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The East European Jewish Community in Pre-World War I Boston

by

Mark A. Golub

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
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The East European Jewish Community in Pre-World War I Boston

by Mark A. Golub

DIGEST

The major goal of this thesis is to explore the identity, life, and activities of the East European Jewish immigrant in the city of Boston, Massachusetts, during the years 1881 to 1914. This particular period is most significant in American Jewish history generally, since it is the time when Jewish emigration from Eastern Europe to America was at its height. With so many "Russian" Jews coming to America, changes had to be made by both groups--natives and immigrants--in learning to live with each other and to understand each other's ways and attitudes. Moreover, the immigrant had the added burden of learning to live in an environment which was completely different from any that he had heretofore ever known. The changes and acculturations seen in inter-group and intra-group dynamics in Boston made for a most fascinating study. In Boston, one can see the differences between Brahmin and Russian Jew and Russian Jew and "German" Jew often very well defined and starkly revealed. Although it was not specifically mentioned in the thesis, it is this writer's opinion that life for the East European Jewish immigrant in pre-World War I Boston might well have demonstrated most of the problems which the

immigrant faced in striving to cope with American urbanity. To our mind, Boston could well have been considered the epitome of the immigrant situation as it reflected itself in American cities.

In this discussion, we concentrated on most of the important problems facing the East European Jewish immigrant upon arriving and settling in Boston. We prefaced this discussion with a comparatively brief historical outline of Jewish presence, activity and/or settlement in the city, beginning with individual Jews such as Solomon Franco and Isaac Touro and ending with the establishment of a well-defined "German" Jewish community in the middle 1800's. We then turn to the major causes for the mass emigration of hundreds of thousands of Jews from Eastern Europe. We discuss their background--socio-economic, religious, etc.--and how they were received by the outgroup as well as by their already-settled and already-assimilated German co-religionists. We deal with intra-group relations, including religion in the home as well as in the shul. We discuss the rather rudimentary Jewish educational system--the "cheder," the "Siddur peddler," and the private tutor--and see the fine end-product, the "Ivrioh" school, where "Ivris b'Ivris" methods replaced the cruder practice of teaching Hebrew by rote. There is the pull toward secular education, first seen and admired by the first-generation Russian Jew, whose own exposure to American values through his peddling activities caused him to become disenchanted with traditional ways and

beliefs and gradually to be drawn to American ideals. In this way did he follow in the footsteps of his German Jewish brethren before him.

Another important area with which we deal is the impact of the economic crisis of the immigrant upon community organization. Previously, both the East European and German Jew lived separate existences; the former was indigent, unacculturated and unsophisticated, whereas the other was comparatively well-to-do, assimilated and wise in the ways of America. However, through the vehicle of philanthropy on behalf of later arriving East European Jewish immigrants, the German Jews and the earlier arriving and gradually assimilating Russian Jews, the two enclaves with nothing in common, found the means to organize and unite their resources. The end result was the formation of the Federation of Jewish Charities of Boston, which set up an umbrella over all the important philanthropic institutions in the city, thereby setting the stage for further uniting of the two Jewish communities in other areas of endeavor.

Finally, we discuss Jewish-Christian relations in the city. As in the case of most other cities where masses of East European Jews settled, such relations were quite poor. In our discussion we concentrate on such aspects of Jewish-Christian relations as the reaction of non-Jews to Jewish religious practices, the approach of mass communications media (i.e., Boston's secular newspapers) toward the Jews, the work of immigration restrictionists, anti-Jewish sen-

timent and activity in public education, and general opposition toward the Jew in every-day life. Often, social and/or commercial intercourse between Jews and non-Jews had violent physical consequences, especially for the Jew. On the other hand, however, some Christians showed a more or less positive attitude toward the Jews. In this latter category we especially point out the Christian clergy, which denounced anti-Jewish activity by hoodlums and encouraged inter-faith dialogues and debates. Hence, while fear of the Jew as well as resentment of his competitive success helped anti-Jewish feeling become anti-Jewish action, there were enough non-Jews whose help and encouragement of the East European immigrant gave him hope to believe that eventually he and his non-Jewish neighbors would be friends instead of enemies, and co-workers instead of antagonists.

The final section of this paper is devoted to some brief personal conclusions based upon our just-completed analysis of the East European Jewish immigrant in pre-World War I oston.

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To Judith--

whose love, understanding, patience,
and encouragement helped make this
thesis possible.

PREFACE

In a thesis such as this, which covers so many years and deals with so many aspects of a complicated Jewish community, one cannot hope to do more than scratch the surface. However, I have sufficient confidence in my primary and secondary sources to believe that even the little which I have been able to say within the confines of this discussion may be considered useful. I believe that I have personally benefitted from my study of the pre-World War I Jewish community of Boston, and not only because of the intrinsically fascinating opportunity to observe the origin and evolution of an ethnic community. There is also the added personal incentive to deal with the very community of which my family was once itself a part. For me, the preparation of this thesis was more than simply a fine learning experience; it was also a search into the birth and growth of the basic factors in the American experience of my own particular Jewish community. It was these factors which helped shape the basic attitudes and values of my own "mishpocheh." In a sense, therefore, this thesis was a concerted search into my own essential religious and social identity as based upon historical fact and figure. The skeptic who might believe that one's identity is shaped only by present psychological and sociological factors should be reminded that much of a person's identity

is based upon the socialization of his parents, who themselves have been socialized by their parents. Hence, the present generation is indirectly a product of those who came generations before themselves--and what those generations did and what they thought is history. I therefore consider myself and my identity the result of this past. This was perhaps the greatest motivation for my wishing to deal with the Boston phase of the East European Jewish emigration to the United States.

Before embarking on this self-discovery through history, I should like to thank those whose aid was indispensable in the preparation and final production of this thesis. I especially am grateful to my referee, Professor Stanley F. Chyet--also a native Bostonian--who offered many helpful suggestions concerning primary sources to probe and books to read. Prof. Chyet spent many hours poring over this text, ironing out linguistic knots and clarifying vague thoughts or over-simplified generalizations. I am much indebted to Prof. Chyet, not only for his complete fulfillment of the role of patient mentor, but also for his wonderful "menschlekeit" in all phases of the equally testing role of referee and friend. I am also indebted to my typist, Mrs. Jonathan M. Brown, who managed a home, a husband, a baby and three theses with equal efficiency and expertize. I am grateful to Col. Benjamin Gorfinkle, of Boston and Cape Cod, who permitted me free access to his

personal library and his time, and to the editors of The (Boston) Jewish Advocate, who allowed me to use the facilities of their offices in order to continue my research during a hectic Christmas vacation. Last, but not least, I wish to thank my parents, Mr. and Mrs. Paul Golub, of Brookline, Massachusetts, and Cape Cod, who have had the necessary patience and retained the continual hope that their son would fulfill their wishes and dreams for his eventual success in life. It is hoped that this thesis will encourage them to maintain their expectation that he eventually will achieve all their hearts' desire for him...

I.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

A historical analysis of the Jews of Boston immediately reveals the interesting possibility of there having been individual Jews present in Boston before any Jewish community took shape in what is now the United States.[1] One source finds the history of the Jews in Boston going as far back as 1648, when one Isaac Abrahams appeared before the Boston notary, Aspinwall, to have him witness the sale of his vessel, "The Bride of Enchusen", to two Bostonians, Robert Scott and John Cooke.[2] The validity of his Jewish identity is, however, open to question. Another (and certainly more accurate) source finds the first Jew in Boston to be Solomon Franco.[3] Arriving in 1649 on a Dutch vessel, Franco, a poor Jew, proposed to settle in Boston. In order to remove the "danger" of having an indigent Jew living in their midst, the Government of the Commonwealth paid him to leave the colony.[4] Whether it was Abrahams or Franco who came first to Boston, it would appear that at least one of them arrived in this country five or six years before Jacob Barsimson, who is purported to be the first Jewish settler in Dutch or British North America.[5] The belief that Barsimson was the first Jewish settler in what is now the United States is probably true, however, since neither Abrahams nor Franco were permitted to remain in Massachusetts. (It was the opinion of historian Lee M. Friedman that it was the practice of Puritan

governmental officials not to allow Jews to settle in Massachusetts because of religious reasons.[6] Such a hypothesis, however, is not substantiated by primary sources. A far more likely reason is economic considerations.) Even though economic reasons led the Puritans not to permit indigent Jews--or Christians--to settle in their midst, the Puritans did look to the Old Testament for guidance and, in 1641, produced "The Laws and Liberties of Massachusetts," which were directly modelled after the Mosaic Law.[7] Hence, even though Jews were probably not allowed to remain in Massachusetts, their laws and ideals were not only accepted, but became a dominant influence as well in the state during these years of Puritan rule.

Another Jew in pre-Revolutionary Boston was one Rowland Gideon, who appeared in the first Boston tax list (1674) as "ye Jew."[8] He was one of the Jews to whom letters of denization had been granted by the British Government in order that they might settle in the English colonies. In 1675, Gideon appeared in association with one Baruch in a law suit before the Court in Boston.[9] Two Jews--Raphaeli Abendana and Samuel the Jew--are found in the "list of inhabitants in Boston, 1695."[10] On June 6, 1716, a Jewish merchant, Isaac Lopez, landed in Boston on the ship "Restoration" from London.[11] In 1720, Lopez was elected one of the constables of Boston. He declined the office, however, and elected instead to pay a fine in order to be excused from it.[12] A rather

prominent figure of Jewish origin during pre-Revolution days was the convert Judah Monis, who taught at Harvard College as an instructor in the Hebrew language.[13]

Because settlement in the Massachusetts Bay Colony was contingent upon the consent of governmental authorities, many Jews, again for economic reasons, were "warned" out of Boston subsequent to Solomon France. These included: Joseph Buene (1680), David Campanell, whose original home was in the state of Rhode Island (1726), and Philip Samuel, who came to Boston via New York (1756).[14] The well-known Revolutionary patriot, Isaac Moses, who later became a member of the New York Chamber of Commerce, was warned out of Boston within fourteen days of his arrival there in 1762.[15] Another prominent Jew with a Boston connection was Aaron Lopez, who lived in Newport, Rhode Island and conducted his business dealings in Boston through a non-Jewish agent, Henry Lloyd.[16] Lopez acted in this way presumably because it was easier for a man residing in Rhode Island to have someone else carry out his business for him in another city.[17] Lopez also carried out his business in Boston by sending a Jewish apprentice, Joseph De Lucena, to the city. It was apparently a fairly common practice for Jewish merchants from other cities to carry on their business affairs in Boston through young Jewish employees whom they temporarily sent there just for that purpose. This is why Isaac Levy, of Philadelphia, and Abraham Judah, of Newport, were found in Boston for a short time in

1735.[18]

The most prominent Jew in Boston during and just after the Revolution was Moses Michael Hays. The date of his arrival in Boston is uncertain, but it seems to begin or about 1776.[19] Hays entered the insurance business, and established an office at 68 State Street. His residence was located on lower Middle (now Hanover) Street. He lived there with his widowed sister, Reyna Toure (her husband had been Rabbi Isaac Touro of the Congregation Yeshuat Israel in Newport, Rhode Island), her son, Judah, who left the Hays home at the age of twenty-seven to become a leading merchant in New Orleans,[20] and Hays's own five daughters and one son. Hays seems to have become quite prosperous through his insurance business as well as various mercantile enterprises, and eventually became one of the wealthiest citizens of the city. Hays became very influential and popular with many leading non-Jews of the city.[21] This is certainly attested by the fact that Hays became on June 6, 1788, the Grand Master of the Free Masons of Boston, which, save for Hays, was a completely non-Jewish fraternity.[22]

By 1790, Boston counted among its denizens a number of Jews, including Hays, his son, Judah, A. Seligs, Isaac Solomon, M. A. Wallach, and B. Mirranda.[23] Moreover, Boston Jewry could point with pride to its representatives who served in a distinguished manner in the Revolutionary War. Among them was Isaac Franks, who served as an ensign in the Seventh

Massachusetts Regiment in 1781 and after the Revolution reached the rank of colonel.[24]

From the middle of the seventeenth century, when Jews first began to appear on the scene in Boston, until the 1840's, there was no distinctive Jewish community in the city. Individual Jews settled there, but no concerted effort was made to establish a community of Jews. However, the 1840's mark the beginning of such a community. Jews came to Boston at a time of economic expansion. The city's merchants sent their merchandise to the new Midwestern and Southern markets in Chicago, St. Louis, Savannah, and Memphis. With the Boston merchants taking their businesses to the prosperous Midwest and South, the Jews who emigrated mostly from Germany, Austria, and Poland, found promising economic opportunities now available in Boston. These they filled by becoming peddlers.[25] As soon as the peddlers began to make economic inroads, Jews skilled in other trades began coming to Boston. These included tailors, jewellers, watchmakers, furriers, cigarmakers, shoemakers, and provision dealers.[26]

The religious needs of the early Boston Jewish community were not great. All services were held at the home of one Peter Spitz, the congregation being made up of the few residents of the city, plus some others who peddled in neighboring towns and came to Boston on the Sabbath and other religious holidays to pray with Jews.[27] The first Boston Jewish congregation was officially founded in the year 1842,

and was given the name "Ohabei Shalom." The first president of the congregation was Mr. William Goldsmith, who was elected unanimously to the position.[28] At first there was no house of worship; instead, the congregants met for services in a rented upper room on Washington Street.[29] The first Jewish burial ground was procured on October 5, 1844, after the Board of Aldermen voted to allow the Jews to use the ground for such a purpose.[30] The plot was located at the corner of Byron and Homer streets on Noddle Island (later known as East Boston), and it cost Ohabei Shalom $200 to buy it.[31] In 1851, Ohabei Shalom Congregation decided to build a synagogue. It soon purchased a piece of suitable land on Warren (later Warrenton) Street for this purpose. A fund of $7,000 was raised by the Jews, with an assist from many of their Christian neighbors.[32] Hence, both Jews and Christians shared in the building of Temple Ohabei Shalom, which was dedicated in 1852.[33] Indeed, many prominent Christians attended the dedication ceremonies of the Temple.[34]

In 1854, some members of Ohabei Shalom severed connections with the congregation and formed another one nearby. The basic reasons for the formation of a new congregation appear to have been disagreement concerning the mode of worship employed and bitter ethnic factionalism between the German and Polish elements in the congregation. Rabbi Solomon Schindler wrote concerning the schism:

> Every one of them desired...to have such a mode of worship established in the synagogue as would remind him of his own youth. Differences of opinion arose, and after the animosity had kept growing for a few years, the storm finally broke loose when the congregation was about to engage a new minister...those who called themselves Germans...rose in opposition to those members whom they called Polanders...The German faction was led by the president and the officers of the congregation, still they were in the minority. The Polanders, forming the majority of the congregation, were marshalled by ambitious men out of their own midst. The Germans favored a minister who had come from the same part of the country from which they had come; the Polanders' choice was a man of their own nationality. The dissension grew hotter and hotter until the minority bolted. Leaving to the majority all the property which they had acquired, inclusive of the burial-ground, they took with them nothing but the little account-book and the Shofar, which happened to be in the possession of their president, and formed a new congregation to which they gave the name, Adath Israel.[35]

Rabbi Schindler's description of the events leading to the split in the ranks of Temple Ohabei Shalom demonstrates most clearly how destructive ethnic factionalism can become. With each side vying for leadership as well as control of worship procedure and synagogue affairs, the only result could be ultimate rupture of relations. In a sense, the conflicts between the German and Polish elements in the Ohabei Shalom congregation were a microcosm of relations between both groups on a community scale. There was assuredly general friction between these first-generation Jews, with the Temple acting as a common meeting-ground for a concen-

trated confrontation of each side on basic issues which divided them. The fact that these issues could never be resolved within the Temple must mean that they were never resolved in the larger communal frame of reference. Apparently, therefore, the early Boston Jewish community was characterized by an irritating incompatibility between ethnic factions, with these very differences in national origin providing the basis for divergence and friction.[36]

Much of the history of the evolution of the Boston Jewish community subsequent to 1854 is the history of the growth and changes which took place in these two early congregations--Ohabei Shalom and Adath Israel. After the schism in the ranks of Ohabei Shalom and the birth of Adath Israel, a new religious dimension began to manifest itself among the Jews of Boston. While Ohabei Shalom retained its traditional mode of worship, Adath Israel, which leased a house on Pleasant Street for its worship and bought land in Wakefield for a burial ground, gradually turned toward a more progressive form of faith. It retained the Rabbi about whom the original Ohabei Shalom congregation had quarreled--Joseph Sachs--for only two years, after which it hired Rabbi Joseph Shoninger, who helped the congregation in its spiritual reform as minister for the next eighteen years. On the other hand, Temple Ohabei Shalom had a constant turnover of ministers, among whom were Dr. Isaac Nathan, Dr. Abraham Guinsberg and Dr. Hirsh Falk Vidaver.[37] None of these men, however, contri-

buted significantly to the growth of their congregation as did Rabbi Shoninger and his successor, Rabbi Solomon Schindler, who himself occupied Adath Israel's pulpit for nineteen years. The continuity which these two men provided for their congregants could not help but make their spiritual growth a steadier one than that enjoyed by their sister group, Ohabei Shalom, which had to endure continual ministerial changes and, therefore, loss of such continuity.[38]

The founders of Adath Israel were among the more prosperous Jews of Boston,[39] but the congregation was itself comprised mainly of peddlers.[40] By 1880, however, most of these peddlers had found more lucrative and respectable means of commerce. Soon they were firmly rooted in the Boston business community, although only the wealthy Hecht family had been able to settle in the plush Back Bay area.[41] Besides Jacob Hecht, who was a most successful financier, the most influential men were the Morse brothers, Leopold and Godfrey. Leopold was elected with a plurality of 1,200 votes to Congress in 1876,[42] while Godfrey became a member of the Boston School Committee as well as President of the Boston Common Council in 1883.[43]

As the movement toward Reform Judaism became more pronounced, Rabbi Schindler began to introduce new features into Adath Israel's spiritual milieu, such as the family pew, organ, choir and new prayer book. While these changes caused almost half of his congregation to resign, it was not

long before his growing flock needed a new house of worship. Hence, a new structure was built in 1885 for Adath Israel which was situated on the corner of Columbus Avenue and Northampton Street in Boston's South End.[44] During the following year, the Temple introduced the practice of having the sermon delivered in English.[45]

During the years after the Civil War, charitable organizations for the alleviation of economic distress endured by Boston's poor Jewish citizens began to appear, and they grew more and more important as increasing immigration made the need for self-help organizations a vital necessity. The high-water mark was reached in the final two decades of the nineteenth century and the first two of the twentieth. It was then that the atrocious persecutions in Eastern Europe reached their zenith, and the ugly word "pogrom" became a central word in the vocabulary of almost every Jew. Russian persecution of the Jews drove thousands upon thousands of Jews to the shores of America, and many of them settled in Boston. Indeed, whereas during Civil War days the provincial spirit of Boston kept immigration to such a minimum that there were probably less than three-hundred Jewish families in the city, Russian persecutions at the turn of the century brought so many Jews into Boston that by 1912 there were probably over 30,000 Jewish families there.[46]

In subsequent pages of this paper, we shall discuss the charity organizations and activities instituted by Boston

Jewry to care for its burgeoning immigrant population. Suffice it now to say that without them, the Boston Jewish community would never have become the forceful and influential element in Boston life which it eventually did. It took organizations such as the United Hebrew Benevolent Society, the Hebrew Ladies' Sewing Circle, the Hebrew Sheltering Home, the Hebrew Industrial School, the Free Employment Bureau of the Baron de Hirsch Fund and the eventual unifying in 1895 of Boston charity groups into the Federation of Jewish Charities to make efforts on behalf of the immigrants successful and meaningful. But let us first of all turn our attention to the object of these efforts--the Boston Jewish immigrant--in order to analyze both him and those upon whom his presence in the city of Boston had impact. What kind of welcome might the immigrant coming to our shores at the Boston immigration port in the 1880's and onward hope to expect, not only from his fellow Jews already living there, but also from the non-Jewish community of the city? How did these newly-arrived Jews get along with their first-generation coreligionists, as well as with their Christian neighbors? What kind of assimilation took place over the years? What cultural, spiritual and intellectual activity took place among the Boston immigrants? These problem-questions were central ones for the pre-World War I immigrant in Boston, perhaps more so for him than for his post-war counterpart, because immigration was at a high-water mark for the former. The

numbers of immigrants coming to America after World War I decreased with each passing year; moreover, as the immigrant continued to live in this country he flourished and gradually became acculturated. Hence, his problems purely as an immigrant became less. That is why we should now turn to the period of the greatest influx of Jewish immigrants into Boston and the United States--1881-1914--in order to paint as vivid a portrait as we can not only of the problems which a Jew newly arrived in this country had to face, but also of the manner in which he and his fellow Jews dealt with them...

