow not edit his material without prior consent along with equally repetitious complaints about past due royalties (and not only for himself), Wallenrod clearly valued Ribalow's opinion and Ribalow similarly valued Wallenrod's writing. More than a third of Wallenrod's journal publications appeared in **„המלאר“**, and an additional five are found in another Ribalow publication, the series **„ספר השנה ליפודי אמריקה“**. Ribalow's later survey of Wallenrod's work in **„זמן הכסף אל המלח“** (item 233) was also highly complimentary.

It was also at this time (1937) that Wallenrod's first piece of criticism appeared in The Reconstructionist (item 54). One can suppose that Wallenrod's doctoral thesis, having been written about one of Kaplan's mentors, may have formed their initial contact point. In any event, eight more articles by Wallenrod on Modern Hebrew Literature appeared in The Reconstructionist, and it was the Reconstructionist Press which brought out the English translation of the novel **„כי כנף יוס“** (item 152) in 1957.

Although his bibliography would seem to belie this with 17 entries between the years 1940 and 1944, Wallenrod found these years difficult. The events in Europe cast a pall over everything-- **„בימים אלה גא צרת-הימים מאיומה“** (263, letter to Shimon Halkin dated March 16 [no year]). In his "annual report" to Halkin in 1942, Wallenrod wrote that he had written nothing during the year, even though he felt he might have been able to (263, letter dated June 29, 1942). In March 1944, he reported similar results to Yohanan Twersky:

**אני מלאך ומו לא. אין לי פנאי לעבוד ספרותית כלשהי.**  
(263, letter dated March 18, 1944)

This commitment to teaching did, however, show some positive results in the publication of the two volumes of Modern Hebrew Reader and Grammar (volume 1 in 1942 [item 73] and volume 2 in 1945 [item 81]).

Only weeks after the letter to Twersky, Wallenrod fell seriously ill (263, postcard to Halkin dated July 18, 1944). His health would never be the same.

If there was a good period for Wallenrod during these difficult five years, it must have been during 1943 while he was writing the novel **„כי פנא יום“**. The first excerpts of the novel appeared in mid-1944 (items 77 and 78) as did the story **„באל פרידה“** (item 80), which Wallenrod considered his best story (263, letter to Ribalow dated December 29, 1950).

By the end of 1944, Wallenrod was beginning to recover from his illness. The work that was to become The Literature of Modern Israel was progressing well (263, letter to Halkin dated December 6, 1944). In 1945 Wallenrod polished up **„כי פנא יום“** and arranged to

have it published by Ohel, a project of which he was an early supporter, if not founder.<sup>9</sup> By the early summer of 1946, **"כי פני יוס"**, was out (the earliest review appears in a July-August 1946 journal issue [item 190]) and two more manuscripts, one of literary criticism and the second of a short story collection, were ready to be submitted to publishers (263, letter to Halkin dated May 19, 1946).<sup>10</sup>

The last months of 1946 again found Wallenrod far from healthy. In a letter to Shlomo Damesek dated January 1, 1947, Wallenrod wrote of "various illnesses," the extraction of a tooth and its painful aftermath, and of "other troubles for which this is not the place to elaborate" (translation mine).

Wallenrod seems to have recovered rapidly. In mid-June he was able to send Halkin an outline for a book to be titled **"בספרות אמריקה"** (263, letter dated June 14, 1947).<sup>11</sup> By the end of July of that year, the Wallenrods had completed a rather strenuous cross-country car trip with the Aaronis (263, letter to Halkin dated July 27, 1947).

The year 1948 was a very good one. Elated by the establishment of the State of Israel, Wallenrod decided to make a sentimental journey through his past and into the Jewish present. He left for Europe in July and returned from Israel around October. The desire to get to Israel was overwhelming (**"הגעתי ארצה לישראל אובדן אומ"**), -- 263, letter to Damesek dated August 26, 1948, written while he was still in France). The impressions were strong and easily and clearly translated into words. The first excerpt from the travelogue **"ברכס"** appeared already in April 1949. By the end of 1950, the book

was in print, in easily the shortest time for Wallenrod to see one of his books published.

Besides making a nostalgic trip into his past, Wallenrod had a second important purpose in traveling to Israel, namely to make contacts with some of the major publishing houses. Halkin again must have supplied Wallenrod with the requisite letters of introduction (263, letter to Halkin dated September 28, 1948 from Tel Aviv). Wallenrod had one success to show for his efforts: he had signed a contract with **עץ זאב** to bring out a novel by the end of 1949 (263, a scathing letter to Avraham Kariv, the then editor-in-chief of **עץ זאב**, dated December 7, 1953). Much to Wallenrod's consternation, **עץ זאב** did not publish **"האין פא"** (item 128) until late 1953 and then with substantial unapproved of changes (from the aforementioned letter). Ultimately, it came down, in Wallenrod's opinion, to a case of **"אני כה וכן גם"** (263, letter to Yitzhak Lamdan dated August 20, 1952). From this episode, Wallenrod became convinced that Israeli publishers unfairly discriminated against American Hebrew writers (263, letter to Asher Barash dated October 11, 1951).

The year 1948 also saw Wallenrod receive his first academic recognition. He was awarded a Guggenheim fellowship for the following academic year in order to write about modern Israeli fiction. The honorary sabbatical turned out to be a mixed blessing as he found himself with less money than usual. In an almost pleading tone, he wrote to Ribalow:

תפלה לי על חזרתי שפצס אני מצבה לשבר-סופרים חמש ולא רק  
זסמא של בונקרדיוס. וואס פלא שגמנך אין זקוק לכך: אין מאמד

בגנף לו, ודמי הנפלאו-שיש שקבלתי היו פאין לעומת תוצאותי. אכן  
אברהם גם שלא לקבץ את שברי.

(263, letter dated April 3, 1949)

The end of the 1940's marked the beginning of Wallenrod's decline. Although the best of his three novels probably remained to be written, a decidedly pessimistic tone begins to be found in some of his letters:

ועלי מה אכתוב? שוב נכנסתי אל הגלגל. ומספר הידידים  
הקדומים הולך ופוחת. זה עולם ארצה, זה נאש אל אלהינו, זה  
מתרחק בבואו. ואפילו בשם חיים ושלום ונחמאים  
באמריקה - הנסיצה אליהם היא כחוקה.

(263, letter to Baruch Katznelson dated April 22, 1949)

Not only was there a growing sense of psychological isolation, but, as the last sentence suggests, Wallenrod's physical abilities were beginning a rapid decline. Just six years later, he wrote to Isaiah Rabinovich:

טובה פלישה חברים, אך גם הני-יורק אינה שכיחה ביותר.  
ביחוד בשנים האחרונות שכל פתאום התחילו להצטנן ולשקוק חיים,  
והנסיצה בטובי נמשו פתאום ארבעה חלקים ומחצית את רב.

(263, letter dated March 14, 1955)

The demands of teaching at two institutions were seen as increasingly burdensome:

אין פנאי, אין רגע של פנאי לעצמך. ההוראה  
אובדת את הפנאי ואת המידה שאת לשם תחיים,  
לרבות לשם היצירה המוצר. "אכאפנה  
אנני" - אך מאחר ויהי.

(263, letter to Menachem Ribalow dated November 11, 1952)

Worse yet was a gnawing sense of the futility of all of his teaching



efforts:

ויוס יוס און ראה את האדם האבוד של הרבי" צ'רלס  
עוזר ופולק אני ונעשה קל בעני עזמי.

(263, letter to Halkin dated April 1, 1950)

On the surface, the 1950's should have been considered Wallenrod's best years: six books were published (items 120, 123, 128, 144, 152 and 155) and his third novel appeared in installments in its entirety (item 151). Wallenrod was also awarded two prizes for literature: the Louis LaMed Prize in 1951 and the Neumann Prize in 1956.

Yet when we scrutinize this seemingly productive period, we can discern that these years must have been ones during which Wallenrod must surely have despaired of ever seeing more of his works in print. To begin with, as mentioned above, there were the four harsh years (1949-1953) of waiting for **עם עזר** to publish **"באין פאר"**. Additionally, the short story collection **"בין חומות ניו יורק"** must have been lying around in manuscript since the late forties, if not earlier; the last of the previously published stories in the volume (item 89) had appeared by 1946. In September 1951, Wallenrod began lobbying Asher Barash for assistance in finding a publisher for the collection (263, letter dated Motz'ey Rosh Hashanah 5712 [=September 22, 1951]). This lobbying effort paid off in a remarkably short time when, in January 1952, Barash hinted to Wallenrod that **מוסד באליק** might be interested in the collection (263, letter dated January 30, 1952 containing Wallenrod's reaction to this good news). Less than a month later, it was official and Wallenrod was overjoyed:

שמחתי היום בקבלתי את מכתבך שמחתי נאמר שמחתי זה  
כפי התב"ש בפני עצמו שקבלתי עלי לפתח פתאום  
שמחתי שכל היום חורף ניו-יורק.

(263, letter to Barash dated February 16, 1952)

In the following month, in another letter to Barash, Wallenrod placed the various developments into perspective:

ואני במחל שתיאשתי, ביחוד אחרי מעשר, עם צוה"כ  
שזה בשלוש שנים וחצי עבר מליון שכתב ונחתם ביחוד  
ומליון ששקל עתה ויש לקראת כחמין.

(263, letter dated Rosh Hodesh Nisan 5712 [=March 27, 1952])

יורק" (item 123) appeared later that year.

The status of the two books of literary criticism must have been even more agonizing. The idea for a book about American writers to be written in Hebrew crystallized in the late 1930's, for a book in English about contemporary Hebrew literature in the early 1940's. Certainly by the end of the forties, working manuscripts for the books existed; and, yet they sat, unappreciated and unedited.

First to be published was The Literature of Modern Israel.

In an almost literal sense, Abelard-Schuman swooped down and grabbed this rather unfinished and unpolished manuscript out of Wallenrod's files. Wallenrod related the story of its publication in a letter to Reuben Avinoam, whose review of the book had just appeared in ימאות:

בין גאונותי בחי"ס היתה קלושה וחלשה לא היה  
בידי כתב-יד נאמן. אחרי בלבי: כשיצטמן מלך אשחור  
את הספר, כי מהי ההבדל? מל"ס האמריקאי אינם נאמרים  
א נאמרים אמריקאים בלבי.  
והנה דוקה קרענו ופתאום הופיע מל"ס שדרס כתב-יד.  
ומהן שאילו החזיתי את המצב היה מסתלק או אצותי שבה.



dropped repeatedly. In 1957 and 1958, he was helping to pay for his daughter and son-in-law's year-long stay at Aloney Yitzhak (263, letter to Baruch Katznelson dated July 10, 1957). In 1960, it was illness which forced him to cancel his trip.

The severe illness of 1960 was both physiological and psychological. Only at the beginning of 1962 did Wallenrod disclose to his closest friend, Baruch Katznelson, that he had suffered a nervous breakdown:

קרא בחדים בחיי שחרצני חלתי וסבא את מדינת  
 זצ"ב. ... י' בברוך בחייו של אבנן שבא ירא אתם כל  
 ימי חיי. וכן אבני פולק מה שילדתי פא לי, והיית  
 על סף המצוץ ואולי יותר מאכסל.

(263, letter dated January 26, 1952)

The meeting honoring Wallenrod on the occasion of his 60th birthday was held only after his recovery in the spring of 1962 (251, page 440).

Despite this illness, Wallenrod was not completely inactive. Eight short pieces appeared in "המלח" between the years 1961 and 1963 as well as his adaptation of "כי פני יוסף" into play form (item 171).

In 1964 Wallenrod and his wife followed, if belatedly, the well-worn path of many of his colleagues and made aliyah (item 260). From vague hints in the latest letters in the Genazim material, it seems that Wallenrod's purpose in going to Israel was to attempt to arrange for his collected works to be published. Given the re-issuance of his first two novels and the premier publication of his third and final novel all in 1956, it would seem that he met with more than a little success in this effort.

Reuben Wallenrod died in Silver Spring, Maryland on December 26, 1966. He was survived by his wife, his daughter and several grandchildren.

On January 29, 1967, a memorial meeting chaired by Zvi Scharfstein was held at the Herzl Institute in New York City under the sponsorship of "הפלאר", and the Herzl Institute. The contents of the major addresses were published in "הפלאר", on February 10, 1967 (items 241, 248 and 250).

No other of his works has been published posthumously. Only the Hebrew textbooks remain in print today.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>The Hebrew date was given by Wallenrod in response to Genazim's questionnaire (item 263). The equivalent secular date was found in the American Jewish Year Book for 5701. In a letter to Menachem Ribalow dated March 18, 1944, Wallenrod also stated that he was born in the year 5701 (item 263). Lending further credence to 1901 as Wallenrod's year of birth is the fact that the two survey articles written in honor of his 60th birthday (items 243 and 251) were published in 1961 and 1962.

<sup>2</sup>A speculation as to the occupation of Wallenrod's father would be that he was a סוחר יצוא for one of the local gentry. This guess is based on the fact that both the father in the novel "באין פור" (item 128) and the grandfather in the novel "בית הספר" (item 175) are pictured in great detail as holding such positions.

<sup>3</sup>The name Slutzk does not appear in the novel but is inserted in the memorial volume. It was at Wallenrod's own suggestion that this passage was used in the memorial book (263, letter to Nachum Chinitz dated July 2, 1954).

<sup>4</sup>In the memorial volume, אויצנא replaces הביתה of the novel.

<sup>5</sup>In the letter to Ribalow mentioned above in note 1, Wallenrod stated that he remained in ג' פור הוצפנה until תרע"ג, that is, until late 1922 or 1923.

<sup>6</sup>Perhaps part of the attraction of New York was the presence there of a large group of ex-Slutzkers. One of them was Baruch Katznelson, who arrived in 1922 and was one of Wallenrod's life-long friends.

<sup>7</sup>It is unclear how official this arrangement was. It was only on occasion that Wallenrod's by-line carried the phrase "אנא, ספרנו באמיקה" (e.g., items 14, 21 and 50).

<sup>8</sup>According to the short obituary notice in the American Jewish Year Book (item 267), Wallenrod received the instructorship in 1939. According to Kressel (item 232), he was appointed to the position in 1940.

<sup>9</sup>Ohel is mentioned a number of times in undated letters to Halkin. Several times Wallenrod urged Halkin to turn to Ohel as a publisher while the project still had money. Given Wallenrod's knowledge of Ohel's finances, it is possible that he served as its

treasurer. He was later to serve as treasurer for the U.S. Branch of P.E.N. Club of Israel (263, from the letterhead of the organization used for a letter to Menāchem Ribalow dated November 10, 1952).

<sup>10</sup>All this activity notwithstanding, Wallenrod wrote to Shlomo Damesek on February 27, 1946 that "I'm not doing anything and I haven't done anything for a number of months. Simply put, I don't have any free time. I study in order to teach" (translation mine).

<sup>12</sup>This forerunner of "מספרי אלקי קה" was significantly different from the book which was eventually published in 1958. "בספרות אלקי קה" was to consist of three parts, the first two devoted to (Christian) American writers and the last one to Jewish-American writers who wrote in English. Like both of Wallenrod's books of criticism, this too, however, was also to be little more than an anthology of articles which had previously appeared.

## CHRONOLOGY

- 1901 Born in Vizna, White Russia  
Educated at local heder and is then sent to study at yeshiva in Slutzk; graduates from the Real Gymnasium in Slutzk; returns to Vizna because of the disruption caused by WW I and the Russian revolutions
- 1920 Immigrates to Palestine
- 1920-1922 or 1923 Works in work camp of the Gedud Ha-avodah building roads near Tiberias and Kfar Yehezkel
- 1922 or 1923 Leaves Palestine for France to receive higher education
- 1923 Arrives in the United States  
Begins college education while working in a factory
- 1925 Meets Shimon Halkin at the Tarbut School  
Begins teaching in a Talmud Torah
- 1927 or 1928 Marries
- 1928 First story published ( באפיק --item 1)
- 1929 Receives an A.B. from New York University
- 1930 Receives an M.A. from Columbia University
- 1930 Arrives in Paris to begin doctoral studies at the Sorbonne
- 1931 Makes trip to Poland to see parents
- 1931 Wife and daughter leave Paris for Palestine
- 1932 Completes his doctoral dissertation--John Dewey, Educateur; the dissertation is published--item 3
- 1932 Arrives in Palestine after a struggle with British authorities over receiving a visa
- 1932 Returns to New York after failing to find a teaching position in Palestine
- 1932-1936 American correspondent for הארץ  
Works wherever he can find work: factories, agriculture, Talmud Torahs, yeshivahs
- 1936 Appointed to the faculty of the Teachers' Institute at the Jewish Theological Seminary
- 1937 The short story collection בריוטק באישיב (item 53) published



- 1939 or 1940 Appointed Instructor of Hebrew at Brooklyn College  
(first appointment made in Jewish studies;  
eventually attains rank of full professor and  
serves as chairman of the department)
- 1939 or 1940 The collection of literary essays **מגילת הספרות**  
**אמריקא החופשית** (item 64) published  
Becomes active in the Ohel project
- 1942 The first volume of the Hebrew textbook Modern Hebrew  
Reader and Grammar (item 73) published
- 1944 First mention of serious illness in the Genazim letters
- 1945 The second volume of the Hebrew textbook Modern Hebrew  
Reader and Grammar (item 81) published
- 1946 The novel **כי פנה יום** (item 90) published
- 1948 Awarded a Guggenheim fellowship to write book about  
modern Hebrew literature
- 1948 Travels to Israel via Europe
- 1949 The Hebrew textbook Fundamentals of Hebrew Grammar  
(item 97) published
- 1950 The travelogue **ברבים ודן** (item 120) published
- 1951 Awarded the Louis LaMed Prize for Literature
- 1952 The short story collection **בין חלומי ניו יורק** (item 123)  
published
- 1953 The novel **באין פאר** (item 128) published
- 1954 Begins involvement with the project to produce a  
memorial volume for Slutzk (item 264)
- 1955 Again visits Israel
- 1956 The Literature of Modern Israel (item 144) published
- 1957 Dusk in the Catskills (item 152), the translation of  
the novel **כי פנה יום** (item 90), published
- 1956-1957 The novel **בית הכפר** (item 151) appeared in install-  
ments in **פפאר**
- 1957 Awarded the 1956 Neumann Prize by the Hebrew Academy  
of America towards the publication of **מספרי אמריקה**
- 1958 The collection of literary essays **מספרי אמריקה**  
(item 155) published
- 1961 Suffers a major illness  
Becomes professor emeritus at Brooklyn College
- 1964 Immigrates to Israel with wife

- 1965 The novel **כי קנה יוס** re-issued (item 173)  
1965 The novel **באין פאר** re-issued (item 174)  
1965 The novel **בית הכבוד** published (item 175)  
1966 Dies in Silver Spring, Maryland

## PART II

## FICTION

# CHAPTER 1: GETTING STARTED IN AMERICA-- "בבית הלימוד"

Reuben Wallenrod's first collection of short stories, "בבית הלימוד", published in 1937, takes its title from the first story in the volume. Nine of the twelve stories had previously appeared between the years 1928 and 1934.

