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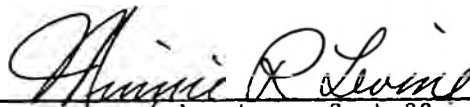
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TITLE The Attitude of the American Jewish Community toward East-European  
Immigration - 1880-1890.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY

TOWARD

EAST-EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION -- 1880-1890

As Reflected In the Anglo-Jewish Press

By

Irving Aaron Mandel

Submitted to Professor Jacob R. Marcus, Referee, and to the Faculty of The Hebrew Union College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Hebrew Letters and for the Rabbinical Diploma

. 1946-1947

May 7, 1947

REPORT TO THE FACULTY:

Irving Aaron Mandel has submitted the following thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Hebrew Letters and for the rabbinical diploma:

"The Attitude of the American Jewish Community toward East-European Immigration -- 1880-1890, as reflected in the Anglo-Jewish Press".

-----

Mr. Mandel has done a very fine piece of original work. He has labored extensively in source materials. As a matter of fact, he has limited himself exclusively to such materials.

For the most part he writes very well, at times even brilliantly, although every now and then he evidences a penchant for the exotic phrase, which is more ornamental than meaningful.

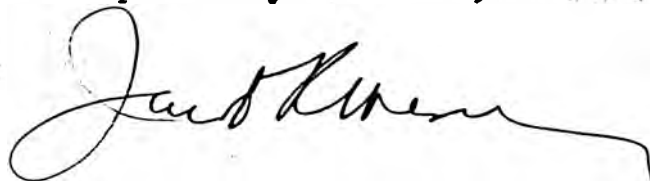
He has shown excellent insight in interpreting the material and has posed his problem very clearly. Methodologically, he evidences considerable maturity and sobriety.

In one respect I believe that he has been too critical. I believe that he tends to be too severe in condemning the native American Jews for their lack of sympathy for the incoming East-European immigrants. There is no question but that many of the leaders and the masses of the native American groups were not particularly eager to welcome the Russian and Polish Jews, yet, on the whole, they did do much to facilitate their entrance and help them adjust themselves.

Mr. Mandel has, on the whole, done a very good job and has done much to clarify the understanding of a very difficult decade in American Jewish history.

I am pleased to recommend the acceptance of his thesis.

Respectfully submitted,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Jacob K. Mervin", with a long, sweeping horizontal line extending to the right.

Mandel

THE ATTITUDE OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY TOWARD  
EAST-EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION -- 1880-1890

-- As Reflected in the Anglo-Jewish Press

Irving A. Mandel (Hebrew Union College, May 27, 1947)

The period from 1880-1890 may be treated as a distinctive decade in American-Jewish History because a new factor, namely, Russian Jewish Emigration in large numbers, had an immeasurable influence upon the shaping of Jewish life and institutions, adding new complexity and variations of organisation, new forms of Jewish activity, bringing in its wake a potential creative force for the future expansion of a revitalised American Jewish Community. American Jewry was unprepared for the mass migrations of the early eighties, though a Hebrew Immigrants' Aid Society had been established in New York City as early as 1870, but <sup>SOON STOPPED FUNCTIONING</sup> ~~had gone into~~ ~~disrepair~~, and was not revived until November 18, 1881, after efforts to raise funds by the "Russian Emigrant Relief Fund" did not solve all the needs of the immigrants. Similar agencies such as the HEAS of New York were established in many other large cities but all of them were dissolved within a year, following the first flood of immigrants. Early in 1882 Mass Demonstrations were held in New York, Pittsburg, New Orleans, Philadelphia and Montreal, Canada, as protests to the Russian Government. But the full responsibility for the East-European Immigrants' welfare remained with the American Jewish Community.

After the first hot flush of protest and the frenzied efforts of the early eighties had abated, the American Jewish Community began to stabilise its help to the immigrants by relegating the

responsibility for Immigrant Aid to the Charities, while Immigrant Protective Societies were incorporated for the purpose of giving the newly arrived immigrant a minimum of help at the ports of entry. Spurred on by idealistic motives, leaders of the UAHC attempted to develop a large scale Colonisation scheme, but their efforts to raise a million dollars, as well as their efforts to establish successful colonies failed. Only those colonies established <sup>NEAR</sup> ~~in~~ New York City and originated by the efforts of the discontinued HEAS of New York ~~SURVIVED~~.

Thus the period from 1880-1890 was an important decade because during this period and for fortuitous reasons, New York, after a show-down with the "West" (Cincinnati and the UAHC) became the leading Jewish City of the United States. Colonisation schemes on a national scale were found to be unworkable. The Jewish Communities of the United States banded together to form a National Association of Jewish Charities. An insufficiency of support from the established Charities accelerated the split and the creation of autonomous and independent Russian Jewish Organisations, such as synagogues, press, Charities and mutual benefit societies. The crowding together of large masses of East-European Jews in the larger cities evidenced the formation of the Ghetto-complex-- sociologically, physically and psychologically. Thus, a distinctly discernible opposition between "uptown" and "downtown" Jews began to appear by 1890, forcing upon the former (German-Sephardic Jews) the role of benefactor and protector of the latter (East-European Jews) ~~thereat~~. By 1890, for various reasons, two Jewish Communities could be found in most of the cities of the United States.

DEDICATED  
TO MY WIFE  
WITH LOVE

## PREFACE - AIMS AND PURPOSES

### THE TEN YEARS THAT SHOOK THE JEWISH WORLD

The ten years from 1880-1890 literally shook the Jewish world. For during this decade, two migrations had their genesis - one toward Palestine, the other toward America - and both movements have revolutionized modern Jewish history.

The seeds of Emancipation planted in the early revolutionary years of the nineteenth century were blown and scattered across the plains and mountains of the European continent. Jews, along with all the re-awakened masses of Europe, were tasting for the first time the sweet fruits of liberty and breathing fresh drafts of the pure air of freedom.

But as the nineteenth century wore on, counter-movements of reaction from entrenched power began to embitter the fruit and taint the air with edicts of discrimination. In Russia, especially, continuously seething with abortive reforms, the Jewish masses found their liberties constantly withdrawn with harsh laws making life unbearable. Thus the reawakened masses of Jews began to look in different directions for opportunities in which to live autonomously, unhampered by age-long prejudices and discriminations.

It will be the purpose of this paper to study the reaction of the American Jewish community to East-European migrations. That such a study is important and crucial for an understanding of the period from 1880-1890 is justified by the fact that an entirely new factor is introduced for the first time into American Jewish history, namely, large numbers of East-European Jews.

Up until 1880 there were few such Jews in America; in the main, these Polish, Rumanian and Russian Jews, had easily integrated themselves into the American scene, or in such few numbers that their general significance was negligible. In only a limited sense could they be distinguished from the rest of American Jewry. They were accepted as part of the "old" immigration as contrasted by the "new" immigration which was to begin in 1881.

How the new factor of large numbers of Russian Jews was received, how the American Jewish community contributed to their welfare, their protection, their education, how the German Jew looked upon his Russian Jewish neighbor and how he welcomed continued emigration will be discussed in the pages to follow.

The period from 1880-1890 marks the beginnings of the so-called "russianisation of the American Jewish community." Unfortunately, the facts and details attendant upon this momentous development have not been carefully recorded. It is therefore the second major purpose of this paper to unearth from the dusty, yellowed newspapers of this decade some of the historical facts which have heretofore been undiscovered.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am at the outset indebted to Professor Jacob R. Marcus for his advice and encouragement in writing this thesis. To the librarians at the Hebrew Union College, Jewish Theological Seminary, New York Public Library and the American Jewish Historical Society, I am grateful for every assistance, especially to Dr. Joshua Bloch, Rabbi Isadore Meyers and Miss Rose Englander. Thanks are also due Dr. Mark Wischnitzer for permitting me to

read relevant chapters of his yet unpublished manuscript on World Jewish migrations. The task of typing the manuscript was cheerfully accepted and capably executed by Mrs. Sylvia Dunsker.

Lastly, I am conscious of a deep debt of thanks to my wife who laboriously checked references, proof-read copy, urged certain changes in approach, and who in many ways helped make the task of writing this thesis an adventure and a pleasure.

I am nevertheless, solely responsible for the conclusions herein reached and for whatever shortcomings this study may reveal.

## SOURCES, DOCUMENTS AND LIMITATION OF METHOD

This thesis, "The Attitude of the American Jewish Community to East European Immigration from 1880-1890" has been largely written upon deductive findings. Though the writer held certain preconceived notions, at no time did he allow his own prejudices or preconceptions to be used as a criterion for selecting the material. As a matter of fact, after assembling the notes and documents, certain startling facts stood out as more important than the basic assumptions which had motivated the writer in the first place. For example, though the writer had anticipated an expression of antipathy toward the Russo-Jewish immigrants, he had not conceived of the inner conflicts —between the East and the West (New York and Cincinnati), between the large cities and the smaller towns.

The basic sources for this study are two outstanding Anglo-Jewish newspapers of the eighteen-eighties. The most important is the JEWISH MESSENGER, first published in 1857 and in the continuous hands of the Isaacs family of New York City. The MESSENGER represented the Liberal (?) (Ashkenazic) German population of the upper middle class. Its pages were filled with reports from outlying cities as well as New York. In many instances, the newspaper published complete speeches, sermons, addresses and long reports of various meetings of Jewish interest held throughout the world. Its letter columns were filled with correspondence from leading Jewish figures.

The second basic source is the AMERICAN ISRAELITE, first published in 1854, and edited by I.M. Wise. For the facts mentioned above with regard to the MESSENGER and for two other important reasons the ISRAELITE is an invaluable source. The newspaper gave space to correspondence from

numerous smaller Jewish communities throughout the South and West, thus adding information not found in the pages of the MESSENGER. Secondly the ISRAELITE, as the organ of the U.A.H.C. and Reform in general, mirrored the many-faceted activities of German-Jewish communities in behalf of Immigrants in the eighties.

Finally these two newspapers, reflecting what developed as opposing attitudes of the East and the West, give fair balance to a study of the subject matter. Thus a study of these two sources of information provides colorful and invaluable insight into the problem under consideration.

In reading these newspapers care had to be taken in avoiding the tendencious and meretricious exaggerations of the writers. For example it was soon discovered that "Maftir," the San Francisco correspondent (Walter Winchell of his day) hugely enjoyed sensationalism, slander and exaggeration. On the other hand a "Koppel Von Bloomburg" writing from Texas (J. Voorsanger) usually gave reasoned, factual and balanced reports. Moreover, the attempt was constantly made to emphasize letters to the editor and reports of societies in order to gain the widest latitude of opinion.

After reading these newspapers for a period of ten years, another fact stands out as a significant evaluation of newspapers as a source of history. News and events which were fresh and original receive more attention and space in the crisis periods. But history is not a chronology of peaks and plateaus. The historian is also interested in the "ascent" and "descent" of momentous events. Unfortunately, the day to day reader is not; therefore, gaps and hiatuses necessarily must be spanned by a careful cobweb of available notes and sources.

To help the structure of the thesis, moreover, every attempt has been made to gather those contemporaneous documents and reports available for the period. Reports of societies, the U.H. Charities for one, of individuals who were enlisted to deal with some aspect of the refugee problem - Moritz Ellinger, J. Stanwood Menken, Julius Goldman, et. al., have been read and included in the paper.

Nevertheless, many documents and records and events of meetings are irretrievably lost and we are grateful for the meager references noted in the pages to follow. They provide what "history" we have of this crucial period, from 1880-1890 and reflect the opinions and attitudes of the established Jewish community better than any other source.

This thesis has been documented in the following manner. Because Volume numbers of the periodicals are inaccurate, and because different libraries bind their volumes of the newspaper differently, footnote references have been made to the individual issue of the newspaper. Thus the following reference illustrates the way all others, uniformly noted, must be analysed.

(3	7	82	M	p.4)
Month	Day	Year	Newspaper MESSENGER	Page

The ISRAELITE would be noted by the insertion of the Capital (I) in place of the capital letter (M). In most instances footnotes have been placed at the bottom of each page, but in the appendices and in certain chapters, for reasons of clarity, the footnotes are located in the body of the text. The date given in the footnote is in all cases publication date of the newspaper, and both the MESSENGER and the ISRAELITE published on Fridays.

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PART I

THE FIRST WAVE OF JEWISH IMMIGRANTS - 1880-1885

## CHAPTER I

### THE QUESTION OF RUSSIAN EMIGRATION BEFORE 1880

One of the earliest notices of proposed large-scale Russian emigration to America may be found in June, 1869 when the editor of the MESSENGER noted that there was a movement on the part of Jews in the areas of distress in Western Prussia to come to America, "where, as they contend, there is a wider field for their industry." The editor, then voicing what was to be a leit motiv of all later attitudes on Eastern-Jewish emigration, went on to say.<sup>1</sup>

We sincerely hope the plan will fail. The difficulty of earning a livelihood without capital, and probably without any trade is just as great here as elsewhere. More especially would those immigrants find it so, unacquainted as they must be with our language. Let the wealthy Jews in Europe discountenance a scheme which would entail misery on those they expect to benefit. Our people have quite enough to do in taking care of those who are suffering from poverty - yet this they do quite cheerfully...

In another editorial a few months later the editor of the MESSENGER commented adversely on the recently formed "Emigration Society" in San Francisco.<sup>1A</sup> He further remarked that no less an authority than Dr. Lehmann, editor of the European journal ISRAELITE (cf. J.E. Vol 7, p.667) had stated in a letter to a Mr. Albert Cohen that he opposed the project of sending Jews from W. Russia to America because of the expense involved and because of the unfavorable attitude of the American co-religionists.<sup>2</sup> Realising that his attitude might induce people to accuse him of callousness, the editor of the MESSENGER emphatically requested from his readers, consideration of his position.<sup>3</sup>

1. (6-25-69-M-p.4)  
1A. (10-8-69-M-p.4)

2. (10-29-69-M-p.4)  
3. (10-15-69-M-p.4)

Nevertheless, his protests on his own behalf were either unnecessary or unheeded because no one of the readers of the MESSENGER saw fit to express through a letter, any opposition to his antipathy to emigration.

The AMERICAN ISRAELITE during the month of November 1869, gave notice of the meeting in Berlin of the ALLIANCE ISRAELITE UNIVERSELLE (hereinafter referred to as the ALLIANCE) held on October 4, 1869 which met to discuss, among other matters, the poverty and problems of West Russian Jews. A sub-committee was appointed at that conference and was assigned, "to give aid and support to immigrants from Russia who wish to settle in Europe and America." The ISRAELITE went on to report that "Bloch and Co." had agreed to act as agents and ship all funds collected for this purpose.

Moreover, "our Polish co-religionists" wrote the ISRAELITE, "who are closest connected with the poor of Russia, ought to take the matter earnestly in hand. They ought to form societies in all large cities of the Union with the following purpose:

1. To adopt and have educated children of such poor Russian Jews as might reach these shores.
2. To assist emigrants from that country in getting employment as mechanics, agriculturists or laborers.
3. To give them some support until they are put in some employment.

Following this set of guiding principles was an invitation by Isaac M. Wise to "such Polish gentlemen as may wish to take initiatory steps in this matter."<sup>4</sup>

Two weeks later the petition to President U.S. Grant signed by S. Wolf, Henry Adler, J.S. Jacobson, A.S. Solomons and Lewis. Abraham

on behalf of the starving and persecuted Jews of West Russia was printed in full. In flowery language it portrayed the plight of the suffering Jew in Russia, urging the President to use his good offices to assuage their misery.<sup>5</sup> Where the question of civic rights was concerned, the Jews of America were quick to assert their objection even at this time.

A month later word came, through the pages of the London JEWISH RECORD,<sup>6</sup> that the Berlin Committee in charge of the "improvement of the Jews in Western Prussia, intend to assist hundreds of Jewish families to emigrate to the United States;"; this harbinger of the emigration to come, brought the following reply from the MESSENGER:<sup>7</sup>

....We should be false to our trust were we not to warn that committee that the project they are maturing cannot but prove disastrous to the poor families they are desirous of improving...our people with all their benevolence - and it cannot be overrated - have enough to do to maintain our gigantic institutions, and kindred societies, and all this they do readily and most cheerfully..... we entreat the Committee most respectfully, yet most earnestly, to rescind their resolution....There are, at this writing, quite a number of poor Israelites in our midst, who would gladly return to Europe, had they the means; and why should the number be increased.....

Despite the protests of the MESSENGER the emigrants did begin to arrive. In an addendum to a letter which was sent to the ISRAELITE (written by Mr. Adolph Cremieux), B.F. Peixotto of San Francisco urged I.M. Wise to help those who would soon be on their way to America, as intimated in Cremieux's letter.<sup>8</sup>

#### THE FIRST H.E.A.S. IN AMERICA

In the following month a rather grudging announcement of the coming meeting of the Israelites of New York City gave the first intimation

5. (12-10-69-I-p.11) (Petition published in full)

6. (12-17-69)

7. (1-7-70-M-p.4)

8. (2-11-70-I-p.7) (letters published in full)

of co-operation by the American Jewish community with the Berlin Committee. Several prominent Israelites deemed it advisable to organize a "Society in Aid of Destitute Jewish Emigrants who have come to enjoy with us the blessings of this country, instead of remaining to suffer the oppression practised upon them in their native places."<sup>9</sup> The meeting was actually held at a "Mr. Horn's house" but stormy weather prevented a larger attendance.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless a chairman T.H. Keesing and a secretary I.S. Isaacs were nominated and the following committee was appointed to devise a suitable plan and submit it at a future meeting of the Israelites of New York when a permanent organization would be affected:<sup>11</sup>

COMMITTEE: Theo. A.W. Kohn  
Moritz Ellinger  
P.J. Joachimsen  
H.B. Herts  
I.J. Salomon  
Abm Cohen  
T.H. Keesing (ex-officio)

One week later this committee met and adopted rules of projected organization. Its preamble read:<sup>12</sup>

Whereas it has become to our knowledge that, in consequence of the oppression now existing in various foreign countries, several hundred Jewish immigrants, destitute of all means of support, have lately arrived in this city, and many more may be expected; and whereas it is our desire and aim to prevent such emigrants from becoming an additional burden upon the community and to enable them to support themselves and families, and to become useful members of society; therefore be it

RESOLVED: that for the purpose of carrying out those objects, we form ourselves into a society to be called the 'Hebrew Immigrants' Aid Society of the City of New York.'

Despite the formation of this society and still disregarding any sense of humanitarianism, the MESSENGER persisted in the following months

9. (3-11-70-M-p.4)
10. (3-18-70-M-p.2)
11. At the same meeting eight men donated a total of \$345. which was a large sum in those days, for emigration.
12. (3-25-70-M-p.4)

to lay the sword of his verbal wrath upon the editorial anvil, to pound out more sparks of protest and indignation. During the very week when a news item announced the 250 penniless Russian Jews were now residing in New York City (\$500.00 was spent to help them - \$2.00 per person) the editor still held fast to his opinion that the emigration of masses of Jews to America from Russia was a matter merely of a "change of evils," that Great Britain, Holland and Germany were systematically ridding themselves of these wards. And he concluded by complimenting the Board of Delegates because they had written to the ALLIANCE discouraging further immigration.<sup>13</sup>

During the rest of 1870 the attitude was expressed again by the Board of Delegates, by the editors of the ISRAELITE and MESSENGER, that emigration spelled pauperism, that the American Jewish community bore no greater responsibility than the European countries. In May 1870 a letter signed by Cremieux and L. Isidor was sent to America pleading with the Jews to adopt orphans of Russian Jews who perished during the famine of 1869-1870.<sup>14</sup> The Board of Delegates responded with kind-hearted resolutions.<sup>15</sup> but the results were meager. There is some record, however, of a refuge being established on Ward's Island through the co-operation of the State of New York,<sup>16</sup> which housed 600 persons and where kosher meat was provided by Jewish butchers. But the report of the Committee for support of the Koenigsberg Jews published in August 1870 gave the number of Jews sent to New York as 286,<sup>17</sup> and the aggregate collections of funds was estimated as scarcely exceeding \$5,000.00.

13. (4-1-70-M-p.4)

14. (5-27-70-I-p.8) CORR

15. (Ibid, p.7)

16. This is the predecessor of the famous Schiff refuge established on Ward's Island in 1882 (5-6-70-M-p.4)

17. (8-12-70-M-p.2) cf. (9-2-70-M-p.4) There is a further record of 122 Russian Jews arriving on the ship "Prince Albert."

These facts, meager as they are indicate that the anticipated fear of mass immigrations of Russian Jews did not materialize in the early seventies and that the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 forced a complete stoppage of even a trickle of emigration, and also broke the organizational ties that had been tenuously established between the ALLIANCE of Europe and the American Jewish organizations of relief.

From 1871 onward periodicals report that the frightening apparition of mass migration was still in the mind of American Jewry. In 1872 there was some organized help for the Rumanian Jews,<sup>18</sup> In 1873 colonisation schemes were proposed in Western and Southern United States;<sup>19</sup> recommendations were made to set up an employment bureau and a loan office for incoming immigrants.<sup>20</sup> In 1875 the cry was again uttered against the practise of shipping indigent refugees. With a note of desperation, rather amusing when one considers the deluge of the eighties, the editor whined:<sup>21</sup>

The practise of Jewish societies in England and Germany of shipping to American emigrants incapable of supporting themselves is neither economical nor kind. It is not fair to foist them on American Israel.

#### COLONISATION AN EARLY SUGGESTION - 1879

One of the positive notes which came out of the seventies was the increasingly concrete talk of colonization schemes. Though the editor of the MESSENGER had steadfastly opposed mass migrations in the early seventies, he had approved of a movement to form a society for encouraging colonization of the Middle West. A magazine "American Colonist and Homestead Journal" was to be started in support of this movement, but there is no further record of its publication.<sup>22</sup>

18. (11-22-72-M-p.4) and (12-13-72-M-p.4)

19. (6-6-73-M-p.5)

20. (2-14-73-M-p.4)

21. (4-7-76-M-p.4f)

22. (12-10-69-M-p.1)

In June of 1879 however, there was definite talk of agricultural projects to be sponsored by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, (hereinafter U.A.H.C.) and at its New York Convention the U.A.H.C. established an "Agricultural Pursuits Committee" with the following members:

Hon. Moritz Ellinger, of New York  
 Hon. Julius Freiberg, of Cincinnati  
 Emanuel Wertheimer, Esq. of Pittsburg  
 Lazarus Silverman, Esq. of Chicago  
 Hon. Simon Wolf, of Washington, D.C.