II.

A PORTRAIT OF THE BOSTON JEWISH IMMIGRANTS

A. WHO THEY WERE AND WHERE THEY CAME FROM

The large majority of the Jews who settled in the city of Boston came from the Russian Empire. They were Jews who had suffered under Russian rule. The more that conditions deteriorated in Russia, the more imperative it became that the Jews there think in terms of movement westward, where conditions were much more conducive for Jewish settlement. The Jews came mainly from White Russia, the Ukraine, Lithuania, and Poland, most of which belonged then to Russia.[47] Although this mass emigration from Eastern Europe also included contingents of Jews from Galicia (which was then under the rule of Austria-Hungary) and Roumania, it was called generally the migration of the Russian Jews, since they were all from countries near Russia. Also, their language and customs were basically similar or identical.[48] Most of these Jews spoke Yiddish, a German dialect which German Jewish transplants had brought with them to Eastern Europe after they had been driven out of their country because of persecution following the Crusades. That the Jews of Eastern Europe tenaciously held to their own customs and language despite continual contact with Russian and Polish influences is clearly seen through the example of Yiddish. For even though the customs and language of the East European

countries in which they settled continually impinged upon them from every possible direction, the Jewish people ignored practically all of them. While everyone around them was speaking Russian or Polish, the Jews spoke only Yiddish among themselves. The more the Jews spoke Yiddish, the more it flourished in Eastern European Jewish communities, and eventually it became the lingua franca of practically the whole Eastern European Jewish community.[49] It is true that certain variations developed due to local differences, which affected both Yiddish and Hebrew pronunciation;[50] however, it was Yiddish which almost every East European Jew who migrated to America at the turn of the century spoke, and considered his native tongue.

Many of these East European migrants were familiar with Hebrew as the language of the Bible and of the Prayerbook. As such, they considered it the holy tongue, and most could pray fluently in it. Some of them had had the opportunity to become advanced "yeshivah bochers," and could therefore proudly claim a fine Talmudic background. The Talmudists and Hebraists were products of schools created by the East European Jewish community specifically for the purpose of educating their young in the Jewish faith.[51] Certainly such schools, plus a natural tendency to live together (a situation which was often forced upon them by the government of the country in which they happened to be living), were basic reasons why Jews were isolated from non-Jews in Eastern

Europe. Moreover, Jewish isolationism caused the Jews to live in ghetto-like conditions once they arrived in Boston. The Jews in Boston tended to refine the ghetto instinct once they arrived in the city by dividing themselves into enclaves based upon their individual ethnic origins. In Boston, the ones who belonged to the same group tended to form their own synagogues, and although the groups in both the North End and the West End of the city were somewhat mixed, "...the North End had more of a Litvak character, while the West End had more Russishe Jews."[52]

B. WHAT BROUGHT THE IMMIGRANT TO BOSTON

Whereas the German Jews had come to America in general and Boston in particular along with the German Christians, the emigration from Russia was strictly a Jewish one.[53] This was a special migration brought on by special persecutions against the Jews. It is true that the Jews of Eastern Europe were bitterly poverty-stricken. But it took much more than an empty pocket book to force the Jews to leave their centuries-old homeland. The movement of Jews across the ocean to America could only have been caused by oppression by the Russian government, the danger of violence, and a vast disturbance of Jewish life in Russia itself.[54] Indeed, causes for emigration included the desire for political and spiritual freedom, for growing aspirations of self-betterment, and for more educational opportunities.[55]

The restrictive measures undertaken by the Russian government against the Jews were intense and cruel. Besides being forced to endure continual poverty, the Jews suffered from legislation which discriminated against their religion and economic endeavors. They were forced to live in the Pale of Settlement, they could not own farm property nor engage in agricultural activity, and they were literally forbidden from engaging in certain businesses while being obliged to engage only in a few others.[56]

Two specific factors caused the actual commencement and subsequent continuation of emigration from Russia between 1881 and 1914. These were: a) the terrible pogroms, which began in 1881 and continued intermittently through and even after World War I, and b) the May Laws of 1882, that forced many thousands of Jews to leave homes in which they had been living for generations and crowd into cramped quarters in already teeming cities and towns. This act of uprooting Jews from established home sites bankrupted most of those whose families had struggled for many years to build up businesses and professional practices in those areas where they had lived. This was an outright economic attack upon the Jewish population, and because of "...this intense privation of many of the Jews, and this threat of dispossession against the rest, many turned for a new opportunity in a new world. Every time another restrictive law was passed,...the results could be seen in the increased emi-

gration the following year."[57]

Many immigrants settled in Boston because their relatives had lived in this city.[58] However, it was often the case that immigrants arriving in Boston had no choice in the matter. It was often a matter of coincidence. "Chance was so large an element in the course of migration, it left little room for planning. The place of landing was less often the outcome of an intention held at the outset of the journey than of blind drift along the routes of trade or of a sudden halt due to the acts of the voyage."[59]

A third reason that Jewish immigrants settled in Boston rather than elsewhere was that while they originally may have been located in one place, they later were either sent to Boston or went of their own volition. As much as 72 percent of the Russian Jewish immigrant population originally settled in New York. However, such an arrangement was hardly feasible, as their crowding together made economic opportunities for all an impossibility. Moreover, the unhygienic conditions caused by poverty and disease could not have made them happy to maintain such crowded conditions. Hence, many of the immigrants eventually began expanding throughout New York City, and then to other large industrial cities in the east, including Boston.[60]

C. RELATIONS WITH THE FIRST-GENERATION JEWISH COMMUNITY

Before analyzing the relations which existed in pre-

World War I Boston between the newly-arrived Eastern European Jewish immigrants and the Jewish community already living there, a short historical sketch of the latter appears in order. First of all, as we have already pointed out, early Jewish communities were primarily "German" in make-up. These German Jews apparently settled first of all in the South End of Boston in the middle 1880's, and later became sufficiently assimilated so as to be able to disperse throughout the city and thereby not form a distinctive Jewish enclave.[61] Some German Jews settled later in the North End of Boston, but not enough to make any real inroads upon the predominantly Irish character of the district.[62] The few German Jewish families which settled in the North End were a small but homogeneous group. They assimilated rapidly and, unlike the later immigrant groups, they remained in the North End for a long period of time.[63] When the mass migration of Eastern European Jews began, these acculturated German Jews became in many ways the guides of the new arrivals, especially in terms of various sociological processes in the later immigrant group, such as the speed and the mode of its acculturation.[64]

There was little contact between the German Jews and the Russian Jews throughout Boston.[65] Indeed, there must have been as much factionalism between the new immigrants and their predecessors as there was between the Russian Jews and others who came to Boston at about the same time ("We have no use

for Hungarians."[66]). However, it seems that the reasons for the factionalism between Russian immigrants and German Jews differed from those between the former and contemporary immigrants from other countries. As far as the latter are concerned, differing ethnic origins and the consequent disagreements concerning customs, language and religious observance must have divided them. The situation here is not unlike that existing between the newly-arrived German and Polish Jews who experienced friction many years previously in the old Ohabei Shalom Congregation, such friction leading inexorably to a schism between those liturgically--but not linguistically--divergent groups and the eventual creation of Congregation Adath Israel. But the differences separating Russian Jews and German Jews were of a different sort. The German and Polish Jews of the mid-1800's had reached a high point of acculturation. They had lost their immigrant appearance and, to a great extent, the low status attached to the immigrant. Their high degree of assimilation had brought about a relaxation of religious observance, with their Reform Jewish services taking on certain non-Jewish aspects (e.g., the organ, the family pew, the choir, the sermon in English). Most German Jews read and spoke English fluently. Despite the rigors of the working conditions of the time, the majority of German Jews had reached a reasonable level of financial security. Certain families, such as that of the wealthy Jacob Hecht, were able even to move into the heart

of Yankee settlement, the Back Bay. On the other hand, the Russian immigrant, newly arrived and completely unfamiliar with his new environment, was unwanted. His German coreligionists were embarrassed by his poverty and lack of sophistication. The comfortable, assimilated German Jews wanted little to do with the immigrants, despite the fact that they were fully cognizant of the great pressure, the poverty, the crowdedness and the turmoil typical of the urban areas of large-scale immigrant settlement with which the Russian Jews had continually to contend in Boston. Indeed, it was only after deliberate discussion of the issue that the directors of the German-founded United Hebrew Benevolent Association came to the grudging assertion that while not legally bound to care for the indigent Russian immigrants, the Association would assume upon itself the responsibility of providing help for them. The reason given was that if the Association did not assume such responsibility, every well-to-do Jewish citizen would be beleagured by the importunate poor.[67] The German Jews at best pitied their poverty-stricken Russian brothers; they certainly did not like them. However, they were willing to assume responsibility for them, because it would not do to have the non-Jewish community burdened with Jewish problems. Actually, it would appear rather paradoxical that the German Jews should have looked disparagingly upon their Russian coreligionists. The German Jews saw the Russian Jews as

inferior to themselves because the latter were so poor, so ignorant of American ways and language and so generally foreign to their assimilated selves. Actually, it had been barely a half-century since the German immigrant had come to these shores. Not a few of the German Jews had also spoken Yiddish when they arrived in America, but they now considered it by and large an inferior tongue. "They, whose manners were still largely foreign, felt that the Russian Jews were foreigners and had uncouth manners. So, in entire kindness but with frequent misunderstanding, they tried to [help]...these Russian immigrants."[68] This they did by creating institutions which might help "civilize" their Russian brethren through inculcation of American customs, values and ideals, as well as instruction in the English language, to make communication possible beyond themselves. Such help which was provided by the German Jews for the Russian Jews was done out of conscience, not out of a desire to create a friendly harmony between the two Jewish groups. Indeed, as late as 1914 there remained two coherent groups of Jews in Boston, and it took the common aim of creating Jewish philanthropic organizations, which the Russian Jews could support and even initiate once their financial fortunes turned upward, to make progress toward a united Jewish community a valid possibility.[69]

D. RELATIONS WITH ONE ANOTHER

Just as the Russian Jews could not get along with the German Jewish community because of their different levels of acculturation and sophistication, so they could find security in the basic compatibility to be found among their own ranks. They preferred to settle together in Boston's North End, which soon became the most populous Jewish district in the city, even though Jewish hegemony still lay with the German community. At first the Russian Jews attempted to isolate themselves, establishing their own synagogues[70] and preserving the customs and values which they had brought over from Eastern Europe. They held fast and strictly to Orthodox Judaism, observing all aspects of ritual and religious custom which they had brought over with them from Russia. The religious services were comprehensible for each Jew at least insofar as his expectations for worship were concerned. Few, if any, frictions developed among them. It would seem to have been basically a happy community, with most men earning their living by peddling.[71] Yiddish culture and literature maintained the aesthetic and intellectual atmosphere of days gone by. An ardent Zionism made its way into the Russian Jewish community. Self-help institutions were created eventually, which helped not only themselves but also others of their brethren who later came to the North End. All in all, the Russian Jewish enclave

remained uniform for some years, with common language, culture, religious outlook and economic pursuit holding them together. However, such an idyllic harmony among the Jews of the North End could not last, because "American life was too fluid to permit the indefinite perpetuation of these local identities."[72] As the immigrant became more and more acculturated, he began to ingest the materialistic outlook of the American society.[73] This materialism was occasioned by a desire for better living conditions. Hence, the North End community began to break up, with its former residents moving to Boston's suburbs.[74] Moreover, the old values of religion, education and Yiddish culture suffered because of the assimilation of American socio-economic values.[75] In 1900, a number of the early pioneer families of the North End located in the Blue Hill Avenue, Grove Hall, section of Roxbury, which subsequently developed into the largest Jewish settlement in New England, later extending into Dorchester, Mattapan, and then to Milton.[76] This settlement was comprised largely of the same North End families who were now migrating to the suburbs. By 1925, however, when the Russian Jews, now well assimilated, had become sufficiently prosperous to start infiltrating the plush suburbs of Newton and Brookline,[77] nothing was left of the first Russian Jewish community of Boston. All that remained were memories of the compatible, though poor, North End Jews, who struggled together, helped one another,

and generally had fine relations with each other in all aspects of Jewish and secular life.

E. JEWISH IMMIGRANT CULTURE

Due to his economic travails and his labors to become settled in a strange land, the cultural life of the Russian Jewish immigrant in Boston was not always very active or creative. It was more or less limited to the type of cultural expression to which they had been exposed and were subsequently accustomed while in Eastern Europe. This included the renowned Yiddish theater. "Boston...was a center of Yiddish drama. For a period of about ten years, 1905-1915, there was a Yiddish play to be seen in Boston almost every weekday. Artists like Maurice Schwartz and the Kalisches and the Tomashefskys and the Adlers had a special fondness for the Boston Jewish community..."[78] We infer from this statement that the Yiddish company was a roving band of players, with Boston as one of its favorite stops. This did not mean, however, that all stage presentations of a Jewish nature had to be initiated by sources beyond the Boston Jewish community. Indeed, Jewish children who were trained at the Hebrew School of the Jewish People's Institute of Boston occasionally performed plays in Hebrew at the Grand Opera House.[79] However, those who thirsted for Yiddish culture usually had to wait for the Yiddish companies to come to Boston, or else they had to go out of

Boston to see their plays.

The Boston immigrant had at least one other chief source of cultural expression. This was music. More than a few immigrants who came to Boston were accomplished musicians, although, because of their concentration upon economic matters, their talents were usually limited to brief moments of leisure. Music for the immigrant was a most beautiful outlet. Perhaps the freely-allowed playing of music represented to them the kind of complete freedom in America which they themselves had now fully attained. This motivation for the immigrant's love of music is well exemplified by Charles Angoff's reminiscence of his parents' first contact with it in Boston:

> ...a great uncle of mine...first introduced my mother and father to the... band concert in the Boston Common, something that stamped America as truly a "golden land" in my parents' eyes. "Music, and such wonderful music, for nothing, for everybody to hear! What more could a government do? And Jews allowed like any other people in America! A blessing on this land!"80

Recognizing the immigrant's love for music, certain Jewish institutions in the city, such as the Young Men's Hebrew Association, held concerts on a weekly basis to which the immigrants were invited, and in which some of them participated. Perhaps, however, the most ambitious project in this regard was started by Harvard student Leo Mayer and a small group of his fellow students. Beginning in 1903, the

Jews of both the North and West Ends of Boston were invited to concerts held by these Harvard students on an almost weekly basis. These concerts were given as a rule at the Civic Service House and in the large hall of the North Bennett Street Industrial School, both of which institutions threw open their doors for these cultural pursuits.[81]

Another form of culture was found in the creation of Jewish newspapers and the printing of Yiddish books.[82] Yiddish newspapers had been forbidden in Russia, but now, in the freedom of America, they flourished. The first successful Yiddish newspaper was the Jewish Daily News, which was founded in New York in 1885 by Kasriel R. Sarasohn.[83] As far as the city of Boston was concerned, certain newspapers, such as The Forward and The Tageblatt were available, although they often served special causes instead of faithfully reporting news of Jewish interest.[84] But Boston's Russian Jews also were able to create their own Jewish newspapers. "There was Der Amerikaner, there was the Leader... They were all in one way or another admirable, reflecting the vibrancy of Jewish life in Boston."[85] There was also a fine English newspaper, The Boston Advocate (later to become known as The Jewish Advocate). "The Advocate was a delight to read. It was truly Jewish, truly intellectual, broadly and profoundly Zionistic, and excellent journalistically."[86] In a subsequent section of this discussion, we shall deal, indirectly, with the vital role which The Jewish Advocate and

its courageous editor, Jacob de Haas, played on behalf of the interests and progress of the Russian Jewish immigrant. Suffice it to say that The Jewish Advocate contributed to the cultural life of the Jews in Boston, and "...reading it was a weekly education in Jewish affairs on the local scene and also on the national and international scenes."[87] Later on, The Jewish Advocate printed as well a Yiddish newspaper, which was called The Yiddish Advocate. Its contents differed from its English counterpart, since it featured news which was especially interesting and important for the immigrant. Its features included articles on political developments in Russia and Zionist and labor news.[88] The Yiddish newspapers did not last, however. Just as the North End Jewish community lasted but a comparatively few years, so did Yiddish journalism (and Yiddish drama, for that matter) last but a short time. Only The Jewish Advocate has endured from that age of thriving Jewish culture in the North End. Nevertheless, even though that Yiddish culture has now all but died, sufficient vestiges of it still survive to remind us of that unique period of Jewish cultural enterprise.