The first nine stories are set in the post-war America of the Roaring Twenties and the early Depression. They are the core of the collection. The tenth and eleventh stories, which are set in Eastern Europe, and the final story, which takes place in Palestine in the first years of the Third Aliyah, seem so out of place as to suggest that they were included as fillers. The reviewers paid scant attention to them. When they were mentioned, it was generally to indicate their inferior quality, especially with regard to the last story, whose romantic depiction of life in **ארץ ישראל** is so out of character for the normally realist Wallenrod.

The only negative comments centered around Wallenrod's then developing style. <sup>Base</sup> **נס** (185, page 275; translation mine) commented that "here and there one senses a certain linguistic weakness in sentence structure and phraseology." While generally praising Wallenrod's style as "fresh and quick," <sup>עליון</sup> **אשל** (184, page 59; translation mine) noted that "one can detect some signs of a first casting which had not yet been subjected to polishing."

The reviewers were quick to sense the significance for American Hebrew literature of Wallenrod's focused attention upon the immigrant experiences of the average Eastern European Jew:

הוא מעצב טבלים חדשים בספרות העברית, בין  
אלה מן המפורסמים, בין האמריקאים או היהודים באוקריינה.  
(180, page 13, ח.א.)

ואליהם נאם בסיפוריו בנקודת-חיים שעדיין לא פארה  
כל צרכי הסיפור העברי האמריקאי.  
(184, page 59, אפסטיין)

ספורים אלה הם כעין בבואה חדשה לעולות הדור  
החולף באמריקה. ובין אף צרכי הספרותי. חיי אמריקאים,  
חיי דור תלום מקרקע-מוחלת, המחפש לו נתיב  
לחיי אמריקה החדשים. יותר מאלו מספרים אחרים  
הצליח ואליהם להסור את הכף והנשמה  
של בחורים, בחורות, צעירים וזקנים.  
(181, page 70, י.ו.)

כל מאוד הספור העברי באמריקה. מעט מאוד  
שבו גם ספוריו יושבי-אמריקה מהו"ח-חיים וסביבתם  
- כל כך הם חדשים וזו כולם בקן מולדתם הישנה.  
ופנה אל המעט שיש, בא ראובן ואליהם ובסוף משלו  
בקובץ ספורים זה, שכולו אומר רוח אמריקה.  
(183, page 563, אבנירס)

While Wallenrod's approach may have been new for American Hebrew literature, there was little novel in it when compared to American Jewish literature as a whole. For more than forty years, Eastern European Jewish immigrants had been writing about the same topics in English.<sup>1</sup> One cannot read these early stories of Wallenrod without sensing a little Abraham Cahan here and a little Anzia Yezierska there.

It is the spirit of America which jumps from the pages of Wallenrod's stories. Always just beyond the foreground is New York City with its hopes of upward movement and its noise of cascading despair. Sitting or standing at a machine on the third floor

(בפיוט הַשְּׁלִישִׁי) of a factory near the East River, one comes to know the servitude of the machine and the liberation of the elevated train with its passengers constantly on the move forward:

מִי בַּעַם עֲלֵבֶרֶת רַבָּת הַצִּלִּית סוּמָק אֶחָדוֹתֶינִי. מִשָּׁם -  
 וְהָ אֵינָה מְחַמֶּדֶת כָּאֵן, אֲבֹל בֵּית הַחֲרוּשָׁת. בְּכַבְדָּהּ הִיא מְתַנְהֶלֶת  
 וּבְעֵבֶרָה נִשְׁמָע שֶׁאֵין אֶסְרוֹם עַל שְׂנֵאוֹת וּקְרוֹנוֹתֶינִי וְהִיא בֵּית  
 הַחֲרוּשָׁת מְצַעֲצָעֶת וּמִתְנַתֶּת. מִמֵּהֶם נִתְקִים מְהֻבָּרָה  
 וְנִתְקִים לְפָעִמִּים בְּצִינִים סִקְרִינִים, מִמִּצִּיבֹת מְחֻלְלוֹת  
 הַרְכָּבָה. אֵךְ אֵי-אֶפְשֶׁר לְקַוֹל אֶת הַפְּנִים: הַחֲבֹרָה מֵאִי־צֶה,  
 רוֹצֶפֶת לֹא לְוֹלֵג, בִּלְבֹד הַחֲחֹלֶה עַל גְּבִי  
 הַמְּכֻנֶּה, הַכֹּל הַשְּׁמֵאלִית עַל בְּשׁוֹה וִיב יֵאֵין מְכֻנֶּסֶה  
 בְּרָגִים. (page 1)

In Wallenrod's stories, the work place represents the cruel, unchanging reality which faced the recent immigrant to America. Faces changed perhaps, but the demands of eking out a subsistent existence never did:

מִתְנִים אֲנִישִׁים, הוֹלָפִים וְעֹמְרִים, וּמִרְאֵה הַפִּיּוֹט הָאֶחָד  
 בָּלֵא. לֵךְ עֲבֹשׂוּ הַכֹּל כִּמוֹ שֶׁהֵי אֵל. ... (page 2)

These demands not only oppressed and depressed Wallenrod's characters but even drove them into madness and suicide. Forced to abandon his studies at Columbia because he lacks money for tuition, Dubin, the protagonist in "מִפְּלִי", is driven insane by his work at a talmud torah.

If there is hope to found in such a system, it is the hope of fate and the faith of patience: work hard and eventually you will get your chance, as is the patent advice of the protagonist's uncle in the story:

בְּאֵדִיקָה צְרִיךְ לְהִתְחַלֵּל מֵן, הַרְצָבֶה, לְסִבּוֹל קִצָּת  
 וְלִחְבֹלֶת, לְהַצְמִיחֵה. (page 130)

Opportunity does not often come knocking in Wallenrod's stories and his characters are not prepared to slip through momentary openings into a better life. At best, they find themselves caught in closing doors, dangling for a time between past and future, but destined to be recaptured by their past. Retzevsky, the main character in "הנצחנות", suddenly finds himself working as a "boy" in the sweatshop of Jack Kushner, the son of the shochet in his town in the Old Country. Kushner, who had been Retzevsky's nemesis back there, has forgotten all about their prior relationship and looks benevolently upon his newly-discovered landsman, even raising his salary from \$15 a week to \$17 because "בן צירי הוא" (page 134). Retzevsky, however, cannot let go of the past and the "old scorn and hatred" (page 135) return along with a strong desire to even up the score for his past humiliation. Retzevsky's window of opportunity quickly slams shut in his face as he casts his lot with his past:

כמו למען צברדץ קר, פצצצצ רבבסקי, ורשג בוא  
ומטמח רבש אולח באלו. מבלי פכיר, מבלי פמחין במח  
שהא צוש, הפליט מבין קולרס רוסית.... תבס אומה, בוס"  
בצוארון ביסו האחת ובשניה פתחל אהמטיר צליו מפלומות.  
(page 135)

Retzevsky's triumph is only momentary: he winds up wrapped in bandages and must lie to his uncle, telling him that he has been hit by a car. Retzevsky's failure is driven home when his uncle responds, of course, with his favorite adage:

כב האמריק, אנו אומר זק, צריק אפתחל מן הרצבה"  
ואחכות אפלקמות.  
(page 135)

Even the seemingly successful among Wallenrod's characters,

and they are few, are that only--seemingly successful. While the external evidence may point to their achievements, the internal clues reveal that these characters have not been able to distance themselves mentally from their outwardly ne'er-do-well contemporaries:

המאשרם המצליח גם הם נראים מאושרים וזולתם  
.... רק למראית עין. אולם פניות והרחקים רחוק אלפסיס  
אותם בחלום ובפקיז, כל אחד רוצה לאחר המסגרת.  
(185, page 275, גס)

As the reviewers pointed out, this lack of response to the golden opportunity is attributable to the twin processes of emigration from the Old Country and melting-pot assimilation to the New. On the one hand, Wallenrod's characters belong to a "דור חלוט מקרקע פאנאצט" (181, page 70, י.א.), a generation which "has become void of all traditional values and has freed itself from the previous relational ties" (184, page 59; translation mine). While the characters do voluntarily throw off much of their past identity, Americanization, on the other hand, removes any residual possibility of a comforting return to the fragments of the former self:

יש כאן, אמריקאיות" לא מפגרים, לא אלה שהפגרו  
מכל צורה עממית ומכל צורה תרבותית....  
(184, page 159, אפשטיין)

The natural result of this bleaching out of identity is that most of Wallenrod's characters are only marginally identifiable as Jews:

היהודי שבהם אינו ניכר לא כחשק ומתנע ולא  
כנושא ליחיתם. (184, page 159, אפשטיין)

While some of their first names may now seem to be suggestively Jewish,



back then they were very much prosaically American: Jack, Joe, Louis, Ruth, etc. Not only in name but also in temperament, Jack could have equally well been Irish or Joe Italian.

The one clearly identifiable Jew is Dubin "the Hebrew teacher" (used pejoratively by his girl friend) in "אח",. Having been imprisoned within the walls of a talmud torah from which he had unsuccessfully sought to escape by pursuing secular studies at Columbia University, he finally goes insane. The irony is, of course, that the irreligious Dubin knew he never should have begun teaching at the talmud torah in the first place. He had done so only at his uncle's urging and persuasion. For his uncle, teaching was better than tailoring. Nor was his nephew's lack of religiosity important inasmuch as neither the students nor their parents were likely to be any more religious than he.

If there is but one solidly Jewish trait which might unite these characters, it is their marginality. Yet marginality was as well the unifying characteristic of all new immigrants to America of that period. Thus we are constantly confronted with the question whether the Jewish immigrant experience was any different from that of all the other immigrants. Adding fuel to this debate is the fact that Wallenrod's characters are never exposed to anti-Semitism. Hence even externally they are not made to feel Jewish.

An essential part of the characters' marginality is their inescapable sense of isolation and loneliness. These are the climatic words from the story "אח",:

חלפה, גלגלה התקלה. בשר הזרוב המטה ניו-יורק, גלגלה,

מלאה. חלפא זיגט, טסו, התלחשו. אוטומוביל'ס עברו זי-  
 ידו, ממחרים זי אחר זי ערק בטיחות, כבתולאכע מלקטת.  
 בעיתים, סביב-סביב צוקן חלונות מלארים. והוא עמד  
 (pages 128-129) כדצ.

As we learn from this passage, the bitter reality of their situation constantly confronts Wallenrod's characters by virtue of their living in New York City, the hub of an abundance of noisy, purposeful and successful motion:

ביתק הרעש הצע נבלעים ברפרי לב ורחשי מאווים  
 כאוסים ובצבים חרישים מליילת זה הכבישת תלדורה, זו האופת  
 את פחיד ובלות ביתק ההמון הרב הסוצר והרץ.  
 (אפשט"ן, 184, page 59)

Above all the other products of American hustle and bustle stands the car as the symbol of success and belonging:

שמים כחולים-כהים וטפורים. אחות היא ציר-הענקים  
 לשמים כהמים. האורות מתחרים בירח. בני-אדם נוסעים בבלחה.  
 אוטומוביל'ס נעמים אחד אחרי השני בסדר בטיחות. קבוצות-קבוצות  
 הם נוסעים ומתעכבים בכני אורות אבואים. מליצים  
 האורות הירוקים, וקבוצת האוטומוביל'ס צצה. יד אדם מנפלת  
 אותם. חפשי כולו מרגיש סם [Sam] את עצמו באוטר  
 מוביל. גם כולו עם הכל, עם הכל יחד.  
 (זי-יד ון-קוקטלנד, page 164)

Few of Wallenrod's immigrants ever imagine owning a car or even grow to feel free to move about the city at leisure. They are trapped--losers in the existential game of hopes and dreams.

These are stories saturated with sadness:

...וא פני בלם בחזה מלכאליה של גורל כאן.  
 (י.י., 181, page 70)

Such is Wallenrod's basic outlook: life is an endless struggle with no

happy endings. Ultimately, people are defeated. This one commits suicide (אחיליאת). That one goes mad (מאלי). He is doomed to sit at his machine in the factory the rest of his life (בדילא פאלישטרי). She, estranged forevermore from love, breaks out in bitter weeping (אחילות). Such events occur not because Wallenrod's characters are either evil or weak. They are average people with average concerns. Those average concerns of food, shelter and employment isolate rather than bind, narrow rather than widen.

Wallenrod clearly likes his characters and is sympathetic to their frustrations and pain. Although his stories are a heavy social statement about the experiences of Jewish immigrants to America, his interest lies in developing the reader's awareness of the characters' personalities rather than their social circumstances. Thus, the stories are more psychological investigations than sociological or economic commentaries:

✓ *Ben*  
 הכתיבה נאטע ארבע פערנא שבעש יוטר מאשר אפאור  
 המחברת פחיצונות. (בס, 185, page 275)

בעבונע כתבתא ש' ולינר'ס י'ס מאס פכחנע פסיכאליג'ט  
 ובעירות רעיונות. (בס, 185, page 275)

וואלינר'ס פאוק וכותב לאור פסיכאליטיקע ונכשונות  
 מאסברות א יד. (ח.א., 180, page 13)

Even Wallenrod's attention to the noise and physical motion of the city is to be viewed in this light:

וואלינר'ס מאסע תביעה פקד את ריחמאס התנועה.  
 אוקס כל תנועה נכאית יוטר א פני השטח. ...הא סאפ פ'נאמי.  
 פאן נסחל השטח התנועה, רודל אחרי ניצוצות באדס,

מזכיר-נפש חולפים. הכל תלסס אצלנו, חל, מתנהב ופוצק.  
...כל הסימבוליקה המתוארת שלו אינה באה בעצם  
אלא כפי להבא את התנועות שבנפש. צולם גיבוריו  
הוא הרגש בעצמה

(אפסטיין, 184, page 59)

As the last sentence indicates, Wallenrod's characters feel; they do not act. Changes in thought and feeling move the stories along, not events generated by the imposition of some purposeful will:

לא גיבורי פצולה הם. צנינים... תמיד בנפשם,  
ואילו מחיים עצמם כאילו עוברים מחולף להם.

(אפסטיין, 184, page 59)

Thus, it is not the "הכזבנות" of the big break" but rather the "חך ריח" of the chance smile" which comes to dominate the lives of Wallenrod's characters:

שעה אחת או אפילו רגע אחד, בלישה או פריצה  
מאבק יקר-מחפכים צוין את סדר חייך. אתה שאל: מה קרה כאן?  
כן מקרה תפל. וכל נשתנה פנאום. (בס, 185, page 275)

Given the fact that Wallenrod's stories are developed around random events, one comes away with the perception that they are constructed in necklace-like fashion. A new stimulus is introduced and the character's emotional response is surveyed, and so on and so on.

Although Wallenrod may have worked out of a psychoanalytic orientation (and that is open to question), the stories are written in a disciplined, realistic hand. It is not beyond imagining their having been written by a Dreiser or Lewis, so strong is the author's devotion to a stark, at times oppressive realism.

The following paragraph written by Epstein provides a good

assessment of the entire collection:

כלא גילוי משהו מאלו נפשם של צעירינו כאן, בני  
 דור ראשון ושני לבירה, שבתם פרוצם התחלואות ונתרסקו  
 מכל צרכי ירושה ושחררו את עצמם מקשרי היחסים הישנים  
 בארץ וספיקו להתמלא תוכן חפש ולארג קשרי סביבה  
 וש"בות אחרים. בעזרת נפשם זו הם ניצנים מתפתחי מחשבה  
 ופמיון ונחלים משחק ונפתלי יצרים ומאווים גרועים. וואלברד  
 חשף את בקאפדיסיות שבהלך-רוחם, את המקריאות גבוהים  
 אלה שהוצמדו אל חודיה של אינאוציה. (184, page 59)

#### NOTE

<sup>1</sup>See, for instance, David M. Fine, The City, The Immigrant, and American Fiction, 1880-1920 (Metuchen, N.J. and London: The Scarecrow Press, 1977).

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CHAPTER 2: FROM THE CITY TO THE MOUNTAINS-- "כ' פנ' יוס"

With the novel "כ' פנ' יוס" (excerpted from 1944 to 1946; published in 1946--item 90), Wallenrod graduated from being merely an immigrant writer to the forefront of those writers who were willing to confront the dilemma of the Jewish experience in America. While there were numbers of American Jewish novelists writing on this subject in English at the time, Wallenrod and Shimon Halkin ("עצ מאכל" --1945) were pioneers among the American Hebrew novelists.

Set for the most part at a Jewish resort hotel in a goyish town in the Catskills, "כ' פנ' יוס" consists of a series of tales, marginally interwoven, which expose the reader to a wide array of simple, average Jews and Gentiles. If there is anything noticeable about the cast of characters, it lies, as Halkin (193, page 122) pointed out, in its total lack of "professional" Jews, whether they be rabbis or rabid communists. Hence the novel is devoid of the ideological bent which so permeated many of the Anglo-Jewish novels of the 1940's. In general, Wallenrod's people are quiet, unreflective, going about their lives and vacations with little fanfare and few accolades.

The hub of the resort hotel and of the novel is the middle-aged Leo Halper, who is surrounded by a bookful of individuals trying to relate to him in his various roles: husband, father, grandfather, brother and uncle; hotel-owner and innkeeper; friend and ex-lover; employer and debtor; neighbor and Jewish representative to the Gentile community.

There is a certain lack of excitement in the book. The

reason for this is to found in the fact that Halper seems to be a fairly static, impassive person, while the others, being able to see him in only one role at a time, have a flat, unidimensional cast. Only when the characters act outside of Halper's sphere of influence, do they seem to possess some vitality.

Leo Halper, however, is the one character in the book who routinely reflects on what is going on about him. While making his way through a Yom Kippur-like process of self-evaluation (and hence the title, taken from a line in the Ne'ilah service), Halper concentrates upon thoughts about humanity, civility and, not unexpectedly for a middle-aged man, death. Halper is by no means a deep thinker and his one extended reflective passage (chapter 26) consists merely of two pages.

The overall impression of *"כ' כנף יוק"*, whose action takes place in a single year from one post-Labor Day period to the next, is that the next year's cycle will not differ significantly from the past year's, especially for the book's Jewish characters. Marginal events will still bring the old faces together. The basic, underlying tone of vacuity will continue to dominate their lives:

הלב מתמלא ערב למחרתם באיכותיכם ואמנם  
 שיחותיכם של קהל פאורחים במנוח. אין תלכן ואין צורה, אין אחינך ואין  
 תרבות. ככל-דיקנות, תאילת, ארעיות, חטיבות.

(*Ben-Her* 189, page 978, *בן-ואיר*)

How damning this indictment when one realizes that the time-span of *"כ' כנף יוק"* is from September 1942 to September 1943!

The novel follows the order of the seasons. The depth of winter is marked by Sima Simchin's suicide (chapters 8-10). The

Halpers' annual trip to their former gehenna, i.e., New York City (chapters 11-15), is also a winter event. The two extended love affairs (chapters 22-24 and 26-33) occupy the summer months. Morris Toozin's death <sup>היה</sup> at Labor Day (chapters 35-38) marks the onset of another dying period and of renewed concern on Leo Halper's part.