These plans according to the MESSENGER, for an agricultural policy with respect to future emigrations had both its friends and foes, equally divided. One of the interesting proposals of this committee was to co-operate with non-Jewish agencies already in existence.<sup>24</sup> The London Jewish Board of Guardians favored the plan and also any proposals which might help in their common object, "the amelioration of the poorer class of Jews."<sup>25</sup>

23. (6-27-79-M-p.4)

24. (7-25-79-M-p.4)

25. (8-1-79-M-p.2)

## CHAPTER II

THE DAWNING OF A NEW JEWISH ERA - 1880

From what has been discussed above, one can see that the persecutions and discriminations in the European countries during the seventies had given further cause to the American community to begin to evaluate itself as a member of the Jewish community of nations. The prosperity which the Jew enjoyed along with the rest of his class in America could never be enjoyed so long as a Jew could still be considered an object for ridicule, discrimination or even bloodshed in another part of the world. Within the limited scope of his vision the American Jew of the seventies gave brave cry against persecution, and published eloquent though unavailing protests. Nevertheless, one cannot help but think that these protests were uttered hollowly; for the American Jewish community had still not learned to accept the wherewithal of world responsibility.

In an address delivered before the Society for Ethical Culture at Chickering Hall on December 28, 1879 Felix Adler<sup>1</sup> spoke on the "Recent Persecution of the Jews." In this eloquent address written with a full consciousness of the destiny of the Jew, Adler closed his harrowing description of religious, political, economic and social persecution with this peroration:

My hearers, we stand today before a solemm turning point of time. In the coming week, not only a year will depart, but a decade will end - the eighth decade of the century is about to roll down the stream of time. Would that at such a season we might take to heart the lessons of the years, and learn to look up, each one from his little engrossing cares and from his giddy pleasures or his solitary griefs - to those grand destinies that are growing in the world, and find in them his light, his life...

1. In bound volume of pamphlets EUC. Library (MK-A) "Adler Addresses."

"Those grand destinies" around which Adler wove the magic spell of words was to be for the Jew of America an inner revolution, an earthquake to his complacency, the frightening spectre of thousands upon thousands of oncoming Russian Jews to the shores of America in flight from famines, fear and violence. And as the ninth decade of the Nineteenth Century would "roll down the stream of time" it would unfold the trials and tribulations of desperate organization, of every-increasing calls to philanthropy, of the jostling of East-European Jew and his American brother - in short the birthpangs of the Modern Jewish Era.

Because of the mounting disabilities of the "enlightened" reign of Alexander II, each edict issued or enforced by the government caused deeper rifts in the stability of the Jewish population.<sup>2</sup> And these never ceasing acts of discrimination created the desire - later the necessity - to flee from Russia. By 1878 not even the moral and political pressures of the ALLIANCE exerted at the Congress of Berlin, (June 28) could sway the Russian representatives from cynically commenting that Russian Jews could not be compared with those of the Western countries.<sup>3</sup> By 1880, the cantonist system, progroms (still on a small scale) ritual murder accusations and so forth, forced large numbers of Russian Jews to begin looking westward. *abolish!*

By April 1880, the MESSENGER was urging the U.A.H.C. to get on with its agricultural scheme.

Colonies of Hungarians, Russians and Germans are arriving weekly and must be given better treatment than simply the means of peddling. Here is an opportunity for the charities of the Union that is entrusted with agricultural questions

2. (For an excellent birdseye study, well documented, cf. Greenberg, Louis The Jews in Russia - The Struggle for Emancipation (Vol I) Yale U. Press, New Haven (1944) Chap VII "Jewish Policies of Alexander II")
3. (Ibid p. 97)

to disperse the rush of immigrants in some intelligible way. The immigrants are sober, industrious and intelligent and wish to become Americans. Pecuniary aid is not all they need.<sup>4</sup>

On June 4, 1880 the ISRAELITE reported that Hon. Simon Wolf (a member of the Agricultural Committee of the Union ) had gone on a tour of several cities to interest the Jews in the Agricultural Plan. At the same time another member of that Committee Hon. Emanuel Wertheimer was to visit Europe to try especially to interest Sir Moses Montefiore in the plan, as well as the Secretary of the ALLIANCE. But this time, The American community was beginning to think in larger denominations; there was talk during these months of a subscription scheme for one million dollars to establish the "Adolph Cremieux Farming Colony."<sup>5</sup> In June of 1880 a new society was formed in New York City called the "Independent United Hebrew Association" for the purpose of assisting Jewish immigrants.<sup>6</sup>

Increased agitation of the Jewish position in Russia as well as disabilities placed upon American Jewish citizens of Russian birth traveling through that despotic country caused continuous stir in the general press of America. In May of that year Representative S.S. Cox of New York delivered a speech in which a paragraph was headed "American Citizenship a Russian Felony." In this speech he alluded to a Jewish citizen of Detroit who had been imprisoned upon returning to his birthplace, and his property confiscated. The Albany WEEKLY TIMES nobly urged that any American, Jew and Christian, must express his horror and resentment at the appalling conditions prevailing in Russia. "When

4. (4-9-80-M-p.1)

5. (6-4-80-M-p.4)

6. (6-11-80-M-p.2) -"There is no further information about this society."

systematic robbery of property and indignity to persons becomes the order of the day against any body of people," the Albany editorial stated, "especially those with whom so many of our own citizens are associated by blood and religion, it is high time for us to assert our common nature... the voice of these stricken people must not remain unheeded..."<sup>7</sup>

Such noble sentiments expressed by their fellow-Americans heartened the Jews, lightening the fears which were steadily mounting while each week and each passing month brought another boatload of Russian immigrants. If only the process of Americanization might work rapidly enough. These poorly clad, poverty-stricken Jews claiming the attention of the Jewish community, might be absorbed quickly enough to avoid creating an eyesore. Thus the cry "Americanize the Immigrant" began to be heard. In an editorial for Rosh Hashonah the MESSENGER wrote:<sup>8</sup>

The steady arrival of Russian Israelites on these shores directs attention to the large numbers who have already made their homes in America and the absence of any agency to Americanize them. In New York alone there are fully twelve thousand and throughout the country they may be estimated at that figure. They have organized exclusive congregations, have their own societies, weekly papers and present the appearance of a separate community. There is a lack of refinement and true spirituality despite the exactness with which they adhere to their traditional habits. It is the duty of our wealthy congregations to unite in some vigorous movement for their benefit. Let our ministers arrange a movement for their benefit by means of simple lectures in German and English. Let visiting committees be organized by our ladies, which shall visit the homes of our poorer co-religionists and refine them, not by money but by the far more precious charity of personal sympathy. Let classes in English be started and the young girls further encouraged to attend the industrial schools now in successful organization. Let a branch synagogue be started downtown supported by an uptown shrine and let the sermons be of such a simple nature that it will attract, and of such a Jewish character that it will not offend the class intended to be benefited. Is it not better that they should be taught and refined in the synagogue than in the penitentiary.

It may be noted here that every suggestion uttered in this zealous "Call To Action" was later put to a test. For the prosperous German Jewish majority of 1880 could only visualize the Russian Jewish population as a group to be elevated to their level. Americanization in those days meant assimilation. But it was feared that, lest this process begin immediately, the Russian Jewish populace might turn to crime, a strange attitude of caste superiority to be held by the Jews who had similarly come penniless to America - but one generation earlier!

In October 1880, the MESSENGER directed its words to the U.A.H.C. urging them to take up the cudgels and with "energy and spirit to proceed forthwith in this work (of aiding emigration)...or does it abandon the task as beyond its strength. If the committee having this subject in charge propose to undertake something practical, there is no time so good as the present for demonstrating their zeal, discretion and confidence in their fellowmen...."<sup>9</sup> Taking up this challenge the ISRAELITE a few weeks later stated categorically:

Next in importance to the establishment of the Hebrew Union College is the work of leading the Israelite into agricultural pursuits...To correct the evil which the oppression of 18 centuries has fostered in the Israelites of driving him away from agricultural pursuits, is now one of the aims of the U.A.H.C...<sup>10</sup>

Further information on the plans of the Union indicated that sub-committees were to be formed in every city and town in the U.S. to solicit land, money and farming implements with a view toward establishing "Hebrew Farming Colonies."<sup>11</sup> Despite these grandiose schemes of the Union the MESSENGER retorted a week later, "...Valuable time has been lost in

8. (9-17-80-M-p.4)

9. (10-1-80-M-p.4)

10. (10-15-80-I-p.124)

11. (Ibid)

interminable debate. Another season has passed without so much as an acre anywhere for temporary occupation of emigrants."<sup>12</sup>

It is evident from these verbal skirmishes that during 1880 there was more talk of organization than real practical results. By December of that year, plans and schemes were in such a snarl that the newspapers began to appeal directly to individuals:

Where are our Jewish farmers able and willing to receive sturdy Jewish lads who have a taste for agriculture? The Childrens' Aid Society claims that they have frequent applications for such people and they are unwilling to send young applicants to Christian farmers when those of our own faith can be found. And not only farmers. Merchants and others desiring to receive and train respectable Jewish boys and girls would do a great benefit by forwarding their addresses.<sup>13</sup>

12. (10-22-80-M-p.4)

13. (12-24-80-M p.1)

## CHAPTER III

THE YEAR OF DECISION - 1881

If it is true that a warning calm precedes a storm, it must certainly apply to the early months of 1881. Other than scattered references to emigrants and, presumably, activity by established committees, the attention of the American Jew was elsewhere. The anti-Semitic outbursts in Germany were the subject of editorial comment,<sup>1</sup> during January and February. Moritz Ellinger who was later to be so actively engaged in America and Europe on behalf of the Russian emigrants, was currently publishing his essays on "The Sermons of Einhorn" in the columns of the MESSENGER.

The only meetings of any import during these months, were held in Chicago on January 24th and January 26th, meetings related to the "spirit of the times." On the former date was held a meeting at "Greenebaum's Hall" for the purpose of organizing "An Agricultural Colony in Palestine."<sup>2</sup> On the latter date a protest meeting of the Russian and Polish Israelites of Chicago was held at "Fairbank Hall" framing resolutions against District No. 6, I.O.B.B. because a petition to organize a "Polish" lodge had been turned down.<sup>3</sup>

The editor of the MESSENGER broke the uncommon silence on the Russian question when on February 11 he editorially urged that "more stringent emigration laws are needed." For the London Board of Guardians were sending "utterly helpless" immigrants to the U.S.<sup>4</sup> This same sentiment had been uttered in a letter to the editor<sup>5</sup> which said in part:

1. (1-21-81-M-p.4)

2. (2-4-81-M-p.2)

3. Ibid, also cf. (2-11-81-M-p.3)  
(2-4-81-I-p.252)

4. (2-11-81-M-p.4)

5. (1-28-81-M-p.4) (Signed "J.L.")  
(CORR.)  
Signed J.L.

Wait a few years until Israelites of Russian birth in London vie with those of English extraction in wealth, influence and number, and a different cry will be uttered in England. As it is the London Board of Guardians are only too glad to forward their poor to America.

When finally that dread day arrived when Alexander II was assassinated, initiating a continuous series of pogroms throughout Russia, the first reaction of the American Jewish Press was one of horror over the assassination. "Whatever the political wrong of individuals or classes in Russia, Alexander did his best to enfranchise his people,"<sup>6</sup> said the editor.

And during the following months when the telegraphed news brought spasmodic reports of the wide-scale terrorist activities against the Jews, both the ISRAELITE and the MESSENGER persisted in identifying those pogromists, later to be charged as government-inspired, as ordinary Nihilists.<sup>7</sup> Though the riots and pogroms in Russia actually began on April 15, 1881 (Purim) the initial reactions in America came a month or so later. One gentleman who signed his name "RUSSKI" wrote rather passionately:

Why do not the 3,000,000 Jews in Russia emulate the courage of the 3,000,000 patriots in America who achieved liberty for themselves in the days of '76? Does not the blood of the Maccabees course in their veins? Why not arm for the struggle and demand their rights at the point of a bayonet?<sup>8</sup>

The editor of the MESSENGER gave another solution to the Russian question. Recognizing that it was ~~ph~~unrealistic to want the Jews of Russia to leave that Empire, now that the riots had broken out in the Ukraine, he offered a more "practical" solution,

A better way perhaps would be to send American Jewish missionaries to Russia to civilize them, rather than give them an opportunity to Russianize us in the event of such a colossal immigration...<sup>9</sup>

6. (3-18-81-M-p.6)

7. (5-27-81-M-p.4) (8-5-81-I-p.44)

8. (5-20-81-M-p.5)  
(CORR.)

9. (5-20-81-M-p.4)

The U.A.H.C. Agricultural Scheme

One of the saddest debacles in early efforts to help the immigrant was undoubtedly the so-called "Union Agricultural Scheme." As noted previously the Union had first proposed an agricultural plan in June 1879. For a year and a half, the committee appointed at that time did nothing other than talk amongst themselves and sound out various parts of the country. But in January 1881, at the semi-annual meeting of the Board, "the Committee on Agricultural Pursuits met and the following Resolution was adopted:

RESOLVED, that the chairman of this committee be requested to write every President of every congregation in the Union, to name three members of his congregation to act as a committee to solicit donations of money, land and farming implements, to aid Israelites in pursuit of agriculture.

Present at this meeting was "H. Felsenthal of the Dist. Grand Lodge #6, I.O.B.B. who agreed to co-operate with the Union scheme. Because of the enthusiasm of the discussion involved, the chairman of the committee, Hon. Julius Freiberg offered to give the first farmer established under the auspices of this committee, "a horse, a cow and a bull." Not to be outdone, Mr. Emanuel Wertheimer, outgoing chairman, offered for the second farmer similarly placed "a horse, a wagon and harness, together with a plow."<sup>11</sup>

Convinced that their plans would now materialize into a going agricultural project, the committee jubilantly waited until the July Convention. Meanwhile, the MESSENGER taunted the Union with these chiding remarks:

10. (2-4-81-I-p.254)

11. (Ibid)

It is suggested that the agricultural committee of the U.A. H.C. considerably colonize themselves. Their inactivity at a time when prompt action is necessary is peculiarly annoying. Their ex-chairman (probably Wertheimer) took letters enough to Europe to found a Kingdom."

In July 15, 1881 the report to the U.A.H.C. Convention, submitted by Corner Ellinger<sup>12</sup> was published. It called once more for the appointment of a committee of three to be called "Committee on Agricultural Pursuits." It would be the function of this committee to concern itself with the reception of refugees, "locating them on lands and providing them with farm implements." Finally the proposed plan was:

....That each head of a family be given 100 acres of land free of rent for 7 years. And the Board then to give him a deed for it on payment of its value at the time he took it, at the same time giving him cattle and implements as a loan for five years without interest.<sup>13</sup>

Between July and November there was little editorial reaction to the decision of the Executive Board of the Union about this important plan. It will be noted later that the activity of the New York Committee on its own fund-raising plans, the competition of the ALLIANCE for gathering funds from its regularly established channels, and the creation of local Aid Societies in the important cities of the Union took up the interest of the country during the crucial months from July to December 1881.<sup>14</sup>

But on November 18, 1881 the pages of the ISRAELITE blazoned forth the decision that had been discussed for two years. Under a caption, "ONE MILLION DOLLARS NEEDED" and an enlarged photograph of a certificate, the following Resolution adopted by the Executive Board on July 14, 1881 was printed:

12. Moritz Ellinger who was later to serve the N.Y. H.E.A.S.

13. (7-15-81-M-p.5) The first part of the report was adopted with a suggestion that this committee co-operate with similar comm. appointed by the three Jewish orders.

14. cf. Appendix for the initial responses of over 50 cities in the U.S. to the coming of the Russian exiles.

RESOLVED: That for the purpose of providing a fund, the income whereof shall be devoted to the Educational and Agricultural Projects of the U.A.H.C., certificates not exceeding 200,000 in number be issued and disposed of by subscription.<sup>15</sup>

The plan was simple, almost Utopian. Blocks of certificates were to be mailed to member congregations and individuals, who would be responsible for returning the equivalent value in cash to Mr. Loth, Treasurer of the campaign. It was presumed that this plan was sound, workable and would provide sufficient funds for the ambitious dreams of the U.A.H.C. Agricultural Committee.

The initial reaction was negative. People remained silent and looked askance at the plan. During the next two months the editorials and articles on the subscription scheme vainly shrilled the virtues of the million dollar subscriptions. There is no doubt whatever that the main argument for buying the certificates was the Russian Refugee question:

...If the Israelites of this country do not want to become disgraced by these newcomers and by and by be crowded by competition, they will do wisely to come forward with their aid, and by buying these certificates enable the committee to forward them, on their arrival, to their allotted lands, and under a system that will encourage them to work gladly...<sup>16</sup>

In the same article the reporter evidently intent upon arousing alarm, told that the ALLIANCE had promised to send 10,000 Russian exiles! Little did the West realize the insufficiency of even this purposely exaggerated estimate. Co-operative committees were formed, the circulars were published, broadsides and fusillades from the pages of the ISRAELITE thundered forth. But the money only trickled in.

The Agricultural scheme of the Union met a ponderous impasse.

Their plan was visionary, it competed with other campaigns, the Eastern Sea-

16. (12-2-81-I-p.181)

15. (18-81-I)

board met the response with stony indifference. It was fated to receive its COU-DE GRACE a few months later during the early months of 1882.<sup>17</sup>

#### The Formation Of the H.E.A.S. Of New York

Whereas the Agricultural Scheme of Cincinnati and the West had no immediate bearing upon the reality of immigration, the efforts of the New York and the Eastern leaders were constantly confounded by reality - the relentless arrival of ships, each bearing its freight of ragged Russian Jews. During the first months of 1881 there was little if any actual organized activity in New York in behalf of the immigrant. It had been the custom in New York, since the organization of the United Hebrew Charities in 1875, to allocate a sum of money for taking care of any poor and indigent immigrant.

The first suggestion for a separate Emigration Bureau was made public in May, 1881,<sup>18</sup> a week before the annual meeting of the United Hebrew Charities meeting (hereinafter U.H. Charities) with the following reasons suggested by the editor of the MESSENGER:

1. It ought not be left to voluntary and irresponsible parties.
2. It ought to be assumed, so as to prevent many immigrants from becoming a burden upon the charities.
3. It is necessary in view of the danger, that unprotected and undirected, many immigrants will naturally fall into bad associations and disgrace and injure the Jewish community.

The suggestion was taken up at the June 3 meeting of the U.H. Charities.

Mr. Henry Rice, President reported that over \$47,000.00 had been disbursed during the past year.<sup>19</sup>

17. Its main logical criticism was that it attempted to combine exclusive programs, "Educational and Agricultural Projects." (Note: of the million dollars called for, the Executive Board of the U.A.H.C. announced in January 1882 that \$1,440.00 had been collected so far.)

18. (5-27-81-M-p.4)

NOTE: Evidently the charities felt a greater financial obligation to the dead than the living. In 1880 \$1,518.21 was disbursed for "Free Burials, but only \$1,496.74 for Emigration." Furthermore this money was expended to return 153 individuals to different parts of Europe, and 51 persons to interior points.

He also recognized a motion that a bureau be established for refugees at Castle Garden or the "German Society." Judge M.S. Isaacs rose to the floor to favor the motion but urged that action be deferred until the Union Convention in July.<sup>20</sup> It was still the hope of New York that the U.A.H.C. might conceive of some large-scale comprehensive plan which would encompass the New York situation.

Evidently, disappointment over the "agricultural scheme," and the frenzied activity at the Charities office, besieged by Russian exiles, forced a decision. On September 14, 1881, "a number of prominent gentlemen" held a meeting at the Y.M.H.A. rooms for the purpose of making arrangements to receive and care for exiled Russian Jews on their way to America. Immediately the "Russian Emigrant Relief Fund" was organized with M.S. Isaacs as chairman and Adolph Sanger as Secretary.<sup>21</sup> The "Russian Emigrants Relief Fund" was obviously established to serve a dual purpose; fund raising and caring for the refugees. The burden of double responsibility must have been tremendous. Donations poured into New York from individuals and congregations scattered throughout the country. The committee sent letters to these sources of revenue and attempts were made to establish records and systems of relaying the refugees. Such letters, for example, as the following were sent to "Prominent Israelites:"

In behalf of the Committee we would remind you of our letter of August 18th and would ask the favor of a reply, informing us of the progress made in your city in raising funds and in securing employment for our exiled brethren. Please return the report as requested. We are advised that among the emigrants to arrive this week are 1 brewer, 1 locksmith, 1 tinsmith, 1 gilder, 1 carriage maker, 7 tailors, 1 rope maker, 1 roofer, 1, cooper, 1 mason, 11 tobacconist and 5 farmers.<sup>22</sup>

19. (Ibid)

20. (Ibid Isaacs was treasurer of the N.Y. Br. of ALLIANCE)

21. (9-16-81-M-p.2)

(22.) (9-23-81-M-p.2)

Despite all attempts at coping with the problem, the members of the Russian Emigration Committee, laboring under the most adverse circumstances, finally came to the conclusion that, in order to carry out the work in a proper manner, it would be necessary to have a regular organization with "a general office in the city, a lodging home, employment bureau, etc."<sup>23</sup> It would also be necessary, they felt, to extend assistance, not to Russians alone, but to Hebrews of every nationality arriving at the shores of America. Finally, since the U.H. Chafities was already so overburdened with work, it was proposed that a new society be formed.

To that end a meeting was held November 13, 1881 where Messrs. Reckendorfer, Henry, Menken and Kursheedt were named as a committee to draft plans and incorporate the society.<sup>24</sup> Two weeks later in the New York Orphan Asylum, at a second meeting, the actual organization called "Hebrew Emigration Aid Society of the United States" was formed with the following elected officers:<sup>25</sup>

Charles S. Bernheim, Pres.  
Joseph Reckendorfer, Vice Pres.  
DeWitt J. Seligman, Treas.  
Manuel A. Kursheedt, Sec'y.

The offices were originally located at No. 1 Broadway but were later moved to 15 State Street. It was known that until October of 1881 the emigrants had been lodged in a rooming house on Greenwich St.,<sup>26</sup> but at its first meeting a committee consisting of "Messrs. Emanuel, Lewisohn, Korn, Tuska and Jacoby," was appointed to hire suitable houses to lodge the immigrants elsewhere for the boats brought them in a wretched condition following their crowded passage from Brody to New York.<sup>27</sup>

23. (11-25-81-M-p.2)

24. (11-18-81-M-p.6)

25. In Cowen, Memories of an American Jew (.96) the 37 names of the trustees are given

26. (11-18-81-M-p.2)

27. cf. ZOJA SZAJKOWSKI, "How the Mass Migration to America Began" Jewish Social Studies Vol. IV No. 4 pp. 291-310

It was now felt that the public would give financial support to the efforts of helping the Russian Emigrants.<sup>28</sup>

Reaction to Russian Immigrants - 1881

During the very same week that Alexander II was assassinated, the editorial page of the ISRAELITE bore a column titled "Where are the Russians?"

....We have a word to speak to the Polish, Russian, Hungarian and other exclusive Jewish congregations in this country. Where are they? What are they? What do they do besides dabbenah, holding prayer meetings? If one rises anywhere and says anything against them they feel offended and so do we and always take their part...."<sup>29</sup>

28. (12-2-81-M.-p.4) Cowen, op.cit. p. 96, who was present at the first H.E.A.S. meeting mentions the following: "Julius Bien (who was temporary chairman) suggested the purchase of good land near avenues of communication rather than settlement on government land. If Mr. Bien's advice had been followed the story of Jewish colonization in the U.S. would not have been such a record of failures as it has been." Other than indicating that colonization problems were discussed by the H.E.A.S., in its early meetings, this remark implicitly suggests the conflict between the U.A.H.C. agricultural schemes and the N.Y. proposals, viz., government lands or accessible lands for colonization.