E. THE JEWISH IMMIGRANT AND RELIGIOUS PRACTICE

There was a large difference between the religious practices of the newly-arrived Russian Jewish immigrant in Boston and those of his German Jewish predecessors. During the days when Rabbis Solomon Schindler and Charles Fleischer occupied

the pulpit of predominantly German Temple Israel, radical changes leading to what has come to be known as classical Reform Judaism were effected. The assimilated German Jews of Temple Israel's congregation welcomed this diluted form of their faith, even though their Orthodox coreligionists did not look upon Reform Judaism with approval. As a matter of fact, the Orthodox viewed Temple Israel's radical movement toward classical Reform with fear, since Temple Israel was the leading congregation in the city of Boston. Despite their Orthodoxy, they thought, perhaps the immigrants might be swayed to some extent by the rebellion against tradition which was taking place in Temple Israel. This fear was revealed in a Jewish Advocate editorial of November 15, 1907, some months after Rabbi Fleischer had instituted Sunday services to provide Jewish worship for those Jews who were forced to work on the Sabbath and, therefore, could not attend Saturday services. Many Orthodox Jews publicly proclaimed that since Temple Israel had initiated Sunday worship, the institution of the Jewish Sabbath would soon die.[89] Occasionally Temple Israel's reforms prompted anger. In a biting editorial, the Jewish Advocate said of the religious practices of Temple Israel:

> [nothing] could shock Temple Israel, which has had Ethical Culture and Eliotology [i.e., also setting the basis of life on the relation of the individual to society] expounded to it...Congregation Israel would probably be only shocked by...the pro-

> posal to espouse the cause of mixed marriages, and even...that doctrine would not strain a Jewish nerve...[90]

Rabbi Fleischer, who left his post in 1911 to found the Sunday Commons, which was a non-sectarian religion to promote the amelioration of society and the fusion of America's diverse stocks into a kind of community church,[91] failed as a rabbi. Like Schindler, Fleischer "...was a marginal man who lost his marginality...[and] ultimately identified with the liberal Protestant tradition of New England."[92]

On the other hand, the Russian immigrant who had just settled in the city of Boston was ostensibly a most observant and tradition-minded individual. In reality, however, he was a creature of opposing religious tendencies. Externally, he attempted to retain the patterns of the Eastern European life with which he was most familiar. Inwardly, though, he was already preparing himself for a drastic assimilation which would become manifest only in the second generation.[93]

As we stated earlier, each Jewish enclave created its own synagogue and synagogal worship. In the early days, the North End shuls presented a very colorful traditional appearance. The people were poor, but strongly observant. The rabbi of the poor man's shul was, unlike the one serving a Boston Reform congregation, warm, accessible and always aware of his congregants' problems, which he always endeavored to ameliorate. Angoff's warm reminiscence concerning his shul and his rabbi prove these points:

> [The Vilner shul] was small, the people were unpretentious, and they prayed as if they were at home. They held back nothing. If they felt like it, they swayed to and fro to their heart's content...Of course, they followed the congregational prayer, but they were also themselves. They remained at home, so to speak, while at the same time they were members of All-Israel.
>
> Rabbi Sharfman was the same. He was homy, he was quiet and intimate. He was approachable. Indeed, he was often the first to approach others, young and old. He used to sit to the left of the "Oren Kodesh"...which faced the audience...I always looked at the rabbi. I liked his face...He was a man of mysterious feelings and powers and insights. He was capable of sorrow, and he was capable of joy... The rabbi had a synagogue face...
>
> His "droshes"...were brief, gentle, to the point...He quoted parables and other sayings of the Sages. I was astonished, in my early youth, at how well read he was, how well he had digested what he read, how unfanatical he was despite his orthodoxy...
>
> Rabbi Sharfman was more than a spiritual leader. He was a job hunter and an apartment hunter, he was a lay analyst, a home saver, a social worker, and a doctor...when a family was large the permitted number of doctor calls was pretty much used up by the early winter...The poor were...ashamed [when their allotted number of visits by the doctor was exhausted]. So they went to the rabbi, and the rabbi went to the Talmud, which is full of medical lore...But it was in the spiritual realm that the Vilner Shul rabbi was at his best...Boston Jewry showed many such rabbis... [It] was a wonderful...little Jerusalem.[94]

Such overt clinging to old religious traditions belied the growing ferment among the Russian immigrants, the growing desire for, or at least acceptance of, change. The startling

fact is that this desire for change was already at work in the minds of the first-generation immigrants themselves.[95] "The older generation gradually accepted the ways of their children. They knew they could not remain as orthodox. They were not too willing, but they knew it had to come."[96] At this juncture, let us not be too hasty in attributing this creeping liberalism in religious thought to the American social and intellectual environment. Even the "shtetl" had not escaped the historic events and philosophical movements in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe. The French Revolution, plus the cries of freedom motivating it, and the German-Jewish "haskalah" movement, which found Russian proponents in the likes of Isaac bar Levinsohn and which inspired the likes of Max Lilienthal,[97] beckoned to the Russian Jew and made him aware of the benefits of democracy as well as secular thought and living. Many immigrants brought with them to the shores of America a strong familiarity with these ideas. All that many of these "enlightened" Jews needed was a milieu of freedom which permitted liberalism to gain a stronghold. America provided such a milieu. Certainly, American democracy gave this movement a greater chance to blossom and succeed than did the deeply traditional, learned, pious and authoritarian environment of Eastern European society. Moreover, the presence of a flourishing Reform Judaism among the German Jews of Boston was a living example of Jewish adaptation to Western mores. "Laxity in ritual practice--despised by the

society of the Russian small town--had in the new world the prestige of being acceptable to a large part of the older, wealthier, already Americanized community."[98]

The rejection of old-world religious practices and values was not manifested until the second generation grew up. Up until the early 1900's, the Russian Jewish community was, by and large, a traditionalist group in which religious observance was to remain the norm for some time.[99] Synagogue services followed the Eastern European pattern. All the prayers were recited totally in Hebrew, except for a few in Aramaic; the prayerbooks lacked vernacular translations, except for a few which had Yiddish translations. None had translations in English, and if any such prayerbooks had made their way into their midst, the immigrants would in all probability have viewed them only with curiosity.

All services were held in such synagogues as were described above by Charles Angoff, although before they were built, services were probably held in private homes. However, it took the building of the synagogue to give the Russian immigrant a feeling of fixed spiritual roots. To the Boston Jewish immigrant--especially in his hard, poverty-stricken early days there--the synagogue really fulfilled the Rabbinic functions of House of Worship, of Meeting and of Study. The stranger just arrived in Boston stopped at the synagogue to inquire about lodging in a Jewish home. Here he met the synagogue-goers, and exchanged with them

information about financial affairs, gave and gained advice concerning life in the new land, and both proffered and received news about Jews living in this and other cities.[100] The immigrants' taste for Jewish learning was satisfied within the synagogue. Many lectures and adult classes were held there. The Russian Jewish synagogue usually had among its possessions a number of Hebrew volumes which proved of inestimable worth to the intellectual predilections of former Eastern European "yeshiva bochers." In these early days, Jewish learning was so esteemed that even a lowly laborer or peddler could gain a lofty reputation among his coreligionists by proving adept in handling the complicated and often difficult reasonings of the Talmud.[101]

Before completing our discussion of the religious practices of the Russian Jewish immigrant in Boston, it might be well to turn our attention for a moment to the dissident minority which held militant anti-religious views. These anti-religionists were comprised mainly of radical "Maskilim" and Socialists. The latter found corroboration of their ideals in many of the Yiddish newspapers, which in the main were but vehicles for the promulgation of these various ideologies. Although the typical, tradition-minded immigrant usually enjoyed reading these publications, he was often disturbed by having ideas thrust upon him with which he most violently disagreed. Charles Angoff remembers how his father reacted to such attempts to influence his thinking by the

Yiddish radical newspapers of the day:

> [My father] liked the [Socialist] Forward very much as a newspaper, much more than the Tageblatt. He thought its foreign news was superior, and he liked the stories and poems. But he did not like many of the editorials and articles. They preached a brand of Socialism which was anathema to him. Occasionally they also offended his religious sensibilities, for the Forward was quite nonreligious.[102]

Indeed, Socialism, rapidly spreading through the Russian Jewish immigrant community during the years of massive migration, became an influential vehicle for irreligiosity. One North Ender recalls "a small group of a violently anti-religious philosophy. They would defiantly arrange a ball on Yom Kippur eve while most Jews attended the Kol Nidre services. During Yom Kippur day they would stand on the street and eat ham sandwiches."[103]

Albeit there were voices of religious dissidence and radicalism, the overall tenor of the early days of Jewish settlement in Boston was traditionalism. Moreover, the tenacity with which the immigrants held on to their Orthodox religious observances was almost diametrically opposed to the religious posture of their more acculturated German Jewish coreligionists. The latter not only were lax in terms of religious practice, but also preached an assimilative approach toward their very Jewish identity.

F. IMMIGRANT FAMILY LIFE

If there were one single factor which best characterized

immigrant family life at the turn of the century, it would be poverty. The homes in which some of the immigrants settled were dilapidated, but fairly sturdy insofar as their basic structure was concerned. Most of the homes in the North End had been built by the Yankee inhabitants, who left the area when the Irish, Italians, and then the Jews began to infiltrate the area.[104] The majority of immigrants, however, were forced to live in tenements and lodging-houses, with the most indigent finding it necessary to make their homes in the basements of such dwellings, most of which lacked sub-cellars.[105] Later on, many of the old homes were converted into reasonably livable apartments by Jewish home owners and local real estate dealers. Nevertheless, life was primitive, with toilets being located outside the house, no bath tubs in the house and attics often serving as "apartments." These same real estate men later began building "apartment houses," distinguished from the old tenement houses by the comforts which were provided for the tenants. The first apartment house was constructed on the corner of Hanover and Cross Streets in the North End in 1885.[106]

Despite their overwhelming indigence, the Russian Jews of Boston kept a "kosher" home. In order to procure kosher meat, the immigrant women had to walk long distances. At a rather early date, however, a kosher butcher store was established. The problem of being able to pay for kosher

products was not made any easier by the fact that Jewish wholesalers and retailers of kosher meat (especially the traditional "shabas chicken") cheated the poor immigrants by charging them for "blood and feathers." This was a mere excuse for adding anywhere from eight to sixteen ounces to the actual weight of the chicken bill. Many other products were procurable on the market, and this habit of cheating the customer extended even to those other products.[107] Nevertheless, the immigrant housewife was determined to keep her home a kosher one, and she was almost always capable of rising above the various obstacles in her path to keep it that way.

It is true that interruptions in family life were caused by the piecemeal way in which immigrant families migrated to America. It is also true that the immigrants were forced to settle in ugly tenements hardly reminiscent of the kind of home in which they had established a Jewish life in Russia. Nevertheless, they worked diligently at picking up where they had left off, in order that they might resume the only kind of life which they had ever known. Religious life must have exercised a steadying influence in this endeavor during the early days of settlement to reestablish family ties and ways. The Sabbath and the various holidays in the yearly cycle of Jewish observance once more kindled the festivity and warmth of the home atmosphere in the hearts of members of the family. Moreover, the observance of the

holidays also provided an opportunity to redefine family roles through traditional religious functions of various members of the family. For instance, on Erev Yom Kippur, it was part of the ritual for the father to come in dressed in a white "kittel" and to bless each child separately and in turn. This would put the father back in his role as head of the family, with his blessing automatically (and subtly) reaffirming his position of authority. The children, who passively received their father's blessing, simultaneously realized through this religious rite what position in the family they had to assume. Thus it was with respect to religious observances in the home throughout the year.

The immigrant home was a busy and active place:

> Hebrew, Jewishness, Zionism--these were all parts of our daily living...A picture of Dr. Theodor Herzl hung above our kitchen table, and since the kitchen in our home, as in so many other homes, was the family center, we children were always under the influence of Dr. Herzl...[108]

Moreover, the city itself was continually swirling with ideas, most of them dealing with Zionism. They often conflicted with one another, with the point of debate usually being what constituted the best approach to the Zionist cause. Such conflicts influenced the conversation in the immigrant home, with debate here as well often concerning Zionism:

> Boston was a beehive, not only of Zionists of the Dr. Herzl variety, or what might be called Orthodox Zionists, but also of other

> Zionists of various degrees of dissidence... an important part of the strife was heated discussion. I listened in on a great deal of it, at meetings of these dissident organizations and also at home...
>
> ...the family at large was a senate of conflicting opinions, all of them usually expressed in grandiloquent oratory. Thus I knew the Jewish world was divided into many parts long before I knew precisely what the parts were and exactly in what respects they differed...[109]

Perhaps the single greatest force on behalf of Zionism in Boston--outside of the ever-present Yiddish newspapers--and which moved the immigrant family to discuss the general benefits of Zionism and to make it the single most important philosophic tenet in their life was the grass-roots preacher known as "the maggid." Albeit individual differences concerning the best Zionistic approach were always present, they automatically disappeared in a general embracing of Zionism as <u>the</u> cause whenever he preached it. The people believed him, because they were swayed by his splendid oratory. Moreover, he was able to influence them with respect to the Zionist cause, because he spoke directly to them. His approach was subjective; that of the Yiddish journals and intellectuals was usually too objective to be meaningful to the Russian immigrant, and too technical to be understood by him. As a result, the immigrant in Boston gained a greater part of his emotional commitment through the words of maggidim. Charles Angoff recalls this phenomenon:

> The great 'maggid' (itinerant preacher) Zvi Hirsch Masliansky, who had been a childhood playmate of my Alte Bobbe (Granny)...often spoke in Boston...To my nine-year-old mind, he was Moses and Aaron and Samson and Joshua and all the Maccabees. He had so splendid a face, so overwhelming a beard, such deep-seeing eyes--and a voice that was now thunder, now a violin...
>
> The time came when Masliansky was announced as the chief speaker at a drive for the Keren Hayesed, to be held in Faneuil Hall. Of course our whole family went. The hall was filled to overflowing more than an hour before the meeting began, while several hundred people stood outside waiting to hear the speeches over the loud speaker... I still recall the profound impression Masliansky's words made...[110]

It is little wonder, therefore, that the emotional Russian Jewish immigrant maintained in his shabby Boston residence many "pushkes"--coin boxes--the majority of which were devoted to Zionism or Zionist-sponsored causes. It is indeed true that the Jewish immigrant was indigent; nevertheless, "although pennies in our household were rare and precious, mother and father managed to put some into every one. It was a 'mitzvah' to do that. And the 'pushkes' kept the spirit of...Dr. Herzl ever present in our hearts."[111]

As World War I approached, we find that the process of Americanization began to take its toll upon the traditional atmosphere of the immigrant family. This process forced a change to occur with respect to the relative positions of the father, the mother, and the second-generation, American-born Jew. The father succumbed earlier than the other mem-

bers of the family, because he was almost daily exposed to the secular side of life as it was then lived in Boston as well as the rest of material-minded America. The immigrant usually earned his living by peddling, and it was while thus engaged that he began, first of all, to be exposed to the ways and ideas of the general society. Later, he began to understand the significance of these ideas and how inculcation with and practice of them were directly tied up with material gain and success--even for the immigrant Jew. Another reason for the turn of the immigrant toward a more secular ideology was the simple necessity for spending so much time trying to earn a living. Because most of his waking hours were devoted to this arduous task, the immigrant breadwinner had little time left to observe matters of the spirit. This two-fold reason for the movement toward secularism--growing worldliness and preoccupation with earning a living--also had its effect upon the traditional role-play within the family. As previously stated, the religious practices which were conducted in the home helped define the roles played by each member of the family. However, as the Americanization process began to make inroads within the family situation, these roles began to grow vague. As a result, religious traditionalism began to give way to a more secular attitude. Jewish education began to suffer; in their haste to integrate their children, the first-generation immigrant fathers commenced to stress the advantages of a secular education. We shall deal

with this situation more in detail later on in our discussion. Suffice it to say at this point that the first generation laid the foundation for the manifest movement toward assimilation by their offspring when they encouraged their sons to get a good secular education.

It did not take long for the second generation to take these hints. Soon they were embarking on a course toward acculturation through education which eventually made them as indistinguishable in dress, manner and speech from native Americans as were their older German counterparts. The important fact to realize here is that the revolution was not sudden and the end result of a concerted plan of rebellion by the second generation. On the contrary, it was the first generation that was responsible for originally planting the seeds of secularism and acculturation.[112] This does not mean, however, that the first generation "practiced what it preached"; as a matter of fact, the majority of these remained within the confines of Orthodox practice. Perhaps the first-generation immigrant did not want it known by the rest of his family just how deep were the changes of thinking wrought by his exposure to the "outside world." Nevertheless, "the profoundly changed attitudes of the immigrants, which their children were quick to discover despite tenacious external traditionalism...helped shape the generation that marched headlong towards full Americanization."[113]

But what about the immigrant mother? The aforementioned reference to her determined efforts to keep her home "kosher" certainly is indicative of her over-all attitude concerning what constituted a good Jewish home. Ostensibly, the domestic role of the immigrant woman was confined to the task of creating a warm and pleasant home environment for her husband and children who were daily exposed to the bewildering and strange character of the new world. But she actually was much more than that. While her husband began to fall away from religious traditionalism, she took it upon herself to become the guardian of the old Jewish family values. In the later days of the North End Jewish community, the immigrant mother was the one who endeavored to give the home whatever Jewish characteristics it had. Her husband and children apparently just went along with her efforts to maintain an Orthodox Jewish home either simply out of habit or because they wanted to please her. The fact is that, religiously speaking, the mother became the head of the household; most of the other family members were either passive onlookers or emotionally-detached rote practitioners of religious rituals. Without her efforts, the household would in all probability have lost completely its waning links with the past. As Angoff writes, the mother "made the home what it was...[and] thousands of...Jewish homes in Boston were under a similar influence."[114] The immigrant mother,

therefore, was the conservative force in the family; she was anxious to preserve the continuity of the traditional Jewish family atmosphere. Hence, the mother took charge of the Jewish education of her children. Extending her efforts outward to the community, she also took over many religious and charitable activities and functions heretofore almost completely within the domain of her husband.

The immigrant mother was determined to retain the traditional aspects of her home and community; her fervid hope was that her children would retain a strong consciousness of their Jewish heritage. Her traditionalism was diametrically oppœed to the general progressive worldliness of her husband and children. She worked quietly, however, and hoped that her community efforts would have a positive effect upon her own family. Perhaps they did, for even in the days just before the World War, when the North End Jews were moving in steady streams toward the greener pastures of such suburbs as Brighton, West Roxbury and, especially, Mattapan-Dorchester, assimilative tendencies did not noticeably increase beyond the rate shown in the dying days of North End settlement.[115] However, it would seem that the day was just over the horizon when the new integrated Jewish mother would have to join her husband and children in the Americanization process, thereby facing the realities which living in another socio-economic milieu demanded. Her nostalgia for things past probably decreased and eventually disappeared in her

own ambitions of success for her children. Nevertheless, there remains a proud memory of the Jewish mother, so burdened by economic and domestic responsibilities, who took upon herself the added personal obligation of keeping traditionalism alive in a household which no longer wanted it. With the death of the North End Jewish community and the concomitant movement to the suburbs of Boston by the Russian Jews, so regrettably died an unique enclave of Jewish and domestic customs which were reminiscent of other days as well as of other times...

G. EDUCATION OF THE IMMIGRANT

In terms of the educational endeavors of the immigrant in Boston, we must explore two main areas. The first is Jewish education, and the second is secular education. Both areas were important for the immigrant, because the one enabled him to retain his connection with his faith, while the other prepared him for life in the new country.

Let us deal, first of all, with Jewish education. Here, the immigrant had to depend upon his own ability to organize a viable educational process and then apply it to the young. In choosing the form of Jewish education for their off-spring, the newly-arrived immigrants endeavored to duplicate the educational patterns utilized in Eastern Europe. This meant the instituting in Boston of the "cheder" form of education. The "cheder" approach was simple; all it took was a "rebbe"

who was privately subsidized by the parents of a number of Jewish children, a small, uncomfortable room, and a text. The "cheder" gave no grades of any kind, and its pedagogical approach was one of rigid authoritarianism. The teacher-pupil relationship was hardly conducive to a positive learning experience. The "rebbe" utilized physical means to show his dissatisfaction with a pupil's preparation of his homework, or his suspicion of his not having done it at all. The parents permitted the "rebbe" to punish their children physically, because this is the way they themselves had been taught. If it had been good enough for them, they thought, it was good enough for their children.[116]

During the early days of settlement by Russian Jews in the city of Boston, these "chadorim" proliferated. They taught a limited Jewish scholarship, offering little more than "courses" in the mechanical reading of Hebrew. Young boys were usually taught to read the "siddur," while their older brothers (girls were not sent to "cheder," since it was felt that a domestic education was more important for them than a strictly Jewish one) studied "Tanach" (Hebrew Bible). Occasionally one found a "cheder" which made provision for a "gemora-m'lamed"--a teacher of the Talmud--but these were certainly rare, as few immigrants were financially able to support these teaching specialists. This, of course, implies that the other teachers were hardly classifiable as pedagogically skilled. Indeed, The Jewish Advocate chided the

parents and the "chadorim" for permitting teachers who "are unsuited to the delicate and difficult task of instructing [the children]..."[117] These so-called teachers had no certification or diploma of any kind which would show that they were authorized to teach. They were chosen by parents who felt inwardly that these men had the ability to deal well with their children in a classroom experience, or that they at least had the proper approach toward Jewish learning. Because they were subsidizing the teacher, the parents thought that they should have a hand in the type of person who would teach their children. Since they did not really understand what objective pedagogical criteria should have been applied in selecting teachers, and since, moreover, good teachers were very scarce, parents usually chose men who, though demonstrating piety and love of Jewish learning, were most unsuited for teaching their children.

For those Jewish immigrants who could not afford to send their children to "cheder," there was always recourse to "an itinerant teacher who from time to time knocked at the door of his student's home with a 'Siddur' in his hand... and gave the reluctant youngster a half hour's instruction in Hebrew reading. He collected a nickel or a dime for his services."[118] This man was called a "Siddur-peddler" because of the "Siddur" which he carried with him wherever he went. This individual was a low scavenger-type, barely living off the few cents which Jews almost as poor as he gave him.