While natural time is powerful motif in the novel, Wallenrod's descriptions of Nature are themselves crucial elements of the book's poetic character:

... בספרו זה מעביר וואלנרוב לעיני הקורא את נופי-ההרים  
בחוליות-גונו - ובמפע מלכה גם את נופה של ניו-יורק - בתקופות  
שנה שונות, מספיקה בידי שעות-בושר ואין ספור אפסות בה  
לסבב בכל תמורות-רצין ולכרות אונן לקרא אפסות, לעד  
הטבר בצושר צליליה ופדיה. יש צבצוב וריח לימים, ולס  
אתקופות צבצוב וריחן - פסדה צו רוחשת לא רק בארץ, גם לא  
האפר, כי אם בכל בית מפרקי הספר, בתוך השטין ובין  
פסטיין. צמחים שלמים בראות זה... הם מחיטה שירת-הטבר,  
שיצרה הספרות בעברית האמריקנית עד כה.

(תקין), 193, pages 125-126

✓ Halper

Another element of the book's poetry is to be found in Wallenrod's uncharacteristically romantic conception of love as something deep, pure and inevitably unrequited. The blossoming love between the waiter Lungar and the waitress Betty, who are both well into their late thirties, provides page after page of rediscovered joy after years of despair. Lasting love remains, of course, just beyond their grasp as the young waiters and waitresses sabotage the affair by having Lungar seduced by one of their number. Similarly, there is a lyric innocence to the summer coupling of Halper's nephew Hymie with Helen Douglas, the daughter of one of the Protestant pillars ...



of the small Catskills town and one of Halper's creditors. Their romance ends when Helen chooses her long-time boyfriend, Bob Stevens, over Hymie. Unrequited love fits in well with Wallenrod's vision of unfulfilled lives.

In contrast to this tinge of romanticism stands Wallenrod's strongest writing skill--his ability to portray his characters with their strengths and weaknesses in a simple, realistic manner. As Halkin pointed out:

...לעולם אין וואלנרוד מסיח את דעתו מן הקל וחם  
השכל שבאהר את כבוד ההגות והדחת שכל. לעולם אין  
שוכח את האם ואת עקרת הבית שבאשה, אלה פסקאות  
תמידיות בחיי המעשה הפזמונים והמשפחה, מאן שהאן יודע  
את האופיית הכעירה, הכעירה תמיד, שבאשה. הריאליסט  
שבו לעולם אין מוציא את פנים חייב בשום אופן  
שוכח, שפגעות שבחיים דרכן להתעלף תמיד עטופים-עטופים  
לא תאונות, אלא כחומר אנוני למה אומץ, אומץ כפי שכן, אין  
פגעות, הענוותנות הבן, לעולם מתעלות בעין בלבול.  
רוח-השירה שבספר - כגון אצל כל הספרות - שפגות  
מתק, ככל שגת-באמן המיוחדת, שפגות לעולם אין בשט  
שט, לעולם כאילו הוא גורל מתבאר את הדמיון ואת הסוף.

(193, page 126)

What then is Wallenrod's assessment of the Jewish experience in America? Just as the flow of the novel is from one period of death to another, reflecting the joint decline of Reuben Wallenrod the author and Leo Halper the hotel-owner, so too the picture is bleak for the American Jewish community. The processes of Americanization and (secular) "humanization" have as their eventual products Jews who don't act Jewishly and who don't feel Jewish but are simply Americans and good people. The following exchange between Halper and his nephew

captures the extent to which these processes have molded the new American Jew:

(Halper begins:) "But why deceive her (Helen)? You know you are not going to marry her."

"I don't know whether she will want to marry me. I have no objection."

Halper was taken aback. He had taken it for granted that his nephew would not marry a Gentile girl. He did not even think he needed any convincing arguments for that. And Hymie's direct answer swept him off his ground. He was wondering now why he had been so certain of it previously. . . . Still he continued:

"But she is not Jewish. . . ."

"And how am I Jewish? I don't go to the synagogue. Mother does not go there, either."

Hymie was surprised at his own words. Formerly, on hearing that a Jew married a Gentile, it had seemed to him as though something wrong had been done to someone undefined and unknown. Mother would tell him the story of such a marriage in a whisper and with some apprehension, and he also absorbed that mystical apprehension. And now after having said these words to his uncle all the mystery seemed to have suddenly gone. There was no difference between himself and Helen. He felt, however, that his supposed certainty was not sufficient, that he had to add something:

"Both of us are Americans. What is the difference? You, Uncle Leo, always speak English. . . . And so do all the people here in your hotel."

Halper wanted to say something, but he saw that Hymie was so much removed from him, that he had nothing to tell him. What could he tell Hymie?

. . . .  
He knew that the problem was much deeper than that. But somehow he could not explain it. Why couldn't he explain it? He should have been thinking about such an important problem.

(Dusk in the Catskills, item 152, pages 204-205)<sup>1</sup>

Hymie has become the quintessential first-generation American Jew, while Halper, himself emptied of most of his previous Jewish essence, stands mute, totally absorbed in his process of self-evaluation. Such is Wallenrod's vision of the American Jewish future.

## NOTE

<sup>1</sup>The translation is a fairly literal one. There are, however, several places where the material has been re-ordered from the Hebrew original. Thus, for example, chapter seven in the original, which describes a visit by Wallenrod to the home of his banker Stevens, is re-positioned as chapter sixteen in the translation, a far more sensible place as it leads directly into the opening of the hotel in the summer.

A general comment is in order here. These slight modifications in the translation constitute the only evidence that Wallenrod ever seriously reviewed his work once it had been published initially. The short stories reprinted in the two collections of short stories are generally verbatim reprints of their first publication. The two re-issues of Wallenrod's novels are similarly identical to the earlier publications.

### CHAPTER 3: "FATHERS AND SONS" - "בין חמות נא יורק"

Whoever reads the stories in the collection "בין חמות נא יורק" (published in 1952--item 123--seven of whose nine stories had already appeared between the years 1938 and 1946) cannot fail but to be impressed by the range of Jewish characters which Wallenrod develops in this collection: a self-made druggist and his better educated but alienated children (כסתר'ל זינגר); a successful tailor, his college-educated daughter, her fiancé who is studying to become a Reform rabbi and his parents--his father a pompous shochet and his mother a "professional" in a Jewish women's organization (בת'ל של זינקי); a pair of Jewish farmers and their children, one of whom is a professor at Rutgers (באל' פרידמאן); a working-class family and their snobbish relatives who have just come as refugees from Hitler (בארבעת תחזיקים); a self-hating professor passing as a non-Jew and his "greenhorn" father (החיוק); a middle-aged man going through "male menopause" (באלון); a thoroughly saintly secretary who is the object of the affections of two brothers who own a small store for kitchen utensils (שני האחים ולטר'ל רובי); a gangster-and-bootlegger become cocaine dealer-and-beggar (בצל החומות); and an array of people at a resort hotel, similar to that found in "כי כנף יום". Much of whatever Eastern European Jews have done in America seems to be represented in this collection. Many of the "occupations" are presented here for the first time in American Hebrew literature (so גיל in his review, 200, page 102).

There is one dominating issue in this collection: the

intergenerational conflict between immigrant parents and their native-born children which is often generalizable into the clash between Jewish particularism and American universalism.

"Fathers and sons" was not a new topic in American Jewish literature with the appearance of Wallenrod's stories. In fact, it was the major theme in literature written close to World War II. However, none of the stories in this collection in which this theme is treated quite follows the classical pattern of Old Country, Yiddish-speaking parents trying to combat the creeping Americanization of their nonreligious, English-speaking children.

"פחיוק", for example, is the story of Jacob (Yasha) Liebnov, who had come to America before World War I and who, not only by dint of personal effort but also by passing as a non-Jew (even to the extent of becoming known as an anti-Semite), has become a professor of mathematics at a major university in New York City. Defending himself as being forced to give the goyim what they want, as for example, by smiling at his professor's anti-Semitic remarks (hence, the title), Liebnov finds himself spinning an ever-larger web of lies in order to retain his teaching position. He tells the non-Jews that his father was a White Russian, not a Jew, a peasant, not a far better off tenant farmer. At the same time Liebnov also begins to put physical distance between himself and other Jews.

Two events begin to undermine Liebnov's stability. As a faithful son, he decides to bring his parents over from the Old Country and is then confronted with the problem of where to have them live--uptown with him and thus risk being exposed as a Jew or safely apart

from him downtown among other Jews. He chooses to do the latter and immediately senses that his father is suffering terribly because he thinks that Liebnov is ashamed of him. Even his mother confronts him, asking whether it might not have been better had they not come to America. Nonetheless, afraid to lose his sense of security, he chooses to continue the lie and tries to salve his conscience by giving his parents even more of his salary. Just then, however, the New York newspapers begin to publish reports about Nazi speeches in Germany. The Jewish faculty, whom he has passively shunned, now actively shun him. Furthermore, anti-Semites increasingly view him as a willing recipient of their material. Liebnov relates (is he to be believed?) that he has begun to see himself not only as the guilty party for his parents' suffering but also as a silent accomplice of the Nazis. Yet even so, he still remains silent, unable to share his true identity with the Jewish colleague with whom he shares an office.

Finally, the power to break out of this circle of lies is taken away from Liebnov. Several young Jewish students to whom Liebnov's father proudly shows one of his son's articles tell him that Liebnov is well known at the university as an anti-Semite and could not possibly be a Jew. The father then summons his son to tell him that he wants nothing more to do with him. So distressed does Liebnov become that, on the following day in the middle of the university cafeteria, Liebnov begins shouting at his office-mate that he too is a Jew. Hoping to be reconciled with his father, he thereupon resigns his position.

The construction of the story challenges the reader's

natural inclination to condemn Liebnov. It is narrated by another Jewish faculty member whom Liebnov approaches several days after the incident in the cafeteria. Liebnov assails him that he, too, is responsible for the horrible situation in which Liebnov finds himself, because the narrator failed to come to the rescue of his fellow Russian-speaking colleague. It is not clear whether Liebnov is just paranoid or whether the narrator, in fact, possesses some prior knowledge about Liebnov's Jewishness. Thus, in addition to requiring us to judge Liebnov's reliability, Wallenrod presents us with two additional challenges: to assess the narrator's reactions to Liebnov as well as to come to terms with the idea of collective guilt and responsibility in the post-Holocaust period (the story appeared in November 1945). Thus, clearly there is more than one level of truth to be discovered here.

In the story "אבות ובעלות" (Fathers and Sons), we meet a different formulation of "fathers and sons." The main character is Jackie Greenberg, who has achieved some degree of middle-class status despite being just a tailor. Well-known and well-liked in the New York suburb of Greenwood to which he has moved his family, Jackie is both "wet behind the ears" and a super-American. He expresses his greenhorn ethnicity by constantly singing songs, his patriotism by extolling the virtues of capitalist democracy as the venue for unlimited opportunity. His closest friends are the aged Italian barber Tony, who still remains a devotee of Norman Thomas, and Joe the fisherman. Thus, Jackie represents a successful and grateful immigrant who is somewhat swept away by universalist sympathies.

The particularist side of the problem is represented by

the Shapiro family, Jackie's prospective mechutonim. Rabbi Yisroel Shapiro is a shochet who sees himself as possessing quite a high yichus quotient. His wife, Deborah, is the president of an important Jewish women's organization. Their son, Naftoli, is studying to become a Reform rabbi.

Jackie's daughter, Rosalyn, is caught in between. Should she reject her father for his lack of refinement and thus seem to be rejecting his open admiration for America, or should she reject her future in-laws' blatant elitism and thus seem to be rejecting Naftoli's commitment to Judaism?

Matters come to a head during a get-together to draw up a list of invitees to the wedding. Yisroel Shapiro acts in an openly deprecating manner towards Jackie ( "יראה נא מחותן יחסן צע וזה בן זתי" (המשפחה האלה)). Suddenly Jackie senses the condescension in Shapiro's manner. For Rosalyn, who has been aware of it all along, the time for choosing has arrived. She breaks into the conversation, proposing that her father's friends Tony and Joe be invited along with all the other neighbors. Shapiro reacts predictably by throwing out the question, "They aren't Jewish, are they?" This incites Jackie to reply in kind:

גי"קי מצא מקום לגבות את חובתו:  
 - ואם אינם יהודים מה בכך? הם ידידי הטובים ושכני  
 הטובים ורואי אלן ג'ובס.  
 ובתאם גברה באבי"קי המשלבה. הלא פנה אל מחותנו:  
 - מחותן, שמע נא מחותן - זו כיתה הכדור הראשונה שקרא לו  
 בשם מחותן ובכוננו חזל אל הכינוי - אומר לך, מחותן, שבהם אנשים  
 חביבים ומצוינים ולא אחריהם כיבודים ואכילת כדורים.



Shapiro, whose sense of hospitality would normally have prevented him from responding, is about to retort when Rosalyn again steps in, this time to change the subject. The final insult to Shapiro occurs later at the wedding when Rosalyn seeks out Joe in order to dance a wild jig with him.

This powerful story is set within a larger, less compelling one involving the family of Rosalyn's late fiancé, Martin, who had been killed several years before in World War II. In that story, Naftoli Shapiro is given the chance to become the new rabbi at Greenwood's Reform temple, provided he can sanction the temple's firing of its longtime Hebrew teacher, Martin's elderly father. Complicating Naftoli's decision is the fact that he and Martin had been best friends. Naftoli opts for the job and so Martin's father is dismissed. He dies soon thereafter.

As with the story "בריתא האישית" in "אפיק", Wallenrod seems to engage in polemics whenever he approaches the topic of Jewish institutions. From some of his letters in the Genazim archives, it is clear that, in his own life, Wallenrod certainly had his fill of teaching in Jewish schools. In his stories, he attacks both yeshivahs and synagogues with a heavy hand reminiscent of the attacks on German Jews found in early immigrant writing. In the case of this story, it detracts significantly from the inner story in which Rosalyn works out her values.

Wallenrod uses the issue of intergenerational conflict to focus upon the central theme of most of his writing--the isolation and loneliness of modern urban life. The story "בני תאנים וזכרונות" ,

opens with the line:

זכו סיפור זה שני אחים בארצות בניו יורק הגדולות.

(page 182)

The very successful druggist Louis Funk in "בשתי ציפורים" is able to feel powerful and vital only in the isolation of his car. In his home, where he feels he should rightly be master, he is constantly under attack from his children. The protagonist in "בצו החומות", Willie Kamorov, who boasted all of his married life about his aristocratic Russian parents, finds himself begging on the streets after his Irish wife Carolyn abandons him for her drunken father and a big-time hood.

Modern urban life in Wallenrod's opinion seems inevitably to be unhappy. All the characters have options to pursue. Most choose not to change and, of those who decide to do so, none seems to make successful interpersonal choices.

Age seems to be a factor: the older the characters, the poorer their decisions seem to be. Sol Scheiner in "במלון", Willie Kamorov and Louis Funk are all in their mid-forties or early fifties. Just like Wallenrod, who crossed the proverbial boundary into middle age in 1941, these characters seem haunted by the knowledge that their earlier decisions had led them astray from their original goals.

Wallenrod's writing in the stories in this collection represents a marked advance over the earlier stories in "בדיוטת פאליטי". Individual sentences read better; there is a gentler flow between ideas and section. The language is more straightforward, the emotions rawer. On the whole, there is more action and less convoluted introspection. States of mind continue to be central to Wallenrod's descriptions.

However, they are reported with less reference to prior feelings and events. The one exception to this observation is the story „כּאָמאָל“  
"זינג", which, having been published in 1938/9, is also the earliest story in the collection. Not surprisingly it is also the longest story as well (66 pages). The main conflict between Louis Funk and his two youngest children is joined in the opening pages of the story and is no closer to resolution at the end of the story.

CHAPTER 4: TIME OUT TO TRAVEL -- „ברכים ודק“

The semi-fictional travelogue „ברכים ודק“ was the product of Wallenrod's trip to Europe and Israel in the summer of 1948. Taking place only months after the establishment of the State of Israel, this trip represented Wallenrod's first trip to France and Palestine-Israel since 1932. Taking us by ship to Europe and then guiding us through Holland and France and eventually to Israel, the nineteen chapters of the book must have been among Wallenrod's most spontaneously produced writing. In less than a year after returning to the United States, the first chapter (item 99) of the collection was published. The book in its entirety (item 120) came out in late 1950.

The reviewers were uniformly pleased with this work:

... רשמי סופר רחב-לב, חד-עין, ונאמן-דט....  
(מאמר, 199, page 13)

✓ מאמר

הספר הוא בנינה יקרה, בספרות המצוי שאלו. מלא הוא  
תאורים קולעים, ציורים בסיכולים מאפים, ורציונות מקוריים.  
(אורנה, 198, page 151)

✓ מאמר

... ספר חד-עין, חד בתוכו, שאשר רב-אמונתו רב-כוכה  
(דמשק, 197, page 61) מאורכו.

✓ דמשק

Damesek, a long-time friend of Wallenrod, even managed to stretch his review into three and a half pages!

There can be no quarreling with the reviewers' evaluations of this book. It is an entrancing little book (160 pages) and is certainly no ordinary travelogue. It reads like a collection of short stories and for good reason. Wallenrod the involved, excited traveler is hardly to be found in it. Instead it is Wallenrod the polished

fiction writer through whose eyes the reader is made to see. One finds throughout the book a focus upon detail and a depth of reflection which strongly suggest a broad recasting of the original observations.

The first chapter, „קאניג הוואנדטי“, is among the best in the book for this reason. In this chapter, Wallenrod describes along archetypal lines the mixture of the mental states which were found among the passengers on the boat to Europe. On the one side were the industrious and prosperous Dutch American families, returning for a visit home after decades of settlement in the United States, the parents yearning to show their children the Old Country. Typical of this group was a farming family from Washington whose daughter's face is described as:

...כני נצרת אמריקא שבראיון א בל הריצה והדיצה  
והשמה התמימה.  
(page 7)

On the opposite side, often in a physically segregated sense, were the Jews, most of whom were returning as individuals to a world which they knew had been destroyed. Representative of the Jewish group was a certain anonymous Jew:

...שלא ראת שיתחל הרכה וביאוריו הארוכים צדיין לא  
ברור אי מאין בא ולאן הולך. הכל בו כל כך מסובך ונעשה  
לציני סמל לנבאבין.  
(page 15)

Unlike the Dutch Americans who saw the Old Country as a source of values, the Jews returned with many questions, especially "What should I have done?" (page 17). Nonetheless, as the boat approached the coast of Holland, each group began to feel uneasy: the Dutch Americans because they realized that they were more American than Dutch; the Jews, realizing that there would be no loved ones to meet them,

because--well, they were alive ( "הויתם חזקה עליך" --page 17). The chapter concludes with Wallenrod's recollections about Yankel Laibles, a Jew from Wallenrod's past whose dream it had been to return to his hometown as a triumphant, rich America. Of course, his dream had been shattered because there no longer was a hometown to which to return.

"דרכים ודרכים" is much more a "people-logue" than a travel-logue. On almost every page, in the matter of only a few sentences, Wallenrod introduces a new figure with his or her unique life story. In three paragraphs on page 127, for instance, we meet a group of rich American tourist who are always comparing Israel to America, a middle-aged, single American woman in search of a husband, and an embittered American veteran. The characterization in this book compares most favorably with that found in Wallenrod's purer works of fiction.