29. (3-11-81-I-p.292)

Other than sporadic news items and reactions in the general press, the Russian Jews were inactive and unknown, relatively speaking.<sup>30</sup> But a month later every paper in the country, with few exceptions, ~~were~~ blazoning the news of Russian pogroms, catapulting the Russian Jew through curiosity into a place of prominence in the American scene. By May of 1881, the MESSENGER commented upon the unprecedented number of emigrants arriving in New York, remarking that though "it is natural to expect that the percentage of Jewish emigrants is large, it must be confessed that too many arrive in a destitute condition..."<sup>31</sup> In June the question was raised whether the Jews of Russia might not perhaps be better served by bringing them to America rather than rendering assistance by funds sent to Europe.<sup>32</sup> In August an appeal (redolent of the appeals made to the Miami vacationers of today) was printed in the MESSENGER:

Jews and Christians no less-enjoying their vacation at the seaside or in the mountains - should send their mite to swell the fund that is to relieve the terrible distress among expatriated Russian Jews and aid them in finding homes elsewhere.

A week later it was announced that the five leading cities of Europe had already subscribed \$200,000.00 for the Russian Jewish Relief Fund while "New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati and other prominent cities of the Union are extraordinarily backward."<sup>34</sup> Reference was also made to the proposal that the ALLIANCE send young men to America. During the following weeks those immigrants handled conjointly by the American and European committees began to arrive. On September 9, 1881 it was recorded:<sup>35</sup>

30. The "Pelackars" were referred to cf. Vol I. No. 2 American Hebrew 11-28-79

31. (5-6-81-M-p.2)

32. (7-8-81-M-p.4)

33. (8-5-81-M-p.4)

34. (8-12-81-M-p.4)

35. (9-30-81-M-p.2) also cf 10-21-81-M-p.2 for notice of 132 arrivals and places they were forwarded to.

The Emigration Committee were on hand at Castle Garden to meet the first installment of the Russian exiles. 48 in number came. They were young men of various occupations, 30 of them were immediately dispatched to Cincinnati, Chicago, Rochester, and Quincy, Ill., New Haven, Athens, Ga. and Houston Texas. Next Monday a steamer brings in 75 more immigrants.

Complaints began to seep back to New York no sooner had the immigrants arrived at their destination.<sup>36</sup> But the MESSENGER very correctly pointed out that no complaints were ethical because "the crime which Russia committed in driving out of her cities these industrious and honest residents, bears in its train unmerited suffering for the exiles and a great responsibility imposed upon their brethren of Europe and America."<sup>36</sup> A

One of the very positive reactions brought about by the Russian emigrant was the tightening up of American Jewish unity. In his editorials in the ISRAELITE, I.M. Wise stated the attitude of America precisely:

We ought to bear in mind that the Jews of Russia and Prussia are insulted and maltreated simply because they are Jews; hence every Jew in the world is insulted and outraged with them...Tens of thousands of non-Israelites here, in England, France, in fact in all constitutional countries, will be ready if we move to condemn loudly and publicly, the proceedings in Russia and Prussia against Jews. We propose to marshal the most terrible army, the public opinion of the most civilized nations.<sup>37</sup>

Even the intemperate and sometimes obstructionist editor of the MESSENGER was forced to admit by October 1881 that "there is now abundant evidence that the Israelite of the U.S. is ready to work for the purpose of giving their Russian brethren a chance to establish themselves in America."<sup>38</sup> In December Lee C. Harby of Houston Texas, writing to the MESSENGER on the subject "What Can Be Done for the Russian Jews?" concluded with an

36. (This subject will be discussed more fully in the following chapters)

36.A (10-28-81-M-p.4)

37. (8-5-81-I-p.44)

38. (10-14-81-M-p.4)

orotund flourish of American optimism:

Let us forget that we are Jews or Christians, and remember solely that we are Americans, free and prosperous, willing and anxious to assist to homes and liberty the victims of oppression and race prejudice. Charity will bring its own reward: for under the hands of these thousands of immigrants, the waste places of our land will be made to blossom like the rose."<sup>39</sup>

During the last months of 1881, the officials of the "Russian Emigrant Relief Fund" sent Mr. Ellinger to different cities in the West to arouse the populace and to check up on the reported complaints from the hinterland. His words have been preserved in a paraphrase of a speech delivered on December 5, 1881 at Indianapolis. To his listeners he said:<sup>40</sup>

They are coming...by the hundreds, thousands and hundred thousands and it is the duty of every one to see that they will be cared for. He did not believe in making pedlars, glaziers and second-hand clothing dealers out of them.

The American Jewish community was aroused. Its attention claimed by reverberations in the press of pogroms in Europe, the American Jewish community was caught in a paradoxical situation. Its protests against Russia had to be backed by more than words. Financial aid might line the protests with a certain added conviction, but the American Jewish community did not want its shores "Russianized." Thus its leaders, perplexed and disunited, found themselves forced to accept a large scale emigration fait accompli.

But a most crucial and interesting correspondence is preserved which proves that the American Jewish community did not accept the dictate of onrushing history without a firm if quixotic attempt to stop the Russian avalanche by fiat to the European powers.

39. (12-9-81-M-p.4) CORR.

40. (12-9-81-I-p.186) also 12-9-81-M-p.2)

Goldschmidt - New York Correspondence

On November 11 the MESSENGER published a letter addressed to the New York Board of Delegates from M. Goldschmit of the Paris Branch of the U. ALLIANCE. In the letter he proposed that the ALLIANCE money be used to lay the foundations for a well-conceived plan of emigration of "hopeful young men, well qualified for the task of beginning a new life in America." After discussing a number of matters, Goldschmit continued:

What a great thing it would be if at last you should succeed in creating really agricultural colonies of Jews which would be the schools and nucleus of many more!...As things stand, America is the only country where it might be done.

Perhaps it would be better to put off the establishment of a colony until a sufficient number of young men accustomed to field work may be had. These capital questions will no doubt be thoroughly studied by your committee and it may be that no abstract studying will do, and that experiments on a small scale will be necessary in order to acquire the knowledge indispensable for a trial on, a large scale. In this matter spending of time is not lost time...

We foresee that emigration from Russia where there are  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 millions of Jews will go on for years, and rather increase than diminish, and the situation of American Jews may be deeply influenced for better or worse according to the manner in which they behave in this emergency...

You must not believe that the ALLIANCE has called forth this desire for emigration. It existed and was spreading...<sup>41</sup>

The reply of the New York Committee expressed better than any other source found, the attitude of the American Jewish community; it was embittered, confused, carping and naive. The answer began by insisting that they could not agree that immigration to America was the great panacea for the woes of Russian Jews...<sup>42</sup>

"...They are not able bodied, nor farmers in the American sense, they are mostly peddlars..."

④<sup>41</sup> (11-11-81-M-p.2)  
④<sup>42</sup> (11-11-81-M-pp.5 and 6)

The letter went on to insist that the more the emigrants would be taken care of, the faster others would rush to the United States. After more protests to further emigration and the difficulty of colonization schemes, the reply of N.Y. continued:<sup>43</sup>

....of course all the parties whom you send must be able-bodied and before leaving provided with clean substantial clothing adequate for our rigorous climate, the cost of clothing being much lower in Europe than here. Not over 50 persons should be sent in any one week, and not over 150 per month at present (sic)...

The letter continued with a more detailed list of particulars. Married couples were not to be sent, nor men who left wives and families home "as the latter class frequently soon get homesick and cause us trouble."<sup>44</sup>

In short, the exchange of letters just paraphrased and quoted, proved that so far as the American Jewish community was concerned, the year 1881 ended with a decision - Russian emigration to America must begin in earnest. The die was cast. America was prepared to receive a handful of immigrants. But conditions in Europe were forcing the movement of a people.

43. (Ibid)

44. (Ibid)

## CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST YEAR OF THE GREAT EXODUS - 1882National Demonstrations

By the early weeks of 1882, the entire country was so incensed by the continuous news of the Russian persecutions, it was felt that mass demonstrations in the leading cities would be expedient, especially in view of the intended meeting to be held at Mansion House, London England on Feb. 1.<sup>1</sup> A feeble suggestion by the Board of Delegates of the U.A.H.C. to postpone such demonstrations was met with accusations of timidity and cowardice.<sup>2</sup> However, America was psychologically prepared for such visible manifestations of outraged feeling.

The actual plans for the most important meeting held in New York, were evidently made at the very last moment because the MESSENGER on January 20 was urging practical moves to facilitate "with confidence and alacrity" what seemed to be a national sentiment.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless a superb meeting was held on February 1, 1882 in Chickering Hall New York and its success was followed up by similar meetings in Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, New Orleans and Montreal.

New York (Chickering Hall - Feb. 1, 1882)

The actual call for this meeting was issued on January 25, its leading signers being Ex-Pres. U.S. Grant, E.D. Morgan, Howard Crosby, Charles H. Dana, William H. Macy, Carl Schurz, Oliver Harriman, Whitelaw Reid and Leland Stanford. Its wording was brief:

1. Moritz Ellinger was the American representative at this meeting
2. (1-13-82-M-p.4 Editorial)
3. (1-20-82-M-p.4)

A meeting of the citizens of New York, without distinction of creed, will be held on Wednesday evening Feb. 1, 1882, at 8 o'clock at Chickering Hall, for the purpose of expressing their sympathy with the persecuted Hebrew in the Russian Empire.

The interesting fact of this call was the phrase "without distinction of creed." From the outset it was desired to achieve a certain moral effect by having the meetings endorsed, attended and addressed by non-Israelites.<sup>4</sup> Thus the New York meeting appeared to have been planned under Christian auspices; though the initiative, the funds to support it, and the implementation of the results of the meeting, were handled by Jewish leaders who remained anonymous.

The Vice President and the Secretary of the meeting were Christians, the main resolution offered at the meeting was read by Hon. Edwards Pierrepont:

RESOLVED: That the people of the United States appeal to their government for the exercise of such influence with the government of Russia as the ancient and unbroken friendship between the two nations may justify, to stay the spirit of persecution, and redress the injuries it has already inflicted as well as to secure, by wise and equal administration, the Hebrew subjects of Russia against their recurrence.<sup>5</sup>

Contemporaneous reports show that this mass meeting provided tremendous interest. Chickering Hall, the largest in New York, was packed by seven o'clock, though the meeting was not to begin until an hour later. People

4. (2-24-82-M-4) Note advice given to planners of Phila. meeting

5. (Note) (all the addressed) of the main speakers as well as a report of the London Mansion House meeting held on the same day is found in "Proceedings of Meetings Held Feb 1, 1882 at New York and London to Express Sympathy with the oppressed Jews in Russia" (New York 1882 - Printed by Industrial School of Heb. Orphan Asylum) A month after this meeting M.S. Isaacs published a pamphlet called "The Persecution of the Jews in Russia" (New York, April 1882) (found only in Library of A.J.H.S.) which was prepared to support the proposition expressed in the Resolution of the Chickering Hall meeting)

flowed out into the streets, and each speaker was greeted with cheers and applause. The meeting was unmarked by any real solemnity; the prevalent mood was rather one of righteous anger.<sup>6</sup>

Enough satisfaction was gained from the meeting to warrant the suggestion in the following issues of the MESSENGER for similar meetings in other cities of the Union. It was felt that the more protests uttered, the more difficult for the Russian Government to continue its discriminations.

Pittsburgh Pa. (First Presbyterian Church - Feb. 15, 1882)

A mass meeting was held at the First Presbyterian Church to protest against the persecution of Jews in Russia.<sup>7</sup> Mr. Felix Bruno presided. Speeches were made by J.M. Kirkpatrick, the Rev. Drs. Reid, Thompson, White and Douglas, and by Major A.M. Brown. Resolutions asking for intervention of the United States were forwarded to Secretary Frelinghuysen.

Philadelphia Pa. (Academy of Music - March 4, 1882)

Though the audience was one of the finest, it was not the largest which could have been drawn into the Academy of Music. Prominent citizens such as Gov. Henry Hoyt, Thomas Cochran, Esq. Rev. Dr. Charles Cooper, Hon William S. Pierce and Moses Dropsie, Esq. attended the gathering. The meeting was called to order by General Charles H. Collis, Hon. John Welsh was the main speaker along with Protestant Episcopal Bishop William Baron Stevens; he was followed by Rev. Drs. George

6. (2-3-82-M-p.4)

7. (2-24-82-M-p.3) Not much more detail found than what is noted in text.

Dana Boardman, and Ignatius Horstmann, Rector of St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church. Resolutions were sent.<sup>8</sup>

Montreal Canada (Lecture Hall Y.M.C.A. March 13. 1882)

The main speaker at this mass meeting was His Lordship Bishop Bond. Other speakers were Rev. Drs. Stevenson, Canon, Baldwin, G.H. Wells and Sullivan. It was moved that a committee of Christian ministers and laymen be appointed in order to solicit funds among the general Christian populace. Meeting was closed with remarks by Rev. Dr. De Sola, Rev. Mr. Marks (of Montreal).<sup>9</sup>

New Orleans (Grunewald Hall. March 16. 1882)

An "Indignation Mass Meeting" held on Thursday evening March 16. The large hall was crowded by the best elements of society. Mayor Joseph A. Shakespeare presided. Series of resolutions passed. Addresses were delivered by Mrs. Percy Roberts, Rev. Father O'Connor, Hon. Thomas J. Semmes and Rev. Dr. B.M. Palmer.<sup>10</sup>

General Result of Mass Meetings.

The mass meetings of 1882 had a greater moral effect upon the Jewish community perhaps, than it had upon the Russian government. For a while, the Jews of America felt a perfect sense of unity with the Protestant and Catholic populace. That feeling of brotherliness in adversity was made more real for a brief instant, than ever before.

8. (3-10-82-M-p.5) Fuller details will be found here.

9. (3-24-82-M-p.3)

10. (Ibid)

Other than adding moral support, which cannot be underestimated, the Jews of America found themselves at the termination of these demonstrations of sympathy still saddled with the whole financial, moral and social responsibility for the incoming Russian refugees.

Finally, the chimera of unity on a national scale had by no means erased the conflicts and disharmonies which had been bred in previous years, between the East and the West, between colonization and non-colonization schemes, between the big cities and the small communities. These conflicts were yet to be resolved.

#### The East Outbids the West

For some time the utopian agricultural scheme of the U.A.H.C. had been pushed forward by the Board of Delegates (and especially the Cincinnati bloc) as the solution to the immigrant problem. But while the propaganda for a million dollars was on the front pages of the ISRAELITE, resentment, disagreement and opposition to this program was hushed up. Nevertheless a very real conflict was developing between the forces in New York City and the forces in Cincinnati. One excellent illustration of the presence of this situation was the reaction of the West (or the Board of the Delegates) to the decision of the East (or the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society) about who should represent America in Europe.

This important question was settled early in January 1882, when the H.E.A.S. authorized Moritz Ellinger to travel to Europe as its representative. When this tactical move had been made (and Ellinger had accepted the mission) Judge M. Isaacs, chairman of the Board of Delegates meeting

in January in New York, announced that the "Committee in charge of Russian exiles appointed at the motion of the Executive Board (in June 1881) had been superseded by the H.E.A.S."<sup>11</sup> This was one of the first signs of defeat suffered by the Board of Delegates.

Menken-ISRAELITE Correspondence.

Though the Board of Delegates temporarily admitted defeat concerning the disposition and responsibility for the Russian exile, the editor of the ISRAELITE was not ready to give in completely. Early in January an article<sup>12</sup> was published in that newspaper's columns which implied that since the U.A.H.C. was composed of 120 congregations, "the best element of the Israelites of this country," they still must be looked to for leadership in the present crisis. Moreover Ellinger was criticised for taking the trip to Europe and finally the U.A.H.C. Agricultural Fund was praised to the detriment of the N.Y. Committee because, presumably, it was a united drive, while the Eastern drive for funds was not. This article produced the spark that exploded the situation.

In a remarkably caustic letter J. Stanwood Menken who was head of the H.E.A.S. split the seams of the Union program.<sup>13</sup> The substance of his reply to his critics was that in the extraordinary crisis confronting American Jewry, the plan of the U.A.H.C. could not be compared with that of the Emigration Society. The U.A.H.C. had only raised \$5,000.00 while the H.E.A.S. had raised nearly \$30,000.00 The former had hardly dealt with a handful of exiles, New York had so far received 2,500 exiles and placed 2,100 in employment. Thus, point by point, Menken's polemical

11. (1-13-82-M-p.4)

12. (1-20-82-I) (Signed with nom de plume "Star")

13. (1-23-82-M-p.5) CORR.

reply tore the shreds of sham from the naive but self-righteous U.A.H.C. agricultural scheme. And as if he had not said enough Menken added:

How much money is the Union willing to give for purposes of colonization. They have not come through. On the contrary we already have a colony in Louisiana...If the Union's executive board will assume the entire responsibility, we will forward all emigrants at our own expense to Cincinnati for them to handle....

Following this deft thrust, he added:

The U.A.H.C. now composed of 120 congregations from the Atlantic to the Pacific Coast, virtually represent "the best element of the Israelites of this country"....How much money are they prepared to give for purposes of colonization? We have already tried them; appeals have been sent to every city and town in this country graphically portraying the sufferings and necessities of our unfortunate brethren but either poverty or lukewarmness has rendered our efforts useless.<sup>14</sup>

In an unusually weak reply in the following issue of the ISRAELITE, Wise editorially remarked that both the U.A.H.C. and the H.E.A.S. could do part of the work without disturbance to the said Union, there being "room enough and work enough for both corporations."<sup>15</sup> But at its semi-annual meeting, the Board of Delegates issued a statement announcing that, though it had adhered to its promise of co-operation with the ALLIANCE made in June 1881, and despite the fact that the Union had already made attempts to implement its promise by circularizing the country, "since the emigrants are now received at New York by a chartered organization, the H.E.A.S. of the United States, accordingly, this Board no longer assumes any charge of the subject of material aid for emigrants arriving in the U.S."<sup>16</sup>

14. (Ibid)

15. (2-3-82-I)

16. (2-3-82-M-p.2)

To cap the climax, the petulant withdrawal from any co-operation on the emigrant problem was followed up by a suggestion of M. Loth at the Executive Board meeting of the U.A.H.C. that a committee be appointed to go to Europe, "and in conjunction with the ALLIANCE and the Anglo-Jewish Association" raise several million dollars to aid in colonizing as farmers in the U.S., the persecuted Russian Jews."<sup>17</sup>

With the Board of Delegates out of the picture, the MESSENGER now openly criticised the Union agricultural scheme, calling it distasteful and conducive to disharmony, claiming that the very existence of the scheme imperilled plans already under way to work out practicable colonization programs.<sup>18</sup>

#### Conference Of Aid Societies

Not to be completely silenced and undone by the vantage point, geographically and otherwise, which New York (and the H.E.A.S.) now had, a printed resolution was distributed one month later by the "Emigrant Aid Society of Cincinnati" led by the same representatives of the Union agricultural plan but with no official connection. The substance of the resolution called for a National Convention to be held as soon as possible to give immediate aid to the emigrants, and for continued collections of funds for carrying out larger plans. Messrs. J. Freiberg, S. Kuhn and H.C. Ezekiel of Cincinnati were appointed to communicate with the N.Y. Society.<sup>19</sup> The suggestion was eagerly accepted by New York, which had till now won a pyrrhic victory over Cincinnati; yet the H.E.A.S. of N.Y. needed the co-operation of the country. For refugees poured in at such

(2-3-82-I-p.253)

(17) (The real crux of the matter was that the Board of Delegates had squandered its hegemony on the American Jewish scene with impractical answers to pressing problems demanding real and immediate

a rate that the best laid plans of the Society to feed, clothe and house them were constantly going awry. Moreover, the call for a national convention of Emigrant Societies implemented the wavering moral unity of the country with an anticipated concrete unity of effort.

The conference of the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Societies held in June 4, 1882 was the first really successful united effort on behalf of the Russian Emigrant in the history of the United States.

Meeting at the Orphan Asylum of New York, the meeting was called to order at 10:30 A.M. by H.S. Henry, Pres. of N.Y. H.E.A.S.<sup>20</sup>

(Note 17 cont.) solutions. The H.E.A.S. was no stronger than its actual ability to cope with the Russian emigrant problem. When dissension warped the organization within and immigration began to wane early in 1883, the H.E.A.S. folded, too.

18. (2-10-82-M-p.4)

19. (3-10-82-M-p.3)

20. cf "Proceedings of the conference of Hebrew Emigrant Aid Societies June 4, 1882 (Davis, Printer, N.Y.) (Pamphlet found in J.T.S. library) Represented were delegates from Albany, N.Y., Brooklyn, Baltimore, Buffalo, Boston, Charleston, Cincinnati, Chicago, Hartford, Houston, Louisville, Milwaukee, Montreal, Mansion House Committee (London), New Haven, New Orleans, Newark, New York, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Portland, Quincy (Ill), Rochester, St. Louis, Toronto, Washington, D.C. For a complete contemporaneous newspaper report if pamphlet unavailable cf. 6-9-82-M-p.4-5

Henry gave the history of the H.E.A.S. and some reasons for the convention. Then a financial report was given which showed that \$75,158. had been collected with a balance of \$7,457.<sup>21</sup> Committees were appointed and the conference listened to a number of interesting and vital reports. The first was that of Mr. George S. Yates of the Mansion House, England, who reported that Europe now recognized the H.E.A.S. of the U.S., that in the future New York would receive from England emigrants and funds, both unfettered by conditions of any kind.<sup>22</sup> His message was received with applause and cheers.

Moritz Ellinger, J. Stanwood Menken and Julius Goldman then presented three equally important reports.

21. The following report is interesting because it shows how money was spent during the very first year:

1. Expense a/c show	\$ 6,760.
2. Board and lodging	7,860.
3. Transportation	11,950.
4. Clothing	8,290.
5. Loans	1,060.
6. Ward's Island Refuge	9,000.
7. Relief	3,900.
8. Vineland Colony	3,428.
9. Brooklyn Aux. Branch	955.
10. Colorado	3,397.
11. Hartford Cont.	350.
12. Philadelphia	5,000.
13. Louisiana	3,200.
14. Newark	95.
15. St. Louis	500.
16. Pittsburg	25.
17. Connecticut	150.
18. Galveston	150.
19. Oregon	145.
20. To Different Places	<u>2,356.</u>
Cash on hand	\$ 7,457.