On the other side of the income scale, there were a few immigrants who had the financial wherewithal to afford to hire a teacher for the exclusive instruction of their own children. Wieder discusses the family of one Niman Freedman, of the North End, who hired a teacher for his children for the purpose of private tutoring. Freedman's comparative wealth allowed him to give the teacher board and room in exchange for the private instruction. The children were taught for a few hours each day, and Freedman himself took advantage of the presence of the "m'lamed" by studying Talmud with him on Saturday mornings.[119] It goes without saying that the general poverty of the early Russian Jews made arrangements for Jewish education such as those of Niman Freedman a rarity. The idea of "keeping a tutor" was a typically European custom, but one which was more or less restricted to the well-to-do. So it was with the Russian Jews in Boston during their early days of settlement. The majority of the Jews were forced to send their children to the "cheder," which hardly offered the same attractive approach to education as did the rare practice of private tutoring. As a matter of fact, the Board of Health passed unfavorable comments concerning "cheder" conditions in most parts of the city, and signs of "Premises Condemned" were hung on more than one "cheder" door. Indeed, the children were forced to study in small rooms which were unventilated and often foul.[120] Another problem to consider was the over-

all dearth of teachers. Alderman Bromberg, during a speech given in February, 1906, before the Jewish Citizen's Club of Ward 6 in Boston, lamented the fact that "there were but few Jewish teachers in the city of Boston and...in proportion to the vast number of Jewish children who are here, the number of Jewish teachers is wholly inadequate..."[121] As one can see, the problems of Jewish education during the days of the inadequate "cheder" system were myriad, and they certainly could only grow worse as the processes of assimilation began to make their inroads during the latter part of the first decade of the twentieth century. With Jewish education as handled by the immigrant himself being unsatisfactory, with acculturation gaining a greater foothold among the immigrants, and with secular education and its benefits gradually becoming paramount among them, something had to be done to help--first of all, to save Jewish education, and then to improve upon it.

There were two important organizations in the early 1900's which were devoted to the amelioration of Jewish educational processes in Boston. They wished to help not only the immigrants, who could not properly maintain educational institutions by themselves, but also the Reform Jews of the city, whose Jewish education was in most cases practically non-existent. One was the Central Jewish Committee, which was composed mainly of Rabbis who hoped to improve Jewish educational standards among Boston's Jews. It was

headed by Rabbi M. M. Eichler of Temple Ohabei Shalom. This Committee was rather inefficient, but because of the general lack of interest in Jewish education among the majority of Boston's influential Jews (most of whom were Reform Jews), no other organization was created to eclipse them and their inept and often lethargic attempts to improve Jewish education in the city. The immigrants themselves still lacked the financial ability or influence to create their own organization. It, therefore, was believed among Boston's Zionists that it was up to them to do it.

In 1907, the Zionist Council of Boston (made up mainly of prospering Russian Jews) began its educational work in the city of Boston with the founding of the Theodor Herzl School, which was done under the auspices of the Daughters of Zion.[122] The Herzl School, which stressed a broad range of Hebraic and Yiddish study, was but the beginning of the establishment of such schools. Between 1907 and 1910, the Zionist Council was responsible for the founding of schools in East Boston, the West End, Jamaica Plain, Dorchester, Everett and South Boston--all suburbs where the Jews were now beginning to settle in large numbers.[123] In 1909, the Council realized that the problem of Jewish survival in Boston was fast becoming one of giving Judaism a fair chance in competition with the Gentile culture. It was this culture more than any other which was daily expounded in the public schools that the Jews now attended. It seemed, therefore,

that the Jewish child could hardly avoid being influenced by this culture. In response to this challenge, The Zionist Council's Education Committee was instructed in February, 1909, to make an intensive study of the conditions of Jewish schools and institutions in Boston in order to draw up plans for a city-wide organization of Jewish schools to help offset the inculcation of Christian values in secular schools.

The Committee's study was completed in April, 1909, and by vote of the Council a conference of representatives of Jewish organizations was called for and held in the vestry of the Adath Jeshurun Synagogue. Organizations present included the Council of Jewish Women, Harvard's Zionist Society, the Zionist Council of Boston and Harvard's Menorah Society. The Committee's preliminary report was read, and a resolution was unanimously passed that a Committee on Jewish Education of Greater Boston be formed. The Committee would be comprised of representatives of all possible Jewish societies and organizations in the city. The function of the Committee would be to act as a schoolboard in charge of affairs and business concerning the proposed city-wide network of Jewish schools. The Zionist Council, meanwhile, was urged to go on with its general educational work, which it did. After another conference, a temporary Committee of Jewish Education was created.

It was at this point (i.e., January, 1910) that Rabbi Eichler, the head of the established Central Jewish Committee,

sent an angry letter of protest to The Jewish Advocate. He denounced the attempts of the Zionist Council's "young men," and stated that Rabbis, such as those comprising the C.J.C., were much better suited to deal with problems of Jewish education. But editor de Haas, who printed Rabbi Eichler's letter, added in a bitter accompanying editorial that, while "...the Rabbis have only...expressed grievances,...Zionist 'young men' have made substantive progress, especially with respect to making Boston face up to its serious problems of Jewish education."[124] He added that the Rabbis were definitely not as well suited as the Zionists to deal with problems of Jewish education because of their religious differences, and "...that Rabbi Moses Z. Margolies, who represents the religious opinion of the [Orthodox] Jewish majority in Boston, would not attend...[his] Committee's meetings [if] held in Rabbi Eichler's Temple!"[125] Another weakness of the Central Jewish Committee was that, although there were six men on its board, the opinions of only two of them--Eichler's and Margolies'--ever were really considered. Eichler charged that the Zionist effort was a duplication of that of the C.J.C.; however, the truth was that the C.J.C. had no real program of its own, and actually had borrowed from the Zionists' platform, which The Jewish Advocate had recently printed!

The Central Jewish Committee and the Zionist Council remained locked in competition for some time, but while they

feuded, the educational plans of neither organization could be fully realized. Cooler heads must have prevailed eventually, however, for the Zionist group apparently merged its educational resources with those of the Central Jewish Committee. This is implied by the fact that Mr. Henry Hurwitz, the president of the Zionist Council, is found working with Rabbi Eichler in April, 1910, on behalf of the Hebrew Independent Club of Ward 9 (South End), which was busily engaged in helping educate the poor immigrants living there.[126] Both were working under the banner of the Central Jewish Committee in this endeavor, so apparently the Zionists and the Rabbis were able to come to some agreement as to how Jewish education could be standardized in the city and thereby become more effective in offsetting the encroachments of Christian culture and values in the Jewish community. However, since no further mention was made in The Jewish Advocate up to World War I concerning the implementation of these plans, it is to be assumed that the whole idea of standardization of Jewish education in Boston was but a means utilized by the "Russian" Zionists to get a firmer foothold in the Jewish community of Boston. The Jewish Advocate is replete with articles showing the Zionists of "Russian" origin and the established religious coterie, which was comprised mainly of "German" Reform Jews, at loggerheads over various plans to improve the situation of the Jews of Boston. If the example of the Zionist plan to standardize Jewish education

in the city is any indication, then we have here an express attempt by the Russian Jews to take control of the Boston Jewish community away from the German Jews. Rabbi Eichler's defense in The Jewish Advocate was not so much on behalf of the Central Jewish Committee as it was on behalf of the Reform practices and policies of the German Jewish community. The waning of Zionist resistance as a reflection of Russian resistance to the way the Central Jewish Committee handled problems of Jewish education actually meant that, for the moment at least, the German Jews had held off their Russian Jewish competition. It would appear, however, that the tremendous backing which the Zionists received with respect to their plans for revamping Jewish education in Boston demonstrated that the writing was on the wall as far as the German Jews were concerned. Soon the Russian Jews, who by 1914 were in many cases almost as acculturated and as prosperous as their German coreligionists, would become the leading force in the Boston Jewish community--and it was competition over Jewish education that helped them eventually to win out.[127]

While the "cheder" system of education was at best imperfect, it helped form the basis for a better and certainly more efficacious system of education which eventually the more prosperous Russian Jews could afford to create and maintain. Indeed, as the former immigrants became wealthier and moved out of the squalor and general poverty of their North End ghetto and into the brighter world of Boston's suburbs,

they could utilize their talents and money to upgrade their Jewish schools as well as the quality of teaching. Charles Angoff recalls the excellence of such schools:

> Between 1910 and 1920...there were superb Hebrew schools everywhere, and one of them, Ivrioh, was probably the center of the whole 'Ivris b'Ivris' (Hebrew-speaking) movement in the country. Its teachers included some of the finest pedagogues in Jewish-American history. One need only mention Hirsch and Tumaroff and Pollack... They were enormously learned in their subjects ...[they had] complete and contagious dedication to their calling. Teaching in Hebrew school was to them not merely a vocation or a profession; it was a mission.[128]

This, of course, was a long way from the original "cheder," with its cramped quarters, its unhygienic conditions, and its unqualified, unprofessional teachers. Nevertheless, albeit tremendous improvements were made in Jewish education between 1881 and 1914, it still remained a problem. Indeed, it was getting harder to motivate the Jewish student to learn about his heritage. This was the same problem which faced the German Jewish community. The almost disinterested approach which the second-generation took with respect to its Jewish education prompted The Jewish Advocate to chide: "To such minds, history, tradition...all these things are empty and meaningless."[129] Even the most streamlined and efficient system of Jewish education would not be able to alter such an attitude of apathy and disinterest. Indeed, not only the German Jews were turning their backs on Jewish education; by 1914 the East European Jewish immigrant in Boston was also

guilty of lethargy in terms of learning about his heritage. It would, therefore, appear as fact that the more acculturated an ethnic group becomes, the less interest it is going to take with respect to perpetuating its own cultural and spiritual individuality. The tragedy of Boston's Jewish settlement--which was a tragedy of every minority group which ever endeavored to become assimilated into another, and larger, ethnic group--was that it sacrificed most of its uniqueness as a people and as a spiritual entity by allowing itself to be influenced completely by the material and social values of the outgroup. First it was the German Jews, and then it was the Russian Jews who permitted American values to dissolve their own heritage and turn it into a mere diluted form of that which once represented the uniquely Jewish past. Many, of course, would have defended the Jews' forfeiture of their heritage as a valid thrust toward self-preservation, and perhaps the assimilative predilections of the Jews of Boston may have been correctly explained in this way. However, the fact is that all the attempts to provide the immigrants with Jewish education could not prevent them from almost completely uprooting themselves from their Jewish past. Indeed, as we shall soon see, it took the pain of outgroup rejection of their presence to remind them of their true identity as Jews. As The Jewish Advocate editorialized in its May 30, 1913 issue: "[As far as Jewish education is concerned, one] can no more tackle the job as a whole than the ocean can be emptied by

buckets..."[130]

On the other hand, the attempts by various organizations to inculcate American values and culture was comparatively an easier and much more successful task. The most important value grasped by the Jew was the vital necessity of procuring a good secular education in order to realize another important secular value of America's capitalistic society--material acquisition.[131] The immigrants knew that they could escape their feeling of foreignness and their lowly socio-economic status by conforming more to the image of an American citizen. This meant, first of all, undergoing the process of naturalization. For this purpose, special classes were set up in 1906 by the YMHA at the Civic House in Boston, and there schoolteachers taught the immigrants how to read and write English. Perhaps the most important course at the Civic House was the teaching of the American Constitution.[132] During the summer months, when the weather became hot and humid, the Civic House moved its courses to the evening hours, and set them up on the roof garden. These famous "Roof Garden Classes," which included courses in English, American history and the American Constitution, were a big help to those immigrants who, because of exhaustion or illness, would otherwise have had to postpone attendance at the classes until the winter.[133] The Civic House program was so successful that later on the YMHA set up a similar institution in the South End.[134] The Civic House program

was but one of many such programs which were especially founded for the express purpose of educating the first-generation immigrant in the language and customs of this country, so that he would be able to communicate with other Americans as well as compete with them in business.[135]

While the first-generation immigrants were occupied with naturalization, they were ambitious for their children as well. They saw how much benefit the non-Jewish children derived from a good secular education, and they wished the same for their own offspring. Yet, beyond these practical considerations was an adoration for learning in itself, which had been part of the Jewish psychology for many centuries. This esteem for education per se made the immigrant Jew more than willing to accept and take advantage of the opportunities of learning which America offered him. But it was mostly for economic uplifting that the immigrant wanted a good secular education for himself and even more for his sons. Hence, the enthusiasm for learning once manifested only in the obtaining of Jewish knowledge became the springboard for his hopes and ambitions for economic improvement. However, it was not until the second generation of Jews in Boston reached school age that the ambitions that their fathers had originally sought for themselves reached fruition. Indeed, it was the offspring who made the economic inroads, but it was the father who realized the dream.[136]

An amazing fact is that almost as soon as they began to attend Boston's public schools in the early 1900's, the Jewish students dominated their non-Jewish counterparts in practically every area of academic endeavor. From 1900 to 1905, for instance, 30 percent of the Franklin medals (i.e., prizes which were presented to the most outstanding students in the grammar schools of Boston) were won by Jewish boys. This proportion of prizes was more than twice that to which they were entitled to receive on the basis of the number of Jews attending the schools.[137] On the high-school level, the intellectual accomplishments of Jewish students were even more impressive. At the two leading high schools--Boston English and Boston Latin--the Jews won the greater share of almost every available academic prize. As early as 1905, we find that the prize for rhetoric had developed into a contest between six boys, all of whom were Jewish! The Jews also led the way where extra-curricular activities were concerned. At English High School, there was an organization known as "The Cadets," which had a prominent place in the school's annual parade. Records show that of the 152 officers, thirty-four were Jewish, with one of them making the rank of Major in the high-school battalion.[138] At Latin School, a brilliant Jewish boy, Isadore A. Wyner, won the prize for rhetoric in 1909 with an original poem. But he did not stop here; he became the first Jew to win two prizes at Latin by also capturing the first prize in original composition.[139]

Once they saw that they could succeed in competition with non-Jews in the area of secular education, the Jews began to attend Boston's public schools in larger numbers. In 1914, 1,552 Jewish children graduated the city's elementary schools, which was 25% of the total number of graduates. The percentage of Jewish students to over-all graduates was even higher in the high schools. Not including the Roxbury Memorial High School, there were 462 Jewish boys and girls graduating from Boston's high schools out of a grand total of 1,899 graduates, which makes the Jewish percentage about 24.3%. This meant that the percentage of Jews getting a secular education exceeded their total percentage in the general population by better than 200 percent![140]

Even on the college and university level, Jews began to make their presence noticed. By 1906, there were enough Jewish students at Harvard College to found the Menorah Society, a pro-Zionist body devoted to study and promotion of Hebraic culture and ideals. The Society eventually came to have great influence in Boston's Jewish affairs. Harvard also had a Semitic Committee, and it was the reputation of this body as well as that of the Menorah Society which attracted to its forums even in their earliest days such outstanding American Jews as the renowned New York financier and philanthropist Jacob Schiff.[141] Also, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology reported an increase in Jewish enrollment as early as 1905.[142]

Most of the early immigrant settlers, however, could not afford to send their children to Boston's high schools and colleges. In the North End, graduating from the Eliot School (for boys) and the John Hancock School (for girls) constituted for most immigrant children the end of their formal education. While all immigrants agreed on the necessity of public school education, the recognition of a need for higher education was much slower to develop. This was particularly true in the case of girls. "College was not necessary for girls in those days. They just had to learn how to cook."[143] The main reason for limitations to secular education was economic. Schooling, although desirable, was an expensive venture. Furthermore, by the time children graduated from grammar school, they were old enough to render service in the store or on peddling trips. By going to school, the young man removed himself as a possible source of income, and instead strained an already hard-pressed family budget. To those who could afford it, high school and college were very attractive, but it took a later-developing positive turn in the economic fortunes of the Russian Jews in general to make higher education possible for more of them.

While the first-generation immigrant struggled to make higher education possible for his offspring, he himself was experiencing difficulties in obtaining the basic education necessary for fitting into the American scene. The Civic House and its sister organizations had been doing as much as

possible to provide instruction for the immigrant. However, as the early 1900's brought more and more immigrants to Boston, those organizations found themselves so overloaded with work that they could not possibly provide a basic education for all who wanted or needed it. As a result, only a lucky few were receiving the secular learning necessary for acculturation, while the vast majority were not. Indeed, one might consider this predicament a repetition of that of earlier days in the North End when the immigrant had just arrived and, because he spoke no English and had little opportunity to learn about American customs, was forced to accept a life of isolation and indigence. The only difference between these days and the earlier ones is that the problem was magnified many times because of the much greater number of immigrants settling in the city. The Jewish Advocate described the sad situation of the immigrant who needed, but generally could not get, a good basic education in English and American customs:

> In the immigrants' heroic struggle for a foothold in this country, nothing proves more stubborn, at first, than his ignorance of the English language. From the moment he lands until the happy moment when he, at last, drops his vernacular and begins to speak and think in English, he is constantly at a disadvantage.
>
> All avenues of information, the sign, the policeman, the newspaper, are closed to him.
>
> The very means of a livelihood are denied him. He cannot take to peddling; he cannot learn a trade; he cannot obtain work, even if he has a trade, because he cannot talk...

> [According to the] Free Employment Office for immigrant Distribution, hundreds of immigrants, all good mechanics, were turned away because they could not talk English. "Can he speak a LITTLE?" was the final question of nearly every employer. To have answered "no," was to have "called off the deal."
>
> Unfortunately the aid which is extended to them in this up-hill work has been up-to-date, limited in extent and weak in kind. The schools of the most crowded districts in our foreign quarters have only cast a deeper shadow on the dark path of a weary immigrant who, of an evening, his only chance for rest, wandered out in quest of knowledge...[144]

The immigrant found most daytime schools closed to him, and it was only later that a few of the existing night schools opened their doors to him. Outside of the aforementioned Civic House and a few other such organizations, the city did not or could not help the burgeoning population of East European Jewish immigrants become acculturated through a satisfactory program of secular education. Even the night schools could not get many Jewish immigrants to their classes because they were tired after a day of arduous toil, but more so because the schools did not announce the opening of their terms in Yiddish. It was not until 1903 that the city of Boston realized that, to interest the immigrant Jews (as well as members of other immigrant groups), it would have to invite them in their own tongue. As a matter of fact, it would be necessary for the night schools to employ teachers who could speak the lingua franca of the immigrants if they were to learn anything at all.[145]

Another problem with which the immigrant had to deal even if he were fortunate enough to gain entrance into a night school was the method of teaching employed by the school. It would appear that the immigrants, some of whom were intellectually superior to their teachers, were treated in the classroom as if they were but children. They were given a child's primer from which to learn English, and then taught as if they were small children who had never been subjected to organized learning experiences before in their lives. The Jewish Advocate suggested to those schools that their method of teaching English should be more pragmatic, with a focus upon common, everyday objects utilized in daily life (e.g., objects in the kitchen, the bedroom, etc.), with illustrations in books and drawings on the blackboard to act as teaching aids.[146] There is no primary documentation to show that the night schools took any or all of the newspaper's suggestions. It is, therefore, to be supposed that, despite their good intentions, these schools continued plodding along, improving their teaching methods little if at all, and thereby helping the immigrant less than he probably would have preferred in learning the English language. The situation of the immigrant Jews became worse when Congress passed laws which tightened up the requirements for citizenship and employment. They said in effect that no one under twenty-one years of age could be employed in a factory unless he passed an examination enabling him to obtain an employment certificate.