Given his cross-cultural interests, Wallenrod not unsurprisingly devotes about a third of the book to the reactions to Israel of fellow Americans. In the chapter "זמן בני אמריקה בישראל", he sets forth the moral problem facing every middle-aged, middle-class American Zionist: "How can I keep my children from going to Israel to help at this time?"

It was Wallenrod's fate to tour the Negev with a group of "leading" American Zionists. In his strongest attack on organized American Jewry, Wallenrod sarcastically states that these people had come on this trip because none of the real Zionist leaders had dared to do so. He describes his fellow tourists as either newly arrived members of the middle class or as recently converted ex-Communists. Among the group were two rabbis, one Reform and the other Orthodox.

In one small paragraph, Wallenrod captures the rivalry between the two men and the movements they represent when he states that the former spoke a well modulated English punctuated with visible punctuation while the latter could speak Hebrew fluently.

The book concludes with the chapter "תל אביב ומארכייה", a tongue-in-cheek defense of Tel Aviv as a city of venerable tradition. It stands as one of Wallenrod's very few humorous pieces. In a series of short sketches, without naming names, Wallenrod satirizes the "pillars of the city"--its writers. Stating that the targets of Wallenrod's barbs should be apparent to the reader, Damesek considers this chapter to be among Wallenrod's best pieces of writing:

בפרק זה נתאחדו המצאות של וואלנרוד במספר-  
הצ"ח עם סגולות האמן חריף-התביסה, שבאנו רב אפוא  
דיוקנאות של סופרים משוררים מספר, אלה תפסית-הקווים היותר  
זקריים כתבונותיהם.  
(197, page 63)

Typically, Wallenrod ends the chapter (and the book) on a sad note by describing a writer whose son had been killed in the War of Independence.

## CHAPTER 5: DANGLING-- "באין זור"

As the title "באין זור" suggests, this novel (excerpted between the years 1949 and 1952 and published in 1953--item 128) is a striking portrayal of a "dangling man," a biography of a prototypical Jewish anti-hero. Forsaking his well tested approach of examining the Jewish experience in America solely through American eyes, Wallenrod presents here a bi-continental, bicultural perspective of the life of Isaac Halber. Until his late teens, Isaac, as the son of a progressive, wealthy forestry agent, lives a fairly uneventful existence in White Russia. Then suddenly he is cast out from his preordained role as successful heir to his father's estate and is forced to flee to America where, lacking the drive to succeed, he spins quietly in his inner world of memories of opportunities lost.

As noted in the biography of Wallenrod presented above, the European section of the novel is highly autobiographical. At the same time, it is difficult to discount the perception that the American part of the novel as well is laced with Wallenrod's feelings of personal failure.

"באין זור" is divided into six sections, each depicting a different period in Isaac's developing loneliness. The first section tells of his formative years in Russia until the outbreak of the Russian Revolution. Here we meet Isaac, a boy from the countryside, who is successfully adjusting to life in the provincial capital and to his secular studies at the city's gymnasium. We are also introduced to the two people whose lives will be so intertwined with Isaac's through



much of the novel: Leibel Paskov, a yeshiva bocher in the provincial capital and the son of Meir the blacksmith whose small house is just down the lane from the Halber estate; and Firka Botnitzky, a relative of Isaac's, whose secularizing family owns the best hotel in the provincial capital. When the Revolution finally encompasses the city, both Isaac and Leibel return home to their small town. Leibel, who will consistently show great flexibility and drive in contrast to Isaac, throws off the externals of Orthodoxy and emerges as the leader of the town's self-defense group. When the two boys' mothers die, the only somewhat secularized Isaac refuses to recite the Kadish with his father while Leibel surprisingly accedes to his father's request. As the situation continues to deteriorate, Isaac's father finally takes the initiative and decides that the time has come for Isaac to escape to America. The long-anticipated final conversation between Isaac and his father is put off by Isaac until it is too late. Isaac will always be haunted by the image of his father standing silently in the fields watching his only son disappear forever into the distance.

The second section relates Isaac's adventures in crossing Poland in order to reach the German port. It describes the boat trip to New York as well. Isaac is presented here as an average young man who is somewhat resourceful but not unprincipled, somewhat daring but not a hero type. An array of new characters is introduced on the ship. Ironically, these include a totally assimilated Russian Jewish family (the Holmans) and an ardently Zionistic one (the Jacobis). When the ship docks in New York, everyone realizes that

אנה שפירא

The third section is devoted to Isaac's first experiences in America, especially the reception of his new American family. He is fortunate to find that his aged Uncle Israel possesses so well a developed sense of mishpoche. It is he who arranges for the family to meet the "greenhorn," either by coming to his apartment or by sending Isaac to them. It is by the latter route that Isaac is introduced to his rich capitalist cousin, Morris Tannenbaum, who offers Isaac the job in the garment factory which he will always hold throughout the years, never advancing and never escaping. Isaac also travels to Jersey City to meet the Dinovitz family. Yitzhak and Yehudit Dinovitz are the most positive, self-affirming Jews in any of Wallenrod's stories. However, there is also a catch: Yitzhak, who had studied at the great yeshivah in Odessa and is also the holder of several academic degrees from American universities, has been forced to give up teaching Hebrew because of a heart problem. The final chapters in this section detail Isaac's responses to working in the sweatshop. Already here at the beginning, one senses a certain detachment from the things going on around him.

The fourth section treats Isaac's initial stages of adjustment to America. Now called Ike by others but still always thinking of himself as Isaac, he meets up again with the Holmans, whose own adjustment to American life has been expedited by their previous assimilatory experiences in Russia. Isaac becomes a regular visitor to their apartment. He comes especially to see Irma Holman. Years pass and out of the blue his landsman Leibel, now called Leo, reappears.

Leo's reappearance stimulates Isaac to focus anew upon the past and upon his unrequited love for his cousin Firka. At the beginning of the final chapter in this section (page 132), Wallenrod sets out the options for the young immigrant to America: either to find himself and to take control of his life, as Leo had done, or to be forever looking backwards towards Europe and never to grow up, or, as had befallen Isaac, to be stuck dangling in the middle between one's past youth and future adulthood.

The fifth section depicts in painful detail Isaac's lack of the wherewithal to do or find anything meaningful in his life. His relationship with Irma is increasingly seen by her as going nowhere, as being an unsatisfying match of two lonely people. She will eventually end it. Isaac begins to study at the university, yet his studies lack motivation and lead him only to greater self-reflection and fragmentation. Memories of the unchangeable past and reminders of the unchanging present hold Isaac ever tighter. Paradoxically, as Isaac becomes increasingly Americanized, he becomes less and less connected with the everyday world around him. To add to his sense of impotency, Isaac sees Leo gain ever greater control over his life by studying to become a doctor and establishing an intimate relationship with Isaac's beloved Firka.

In the final section, we see most of the recent immigrants--Leo, the Holmans, Firka--eclipse the older, more established immigrant group represented by Uncle Israel's family. The key events are Abrasha Holman's wooing away of Uncle Israel's unhappy daughter-in-law Lillian, Uncle Israel's son Martin being thrown into jail as a gangster

Leo's receiving his medical degree. Of course, Isaac, who finally manages to earn his B.A., stands lost in the middle of it all. The novel ends with Uncle Israel's now hollow words of encouragement that everything will still turn out well in the end.

"באין דאר" marks a significant advance in novel construction over "כי פנע יוס". "באין דאר" has greater movement and more carefully follows the characters as they are forced to re-adjust their lives to the new American reality. The great transition between Europe and America gives most of the characters a depth that is absent in the characters in "כי פנע יוס". In "באין דאר", Wallenrod also focuses much more successfully upon the central character of Isaac Halber than he does upon Leo Halper in the earlier novel. The later novel is also a much tighter novel with the strings holding it together being Isaac's memories, especially those of his unsatisfactory leave-taking from his father and his unrealized love for Firka. Isaac's fixation upon his memories, however, becomes a bit tedious at times. After awhile, the reader knows that Isaac is incapable of changing, and these recurrent memories begin to be boring.

"כי פנע" is a much more "Jewish novel" than is "באין דאר". Inasmuch as most of the characters possess a conscious Jewish past from Russia, they cannot be substituted for by just any Joe from Italy or Jack from Ireland.

In common with the first novel and with most of Wallenrod's short stories, "באין דאר" certainly does not paint a rosy picture of American Judaism: the rich Jews act niggardly towards their poor brethren; the few committed Jews cannot make a safe, sane living

serving the Jewish community; and the bulk of Jews seem to want to do little which an outside observer would call Jewish.

To my surprise, the reviewers view Isaac Halber as a positive Jewish figure:

אייזיק האלבר ... נשגא זיין אגעזאמל, זאלס הייליגות,  
זאלס העכער, זאלס העלוי הייליגות, זאלס העלויגות, זאלס העלויגות,  
זאלס העלויגות, זאלס העלויגות, זאלס העלויגות, זאלס העלויגות,  
זאלס העלויגות, זאלס העלויגות, זאלס העלויגות, זאלס העלויגות,  
זאלס העלויגות, זאלס העלויגות, זאלס העלויגות, זאלס העלויגות.

(208, pages 99-100, גיל)

אייזיק האלבר נשגא קראג אלס קראג, זאלס העלויגות,  
זאלס העלויגות, זאלס העלויגות, זאלס העלויגות, זאלס העלויגות,  
זאלס העלויגות, זאלס העלויגות, זאלס העלויגות, זאלס העלויגות,  
זאלס העלויגות, זאלס העלויגות, זאלס העלויגות, זאלס העלויגות.

(134, page 209, דאמסק)

I find him to be basically a weak person, not, however, totally without moral strength.

The question which arises, and which Damesek goes on to discuss, is whether Halber's marginality is typically Jewish or is best ascribed to some flaw in his psychological makeup. Damesek opts for the latter explanation. Here I also disagree. To me, it is mere apologetics to assign Halber's ability to make moral decisions to his Jewish background while attributing the negative facets of his character to his personal psychological history. The whole structure of the novel--the linearity of all the other characters besides Halber--suggests that Wallenrod was interested in presenting another story built around the paradox of modern Jewish history, as he had done in

„כי כנה יק“: there is no Old World to which one can return; the

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Damesek

New World is devastating; and no one can successfully unify in his mind complimentary images from each of the two.

CHAPTER 6: TURNING AWAY FROM AMERICA-- "בית הכפר"

Imagine a triptych portraying a wealthy, rural Jewish family in Russia around the turn of the century and you will be able to capture the essence of Wallenrod's last novel, "בית הכפר" (excerpted in 1956 and 1957 and published in 1965--item 175). In the first panel, we see an idealized, formal family portrait. The family is posed in the sun-filled courtyard of their orderly, well-stocked estate surrounded by fields of yellowing grain. In the center stands the family patriarch (the Grandfather) who, in his fifties, is a giant of a man--powerful, capable, firm, yet pious. Beneath his right arm is sheltered his small wife (the Grandmother) who is half-turned to the Grandfather in an admiring stance with a look of grateful bliss spread over her face. In front of them are clustered their seven smiling children, ranging in age from their late teens to their late twenties. Under the Grandfather's left arm is positioned Uncle Abraham, the Grandmother's older brother, who is glancing piously downwards as he studies a page of Talmud. Standing somewhat behind are Leibel and Zelig, two poor but thankful itinerant repairmen who frequent the Grandfather's estate. Close to them is a sign which reads, "Reserved for this year's melamed." In the distance beyond the grain fields, we see the smiling faces of the nobleman and his happy serfs. Barely visible in the distance is the outline of the village, the small cupola of the local church rising above the rest of the buildings.

The second panel of the triptych shows us in a surrealistic way the true emotional relationships binding together those in the

first panel. The Grandfather still looms large here. He is, however, displaced from his former centrality and stands disapprovingly to one side. Near him still stands Uncle Abraham, whose expression of piety has been replaced by one of scorn. The Grandmother has become the focus of the picture. Her face shows a curious division of emotions: one eye is angrily directed at the Grandfather and at her brother, Uncle Abraham, while the other gazes tenderly at Zelig, who stands at a slight distance from her, returning her feelings. The seven children are scattered around the canvas but seem generally to be oriented towards the Grandmother and away from the Grandfather. The three oldest ones are the farthest away. The oldest son, Yoshke, whose face is indistinct, is dressed in American clothing. Another son, still in Russian garb, has turned away towards his own wife and children. A daughter whose mouth is open in a cry of pain is rushing from the distance towards the Grandmother. Mikhel, exiled back to Russia from America, is floating upside down midway between his parents. The melancholy teenage daughters, Sheynke and Frenye, who are eying each other warily, are closest to their mother, yet are not really all that close. Elya, the youngest boy, stands closest to the Grandfather. Like the Grandmother, his attention is drawn in two directions: part of him is turned in angry respect towards his father while the rest of him is focused longingly upon the goyim who have come to occupy a threateningly prominent place the picture. Two new individuals are distinguishable. One is the melamed called "The Tall Rabbi," who is carrying a book filled with Zionist songs. The other is his successor, "The Teacher," who is wearing a worker's cap and is



declaiming from some small book, the only legible word of whose title is "Bund." The background colors in this picture are somber mixtures of blues, purples and reds.

Entitled "Several Years Later," the third panel is painted in stark blacks and grays. An ominous ring of hostile goyim has surrounded the estate, now much reduced from its former prosperity. The gate to the vegetable garden stands open and pigs are seen pillaging the crops (the final image in the book on page 160). Lying on a cot in the kitchen, the Grandfather, his face distorted from a massive stroke, is being tended to by Sheynke. Shrunken from shock, the Grandmother is talking to her two oldest children in Russia, who are shrugging their shoulders as if to say, "What can we possibly do to help you?" Frenye stands alone in another room. Absent are Mikhel, who has been drafted; Elya, who has run away to join the goyim; "The Teacher," who has gone into hiding; Zelig, who has been arrested by the czarist police because of his daughter's anti-czarist activities; and Uncle Abraham, who has been told angrily by his sister that he will have to support himself from now on.

The characterizations in this novel are far more powerful than in any other of Wallenrod's works. A major reason for this is that there is no single dominating figure in the book. Unlike his two other novels which detail the lives of single characters, Wallenrod shows interest here in all the characters in a much more equal fashion. Additionally, more of the characters are present throughout the book and do not drift in and out as they do in the other novels. A second explanation is that Wallenrod spends much more time setting

the characters firmly in their initial places. More than half the book (through chapter 24 of 44) is devoted to preliminary scene-setting. Moreover, less of the personal description is generated through reflection or is set in the characters' memories. The characters are fully alive, interactive and responsive. Wallenrod presents them when they are crying out in their pain, turning away in their anger and acting compassionately out of a true desire to be helpful. The final reason for the vividness of the characters is that there is no polemic in this work. However much they try not to be, both of the earlier novels are by their very nature critical indictments of the American solution to the Jewish Problem. This novel, however, treats Zionism and socialism as agents of change in the same quiet way as it does the chance meeting of Sheynke with the local Christian teacher or Elya's frequenting the local tavern.

We are told in various places in the novel that there are two narrators at work here. One is a nine-year old boy who is the son of the Grandparents' oldest son. He has been sent by his parents to his grandparents' in the country to recuperate from a serious illness. This boy is the reporter, recounting the important comings and goings as well as serving as the source for a naive admiration which attaches to all the characters. The other narrator, the sophisticated interpreter, is this same boy-become-man reflecting on the impressions from his childhood from the distance of some forty years. The adult's interpretation is still very personal and he sometimes admits that the young boy in him controls his pen. The frequent movement between the two narrators is accomplished with great skill and little attention

because the young boy is kept anonymous, inactive and bedridden.

The novel also surpasses Wallenrod's other stories in attention to detail. Although this might seem at first surprising that Wallenrod should be able to reconstruct the Old Country to such a faithful degree after his more than thirty year absence, אהל points out that there is almost a literary rule that:

... נולד ילדותו של אדס, ובסיקור אדם הוא שאר-הוק, לא כן באבד  
שחט ביצ בו את המיסקים היפים והאותנטים ביותר אכל ימי חייו, אלא אז  
הוא לא-בזית רצון לאדם מאוחרת הדבה יותר-לדעת ביטוי, שאחרי  
איננו משיג ביצירותיו באחרות. (221, page 5)

Does this novel make any special contribution to the literature of the Old Country, so popular a topic since the time of Mendele?

לוי (224, page 243) suggests that *בית כבדי* is the first Hebrew novel to offer such an extensive, positive picture of Jewish life in the countryside. He is especially impressed by the singular image of the powerful Grandfather who is:

... כאלון... ששטני חמקים וחסודים וצפיו מרובים ומצויים,  
שאילו רוח תלוצית אינה עוקרת... שאין ביחסיו [עם האדם]  
משק כניעה והתרפסות, כי אס יחסי-כבוד - עד כמה שמחצו  
של, הפכו "מחיה" ... (224, page 243)

In the same vein, שילקן (226, page 21) notes that several characters are:

... אונים מן הרגל במהותם ובדיוקן-פנינם ובכל  
פרכי-חיים - יהודים ברטאים, כובשי-ערה, בוני  
משק חקלאי - אכרים ממש.

The Grandfather, he says (226, page 22) shows a "unique relationship to the land and to working it" (translation mine).

Despite this presentation of such an array of positive

Jewish figures, "ג'ית דבנר", tracing the rapid disintegration of a previously stable society, remains a novel about destruction. This process is symbolized most clearly by the fall of the Grandfather both from his former good health and from the good graces of the goyim. There is not a single character who seems to be better off at the end of the novel than he or she was at the beginning. Just as the remaining vegetables are to be ravaged by the pigs, so those remaining Jews are doomed to be destroyed in the collapse of their society.

There can be little doubt that "ג'ית דבנר" was Wallenrod's memorial to the destroyed society of his youth. He succeeded admirably in showing the strengths of that lost society to the post-Holocaust reader. At the same, by turning his back on America, Wallenrod was also emphasizing the slight positive results of the American Jewish experience. As his final major work, "ג'ית דבנר", is a fitting summation to Wallenrod's lifelong study of the homelessness of the Jew in the Modern World.

## CHAPTER 7: IRRELEVANCE--FINAL STORIES

Wallenrod's final stories from the mid-1950's on focus upon the theme of irrelevance from two different directions. The first direction treats the irrelevance of the aged and is the natural conclusion of the "fathers and sons" stories moved one generation farther along to include grandfathers. Obviously coinciding with Wallenrod's own aging and fall from good health, this theme is treated in the stories "אבא יאזעל" (item 176, published in 1965) and "יאנו הארץ באב" (item 161, published in 1959).

"אבא יאזעל" is the story of an elderly man's decline from self-sufficiency into the dreaded confines of a nursing home, a scenario which must have been very real to Wallenrod, whose own health was declining rapidly. Although he had already retired some years ago when his wife died, Morris Tubman has enjoyed a lively, independent retirement. Even in the cold of winter, it was he, Morris, who taught his grandson Davey how to make snowballs. The one car in the family, as always the symbol of power in Wallenrod's stories, belongs to Morris, who drives his daughter, son-in-law and grandson wherever they want. Of course, he never lets the keys out of his own hand. The pinnacle of Morris' influence occurs when he forces his son-in-law to send Davey to religious school.