Moritz Ellinger told of his trip to Europe, his visits at the important capitals of Europe, of his meetings with Goldschmidt, Bernays, Herman Magnus, et.al. In his report he quoted the message he had given to the European Jewish leaders:

....We have no objections to a colonization scheme outside (*italics mine*) of the U.S. and would probably succeed in raising largesums for the support and assistance of the Russian exiles outside of America than what we can in assisting them at home. We did not invite and do not invite emigration; we are fully aware of the endless troubles we were bringing upon our heads by the immigration of a large number of Russians to our country and would rather assume the position of Europe in simply raising the means for the settlement of the exiles anywhere else but in the U.S...but we are actuated by no selfish motive....we recognized the fact that... the U.S. is the only land which has room enough, is free and generous enough...America will change former Russian slaves into American free men.<sup>23</sup>

The second important report was delivered by J. Standwood Menken on the formation of the first Russian colony in the U.S. in Catahoula Parish, Louisiana. Menken's report included the background, financing documents, names of donors, subscribers, constitution of the Russian colony and an exposition of "What the Colony consists of."

The third report was submitted by Julius Goldman, giving the results of his trip to the West.<sup>25</sup> The results of his trip

22. (op. cit)

23. (pp.8,9, Report of M. Ellinger to the H.E.A.S. of the U.S., N.Y. Steam Printing Office Industrial School, Hebrew Orphan Asylum (33 pages) 1882 (Found in J.T.S. Library)

24. "First Russian Jewish Colony in the U.S. At Catahoula Parish, La. (London Stephens Hayter & Co., 35 Throgmorton St. E.C. 1882) (Found in J.T.S. library)

25. "Report on Colonisation of Russian Refugees in the West" Evening Post Job Printing Office (N.Y. 1882) Found in JTS Library)

were epitomized in two firmly uttered principles:

1. The first principle is that no colony should be organized upon the communistic or cooperative plan, and that the refugees should not be disposed of collectively but individually...
2. Colonization must be conducted strictly on business principles and not as charity.

The reports and the discussion which followed them crystallized in a series of resolutions which were unanimously adopted at the third session of the crucial one-day conference. The gist of these resolutions were: 1. A national organization had come into being known as the H.E.A.S. of the U.S.; 2. the burden of incoming refugees required the establishment of a new organization, a colonization society to operate upon commercial principles; 3. Emigrants were to be forwarded to the port of New York only; 4. a new drive was to be organized for a larger accession of funds; 5. the parent society in New York was to have branches in every principal city of the U.S.

Jubilation reigned at the adjournment of this conference. The delegates returned to their respective cities heartened by the sense of accomplishment, and unified in purpose. Superficially all the bickering, jockeying for position and inter-organizational squabbles seemed to have been dissipated by the superb harmony achieved in New York.

- 27 — 26. Found in the official report of the newspaper report. op. cit.  
 27 — 27. This resolution is inexplicable, in view of all previous complaints.

Little did these men realize that by the following June, most of the Emigration Societies in the United States would be dissolved and that the unity of June 1881 would be a momentary achievement.<sup>27A</sup>

### Methods of Collection and Response

#### The Attitude of the Orders

An unknown and untested factor in the whole question of aiding the refugees was the role of the three important Orders which controlled Jewish fraternal life in the eighties - the "Kesher Shel Barzel, "The Free Sons of Israel" and the International Order of Bnai Brith (hereinafter Kesher, Free Sons and I.O.B.B.) Due to the lack of a national organization which might serve to organize the country, thought was given very early in the crisis period of Russian immigration to using these fraternal organization's resources for aiding the situation.<sup>28</sup>

Early in February 1882 at the annual session of Free Sons, District No 1. "Steps were taken to aid the Russian emigrants. It was decided that each lodge member should give one dollar for every member to the H.E.A.S..."<sup>29</sup> After much discussion further aid was limited to this per capita contribution, which amounted to \$7,132. paid directly to the H.E.A.S.<sup>30</sup> This expediency of the Free Sons met with opposition when it was announced, because it was found that members of such fraternal organizations refused to render any more assistance than what had

27A For a minority opinion on the value of the National Conference of Aid Societies cf. Voorsanger (2-23-82-I-p.412) He asked the question "will anyone explain what has been done in this convention that could not have been done without it?"

28. Moreover the established charitable agencies had limited numbers of sustaining members. The appeal to the Orders was in a sense an appeal for a more democratic means of fund-raising.

been contributed on a per capita basis by the Order. Thus the plan provoked evasion of responsibility through anonymous collections.<sup>31</sup>

On April 30, 1882 a resolution was circularized by the Chicago Lodge #6, I.O.B.B. to all other lodges, calling for a consensus of opinion on the Russian emigration question. Three main questions were put forth in the resolution: 1. Shall a general convention of I.O.B.B. extend organized aid; 2. Shall colonization be means adopted; 3. Shall a tax be levied on individual members of the Order?<sup>32</sup>

Discussion of these questions was stimulated by an editorial request of the ISRAELITE to address opinions to that newspaper. Four answers are typical of the attitude of the I.O.B.B.

Joseph Abraham of Cincinnati and H. Bamberger of Indianapolis answered in practically identical fashion. Emigration is a national question, too big and too expensive for one Order to handle. The question, furthermore, might create frictions within the Order.<sup>33</sup>

M. Ulman of Memphis, Tenn. writing May 28th to the ISRAELITE commented that if the B'nai B'rith takes over it would simply be a matter of 24,000 persons assuming the responsibility of 80,000 persons, "without any assurance of assistance whatsoever."<sup>34</sup>

Perhaps the most interesting letter of all was written by Julius Ochs of Chattanooga, Tenn. who dealt with the question of the Russians as colonizers. Leaving no room for doubts as to his opinions, Ochs

29. (2-10-82-M-p.2)

30. (2-17-82-I-p.269)

31. (2-24-82-M-p.1)

32. (5-12-82-M-p.2)

33. (5-26-82-I-p.378)  
(CORR)

34. (6-16-82-I-p.405)  
(CORR)

stubbornly maintained that Russian Jews are not good farmers, and that colonization schemes would ultimately fail. Moreover, most of the Russians he had seen, so he claimed, were schnorrers:

Do not spend money foolishly and rely on visionary schemes, but rather raise a fund to assist the sick and the helpless among them. Let them understand that in this country everybody has to work or starve and you will soon find that they will get along as well as other immigrants do...<sup>35</sup>

In concluding the letter, Ochs suggested that the emigrants not be sent on wild goose chases around the country, and that a Labor Bureau be set up with headquarters at New York.

On Sunday, July 16, 1882 a special meeting of the Grand Order Kesher Shel Barzel was called by President Isaac Marx who delivered the main address on behalf of the Russian refugees, and for the purpose of raising a special fund. The method which was finally agreed upon "a proposition to increase the death assessment from 23¢ to 25¢ per member and pay over the surplus to the H.E.A.S." This resolution was passed.<sup>35A</sup>

In conclusion, it can be fairly stated that the Orders shied away from the emigration problem because they realized that it was rightfully a national issue and that, were the Orders to assume responsibility for the Russian Jews, the rest of the country would unsaddle the question with a sigh of relief.

#### Russian Self-Help

The record of Russian Self-Help in the crisis period is meagre but it does provide an interesting sidelight and contrast. The first no-

35 (6-30-82-I-p.422)  
(CORR)

35 A. (7-21-82-M-p.2)

36. (1-13-82-M-p.2)

37. (3-17-82-M-p.4)

38. (Ibid)

77

tice of such activity is found on January 13, 1882, when a report in the MESSENGER,<sup>36</sup> describes a meeting of delegates from 15 down-town congregations to organize an auxiliary society for Russian immigrants. These delegates represented the Israelites of Polish and Russian birth. It was decided that ministers and presidents of congregations be provided with circulars to make known the aims of the newly established society to their members. At the meeting a collection of \$200.00 was raised and it was expected that \$3,000.00 be raised annually.

Thus the "Down-town Emigrant Society" was organized as a subsidiary of the H.E.A.S. Commenting a few months later on the activity of this society the MESSENGER commended the group for having subscribed nearly \$640. with plans in readiness to turn over \$1,000. to the main society.<sup>37</sup> Rightful evaluation was given of the relative amount of money collected because the wealthy brethren were now living up-town; moreover, "Those downtown have on their hand every day those unfortunates who are not under the care of the main society."

An interesting correspondence is preserved between veteran writer "Ish Yemini" and "Ish Yehuda". The former had argued against the principle that down town Jews were unable to support their fellow-Russian Jews. They plead poverty, he wrote, but they would not permit the uptowners to support a movement among them. Moreover "judging from their Saturday dress display, they are not at all poor, and even if the down-town Jews gave only 50¢ apiece, that would amount to quite a bit...."<sup>39</sup>

One shred of activity is also preserved in the pages of the MESSENGER proving that the downtown Jews helped their fellow-Jews on Holidays. In a short but incisive letter to the editor, H.K. Sarasohn, erstwhile

editor of Yiddish newspapers of the day, wrote:<sup>40</sup>

....If Rev. Mr. A. Shreiber and I had not spent our time in building a kosher kitchen and trying to furnish all the necessities (for Passover), if Mr. D. Block would not have donated all the tinware and Mr. A. Shapira and S. Gluckman had not collected wine for the seder (at Ward's Island) and if the Auxiliary Society would not have spent about \$200. there would have been no speech-making....

He was referring to the jubilant speeches about the redemption of these refugees made by officers of the H.E.A.S., who were witnesses of the first seder on Ward's Island.

#### The Russian Refugee and Colonization Fund

Against the backdrop of a continuous stream of emigrants making unabated demands upon the resources of American Jewry, one must visualize the attempts to raise unprecedented sums of money. It will be shown in the following pages that American Jewry was unprepared and incapable of rationalizing its financial responsibility toward the wave of Russian emigration. Attempts were made but they fell short of the mark.

The first ambitious campaign for funds was an aftermath of the Chickering Hall Mass Meeting. A week or two after this meeting a group of

40A2  
 (40) (4-21-82-M-p.4)

40.A - There is a brief record of a "Down-town Colonization Association" which was established December 1882. \$1.00 monthly dues was to be paid to the association. No mention was made of proposed site of a colony but editorial suggestion is made that Downtown Association ally itself with N.Y. or Cincinnati efforts (cf. 12-29-82-M-p.4)

For a more ambitious program of colonization by the Russian immigrants cf. (1-8-86-M-p.2) formation of "Hebrew Colonization Society". I Lipshitz, President. Arrangements made to appropriate \$5,220. collected from approximately 100 members and divided between two colonization experiments in Kansas (also cf. 1-7-87-M-p.2)

Jewish leaders met at the Jacob Schiff residence to appoint a committee on subscriptions for a large-scale fund raising program.<sup>41</sup> It was decided at this very first meeting to include "non-Israelites." A month later the name of the new campaign was given as the "Russian Refugee and Colonization Fund." It was announced at that time that \$40,000, had been collected to date.<sup>42</sup> By the end of March the fund had reached \$55,302.87. Notice was given of a "Monster Festival" planned for early June where it was expected that \$100,000.00 would be raised. But the actual amount raised at the June Festival was \$7,419. after expenses. By April the fund reached \$58,000. and no more was collected.

From June 1882 until the end of the year, the balance of the money collected was given by a few large donors such as Jacob Schiff who gave \$10,000. to erect the "Schiff Refuge" on Ward's Island. Noting this munificent contribution "MAFTIR" correspondent from San Francisco remarked, "I am heartily glad to record such a manly, such a fraternal donation. We in this city have not thus far, been able to raise even a dory, much less a Schiff (sic)...."<sup>43</sup> Julian Werner, correspondent from New York to the ISRAELITE wrote even more pointedly:

Of the 300 members of Temple Beth El a subscription of \$6,000. was raised...to erect the gaudy Fifth Avenue Temple a million dollars was lavishly spent. To provide shelter, food and raiment for two thousand poor persecuted Russian Israelites, not one-tenth of that sum has been collected...<sup>44</sup>

Lazarus Rosenfeld, chairman of the Executive Committee of the H.E.A.S. appealed to the country to give, "not to undertake any broad scheme of inviting immigration but rather to enable us to repress it; not to carry

41. (2-17-82-M-p.2)

42. (3-17-82-I.p.298) A list of contributors is given.

43. (7-28-82-I-p.30) The Schiff Refuge was built on Ward's Island because Russian Jews were being ejected from the Castle Garden depots. Thus Schiff's \$10,000. gift was intended to keep them off the streets. cf. 7-14-82-I-p.2

out any grand plan of colonization for those that are here, but to save them from actual starvation, and ourselves from reproach.<sup>45</sup> A writer from Rochester, N.Y. complained that people were apt to overestimate the amount they gave towards charity, especially when the givers were dressed in silks and satins. He then boldly cried:

Stop, you blustering hypocrites! Money is wanted and fault-finding and talking are not in place. Colonize these Russians as they deserve to be; bring them over not by the thousands but in small squads, and know their destination when they leave the other side.<sup>46</sup>

In column after column MAFTIR of San Francisco bewailed the miserable collections for the Russian Relief Fund. He took mordant delight in exposing the indifference of his co-religionists.<sup>47</sup> He gave up in disgust after publishing the fact that "16,000 Jews, many of them millionaires, contributed altogether four thousand dollars to the Russian Fund."

A correspondent to the MESSENGER signing himself "One Who Does What He Can" appealed to the Jews of New York to arouse themselves to the plight of the Russian Jew.<sup>48</sup>

- (44) (7-14-82-I-p.10) 45. (7-14-82-I-p.10) By July 15, 1882 the treasury of the H.E.A.S. was practically depleted.
- (46) (8-4-82-I-p.35) CORR signed M.L.G. (47) Best samples are to be found (3-3-82-I-p.282) (4-21-82-I-p.341) (11-17-82-I-p.167)
- (48) (7-7-82-M-p.5) The letter read in part..."I visited (Castle) Garden this morning and the hot blood rushed to my cheeks in shame and grief at the suffering and misery which the wealthy and prosperous Jews of New York allow thousands of their brethren to endure through no fault of their own....without a single Jewish official to whom they can look for advice or comfort, many sick or on the verge of sickness, which must soon come if their condition be not bettered, it was a sight to move the stoniest heart. One young visitor, a Christian from Boston was moved almost to tears. 'My God', said he, 'is it possible that Jews will leave their poor to suffer like that.'"

An editorial reminded New York Jewry that their united strength had brought about the dissolution of Stewart's,<sup>49</sup> and that this successful fight against anti-Semitism should be an incentive to unity on behalf of the Russian Jew. A Jew of Louisville, Ky wrote to the ISRAELITE to say:

"The work before us is not the work of a week, a month or a year, but years; this century will scarcely witness its end. To this conclusion we may as well arise now as later. It is a truth staring us in the face."<sup>50</sup>

Nevertheless the philanthropy of American Jewry was in no way equal to its capacity to give and this sentiment was expressed contemporaneously by Rabbi J. Voorsanger in his column in the ISRAELITE when he wrote:<sup>51</sup>

A few weeks ago a prominent Western Rabbi, in conversation with the writer called the work hitherto performed in behalf of Russian immigrants 'the gloomiest chapter in the history of American Jewish charity.'..."

#### Reaction To Russian Immigrants

From the very first weeks of 1882, the Russian immigrants poured into America. The method of handling them was never really well organized, though valiant attempts were made to deal with each boat-load systematically. Plans were made to send a thousand immigrants out West; for "starvation and wretchedness - possibly crime - must inevitably ensure, if so many continue to live in our densely populated

(49.) (7-7-82-M-p.5)  
(CORR)  
cf. Hilton Seligman affair

(50.) (6-16-82-I-p.405)  
(CORR)  
Signed M.K. letter dated 5-28-82

(51.) (7-14-82-I-p.12) The whole article is very interesting and informative. Also cf. the appeal of ministers representing the H.E.A.S. to every congregation in America suggesting that a special collection be made on Shuveth. The appeal was signed by K.Kohler, F.DeSola Mendes, H.P. Henry S. Jacobs, G. Gottheil and A. Huebsch (6-23-82-I-p.412)

inhabited down-town tenements."<sup>52</sup> Many of the exiles were quartered at 302-6 Cherry St., but when 50 had been accommodated another 200 would arrive. As many as possible were shipped piecemeal to the outlying states, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Massachusetts.<sup>53</sup>

The usual procedure was to meet the incoming boats, take the immigrants to the offices of the H.E.A.S. There they were fed and in some cases given new clothing. Those who could be employed in trades were "weaned out" while the remainder were shipped to Ward's Island as wards of the Emigrant Society. Representatives of outlying cities were then called in to take as many of the emigrants as possible to the various cities.<sup>54</sup>

Complaints came fast and furious on the heads of the New York Committee for not using proper discrimination in their distribution of the emigrants. It was claimed that the officers of the H.E.A.S. sent them anywhere so as to get them out of New York City, without asking whether the Jewish residents of a city would assist them, often not even notifying the local congregational officers that a party of immigrants was to be expected.<sup>55</sup>

The daily details of confusion, chaos and complexity of the Russian problem are buried in history. But glances of the times are to be found in reading between the few lines of actual detail given in the press of the period. For example, one can reconstruct the reasons

52. (1-13-82-M-p.4)

53. (1-27-82-M-p.2) By June of 1882 2000 refugees were being cared for in N.Y. alone.

54. (2-24-82-M-p.2)

55. (it was just these complaints which brought about the June Convention of Aid Societies discussed above. Also cf. Appendix 1 where initial reactions of outlying cities are given) (1-13-82-I-p.231)

for a near-riot on State Street in May 1882, started by the harrassed refugees.

Louis Bergman was made head of the Purchasing Department of the H.E.A.S in January. His capable administration was immediately noted, for a month later he was complimented because he "sees that everything is purchased at the lowest possible price."

He is amazed however at the appetite possessed by the Russians and informed the MESSENGER this week that barrels of ~~wheat~~ and flour, hundreds of pounds of meat, potatoes, peas, etc. disappear with marvelous rapidity....<sup>56</sup>

A month later announcement was made that a Mr. Blank was made new superintendent of the refuge on Ward's Island, because the previous "super" had been harsh to the refugees.<sup>57</sup> The conditions existing there are described in subsequent issues of the newspaper as deplorable. This condition existed at the State St Office as well:<sup>58</sup>

At the office on State St. a deplorable scene was visited. The door was locked and 50 young emigrants were clamoring for admittance. Inside there were many more and it was revealed that they had been at Castle Garden since last Saturday...though these people are none too tractable, more tact and management would make them more comfortable.

Bergman the Purchasing Agent in the meantime, was getting himself very much admired by the Society. At Purim time a special party was prepared as a gift of Jacob Schiff. Important uptown visitors came to the refuge at Ward's Island to observe the 300 Russians celebrate Purim. Bergman pranced all around the officials.<sup>59</sup>

56. (2-10-82-M-p.2)

57. (3-3-82-M-p.2)

58. (3-24-82-M-p.2)

59. (3-10-82-M-p.4)

(CORR) signed "ISH YEMINI"

A month later further complaints were mentioned. The refugees would not be mistreated on State Street. The MESSENGER commented:<sup>60</sup>

It is not to be expected that the attachés will tender the emigrants cologne and kid gloves, but kind words cost nothing...

Then a month later the emigrants finally revolted against the mistreatment from the H.E.A.S. agents. A mob riot occurred and a "Mr. Birnbaum" was beaten up. Even the MESSENGER admitted that Birnbaum was unfit for the position he had been given.<sup>61</sup>

There were those, however, who were not only completely sympathetic with the Russian emigrant but who understood his plight. Chief among those was Michael Heilprin who put aside his own tasks to visit the refugees, counsel with them and in every way give himself to their cause.<sup>62</sup>

Two very interesting letters reflecting the attitude of the populace toward the refugees are to be found in the MESSENGER of February 24, 1882. The first letter (signed "Caution") warned the reader:<sup>63</sup>

Now that so much commendable interest is evinced by our Jewesses in connection with the charities, teaching children, visiting the poor, etc. it may be pertinent to suggest that much care should be exercised by our benevolent sisters, lest disease be communicated to themselves and their homes...

The second letter (signed "Benedict") admonished the fair women of New York as the writer had done his wife.<sup>64</sup>

60. (4-21-82-M-p.2) also cf. (8-18-82-I-p.51) for similar attitude.

61. (5-19-82-M-p.2) For a description of conditions at Ward's Island later in 1882 cf. 9-29-82-M-p.2; also cf. 6-23-82-I-p.412 for story of clubbing of immigrants at H.E.A.S. office

62. cf. his article The Russian Jews appearing 6-30-82-M-p.2 and especially chapter II - The Emigrant In America where five points are mentioned as to the correct attitude of the German citizens. Also 8-4-82-M-p.2 - Ref to Heilprin sweltering on behalf of Russians all summer. 9-13-82-M-p.4 - Heilprin's retirement, editorial praise

63. (2-24-82-M-p.5) (CORR)

64. (Ibid) (CORR)

Your first duty is home. You have no right to overtax your strength and consume your surplus energy...in worrying or working for so many societies. Attend to one only and do for it all you can. This is enough....

When his wife had heard his words, she immediately resigned as directress in two of the societies and severed her connections with four others!<sup>65</sup>

The emigrants themselves created questions which resulted in rifts and misunderstandings. Perhaps the most difficult problem for the new emigrant was the Sabbath question. Large numbers refused to accept employment which required work on Sabbath:<sup>66</sup>

They scarcely relish a livelihood secured at the expense of strong religious sentiment...The Russians' Sabbatarianism may be fight...and how to give them lucrative work and at the same time enable them to observe the principal tenets of their faith has become a delicate and important question.

Criticism was registered in the European press because "Forbidden food was given to a few immigrants in the Texas woods."<sup>67</sup> But Voorsanger of Texas wrote to the ISRAELITE that "the Russian Jews who have arrived here are not as scrupulous about orthodoxy as one might have thought initially."<sup>68</sup>

Early in 1882 the MESSENGER editorially suggested that "Downtown Synagogues" be established for the Russians, "with short reverent services, English sermons and active agencies for enlisting the sympathy of old and young."<sup>69</sup> But the ISRAELITE countered with an even more startling editorial:

We think that it is proper and highly necessary to make provisions that a number of young Russian Jews be at once placed in the Hebrew Union College to receive that education which will enable them to become sound teachers and enlightened media to their brethren..."<sup>70</sup>

(65.) also cf. (3-3-82-M-p.5) for reaction to this letter.

66. (2-10-82-M-p.1)

67. (6-23-82-M-p.4)

(68.) (9-8-82-I-p.77)

69. (4-7-82-M-p.4)

70. (5-26-82-I-p.381)

This remarkable suggestion was made one year before the first class had graduated from Hebrew Union College.

A very telling picture is described in the pages of the ISRAELITE on the occasion of the examination of the Russian children who had been admitted to the "Hebrew Ladies Charity School":<sup>71</sup>

Promptly at half-past ten the children took their seats. Surprise at their Americanized appearances was expressed by the audience, and such exclamations were heard as "are these the Russians?" "Can it be possible that these are the same starved, neglected, filthy children we saw eight weeks ago?"