The examination would consist of reading and writing simple sentences in English. As far as naturalization was concerned, this would be contingent upon passing a test similar to that for obtaining a work permit. It would examine the immigrant's ability to read, write and speak English or some other language. No "X"s representing personal signatures would be allowed.[147] While apparently these laws were meant to protect native labor and restrict immigration to America's shores, and were among the first of many attempts to keep foreign people out of the country, they served also to keep the channels of employment restricted almost completely to peddling for those already here. The seriousness of the situation can be seen by the fact that, of the 129,110 Jewish immigrants who passed through the Boston port in 1905, 23,557 were illiterate.[148] What would the mass of illiterate immigrants do for a living? Was there possibly enough peddling trade in Boston to go around for all of them? Or would they become completely dependent upon the Jewish community for their support? These were very pressing questions which needed successful solutions in order to prevent the precipitation of an economic crisis in the Jewish community of Boston potentially so dangerous as perhaps to be able to crush the community entirely.

Our sources seem to show a paradox in the Jewish community of Boston. Earlier East European arrivals to the city were beginning to achieve prosperity because of their

exposure to a basic secular education provided by the Civic House and similar institutions. Moreover, because of this growing prosperity, their offspring were beginning to excel in competition with non-Jewish youngsters in the secular schools of the city. Both parent and child had, for the most part, ingested the American value of a good secular education and were now ready to reap the fruits of second-generation success in this area. On the other hand, the later arrivals to the city were starving and threatening to become dependent upon their brethren--the German Jews and the new prospering Russian Jews of the 1880-1900 era. It was, therefore, up to both elements of the established Jewish community to get together to provide these indigent Jewish settlers with encouragement and, especially, with philanthropic aid.

H. PHILANTHROPY AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE IN THE BOSTON JEWISH COMMUNITY

If it were not for the various philanthropic organizations which were created and maintained by Boston's Jews during the years of heavy Russian Jewish immigration, it is probably unlikely that the latter would have been able to survive. It took, however, a definite affirmation by the older generation of Jews (i.e., the early community of German Jews) to assume the responsibility for their Russian brethren. This affirmation manifested itself in the creation of the Boston Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society, whose sole responsibility

was to aid the immigrant. Unfortunately, however, when its London counterpart, the Mansion House Fund, sent 415 refugees to Boston in June, 1882, the Society did not accept them, but inexplicably shipped them on instead to New York. By this act, the Society exhausted its existing funds and was thereby forced to disband.[149]

This failure by the German Jewish community was bad enough, but another one a year later was even worse. During the winter of 1883, many Russian Jews were in need of charity; however, the city's established Jews were too slow in providing it. Hence, some eighteen families became disillusioned and wished to return to Russia. The President of the now defunct Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society approved this idea, but was unable to finance it. The immigrants, therefore, turned to a non-Jewish organization, the Boston Provident Association, for the financial help that their own community would not provide. The Provident Association appointed the President of the Emigrant Aid Society to provide the money to help these Russian Jews return to their homeland. Unfortunately, this action did not satisfy the immigrants, who simply went ahead with their demands for assistance from the Provident Association. After some months of such demands, the Association decided to provide the Russian Jews with the financial assistance which would allow them to return home. The Association then hired an interpreter of Yiddish to inform the immigrants that they ought to go to the Commonwealth Alms

House in the town of Tewksbury, so that the state would properly be able to handle the affair. The interpreter told the people that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts would pay the passage home for all those who wished to go. All that the Jews would have to do is spend some time in the state poor house. Some went to the poor house, but were apparently very disappointed at the lack of substantive action taken by the Association. It would seem that the state's solution of the problem of an indigent Russian Jew who wished to return home was simply to have him go to the poor house, where he would probably have to remain without help for the rest of his days. At any rate, the Massachusetts Board of Charities did agree to send back to Eastern Europe all those indigent Jews whom the influential Jacob Hecht thus recommended. At the same time, the Boston Provident Association provided some temporary assistance for all those Jews recommended by Hecht, who was then the President of the United Hebrew Benevolent Association. Up to that moment, the U.H.B.A. had not really involved itself in the affairs of the Russian immigrant. It actually took the interventions of two non-Jewish charitable organizations--the Boston Provident Organization and the Board of Charities--to wake Boston's German Jewish community up to the fact that the Jewish immigrants were their responsibility. The Tewksbury incident prompted the United Hebrew Benevolent Association to reconsider its policy toward the immigrant. By 1889,

therefore, the Association was already engaged in activities on behalf of the Russian Jewish immigrant. It sought out full responsibility for Jewish immigrants to Boston. This is seen by the fact that it petitioned the Treasurer of the United States to grant permission to the Association to represent detained immigrants at deportation hearings. In that same year, the right to present proper evidence in cases involving Jewish immigrants was given to the United Hebrew Benevolent Association.[150]

By 1895, some of the Russian Jews were financially able to provide for the creation of self-help organizations for those of their brethren yet to come from Eastern Europe. Hence, each group--the German Jews and the Russian Jews--founded an organization dedicated to immigration aid. These were the American Committee for Ameliorating the Condition of the Russian Refugees and the Benoth Israel Sheltering Home. These institutions showed microcosmically how far apart the German and Russian Jewish communities of Boston were. For even though both institutions had the same basic goals, they carried out different tasks and even received financial support from different groups of Jews in the city. The big difference between the communities, however, was seen in the type and degree of help which each institution could and did provide. The German Jews were in a better position to provide the immigrants with jobs, since the Germans were much better acquainted with American business practices.

The Russian Jews, however, were not well acquainted with these business practices, nor were they as financially able to help their brethren as were the Germans. The best that they could do was provide them with temporary shelter and food. The difference in scope of activity does not necessarily mean that the organizations were in competition with each other. On the contrary, the very fact that the work in which each institution engaged complemented that of the other must have meant a measure of cooperation and concord. "The significant accomplishment of these years is the achievement of a spirit of co-operation among the disparate groups."[151]

There was another Tewksbury affair which showed the amount of co-operation between the German Jews and the Russian Jews through their respective immigrant aid societies and the functions which each institution carried out:

> Eleven Jews were detained [in 1891] on the charge of receiving illegal assistance in migration, and were sent to the Tewksbury Alms House. On learning this, the President of the Sheltering Home consulted with Mr. [Lehmann] Pickert, President of the United Hebrew Benevolent Association, on the best way to free the detainees. The two men retained Owen A. Galvin, attorney, who entered a protest. Meanwhile, the [Benoth Israel Sheltering] Home supplied bond for the immigrants, and sent supplies of kosher food to the Alms House. The President of the Benevolent Association succeeded in arranging for the release of all the Tewksbury immigrants...[152]

Later immigrant aid institutions more or less paralleled these early organizations, except the work which they did,

as well as the methods employed to carry them out, was more sophisticated and more amply financed. This meant a wider and more efficient coverage of aid given. Moreover, new services supplementing or even supplanting some of those already provided could be added, depending on the needs of the immigrant at any particular moment. These new services often made obsolete those provided by the older institutions. Insofar as the work of the Russian-founded Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society was concerned, there was much activity which paralleled the endeavors of the Benoth Israel Sheltering Home. The work of the Home began to decline, however, as the Russian Jewish community gradually prospered. The newcomers to Boston soon were able to turn to their families and friends who were now gaining an economic foothold in the city. This made the Sheltering Home's work of providing temporary shelter and food less necessary. On the other hand, the growing complications concerning immigration procedures and the increasing number of deportation cases caused the immigrants to be more in need of legal aid. This was a service which the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society could and did provide. As a result, the Sheltering Home suffered financially, although it continued to function through 1914, since its services were apparently still needed by a portion of the immigrant population.[153]

In terms of the early German contribution to immigrant aid the American Committee for Ameliorating the Condition of

the Russian Refugees, Boston Branch, which added a Free Employment Bureau in 1892, also began to lose importance for the same reason that the Benoth Israel Sheltering Home did. More and more family members and friends were securing jobs for newcomers to the city. However, with the numbers of Russian Jewish immigrants in Boston reaching almost overwhelming proportions, a need for immigrant dispersal was created. Hence, under the financial auspices of the Baron de Hirsch Fund, the Industrial Removal Office was created. The principal job of the Boston Branch was to encourage the settlement of skilled laborers in the small towns of Massachusetts. The Jewish Advocate reported in July, 1914, on the success of this venture. It said that in 1901, for instance, the total Jewish population in such towns as Chicopee, Holyoke, North Adams, Northampton, Pittsfield, and Springfield totalled only 1,100. Thirteen years later, however, the town of Holyoke alone had more than that number of Jews. Moreover, there were now Jews settling in towns which heretofore had never known a Jewish resident. These included the communities of Athol, Turner's Falls, Shelbourne Falls, Deerfield, Greenfield, and Westfield. By World War I, there were about 11,000 Jews living in towns west of Boston, which was a ten-fold growth in Jewish population from the beginning of the project in the early 1900's.[154] In the years between 1903 and 1914, the Office assisted almost 2,600 Russian Jewish immigrants.[155]

It was through their efforts on behalf of immigrant aid that the German and Russian Jewish communities were able to find a mutual interest and eventual cooperation. It was not until a concerted effort to create a network of philanthropic agencies was made, however, that the means and the basis for an united Jewish community were found. Indeed, between the years 1881 and 1914, Jewish charity in Boston became transformed from an informal, inexpensive venture into a sophisticated, well-financed and highly organized one. In the days of German Jewish settlement in Boston, the only philanthropic aid societies in the city were the aforementioned United Hebrew Benevolent Association and an organization of Jewish women called in its early days the Hebrew Ladies' Sewing Society. This group, which was organized by Mrs. Jacob Hecht, supplemented the financial assistance of its brother organization with blankets and clothing.[156] The fact that these two organizations were the only ones existing by the time that the Russian Jews began settling in Boston shows how little the German Jews needed charity. On the other hand, the growth of Jewish philanthropy during the next thirty years demonstrates equally well just how much their Russian brethren needed it.

The great wave of immigration commencing in the 1880's made it clear almost immediately how inadequate the existing philanthropic structure was to cope with this new situation. The many new immigrants coming to Boston precipitated a crisis in philanthropy. The immigrants needed more than the

temporary assistance which the United Hebrew Benevolent Association and the Hebrew Women's Sewing Society (the organization's new name) were able to provide. The truth was that the Russian Jews needed permanent jobs, housing, sustenance and general security. These things could not be provided by the Benevolent Association and the Sewing Society alone. Help was needed, and it was needed immediately.

The economic crisis among Boston's Jewish immigrant population became more widespread and intensive. North End children went through the streets selling inexpensive objects or simply begging for money. The Jewish Chronicle of Boston describes such a scene:

> Every night on a stroll through the principal streets of Boston you will find little ragged Jewish urchins, usually in small crowds, banding on corners with a small bundle of papers. You are first greeted with "Mister, please buy a paper." and then, "Mister, please give me a few cents." I met little J.---E.---. His father is in the rag business. He turned springs and somersaults at the rate of three for a nickel. Come and take these children off the streets![157]

By the 1890's, the United Hebrew Benevolent Association realized that it could not by itself accomplish the responsibility of providing philanthropic aid for the Russian Jewish immigrant. As a matter of fact, effective charitable activity would require the concerted efforts of all the philanthropic organizations then beginning to emerge in Boston, as well as those subsequently created to cope with

the socio-economic crisis facing the Russian Jews. Hence, at the annual meeting of the U.H.B.A. in February, 1893, Rabbi Solomon Schindler of Temple Adath Israel was named chairman of a special committee to get in touch with other philanthropic groups in order to pool their resources by effecting an amalgamation among all of them. After two years of planning and discussions, the amalgamation of Boston's philanthropic organizations was completed. This general organization of the city's charities was called the Federation of Jewish Charities and may very well have been the first such Federation of its kind in America.[158]

As far as the internal arrangements of the Federation were concerned, it was proposed and the motion accepted, first of all, to include the United Hebrew Benevolent Association and the Hebrew Women's Sewing Society, with the Leopold Morse Home (an orphanage), the Boston Branch of the Baron de Hirsch Fund, and the Chevra Kadesha (i.e., the Charitable Burial Society).[159] The member agencies were to continue to collect and distribute charity as they had done in the past, and Rabbi Schindler was to organize a central registration office and raise a corps of volunteer fund-raisers.[160] Eventually, it was decided to have every contribution of a charitable nature, no matter for which particular charity it was originally intended, become part of the Federation's over-all treasury. It was then up to the Federation's Finance Committee to arrange the division of

the funds between each deserving organization with allocations made according to the needs of the individual member institutions.[161] This plan to divide all the funds among the Federation's charities according to the needs of the individual organizations was a good one if seen as an attempt to make the Federation a more efficient body, one whose work was centralized and well organized. However, it had its drawbacks as well, because in concentrating the work, the Federation automatically gained absolute control of all the funds of its member agencies.[162] It would seem that the division of the monies would have been scrutinized very closely by each agency, and in all probability they would have had disagreements about how the money was distributed. However, since there were apparently no reports of such disagreements, one may surmise that vested interests were not permitted by the Federation to interfere with the carrying through of policies which would ameliorate the critical economic situation which then faced the Jewish immigrants in Boston.

The work by the Federation of Jewish Charities of Boston was unquestionably efficient and certainly successful. The Federation accomplished its first goal, which was the raising of funds adequate to meet the demands of immigrant aid. In its first year of operation, the Federation expended $27,628, which was an increase of 280% over what had been raised by Boston's charities in 1893, and 700% over 1889.[163] By 1905, the Boston Charities combined were spending about $75,000

annually in order to carry out their work in a thorough manner. Of that needed sum, the Federation provided about $43,000,[164] with the rest apparently either coming from non-Federation sources or being used by non-Federation agencies.

The importance of forming a Federation of Jewish Charities in Boston cannot be exaggerated. In earlier days, the important step had been to unite the leading German Jewish philanthropic institutions. Now, the important move was the inclusion of these philanthropic organizations which were supported by the Russian Jews themselves. In February, 1908, the Federation officially expanded, including now the Mt. Sinai Dispensary, the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, and the Benoth Israel Sheltering Home.[165] This Greater Federation of Jewish Charities survived a couple of difficult Boston winters, and even prospered to the point of being able eventually to spend large sums of money without recourse to emergency funds. The prosperity which the Greater Federation experienced in the years prior to World War I would seem to have demonstrated a high degree of harmony between German and Russian Jews, at least insofar as their mutual philanthropic endeavors were concerned. Moreover, not only did the two groups experience good relations among their individual charities and institutions, but they also began to work well together by uniting German and Russian organizations under a common heading and administration. This was espe-

cially true in terms of the philanthropic efforts by German and Russian Jews toward the aged and the orphaned.

In March, 1889, the Leopold Morse Home had been founded under the auspices of a German Jewish institution, the Montefiore Home and Aid Society. The Morse Home was subsidized by the Montefiore Society and the Hebrew Women's Sewing Society, and it therefore operated comfortably as an orphanage. The Russian Jews, however, did not use the orphanage's services. Instead, they purchased the property of the Saint Elizabeth Hospital and converted it into a home for destitute children. The idea of a Russian-sponsored home for destitute children was the brainstorm of a new group of Russian Jewish immigrant women, the Ladies' Helping Hand Society. At their annual meeting in 1897, they publicly announced that they were about to raise a fund for an orphan's home. Many Russian Jews did not receive the news with joy, since they were well aware that the Leopold Morse Home already existed, and that probably all that could result from this move by the Helping Hand Society would be conflict with the German Jews. The Society did not wish to incur opposition to its idea, so the plan was changed and a fund was raised for the establishment of a temporary home. A meeting was held at the Beth Israel Synagogue to discuss the opening of such an institution. After weeks of arduous work, a committee was selected to procure the home and to see to the particulars necessary for opening it to the public. Hence, in

1899, the Saint Elizabeth Hospital was bought by Mr. Samuel Borofsky, a Russian Jew who dabbled in politics. The opening of this institution, which was given the name of "The Helping Hand Temporary Home for Destitute Children," was held on December 24, 1899.[166]

The Temporary Home operated successfully, and without the aid of any organized philanthropic aid, for a number of years. Its success as a privately-endowed institution was so outstanding that in July, 1905, The Jewish Advocate was proudly able to proclaim: "Unaided by any large donations from any one or more philanthropists, the institution has grown steadily until at present it stands free of any debt and through its many demands it is compelled to enlarge its quarters."[167] Therefore, in 1907, the Home's supporters purchased land for a larger building, and they set about erecting it on property facing Franklin Park in Roxbury.[168] The cornerstone for the Temporary Home was laid in 1910, $30,000 of a needed $100,000 was already in the Home's coffers, and The Jewish Advocate, in reflecting the opinion of many of its readers, strongly suggested a consolidation of the Temporary Home with its older sister institution, the Leopold Morse Home.[169] The Temporary Home suffered some financial setbacks, but construction continued. Finally, in 1911, the Federation agreed to the merger of the Temporary Home and the Leopold Morse Home. The merger was completed in December, 1912, when the director of the Leopold

Morse Home accepted the terms for the union of the two homes.

The merger of the German-sponsored Leopold Morse Home and the Russian-sponsored Temporary Home for Destitute Children was indicative of two very important developments in the Boston Jewish community: a) Russian-German unity of institutional effort was now on the way to becoming a reality. This, however, would not have been possibleunless b) the Russian Jews achieved equality with the Germans as measured by affluence, efficiency in administration and, probably, also acculturation.[170] It would appear that it was even desirable now for the German Jews to include the Russian Jews in their philanthropic plans. Indeed, when doctors and leaders of the German Jewish community founded the Mt. Sinai Dispensary in 1903, they took the initiative of asking the Russian Jews to participate in the support of the institution through a Mt. Sinai Society and Ladies' Auxiliary. But the inactivity of the Russian Jews in this project was quite noticeable. Finally, the Russian Jews abandoned the Mt. Sinai Dispensary completely in order to work on a project of their own--the foundation of the Beth Israel Hospital. Although the German Jews did not look too favorably upon this project at the time, they eventually came around, and after 1914, both the Russian Jews and the German Jews worked together on the Beth Israel Hospital project.[171]

The growing cooperation between the Russian and German Jewish communities, as seen in the examples of the Leopold Morse Home and the Temporary Home and the Mt. Sinai and Beth

Israel Hospitals, shows that dissimilar groups of Jews can find the means for rapprochement on a community level. Even though these means were found in the economic crises of their immigrant brethren, they still helped bring about the desired results. Mutual philanthropic endeavors were the key which opened the door to community cooperation between Russian and German Jews, and they also gave hope for an evolving unity between the two groups in the years to come.