Morris' good health does not hold out and he suffers a major stroke. Suddenly bedridden and incontinent, Morris agrees to go to a nursing home because he sees some possibility of lessening his dependency upon his daughter and son-in-law. However the worst of his

fears, generated from a distant youthful visit to a nursing home with a friend, is realized when the nurse tells him, "היה ילד טוב, סבא", and then addresses the others, saying, "ילד טוב ולא פאס גאנץ". Looking into a mirror, Morris realizes how fitting these words really are for an old man who cannot brush a fly off his cheek, nor prevent saliva from accumulating on the ends of his mustache. The indignity becomes total, and the story ends, when Davey, trying to get out of his grandfather's grasp, repeats the nurse's words, "פאס, אטע ילד טוב, פאס", (page 376).

"אבא ילד טוב", is a quiet story, told in a dignified manner which conforms to the dignity of the old man. There is not much sympathy here for the daughter and son-in-law, although they are not directly condemned for sending Morris to the nursing home.

"י'אן האחרון בפאס", is the story of a twice displaced grandfather. Benny Goodman had already left his own apartment to come to live with his son and daughter-in-law. It is for Benny an exile in which he feels uncomfortable even sitting downstairs in their living room. On the day indicated by the title, Benny is to lose the other mark of his independent existence, his job in a clothing factory. The first paragraph of the story tells it all:

חג ולא חג היה בוקר צה אפני גאדמאן. היה צה  
בקרן של חיוס האחרון לעבודת פאס אבג ציט גא דרשטאין, היה  
צה חיוס האחרון של עבודה בכל אפני צאט אפניסיה. ודעבורים לא  
בזרים בתבוצצו באחו. פאמה, יום אחרון צה יצאוד אבדו  
אלא קער באשעו עס הימים שערן וזע הימים שיבאלא. מציין  
בריס לא צורה ואלא מחשבת השטה בחולל ריק ונשמת  
מאחצת הדמיון.  
(page 20)

In this lengthy story, the intrafamilial side of the problem is portrayed quite stereotypically and fortunately takes up but a few pages. The far more interesting labor side of Benny's story, created through a series of flashbacks, leads the reader in the space of thirteen pages through a history of Jewish labor in the garment industry since the turn of the century.

Benny Goodman is depicted as a man of great dignity who is sensitive to the positive aspects of working in a sweatshop, such as the sense of comradeship and of mutual preservation which can develop between workers. Although Wallenrod shows affection for all his protagonists, one senses an especially warm regard for this man whose time has run out. Not unsurprisingly, Benny is forced to "celebrate" his retirement by himself in the darkened workroom of the factory because neither his fellow workers, who are now all non-Jews and young enough to be his grandchildren, nor his Jewish boss would stay after hours to participate in the traditional ceremony of toasting the retiree.

The second direction from which Wallenrod approaches the theme of irrelevance is by showing the absurdity of adhering to a foreign cultural medium in the United States. Already raised by the pathetic image of the unappreciated poet Weiser in the novel **"כי פני"** (chapters 1 and 40), this topic is treated in the stories **"אלי"**, **"המזרח"** (item 153, published in 1957 with the following story), **"האבא אבנא"** (item 135, published in 1954), and **"שנתכאפדה"**.

As a writer whose European-born audience in America was being reduced annually through death and emigration, Wallenrod was

certainly well aware of the marginality of Hebrew culture in America. In addition, as a professor of Hebrew, he was a firsthand witness to the failure of the younger generations of American Jews to adopt Hebrew as their own distinctive cultural medium.

Both "הקדמה שנתבלבבל" and "אשת המשורר" are sketches dealing with immigrant savants displaced to America. "אשת המשורר" is Wallenrod's only satirical story. The "anonymous" Poet and his wife are described in one spot (page 178) as being enveloped in "קרוק השינה" and, a few lines later on, the Poet is described as possessing:

... סמל של שירה, איצב ניאון שחובץ אל פלג

Those who had merited a glimpse at the Poet's work talked of his poetry as:

... שירה לירית מסוג השירים המודרניים, שהציקר בהם  
השירה המדומצת והקשר בין שורה לשורה רופף בהם  
ובגן תוצה בין שאריות לו דעת עצמך: יש שאתה מנחם  
את המעבד משורה לשורה ויש שאתה מוכרח ליצור  
מזכרים משלך.  
(page 179)

The absurdity of the Poet's position as a non-English writer in America is made clear by the fact that his poems, written in German, were doomed from their moment of inspiration to remain unpublished and unread, but still he was accorded great respect by the general public:

... וכיוון שפשיקים היו כתובים גרמנית ולא נמצא להם  
מוציא-לאור ולא היתה תקווה שיימצא להם מוציא-לאור  
וכיוון שלא היו מצמינים את אנשי-שולחנו למחנה ולא קיבאו  
הכמנות למחנות מיועדינו-משום כך ובוודאי משום טעמים  
אחרים שאינם נתפסים ואי-אפשר להארכם היה הוא  
בצוץ הקהל המשכר ...  
(page 178)



By way of contrast, 'הקומה הנכבדה', is a very serious story.

The central character is the narrator's former Hebrew teacher in the Old Country. He has always been held in great respect by the narrator, who remembers:

...את קומתו הנקובה והגאה ואת דיבורו הרציני  
והאיטי. היה כולם אותנו ברצינותו היחודי בשעה שדיבר  
אל הספרות העברית החדשה. ברטט והקדושה היה  
מדבר. לא נחשד אל פנואמים, אולם היה מדגיש כל מילה,  
הצמח צקן וישר ומתן, ומחסיק בין מילה ומילה ודבריו  
נכנסים אלינו בכל כבודם.

....

וכן נשאר מורי בצבראן. צקן, גב-קומה, דק,  
נוקשה וישר, מדין ודאי שלא ניתן להאישות ואמת שאין  
להרהר אחריה.  
(pages 176 and 177)

Surely such a shining image was bound to be tarnished by age alone, such an imposing, superhuman figure bent simply by the passage of the years. Although his teacher's decline is partially symbolized by his stooped back, what clearly disturbs the narrator even more is his teacher's loss of control over his previously sacred domain, namely the poetry of Bialik. This loss becomes obvious to the narrator when he sets aside his uncommon role as unsophisticated admirer and re-assumes his usual critical role as professor of literature at a major Eastern university.

A similar confrontation between expert and would-be expert takes place between the protagonists in the story 'האב ובן'. Again, it is the younger person, the son, who, as a graduate student in modern literature at Harvard, becomes the judge of the older man, his father, who is a modest but previously unpublished Yiddish poet. It

has been the father's secret desire to impress his son by having a volume of his poetry published. The father is, of course, devastated when the son, to whom he has taught Yiddish, is not only unimpressed with his poems but seems merely to be polite by flipping through the book and praising his father's poetry. They each realize they live in separate worlds, the father in the Old World of Yiddish and the son in the New World of modern American literature.

PART III

CRITICISM

CHAPTER 1: HEBREW LITERATURE FOR AMERICANS--THE LITERATURE OF MODERN ISRAEL

The "miraculous" publication in 1956 of The Literature of Modern Israel (item 144) was described above in Wallenrod's biography. As Wallenrod himself indicated in several letters and as its reviewers recognized, the work was very much in need of revision and expansion. Scharfstein, whose review was by far the most positive of the three which I located, wrote:

בנוסף לספר זה יליד לי אבי שמחה שניה חפץ,  
ובקרה, ואם לא--נאכזב באנשי הצעיר באמריקה. ז' בן אביז' חפץ,  
שיוסף בחבר בק א' חפץ אפואת החפץ. (215, page 488)

The final verdict on the book must be one which acknowledges its patchwork composition out of the various articles which Wallenrod published in The Reconstructionist over a fifteen year period. However, it certainly would have improved the structural impression of the work, had Wallenrod followed some minimal degree of chronology as well as adhering to his own criteria as to content. Then the reader would not have been left to scratch his head as to why the chapter on "The Poets of the Hebrew Renaissance" (i.e., Bialik et al.) is to be found in the middle of the book or why at all is there a chapter devoted to the philosophy of A.D. Gordon in this volume about "creative literature." Similarly, there would have been no puzzlement why there appears a chapter about American Hebrew poets who wrote about Palestine in this book about Palestinian-Israeli literature, that is, literature written by writers who lived in Palestine at some point in their lives.

For the casual reader who might tend to draw conclusions as to a given writer's importance from the amount of space Wallenrod devoted to him or her, such an approach could only lead to a widely distorted picture of the major figures in modern Hebrew literature. Spicehandler commented:

If Smilansky is entitled to seven pages, Brenner deserves at least seventy and not eleven, and Agnon not ten but half a book. This disproportion is continuously distressing. The poetess Rachel was a sweet lyricist and died under very romantic circumstances but is it not carrying gallantry too far to assign her a full chapter while at the same time lumping Shlonsky, Greenberg, Karni and Lamdan into one? . . . . Among the prose writers, Burla hardly deserves the same amount of space allocated to Agnon, and certainly Hazaz is entitled to at least as much as Burla. (216, page 285)

The most serious criticism levelled at the work is Spicehandler's charge that Wallenrod did not show a fully developed critical point of view about his subject (216, pages 284-5). For example, there is no discussion of the literary problems and ideological controversies which molded Israeli literature. So too there is lacking any explanation of the fact that Israeli poetry far outshone its prose and drama with the exceptions of Agnon, Brenner and Hazaz. Spicehandler summarized a sufficient approach for a solid work of literary history as follows:

One must view literature as a craft and a discipline in itself having its own problems and its own methods. Chronology, sociology, biography, history and even philosophy are of course legitimate aids to the student of literature but must not be confused with the real thing. Once the key problems and trends are ascertained and described, one can proceed to "structure out" the schools and movements and classify and rank the authors and works properly and proportionately. There can be no other way to describe any literature. (216, page 286)

Such an approach The Literature of Modern Israel simply lacks.

What does remain is a highly readable and popularly informative collection of short literary vignettes. The strength of these sketches lies in Wallenrod's capsulized appreciations of an author's literary and thematic contributions as seen through his or her principal works. Thus, Wallenrod's discussion of Hazaz focuses around the novels **היושבת בגבעה**, and **"ש"**. He states that, from these two works, we learn of Hazaz's unique utilization of vibrant colors and sounds which lend a very human presence to his extraordinary cast of characters. He goes on further to note that these two novels are, however, quite distinct one from another inasmuch as the former presents a dynamic depiction of a society in flux while the latter paints a "series of charming water colors" of individual characters.

As with many of Wallenrod's endeavors, The Literature of Modern Israel was also a ground-breaking effort as the first survey in English of the whole expanse of modern Palestinian-Israeli literature. Spicehandler (216, page 284) noted that there had been only two prior efforts in English in this field: Simon Halkin's Major Trends in Hebrew Literature and Ben Zion Benshalom's Hebrew Literature Between the Two Wars. Each of these, however, had focused only upon certain problems. Thus, The Literature of Modern Israel, however badly flawed it is, could be said to be the first attempt in English at a comprehensive handbook for modern Hebrew literature. It is to be regretted that there never appeared a subsequent edition.

CHAPTER 2: AMERICAN LITERATURE FOR HEBREW READERS-- „אספרי אמריקני“

„אספרי אמריקני“ (published in 1958; item 155) is a thoroughly enjoyable introduction to American literature for the Hebrew reader. Constructed around seventeen essays devoted to individual authors, all but two of which had been published previously (several more than twenty years earlier), this book hits the high points of American literature, the acknowledged masters. The only questionable inclusion is that of Ludwig Lewisohn, whose reputation was certainly higher in the pre-World War II period than it is today. No doubt, though, a certain unstated non-literary, nationalistic element governed Wallenrod's choice in this case.

The essays represent a good mixture of personal biography and literary criticism. There is nothing terribly profound or insightful to be discovered here. One reviewer's comment to the effect that the book shows that Wallenrod was thoroughly acquainted with scores of American novels is open to question. While it is true that he might have been, there were readily available many fine analyses in English from which he could have drawn. Certainly, his basic line of analysis, dividing authors into romanticists and realists (page 16), is pretty standard fare.

It is unmistakable, however, that „אספרי אמריקני“ could only have been written by a Jew who was acquainted with both modern Russian and modern Hebrew literature. Comparisons with Russian greats are plentiful. For instance, Wallenrod mentions Gorki in the chapters about Jack London (page 102) and Anderson (page 138) as well as citing

Tolstoy in his essay about Anderson (page 144). There are similar comparisons with Hebrew writers, such as Cooper to Smolensky (pages 24-25) and Hemingway to A.D. Gordon and Brenner (page 204). In his introduction, Wallenrod makes a case for dividing American realists into a Dreiserian school and a Faulknerian (sic!!) school in the same way that modern Hebrew realists can be separated into the Mendele-Brenner school of angry realism versus the Barash-Agnon (sic!!) school of understated realism.

The Jewish element is visible to a greater degree than is the comparative literary one. First of all, Wallenrod discusses representations of Jews which are found in these authors' novels. For example, he devotes a long paragraph on page 203 to Robert Cohn from The Sun Also Rises, stating that he is "the most lost of all the Lost Generation" (translation mine). Wallenrod also draws upon nonfictional material as well. He spends two pages (pages 71-72) describing Twain's essay "About Jews" (?) (Hebrew title-- "על היהודים"). In another place he cites the legend that Walter Scott learned about Rebecca Gratz through his friendship with Washington Irving. On a different level, Wallenrod takes note of kindred intellectual ideas, as, for example, the similar concepts of sin held by Hawthorne and the Rabbis (page 33). Finally, there is little doubt that the chapter on Lewisohn could only have been by a Jew who held in common with Lewisohn the experience of being thrust into the very foreign milieu of modern, English-speaking America. Only a Jew could comment that Lewisohn, despite his distinctive personal history, was no different than any other Jew who was faced with the dilemma of choosing between



segregation and assimilation, between tradition and modernity:

האויג'אדערפ'ס פ'ן לאיסן האסאפערט ווארעט וועגן  
 בכל אחד בספריו היא אויג'אדערפ'ס פ'ן רבנות יפנים בכל  
 בארצות שרצו לעזר את יפנים מזה ג'בס ולא הצליחו -  
 לא ירח אצם מעצמו ... ואם ינסה להתבטח לעצמו הרי  
 שנים (בז) אנשים יתברצו בו תמים; שנים העושים  
 איש את דעהו ומתחבאים איש מרעהו .... ולא  
 עזב אלא פחד יאחזבו, יראה תמידית תרדמה גמא  
 ימצא בו אותה האישיות המוסתרת .... וביראתו בדרך  
 פלא את תנועותיו, מליו, ביטויו, מעשיו, בלי הרף בפעולות  
 מוצגות שלא יאמר בו שאלו מאותם הנסיונות שהם בדרך  
 מהם; כאנשים חולים - החולק בתסביק הנקיון ורוחצין  
 ומשקשים את ידיהם עד צב צב, מחפץ שאל יאנובו.  
 אולם אחרת ההתבטחות של היהודי לקיוו ולנסיונותיו  
 הקופאים הרי הם נשארין מתחת למדעה. גם מקנות האמת.  
 גם מסתרת האישיות אשר בן-אדם חושב אותה לפחותה עצמה  
 ומתחמק ממנה ובוחר ממנה. ומתוך המנוסה מהנסיונות,  
 ותוך בקשת המאכל מן הראשיות בא תסביק-הנחיות.

(pages 168-169)

Even a cursory reading of "מסברי אמריקה" leads one to a greater understanding of Wallenrod's fascination with the idea of democracy. The chapter on Mark Twain reads like a tribute to those who would topple the established elites. Thus, Wallenrod's detestation of Jewish leaders and institutions can be understood to have arisen not only out of his personal experiences (which were awful) but also from a philosophical commitment to a new, democratic order in American Jewish life.

A close reading of the essays on Dreiser and Lewis makes plainly clear Wallenrod's debt to these two masters of realism. While it is certainly true that the three authors approach modern America

from very different perspectives, one cannot fail to be struck by the convergence of these writers' in their moral concerns and in their pessimistic outlook. The nondescript, average Americans around which Dreiser and Lewis fashion their stories are the same type of average Jewish Americans who populate Wallenrod's stories as well.

In the opinion of all its reviewers, "אספרי ארצות", was a truly pioneering effort. As such, it fits nicely into that aspect of Wallenrod's lifework which sought to open a dialogue between American culture and modern Hebrew "culture."

PART IV

CONCLUDING ASSESSMENT

When one comes to estimate the literary contribution of Reuben Wallenrod, he emerges as a successful portrait painter of the entire Eastern European Jewish immigrant experience, from growing up in the Old Country ("בית הכפר") to retirement ("ימיו האחרון היטאפ") and enfeeblement, both physical ("גבול ילד טוב") and intellectual ("הקומונה שנתכאספה"), in the New Country. Having himself lived such a life, he freely casts his characters in strongly autobiographical molds.

Unlike those who rattle off statistics as to the number of synagogues and Jewish Studies professors, Wallenrod is an advocate of using the experiences of the average Jew for assessing the health of the American Jewish community. By this standard, the Jewish condition in America is, in deed, very iffy in Wallenrod's opinion.

Two words inevitably come to dominate the mind of the reader of Wallenrod's stories--"loneliness" and "emptiness." Wallenrod's characters rarely form stable relationships, whether within their own family or between men and women. In fact, so infrequent are they, that when you come across successful relationships, as those between Flora and her father in "בנין פריינד", and Leo Paskov and Flora Botnitzky in "באין פאר", you have to stop and ask yourself whether they will last.

Similarly, Wallenrod's characters become less and less vital as one generation replaces another. The Grandfather and the Grandmother in "בית הכפר", and Isaac Halber's father in "באין פאר", were substantial figures. Already in their children, both in the ones who immigrated to America and those who stayed behind, we see a weakening

of character and a diminution of strength. The grandchildren, such as Louis Funk's children in "כחול ליתום", are petulant spoiled brats.

The increasingly global vacuity of the successive generations is matched by a similar progressive weakening of the characters' ties to Judaism. Those who knew something about Judaism in the Old Country, such as the protagonist in "בצל הסאונד", and Isaac Halber in

"בזין פאר", forget what they have learned when they reach the New Country. Those Jews who never got a chance to experience Judaism in a positive way, such as Leo Halper's nephew Hymie in "כיכר יום", emerge as homogenized Americans, indistinguishable from Joe the Italian and Jack the Irishman. The only slight positive sign is the stirring for religious education in the fourth generation as in the story "אלה", "ולד טוב".

Wallenrod is fan of America. His stories are filled with the hustle and bustle of city life, the motion and noise of traffic, and images of a people on the move forward. His characters, of course, are, for the most part, mere spectators whose average experience of America is to be pushed aside into some isolated corner by the aggressive mainstream of American life.

Somewhat as a writer of fiction and especially as a critic, Wallenrod should be viewed as a one who daringly set out into uncharted waters. His attention to the average Jew was totally novel in American Hebrew literature, which had so heavily focused upon the experiences of the educated, professional Jewish elites. His two books of criticism, each attempting to expose one reading public to the literature of a different one, prefigured the major effort of

subsequent generations of scholars in the area of Hebrew and English comparative literature.

Wallenrod's contribution to the vitality of the American Jewish experience should not be underestimated.