And a still more idyllic picture of adjustment is found in the pages of the ISRAELITE of July 1882, where a story is related of the "Caplan Wedding" in Houston. Mr. and Mrs. Julius Ullman (he was President of the Russian Committee) escorted a young couple to the minister and remained with them while they were bound together in holy matrimony.<sup>72</sup>

These notices of success in adjusting the Russian refugees to the American scene were few and far between. More general was the attitude of The Cincinnati Emigrant Society which received 146 refugees early in 1882 and expressed the following harsh dictum:<sup>73</sup>

The sluggards of the flock are made to understand that they must work or perish and all their excuses and arguments will not move the committee from their adopted rule to aid the industrious to the fullest extent of their ability but the sluggard who means to live by charity must help himself and in teaching him that great lesson, is doing the best charity for him.

71. (9-8-82-I-p.78))

72. (7-28-82-I-p.29

73. (1-27-82-I-p.245) - The same attitude was expressed in Dec. 1882 - (cf. 12-29-82-M-p.2) for excerpt from St. Louis Rabbi Sonnenschein's sermon: Don't give refugees cash alms. If they won't work let starvation teach them proper conduct. But have sympathy on them.

## CHAPTER V.

THE YEARS OF TRANSITION - 1883-1884Dissolution Of Emigrant Aid Societies

By late November of 1882, the death-knell was already being rung for the Emigrant Aid Societies which had sprung into existence spasmodically during that fateful year. Many reasons added up to this process of disintegration in emigrant aid; some were of a compellingly positive nature as will be shown later. But the societies also were dissolved because the American Jewish community had overreached itself organizationally; the result being that disinterest, disillusionment and opposition to further specific aid for Russian refugees as emigrants, set the pendulum in reverse.

The first signs of this process can be noted as early as April 1882 when the MESSENGER berates the officers of the H.E.A.S. of New York because of internal bickerings:<sup>1</sup>

If the directors of the H.E.A.S., instead of complaining would attend the meetings of the Board, which have not been held of late, owing to the want of a quorum, and reorganize the society on a proper business basis...it would be a decided gain. There is a vast amount of work to be done.

The National Convention of Emigrant Aid Societies held in June of that year (discussed in the previous chapter) gave a boost to the efforts of the individual societies. But by August of 1882, it was obvious that the Emigrant Aid Societies were to go out of existence. A reason which seems fallacious in view of immigration statistics,<sup>2</sup> was that immigration no longer warranted the need for such societies.

1. (4-14-82-M-p.4)

2. (cf. Joseph, Jewish Immigration To The U.S. p.173 where statistical table shows 13,202 immigrants to the U.S. for 1882, and 8731 for 1883)

Perhaps the real reason was given by Augustus A. Levey in his letter of resignation to the H.E.A.S.<sup>3</sup> In this important document, Levey pointed out that many emigrants were incapable of becoming American citizens fully employed. Hence further aid to those already in New York might be construed as an invitation to those millions still in Europe. Levey remarked:

The mode of life of many of these people has stamped upon them the ineffaceable marks of permanent pauperism.... only disgrace and a lowering of the opinion in which the American Israelites are held can result from the continued residence among us of such an addition to the Jewish population.... I am decidedly of the opinion that the relief work of the society domiciled in the city of New York should be administered entirely by the United Hebrew Charities....this will avoid the duplication of relief....

The suggestions in this letter were actually accepted, for in November of 1882, it was decided in New York to place the relief of local refugees under the jurisdiction of the U.H. Charities while the H.E.A.S. would limit itself to "colonization, industrial pursuits and the care of Ward's Island, Vineland and Cotopaxi Colonies."<sup>4</sup>

In his concluding report, given in January 1883, H.S. Henry, President of the H.E.A.S. reported some interesting statistics. During 1882-, 14,000 men, women and children had been handled by the Society. There were still 500 at Ward's Island, 100 in Brooklyn, 120 at Estelleville<sup>5</sup>, 300 at Vineland, 1,000 dependent upon the charities of New York City and 1,000 shipped back to Europe.<sup>6</sup>

③ (9-8-82-M-p.2 CORR) The St.Louis H.E.A.S. dissolved 10/13/82 and the Cinti Russian Relief Committee formally dissolved Oct 15, 1882  
Noted 10-27-82-M-p.2

4. (11-10-82-M-p.4)

5. (A Colony near Vineland, N.J.)

6. (1-19-83-M-p.2)

(Note 6 continued)

The following additional references to the H.E.A.S. complete the material found in the pages of the MESSENGER:

- 8-11-82-M-p.3 - Report of H.E.A.S. for July 1882
- 8-18-82-M-p.2 - CORR, letter of Augustus Levey, Secretary of H.E.A.S. to M.S. Joseph Esq. of London Comm.
- 9-1-82-M-p.2 - CORR, letter of August Levey to Russian Aid Societies of America asking for information
- 9-8-82-M-p.2 - CORR. letter of Makower of Berlin Comm to H.E.A.S
- 9-22-82-M-p.2 - CORR. IMPORTANT documents on "counter-emigration from Makower of Berlin, Alchinsky of Breslau - also letter signed H. Mirenstein " from Comm at Brody.
- 10-15-82-M-p.2 - H.E.A.S. Annual Meeting
- 1-19-83-M-p.2 - Excerpt of Pres. Henry's speech also ed. commending European help to H.E.A.S. in 1882 (\$130,000.)

The final end of the H.E.A.S. was announced on March 2, 1883; "The attention of the officers of the H.E.A.S. is devoted at present to the winding up of its affairs. It will go out of existence on the 15th inst. (March)"<sup>7</sup> The same issued reported.... "The various emigrant societies in the different interior cities have now dissolved, and Russian emigrants will have to shift for themselves, as those of other nationalities have done for decades."<sup>8</sup>

Funds which had been collected for the Russian emigrants were transferred to the account of the U.H. Charities and all incoming funds earmarked for Russian emigrants were placed in the special fund now created.<sup>9</sup>

Thus ended an exciting episode in American Jewish philanthropy and unity. It must be noted here, however, that the era of emigrant aid societies had gone in abeyance only for a time. And the sense of unity needed for implementing national philanthropic aid would in future years be applied with more beneficial results to other organizations.

#### Activity Of the U.A.H.C. - 1883-1884

The national doldrums following the great storm of protest and activity on behalf of the Russian emigrant in 1882 retarded even the zealousness of the U.A.H.C. officials who had been striving for a colonization program. At the January meeting of the Executive Committee, Bernhard Bettman introduced a resolution lauding the aims of the H.U. Agricultural Society and its staunch adherents. The resolution however went on to say:<sup>10</sup>

7. (3-2-83-M-p.2)

8. (Ibid)

9. (3-16-83-M-p.3)

10. (2-2-83-M-p.3)

(Note 10. continued)

A very interesting sidelight is the origin of the Hebrew Union Agricultural Society. When the Russian Emigrant Relief Society of Cincinnati was disbanded in October 1882, a special meeting was called immediately thereafter, instigated by M. Loth, president of the U.A.H.C. His intention was to form a Colonization Society (10-27-82-M-p.2) The method adopted at that meeting was to inaugurate a new group called "the Maccabees". "Your committee," the ISRAELITE reported, "has carefully drafted a constitution for an organization which shall be known as the 'Maccabees' whose mission shall be to promote agricultural pursuits among the Israelites. I sincerely hope that every israelite in the U.S. and Europe will enroll his name as a Maccabee and pay \$1.00 annually to the common fund for the promotion of agriculture among our people, and therefore remove the reproach that we are not tillers of the soil...." (cf. Press Reaction of American Hebrew Record. Jewish South. Occident. Jewish Tribune - 11-3-82-I-p. 156)

So many letters of protest reached Cincinnati following the publication of the name of the new organization because it was "too aggressive a title" that the name was immediately changed (11-17-82-I-p. 170) to "Hebrew Union Agricultural Society."

The Board...does not feel itself authorized to recognize it officially and furnish the information asked for, or place any of the funds of the U.A.H.C. at its disposal.

The resolution after heated debate was adopted, though quite unexpectedly the "Committee on Agricultural Pursuits" was granted \$500. to continue its efforts.<sup>11</sup>

The following July the sisyphus -like committee on Agricultural pursuits was once more appointed and invested with modified authority. This time it was to have "power to raise an agricultural aid fund, which shall be paid to the treasury of the U.A.H.C. and shall be paid out for said agricultural purposes, subject to the approval of the Executive Board."<sup>12</sup> The vote for this new attempt was carried 51-16.

At the same convention, the Committee on Immigration reported, "no immediate exigency requiring action," though it was urged that all congregations be circularized urging cooperation with the ALLIANCE ISRAELITE.<sup>13</sup> This urge to co-operate, incidentally, was conceived of in terms of settling "agriculturists" in the United States.

A lull in the activities of the Union in behalf of immigrants was broken in March 1884 when it was announced that Rev. Mr. Leon Strauss had been appointed money collector in behalf of the Committee on Agricultural Pursuits. "Hailing from Eufala, Alabama" the notice read, "he will remain in the South for the present."<sup>14</sup>

In July at the Union convention in Niagara Falls, N.Y., M. Loth, doughty and persistent chairman of the Agricultural Committee, announced his committee had no report to make. Reference was made

11. (Ibid)

12. (7-20-83-M-p.2)

13. (7-20-83-I-p.4) One of the resolutions of the U.A.H.C. is printed in full (3-7-84-I-p.2) calling for Purim collection.

14. (3-15-84-I-p.4)

to the ill-fated colonization attempt at Beer Sheba, Kansas and M. Isaacs of New York suggested that the Union appoint a committee to survey the entire question of colonization in America.<sup>15</sup> The Board of Delegates, in its report on immigration made a similar suggestion, adding the plea for co-operation with European Committees.<sup>16</sup>

Not unlike the entire country, the U.A.H.C. was going through a readjustment following the exciting events of 1882, so that the following years 1883-4 were barren of any tangible results in behalf of the Russian refugees<sup>17</sup>

15. (7-18-84-M-p.3)

16. (Ibid p. 5)

17. The last attempt of the U.A.H.C. to introduce an agricultural Program came in 1885 at the Union Convention at St. Louis. The Committee on agricultural pursuits introduced a motion to form a separate organization from the Union, to be called the "Hebrew Farmers Association" to meet and organize January 1886 in New York. The proposal was defeated by a close vote 34-29. Debate was furious following this defeat. (The Committee in favor consisted of Messrs. Lazarus, Silverman, F.I. Kiss, M.A. Rosenblatt, B. Hysinger, Dr. J. Wechsler and Lewis Heinsheimer.)

A separate caucus was called when the Union remained adamant on the issue and proposal to meet in New York the following January was agreed upon. But no record can be found of any meeting and during the following Union Convention no mention was made of this firecracker which would invariably turn into a squib. (cf. 7-24-85-I-p.6 and 7-17-85-I p. 8)

## Return Of Immigrants To Europe

### The Attitude Of the U.H. Charities

The decision made in November 1882 to divide the labor of handling the emigrants between the U.H. Charities and the H.E.A.S. of New York added tremendous responsibilities to the former. Its Executive Committee, professionals only in terms of experience, were daily harrassed with the regular petitioners for help as well as the ever-increasing number of refugees who, unable to cope with the disillusionment of American promises, clamored to return to Europe.

At a typical meeting of the Executive Committee of the Charities in January 1883, the members acted upon the amazing number of 138 cases, clockwork fashion, "A large amount of the prevalent distress" it was reported is due to the return to the city, from Western points, of Russian emigrants and their families in a destitute condition."<sup>18</sup>

At its May meeting the U.H. Charities report showed that a large item of expense, over \$1590. was spent in the purchase of tickets for the return of immigrants to Europe.<sup>19</sup>

Symptomatic of the heavy load which the Charities were forced to bear<sup>20</sup> with its concomitant of despair at handling the situation properly, was the announcement in July of the abandonment of its employment bureau;<sup>21</sup>

The general character of the applicant for relief is not encouraging. The large majority it is said, go to the Charities simply to beg, and are unfit to do any practical work... the committee has been so overwhelmed by such cases that they naturally lost heart and gave up this bureau. It was too much for them, having besides their own business, to attend to, and not being encouraged by the community.

18. (1-5-83-M-p.2)

19. (5-4-83-M-p.2)

20. (7-13-83-M-p.2)

21. (7-27-83-M-p.2)

In the same issue of the MESSENGER carrying the previous notice, an editorial condemned the U.H. Charities for requesting the return of 5 Jewish families whom they would not support because they were too poor. Since when, was the cry, do we close our doors on poor men. All of us were poor once. The editorial concludes with praise to the Pike St. Synagogue (newly establish Orthodox) for having come to the aid of these families.<sup>22</sup>

That all of the immigrants who asked to be returned to Europe were not paupers is proved by the article describing the plight of refugees streaming in from "Chicago, Manitoba and elsewhere." Among them was one who was discovered by officials of the Hamburg S.S. Company to have in his possession, unknown to the charities, 2000 marks.<sup>23</sup>

#### The Attitude in General

Comparative statistics will prove that the great wave of immigration in the early eighties was not limited to Jewish refugees alone. And as Irish, German and Italian unloaded his small pile of worldly belongings on Castle Garden, resentment to "pauper immigration" greeted all nationalities. Immigration commissioners, until this time, as lenient as the laws themselves, (practically non-existent) permitted all arrivals to land. But pressure and propaganda, outbursts of protest gradually forced closer scrutiny of refugees and immigrants.<sup>24</sup> When a large crowd of poor Irish immigrants were landed at New York, the MESSENGER

22. (Ibid. p. 4)

23. (7-6-83-M-p.2)

24. (Though not dealing specifically with the period 1880-1890 I.A. Hourwich's Immigration and Labor (N.Y. 1912) is the best source book)

commented that they seemed to have been "consigned to this port with the same lack of discrimination that characterized the Russian Committees."<sup>25</sup>

By march 1884, the State of New York had passed restrictive immigration laws and the announcement that the Steamer California was arriving with 200 Russian emigrants was greeted with this sentiment:<sup>26</sup>

....as they are likely to become a charge of the Charities the Emigration commissioners will take advantage of the state law and return them to Europe. It is high time that this pauper immigration should be stopped.

Constant agitation against indiscriminate immigration had its overtones in the relations between New York and the European committees. The U.H. Charities was authorized to notify officially the European communities that U.S. immigration laws would be strictly enforced owing to the constant influx of "assisted" foreign poor. Blame for the pauper-class arriving was divided between the shipping companies and the European committees.<sup>27</sup>

An article reprinted from the London Jewish Chronicle put the dilemma of American Jewry in precise form, namely whether existing Jewish institutions at New York had endeavored to mitigate the emigrant restrictions (referring to more stringent regulations) "which have arisen almost automatically, or whether, alarmed at the increase of Jewish immigrants into the country and the prospects of its being intensified.....the Jewish authorities have not been more than willing, even

25. (6-15-83-M-p.1) "We do not want the overflow of Europe's infirmaries and workhouses"

26. (3-15-84-I-p.2) cf. reprint of N.Y. Times editorial on "disillusioned immigrants" returning to Europe as missionaries of the truth." (6-27-84-M-p.6)

27. (8-1-84-M-p.4)

eager instruments in the application of these restrictive measures."<sup>28</sup>

### Educational Media and Reactions

The presence of a presumed "uneducated" class of Russian Jews prompted many of the programs for helping those immigrants who remained in New York City. Members of the Sisterhoods<sup>29</sup> and the fashionable up town clubs felt the urge to bring their brand of culture to the poor refugees:

It was a pretty scene at the Harmonie Club a few weeks ago when the member's children were entertained by a program suitable for childish tastes, and were regaled by a banquet at which about sixty young ladies acted as charming waitresses....last week some of these young ladies figured among the entertainers of 300 poor Jewish children down in Canal Street, and they certainly felt none-the-less happier to amuse and wait upon a regiment of waifs. Their experience at the fashionable reception came useful to them in acting as hostesses to the crowd of children who knew not silks or diamonds, whose parents were either dead or struggling for existence, whose only kinship was that mysterious racial bond....<sup>30</sup>

These hostesses in the slums, however, were fortunately preceded by more realistic aid. In October 1883, evening classes for instruction of Russian workingmen were established at the "Five Points House of Industry." At the first meeting, 200 Russian emigrants were present and were addressed

28. (10-24-84-M-p.5) An interesting letter signed "An American" (8-15-84-M-p.4 CORR) reflects the deep feeling of resentment coupled with righteous indignation of a Jew of the eighties. "During the past few weeks we have had too much" he says, "of the 'Polish Jew' and 'Russian Jew' and 'Rumanian Jew' in the press of this city. It is about time that this discrimination cease..."

29. (cf. 12-28-83-M-p.4) Kaufman Kohler's sermon on "Organized Charity" calling for bands of zealous ladies who will bring their help into tenement districts, etc. He also urged the building of religious edifices and tenement reform.

30. (3-7-84-M-p.1)

by a Mr. Aleinkoff of the downtown Y.M.H.A.<sup>31</sup> Former members of the H.E.A.S. were present to inaugurate these classes.<sup>32</sup>

Each Saturday evening, meetings were held at 155 Worth St., in the nature of religious revivals. The need for "Mission work among the Hebrew Tenements" was felt to be very urgent. Suggestions were made that a people's synagogue be established in order that the young men and women in the lower section of the city not lose affection for their ancestral faith.<sup>33</sup> Agitation for a Labor Synagogue started as early as November 1883.<sup>34</sup>

The value of churches for the workingman has long been recognized by our Christian friends in this city. But strange to say, our congregations seem reluctant to take united action as to services for Jewish working people. What will be the Judaism of the latter in a decade to come, under existing conditions is not hard to prophecy.

The editor of the MESSENGER evidently overcome by his contact with the Russian Jews called for a "genuine reformer" to teach these newcomers to distinguish between "the Judaism of an Isaiah and of an obscure cabbalistical (sic) Russian Maggid."<sup>35</sup> Some of these reformers did confront the Russians, such as Kaufman Kohler who consented to give a series of Sabbath afternoon addresses down town.<sup>36</sup> and Emma Lazarus who agreed to give up her Sunday afternoons in instructing young Russian Jewesses in the English language,<sup>37</sup>

But perhaps the best practical effort on behalf of the Russian emigrant was the opportunity given him by the opening of the New

31. also cf. (11-2-83-I-p.4)

32. (10-12-83-M-p.2)

33. (Ibid)

34. (11-30-83-M-p.4)

35. (5-23-84-M-p.4)

36. (6-27-84-M-p.4)

37. (12-28-83-I-p.2)

Hebrew Technical Institute at 206 East Broadway in January 1884.<sup>38</sup> At least one individual ("Ish Yemini" - nom de plume) even took issue with this phase of educational effort. In one of his important occasional letters to the MESSENGER, he remarked that the conditions in the tailor sweat shops...

27 || ...will, I hope be instrumental of demonstrating, that although our spirited Jewish philanthropists lavish money and time on bricks and mortar and erect statement edifices to charitable institutions their efforts are yet incomplete, when there is neglected a large body of men, women and children who being neither sick, infirm nor helpless are sorely in need of help morally....<sup>39</sup>

One of the unexpressed reasons for all of the talk for religious reformation downtown was the fear that the struggling immigrants might "contaminate" themselves by joining labor unions unless they were properly indoctrinated "morally." Fair warning was given the Russian Jews by their uptown patrons not to allow themselves to become identified with socialistic labor movements "led by a few doctrinaires and demagogues."<sup>40</sup> At the same time they were urged not to give the Jewish community a bad reputation.

When the "segar" makers went on strike in August a more ominous threat was uttered:<sup>41</sup>

The segar makers may strike if they wish but it is well for them to understand that those among them who expect to be supported by the Hebrew Charities or any other eleemosynary institution, while they absolutely refuse to go to work, will be grievously disappointed individuals rather than the public must suffer when labor butts its head against capital unsuccessfully.

38. (1-11-84-M-p.4) Industrial training would make immigrants independent of apathetic charity givers of N.Y. (cf. 12-7-83-M-p.4)

39. (11-28-84-M-p.5) CORR. Also note editorial plea for "pure" entertainment to compete with fleshly and immoral amusements enjoyed down town. (5-16-84-M-p.4)

40. (7-4-84-M-p.4)

41. (8-10-83-M-p.4)

### Tenement Reform

In the eyes of the Jewish population which had been in America over a generation, the most disagreeable result of Russian emigration was the creation of an American ghetto. By February 1883, the already overcrowded east side tenement section (known as "down town") was already receiving critical attention.<sup>42</sup> One of the notorious tenements there had the theatrical name "The Big Flat" and into it as well as other tenements, families of refugees swarmed into cramped rooms eking out their life and their source of income in dark, dank unventilated rooms cluttered with rickety furniture (sewing machines in many cases)<sup>43</sup> and all the possessions of entire families. "The Growing Ghetto" became the subject of anxious editorials, and it was noted that the sordid tenements were bulging within while the precincts of the ghetto widened with every incoming boatload of Jewish refugees.<sup>44</sup> The picture of life among the Jewish poor remained a blank to those who remained complacently up-town; to those who were actively engaged in ameliorating the problem it was a daily eyesore, and to those who were acquainted with the conditions for the first time, the reaction was bewilderment.<sup>45</sup> One, at least who offered a concrete suggestion was Dr. Simon Newton Leq, who in a letter to the MESSENGER suggested improved tenements as a befitting memorial to Montefiore's centenary anniversary:<sup>46</sup>

...I have been urging upon our Hebrew public the necessity of improving the tenement house sanitation of premises occupied by our Jewish poor, and erecting

42. (2-23-83-M-p.2)

43. (cf. 11-21-84-M-p.2) "Among the East Side Tailor Shops"

44. (3-30-83-M-p.4) also cf. (7-27-83-M-p.1) article, "Clean up the Ghetto"

45. (2-8-84-M-p.4)

46. (2-15-84-M-p.5. CORR) Also note Jacob H. Schiff's beautiful letter on the same subject 2-8-84-M-p.5 CORR. This letter addressed to A. Kursheedt.

model dwellings for them to reside in.....

Tangible results were forthcoming at the close of 1884. Two separate organizations were formed. One called itself the "Montefiore Society for Tenement House Reform." Its members included: Hon. Joseph Blumenthal, Mr. Lee Kohns, Felix Adler, Fred Nathan, Kaufman Kohler, Cyrus Sulzberger, Henry Rice, Warley Platzak, E.R.A. Seligman, I.S. Isaacs, N. Bijur, etc.<sup>47</sup>

A month later the "Sanitary Aid Society of the Tenth Ward" was formed.<sup>48</sup>

47. (12-5-84-M-p.2) The editorialist suggested "model tenements need model tenants)

48. (12-19-84-M-p.2) I am led to believe that the "Sanitary Aid Society" is another name for the "Montefiore Society for Tenement Reform" because both organizations had the same set of officers, though I have no way of determining the correctness of my surmise. The officers of the Sanitary Aid Society were Pres. Hon. Joseph Blumenthal, Vice Presidents, Bernheimer and E.R.A. Seligman, Treasurer Frederick Nathan and Secretary Lee Kohns.