1. JEWISH-CHRISTIAN RELATIONS IN BOSTON

To say that the Boston Brahmins and the immigrants who came to their city did not get along very well with one another would be to indulge in gross understatement. The majority of Brahmins were restrictionists; they preferred to keep Boston free from any and all immigrant groups, not just Jews. Know-Nothing prejudice had wreaked havoc among Boston's nativist population, the tensions with the immigrant Irish Catholics leaving a generally bad taste in their mouths. The Russian Jews, however, did provoke interest and comment. Strictly speaking, the Jews were not new to Boston by the time that the Russians began to arrive. After all, the German Jews had occupied residences in Boston from the middle 1800's, and individual Jews had been known to live in the city well before that. A very complex tradition entered into the contemporary view of the Russian immigrant:

> The oldest part of that tradition was intellectual: first, the admiration for the ancient Hebrew as the fountainhead of Christianity, inherited from the seventeenth-century Puritans; second, guilt and sympathy for the persecuted Jew, stimulated by the philosophy of humanitarianism in the nineteenth century.[172]

The German Jewish settlement in the 1840's, however, added an aesthetic image of the Jew--and one which did not coincide with his lefty heritage. He was now seen also as a lowly peddler with a German accent, and a foreigner who was ridiculed for his abstinence from pork.[173] Moreover, the Brahmins feared as well as admired the Jew's ability to make money. The protests of James Russell Lowell and Henry Adams were characteristic of a new reaction. English intellectuals (e.g., Thomas Carlyle) resented the presence of Jews in proper European society, as well as their vital role in the economic life of the British Empire. This prominence of Jews in overseas economics confused the Brahmins, who sometimes reflected their own insecurity in the dread image of the Jews as international bankers by such protests against Jewish immigration as those raised by Lowell and Adams. This resentment of the Anglophile Boston Brahmin minority was extended to include the poor Russian Jewish immigrant who came to the city. The so-called "scientific" interpretations of presumably unbiased reformers and sociologists gave a new meaning to the strength of the ancient Hebrew, and thereby helped transform the harmless image of the indigent Russian

Jewish immigrant into a questionable stereotype.[174]

The English social reformer Arnold White was influential in fanning the flames of fear and unrest among Boston's nativists. White warned Americans that London had become a kind of way station where thousands of physically-deficient and indigent Jews were being prepared to meet the examinations at Ellis Island. White's remarks apparently set off similar reactions among staunch Boston restrictionists. Robert DeC. Ward believed, as did White, that America was only encouraging the despotic practices of European countries when it became willing to accept their "worst" classes of people. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge doubted that the country could make good Americans out of Russian Jews. Russian Jews began to be regarded with skepticism. Racist William Z. Ripley had uncomplimentary views about Russian Jews which facilitated a rather uncongenial image of the Jew.[175]

Eventually, the intellectuals could find something negative to say about the Jew no matter what good traits he showed. For instance, his low rate of mortality and criminality might have been considered an index to the Jew's resistance to social and physical degeneration. The compliment was sometimes dubious, however, as it implied a fixity of purpose and an imperviousness to environment as well as a detachment from the American scene. Moreover, consistent with the Russian Jew's self-imposed isolation, he certainly had to be too individualistic.[176]

By the early 1900's anti-Semitism was surely a fact of the Jew's existence. It was believed that his biological nature made it impossible for him to fit into the American way of life. Indeed, eugenicists such as Dr. Charles B. Davenport believed that the Russian Jew had too much intense individualism and too many ideals of gain at the cost of any interest to allow him to find compatibility with the majority of Boston's population. The latter, who were mostly English and Scandinavian in make-up, had values which seemingly made for greater community commitment, more honest techniques for personal advancement and more desire to inculcate other family members with religious and patriotic ideals.[177] The Jew was an object of deprecation and social ostracism in the early years of the twentieth century. Although stereotypes fluctuated in emphasis, the total impression apparently gained credence. Negative experiences with Jews probably became generalized, whereas positive experiences with Jews may have been either disregarded as deviating from the norm, or reinterpreted to have negative meaning. The Anglo-Saxon value system, it would seem, served as the standard, and any variance from the system by any outgroup was tantamount to being inferior to that system. The Anglo-Saxon image of all other minority groups was most likely ethically impersonal, which would in all probability make it impossible to appeal to the Brahmins on moral grounds to accept the outgroup happily into their community. The

Brahmins apparently had made up their minds that they would not be "tainted" by Jews or any other outgroups. Hence, up until World War I, their approach to the immigrants was most likely restricted to ignoring them through social ostracism (though they probably continued to trade with them) or openly attacking them in the harshest possible ways.

The anti-Jewish feelings of Boston's nativist population was most clearly seen in daily intercourse between the Jews and their non-Jewish neighbors. Indeed, more than once the non-Jews kept from the Jews many life-preserving services. In the human jungle of the North End, a doctor's care was hard to obtain. The Jews always dreaded having to call a non-Jewish doctor, because, more often than not, he would not heed even the cries of a dying child. In October, 1895, The American Hebrew reported the following incident:

> The Jews living in Boston's Ghetto are having a hard time of it. The laws are being made to oppress them heavily and a physician living among them refused to treat them, showing a lack of humanity that should cause him to be read out of the profession.
>
> A little child fell into a tub of water, and when taken out by the frantic mother was unconscious, and was carried to the office of Dr. C. Lobron, 130 Salem St.
>
> Although the mother got down on her knees, it is claimed that the door was shut in her face, with the statement: "We don't want any Jews; what's more, we will not treat them."
>
> The mother carried her child back to her rooms, and friends did all in their power

> to resuscitate the little one, but without success.
>
> A witness called on The Boston Globe, and according to his story the child's life could have been saved by a few moments' work by a physician.
>
> To test the truth of the statements made concerning Dr. Gobron, a Globe man called on him, and here is what he said: "I don't go to the Jewish people for my practice. I don't propose to have a house full of tramps.
>
> "I am a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society, and none of the big professors disturb themselves over these cases.
>
> "What are the hospitals for, and what are the ambulances for?
>
> "I am here to make my living, not to wait on people for nothing, especially 'sheenies.'"[178]

The bitterly anti-Jewish feeling reflected in the actions and words of Dr. Gobron were, unfortunately, too typical. Moreover, it was seen in practically all aspects of the Jews' relationships with non-Jews. It was especially seen in the areas of education, religious practices, immigration restrictions, the communication media, and general social intercourse between Jews and non-Jews.

Insofar as education is concerned, we find here perhaps the greatest cause for sorrow, because it is in this area of life that Jewish children came into sharp and most unpleasant contact with anti-Jewish prejudice. Despite the fact that he was winning most of the academic prizes, the Jewish child was never really allowed to enjoy his success

outside the fold of his own family or of the Jewish community. The Jewish child was never allowed to forget his Jewish identity. The best way of doing this was ostracism of the Jew when it came to extra-curricular activities. The Jewish Advocate, in an editorial printed in its May 27, 1910, issue, lambasted the fraternities and the presidents of the various colleges in the Boston area for their attitude toward the Jewish students in their midst. The editorial said that since the fraternities have been excluding Jewish students from their ranks, the latter have been forming their own social ranks. The presidents of the colleges, however, denounced the Jewish students for the solely Jewish membership of their social groups. The editorial chided the presidents for taking such a stand. The Jews would in all probability not have formed Jewish clubs if the non-Jewish fraternities had not practiced social exclusiveness and ostracism in the first place. However, the college presidents did not say anything to the non-Jewish fraternities--only to the Jewish social clubs.[179] This shifting of the onus of blame by non-Jewish educators from the non-Jewish culprits to the Jewish students was probably typical of weak men in academic "hot seats" who, in order to save their own skins in a ticklish situation, would take the easy way out. And, of course, the easy way out was to blame the Jews, who could not help but come out of the situation having even less of a good image than before.

Jewish students suffered in other ways. For instance, it was reported to The Jewish Advocate that professors in certain colleges and universities in Boston gave low grades or even zeros to students who happened to be Jews. Moreover, these same institutions had quota restrictions on Jewish matriculation.[180] Jewish students were also forced to read negative remarks about themselves in college textbooks. At Harvard College, for instance, a history textbook included the remark: "The expulsion of the Jews from Russia was justifiable."[181] At Marlborough High School, the school newspaper, The Clarion, printed a comic dictionary. One of the editions of the paper included in this dictionary the following definition: "'Arson,' derived from the Hebrew (see insurance)."[182] This obvious reference to the stereotype of the Jew who would burn down his business premises in order to collect the insurance money so angered Jacob de Haas, editor of The Jewish Advocate, that he immediately penned a letter to the principal of Marlborough High School, asking for a retraction of this obviously anti-Semitic remark. Nevertheless, the damage had been done...

Another difficulty with which the Jewish student had to contend was his forced participation in school religious exercises. Jewish children were forced to take part in Boston public school Christmas exercises.[183] At the same time, it was well known that public school teachers gave Jewish children bad marks as a penalty for having stayed out of

school on Jewish holidays.[184] On the college level, prejudice was often more or less unofficial and more perceptible on the student level. For instance, even though the Commencement speaker at Harvard College in June, 1907, was a Jew (i.e., Mr. Arthur Mayer), a sign hung in a nearby dormitory read: "Hebrews need not register."[185]

One of the most notorious incidents of these pre-World War I days in the field of education concerned a bitter confrontation of Jews with non-Jews. In 1905, Mrs. Julia Duff, a member of the Boston School Board, verbally attacked Miss Mildred Kallen, a Jewish woman who taught in the West End public schools. There did not seem to be a solid reason for it, but Mrs. Duff took every opportunity to attack Miss Kallen. She continually recommended having Miss Kallen expelled, presumably because of her Jewish heritage.[186] The Jewish Advocate worked hard during this period to protect the rights of both Jewish students and Jewish teachers. Although most of their efforts were in vain, some succeeded. The most outstanding of these successes was the active part taken by The Jewish Advocate in the case of Mrs. Duff and her friend Mr. William Harrington, the headmaster of the Washington School in the heavily Jewish West End. The latter, along with Mrs. Duff, had seen to it that few Jewish teachers were allowed to practice in this school; hence, both were ultimately expelled from their positions.[187] Nevertheless, such successes were indeed rare, and the paradox of academic

success in an environment of anti-Jewish feeling and action apparently lasted well beyond the period under discussion in this paper...

The Jews also suffered when it came to their religious practices. Their difficulties in this area usually manifested themselves when their practices ran counter to the religious practices of the non-Jewish community. Often the economic life of the immigrant Jew suffered, because his holidays differed from those of his Christian neighbors. The problem especially focussed itself on the subject of the Sabbath. Here, the Jews and Christians came into conflict on the interpretation of the Sunday law, which, if conscientiously applied, would allow the Jews to work on Sunday. However, the Christians, whose Sabbath falls on Sunday, tried to get around the law, looking for loopholes which would force the Jews to keep their businesses closed on Sunday as well as Saturday. In this task they were aided by the Boston Police Department, practically all of which was Christian. The upshot of all this was a heightening of tensions between Jews and Christians. The American Hebrew reports on the differences of opinion concerning Sabbath regulations, and how poorly the Jews fared, no matter how strong their protests or how correct they might have been concerning their interpretation of the Sabbath law:

> Salem Street is the scene of considerable excitement at the present moment. This is a section of Boston poulated by ortho-

> dox Hebrews, and they have been considerably agitated by the recent edict, issued by [Police] Captain Cain, obliging all places of business to be closed on Sunday; consequently, if they are compelled to close their stores on the Lord's Day, they must necessarily lose two days in each week. Again, a large portion of their Sunday business is done with itinerant peddlers who come to the city on that day to buy their goods, starting out again Monday morning.
>
> With but two or three exceptions, the police reported all stores closed last Sunday; but it is the intention of the storekeepers to carry the matter to the courts and interesting results are looked for.[188]

The prosecutions against the Jews for keeping their stores open on Sundays were made under the auspices of new Sunday legislation. The interpretation of this law by city officials and police made the new rule no different for the Jews from that of legislation of the past. Moreover, it seemed that in all cases the non-Jewish interpretation of the law was upheld by the judges of the municipal court.

The provision of the law which granted the Jews certain privileges is as follows: "Whoever conscientiously believes that the seventh day of the week ought to be observed as the Sabbath, and actually refrains from secular business or labor on that day, shall not be liable to the penalties of this section for performing secular business and labor on the Lord's Day, if he disturbs no other person."[189] However, this provision meant nothing at all to the judges. It was true that some Jewish shopkeepers did not close their busines-

ses at 6:00 P.M. on Friday evenings, but still refrained from doing business until 6:00 P.M. on Saturday evening, and that another group (usually Reform Jews) did not close their shops at all. As a rule, though, the Jewish shopkeepers closed their places of business at 6:00 P.M. on Friday evening and did not reopen them until 6:00 P.M. Saturday evening. The courts, however, made no distinction whatsoever. They held that no one doing business under any of these conditions had the right to keep his shop open on Sunday, for the same reason that the law was not being obeyed if the stores were not closed on Sunday from midnight to midnight. Moreover, it was understood that the meaning of the word "disturbance" in the provision was under interpretation. This was the loophole which North End non-Jewish residents used to call the police on Sunday morning. Their complaint was that the Jewish stores which were open at this time "disturbed" them as they were on their way to church services. This brought the police to the scene in a hurry, and they would see to it that the Jew closed his business for the balance of the day.[190] The penalty for violating the law was a fine which ran anywhere from $50.00 to $500.00, depending upon the seriousness of the offense.[191] This, of course, was a sum which the usually indigent Russian Jewish immigrant could ill afford.

The police used the word "disturbance" to apply to any kind of Jewish activity on Sunday, not just the economic.

In July, 1905, the police of the South End swooped down upon some musicians who were engaged to play at a Jewish wedding in that area. The members of the band were hailed into court and fined heavily under an extension of the meshing of the word "disturbance." It was felt that the Jewish music would disturb non-Jews in the area. Moreover, even if it did not, there is a qualification of the Sunday law dealing with the playing of music on this day. It states that a concert of sacred music may be held, but only for religious purposes. However, since the musicians were to play for a Jewish wedding, which certainly is to be considered a religious event, they never should have been fined. Nevertheless, they were, and there was no appealing the court's decision.[192]

Throughout the pre-World War I years, the Christians actively engaged in missionizing endeavors in the Jewish sections of the city.[193] Probably the Jews became so sensitive to Christian missionizing that they seemed to interpret what appeared as honest attempts at good-will by other Christians as simply more attempts to convert them. One of the most outstanding examples of Jewish interpretation of Christian good-will as an attempt at missionizing was the founding of a so-called non-sectarian Sunday School in the Jewish section of the West End. The Sunday School, which was created and maintained under the auspices of the Francis E. Willard Settlement House, was called "The Jewish Sunday

School." According to a printed circular which was distributed to the populace, the aims of The Jewish Sunday School were: "Religious, ethical, and social culture; the basis of teaching; strict Hebrew monotheism..."[194] There were two departments in the School, one for children and the other for adults. The books for the children's department were the same as those used by the religious schools sponsored by the Council of Jewish Women. They aimed to teach through these books commandments, Psalms, songs, and Old Testament lessons.

The Jewish Sunday School immediately attracted the Jews. Within a short time of its official opening, 150 Jewish children were enrolled in its classes. Everything seemed above board, and the School appeared to be an honest effort by the non-Jewish community to help its Jewish neighbors. However, Max Mitchell, the Superintendent of the Federation of Jewish Charities, Rabbi Charles Fleischer of Temple Adath Israel, and the Council of Jewish Women all believed that The Jewish Sunday School appeared to be in actuality another missionizing effort and, therefore, should be nipped in the bud before they began teaching Christian ideas and values in the guise of Jewish teaching.[195]

Another manifestation of the dislike by non-Jews of Jewish religious practices was the violent demonstration. In October, 1905, The Jewish Advocate reported it was a common annual practice that as soon as the Jewish High Holy-

days commenced and the Jews of East Boston went to their synagogues, the hoodlum element of the district demonstrated. The thugs would crowd about the synagogue, shout insults at the worshippers, and during the services would stone the building, breaking windows and doing other property damage.[196] As if this was not enough, non-Jewish employers often penalized their Jewish employees for taking the High Holydays off for worship purposes. Sometimes, these penalties were very severe. For instance, the Jewish employees of the presumably Gentile Plaut Shoe Store in Jamaica Plain, who usually took Rosh Hashanah off without undue protest by their employer, were summarily discharged in 1906 for doing this.[197]

The immigrant Jews always suffered whenever they endeavored to enter America through the port at Boston. Many Bostonians were restrictionists, and they tried continually to have legislation passed which would keep Jews and other minority groups out of the city. An organization known as the Immigration Restriction League was founded in response to this philosophy, and it became the official organ for anti-immigration activity. While all minority groups suffered because of the League's policies and actions, it appears that the Jews suffered perhaps most of all because not only was their influx the largest during the years just before the War, but also they attempted to fight the League.

An example of the I.R.L.'s anti-immigration policies was the circular which it issued in August, 1906. It stated in part: "[The Immigration Restriction League has] at various times called the attention of the public to the increased burden put upon us by destitute and defective aliens, and the welcome they extend to healthy and industrial immigrants...every nation should care for its defective delinquents and dependents and not dump them on other nations... here in this country native and foreign born alike need elbow room..."[198] The Immigration Restriction League used exaggerations and even full-fledged falsehoods in its attempts to prove how unworthy aliens were as potential Boston citizens. They gave false immigration census records, adding in women who could not be naturalized and people who had been living in the United States for upwards of twenty years.[199] They made many fallacious statements, including the following: a) that there were 1,000,000 aliens living in the United States by 1906 and b) that crime figures in Massachusetts showed a higher percentage of immigrants committing crimes than native Americans. The Jewish Advocate pointed out that Mr. Prescott Hall, Secretary of the League, had deliberately falsified these reports by omitting arrests of Gentiles for intoxication, while retaining convictions for trivial infractions by Jews and other immigrant groups of city ordinances, of many of which the immigrants were still ignorant.[200]

Another falsification was Mr. Hall's statement that the budget of a New York (i.e., Presbyterian Hospital) hospital was inflated by the influx of "undesirables." However, Mr. Hall did not mention that these aliens were mostly non-Jewish. Moreover, the total number of aliens treated in Presbyterian Hospital could not have affected the deficit reported by the hospital. Indeed, in hospitals throughout New York City, the patients were distributed in nationalities in almost precisely the same proportion as in the city at large, thereby showing that the recent influx of immigrants did not press unduly upon the communal facilities.[201] It is true that Hall and the I.R.L. presented distortions of the truth to the public concerning the Jewish immigrants and immigrants of other lands. Nevertheless, it would appear that many listened to their arguments (especially since their ranks included such important and influential men as Hall and Senator Henry Cabot Lodge), for the aforementioned literacy test for immigrants and other measures meant to restrict immigration either passed the Congress or were at least thoroughly debated before being rejected.

Some Boston Jews attempted to form an opposition movement--the Liberal Immigration League--but even though it made valiant efforts on behalf of the welfare of the immigrants,[202] the Restriction League was too big and too powerful to fight. The restrictionists also had the emotions of the native-born population on their side. Skilled immigrants

were competing successfully for jobs with those who had lived in Boston for many generations, so it would seem quite natural that the latter would be resentful of seeing many of their jobs go to others who not only were but newly arrived in the city, but also were foreigners. An example of this emotionalism is seen in a remark made by restrictionist Henry Abraham before the Economic Club of Boston: "I am an Exclusionist, a Protectionist, a Trade Unionist...The only way to settle the question of immigration is to stop it--stop it!"[203]

While the Immigration Restriction League made life difficult for the immigrants on a political level, those entering the country had to contend with problems of a practical nature at the port of entry. Immigration Deputy-Commissioner Hurley, in a speech before the Debating Club of Boston, said:

> ...although the performance of our duties involve untold hardships upon those aliens who are deprived the right of admission into this country, it is not the laws nor the officials who are at fault, but the unscrupulous agents and individuals who conduct wholesale traffic for gain, that are guilty of inhumanity. There are agents who undertake the landing of undesirable aliens, knowing full well its impossibility for a paltry sum of blood money.[204]

There were many kinds of individuals at the port of entry who preyed upon immigrants. There were many incidents as discussed by The Jewish Advocate which revealed the abysmal

depths to which the inhumanity of man toward his fellow man could reach. Let us confine ourselves here to one such happening.