## APPENDIXES

## APPENDIX I: CLASSIFICATORY ANALYSIS OF WALLENROD'S WORKS

I(A): Books and Monographs

		Date of first edition	Excerpts appeared between
<u>Novels--3</u>			
בי פנפ יוק	(item 90)	1946	1944-1946
באין נור	(item 128)	1953	1949-1952
בית הכפר	(item 175)	1965	1956-1957 (in its entirety)
<u>Short Story Collections--2</u>			
בפיוטת העליות	(item 53)	1937	1928-1934
בין חלומות ניו יורק	(item 123)	1952	1938-1946
<u>Literary Criticism--3</u>			
שביליך בספרות אמריקה העכשווית	(item 64)	1939/40	1937-1939
The Literature of Modern Israel	(item 144)	1956	1941-1955
מספרי אמריקה	(item 155)	1958	1932-1956
<u>Travelogue--1</u>			
דרכים ודרכים	(item 120)	1950	1949-1951
<u>Education--1</u>			
John Dewey, Educateur	(item 3)	1932	---



	Date of first edition	Excerpts appeared between
<u>Hebrew Textbooks--3</u>		
Modern Hebrew Reader and Grammar		
Volume 1 (item 73)	1942	---
Volume 2 (item 81)	1945	---
Fundamentals of Hebrew Grammar (item 97)	1949	---

## Chronology

1932	John Dewey, Educateur	Education
1937	בדילוף השלישית	Short story collection
1939/40	שביליך בספרות ארצות הברית	Literary criticism
1942	Modern Hebrew Reader and and Grammar, Volume 1	Hebrew textbook
1945	Modern Hebrew Reader and and Grammar, Volume 2	Hebrew textbook
1946	כי פנה יום	Novel
1949	Fundamentals of Hebrew Grammar	Hebrew textbook
1950	דרכים ודרכ	Travelogue
1952	בין חומות ניו יורק	Short story collection
1953	באין פור	Novel
1956	The Literature of Modern Israel	Literary criticism
(1956/57)	בית בכפר	(Novel (serialized))
(1957)	(Dusk in the Catskills-- translation of כי פנה יום)	(Novel)
1958	מספרי אמריקה	Literary criticism
(1965)	כי פנה יום --re-issued	(Novel)
(1965)	באין פור --re-issued	(Novel)
1965	בית בכפר	Novel (book form)

## I(B): Short Stories

<u>Found in collection</u>	<u>Date of journal publication</u>	<u>Item number in bibliography</u>	<u>Name of story</u>
---	1965	176	אלב ילד טוב
A	1932	6	אחיות
---	1953	131	אחים
---	1948	96	אחרי הצברים
---	1957	153	אחרי מות
---	1957	153	אשף המאור
A	1928	1	באהלים 1
B	1945/46	89	בארבעת החצרים שבוליאנסבורג
---	1960	163	בתה העירה
A	1931	2	בדיחה השלישית
B	1938/39	57	בחול המעשה 2
		see ←	בימי הכבישים
B	----	---	ביתא של גייקי
B	1944	80	בילוי פריצה
B	1944	76	במלון
B	1941/42	72	בצל החלומות
---	1934	29	ברחוקות ניו יורק
A	1934	28	גחליליות
---	1954	135	האב ובנו
A	1932	5	הציונות בארץ
A	1932	4	הצננות
B	1945	87	החיוך
---	1957	153	הקומה שנתכאפה
---	1935	36	חברים
A	1932	7	טרביציות ומנהלים
---	1959	161	יומנו האחרון בשאפ
A	----	---	כוחות
		see ←	כשתלי ציפים
A	----	---	מבט

<u>Found in collection</u>	<u>Date of journal publication</u>	<u>Item number in bibliography</u>	<u>Name of story</u>
A	1932	9	מתק פחד
A	1932	10	נאמנות
B	1941	71	ספור יסן-נשן <sup>3</sup>
A	----	---	זל יסן קורטלנד
		ספור יסן-נשן see ←	שני האחים וארטורג
B	----	---	שני וצרכ

## Collections

A-- בפיוטא פאלישית

B-- בין חומות ניו יורק

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Reprinted in בפיוטא פאלישית with some changes under the title  
בימי הכבישים.

<sup>2</sup>Reprinted in בין חומות ניו יורק under the title כשתלי ציפס.

<sup>3</sup>Reprinted with the omission of the opening sentence in  
שני האחים וארטורג under the title בין חומות ניו יורק.

I(C): Literary CriticismArticles on American Writers

	<u>Date of article</u>	<u>Item in bibliography</u>
Anderson, Sherwood	1933	16
Cather, Willa	1932/33	13
Dos Passos, John	1939	60
Dreiser, Theodore	1934	32
Farrell, James	1939	69
Faulkner, William	1954	137
Hawthorne, Nathaniel	1956	148
Hemingway, Ernest	1954	134
	1961	166
James, Henry	1956	150
Lewis, Sinclair	1939	59
	1951	121
Lewisohn, Ludwig	1936	46
	1956	145
Poe, Edgar Allan	1956	146
Steinbeck, John	1939	63
	1962	170
Twain, Mark	1942	74
Wolfe, Thomas	1939	61

(On each of the above, there is also a chapter in **מספרי אמריקה** .  
 There are also chapters in the same work on Jack London and  
 Herman Melville.)

Articles on Hebrew Writers

<u>Item in bibliography</u>	<u>Date of article</u>	
129	1953	אפשטיין, אברהם
149	1956	בארוך, דבורה
167	1961	בבלי, נאלי
126	1952	ביאליק, חיים זלמן
165	1961	
169	1962	ברדנאס, אברהם
75	1944	זורנון, א.צ.
172	1963	דמסקי, שמואל
95	1946/47	האקין, שמעון
160	1959	
164	1960	פפן, יצחק
157	1959	סקלר, ה.
156	1958	פיכמן, יצחק
159	1959	שלוס, ש.
154	1957	שניאור, זלמן
158	1959	

(Excludes material written in English and found more or less verbatim  
in The Literature of Modern Israel.)

I(D): Reviews

(Book's publication date in parenthesis)

	Item number in bibliography
Adamic, Louis. <u>Thirty Million New Americans</u> (1934)	43
Adamic, Louis. <u>Grandsons</u> (1935)	43
Bercovici, Konrad. <u>Nights Abroad</u> (1926)	43
Frank, M.Z. <u>Sound the Great Trumpet</u> (1953)	143
Halkin, Simon. <u>Modern Hebrew Literature: Trends and Values</u> (1950)	118
Levin, Meyer. <u>The Old Bunch</u> (1937)	65
Lewisohn, Ludwig. <u>An Altar in the Fields</u> (1935)	51
Lewisohn, Ludwig. <u>Triumph of Jubilee</u> (1937)	55
Nathan, Robert. <u>The Road of Ages</u> (1935)	45
Revusky, A. <u>Jews in Palestine</u> (1935)	47
Ribalow, Harold. <u>This Land, This People</u> (1950)	139
Sackler, Harry. <u>Festival at Meron</u> (1935)	48
Snyder, Isadore. <u>From the Kingdom of Necessity</u> (1935)	56
Steinbeck, John. <u>The Grapes of Wrath</u> (1939)	63

Item number in  
bibliography

79

162

101

91

117

39

168

140

132

130

אברמוביץ, חיים. "על הלחם לבדו" (תש"ד)  
 ביקר, שלמה. "שריבר בון מיין דור" (תש"ח)  
 דאסק, שלמה. "הדים" (תש"ח)  
 האקין, שמעון. "עד מסבר" (תש"ב)  
 ליסוצקי, אברהם. "אלה תולדות אדם" (תש"ט)  
 עבר הפני. "נפלאוים" (תרצ"ב)  
 פון קרפאד-מאיר, אנדע. "גדיש וואר" (תשכ"ב)  
 רבינוביץ, יעקב. "גר דואק" (תש"ד)  
 רש, חיים. "צדדים מרשימים" (תש"ב)  
 שארבעטליין, צבי. "אביה ביה באר" (תש"ג)

I(E): Journals, Newspapers and Series  
In Which Wallenrod Published

In Hebrew (144 items)

3 items-----	<u>מחולק</u>	19 items-----	<u>בצרון</u>
2 items-----	<u>מחלוקת</u>	4 items-----	<u>גזית</u>
8 items-----	<u>מאנים</u>	3 items-----	<u>גיליונות</u>
2 items-----	<u>מסד</u>	2 items-----	<u>דארון</u>
1 item-----	<u>מצופה</u>	1 item-----	<u>מרכון</u>
	<u>סדר השנה</u>	28 items-----	<u>הארץ</u>
5 items--	<u>ליבובי אהר'קה</u>	1 item--	<u>הבית החדש</u>
1 item-----	<u>עמיר</u>	58 items-----	<u>הבואר</u>
1 item----	<u>שבילי החינוך</u>	1 item-----	<u>החינוך</u>
1 item-----	<u>תקופתנו</u>	2 items-----	<u>המבט העממי</u>

In English (16 items)

<u>Jewish Social Studies</u> -----	1 item
<u>Middle East Affairs</u> -----	2 items
<u>The Jewish Review</u> -----	2 items
<u>The Reconstructionist</u> -----	9 items
<u>The Zionist Quarterly</u> -----	1 item
<u>Youth and Nation</u> -----	1 item

## APPENDIX II: WALLENROD'S RELATIONSHIP WITH SHIMON HALKIN

Wallenrod's letters in the Genazim file (item 263) suggest that Wallenrod was in active correspondence with many of the important figures in the American Hebrew circle: Ephraim Lisitzky, Shlomo Damesek, Abraham Halevy, Hillel Bavli, Avraham Epstein and Menachem Ribalow to name just a few.

His closest personal friends were Avraham Aaroni and Baruch Katznelson. These were the ones to whom he turned for help while he was in Paris in the early thirties. He co-authored two books with Aaroni and their families made a cross-country trip together in 1947. Wallenrod's letters to his landsman Katznelson begin in the early 1930's and continue to the early 1960's when the Wallenrods immigrated to Israel. In the last fifteen years of his life, Wallenrod frequently used his letters to Katznelson as very private vehicles for expressing his fading sense of power and control.

There can be no doubt, however, that the person whose relationship was most important to Wallenrod was Shimon Halkin. In what one can imagine is only a sampling of correspondence from Wallenrod's pen, there are more than 70 letters and postcards addressed to Halkin in the Genazim file. Their relationship began in 1925 when Halkin was Wallenrod's Hebrew literature instructor at a Tarbut School in New York City. It was most intense in the 1940's. The correspondence virtually ceased in the mid-1950's.

The relationship between Wallenrod and Halkin was multifaceted. At times Wallenrod acted as Halkin's advisor and protector.



In an undated but early letter, he urged Halkin to set his pride aside and submit a book to **המספר התנכאי** (=OheI(?)). More than once, he wrote to Halkin about academic openings for him in the New York area (letters of June 25, 1941 and June 4, 1947). He defended Halkin to others as well.

By and large, Wallenrod was one of Halkin's biggest fans. Urging Halkin to develop his talents, especially his innate leadership abilities, Wallenrod wrote:

כעצ אק בבר אחר, שמאן. אתה אגדולות נוצרת, ואתה צריך  
(undated letter) אצלם. יש אק צין חוצת וכל אנשי חבין.

Wallenrod's letters were filled with praise for Halkin's work. He even wrote him saying that he, Halkin, should be the person to write the book about modern Palestinian fiction (letter of November 24, 1944). Another aspect of this role as a fan was to bolster Halkin's spirits when he felt down, as was the occasion of a letter from May 8, 1937 written while Halkin was in the golus of Chicago:

הנשיה דע אק כי אלא מתבצע אתה א אנשי נוי-יורק.  
כי שחוק. פנח אמת היו אתמול בבית וינגרד, אפרן  
ובוקסנבאק-וא מ' ציבתו? א שמחן פוקין ופיע אק באוהב  
אהבה ובערצב בפי כל המפדים. אין אק אמתאין.

Wallenrod and Halkin collaborated on just one project. This was an anthology of Modern Hebrew stories in translation. Halkin was the final authority on selection, Wallenrod the principal translator. Apparently all the time and effort which was devoted to this project in the early 1930's was in vain as the anthology was never published.

For the most part, however, it was Wallenrod who looked to

Halkin for advice . Wallenrod routinely sent Halkin drafts of stories and essays for his preliminary opinion. For Wallenrod, Halkin was his most important and trusted critic:

זוהו העיקר. אני ירא את בקורתך יותר מבקרת כל מבקרי  
מלמד ומעריב.  
(letter of August 7, 1944)

It was Halkin who published the most comprehensive review, and a highly complimentary one at that, of any of Wallenrod's works (item 193, a review of "כי כנה יוס").

Wallenrod relied upon Halkin for introductions and other benefits of Halkin's reputation. In 1932 he asked Halkin's assistance to help him find a suitable teaching job in Palestine. In 1946 Wallenrod asked Halkin to bring up his writings in a forthcoming meeting with Dan Pines (letter of May 19, 1946). In 1948 Wallenrod wrote Halkin for letters of introduction to the editors of *עקב וזמיר* and *ספרית הפועלים* (letter of September 28, 1948).

Theirs was much more than a professional relationship from Wallenrod's perspective. Halkin was Wallenrod's true friend. In an undated letter (but perhaps from 1944) written while Wallenrod was in the Catskills, a letter in which Wallenrod complains about the burdens of being married, he also wrote:

אניני חושב כל בנאן אל עזמי. הרבה מאוד אני חושב  
אל אודותיך, אל היצירה היחידה שאני חושב זכאי  
לפחות שמיצאתי.

Contact with Halkin proved inspirational for Wallenrod.

He wrote to Halkin in Israel:

בב, הא, היקין, ונתב מבק ב'אחרי פגשי אתך היב תמידי  
רצון לעזור משה, ולתת משה, היתה נוספת קצת

# קצת אחרון ובטחון בחולות.

(letter dated "close to Passover" 1950)

In another letter, he also commented:

ומי שדואק עמך ומעלה עמך שדק'ס נפתחים לו לאור  
הגדול, לאינטואיציה של שירה; שמים וארץ ושדות ולב  
האדם נפתחים לפניו בהאס יב"י ע"י האינטואיציה  
ההיסקית.

(letter dated May 21, 1952)

Wallenrod's most emotional letter to Halkin was written on July 11 and 12, (1944<sup>1</sup>). Revealing the depths of Wallenrod's attachment to Halkin, it began:

עצמי שבור וצורר כבדור לא אחז. אני מרגיש את  
היובל סביבי... עכשיו רק מבין אני כי את צמאני לו יובל.  
ומה יהיה מחר בשיחול? וכאן לא היה במה אחיה? שוב  
אסער בשקרי? שוב?

He then addressed Halkin:

חוצר הדבור אי אפשר לשקר לפניך - אי אפשר והיא אנכי  
משקר תמיד. כבואך לכאן - רק לא ידעתי. מי אתה? באיזה אופן  
אתה הלא נדעית הכוח הפועל את חיי? במה כוחך נלדי  
לפני ולעצמי? מדוע אהבתי אנכי אותך האפכה כל כך  
לפניך וחוצר - אהבה שאינך תלוי בה?

The answers were not long coming:

שאלתי מדוע, ותוך כדי כתיבה נצנץ הרצון במחוי -  
תשנה מאה. אתה הלא קיאתי "שקשקש". אתה הלא, אני "שנתהדר".

Hardest of all to bear was Halkin's misconception that Wallenrod could not understand him:

הקשיתי אליך במחוי: אתה פהרתי אלי, ואתה חשבת שאינני  
מבין לך, שאין בחולותי לךבין לך. ויופץ אתה מה היה הליגי?  
אני אספר לך: "הלא אתה אנכי", אחריה הלא, אתה הלא  
ה"אנכי" שהלא ביטוי ללעגיו שמצא נוב לאכזריות  
גלגלגיו, שהרהיב עוזי להסתבר בתחום עצמו....

After pausing to pace for a time in his hotel room, he continued:

רעיון נצנץ במחשבי: ראובן ושמעון אחים? מי יתן כאלו  
 אי? תתבאר אק אומר לך: מצאתי את עצמי כק? כן,  
 משנה? אני ה-goody goody ואתם שכולק אש אופות?  
 אבל אני מרגיש את האש בי....

The next morning, a sober Wallenrod re-read his letter. Although something in him told him to tear it up, something else told him that Halkin would understand:

ישלך אינטואיציה ותבין....

It is clear that Wallenrod was heavily invested in this relationship. Although Halkin's responses are not in Wallenrod's file at Genazim, it is certain that Wallenrod suffered frequent, and often bitter, disappointment. Sometimes Halkin did not respond quickly enough. Other times he did not reply at all. On occasion he passed through New York City without making contact with Wallenrod.

The number of Wallenrod's letters to Halkin from the 1950's is much reduced from that of the 1940's. The connection was in the process of being severed. In 1961, Wallenrod wrote plaintively to Moshe Maisels:

הראוה אתה את העקין שלי? מה מלואו?

(letter of April 12, 1961)

#### NOTE

<sup>1</sup>No year is given in the body of the letter. The letter was written, however, on stationery from Rosenblatt's Hotel in the Catskills. Another letter also written on this stationery was dated June 28, 1944.

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 [item 53] בדיוטה השלישית  
 (Short story. Reprinted with some changes in  
 under the title כח אדר תרפ"ח.)

1931

- (2) בדיוטה השלישית. הפואר. כרך י"ט.  
 גליון מא [ט"ז חשוון תרצ"ב // 1/20/31]. 827-826.  
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 (Short story. Reprinted in

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 [item 53].) בדיוטה השלישית  
 (Short story. Reprinted in
- (6) אחיות. שנה ד', גליון ח [ח' תמוז-תרצ"ב // 2/1/32]. 5-2.  
 [item 53].) בדיוטה השלישית  
 (Short story. Reprinted in
- (7) ארציבות ומנהלים. שנה ז', כרך א' [ח' תמוז-תרצ"ב // 2/1/32]. 2.  
 [item 53].) בדיוטה השלישית  
 (Short story. Reprinted in
- (8) כרך פאחשבה ע"י דיאני. הפואר. שנה ו', גליון א' [ב' אב תרצ"ב // 2/8/32].  
 205-203

(Education. Excerpt of John Dewey, Educateur [item 3] translated into Hebrew.)

(9) מתק בחד. מאצניס. שנה פ, ג'איון יפ [לאב תרצ"ב // 9/1/1932]. 4-2.  
(Short story. Reprinted in בדיטס השלישית [item 53].)

(10) ג'פוט. תקופתו. כרך א, חוברת ג-ד [תשרי-טבת תרצ"ב // 1932]. 486-470.  
(Short story. Reprinted in בדיטס השלישית [item 53].)

(11) ניו זרק (רשמי מסע). הארץ. [בא חשון תרצ"ב // 1932/10/31]. 2.  
(Written on Wallenrod's return to the United States.)

(12) פרוצס החינוך אלפי פאחנק יופן דאלי. ג'צית. שנה א, חוברת יא-יב  
[תרצ"ב-תרצ"ג // 1932]. 49-47.  
(Education.)

1932/3

(13) אמריקה שתלפס (וילוף קתר). מסע. ספרא. [אמריקה: "חברים" ותל  
אביב: "מזכר", תרצ"ג]. 175-164.  
(Criticism. Basis of chapter on Cather in מסערי אמריקה [item 155].)