PART II

THE RUSSIAN PERIOD BEGINS - 1885-1890

## CHAPTER VI

THE RUSSIAN PERIOD BEGINS - 1885-1890

The foregoing chapters have dealt chronologically with the attitude of the American Jewish community to the mass migrations of Russian Jews from 1881-1884. Enough organizational activity and newspaper reports were available to warrant such a treatment of the material. But for contradictory reasons, the material presented in the following pages will be dealt with topically.

First of all the organizations working on behalf of the Russian immigrants, already in decline, others a permanent fixture in the life of the community, did not publish as full report as they had in the earlier years. Thus it is difficult to form a continuous sequence of events based upon these sources.

In the second place, the Russian immigrants who had already arrived, were by this time beginning to make themselves felt on the American Jewish scene. And newspaper space was devoted more to this process of adjustment than to the organization.

In the third place, the waves of immigration in the second half of the eighties brought recurrent reactions as to the appearance, the poverty, the movement out of New York, the frictions created.

In the fourth place, the main activity of this last period of the eighties was the educational efforts of the different large communities such as New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Chicago. A full and detailed analysis of this activity is far and beyond the scope of

this study. It must be treated by itself.

Nevertheless, there is abundant reason to believe that the period from 1885-1890 is noteworthy for its early evidence of vital and powerful Jewish impulses toward organization and creativity at the mass level, in the formation of synagogues, clubs, societies, newspapers, labor unions, etc., by the Russian Jew.

The editor of the JEWISH MESSENGER expressed the keynote of the years 1885-1890, when he wrote early in 1884:<sup>1</sup>

.... The situation in Russia is growing less hopeful, despite occasional rifts in the clouds. Another exodus is by no means so impossible if fresh persecutions arise; and even without any such painful stimulus, the success of their brethren will prove a powerful magnet for further settlements. Judaism in America has had its periods of Portugese, Polish and German settlement. The Russian period has begun in earnest. Will its influence prove wholesome or the reverse?

The last two sentences, a statement of fact followed by a question, is the basic attitude of the German Jewish community henceforth. In the following pages, a survey will be made of the attitude of the German Jewish community toward increased immigrations on the one hand, and the attitude toward a growing Russian Jewish settlement. The resistance toward Jewish activity, the opposition to organized Jewish life down town, the lack of real cooperation between the uptown and downtown communities, the attempt at reform in the tenement sections of New York City, and related subjects will be dealt with.

For purposes of clarity and because the sources are most abundant for the City of New York, the following chapters will deal primarily with the attitude of New York Jewry to Russian Jews.

1. (3-7-84-M-p.4)

## CHAPTER VII

THE SILVER ANNIVERSARY OF THE ALLIANCE ISRAELITE

The year 1885 marked the Silver Anniversary of the Alliance Israelite Universelle. Because of this auspicious event, the communities and congregations of the United States were urged to advocate new interest and help for this important European Society.<sup>2</sup> The ALLIANCE had special relevance to the problem of Russian emigrations, because up until 1885, the branches of this organization in Europe had been largely instrumental in shipping refugees to the U.S.

Thus in its silver anniversary year, evaluation of its efforts were made in the Anglo-Jewish Press of America. The MESSENGER urged that formation of branches of the ALLIANCE could no longer be delayed because the experience of the past three years had awakened the Jews of America to the value of the schools established by the ALLIANCE in Europe.<sup>3</sup> These schools it was felt would prepare the kind of refugee to America which was hitherto desired.

It was felt, however, that before any national organization of branches were to be effected, certain portions of the annual receipts of the ALLIANCE branches should be earmarked for home charities. Up until this time, it should be noted, the only branch of the ALLIANCE was located in Philadelphia.<sup>4</sup> But on February 11, 1886, a New York City branch was organized at the Y.M.H.A.<sup>5</sup> Again it was noted that a definite advantage would accrue to American communities were the ALLIANCE efforts to provide modern training of children in Russian to be implemented (8,000 children were in such

2. (1-9-85-M-p.4)

3. (1-23-85-M-p.4)

4. (2-6-85-M-p.4)

5. (2-13-85-M-p.5)

ALLIANCE schools at the time.)<sup>6</sup>

Mrs. M.D. Louis, prominent educator of the period delivered an essay titled "E Pluribus Unum" at a Washington's Birthday celebration that year, and in her remarks she expressed her opposition to helping foreign charities to the disadvantage of home charities.<sup>7</sup> But the year was a year for the ALLIANCE. Branches sprang up in all parts of the country. St. Paul, Minn. formed a branch consisting of 50 members and reported, "Were it not for the extraordinary call upon the community in connection with the Russian settlement at Painted Woods, Dak, the subscription would be largely increased."<sup>8</sup>

That the efforts of the ALLIANCE were in any case limited in scope can be seen by the report of the oldest branch in Philadelphia (established 1869 by Rev. S. Hirsch). At its meeting held April 19th at Temple Keneseth Israel, President Moses Dropsie reported receipts of \$2,024.74 and expenditures of \$1,242.08. It is also significant that in a year when the ALLIANCE was celebrating its 25th birthday, only 20 members showed up at the annual meeting.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, branches were established in Houston, Texas, New Orleans, San Francisco and elsewhere.<sup>10</sup>

A more detailed survey of the material and a study of the other communities of the U.S. will show, I think, that the ALLIANCE, like all international relief organizations of the eighties, was unable to compete with the time, effort and resources necessary to cope with the domestic problem of Russian emigration. Only insofar as the ALLIANCE was able to mitigate the condition in America did it receive more response from her citizens, otherwise a more effective co-operation and help by the American Jewish community was a casualty of the Russian emigration.

6. (Ibid)

7. (2-27-85-M-p.2)

8. (3-13-85-M-p.2)

9. (4-17-85-I-p.6)

10. (1-1-86-M-p.3)

(3-13-85-M-p.4)

(4-3-85-M-p.2)

*not clear*

## CHAPTER VIII

FORMATION OF ASSOCIATED HEBREW CHARITIES

The basic effect of the Russian emigrant upon the national scene was the formation of the "Associated Hebrew Charities of the U.S." There can be no hesitation in saying that the impetus for such an organization was due to the experience of 1881-85. The leaders of the movement were men who had gained their apprenticeship in the trying years that had passed. The model for the Associated Charities was the "Conference of Emigrant Aid Societies" held in June 1882.

On February 22, 1885, the Louisville Relief Association had publicly made the suggestion. But the call for a National Convention of Charities was issued by Marcus Bernheimer and Albert Arnstein of St. Louis.<sup>11</sup> These men had both been leaders of the Russian Relief Society of St. Louis in previous years.<sup>11A</sup> They urged the need for such a convention and to facilitate matters, announced the date of the convention to coincide with the U.A.H.C. convention in St. Louis in July. Delegates arrived from practically every large city in the country. Any accredited delegate from any Hebrew Relief Association or Congregation was entitled to attend. The convention which met at the Harmonie Club following the meetings of the U.A.H.C. was excellently attended. The response demonstrated a long-felt need. A constitution with by-laws was adopted.<sup>12</sup>

A month after this first successful convention, Marcus Bernheimer addressed the following letter to every Jewish community in the U.S.:<sup>13</sup>

11. (7-385-I-p.7)

11.A (for a very good bird's-eye view of the relationship between Relief Associations and Emigrant Aid Societies see Appendix A "St. Louis")

12. (This constitution is printed in full in the pages of the Israelite reporting the Second Convention of the Associated Heb. Charities held June 1886 in Chicago (7-9-86-I-p.5))

In order that we may successfully and speedily accomplish our purpose, we urge those communities which have not yet organized a Relief Society to form one, who together with all Relief, charitable and benevolent societies now in existence, should affiliate with us and aid our undertaking, for it is only by a united effort that success can be obtained.

By January 1886, the Associated Charities of the U.S. embraced 28 organizations and further affiliates were invited because "the co-operation of Jewish relief societies is more and more imperative in view of increasing emigration."<sup>14</sup>

One cannot guess their reasons for remaining without, but Cleveland and Cincinnati were the only two important cities in the West which had refused to join the Association. Otherwise the country as a whole realized that inter-community co-operation was absolutely necessary in view of the constant flow of potential relief cases from New York and Philadelphia westward to cities, towns and villages.

The unity of effort now manifested by this national association of charities in turn effected the local communal situations. As early as June 1886, Nathan Bijur, who was later to be nationally prominent in the social work field pleaded (in a lecture delivered at the N.Y.-Y.M.H.A.) for real unity among the charities. He suggested a syndicate or council representing all branches of communal benevolences, and deplored the fact that the U.H. Charities had as yet failed to effect the most comprehensive charity organization.<sup>15</sup>

13. (8-21-85-I-p.2)

14. (1-8-86-M-p.4) At its first convention the Board of Managers of the charities was instructed to communicate with the "Hebrew Charity Association of Europe for the purpose of checking the shipment of Hebrew "paupers" to the United States

15. (2-26-86-M-p.2)

## CHAPTER IX

INFLUENCE OF IMMIGRATION ON U.H. CHARITIES

It cannot be asserted too emphatically that the influence of Russian emigrations upon charitable institutions is almost the one basic development of American Judaism between 1880-1890. No better illustration of this can be found than in a comparison of the First Report of the U.H. Charities published in 1875 and the reports of the charities from 1885-1890. In that first year of United Charities a total of \$890.00 was spent for emigrant aid.<sup>16</sup> The money was spent in shipping emigrants to cities in the West and South. Henry Rice, Chairman of the Charities, suggested in his Annual Report of 1875 that Jewish Societies in other cities co-operate with the N.Y.-U.H.C. in shipping immigrants to their proper destinations. (There was no H.E.A.S. in 1875)

By 1885 the U.H. Charities had seen the formation and disappearance of the H.E.A.S., had accepted the responsibility in caring for the indigent and sick immigrants. In a word, what had been a minor expenditure in 1875 for emigrant aid now had become a major task of the Charities.

The year 1885 was marked by economic depression in the United States, and every depression automatically added new burdens on the Charities.<sup>17</sup>

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to examine the complex and manifold work of the U.H. Charities during these crucial years. Mention will be made below of the attitude of the charities toward increased immi-

16. (cf. Report of Bd. of Relief of U.H.C. (May 1875) Pub. by Heb. Orphan Asylum Prtg. Estab. H.U.C. Library)

17. (1-23-85-M-p.4)

gration and of the conflict between it and the "Hebrew Immigrants Protective Association."

Two of the important new branches directly organized because of immigrant influx were the "Emigration" branch and the employment bureau.<sup>18</sup> Special appeals for funds were constantly made in the newspaper and the justification for requesting more money from the New York community was almost invariably the plight of the immigrant.<sup>19</sup> Because money was so slow to come in the MESSENGER published scathing editorials, for example, one against "The Growth of Club Life" (millions for clubs, not a cent for the charities.)<sup>20</sup> One disillusioned individual suggested personal door to door canvasses of the Jewish community rather than wait for volunteer donations.<sup>21</sup>

The charities, moreover, were continually re-examining their program with attempts to make it suitable to the needs of the emigrant. The Employment Bureau was augmented by classes in trades for young people. It was recognized that trade schools for adults, an aid fund and "temporary homes for men" were needed.<sup>22</sup>

When immigration did increase, the U.H. Charities had no way of judging the added influx. Thus persecution in Europe could be judged by the barometer of increased cries for aid from the Charities. The Charities

18. (11-4-87-M-p.4)

19. (3-13-85-M-p.2)  
(11-25-87-M-p.4)

20. (8-5-87-M-p.4)

21. (3-17-87-M-p.4)

CORR.

23. (1-7-87-M-p.5)

24. (8-26-87-M-p.1)

could not diminish their help despite the fact that financial increases from the public were not forthcoming.<sup>25</sup>

By 1888 the U.H. Charities was ready to say that if immigration would only cease the N.Y. Jewish community could adequately take care of the needs,<sup>26</sup> of the poor. But the flood of refugees poured like sand on the shores of America and pounded like frantic waves on the doors of the Charities office.

25. An important letter reflecting the attitude of the U.H. Charities is found in the Israelite (8-13-86-I-p.3) CORR. where writer (signed "E") criticizes a critic of the U.H.C. Writing in the N.Y. HEBREW JOURNAL a "E" denied the writer's claim that the U.H.C. was an organization intent upon keeping paupers from Jewish doors. He goes on to add that the refugees are tricky and deceitful. The writer in the HEBREW JOURNAL had said, "Is it not the most unfortunate manifestation of our time that American Jews should strive to promulgate prejudices against their oppressed brethren of other countries..."
26. (11-2-88-M-p.4)
27. The total Jewish immigration to New York from 1885-1889 - was 123,947 and 8,115 (acc. to 11-22-89-M-p.4) TO PHILADELPHIA

## CHAPTER X

ATTITUDE TOWARD INCREASED IMMIGRATION

By 1885 the American Jewish community was faced with a fundamental dilemma--should immigration be continued? And if it should not (which was the prevalent attitude) how could the Jews of America countenance continued persecutions against European Jews on the one hand and oppose specific discriminations against immigrant Jewish arrivals on the other hand.

The situation was made palpably more difficult to resolve because the Jewish refugees who were arriving were mostly poor, ignorant and in need of continuous assistance from the established Jewish agencies.<sup>28</sup>

The summary action of the Commissioners of Emigration in August 1884,<sup>29</sup> had produced at least one desired effect, of urging care in the selection of immigrants by the "shipping lanes and societies in Europe." But the Protective Society and the U.H. Charities were again being besieged in 1886 by the thousands of new arrivals.<sup>30</sup> The rival steamship companies with their reduced rates were blamed for the influx of the poor "proletariat of Europe."<sup>31</sup>

28. The only new known Emigrant Society formed during the years 1885-90 was the Hungarian Emigrant Association, formed in 1886 with offices at 72 E. 4th St. Its officers were A.G. Gersten, M.D., pres. Vice Presidents Ludwig Weiss and E. Kleinman, Secretary S.D. Lux. Its members included Drs. Kohut, Wise (~~Stanton S.~~ Maisner and Sparger. Its avowed purpose was to aid emigrants in obtaining work (not peddling) (cf. 8-3-86-M-p.2) also cf (2-8-84-M-p.2) for still earlier attempt to form a Hungarian Emigrant Society.

29. (7-30-86-M-p.4)

30. Total arrivals of Hebrew immigrants at Castle Garden for ten months prior to August 1886 numbered 18,658 as against 15,152 for the same period in 1885. Of these 12,048 were Russian Jews, 5,161 Austrians, 689 Germans and 687 Rumanians. Nearly 13,928 (75%) remained in N.Y. City

31. (8-27-86-M-p.4)

Suggestions were made that tracts and pamphlets be carefully prepared and distributed throughout Europe to disabuse the immigrants of the illusion that America was an Eldorado.<sup>32</sup>

The immigrants were not without advocates. Hon B.F. Peixoto in a lecture at the Y.M.H.A. attempted to depict the historical factors which necessitated wholesale migrations. He urged as a "sovereign remedy" for existent evils pertaining to Russian Jews in America the formation of Colonization Societies.<sup>33</sup> When a newspaper, THE PRESBYTERIAN OBSERVER<sup>34</sup> singled out the Russian emigrant as the worst to arrive in America, the pages of the MESSENGER bristled with burning disavowals, pointing out that even at worst these ragged, unfortunate and friendless souls constituted only 1% of the whole class. Again, when news spread of the formation of a committee to organize an American Party to restrict foreign immigration (America for Americans) the same editor said, "No action could be more un-American...let once the narrow plank of nationality be adopted and religion will next be aimed at...the laws respecting immigration are sufficient."<sup>35</sup>

One suggestion which did meet favor was to have immigrants certified by American consuls in European countries, though recognizing the problem of those who were forced to flee their countries of origin, a loop-hole was designed whereby it might not be compulsory to have a certificate, though the absence of one could warrant closer inspection into the character and antecedents of the empty-handed arrivals.<sup>36</sup>

32. (4-2-86-M-p.1)

33. (2-4-87-M-p.2)

34. (7-8-87-M-p.1)

35. (7-29-87-M-p.4)

36. (8-12-87-M-p.1)

The factor of the labor supply in America was noted when in 1888 a discussion on immigration at the Congregational Club was featured. A Professor Boyeson had pleaded for restricted immigration because unrestricted immigration reduced the price of labor and spread atheism. But Hon. Steward S. Woodford expressed the most liberal sentiment of the established Jewish community when he said that a plea against immigration is a plea of the rich:

It is the plea of the indolent which naturally comes with great wealth; it is the plea of the better classes against the struggle which made this Republic what it was at the beginning and which alone can keep this Republic what it should be at the end....

*check 1888* When in August the Congressional Committee assigned to investigate abuses of the "foreign labor contract system" switched its inquiry to examine the condition of the foreign population instead, with large reference to Russian Jews, the MESSENGER thought it to be manifestly unfair.<sup>38</sup> But when a Naturalization Bill requiring all emigrants to be able to speak English and read the constitution was present to the New York legislature, the editor thought it an excellent suggestion.<sup>39</sup>

The suggestion was made that the Emigration Committee of Congress be presented with the plan put forth by the H.E.A.S. in 1882.<sup>40</sup> These suggestions were that emigration must be systematic and controlled by European committees from the departure of the Russian from his town until he reached an American port. Shipments must be regulated according to the ability of American committees to receive and distribute the immigrants. Only those having a trade, willing to settle on the land, or able to work as railway laborers should be selected. The aged and helpless should remain in Europe. Absolute paupers must on no account be chosen for emigration. And finally,

37. (3-30-88-M-p.4)  
38. (8-31-88-M-p.6)

39. (9-14-88-M-p.4)  
40. (cf. Supra Goldschmidt N.Y. correspondence)

before sending them to America these emigrants should be enlightened about the difficulties of settlement in America.<sup>41</sup>

What really troubled the American Jewish community was the proverbial pauper class. These might conceivably remain permanent wards of the charitable societies, depleting resources, filling the charitable institutions, bringing a black name to the record of American Jewry, perhaps even inciting anti-Semitism.<sup>42</sup>

The increased persecutions in Russia brought new thousands of refugees. And these new immigrants convinced American Jewry that debates over immigration control could only be an "absorbing topic of conversation" or an academic question. The immigrants were coming; they could not be stopped. American Israel had now become a "Neapolitan Cream" (an early version of the "melting pot"):<sup>43</sup>

The character of American Israel has fast assumed the character of Neapolitan cream, with successive layers of Polish, German, Bohemian, Dutch, Hungarian, Rumanian and Russian emigration. But America will cheerfully solve the problem, if immigration will only cease for a time and it be not overwhelmed now with shiploads of Black Jews from India, Red Jews from Malabar and Poor Jews from Everywhere. Otherwise there is bound to be indigestion,

41. (8-24-88-M-p.4)

42. (9-21-88-M-p.4)

43. (8-29-90-M-p.4)

## CHAPTER XI

HEBREW IMMIGRANT PROTECTIVE SOCIETY

During the years of greatest immigration in the eighties, from 1885-1890, the most important organization established in their behalf was the "Jewish Protective Emigrant Aid Society." Its first guiding spirit it was not a German Jew but a Russian born Jew, J. Judelsohn of Philadelphia, who by February 1884 was noted as a fighter and organizer on behalf of his fellow Russian Jews.<sup>44</sup>

The need for such an organization was made more pressing by recurrent series of incidents where immigrants were robbed and bilked even on board ship, not to speak of when they landed on the "hospitable" shores of America. Judelsohn came to New York in August 1885 to investigate a number of discriminatory acts that had occurred against "Jacob Potilowsky and Mendel Gremstein" who had been attracted to America by the enthusiastic letters of relatives.<sup>45</sup>

The organization was formally called into existence at an important meeting held Sunday February 20, 1885 at Pythagoras Hall. "A marked feature of the evening" it was reported, "was the absence of professional society organizers...

men who lend their names to every new movement for the sake of notoriety but who quietly withdraw as soon as the enthusiasm is over, and allow the society to fall to pieces. On the contrary these gentlemen who managed the meeting meant business....

The Chairman of the meeting was Coroner Ferdinand Levy. The organizer was Judelsohn whose aim was to replace the defunct H.E.A.S. The meeting was

44. He had asked for a hearing before the U.H.Charities (1-18-84-M-p.2) but due to censorship or lazy reporting no record of his hearing is found in the MESSENGER. The ISRAELITE, however reported his activity in its N.Y. newsletter, pointing out that Judelsohn had openly criticized the charities and

marked by a firm resolve to help the immigrant, but the U.H. Charities was roundly criticised for its sloppy work in the past. To the disfavor of New York, treatment of incoming immigrants was contrasted with the efficient operation of such activity in Philadelphia. Judge Joachimsen and S.M. Roeder, Pres. of Dist. No. 1 I.O.B.B. also spoke at this important meeting.<sup>46</sup>

The officers of the new organization were Simon H. Roeder, Morris Goodhart, Jacob Wise, David Block, Faybush Libman, J.P. Solomon, David M. Piza, Albert Cardozo, Ferdinand Levy, S. Gumprecht and Morris Jacoby. By October the Hebrew Immigrant Protective Society was "firmly established despite the malicious opposition it had had."<sup>47</sup>

The new society held regular meetings of its members and maintained offices at No. 10 Battery Place directly opposite Castle Garden. The immigrants received here advice and help, but not charity.<sup>48</sup> The organization protected the Jew as a Jew handicapped by reason of fear and ignorance, needing the brotherly help of an older American brother. Troubles of any kind, especially acts of discrimination gave new strength both in member and money to support the efforts, of the Protective Society.

The pauper-restrictions was a constant source of bewilderment to the Jewish immigrant. Trained by instinct to be furtive and secretive in the presence of Christian strangers, fearful of being robbed, the immigrant upon landing at Castle Garden, would claim poverty, not realising that pauperism was laid down as a reason for forcible return to Europe. In such instances the Protective Society stepped in to discuss the matter and help the immigrant.<sup>49</sup>

44. (cont.) and had written to the daily papers (2-1-84-I-p.3)

45. (8-28-85-I-p.6)

46. (9-25-85-I-p.5) The H.I.A.S. of Philadelphia was represented by its secretary Mr. Charles Hoffman who explained the working of his organization.

47. (10-9-85-I-p.6)

48. (8-27-86-I-p.6)

49. (8-6-86-I-p.4)

Moreover it was felt by the Society that the Immigration Commissioners were discriminating against Jewish arrivals. In short, there was a great deal of work to be done.

In a circular issued September 1, 1886 the Protective Society appealed to "all of the United States" to help in pursuing its benevolent objects, which consisted of the following efforts:<sup>50</sup>

- 1..To assist immigrants on their arriving here to reach their respective place of destination, so they may not all crowd in this city.
- 2..To help them find their relatives and friends and communicate with them with a view to putting them under their protection and care.
- 3..To obviate misunderstandings between the immigrants and the authorities at Castle Garden..
- 4..To guard immigrants against impositions...
- 5..To procure useful work and employment for the newcomers.