A young Russian Jewish girl, Miss Clara Gittel, had come to Boston to live with her brother. She was immediately "tagged" by the Armstrong Transfer Company. (The act of "tagging" meant that she could be taken to her destination by only the Armstrong Transfer Company.) Miss Gittel was taken by the Armstrong driver to her brother's old address, not his new one, so she was simply returned to the South Station and left there. Some time later, Miss Gittel was seen being spirited away by a man who was described simply as a "dark stranger"--and was never seen again. There would appear to be no question that she met with foul play; however, a Jewish Advocate editorial declaimed against the Armstrong Transfer Company, claiming that the real fault for her disappearance lay in the fact that the Armstrong tag allowed no one else to help her. All that Armstrong and other companies similar to it were interested in was the money to be gained, not the welfare of the person involved. As a result, women and children arriving alone in a strange city were vulnerable both to carpetbagging companies such as the Armstrong Transfer Company and the individuals who took pleasure in taking advantage of the single girl or unsuspecting child.[205]

As far as the conditions of the port itself were concerned, they were so bad that they prompted even restrictionist Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge to propose the establishment of a new immigration station, hopefully modelled after Ellis Island. In the old Boston immigration station, the immigrants were penned up until their cases were investigated. Because they usually spent so much time penned up, they often became afflicted with "low vitality." At Ellis Island, however, even "low vitality" cases were given a chance to recover.[206] The Boston port personnel proved delinquent in providing the essentials needed to sustain immigrants who might be held up for some time. Jewish immigrants were no exception. For instance, in January, 1906, two steamships, one of them the "Sardinia," brought 103 steerage passengers into Boston Harbor, of whom seventy-five were Jewish immigrants. The immigration inspectors were busy in their office at Long Wharf looking into the cases of Russian Jewish refugees. Consequently, when this new group showed up at the port, the inspectors questioned them all very closely. They found that few of the people had any money worth talking about, and many were poverty-stricken. Out of the seventy-five Jews, forty-seven were detained by the port inspectors. These poor creatures were put through a most searching examination. It was only when relatives or friends had come and vouched for them that twenty-four of them were released by the examining board.[207] Hence, it is

readily observed that Jewish immigrants coming to Boston had no easy time of it, not only when they arrived there, but also, later when they tried to maintain a steady flow of their brethren into the city. The East European Jew ran into organized as well as individual resistance wherever he turned. Let us now analyze another type of organized resistance with which the Russian Jewish immigrants had to contend during their early years in Boston.

The secular newspapers of the city of Boston were not overly friendly toward the newly-arrived East European Jewish immigrants. Many instances of this unfriendliness manifested themselves whenever there was even a vague possibility that Jews had gone afoul of the law. It would appear that the newspapers did not always consciously wish to harm the Jewish immigrant, but, like most of the non-Jewish population, were simply reacting to the Jewish stereotypes which had evolved through the years and now had become fixed in the Christian mind as the correct image of the Jew. A good example of unconscious prejudice as exemplified by mass communications media involved The Boston Journal. In December, 1906, a young Italian boy named Antonio Lopalato stole some chickens and doves. Simply because he gave his address as 61 Salem Street, which happened to be located in a largely Jewish area, the reporter who wrote up the case called him "a little Hebrew boy." The mistake may have been excusable, said The Jewish Advocate editorial which informed its Jewish readers of the

incident, but what was certainly inexcusable was the fact that Jews were always described as "Hebrews" in articles which shed a negative light upon the Jews, whereas whenever Protestants or Catholics commited crimes their religion was never referred to at all.[208] An instance of more openly and consciously anti-Jewish remarks in Boston's newspapers occurred when a terrible fire swept through the Jewish section of neighboring Chelsea in April, 1908, and caused much property damage and loss of homes among the Jews there. In its morning edition, The Boston American had in its headlines and lead article a definitely disparaging reference to Chelsea's indigent Jewish immigrants. The headlines screamed: "Ragpickers Fire Plot Discovered in Chelsea." It seems that the Jewish ragpickers were supposed to have "set fire to their shops to save themselves from financial ruin."[209] However, as The Jewish Advocate pointed out, no Jewish ragpickers owned their own shops; moreover, if they had ever burned down their employers' shops, they would have destroyed their own livelihood at the same time. As if this was not bad enough, the evening edition of the American blared the headline: "Businessmen Face Arrest in Chelsea Fire Plot." Having abandoned its original attack against the Jewish ragpickers because of lack of feasability, the newspaper turned its attack against the more well-to-do Jewish businessmen, who might possibly have had more to gain from setting fire to their own stores. However, the State Police said that

many fires were fought in that district of Chelsea, but no one was arrested. However, reported the Advocate, the police did take into custody for a short while "three [non-Jewish] boys who seem to have been forgotten probably on account of their religious belief."[210] Hence, it would appear that in their haste to pin the Chelsea fire on the Jewish residents, both the newspapers and the police may well have overlooked the real culprits--three young boys whose fun with matches had gotten out of hand...

Boston's newspapers also allowed anti-Jewish advertisements to be printed within their pages. A typical advertisement was that which appeared in a November, 1908, edition of The Boston Transcript. It read: "BROOKLINE: Apartment with board, modern house, entirely refitted and furnished. Some rooms with private bathroom; no Jewish people..."[211] It is interesting to note that when Advocate editor, Jacob de Haas, wrote to the editor of the Transcript, the latter immediately called de Haas and apologized, stating that the printing of the advertisement was an "oversight," and it would be changed. Is it possible at this point to conjecture that perhaps the printing of such advertisements was not so much an oversight as the conscious effort of a member or members of the Transcript's staff? Whether or not such a surmise has validity, the fact is that such anti-Jewish advertisements did appear in Boston newspapers, and they could not help but add to the lowly image of the

Jews which the majority of their non-Jewish neighbors already held.

Boston's regular newspapers were not the worst offenders when it came to propagation of anti-Jewish venom. Indeed, just before World War I, there appeared a Polish weekly, Gazeta Bostonska, which fulminated anti-Semitic propaganda in every one of its issues. One of its correspondents, "Ignatz," devoted all of his literary efforts to preaching a boycott of Jewish businesses. The Jewish Advocate happily noted, however, that Gazeta Bostonska was quite unsuccessful in getting Polish Catholics in Boston to refrain from doing business with the Jews.[212] Unfortunately for the immigrant Jews, and although the Gazeta Bostonska met with little success, much of the anti-Jewish propaganda spread by Boston's mass media made quite an impression upon the native-born population. Many people read the newspapers, and many were affected by what they read. The result was that the newspapers helped fan the flame of anti-Semitic feeling which had already existed among the majority of Boston's non-Jewish population. Some of the manifestations of this anti-Jewish feeling in every-day life were physically quite violent as well as mentally torturous. The native Bostonian was resentful of the presence of the Jew in his midst, and this resentment in action--apparently sanctioned by the police, the courts, the newspapers and the immigration officials, important and influential people -- all made life

miserable for the East European Jewish immigrants. The following examples will serve as evidence of this fact.

It seemed that bands of teen-age hoodlums were daily involved in attacks upon helpless Jews and, in most cases, were allowed by authorities to get away with them. For instance, a Jewish cobbler from nearby Somerville was assulted by a group of jeering hoodlums. An Italian boy, yelling "Kill the Sheeny!" knifed the old man. The Jew pressed charges, and the case came before a judge. The boy's lawyer asked for an extension, and got it. While on his way out, the boy yelled again, "Kill the Sheeny!" He was still allowed to be released on bail until the resumption of his trial.[213] Such thugs freely roamed the band concerts which were held on Sunday afternoons on the Boston Common. At one such concert in August, 1907, some thirty or forty well-dressed young hoodlums went around and repeatedly assulted inoffensive men who were manifestly foreign or spoke with a foreign accent when attacked. At the same concert, a well-dressed young man having the appearance of a Polish Jew was badly beaten, a half-dozen ruffians attacking him at one time. One of his eyes was closed, and the handkerchief which he held in his hand was saturated with blood. In both instances, the police were of little or no help. In the first case, there were at least five or six policemen around the bandstand, but only one of them made any effort to help the immigrants in their

distress. In the second, the Polish Jew attempted to take refuge under the wing of a nearby policeman and to explain in broken English how he had been beaten. Even as he was doing this, the crowd boldly jeered at him and mocked his broken English without any reproof from the policeman.[214]

It could not help but make life even more arduous for the East European Jewish immigrant when the city's officials as well showed anti-Jewish feeling, whether it was indirect, as the previous examples attest, or direct, as the following incident will show. In February, 1907, a South End policeman, who had been badgering the Jewish residents in that district, was called into court. The policeman said in his own defense that he had treated the Jews in this way because the latter stole their goods. The judge took the whole thing as a joke, and fined the Jewish man who had pressed charges against the policeman the sum of $10.00. When the defense attorney had gone into the next room, the policeman asked that the fine be doubled, and the judge, still in a joking modd, immediately raised the fine to $20.00.[215]

During these early days of Jewish settlement, it can easily be surmised that the police were hardly the friends of the Jewish immigrant. Not only did they appear to be acting in collaboration with rowdies and city officials against the poor Russian Jews, but also they never really worked diligently to help them solve crimes committed within

their own community. When an indigent Russian Jew named Sorokien was found lying dead with a revolver by his body, the Boston police took one cursory look at the scene and took the proximity of the revolver to Sorokien's corpse as all the evidence they needed to proclaim the Jew's death a simple matter of suicide. No subsequent investigation was conducted, no witnesses were sought or questioned. The case was closed--because Sorokien was a Jew.[216]

Jews had to suffer anti-Semitic treatment if they wanted simply to use the city's public facilities. An example of this was the ill treatment given to old Jewish men and women who used the Boston Elevated surface cars on the old Blue Hill Avenue line. It was a favorite trick of the train's conductor to start up the car just as the elderly man or woman was about to get on. Moreover, two Jewish children were wounded by the heedless and careless driving of this conductor, who would whip about the streets of Dorchester and Mattapan with almost complete disregard for the lives of the people passing by there.[217] An even worse situation occurred at the L Street Baths in South Boston. Numerous incidents of anti-Jewish treatment were reported happening there. In one case, an elderly Jewish man was thrown into the channel by a group of hoodlums and almost drowned. In another, a twenty-year-old man also was thrown into the channel by hoodlums. Seeing him drowning, they rescued him, but then beat him viciously with wet towels and warned him

not to use the bath facilities ever again.[218]

One might ask at this point why the treatment of the Jews had become so violent during the years prior to World War I. One possible reason is that the native-born Bostonian was becoming increasingly afraid of the Jews, whose competition in education and commerce was fast becoming renowned. Moreover, their numbers were getting to be so large in the city that they threatened to become an important ethnic bloc whose group influence could eventually help dictate the city's political and social policies in years to come. True, the non-Jews resented the way the Jews were beginning to make political and intellectual inroads--and they were fast becoming afraid that the Jews might some day take over the running of the city. As one Christian woman put it: "I would not vote for a Jew, though I am free to confess that I believe you have, as a people, the intelligence necessary to conduct public affairs successfully and are without fear of reproach on account of graft or other wrong-doing in office. Still I would not vote for a Jew if I had the opportunity to vote because once you Jews hold important office you will soon master our state."[219] The Jewish Advocate observed in September, 1911, that when the Jews first came to the Greater Boston community of Malden, they were openly welcomed. However, "now that they make up an aggregate they are surrounded with prejudice."[220] Indeed, by the time that World War I began, the Jews were making

their presence known both generally and individually, and the non-Jews, seeing how rapidly the Jews were encroaching upon what had formerly been their domain only, could no longer afford to be solicitous. Instead, they hated and were intensely jealous of the Jews; they treated them harshly, because they were afraid that some day the Jews might well take over everything which they had taken for granted would always be theirs...

It is true that the Jews suffered a great deal at the hands of anti-Semites during their early years of settlement in the city of Boston. However, all was not thunder and storm. Occasionally the sun of tolerance would shine through, thereby showing that Boston included among its citizens people who cared about making a place for the Jew in the city, and about encouraging his participation in Boston's civic, educational and spiritual affairs. One of the leading socialites of the day, Mrs. John Gardner, annually played hostess at her fashionable Brookline residence to a group of tenement residents representing the North, South and West Ends. A woman who apparently possessed a true charitable heart, she also offered prizes at these annual outings for the best tenement window, yard or roof garden. Her great interest in such a contest was because of the intrinsic value of the contest itself. Indeed, an attractive tenement window, yard or roof garden could not help but brighten up what otherwise was a rather drab and

colorless section of the city.[221]

Another fine example of Christian good-will came, of all places, from the highest office in the state--the governor. Whether or not his acts of good-will were motivated by the desire to win over the increasingly important Jewish vote, the fact is that many of the governors during the pre-World War I days treated the Jews quite well. One in particular--Governor Curtis Guild--did his best to help uplift the condition of the Jews so that they would eventually be equal to other citizens in terms of rights and privileges. He personally appointed the first Jewish judge, Philip Rabenstein. He also got a Jew into the Immigration Office to take care of the needs of the Jewish immigrants while they were detained at the Boston port. Governor Guild made sure that Kosher food was supplied to Jewish inmates of state institutions during Passover. This was in immediate response to a North End committee, headed by Rabbi Solomon J. Friederman and Mr. Meyer Bloomfield, which came to Governor Guild with the request for the Kosher food. A later Governor, Mr. Eugene N. Foss, signed into being an act passed by the State Senate which permitted Kosher butcher shops to remain open on Sunday.[222]

The biggest contribution to good Jewish-Christian relations came from the clergy. Interfaith dialogues were held on a number of occasions. Prominent Jews were invited to speak at non-Jewish functions. For instance, Meyer

Bloomfield of the Civic Service House addressed over 1,000 delegates of the Congregational churches who had assembled at the Park Street Church. Also, Jacob de Haas, the editor of The Jewish Advocate, spoke on prejudice to the members of the Bible class of the Pilgrim Congregational Church in Dorchester, where he pleaded for less tolerance and more equality. A group called the Free Religious Association had already become well established in Boston. At their meetings, Jews, Christians and Ethical Culturists were always invited to discuss and debate about the great concerns of the spirit. In Malden, the Ministers' Association made various resolutions concerning the anti-Jewish troubles in that city. The Rev. Drs. A. E. Sykes and C. A. Moss rebuked in strong and pointed language the rowdies who were responsible for embittering the lives of the Jews of Malden.[223]

Hence, even though the Jews suffered tremendously because of the intense anti-Jewish feeling which existed in Greater Boston, undoubtedly a sufficient number of people were suffused with an ecumenical spirit to warrant a feeling of hope among the Jews for their future years in the city. After all, they had decided to live their lives in Boston. Perhaps if they lived long enough there and contributed sufficiently and whenever or wherever they could to the progress of the city, the non-Jews might accept them completely. Without a doubt, the common hope of all of Boston's Jews was

that eventually they might work side by side with their non-Jewish neighbors in shaping the destiny of this city in which they both could live happily and in concord...

III.

COMMENTS AND CONCLUSIONS

I should like to conclude this discussion with a few brief personal conclusions and comments based upon our inquiry into the life and environment of the East European Jewish immigrant in Boston between 1881 and 1914. To our mind, the East European Jewish immigrants believed that America would offer them a blessed relief from the terrible pogroms and other forms of persecution characteristic of Russia. The truth was, however, that America in general and Boston in particular offered only a comparative relief, not a complete one. Some of the reasons for this were:

a) The already established and Americanized "German" Jews did not receive their unassimilated, less sophisticated East European brethren with friendly, open arms. They tended to remain aloof from them, and would not help them with philanthropic endeavors until the immigrant had turned to the state for help--and then it was, in large part, to spare themselves the embarrassment of having their non-Jewish neighbors suspect that they did not care what happened to their own people. Many of the German Jews might strike the observer as having been materialistic opportunists; the observer cannot be blamed for coming away with the impression that, for many of them, caring for their indigent "Russian" brethren did not fit into their plans for realizing

personal ambitions.

b) The Russian Jews gradually followed the path of their German coreligionists. The tendency to rebel against religious authority and old family roles and traditions was already implanted within the mind of the first-generation Russian Jew, and he implanted that same tendency into the mind of the second generation, which was even more prepared to manifest it by formally breaking with established patterns of Orthodox Jewish life. This, coupled with exposure to the secular values of American society through public school education, along with a growing prosperity, caused the Russian Jew little by little to leave his isolated, ghetto-like existence. The Russian Jews moved out of the North, West and South Ends of Boston and migrated to Boston's suburbs. By 1920, the migration was so complete that Dorchester had become the center of Jewish population, thereby replacing the North End.[224]

c) Because of the snobbish attitude of the German Jews, as well as the differences between them and the Russians because of ethnic variations and dissimilar degrees of assimilation, the Russian Jewish community and the German Jewish community found it difficult to unite into one community. It took two factors to start bringing them together: 1) the economic crisis of the Russian immigrants, which forced the Germans to face up to their philanthropic responsibilities and, later, to join with the earlier Russian Jews who, begin-

ning to prosper, could now share those responsibilities, and 2) the evolving materialism and general acculturation of the Russian Jews, which made the latter more similar to the German Jews.

d) Acculturation by the Russian Jews was more than simply the desire to drop all the cultural and religious trappings of the past. It was the only way to survive in a socio-economic setting which was completely foreign to anything that they had ever known before. If they had not assimilated, they would in all probability have been doomed to a separate life, one completely removed from the vital mainstream of American life.

e) The Jew fared well in direct competition with the non-Jew, provided the opportunities for advancement were equal between them. This was nowhere more evident than in secular education, for the Jews garnered academic prizes at all levels of public education in a percentage which far exceeded the proportion of Jewish to non-Jewish students.

f) Many of the Russian Jews were imbued with a strong Zionistic spirit. They read the Zionist-oriented Yiddish newspapers avidly, and looked longingly and hopefully to Zion as the salvation not only for themselves, but also for their oppressed brethren abroad. As they prospered, however, it would appear that their interests became more provincial, and they concentrated more upon their materialistic "salvation" in America.

g) As the Jewish immigrant gradually became acculturated and as he prospered, he commenced to make inroads into the heretofore untouched socio-economic world of the native-born Bostonian. His improved economic condition allowed him to settle even in the very heart of Yankee suburbia (e.g., Jacob Hecht, the well-to-do Jewish financier, who started the trend by moving into the Back Bay area). "Russian" immigrants, too, began to move into the non-Jewish community. Men such as Samuel Borofsky began to be prominent in state politics, and even the Governor felt the pressures of the increasingly important Jewish vote. This growing importance of the Jews both collectively and individually as well as their competitive success added fuel to the embers of anti-Semitic feeling in the city. The restrictionists pushed harder than ever for stricter immigration laws and physical attacks against Jews became more frequent. Moreover, general Jewish stereotypes of the international banker-type or of the plotting Shylock who would eventually dominate the state and take his pound of flesh from the non-Jew frightened the latter. This fright, plus the corroboration of anti-Jewish images as projected by mass communications media, intensified anti-Jewish sentiments and their unpleasant manifestations in the city. On the other hand, the presence of at least a handful of individuals and groups, especially the clergy and influential politicians (the latter perhaps having ulterior motives of personal political ambition), gave

the Jews some reason to hope for a better future.

h) By dint of hard work, Boston eventually became an important and significant center of Jewish life. Although the spirit of Orthodox Judaism was perhaps not as prevalent there as in some other cities, the intellectual, material, and social prominence of the community was definitely becoming well established. As World War I approached, there was every reason to hope that in Boston there were the makings of a great citadel of Jewish preeminence. Indeed, one could well afford to express the same type of optimism as Charles Aronoff, who once wrote: "...to talk about Boston one has to talk about [a city which is becoming] the center of American Jewry at a crucial time in our history."225

FOOTNOTES

1. The Jewish Advocate (Boston), Vol. 15, No. 4, February 16, 1912. (Henceforth, The Jewish Advocate will be cited as JA.)

2. Ibid.

3. Dr. Lee Levinger, A History of the Jews in the United States (New York: Union of American Hebrew Congregations Press, 1961), p. 80.

4. Arthur E. Mann (ed.), Growth and Achievement: Temple Israel 1854-1954 (Cambridge, Mass.: The Riverside Press, 1954), p. 18. According to Prof. S. F. Chyet, the expulsion of Solomon Franco was definitely more attributable to his indigent state than to his Jewish identity.

5. Levinger, op. cit., p. 62.

6. JA, loc. cit.

7. Mann, loc. cit.

8. JA, loc. cit.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

11. Joseph Lebowich, "The Jews in Boston until 1875," Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society, Vol. XII (1904). (Subsequently cited as PAJHS.)