1933

(14) סחרחרת וואשינגטון (מאת סאברו באמריקה). הארץ. [כג שבט  
תרצ"ג // 1933/1/2]. 3-2.

(15) פרוקלין חזקאל. הארץ. [ג' ניסן תרצ"ג // 1933/4/3]. 2.

(16) שרופ אנדסטן. מאצניס. כרך פ, ג'איון מא [ג'א ניסן תרצ"ג // 1933/4/4]. 4-3.  
(Criticism. Basis of chapter on Anderson in מסערי אמריקה [item 155].)

(17) מדיסון סקביר גרפן. פאכץ. [כג ניסן תרצ"ג // 1933/4/4]. 2.

(18) עשרה במאי. הארץ. [כא אייר תרצ"ג // 1933/5/1]. 2.

(19) פחד ומצא. הארץ. [ט תמוז תרצ"ג // 1933/7/3]. 2.

- (20) פרי פיבודס. הארץ. [כפאלו תרצ"ג // 9/15/1933]. 5.
- (21) נילא (מאת סופנו באמריקה). הארץ. [כפאלו תרצ"ג // 9/19/1933]. 2.  
(On the National Industrial Recovery Act.)
- (22) במחנה. הארץ. [ח תשרי תרצ"ג // 9/28/1933]. 2.  
(About a Civilian Conservation Corps camp.)
- (23) במחנה זכ. הארץ. [טז תשרי תרצ"ג // 10/6/1933]. 8.  
(More about a CCC camp.)
- (24) נילא בעק. [הושענה רבה תרצ"ג // 10/11/1933]. 2.  
[טז תשרי תרצ"ג // 10/20/1933]. 5.
- (25) יוס קיף באוניברסיטה של עברו. הארץ. [ח חשוון תרצ"ג // 10/30/1933]. 2.
- (26) טמני. הארץ. [כז כסלו תרצ"ג // 11/12/1933]. 2.

1934

- (27) לשנה טובה. הארץ. [כז טבת תרצ"ד // 1/10/1934]. 4.
- (28) גחליליות. גליונות. כרך א, חוברת ד [אדר תרצ"ד // Feb. 1934]. 324-338.  
(Short story. Reprinted in [item 53] בדיוטה השלישית.)
- (29) בחובות ניו יורק. גלית. כרך ב, חוברת ד [אדר תרצ"ד // Feb. 1934]. 8-11.  
(Short story.)
- (30) ואילו היה סבא עולף מקבכו. הארץ. [יח אדר תרצ"ד // 3/5/1934]. 2.
- (31) שבת, "חאפ"כני יחק. הארץ. [כז אדר תרצ"ד // 3/14/1934]. 2.
- (32) תיאור דרייזר. מאנים. כרך ב, חוברת ב. [אייר תרצ"ד // May 1934]. 180-193.  
([item 155] מסביר אמריקה. Criticism. Basis of chapter on Dreiser in)
- (33) שבת (שמינה אמריקה). הארץ. [טו אלול תרצ"ד // 9/26/1934]. 2.
- (34) אליאס. הארץ. [ז תשרי תרצ"ד // 9/16/1934]. 3-4.



(35) שביתת האורגים. הארץ. [טו חשן תרצ"ה // 1934/24/10]. 2.

1935

(36) חברים. דורנו. שנה א, כרך ב, חוברת ז-ח [אוגר תרצ"ה // 1935 March]. 18-24.  
(Short story.)

(37) אחרי ניר"א. הארץ. [כו סיון תרצ"ה // 1935/27/6]. 2.

(38) מכתבים מאמריקה. הארץ. [כח תמוז תרצ"ה // 1935/29/7]. 2.

(39) נהלואס (טרויאן) מאת עבד הפנוי. הדואר. שנה יד, ג'עיון אב  
[יאב תרצ"ה // 1935/8/9]. 645-646.

(Review.)

(40) מכת ה"אובי". הארץ. [יג אב תרצ"ה // 1935/12/8]. 2.

(41) מורים ותלמידים. העולם. כרך כג, ג'עיון אב [טז אב תרצ"ה // 1935/15/8]. 534.

(Education. Review of Jacob M. Levy's Maitres et eleves: essai de psycho-pedagogie affective (1935).)

(42) כמה עובדות לשם מוסר השכל. הארץ. [כב אב תרצ"ה // 1935/21/8]. 3.

(43) בני ובן חמי (זל קונראד ברקוביצי). הדואר. כרך יד, ג'עיון אב  
[כב אב תרצ"ה // 1935/23/8]. 662-663.

(Review of Nights Abroad by Konrad Bercovici and Grandsons and Thirty Million New Americans by Louis Adamic.)

(44) פכים קטנים על ענינים גדולים. הארץ. [טו אלול תרצ"ה // 1935/13/9]. 9.

(45) מסע לאידיאלים. העולם. כרך ב, חוברת ח-ט [תמוז תרצ"ה // 1935 Nov.-Dec.]. 78.

(Review of Robert Nathan's The Road of Ages.)

1936

(46) לודוויג לואיסון. מספר 30. ספר ב. [אמריקה: "חברים" ותל אביב: "מצפה", תרצ"ו // 1936]. 253-270.

(Criticism. Basis of chapter on Lewisohn in אמריקה [item 155].)

(47) "יהודים בארץ-ישראל" מאת א. ריוואוסקי. הפואר. כרך טו, גליון נא [טל סבת תרצ"ו // 1936/10/1]. 179-180.

(Review of A. Revusky's The Jews of Palestine.)

(48) האלא דל מאסון בר יותאי. הפואר. כרך טו, גליון כ [בכ אייר תרצ"ו // 1936/5/1]. 482-483.

(Review of Harry Sackler's Festival at Meron.)

(49) עקדת הבחירות בארצות הברית. הארץ. [זאב תרצ"ו // 1936/8/8]. 2.

(50) מוצאים אנשים (מאת סברנו אמריקה). הארץ. [אול תרצ"ו // 1936/8/28]. 2.

(51) "הררי בשדה" מאת לואיסון. דאנו. שנה ב, חלקה ג [תשרי תרצ"ו // 1936]. Sept. 1936. אה, מא.

(Review of Ludwig Lewisohn's An Altar in the Fields.)

(52) בימים אלה (מכתב אמריקה). הארץ. [ד' חשוון תרצ"ז // 1936/10/20]. 3.

1937

(53) בדיוטק הטלית (סיפורים). תל אביב: דביר, תרצ"ח (דצ' 1937). 280 עמודים.

(Short story collection. Contains items 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, and 28 plus three stories published for the first time.)

(54) "The Oral Bialik." The Reconstructionist. Volume III, Issue 5 (April 16, 1937//Iyar 5, 5697). 13-16.

(Review of recently issued volumes containing Bialik's speeches, addresses and interviews.)

(55) נבוכים בארץ. הפואר. כרך טז, גליון מא [בי חשוון תרצ"ח // 1937/11/15]. 107.

(Review of Ludwig Lewisohn's Trumpet of Jubilee. Reprinted in

[item 64].) שבילים בספרות אמריקה החדשה

1938

- (56) על אבן וביטאון רביה אחת חכנא. כרך א, חובת א-ב [תמוז תרצ"ח // 1938 מנח]. 53-50.  
(Review of Isadore Snyder's From the Kingdom of Necessity.)

1938/9

- (57) בחול המשפחה. ספר השנה ליהודי אמריקה. כרך ד. [תרצ"ט // 39-1938]. 38-77.  
(Short story. Reprinted in [item 123] under בין חומות ניו יורק  
(. בשתאי ציפיס the title

- (58) חננו חננו חינוך. חינוך. שני ג, חובת ב [תרצ"ח].  
(Education. Not in the Klau collection.)

1939

- (59) סנאטוריה על פפית (להערכת יצירתו של סינקה'ר לואיס). מאצניס.  
כרך ט, חובת א [איר תרצ"ט // May 1939]. 87-100.  
מספר אמריקה  
(Criticism. Forms part of the chapter on Lewis in [item 155].)

- (60) ספרים אמריקאיים: דזשן דוס פאסוס. פדואר. כרך יח, גליון א  
[טשרי ת"ש // 9/22/1939]. 696, 697.  
גליון א [בא תשרי ת"ש // 10/4/1939]. 708.  
[item 64]. גליון א בספר אמריקה חננו.  
(Criticism. Reprinted in  
Basis of chapter on Dos Passos in מספר אמריקה  
[item 155].)

- (61) ספרים אמריקאיים: וולף. פדואר. כרך יח, גליון א  
[בא תשרי ת"ש // 10/4/1939]. 709-708.  
גליון א [בא תשרי ת"ש // 10/11/1939]. 724-723.

- [item 64]. גליון א בספר אמריקה חננו.  
(Criticism. Reprinted in  
Basis of chapter on Wolfe in מספר אמריקה [item 155].)

(62) ספרים אמריקאיים: פרשנים פאול. הפואר. כרך יח, גליון מא  
[כ חשון ת"ש // 1939/מ/ס]. 739-740.

(Criticism. Reprinted in שביליך בספרות אמריקה החצפה [item 64].  
Basis of chapter on Farrell in מספרי אמריקה [item 155].)

(63) ענבי רוס. הפואר. כרך יט, גליון ג [ה כסלו ת"ש // 1939/ח/ו]. 42-43.

(Review of John Steinbeck's The Grapes of Wrath. Reprinted in  
[item 64]. שביליך בספרות אמריקה החצפה [item 155].)  
chapter on Steinbeck in מספרי אמריקה [item 155].)

1939/40

(64) שביליך בספרות אמריקה החצפה. ניו יורק: ההסתדרות העברית  
באמריקה, ת"ש [1940/4/א]. 48 עמודים.

(Criticism. Reprint containing items 55, 60, 61, 62, 63.)

1940

(65) הנבוכים הישנים. שביליך החינוך. שנה א [ספרה ב], חוברת ב [שכ]  
ת"ש // January 1940]. 60-64.

(Review of Meyer Levin's The Old Bunch.)

1940/1

(66) הספור האורף-ישראלי החצפה. ספר בשם ליהודי אמריקה. כרך ה [ת"ש // 1940-1]. 225-233.  
(Criticism.)

1941

(67) "The Hebrew Fiction of Modern Palestine." The Reconstruction-  
ist. Volume VI, Issue 18 (January 10, 1941//Tebet 11, 5701).  
6-10.

(Criticism. Some material reused in The Literature of Modern  
Israel [item 144].)

- (68) "Individual and Community in the Fiction of Palestine." The Reconstructionist. Volume VI, Issue 19 (January 24, 1941//Tebet 25, 5701). 12-15.

(Criticism. Some material reused in The Literature of Modern Israel [item 144].)

- (69) "The Lack of Humor in Palestinian Fiction." The Reconstructionist. Volume VI, Issue 20 (February 7, 1941//Shebat 10, 5701). 11-12.

(Criticism)

- (70) "Adaptation to the Environment in the Fiction of Palestine." The Reconstructionist. Volume VII, Issue 1 (February 21, 1941//Shebat 24, 5701). 13-15.

- (71) ספור יאן-נשן. הפואר. כרך כ, גליון א [דניס תשי"א // 1941/30/5]. 512-510.

(Short story. Reprinted with the omission of the opening sentence

in בין חומות ניו יורק [item 123] under the title

(שני האחים ואיטרוף).

1941/2

- (72) הצל החומות. ספר השם ליהודי אמריקה. כרך א [תש"ב // 1941-42]. 229-227.

(Short story. Reprinted in בין חומות ניו יורק [item 123].)

1942

- (73) \_\_\_\_\_ and Abraham Aaroni. Modern Hebrew Reader and Grammar. Volume 1. New York: Shilo, 1942. 196 pages.

(Hebrew textbook. For volume 2, see item 81. Item 97 is a distillation of the grammatical materials in the two volumes.)

- (74) ספר המאקראיפה באמנות ודכאון (לצמח הספרותית של מרק טוין).

בזבז. כרך ז, חוברת ב [תשנ תשי"ג // Nov. 1942]. 120-114.

חוברת ג [כסלו תשי"ג // Dec. 1942]. 219-217.

(Criticism. Basis of chapter on Twain in מסבי אמריקה [item 155].)

1944

(75) אהרן קוז גורדון. בצרון. כרך ט, חוברת ה [שבט תש"ז // Feb. 1944]. 325-334.  
חוברתו [אדר תש"ז // March 1944]. 409-419.

(Criticism.)

(76) באלאן. בצרון. כרך י, חוברתא [ניסן תש"ז // April 1944]. 25-34.  
[item 123] בין חלומות ניו יורק (Short story. Reprinted in)

(77) בראשית החורף. הפלאר. כרך כג, גליון כט [ב סיון תש"ז // 5/26/1944]. 528-527.  
[item 90] כי פנע יוס (Excerpt from the novel)

(78) אחרי פול הדבור. בצרון. כרך י, חוברת ג-ד [סיון-תמוז תש"ז // 1944 יולי]. 216-211.  
[item 90] כי פנע יוס (Excerpt from the novel)

(79) "אם הלחם לבדו" מאת חיים אברמוביץ. הפלאר. כרך כג, גליון אב  
[טז תמוז תש"ז // 1944/7/7]. 151.

(Review. Excerpts appear in item 88.)

(80) בליל פרימה. ספר העם ליחודי אדריק. כרך ז [תש"ב // 1944]. 272-282.  
[item 123] בין חלומות ניו יורק (Short story. Reprinted in)

1945

(81) \_\_\_\_\_ and Abraham Aaróni. Modern Hebrew Grammar and Reader. Volume 2. New York: Shilo, 1945. 214 pages.

(Hebrew textbook. For volume 1, see item 73. Item 97 is a distillation of the grammatical materials in the two volumes.)

(82) הנסעה לניו יורק. בצרון. כרך יא, חוברתא [אדר תש"ב // March 1945]. 428-427.  
[item 90] כי פנע יוס (Excerpt from the novel)

(83) בראשית הסתו. גליונות. כרך יט, חוברת ה-ו [אדר-סיון תש"ב // May 1945]. 327-339.  
[item 90] כי פנע יוס (Excerpt from the novel)

(84) "Voices in the Storm: Aspects of Palestinian Poetry." The Jewish Review. Volume III, Issue 2 (July 1945). 85-106.

(Criticism. Material reused in The Literature of Modern Israel [item 144].)

(85) "The Teachings of A.D. Gordon (1856-1922)." Jewish Social Studies. Volume 7, Issue 4 (October 1945). 337-356.

(Criticism. Material reused in The Literature of Modern Israel [item 144].)

(86) "Of Good and Evil (Brenner's Palestinian Stories)." Youth and Nation. Volume XIV, Issue 1 (October-November 1945). 11-13.

(Criticism. Material reused in The Literature of Modern Israel [item 144].)

(87) החיות. הדואר, כרך כב, גליון מא ביב חשן תש"ב // 1945/6/10. 963-961.

(Short story. Reprinted in בין חלומות וני יורק [item 123].)

1945/6

(88) זא האתן אבדו" מאת חייק אברמוביץ. כרך ד [תש"ו // 1945-46. סג.

(Review. Excerpted from item 79.)

(89) בארבעת החדשים שבין יומאלי. פתק/כב. סדר ז'אנר [תש"ב // 6-1945. 220-210.

(Short story. Reprinted in בין חלומות וני יורק [item 123].)

1946

(90) כי כנע יוס. תא אביב: מ. ניומן, 1946. 234 מחזאים.

(Novel. Re-issued in 1965--see item 173. Excerpts--items 77, 78, 82, 83 and 93. English translation--item 152. Play based upon the novel--item 171.)

(91) עד מעבר" מאת ש. האקין, כרך יא, חוברת ה [תש"ו // 1946/10. 360-353.

(Review. Excerpts appear in item 94.)

(92) "The Idyls of David Shimonovitz." The Jewish Review. Volume IV, Issue 1 (April 1946). 42-56.

(Criticism. Material reused in The Literature of Modern Israel [item 144].)

(93) במחשבי הקול. סדר טקס איכודי אמריקה. כרך ח-ט [תש"ז // 1946. 162-150.

(Excerpt from the novel כי כנע יוס [item 90].)

1946/7

(94) "עצמבר" מאת ש. האקין. הסבר העברי. כרך ה [תש"ז // 47-1946]. ז-זא.  
(Review. Excerpted from item 91.)

(95) ח"י יהודי אמריקה בפרוץ של ש. האקין. זמיר: מאסף לספרות ואמנות.  
[תש"ז // 47-1946]. 175-176.

(Criticism.)

1948

(96) אחרי הצברים. בצבן. כרך יח, חוברת א [ניסן תש"ח // 1948 April]. 92-102.  
(Short story.)

1949

(97) \_\_\_\_\_ and Abraham Aaroni. Fundamentals of Hebrew Grammar.  
New York: Shilo, 1949. 261 pages.  
(Hebrew textbook. Distillation of grammatical materials contained  
in items 73 and 81.)

(98) חמא-עשרה שנה לקיום גליינות. בצבן. כרך יט, חוברת ה [אפר  
תש"ט // March 1949]. 300-301.

(Criticism.)

(99) באניה פהאן נרית. בצבן. כרך כ, חוברת א [ניסן תש"ט // 1949 April]. 16-25.  
(Excerpt from the travelogue דרכים ודרך [item 120].)

(100) בדרך לאמריקה. הפלאר. כרך כח,  
גליון כו [יפ אייר תש"ט // 5/13/1949]. 614, 619-620.  
גליון כז [כא אייר תש"ט // 5/20/1949]. 644-645.  
גליון א [בי' סיון תש"ט // 6/13/1949]. 812-813.  
גליון א [כב סיון תש"ט // 6/21/1949]. 839-840.

(Excerpt from the novel בטון פאר [item 128].)



(101) „הדים“ (זל ספרו פנ"ל של שמואל דחסקי). בצרון. ברק כ, חוברת ז  
[אייר תשי"ט // May 1949]. 122-123.

(Review.)

(102) תל אביב ואמריקה. הפולאר. ברק כח, גליון כח [כח אייר תשי"ט // 5/27/1949]. 683-684.  
(Excerpt from the travelogue [item 120].) דרכים ודרכ

(103) בארצות השפלה. בצרון. ברק כ, חוברת ח [סיון-תמוז תשי"ט // 1949 גולדבאט]. 195-198.  
(Excerpt from the travelogue [item 120].) דרכים ודרכ

(104) יפואי בא לאמריקה. הפולאר. ברק כח, גליון כח  
גליון כח [י"ז אדר תשי"ט // 8/12/1949]. 936-937.  
גליון לו [א אלול תשי"ט // 8/26/1949]. 954.  
גליון לז [טו אלול תשי"ט // 9/9/1949]. 968-969.  
גליון לח [ערה"ש תשי"ט // 9/23/1949]. 1006-1007.

(Excerpt from the novel [item 128].) באין דור

(105) דבריו. בצרון. ברק כ, חוברת ט [אג-אלול תשי"ט // Aug.-Sept. 1949]. 8-9.  
(Excerpt from the travelogue [item 120].) דרכים ודרכ

(106) זתור את באל. ישראל: קובץ ספרותי מוצי מוקדם למצוות ישראל.  
ניו יורק: באחים סולצ'ניץ, תשי"ט (1949). 64-71.