The new society, it is apparent, very wisely skirted the larger and more complex responsibilities of adjusting the refugee after he was here, resolving to limit its scope of activity to specific tasks ensuing upon the arrival of the Russian Jews. The Immigrant Protective Society was by comparison, a modern Travelers' Aid Society and an anti-Defamation League rolled into one. Though its work was limited(at its first annual<sup>meeting</sup>/the I.P.S. reported the expenditure of \$1,000. with 200 emigrants assisted) it did provide a real service to the emigrant. The experience their officers gained as the years passed was immeasurably useful in saving emigrants from being shipped back to Europe for various reasons and in making the first crucial hours upon the American shore a little easier for the immigrant.<sup>52</sup>

50. (9-10-86-I-p.5)

51. (10-15-86-M-p.5)

Note 52. (10-12-88-M-p.2)

Though I have no way of substantiating the following opinions, except by inference, it is my belief that the Jewish Immigrant Protective Society was unusual in character for two reasons. In the first place it represented a break with the "Reform" German-Jewish dominated U.H. Charities. By 1888 its leaders were the "Conservative" group (cf. 10-12-88-M-p.2). It was even addressed by "Chief Rabbi" Jacob Joseph. In the second place, its officers were lawyers; without deprecating the usefulness of their work the activities of such men as "Coroner Ferdinand H. Levy" smacks of political motive.

## CHAPTER XII

CONTINUATION OF TENEMENT REFORM

In Europe perhaps, romantic and sentimental association had invested the traditional Jewish Ghetto with a patina of dignity and an atmosphere of charm. No shadow of such illusion could hide the filth, squalor and poverty of the growing ghetto of the lower East Side in New York. Its rapid growth from a tenement section to a colorful but over-populated ghetto was perhaps the most shocking revelation for the up-town Jews. For mixed reasons, (civic pride, religious sentiment, loyalty, shame and fear) the older Jewish inhabitants, as a class, could ask for nothing more fiercely than the disappearance of the "Frankenstein" ghetto of the Bowery and Lower Broadway.

As noted above, attempts had already been made for tenement reform. But during the years 1885-1890, it became a kind of platform of the up-town Jewish community. That such reforms could never succeed was due in part to the proclivity of the constant influx of refugees to live together, of the need to live close to the factories and other places of business in Lower Manhattan and of the absence of rapid transportation.

The methods of tenement reform were constantly discussed in the pages of the MESSENGER. In the emergency of 1885, it was suggested that unoccupied buildings and warehouse be converted into homes and that rotted tenement buildings be torn down.<sup>53</sup> In an anonymous article, "Among the Tenements" the writer described the tenement section as the "Jerusalem" quarter of New York. He characterised the section as one where

53. (1-2-85-M-p.4)

"Brutality, narrow-mindedness and ignorance are the main features of the district."<sup>54</sup> While describing the filthy living conditions of the section the author expressed no sympathy, but was merely horror-stricken by the poverty. Nathan Bijur, writing about the same time commented on the condition of the people he saw there:

I saw how men with talent and wit, and power to do great things, were here cramped within the narrow compass of poverty-stricken and squalid surroundings.

In May 1885, a "Tenement House Building Committee" was organized consisting of leading Jews and Christians. The incorporators were Joseph W. Drexel, Oswald Ottendorfer, Felix Adler, Jacob Scholle, Martin S. Fechheimer, Max Nathan, Edwin R.A. Seligman and Alfred P.W. Seaman. The object of this Committee was "To purchase, maintain and improve real estate for residence and apartment houses. No more than 4% per annum to be paid as dividends, any income beyond that amount to be used as a reserve fund for the benefit of the stockholders and tenants in such a manner as the by-laws may provide."<sup>55</sup>

The new corporation was capitalized at \$150,000. divided into 6,000 shares of \$25.00 each. No doubt this organization was intent upon a semi-non-profit model tenement program. But no further record of its activity is to be found.<sup>56</sup>

54. (4-24-85-M-p.5)

55. (5-15-85-I-p.2)

56. The subject of Model Tenements was constantly discussed. In his report to the Executive Board of U.H. Relief Association of Chicago, (29th Annual Report, Oct. 1887-Oct. 1888). Emil G. Hirsch suggested the erection of such model tenements "as a matter of investment" and suggested that with proper management these "model houses" had everywhere secured a fair return.

The Sanitary Aid Society, founded in 1884, was immediately involved in the efforts to improve sanitary and health conditions in the Lower East Side.<sup>57</sup>

Conditions were so bad, that it was felt a "model lodging house" would serve as a good example to the rest of the district. Such a house (Lodging House No. 1) was opened in the 10th Ward of New York on March 20, 1885.<sup>58</sup> The lodging house was an immediate and tangible success. However, the society also took up cudgels against unconscionable landlords and renting agents. And with the co-operation of city health authorities the society was successful in ameliorating some of the more outrageous conditions in the 10th Ward. By February 1888, the society announced its intention of opening a second lodging house.<sup>59</sup> The reports of the time and in subsequent issues of the MESSENGER indicate the effectiveness of their efforts. The society did more than merely spur on the Board of Health. It publicised its investigations, it denounced the worse off-fending landlords and it attempted to control the danger of unhealthy living conditions in the congested tenements of the Lower East Side.<sup>60</sup>

By 1890 the "Now Famous Jewish Quarter" was besieged by so many new tenants, direct from the boats at Castle Garden, that the writer of the column "Real Estate Notes" in the MESSENGER reported the inflation of tenement district property. Fine lots on East Broadway were selling at \$25,000.00, just double the price of the previous two years.

57. (1-9-85-M-p.3)

58. (3-20-85-M-p.4)

59. (2-24-88-M-p.2) cf. Report of progress of the S.A.S.

60. (2-17-88-M-p.2)

61. (4-11-90-M-p.8)

"The Now Famous Jewish Quarter extends east from the bowery down to the river front, and from Franklin St. to Second Street, and it is constantly increasing..."

## CHAPTER XIII

ATTITUDE TOWARD RUSSIAN-JEWISH SYNAGOGUE ACTIVITY

The wave of immigration in the first five years of the eighties brought in its wake the flourishing development of synagogue life down town.<sup>62</sup> From 1885-1887 the growth was so pronounced that the East Side was dotted with "schuls." A favorite anecdote of the day related the incident of a refugee from Russia who found his way into a certain crowded section of the city. Sitting down on one of the benches there, he started to pray.

"This is no shool! Move on."

And when the poor young man lifted his eyes he discovered he had begun to pray on the wrong side of the street. The "shool" was across the way. He was "in the wrong pew."<sup>63</sup>

It was not long though, before a Russian refugee could not mistake the synagogues being built. For the MESSENGER reports of the rapid growth of ambitious building activity in Chicago, Philadelphia, Baltimore and New York.<sup>64</sup>

What perhaps amazed the uptown Jews even more than the building activity was the attendance at service. Already accustomed to limited attendance on an occasional Sabbath and the Holidays, these enlightened brethren could not help reacting to the tri-diurnal service of their Polish-Russian brethren even during the hottest days of summer (especially note on Tishu B'Ab)<sup>65</sup>

62. Even in the hinterland the religious life of the Russian Jew began immediately (cf. 9-13-82-M-p.2) for story of formation of "shool" in St. Louis

63. (8-19-87-M-p.2)

64. (8-12-87-M-p.4)

65. (8-5-87-M-p.2)

The feverish activity on the East side was likened to the old Jewish Ghetto life of Europe and uptown Jews were urged to tour the East Broadway section. For these latter could have no idea, sight unseen, of the picture of a "hundred or more shrines located below Second Street" attended by large crowds.<sup>66</sup> Derogatory comparisons were made between the enthusiasm of the new immigrant for his religious life and the listless, sleepy, unworried attitude of the uptowners.<sup>67</sup>

The cost of the synagogues being built by the Russians aroused no little ire, for these were the same people, it was presumed, who were being supported by the Charities. Thus when it was announced that a \$50,000. synagogue would be built in Chicago, seating 1,500<sup>68</sup> or one costing \$40,000. in New York, the blessings upon these religious enterprises were not unmixed.

Dedications of these synagogues were gala events in the Jewish social life of the day. It was noted in August 1888 that the fifth synagogue was being dedicated within recent weeks.<sup>69</sup> This news brought forth a vindication of the Russian Jew, who might easily have remained in Russia had he merely abandoned his ancestral faith.<sup>70</sup>

66. (10-14-87-M-p.1)

67. (12-16-87-M-p.1)

68. (3-30-88-M-p.2)

69. (8-31-88-M-p.4)

70. (Ibid) The opening of "Chedarim" also received attention in the Anglo-Jewish Press; as early as April 1885 they were called "Tenement house schools" (4-3-85-M-p.4) Also note comment on erection of Moses Montefiore Free School" in Chicago (9-9-87-M-p.2), enlarged synagogue "Cong. Tifereth Israel, founded 1870, new edifice built 1888 (8-31-88-M-p.2), Cong. Mikva Kodesh in Baltimore (9-7-88-M-p.2)

# CHAPTER XIV

## THE ATTITUDE TOWARD CHIEF RABBI JOSEPH

The prolific growth of synagogue activity on the lower East Side produced by 1887 a situation which required immediate attention. A chief Rabbi was needed. Thus it was reported in June 1887 that thirteen larger Russian and Polish congregations had met to procure such a chief Rabbi.<sup>71</sup> No candidate was mentioned until two months later when the name of Zvi Hirsch Spector of Kurland was offered to a meeting of congregations which resolved to organize as the "United Hebrew Congregations of New York."<sup>72</sup> Such a high-sounding title immediately elicited recalcitrant comment. In its editorial a week following the MESSENGER bemused:<sup>73</sup>

The Russian congregation talking about a chief Rabbi for New York...hardly have the right to call themselves U.H. Congregation of N.Y. or to denote their rabbi as "Chief Rabbi". Considering that the bounty of their wealthier American and German American brethren provides in large measure for the support of our charities...etc. which are patronised mostly by Russian Polish co-religionists...

Chagrin was felt too, by the up-towners who were charitably supporting these downtowners who had offered their imported Rabbi a salary of \$4,000.00 per annum, and were even considering bringing over a chazan at \$3,000.00<sup>74</sup> Different names continued to be mentioned but by December dickering was still going on with European authorities. Sympathy was expressed with the downtown brethren who might by the expedient of a chief Rabbi end their bickerings and congregational feuds, but they were at the same time warned to remember the youth while choosing their Rabbi.<sup>75</sup>

71. (6-10-87-M-p.2)

72. (8-19-87-M-p.2)

73. (8-26-87-M-p.4)

74. (Ibid)

75. (12-2-87-M-p.4)

(also cf. 2-3-88-M-p.4)

The triumphant announcement of the actual choice was made January 27, 1888 of the election of "Rabbi Joseph of Wilna."<sup>76</sup>

Though he was elected in January, the new chief Rabbi, Jacob Joseph, did not arrive until the following July. Until he did come, the MESSENGER betrayed the uneasiness which had crept into uptown thinking as to what this phenomenon would mean to Judaism in New York. With a self-conscious attempt at humor, the editor openly pondered the first act of the Rabbi, "Will he mark his entrance in our midst by excommunicating all the Jews in America who are not Russians?"<sup>77</sup> More suggestions were offered of what would constitute the tasks of a Chief Rabbi, but all the references to him and even the advance welcome accorded him in the pages of the "up-town press"<sup>78</sup> betrayed the veiled hostility toward the Chief Rabbi and toward his constituents who were paying for the erection of new synagogues, had already imported a brilliant cantor and were now guaranteeing the Chief Rabbi a minimum \$10,000. and a salary of \$5,000. a year plus perquisites.<sup>79</sup>

#### The Rabbi Arrives

No visiting dignitary could have desired a more fervent reception than the one given Chief Rabbi Joseph on his arrival July 14, 1888. Unfortunately his arrival on a Sabbath morning dampened spirits slightly because Joseph refused to leave the boundaries of the ship he traveled on, and

76. (1-27-88-M-p.2) The money raised to bring him to America was contributed by Messrs. Jonah Jones, Rothenstein Alexander, Goodman, Eisenstein, Malavista and Harris

77. (6-29-88-M-p.4)

78. (7-13-88-M-p.4)

79. (7-27-88-M-p.4)

violate the principle of TEHUM SHABBAT. The Captain, however, forced his departure, so that he traveled to his home on the Sabbath. That evening mobs flocked to the regal domicile near Henry and Jefferson St. to greet him personally.<sup>80</sup>

Joseph's first public appearance to preach to his flock was on Sabbath Nachamu at the "Beth Hammidrosh Haggadol" (52-56 Norfolk St.) at 3:00 p.m.<sup>81</sup> The events of the day were as colorful as a Barnum parade. The synagogue was mobbed. Police kept order as best they could, even arresting a few. The MESSENGER reported:<sup>82</sup>

The spectacle of a Rabbi being escorted to a synagogue by a Captain and a squad of police was witnessed in New York Saturday afternoon. And now that the Rumanians and Hungarians are canvassing for funds to import another Chief Rabbi for themselves. We suppose the firemen will turn out when that functionary arrives.

The lecture which Joseph delivered was accepted coldly by the MESSENGER correspondent who concluded his report, "While there is no question about his deep Talmudic learning, he is without secular knowledge, and his influence will be necessarily limited..."<sup>83</sup> But the ISRAELITE correspondent reported contrarily, "his sermon is by no means filled with such offensive subject matter as woman's baths, nail-paring or slaughtering, but is filled with a highly pious, ethical Judaism delivered in jargon..."<sup>84</sup> Then the ISRAELITE writer made the following comparison:

Were this man not Rabbi Jacob Joseph, may his light shine, but the Rev. Dr. Joseph, Rabbi of Temple Enlightenment, then he could not, to his first sermon on the sabbath, at 4 P.M. with the thermometer at 89 F. attract as many auditors as there were here present...

80. (7-20-88-I-p.3)

81. (8-3-88-I-p.3)

82. (7-27-88-M-p.4)

83. (Ibid) p.4 an excerpt of Joseph's sermon is found in 8-3-88-M-p.2

84. op. cit. p.3

The reaction to Joseph's maiden American sermon was nowhere more perplexing than in the response of Felix Adler who wrote to the daily papers that "the standard of piety which Rabbi Joseph describes is one by which we must all abide."<sup>85</sup>

#### Opposition to Chief Rabbi

The honeymoon between the "uptown" press and the "down town" Chief Rabbi lasted only a short time. In late September a curt reminder to the new rabbi was printed, that his authority was limited to "his own congregation or congregations only."<sup>86</sup> The storm of attack really was aroused when Joseph issued an edict that every chicken be fettered with lead shackles (to attest proper KOSHER killing and bring in revenue)<sup>87</sup> 7 The letter which Joseph had sent to all kosher butchers had been published in the daily papers,<sup>88</sup> and such bad publicity irked the uptown Jews even more.

The downtown controversy lasted some months and did create a bad press and we find the MESSENGER in January 1889 reluctantly dwelling on this unsavory topic:<sup>89</sup>

Agitation against this imported combination of religion and business.. is a grave symptom and likely to prove a disagreeable incident in local Jewish history...one can begin to understand why so many young Russian Israelites are inclined to Nihilism when rabbinism is presented to them under such an unamiable and un-Jewish guise.

85. (8-10-88-M-p.4) ED. "And so Wilna Judaism and the N.Y. Society of Ethical Culture have been brought under one cover at last!" (also cf. "Review of Year" (8-31-88-I-p.4) and 8-3-88-M-p.4)

86. (9-28-88-M-p.4)

87. (10-5-88-M-p.2)

88. (10-12-88-M-p.1)

89. (1-18-89-M-p.4) Note 2-22-89-p.3 CORR - signed "Friend" on same subject.

What provoked the Jews of the up-town section perhaps even more was the galling incident in 1889 pertaining to the proposed Centennial Celebration. For all the rabbis in New York, it was Joseph, the "imported" Rabbi who chose to act as spokesman for American Jewry, "a bit of impertinence which is less culpable than the failure of our city synagogues and Jewish congregations to unite in a fitting service and memorial." Salt was added to the smarting wounds of the uptowners when the N.Y. HERALD referred to Joseph as the "Chief Rabbi of the Jews of New York."

The appearance upon the Jewish scene of a chief rabbi caused continual headaches to the German-Jewish population. Complaints were brought before the N.Y. Board of Ministers by the German-Jewish butchers who rebelled against submission to Joseph's authority relevant to tagging chickens.<sup>92</sup> Joseph was urged to censor the Yiddish press which was criticised for its anti-capitalist policy.<sup>93</sup> the question of the Jewish divorce given without a legal civil decree was also heaped upon his shoulders.<sup>94</sup>

The remarkable success which Joseph had in imposing his authority on a large segment of the Russian-Jewish policy, and the accompanying prestige and publicity which he brought to his flock, encouraged other groups to look for a Chief Rabbi. In May 1889, the

90. (5-3-89-M-p.4)

91. (4-11-90-M-p.4)

92. (1-17-90-M-p.2) also cf. (2-7-90-M-p.4)

93. (3-13-91-M-p.2)

94. (1-2-91-M-p.2) 8-1-90-M-p.5 CORR. from Dr. S. Kluber of New Haven Conn who suggests that Rabbi Joseph get after the swindling Jewish bankers of the East Side. Joseph the writer remarked, should concern himself as much with "Kosher bands" as he does with "Kosher kitchens."

Galician Congregations engaged Rabbi Moses Rappaport of Galicia<sup>95</sup> and the following August the Hungarians voted to obtain a Chief Rabbi.<sup>96</sup>

In general, the reaction of the German Jewish population was one mixed with resentment, dismay and cynicism at this "European" (KEHILLA) method of organizing American Jewish life.

95. (5-31-89-M-p.2)

96. Note the MESSENGER satire, "The Blanktown Syndicate" on the importation of a "Patagonian" rabbi to minister to "Patagonians" (7-11-90-M-p.4)

## CHAPTER XV

NEGATIVE REACTION TO RUSSIAN-JEWISH PRACTISES

The feverish struggle for existence by the Russian Jewish population during the eighties was colored by the attempts of these people to adjust their religious and social practise to the American scene. That the process of adjustment did not pass without frictions and conflicts is completely understandable. Huddled in crowded tenements, the refugees gradually began to express their peculiar way of life with its old-world flavor and its Orthodox strictures. The life of these new-comers received attention both in the daily press and in the Anglo-Jewish organs of the uptown Jews.

In the following pages will be listed some of the antagonistic reactions as expressed in the pages of the MESSENGER toward the downtown brethren.<sup>97</sup>

Down Town Disorders (12-11-85-p.7) (2-4-87-M-p.4)

"Some of our down town brethren have been amusing themselves again, and disturbing the peace of the neighborhood. Last Monday evening confusion and disorder reigned at No. 56 Orchard St., at the meeting of the Society known as the "Chebra Ahawad Abraham Ansche Labowe of N.Y.C." on account of the claims of precedence put forth by rival officers. Abm. Rothenber of No. 47 Essex St. attempted to exercise the functions of president, but Joseph Meyers, a dry goods dealer of No. 40 Forsyth and Morris Rothstein, a tailor of 197 Seventh St. refused to acknowledge his authority. A general row ensued during which several tables were overturned and Rothen-

97. The reactions noted here are fairly comprehensive though certainly not all-inclusive. The grievances noted are indicative of the tensions and frictions which existed between an adjusted and emancipated community and the "greenhorn" brethren.

burg was wounded on the head with a mallet, which he says was wielded savagely by Meyer and Rothstein..." (12-11-85-M-p.7)

A public rebuke was given the quarrelsome Russian Jewish Society of the East Side, because their petty disputes are not settled privately but publicly in the papers. "Their numberless small societies do not tend to promote peace and harmony." Why not amalgamate even if a few presidents are sacrificed? (2-4-87-M-p.4)

#### Anti Religious Conduct

Russian Jewish groups on the East Side had held a Yom Kippur Ball. The newspapers were incensed. An editorial in the AMERICAN HEBREW fumed, "Absolute social ostracism should be the lot of such depraved creatures who are so far lost to every sense of decency as to go far out of their way to outrage the religious feelings of their racial kindred who have done so much to relieve the sufferings and miseries of the fugitives from oppression in Russia....the Jews of this city owe it to themselves to disavow them in every way. to abstain from association with them. (AMERICAN HEBREW 9-27-89-p.1)

#### Socialist Activity

The MESSENGER could not fathom the thanklessness of the Russian Jews who had come in flight from old-world persecutions and had brought with them the excess baggage of lawlessness, anarchy and socialism (10-25-89-M-p.4)

"Hebrew anarchists" met at a downtown meeting in June 1890 and have proposed "fiery resolutions." Similar statements had been circulating in other large cities but not without spirit protest from more sensible Russian-American brethren...The solution to anarchic socialism is a religious message which will teach pure and happy living. Branch temples of the rich uptown synagogues is another solution (1-10-90-M-p.4)

### The Yiddish Press

The fecund Yiddish newspapers were criticised on two fundamental counts, namely, Yiddish was not good for Americanizing purposes and the Yiddish press tended to be socialistic.

A typical notice of the first objection is found in December 1888, when the MESSENGER noted that "ten Hebrew papers are for sale in the stores and on the stands in the section of the city south of Broome St." of these ten, five were dailies and they indicated the multitude of Yiddish readers. (Two were edited in Hebrew). "Can it be" said the editor, "that the existence of so many bookstores and newspaper stands for the sale of books and papers appropriately denotes the prevalence of Europeans of Hebrew descent not yet Americanized enough to appreciate English literature? (12-21-88-M-p.1).

The second major objection - to Socialism - was noted as early as 1886:

The Jewish papers...ought not to teach socialism and anarchy, and think itself safe because written in a language and in characters which cannot be generally read. We do not think Russian immigrants, so hospitably received in this country, have the right to claim to have more right to the name of men than those who "sit on velvet chairs" If it had not been for the many who

"sit on velvet chairs" they and their children might have starved to death (7-16-86-M-p.4)

#### Russian Sounding Names

"Julius Soloweitschyk, Russian immigrant changed his name to Solon.." our Russian friends have this advantage over their longer resident brethren. Many of the latter would like to alter their names for business or social reasons, but they consider it shabby to abandon patronymics in which their fathers have won recognition and which the living relatives take pleasure in maintaining. (9-19-90-M-p.4)

Some of the new Jewish congregations were "attempting to defy one's ordinary vocal capacity" with their Russian names. They look bad enough to the notary and the judge but "in the dull type of the newspaper they are peculiarly harsh and unattractive." Peculiarly enough these Russian Jews, happy to have escaped Russian persecutions, are less prone to drop Russian itself. (8-1-90-p.4-M)

#### Kosher Restaurants

A sign of the times was the increase of Kosher restaurants and matzoth bakeries. It was feared that in a few years "Kosher"

signs may "desecrate" Broadway and other prominent side streets. These restaurants do not stand up to comparison with other dining places and the spread of the "cabalistic" kosher sign should cease (3-18-87-M-p.1)

#### Working On Sundays

Certain "Sheriff Street tailors" were arrested for working on Sundays. Because they were noisy at their work, their neighbours were justified in arresting them. Moreover, they must not forget "to treat with some consideration the religious day of rest of the overwhelming majority of Americans, which is at the same time the legal day of rest of the land." (8-3-88-M-p.4)

#### Schnorring At Cemeteries

"Since Russian immigration has assumed such vast proportion" said the ISRAELITE correspondent, "quite a new and formerly unknown industry has been developed in the cemeteries. I allude to "Schnorrerthum"; on Sundays you cannot walk ten steps without being molested for alms. (9-7-88-I-p.3)<sup>98</sup>

#### Public Baths (Mikveh)

"Public baths are no less needed in Winter than in the warm season, and the authorities ought lose no time in establishing them in districts where tenement houses abound. Down in the Tenth Ward there are several baths frequented by our Russian friends; and even if they are used as a religious duty they are not the less to be commended on that account so long as good sanitary results are obtained." (12-14-88-M-p.4)

98. For a very interesting objection to Rabbis signing "schnorer" letters for itinerant beggars cf. 1-21-87-M-p.3 CORR. signed "A City Rabbi."