12. JA, loc. cit.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. This is a personal evaluation of the data.

18. JA, loc. cit.

19. Lebowich, loc. cit.

20. Levinger, op. cit., p. 158.

21. Ibid.

22. Lebowich, loc. cit.

23. JA, loc. cit.

24. Ibid.

25. Mann, op. cit., p. 19.

26. Ibid., p. 20.

27. JA, Vol. 15, No. 23, February 9, 1912.

28. Rabbi Solomon Schindler, Israelites in Boston: A Tale Describing the Development of Judaism in Boston (Boston: Berwick & Smith, 1889), unpaged.

29. Mann, loc. cit.

30. Lebowich, loc. cit.

31. Mann, loc. cit.

32. Ibid., pp. 20-1.

33. Ibid., p. 23.

34. Ibid.

35. Schindler, loc. cit.

36. Personal evaluation of the data.

37. Albert Ehrenfried, A Chronicle of Boston Jewry: From the Colonial Settlement to 1900 (no place given; privately published, 1963), p. 354.

38. Personal evaluation of the data.

39. Mann, op. cit., p. 26.

40. Ibid., p. 29.

41. Ibid., p. 30.

42. Lebowich, loc. cit.

43. Mann, loc. cit.

44. Ibid., p. 31.

45. Ibid., p. 32.

46. JA, loc. cit.

47. Rabbi Arnold A. Wieder, The Early Jewish Community of Boston's North End (Waltham, Mass.: Brandeis University, 1962), p. 18.

48. Levinger, op. cit., p. 265.

49. Ibid., p. 266.

50. Wieder, loc. cit.

51. Levinger, loc. cit.

52. Wieder, loc. cit.

53. Levinger, op. cit., p. 269.

54. Ibid.

55. JA, Vol. 2, No. 17, March 2, 1906.

56. Levinger, op. cit., p. 267.

57. Ibid., p. 269-70.

58. Wieder, op. cit., p. 20.

59. Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted (The Universal Library Edition), p. 145, as cited in Wieder, loc. cit.

60. Levinger, op. cit., p. 276-7.

61. Wieder, op. cit., p. 19.

62. JA, Vol. 9, No. 23, August 13, 1909.

63. Ibid., Vol. 1, No. 14, August 4, 1905.

64. Wieder, op. cit., p. 23.

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid., p. 18.

67. Dr. Jacob Neusner, "The Impact of Immigration and Philanthropy upon the Boston Jewish Community (1880-1914)," PAJHS, Vol. XLVI (December, 1956), p. 72.

68. Levinger, op. cit., p. 279.

69. Neusner, op. cit., p. 85.

70. Wieder, loc. cit.

71. Ibid., p. 26.

72. Will Herberg, Protestant-Catholic-Jew (New York, 1955), p. 24, as cited in Wieder, p. 1[illegible].

73. Wieder, op. cit., p. 33.

74. JA, Passover Issue (March 3, 1950), article by Dr. Joseph I. Gorfinkle and Aaron Pinckney, entitled "Why A History of the North End?" as cited in Wieder, p. 93.

75. Wieder, op. cit., p. 33.

76. JA, loc. cit.

77. Ibid.

78. Ibid.

79. Charles Angoff, "Memoirs," The Menorah Journal, Vol. L (1962), p. 141.

80. Angoff, op. cit., p. 142.

81. JA, Vol. 1, No. 9, June 30, 1905.

82. Angoff, op. cit., p. 141.

83. Levinger, op. cit., p. 286.

84. Angoff, loc. cit.

85. Ibid.

86. Ibid.

87. Ibid.

88. JA, Vol. 4, No. 8, January 4, 1907.

89. Ibid., Vol. 6, No. 10, November 15, 1907.

90. Ibid., Vol. 10, No. 8, October 29, 1909.

91. Mann, op. cit., p. 68.
92. Ibid.
93. Wieder, op. cit., p. 45.
94. Angoff, op. cit., pp. 144-7.
95. Wieder, op. cit., p. 46.
96. Ibid.
97. Jewish Encyclopedia, "Haskalah," Vol. VI, (1901), p. 258.
98. Wieder, op. cit., p. 47.
99. Ibid.
100. Ibid., p. 50.
101. Ibid., p. 51.
102. Angoff, op. cit., p. 141.
103. Wieder, op. cit., p. 48.
104. Ibid., p. 35.
105. JA, Vol. 2, No. 19, March 16, 1936.
106. Wieder, op. cit., pp. 35-6.
107. JA, Vol. 13, No. 25, February 24, 1911.
108. Angoff, op. cit., pp. 137-8.
109. Ibid., pp. 139-40.
110. Ibid., p. 140.
111. Ibid., p. 146.
112. I am grateful to Rabbi Wieder for this idea, which can be found on page 62 of his book.
113. Wieder, op. cit., p. 63.
114. Angoff, op. cit., p. 138.
115. JA, Vol. 15, No. 22, February 2, 1912.

116. Personal conversation with Col. Benjamin Gorfinkle, former resident of Boston's North End. July, 1966.

117. JA, Vol. 1, No. 9, June 30, 1905.

118. Wieder, op. cit., p. 57.

119. Ibid.

120. JA, loc. cit.

121. Ibid., Vol. 2, No. 13, 1906.

122. Ibid., Vol. 10, No. 10, January 21, 1910.

123. Ibid.

124. Ibid.

125. Ibid.

126. Ibid., Vol. 10, No. 26, April 15, 1910.

127. This is a personal evaluation of the data. Henceforth, all personal evaluations should be discernible within the text itself.

128. Angoff, op. cit., p. 137.

129. JA, Vol. 4, No. 6, December 4, 1906.

130. Ibid., Vol. 18, No. 13, May 30, 1913.

131. Wieder, op. cit., p. 59.

132. JA, Vol. 2, No. 9, January 5, 1906.

133. JA, Vol. 3, No. 9, July 4, 1906.

134. Ibid.

135. Another comment by Col. Gorfinkle. July, 1966.

136. Wieder, loc. cit., pp. 58-9.

137. JA, Vol. 3, No. 6, June 13, 1906.

138. Ibid., Vol. 1, No. 5, June 2, 1905.

139. Ibid., Vol. 9, No. 14, June 11, 1909.

140. Ibid., Vol. 20, No. 17, June 26, 1914.

141. Ibid., Vol. 6, No. 11, November 22, 1907.

142. Ibid., Vol. 1, No. 11, July 14, 1905.

143. Wieder, op. cit., p. 60.

144. JA, Vol. I, No. 21, September 22, 1905.

145. Ibid.

146. JA, Vol. 2, No. 16, February 23, 1906.

147. Ibid., Vol. 3, No. 22, October 12, 1906.

148. Ibid., Vol. 3, No. 6, loc. cit.

149. Neusner, op. cit., p. 73.

150. Neusner, loc. cit., pp. 73-4.

151. Ibid., pp. 74-5.

152. Ibid., p. 76.

153. Ibid., p. 77.

154. JA, Vol. 20, No. 21, July 24, 1914.

155. Neusner, loc. cit.

156. Ibid., p. 79.

157. The Jewish Chronicle (Boston), July 8, 1892, and September 2, 1892, as cited in Neusner, p. 80.

158. Neusner, op. cit., p. 81. It is Prof. S. F. Chyet's opinion that The Boston Federation of Jewish Charities was the very first such Federation of its kind in the United States.

159. JA, Vol. 1, No. 4, May 26, 1905.

160. Neusner, loc. cit.

161. JA, Vol. 1, No. 11, July 14, 1905.

162. Ibid.

163. Neusner, loc. cit.

164. JA, loc. cit.

165. Ibid., Vol. 2, No. 15, February 13, 1906.

166. Ibid., Vol. 1, No. 13, July 13, 1905.

167. Ibid.

168. Ibid., Vol. 5, No. 8, June 7, 1907.

169. Ibid., Vol. 13, No. 3, September 23, 1910.

170. Neusner, op. cit., p. 85.

171. Ibid.

172. Barbara Miller Solomon, Ancestors and Immigrants: A Changing New England Tradition, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956), p. 167.

173. Ibid.

174. Ibid., pp. 167-8.

175. Ibid., pp. 168-70.

176. Ibid., p. 170.

177. Ibid., p. 173.

178. The American Hebrew (New York), Vol. 57, No. 23, October 11, 1895.

179. JA, Vol. 11, No. 12, May 27, 1910.

180. Ibid., Vol. 16, No. 21, July 26, 1912.

181. Ibid., Vol. 19, No. 17, December 18, 1913.

182. Ibid., Vol. 8, No. 14, December 11, 1908.

183. Ibid., Vol. 4, No. 7, December 28, 1906.

184. Ibid., Vol. 4, No. 8, January 4, 1907.

185. Ibid., Vol. 5, No. 11, July 5, 1907.

186. Ibid., Vol. 2, No. 4, November 24, 1905.

187. Ibid., Vol. 22, No. 22, March 30, 1906.

188. The American Hebrew, loc. cit.

189. Ch. 98, Sect. A. of the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, as cited in The American Hebrew, loc. cit., and JA, Vol. 1, No. 12, July 31, 1905.

190. The American Hebrew, loc. cit.

191. JA, Vol. 1, No. 12, loc. cit.

192. Ibid.

193. Ibid., Vol. 6, No. 23, February 14, 1908.

194. Ibid., Vol. 8, No. 7, October 23, 1908.

195. Ibid.

196. Ibid., Vol. 1, No. 23, October 6, 1905.

197. Ibid., Vol. 3, No. 20, September 28, 1906.

198. Ibid., Vol. 4, No. 2, November 23, 1906.

199. Ibid.

200. Ibid., Vol. 4, No. 5, December 14, 1906.

201. Ibid.

202. Ibid., Vol. 4, No. 3, November 30, 1906.

203. Ibid., Vol. 2, No. 11, January 12, 1906.

204. Ibid., Vol. 2, No. 14, February 9, 1909.

205. Ibid., Vol. 14, No. 23, August 11, 1911.

206. Ibid., Vol. 8, No. 24, February 19, 1909.

207. Ibid., Vol. 2, No. 11, loc. cit.

208. Ibid., Vol. 4, No. 8, loc. cit.

209. Ibid., Vol. 7, No. 7, April 24, 1908.

210. Ibid.

211. Ibid., Vol. 8, No. 11, November 20, 1908.

212. Ibid., Vol. 19, No. 4, September 23, 1913.

213. Ibid., Vol. 5, No. 24, August 23, 1907.

214. Ibid.

215. Ibid., Vol. 4, No. 16, March 1, 1907.

216. Ibid., Vol. 12, No. 23, August 12, 1910.

217. Ibid., Vol. 12, No. 19, July 15, 1910.

218. Ibid., Vol. 14, No. 19, July 14, 1911.

219. Ibid., Vol. 17, No. 21, January 24, 1913.

220. Ibid., Vol. 15, No. 4, September 29, 1911.

221. Ibid., Vol. 1, No. 17, August 25, 1905; Vol. 3, No. 14, August 17, 1906.

222. Ibid., Vol. 3, No. 24, October 20, 1906; Vol. 2, No. 23, February 6, 1906; Vol. 14, No. 6, April 14, 1911.

223. Ibid., Vol. 4, No. 2, loc. cit., Vol. 13, No. 9, November 4, 1910; Vol. 3, No. 4, June 1, 1906; Vol. 15, No. 7, October 20, 1911.

224. Ben Rosen, "The Trend of Jewish Population in Boston: A Study to Determine the Location of a Jewish Communal Building," Monographs of Federated Jewish Charities of Boston, I (January, 1921), p. 15.

225. Angoff, loc. cit.

ANALYTICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Ehrenfried, Albert. A Chronicle of Boston Jewry: From the Colonial Settlement to 1900. No place given: Privately published, 1963.

Ehrenfried's work is a satisfactory chronology of Boston Jewry from the individual Jewish settlement of colonial days until the growth of a Jewish community of both German and East European elements. Its importance for me was providing certain details for this discussion, especially with respect to names, places, and dates.

Handlin, Oscar. Boston's Immigrants: A Study in Acculturation. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1959.

This is a fine work in the sociology of immigrant assimilation to American cultural values. I concentrated mainly on Chapter Seven, which dealt with group conflicts within the Boston community. This was for me basically a background text.

Levinger, Lee J. A History of the Jews in the United States. New York: Union of American Hebrew Congregations Press, 1961.

This text was most valuable to me as a background text. Although it is a work geared mostly for the high-school student, it offered me an opportunity to view the East European Jew in terms of the general historical patterns which shaped the period of mass emigration from Eastern Europe. Perhaps the most important function of the Levinger text is that, by allowing me to observe the mass emigration in its total context, it gave me the opportunity to relate the Boston experience to the total American experience. This prevented me from isolating Boston's Jewish community from the rest of the American Jewish community, and made it possible to compare or contrast one with the other. For me, this was a most helpful text.

Mann, Arthur E. Yankee Reformers in the Urban Age. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1954.

Like the Handlin study, this is an adequate sociological study of the city of Boston. Mann concentrates more, however, on Boston reformers and their impact upon members of their own people. Mann's text includes a chapter on Judaism. The content of this chapter dealt with the endeavors of Rabbi Solomon Schindler, who moved freely among non-Jews, hoping to motivate the emancipated Gentile toward a more ecumenical attitude vis-à-vis his Jewish neighbor. I feel that Mann has demonstrated a certain amount of bias in concluding that only Schindler was responsible for a reforming movement among Boston's Jews. Rabbi Fleischer, for one, added tremendously to this movement, albeit somewhat later than did Schindler. Nevertheless, Mann has chosen to limit his discussion to Schindler's work, which, I believe, has not permitted the reader to gain a true perspective of the length and depth of Reform Judaism's effort in Boston to create a true ecumenism in the city. Hence, although I utilized the Mann text as a background source, I felt it necessary to use it selectively and to regard it as only a partial reconstruction of the historic truth.

_____(ed.) Growth and Achievement: Temple Adath Israel 1854-1954. Cambridge, Mass.: The Riverside Press, 1954.

This book, which is a history of Temple Adath Israel of Boston, was written in comemoration of the Temple's 100th anniversary in 1954. This book, which had a number of eminent contributors to its pages, was an important aid for me, especially in dealing with the birth and evolution of the Boston Jewish community in the middle 1800's. Although the book was written in layman's language, and included quotations (undocumented) from primary sources, it was a valuable text for the historical background of the Boston Jewish community. The most interesting aspect of the work was its treatment of how the community developed in relation to the development of Boston's most important Jewish congregations--Adath Israel and Chabei Shalom.

Schindler, Rabbi Solomon. Israelites in Boston: A Tale Describing the Development of Judaism in Boston. Boston: Berwick & Smith, 1889.

The Schindler text, although weak in certain of its conclusions, is a good one, mainly because it was written during the period with which the thesis deals. Rabbi Schindler has erred in a few of his historical pronouncements, especially when he stated that no Jew had been present in Boston previous to 1842. Nevertheless, his study of the dynamics of

Jewish community evolution in Boston provided me with a first-hand account of the early German Jewish period, and thereby provided me as well with a basis of comparison with the later Russian Jewish community.

Solomon, Barbara Miller. Ancestors and Immigrants: A Changing New England Tradition. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956.

Ancestors and Immigrants is an excellent text dealing with the dynamics behind the Boston Brahmins' dislike for minority groups. Miss Solomon has a fine section in her work on the Yankee opinion of the Russian immigrant which proved to be most helpful in giving me insights into the reasons behind the birth and growth of anti-Jewish sentiment in Boston.

_____. Pioneers in Service: The History of the Associated Jewish Philanthropies of Boston. Boston: Court Square Press, Inc., 1956.

This is another fine Solomon work, this one dealing with Jewish philanthropy and philanthropic institutions. It discusses the roots of the first federation of Jewish charities in Boston, and then traces the evolution of federated charities and their work together until the middle 1950's. Miss Solomon's discussion on Boston's Jewish charities and philanthropic institutions proved most helpful for my section on Jewish philanthropy.

Wieder, Arnold A. The Early Jewish Community of Boston's North End. Waltham, Mass.: Brandeis University, 1962.

This interesting work is a sociologically-oriented study of the Eastern European Jewish community in Boston's North End. At one time, the North End comprised the largest single Jewish enclave in Boston. It first had quite a few German Jews, but later had a predominance of East European Jews. Rabbi Wieder's study deals with the years between 1870 and 1900. Wieder's system of gaining knowledge through interviews with older residents of the North End is prone to the weakness of faulty memories and exaggerations. Nevertheless, many of his conclusions are interesting and even provocative, and they offer the possibility of new insights into the role of assimilator played by the first-generation Jewish immigrant.

Article

_____. "Haskalah," Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. VI. New York: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1901.

I used the Jewish Encyclopedia solely as a background text on the subject of "Haskalah."

Newspapers and Periodicals

The American Hebrew (New York). October-November, 1895.

I found some interesting articles and news items in this New York-based newspaper. The Boston correspondent and others presented the problems of Boston Jewry as they occurred before the year 1900. I was especially interested in its clear and thorough articles on anti-Jewish activity in the city.

Angoff, Charles, "Memoirs," The Menorah Journal, L (1962), pp. 136-147.

This article by Harvard-educated Charles Angoff was an adequate report concerning the cultural, intellectual, spiritual and domestic life of the East European Jews in Boston in the early 1900's. If there was any weakness, it was the lack of depth caused by the brevity of the article, as well as the possible bias of outlook based upon the personal nature of the article. Nevertheless, it was well written, and offered new information about the aforementioned areas of discussion previously not garnered in the other books that I read. This was probably because of the fine intimate, personal glimpses into the past which Mr. Angoff provided for us in "Memoirs."

The Jewish Advocate (Boston). May, 1905 - August, 1914.

This was my single most important primary source of material on the period under study. The Jewish Advocate was, and is, an excellent newspaper, one that has always been vitally concerned with all aspects of the life of the Jewish community of Boston. It is a courageous newspaper, always stating the facts of a particular situation in full and expressing its editorial opinions in clear, uncompromising language. I discovered much interesting and important material for my thesis in The Jewish Advocate, and have quoted liberally from its pages.

Neusner, Dr. Jacob. "The Impact of Immigration and Philanthropy upon the Boston Jewish Community (1880-1914)," Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society, XLVI (1956), pp. 71-85.

This article was probably the most important one that I used in relation to the subject of Jewish philanthropy in Boston. Neusner is perceptive, insightful, and clear. He reduces the complexities of historical change to an easy, readable, simplified language, which helps the layman to understand that about which Neusner is writing. Neusner's conclusions about the reasons for Boston Jewry's change of attitude toward philanthropy are interesting and provocative. This is an excellent article, and it has whet my appetite to read more from the pen of this excellent historian.

Rosen, Ben. "The Trend of Jewish Population in Boston: A Study to Determine the Location of a Jewish Communal Building," Monographs of the Federated Jewish Charities of Boston, I (January, 1921), pp. 9-28.

I used this monograph but sparingly, since most of the material with which it dealt went beyond the historical period of my thesis. Nevertheless, the monograph contained some excellent statistical material which demonstrated the presence of trends of population movement which began during the period upon which my thesis concentrates. Some of the sociological implications of this movement are clearly stated, and were of benefit. They would certainly have been of greater use if the monograph had been expanded; indeed, the only criticism of the monograph is that it does not always deal in depth with its subject. However, the facts which it does present are excellent, and at least offered this observer the opportunity to ponder in depth the meaning of statistical materials and their rather scanty accompanying analyses.

Other Sources

Personal interview with Col. Benjamin Gorfinkle, former resident of Boston's North End, and one of the principal subsidizers of the Wieder thesis on the Jews of the North End. July-August, 1966.

I am personally grateful to Col. Gorfinkle for his insightful and generally helpful comments about the first big center of Jewish concentration in the city of Boston.