(Excerpt from the travelogue [item 120].) דרכים ודרכ

(107) אל חוף ים התיכון. בצרון. ברק כא, חוברת א [תשרי תשי"ט // Oct. 1949]. 33-38.  
(Excerpt from the travelogue [item 120].) דרכים ודרכ

(108) בחוף מאחרון. בצרון. ברק בא, חוברת ג [כסלו-זכריה תשי"ט // Nov.-Dec. 1949]. 195-198.  
(Excerpt from the travelogue [item 120].) דרכים ודרכ

(109) קורי זכרונות. הפולאר. ברק כט, גליון ז [כב כסלו תשי"ט // 11/14/1949]. 81.  
(Excerpt from the novel [item 128].) באין דור

1949/50

- (110) נעורים בד"ר. התנ"ך. ספר לילך [תשי"ו // 50-949]. 241-258.  
(Excerpt from the novel באין דור [item 128].)

1950

- (111) באשבה הישנה. פנא. כרך כט, גליון יד [כ"ג שבט תשי"ו // 50/10/2]. 374-374.  
(Excerpt from the travelogue דרכים ודרכ [item 120].)
- (112) בחצר הקיבוץ. פנא. כרך כט, גליון יח [כ"א אדר תשי"ו // 50/10/3]. 462, 466.  
(Excerpt from the travelogue דרכים ודרכ [item 120].)
- (113) יוק גבת בתל אביב. פנא. כרך כט, גליון כז [ג' ניסן תשי"ו // 50/9/5]. 67-67.  
(Excerpt from the travelogue דרכים ודרכ [item 120].)
- (114) "Contemporary Prose in Israel." Middle East Affairs.  
Volume I, Issue 6-7 (June-July 1950). 180-190.  
(Criticism. Material reused in The Literature of Modern Israel  
[item 144].)
- (115) גלילי מ"מ. פנא. כרך כט, גליון ל"א [א' אב תשי"ו // 50/10/7]. 909-910.  
(Excerpt from the travelogue דרכים ודרכ [item 120]. Translation  
of this excerpt into English--item 147.)
- (116) עם בני אמריקה בירושלם. פנא. כרך כט, גליון ל"ב [כ"א אב תשי"ו // 50/10/8]. 950.  
(Excerpt from the travelogue דרכים ודרכ [item 120].)
- (117) "אלה תולדות אדם" מאת אפרים לייסיצקי. פנא. כרך כט, גליון ל"ג  
[כ"א אלול תשי"ו // 50/9/9]. 1008-1009.  
(Review.)
- (118) בדרך ציון. פנא. כרך כט, גליון ל"ח [י"א תשרי תשי"א // 50/12/9]. 1062.  
(Excerpt from the travelogue דרכים ודרכ [item 120].)
- (119) (Review of) Modern Hebrew Literature: Trends and Values by  
Simon Halkin. Middle East Affairs. Volume I, Issue 10  
(October 1950). 291-292.  
(Review)

(120) דרכים ודרכ, פרחי חסד. ניו יורק: אוהל, תשי"א [1951]. 160 מחזאים.

(Somewhat fictionalized travelogue through Europe and Israel.  
Excerpts--items 99, 102, 103, 105, 107, 108, 111, 112, 113,  
115, 116, 118, 122. English translation of one chapter--  
item 147.)

1951

(121) סינקהר לאיס. פולאר. כרך א,  
גליון יז [יז אברהם תשי"א // 2/3/1951]. 315-316, 321.  
גליון יח [כז אברהם תשי"א // 3/2/1951]. 348-349.  
גליון יט [בא אברהם תשי"א // 3/9/1951]. 363-364.  
גליון כ [ח אברהם תשי"א // 3/16/1951]. 383-384.

(Criticism. Forms part of the chapter on Lewis in  
[item 155].)

(122) פרק נשכחה. פולאר. שפ א, גליון כז [יה אייר תשי"א // 5/18/1951]. 545-548.

(Excerpt from דרכים ודרכ [item 120].)

1952

(123) בין חומות ניו יורק, ספורים. ירושלים: מוסד ביאליק, 1952. 270 מחזאים

(Short story collection. Contains items 57, 71, 72, 76, 80, 87  
and 89 plus two previously unpublished stories.)

(124) "Some Contemporary Poets of Israel." The Zionist Quarterly.  
Volume I, Issue 3 (Winter 1952). 59-68.

(Criticism. Material reused in The Literature of Modern Israel  
[item 144].)

(125) ימים ראשונים ב, שאפי: בצרון. כרך ב, חוברת ה [ניסן תשי"ב // April 1952]. 32-38.

(Excerpt from the novel באין דור [item 128].)

(126) שירת ביאליק מדור אדור. בצרון. כרך ב, חוברת ז [סיון-תמוז תשי"ב // July-August 1952]. 201-206.

(Criticism)

(127) ללא אחיזה. גליונות. כרך ב, חוברת א [תשרי-חשוון תשי"ג // Sept.-Oct. 1952]. 32-37.

(Excerpt from the novel באין דור [item 128].)

1953

(128) באין דור. תל אביב: עם עובד, 1953. 202 עמודים.

(Novel. Re-issued in 1965--item 174. Excerpts--items 100, 104, 109, 110, 125 and 127.)

(129) אברהם אבטליון, זייל פונער. כרך לב, גליון י (ב) לבת תשי"ג // 1953/10/16. 184.

(Criticism.)

(130) „אביב ס'ה בארץ" מאת צבי שאנדלסון. פולאר. כרך לב, גליון כח (ב) סיון תשי"ג // 1953/12/16. 592-593.

(Review.)

(131) אחיקס. פולאר. כרך לב, גליון א (ב) חשוון תשי"ג // 1953/10/16. 11-12.

(Short story.)

(132) כצבאים חרישים (על הספר „צבאים חרישים" מאת חיים קליף). פולאר. כרך לב, גליון ה (ב) כסלו תשי"ג // 1953/12/4. 87.

(Review.)

1953/4

(133) ספרות בעזרה השלישית. מבצע. כרך ז. [תשי"ג // 4-1953]. 365-381.

(Criticism.)

1954

(134) ארכיטקט באינטווי. פולאר. כרך לב, גליון טו (ב) אדר תשי"ד // 1954/2/19. 302-308.

(Criticism. Material reused in מסבכי אמריקה [item 155].)

(135) השק אבן. כצבאים. כרך לב, חלקת פ (תמוז תשי"ד // 1954 קלד-מנחם). 190-194.

(Short story.)

(136) קדיש. פולאר. כרך לב, גליון א (ב) סיון תשי"ד // 1954/10/16. 586-587.

גליון לא (ב) סיון תשי"ג // 1954/10/16. 604-607.

(Excerpt from the novel כי פנח יוס [item 90].)

(137) עק קרשקו כסיפרי בולקני. פולאר. ברק א, גליין אה בראל תצ"ד // 9/10/1954. צד-דוד.  
(Criticism. Material reused in מספרי אמריקה [item 155].)

(138) "Some Contemporary Hebrew Novelists." The Reconstructionist.  
Volume XX,  
(I) Issue 14 (November 12, 1954//Heshvan 16, 5715). 9-15.  
Samuel Joseph Agnon.  
(II) Issue 15 (November 26, 1954//Kislev 1, 5715). 14-21.  
Barash, Kabak, Berkowitz and Schoffman.  
(III) Issue 16 (December 10, 1954//Kislev 15, 5715). 17-25.  
Devora Baron and Chaim Hazaz.

(Criticism. Material reused in The Literature of Modern Israel  
[item 144].)

(139) באספריאריה אל הספר (אל מנחמאלי) אל ספריאריאריה אל הספרים מילאריה שבינס  
אוריאל ריבאלוב. פולאר. ברק א, גליין א בראל תש"ו // 12/10/1954. צד.

(Review of Harold Ribalow's This Land, This People. Appears as  
the last chapter of מספרי אמריקה [item 155].)

1955

(140) "ער בולק" מאת ויסעבא רבינוביץ. פולאר. ברק א, גליין י  
גא אבר תש"ו // 2/25/1955. צד-צד.

(Review.)

(141) בשביל ספרות אמריקה. פולאר. ברק א, גליין א בראל תש"ו // 12/10/1955. צד-צד.  
(Criticism.)

(142) "Eretz Yisrael in American Hebrew Poetry." The Reconstructionist. Volume XXI,  
(I) Issue 12 (October 21, 1955//Heshvan 2, 5716). 9-14.  
Bavli, Halkin and Regelson.  
(II) Issue 13 (November 4, 1955//Heshvan 16, 5716). 13-18.  
Lisitzky, Silberschlag, Efros, Feinstein and  
Halevey.  
(III) Issue 14 (November 18, 1955//Kislev 3, 5716). 22-25.  
Avinoam-Grossman and Baruch Katznelson.

(Criticism. Material reused in The Literature of Modern Israel  
[item 144].)

(143) תקד האפר גדול. בצבון. ברק א, חוברת ב [חשון-סאל תש"ו // Nov. 1955]. צד-צד.  
(Review of M.Z. Frank's Sound the Great Trumpet.)

1956

(144) The Literature of Modern Israel. New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1956. 253 pages.

(Criticism. Contains material from items 67, 68, 84, 85, 86, 92, 114, 123, 138 and 142.)

(145) לובליג לאיסון. הפואר. כרך אה, גליין נא [כט טבת תשי"ז // 1956/3/1]. 209-211.

גליין יב [צטט תשי"ז // 1956/3/1]. 227, 229.

(Criticism. Basis of part of chapter on Lewisohn in מסברי אמריקה [item 155].)

(146) אוגרין פא. הפואר. כרך אה, גליין כ [ד ניסן תשי"ז // 1956/4/1]. 385-386.

(Criticism. Basis of chapter on Poe in מסברי אמריקה [item 155].)

(147) "Gedalya the Shoemaker." The Reconstructionist. Volume XXII, Issue 4 (April 6, 1956//Nisan 25, 5716). 12-16.

(Translation of excerpt [item 115] from the travelogue דרכים ודרכ [item 120].)

(148) נתנאל הורתרן. הפואר. כרך אה, גליין לא [יז תמוז תשי"ז // 1956/7/22]. 612-611.

(Criticism. Basis of chapter on Hawthorne in מסברי אמריקה [item 155].)

(149) פבורה גארון. הפואר. כרך אה, גליין א [בד אלול תשי"ז // 1956/9/13]. 705-704.

(Criticism.)

(150) הנרי טשמייס - אבי הולמן התכנן באמריקה (מן הסדרות: ראשונים במסבירים

באמריקה). הפואר. כרך אה, גליין מא [י' דתשרי תשי"ז // 1956/10/10]. 829, 824.

(Criticism. Basis of chapter on James in מסברי אמריקה [item 155].)

(151) בית הכפר. הפואר. שנה לו, גליין א [כח חשון תשי"ז // 1956/11/2]. 17-16,

plus 11 additional installments.

(Novel. Published in book form in 1965--item 175.)

1957

(152) Dusk in the Catskills. New York: The Reconstructionist Press, 1957. 264 pages.

(English translation of the novel כי פנה יום [item 90].)

- (153) שלושה ספורים (הקומה שנתבססה - אחרי מות - אשת המשורר). ספר פבלאר למזאת  
או שלשים וחמש שנה. ניו יורק: חברת פבלאר, תשי"ז (1957). 176-179.  
 (Three short stories.)

- (154) בימי סערה (הז שירתו של ז' שניאור). פבלאר. כרך לו, גליון כז  
763 אייר תשי"ז // 1957/7/5. 505-505.  
 (Criticism.)

1958

- (155) מספרי אמריקה: הפרוצה האמריקאית מראשיתה עד ימינו. תל אביב:  
דביר, 1958. 246 עמודים.  
 (Criticism. Incorporates material from items, 13, 16, 32, 46, 59,  
 60, 61, 62, 63, 74, 121, 134, 137, 139, 145, 146, 148  
 and 150.)

- (156) בין הדורות (הז יצקה ביכמן). פבלאר. כרך לז, גליון א  
765 תמוז תשי"ח // 1958/7/6. 625-624.  
 (Criticism.)

1959

- (157) ה. סקאר המספר פבלאר. כרך לח, גליון ט [כט טבת תשי"ט // 1959/9/1]. 151-149.  
 (Criticism.)

- (158) משורר השפז (הז זלמן שניאור). פבלאר. כרך לח, גליון כא  
[כד אדר ב' תשי"ט // 1959/3/4]. 376-375.  
 (Criticism.)

- (159) "S. Shalom: Poet and Mystic." The Reconstructionist.  
Volume XXX, Issue 2 (October 16, 1959/Tishri 14, 5720).  
16-18.

(Criticism.)

- (160) לשמון האקין (קובץ זכרונות). פבלאר. כרך לט, גליון כ [יב חשוון תשי"ט // 1959/11/1]. 72.  
 (Criticism. On Halkin's 60th birthday.)

(161) יואל באחרון באג. מאגניק. כרך י (סדרה חשבה), חוברת א [בסלו תש"ק // 1959]. 20-34.  
(Short story.)

1959/60

(162) „סופר פדור” מאת שלמה ביקל. גלית. כרך יז, חוברת ז-יב  
[תשי"ט-תש"ך // 1959-60]. 169-170.

(Review of Bickel's שרייבר פון מיין דור, volume 1.)

1960

(163) בבתי הצירה. פדלאר. כרך א,

גליון טז [בא שבת תשי"ק // 2/19/1960]. 278-279.

גליון יז [בח שבת תשי"ק // 2/26/1960]. 294-295, 302.

גליון יח [ה אדר תשי"ק // 3/4/1960]. 314-316.

גליון כ [יט אדר תשי"ק // 3/18/1960]. 361.

גליון כב [ד ניסן תשי"ק // 4/1/1960]. 376, 378.

גליון כג [טו ניסן תשי"ק // 4/8/1960]. 410-411.

(Lengthy short story.)

1961

(164) התעון בשירת יצחק פבן. פזבון. כרך זא, חוברת ג [בת תשכ"א // 1961]. 130-133.

(Criticism.)

(165) הדפדפן על שירת ביאליק [בא תמוז תשכ"א]. פדלאר. כרך מ, גליון א  
[טז תמוז תשכ"א // 6/30/1961]. 574-575.

(Criticism.)

(166) אריסטו המצליח. פדלאר. כרך מ, גליון א [א אב תשכ"א // 7/14/1961]. 596-598.

(Criticism. Hemingway had died on July 2, 1961.)

(167) מסותיו של הולו. פדלאר. כרך מא, גליון ב [א אב תשכ"ב // 8/15/1961]. 86-87.

(Criticism. Bavli had died on August 4, 1961.)



1962

(168) על שירתה של אנדה פינקרפלד (רומן). על הסדר, גדיש וזמרחי).  
פזואר. כרך מא, גליון י"ב בא שנת תשכ"ב // 1962/12/12. 25.

(Review.)

(169) אוטוביוגרפיה בשירת אברהם בלוינס. פזואר. כרך מא, גליון ב  
ביק חשון תשכ"ב // 1962/9/11. 25.

(Criticism.)

(170) גיון שטיינקר המוכתר בשלישי הפרס נקל. פזואר. כרך מא,  
גליון ח [ג בסוף תשכ"ג] // 1962/10/11. 50-52.

(Criticism.)

1963

(171) בפרו קטסקיל. פזואר. כרך מא,  
גליון בא [יא ניסן תשכ"ג] // 1963/4/5. 419.  
גליון כד [ב אייר תשכ"ג] // 1963/4/26. 448.  
גליון כה [ט אייר תשכ"ג] // 1963/5/3. 467.  
גליון כו [טז אייר תשכ"ג] // 1963/5/10. 486.  
גליון כז [כג אייר תשכ"ג] // 1963/5/17. 504.

(Play based upon the novel [item 90].) כינף יום

(172) זלכא תלפזר של סלמה דמשק. פזואר. כרך מא, גליון זא  
[בט סיון תשכ"ג] // 1963/6/21. 588.

(Criticism. Damesek had died on May 28, 1963.)

1965

(173) כינף יום. תל אביב: מחברות לספרות, 1965. 258 עמ'ים.

(Novel. Re-issue of item 90.)

(174) האין פאר. תל אביב: מחברות לספרות, 1965. 702 עמ'ים.

(Novel. Re-issue of item 128.)

(175) בית הכפר. חל אגיק: דביר, 1965. 150 עמודים.

(Novel. Originally published in installments--item 151.)

(176) אבא יאז טוב. מאצ'ניס. כרך כ (סדרה חבשה), חוברת ה [אדר ב' -  
ניסן תשל"ה // April 1965]. 376 - 377.

(Short story.)

1966

(177) קדיש. מאצ'ניס. כרך כ (סדרה חבשה), חוברת א [סיון תשכ"ו // September 1966]. 23.

(Excerpt from the novel [item 90].) כי פנ' יאק

## II. REVIEWS OF WALLENROD'S BOOKS

John Dewey, Educateur

- (178) ב.ס. שמואל. הארץ. [יח תמוז תרצ"ב // 1932/7/22]. 5.
- (179) טורוב, ניסן. "עבודת יצירה - מטרת החיים". נספח. ספר ב. אמריקה: "חברים" ותל אביב: "מזבז" תרצ"א (1936). 239-252.

בדיוטרה השלישית

- (180) ח.א. סיפורים מאמריקה. "ניב". כרך ב, גליון ד [ניסן תרצ"ח // March 1938]. 13.
- (181) י.ו. לצית. כרך ג, חוברת ח-ט' [תשרי-כסלו ת"ש // Sept-Nov. 1939]. 70.
- (182) י.נ. טורים. כרך ב, גליון ב [באניסן תרצ"ח // 1938/4/27]. 7.  
(Not in the Klau collection.)
- (183) אבינועם (= ארמון), ראובן. "סיפורים אמריקניים". מאגזין. כרך ו, חוברת ה-ו [שבט-אדר תרצ"ח // Feb.-March 1938]. 563.
- (184) אבשטיין, אברהם. הצואר. כרך יח, גליון ד [בכסלו תרצ"ח // 1938/12/25]. 59.
- (185) ב.ס. שמואל. גליונות. כרך ו, חוברת י [טבת תרצ"ח // 1937]. 274-275.
- (186) סנע, משה. "סכורק אמריקניים". בוסתנא. [1937/5/20]. 20-23.  
(Not in the Klau collection.)
- (187) קלינמן, משה. הצואר. [תרצ"ח]. 380.  
(So the citation in the Genazim bibliography.  
Unable to locate this review, however.)

## כי כנפ יוס

(188) אופק, מילא, "עולמם של יהודי אמריקה" הכרך. [8/1945].

(Not in the Klau collection.)

(189) בן-מאיר, מ.ה. הפלאר. כרך כו, גליון 1 [יח סיון תשי"ז // 6/6/1947]. 978-979.

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(Awarded for the writing of a book of essays in English on modern Hebrew fiction. Eventually became The Literature of Modern Israel.)

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(Short obituary in the necrology section.)

#### D. Archival Materials

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Contents: more than 300 letters and postcards written by Wallenrod; some manuscript material; two pages of typed answers to a questionnaire; a five-page bibliography; a card file containing 229 entries of works by and about Wallenrod

#### E. Background Material

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