Yiddish Theatres

It was noted in January 1887 that two theatres on the Bowery of "Hebrew" character were in existence. "It is to be regretted" said the MESSENGER, "that sectarianism should be thrust before the public in a novel direction." When 40,000 people are added to the city's population in a scant three year period, "We may expect occasional reminders of European peculiarities." (1-21-87-M-p.4)

"Illegal" Jewish Divorces

The Newark Police had arrested a couple involved in Orthodox procedure for divorce "Get" without first having procured a legal civil divorce. The "rabbi" involved is described as "more guilty than the poor dupes" involved. Out of this grew the urge from the press that all nationalities should ever strive to Americanize themselves. (4-5-89-M-p.4)

## CHAPTER XVI

ATTITUDE TOWARD RUSSIAN JEWS AS STRIKERS

That means of economic integration which was adopted by the Russian Jews - joining unions and strikes - met consistent opposition from the Anglo-Jewish Press. The MESSENGER was not a working-men's newspaper. It mirrored the social snobbishness, the middle-class stirrings, the conservative politics of an employer class. It was also the organization of those who considered themselves the benefactors of the Russian Jewish masses.

As they had threatened earlier, the MESSENGER repeated their conviction again and again that strikers could find no sympathy among the uptown Jews. In many cases the latter were the "bosses" against whom the tailors, the cigar makers and the other organized groups were striking.

"When the tailors talk of striking," opined the MESSENGER "a question of economy is touched which certainly interests our "charities" whose offices would be quickly beset, if the strike continued for an indefinite time...charitable institutions are not organized to support strikes."<sup>99</sup> Criticism was made of Russian-Americans who had passed resolutions of sympathy for anarchists and of protests against the American judiciary. They were advised to cut loose from their "quondam" Russian compatriots:<sup>100</sup>

Russian Hebrews who identify themselves with anarchists and their gang...will have much to answer for. They will only succeed in increasing prejudice against their own brethren and strengthening the cause of anti-Semitism...the over-enthusiastic Russian Hebrews on these shores should attend to his own business and not be attracted by the demagogues that would mistake and delude our working classes...

What irked the MESSENGER perhaps more than anything else was that these

99. (5-28-86-M-p.1)

100. (6-18-86-M-p.4)

threatening strikers had arrived but a year or so previously, poor and pleading for help, but now were showing such ungrateful thanks for the help they had received.<sup>101</sup>

With the establishment of the "Jewish Workingmen's Union" some time in 1887, advice was even more explicit - these Russian Jews had no right to identify themselves with a movement which might arouse and increase prejudice against them and against the great body of American Jews.

Labeling their activity "Moral hydrophobia" the MESSENGER cautioned Jews to eschew affiliation with the "Russian Protective Union," supposedly a Nihilistic movement. The reason given was that the newspapers were beginning to make a synonymous identification of the words "Jew" and "Nihilist." The Russian Jew will only have to blame himself if he fails to achieve permanent success in America.<sup>102</sup> At least one individual, namely Felix Adler, in one of his Sunday lectures forcibly objected to a few foreign immigrants being made the scapegoat for anarchism in America. "It is the enormous growth of the power of corporations," he said, "which is the real cause of the evil, and a source of greater apprehension for America's future than the vagaries of most, spies and kindred spirits."<sup>103</sup>

The MESSENGER did recognize the critical situation created by the blandishments of "Landsharks and passenger agents" who were enticing large numbers of Jews to America, thus creating aggravated labor conditions in the manufacturies. American labor, they felt, was being

101. (Ibid)

102. (12-2-87-M-p.4)

103. (12-9-87-M-p.4)

duped and was having wages cut forcibly by a bloated labor market, with one individual competing against his fellow worker for existing jobs.<sup>104</sup>

By the year 1890, vigorous striking was a part of Jewish labor's struggles for decent wages and working conditions. Dolefully it was noted that the "poorer Russian brethren are their best when preparing for the Passover, etc...they are at their worst when they engage in useless strikes and try to cripple manufacturers who received them generously in their hour of need."<sup>105</sup>

At a labor meeting held in May 1890, one of the speakers claimed that 12,000 Russian Jews were members of labor unions. If this be so," moaned the editor of the MESSENGER, "it is clear our Russian brethren are Americanizing themselves with a vengeance."<sup>106</sup>

Perhaps no clearer expression of dismay on the part of the intrenched American Jewry against Jewish labor per se is to be found in this period than the following Labor Day message of September 1890:

It is an unpleasant commentary on the charges made in our community that hundreds of participants in Monday's Labor parades should have figured as Jewish workmen and in the section of the show that was mainly devoted to Socialists. No other sect paraded as such. We found no Catholics or Baptist cutters or Methodist carpenters in the published lists... years of hard work on the part of citizens of the Jewish faith to level all distinctions between Jew and Gentile save those connected with religious doctrines, are rendered as naught by the acts of thoughtless and misguided people less than five years in the country.<sup>107</sup>

104. (9-7-88-M-p.4)

105. (3-21-90-M-p.4)

106. (5-9-90-M-p.4) cf. 5-23-90-M-p.1 where MESSENGER opposed Jewish strikers in Newark N.J. because they forcibly prevented "scabs" from entering their shop.

107. (9-5-90-M-p.4) Also cf. 10-10-90-M-p.4 for notice of "National Convention of Jewish Workmen" with 120 delegates representing 35 trade unions from U.S. and Canada. cf. also 10-30-90-M-p.4 where first anniversary of "Jewish Trades Union" is greeted with suggestion that Jews join general trade societies and not to organize into narrow guilds and foment still further prejudices.

## CHAPTER XVII

POSITIVE REACTIONS TO RUSSIAN IMMIGRATIONS

Frictions between Russian Jew and German Jew, (upper class and "lower" class, old immigrant and new immigrant, rich and poor, emancipated and tradition bound, etc.) were bound to rise in the hectic ninth decade of the Nineteenth Century. To have had none would have indicated an abnormal rather than a normal situation. But the crucial points to be carefully observed, for they would indicate the path to future rapprochement, were those instances where "Uptown" Jew and "Downtown" Jew (speaking figuratively) were appreciative of one another. There are not too many illustrations of this new spirit of harmony, neither platitudinous nor condescending; for during the eighties, the adjustment of the earlier Refugees was overshadowed by the arrival of new problems in the form of more hungry, homeless, jobless immigrants.

The first and best results of immigration were to be found in the smaller towns and not in the densely packed sections of the largest cities. By 1886, it was already noticeable how peacefully and capably the immigrants of 1881-1882 had adjusted to the new life in the smaller towns.<sup>108</sup> The correspondent from Milwaukee (OBSERVER) commented in his column to the ISRAELITE that Russians had quickly become leading business men of his city. And even by that early date, "several of the successful men have married into our best German families," he said.<sup>109</sup> "The regeneration of Milwaukee Judaism lies in their hands. Within a decade or two the leading congregations will

108. (10-1-86-M-p.4)  
 109. (8-6-86-I-p.10)

no doubt be a Russian one."

In a rather cynical remark, which unwittingly reflected credit on Dayton's Russian refugees, the correspondent from that community reported that the Russian refugees had "learned to accustom themselves to the golden rule, namely, it is best for man to look out for himself."<sup>110</sup> The Russian refugees were doing so well in Wheeling W.Va. in 1885 that one family accumulated enough money to move to Milwaukee to open a grocery business there.<sup>111</sup>

Perhaps in no other city was the progress of the Russian Jew reported more favorably than in New Haven.<sup>112</sup> The 200 Russians who had arrived early were so far advanced in community organization that the one synagogue they possessed was inadequate to hold them all, so that they rented a hall for the High Holydays. In matters of business they proved themselves capable of competing with Yankee thrift and their co-religionists advantage of time and experience.<sup>113</sup> By 1889 the second Russian Jewish synagogue was to be erected.<sup>114</sup> What pleased their co-religionists even more was the fact that having gained some material advantage, their next thought was a house of worship.<sup>115</sup> Similar statements concerning the Russian Jewish communities of Memphis Tenn.<sup>116</sup>, Scranton, Pa.<sup>117</sup> and Portland Oregon<sup>118</sup> demonstrated the fact that where immigrant influx remained fairly steady with those who had already arrived given a chance to make proper adjustments, the lines separating different Jewish nationalities were no longer impassable barriers of understanding. "We like to cherish the

110. (2-8-84-I-p.2)

111. (9-4-85-I-p.2)

112. (10-15-86-M-p.5)

113. (Ibid)

114. (7-12-89-M-p.2)

115. (7-26-89-M-p.4)

116. (3-23-88-M-p.2)

117. (3-9-88-M-p.2)

118. (2-10-88-M-p.5)

thought," said the MESSENGER, "that the great mass of our co-religionists are nearer each other in heart and deed than a few of their leaders appear to be.. why should the few emphasize minor differences in the slashing style of a few decades ago, when the line between German, Polish, Portuguese, Bohemian and the rest were so sharply drawn..."<sup>119</sup>

When the immigrants showed progress in initiative and business they were immediately commended. During the eighties, as even today, enterprising young boys would augment family income by working as shoeblacks and newsboys. "These boys and girls are the bright side of the emigrant question. They are eager to learn English and are proud of their position as future citizens of a great republic".<sup>119A</sup>

Moreover, because so many of the Russian emigrants flocked to the needle trades their presence was noted:<sup>120</sup>

We are aware of fashionable dress manufacturers in the metropolis who employ some of our immigrant brethren as cutters and fitters and find them quick, courteous and, of course, sober... this is but another instance of the many ways in which the Russians will suit themselves to circumstances and make progress in the New World, provided they are encouraged at the start.

The certainty that Russian Jews were "sober" was a conviction constantly supported by contrast with other immigrant nationality groups. When the N.Y. Herald referred to the Polish Jews as a "menace to American Workmen" the MESSENGER was quick to come to their brethren's aid and ask "What about the Irish-Catholic grog-shops?"<sup>121</sup>.

When premeditated arson was committed in the Ludlow St. section of New York by scheming tenement owners, destroying the lives of four families and threatening others, the editor of the MESSENGER pleaded for severe penal-

119. (8-26-87-M-p.4)

119a. (7-8-87-M-p.1)

120. (10-12-88-M-p.4)

121. (7-13-88-M-p.1)

122. (4-18-90-M-p.4)

ties to the culprit, with no attempts to soften the penalty by those who might show maudlin sympathy for a co-religionist. So were the victims, Russian Jews, co-religionists!

When defaulting bankers attempted to swindle Russian Jews of their meager savings, the sympathy rested with the victims.<sup>123</sup> For by 1890 the American Jewish community had at least learned that the Russian Jew was equally entitled to protection and equity before the law, that his lot, made more difficult by barriers of education, language and social station, was the same as for all Jews. The American Jew was even beginning to show signs of irritation toward the rather icy snobbishness of some German Jews toward their Russian brethren.

One of the most consistent opponents of this brand of prejudice was Mayer Sulzberger, President of the Y.M.H.A. In different places, Sulzberger emphasized the rich cultural heritage of the Russian Jew. They had come from a land where "the writers, thinkers and poets are equalled by those of Germany, the fatherland of most of us. While we excel in the ability to provide for material comfort, our Russian brethren are superior in the higher ranges of thought and feeling." Sulzberger usually went on, in his lectures, to point out that the German Jews needed more enlightenment than their "foreign co-religionists."<sup>124</sup> He also lashed out against exclusive rules of the different Jewish societies:

I am told there are societies in the city to which Russian Jews are ineligible. A wise consideration of this rule, I am sure, would bring about a repeal. There are so many of us well fortified in our own homes and lines of business and who are surrounded with luxury and ease, but we must not prevent our less fortunate brother from ascending the ladder by which we have gained our independence...<sup>125</sup>

124. (5-16-90-M-p.2)

125. (12-12-90-M-p.3) Also cf. (6-19-91-M-p.5) where Chicago U.H. Charities repudiated a slur on Russian Jews. A resolution was passed denying newspaper reports, etc.

What is undoubtedly, therefore, a factor in the adjustment of the immigrant group to the established German Jewish group, were the growing number of individuals who felt a real tie of kinship and fraternity with the Russian Jews. In the early eighties these individuals could be classed in two categories. First and most significant were such radiant idealists as Emma Lazarus, Henrietta Szold, Michael Heilprin and the enlightened members of the Rabbinate (Kohler, Morais, et. al) These individuals immediately sensing the historic import of the mass migrations, reacted warmly, sympathetically, throwing the weight of their idealism on the side of the Russian Jews. From this inspiration many individuals gave time, effort, money and encouragement. Their names are mostly anonymous, but their efforts, especially in the early years of the eighties, gave impetus to the still larger immigrations of later years.

The second important category were the rich, high placed Jews who became leaders in the throes of a human crisis. These men, Jacob Schiff, Moritz Ellinger, M. Loth, C. Sulzberger, H.S. Henry, Benjamin Peixotto and numerous others, supported by a profound sense of responsibility for their fellow Jews, gave their money liberally, added prestige and power to the helpless refugees and in many significant ways made it possible to say incontrovertibly that the Russian Jewish immigrants, the most cursed persons in Europe, were the most fortunate arrivals on American Shores. For no nationality group already in America was so cognizant of responsibility as the American Jewish population which welcomed the immigrant in the eighties.

### CONCLUSION

Only by an artificial shortening of perspective can positive conclusions be drawn in summing up the work of the American Jewish community with regard to the emigrant of the eighties. Though large scale emigration began in 1881, still larger migrations were yet to come in the decades to follow. Though enough Russian Jews had already arrived so as to leave an indelible imprint upon American Jewish philanthropic and institutional activity, the real conflicts engendered by their arrival had not as yet been resolved. Though successful and unsuccessful attempts were made in abundance to ameliorate the plight of the Jewish refugee, yet, by 1890 we are still not ready to draw definitive conclusions.

Nevertheless, certain tentative summations can be made based upon an evaluation of the findings noted in this paper. They are, of course, subject to change pending a more complete study of the different problems treated here.

As stated at the outset, the period from 1880-1890 may be treated separately from the rest of American Jewish history because a distinctly new factor, namely Russian Jewish immigration in large numbers, had emerged during these years. It can be categorically stated now, that a study of this period proves there was no other more transcendent condition of American Jewish History. The "Russian-Jewish" problem henceforth became the leit motiv, sometimes resounding forth with agonising immediacy, at other times brooding in the background of other Jewish themes. The Russian-Jewish immigrations added new complexity, new variations of organization and new forms of Jewish activity; they also brought in their wake a potential

creative force for the future growth and development of a richer American Jewish community.

To ignore the Russian-Jewish immigrant problem was now tantamount to shutting one's ears to part of a new symphony. For many, this method of evasion was a simple though fatal solution. But thankfully, many more, imbued with a sense of real responsibility, conditioned by the successive waves of immigration, accustomed to think in national and international terms, continued to strive for a workable arrangement and persisted in grappling with the gargantuan problems which confronted all Jews of America. Leaders were made in this decade.

Were one to make a balance sheet of the response of the American Jewish community to our problem, the debits and credits would not balance one another. For it can be stated almost categorically, that at no time during the eighties did the American Jewish community exert itself, morally or financially, to the fullest extent, to meet the need caused by persecutions in Europe. In every single crisis, one could feel the persistent undercurrent of resistance. This resistance, incidentally, swayed to and fro, oscillating between opposing attitudes held by the larger American population which welcomed immigrants as grist for the labor market, but who blamed immigrants for social, moral and economic disruptions. American Jews did not want increased immigration. They did not fully appreciate the special pleading to justify the need of their Eastern European brethren to leave Europe.

In short, the migration of the eighties was more so a migration fait accompli than one aided and abetted by American Jewish conscience and aim.

(By contrast, one can compare the response of American Jews in the nineteen thirties when every agency was used to aid in the exodus of Europeans from the shadow of the swastika.)

The era is also marked by its successes and failures. No greater failure is to be noted in the eighties, than that of colonization schemes. Due to inadequate planning and financing as well as to the unwillingness of the American Jew to subsidize a plan which might be called charitable rather than commercial, colonization programs failed miserably. The grand hopes of the U.A.H.C. to organize a farming program as ambitious as its other successful ventures ended in fruitless and frustrating failure. The visionary attempts to make of the American Jewish community a solution to end all solutions by means of rationalising the occupational distribution of the Jew, failed. The daily influx of new refugees spoiled any hopes which the community did have of solving the immigration problem through colonization. If only 10% of the 135,000 Russian immigrants who came to America during 1881-1890 went on farms, the cost of establishing them (\$500.00 per family as computed in 1882 by Julius Goldman) would have been close to seven million dollars. If it is true that such a sum of money was potentially available, it was never even conceived of as possibly forthcoming. Thus colonization schemes on a large scale were doomed from the outset,

By 1890, the Baron M. de Hirsch Fund capitalized at \$2,500,000.00 carefully limited its activity in agricultural pursuits to "acting as an agricultural agent, offering liberal loans, furnishing accurate information and advising." Any hopes for a more ambitious program of colonization had been discredited by the sad experience of the eighties.

One must also begin to reckon from 1880 onward with the appearance of a compact, macroscopically homogeneous population cramped into tenement districts in the larger cities. The growth of the ghetto-tenement dates from 1882; it resulted from the mass migrations of Russian Jews. Its function in stabilizing traditional Jewish values and in strengthening the conservatism of social norms and values, hindering the steam-roller flattening of Jewish customs and traditions, cannot be ignored. It has been demonstrated in the body of this paper that the German Jewish community recognized this phenomenon with mixed emotions. The first words of welcome were diluted with inner feelings of dismay; the growth of two Jewish communities, one considering itself the host, the other still a "parasitic" infant, created aggravating problems for future generations.

By 1890 the American Jewish community had seen the birth and death of many makeshift organizations aimed at helping the Russian emigrant. What may be evaluated negatively or positively is the reluctance of the American Jewish community to establish new and specific agencies for immigrant aid. It was felt that the existing agencies, such as the U.H. Charities and the Immigrant Protective Agencies as well as the Synagogues/<sup>and</sup> Relief Agencies should continue to serve. A study of later developments, from 1890 onward will undoubtedly show that new organizations which were established were created for specific tasks on a professionalized basis or were consolidations of existing Jewish organizations.

Just as the ninth decade had opened with cries of "stop! stop!" to prospective Russian emigrants, so it ended with echoes of the same cry. Despite the already creditable accomplishments of the Russian Jewish group,

the organs of German-Jewish sentiment still blared forth words of caution and even bitter words of opposition. In a very interesting article, "The Jews of Russia: What Shall They Do?" (11-14-90-M-p.4) the following were the proposed solutions ten years after the Eastern European wave began,

1. They may submit to the dominant religion and become Christians... a splendid temptation. A few weaklings may yield and gain gold or position, but the 4 millions will stand to their colors with Maccean firmness.
2. They may emigrate to other lands, as seven hundred thousands have already done, but what is possible for a thousand is impracticable for a million... The emigration en masse of four millions of Jews from Russia would mean the total disturbance of Jewish equilibrium, so to speak, in other lands.
3. The duty of the Jews in Russia is to stay where they are as a body or creed.....

And the American Jew was far more reluctant to protest Russian persecutions in 1890 than he was in 1882. When Russian persecutions increased alarmingly in 1890, the London Jews held a mass protest meeting similar to the one held on February 1882. But the editor of the MESSENGER wrote, "We trust that no effort will be made in New York or other American cities. Until new facts are presented public meetings will aid very little. There is, on the other hand, the likelihood, that the more stir now made about the subject and the more cry of 'Wolf Wolf!' will produce an effect the contrary of what is desired." (12-12-90-M-p.4)

What then, in summation, was the attitude of the American Jewish community to East European migrations? In the main, the German Jew who had arrived in America a generation or two before his stricken Russian brethren, viewed the mass migrations as a mixed blessing. In the first flush of righteous anger and with a sense of humanity unparalleled up to that period

of modern Jewish history, American Jews along with the Jews in Western Europe spoke vigorously and acted passionately in protest against Russian barbarism. But as the bitter novelty of the first trickle of Russian refugees was followed by the pressure of a veritable avalanche, the American Jew greeted the arrival of boatloads of Russians as one might welcome perpetual frenzy. With an inexorable power, the Russian Jews were to crumple the well organized institutions forcing the need for larger ones. What was considered princely philanthropy of the 1870's became a mere pittance in the 1880's. And men who were caught in the swirl of communal life during these hectic years found themselves swamped with responsibilities; the demands for leadership and activity were imperious.

For these Russian Jews were first called Jews, then immigrants. Hence they threatened to become a kind of "blot" on the escutcheon of that sterling public opinion which the American Jew had so zealously achieved and protected up till their arrival.

At the outset the Russian Jew was treated by the American Jewish community as an immigrant in need of help. Hence Immigrant Aid Societies were set up. But when the first wave of immigration (1882) subsided, the community in reconsidering its responsibility, dissolved such specific Emigrant Societies and doled out relief through regular organized charitable channels. However, when the immigrants persisted in coming, the community was again forced to create agencies specifically designed to offer emigrant aid as distinguished from charitable aid. This condition brought forth the Emigrant Protective Societies (1885 onward) organized to give aid and protection on a limited scale to emigrants at ports of entry, and to attempt to transport them to inland cities, preferable in the West.

As the Russian Jews began the difficult process of orientation and adjustment they were aided by the larger Jewish community. Free schools and trade schools were organized; classes in English and lectures were offered at the Downtown schools and Y.M.H.A.'s. But an acquisition of English and a smattering of patent advice did not change refugees into American citizens overnight. Moreover, the increasing growth of a tenement ghetto gave confidence, strength and orderliness to the disunited and disorganized Russian Jewish masses. To the phenomenon of a growing Russian Jewish community, in New York especially, the German Jew betrayed his antipathy and his ignorance of their psychology. Here his charitable organizations were cursed because of the red-tape involved in applications for relief. The coercion of clients of the charities, created for various reasons, difficult situations added to the initial troubles of caring for all relief clients. The German Jew discovered that Russian persecutions 3,000 miles away could be measured by the increase of applications at the U.H. Charities office on State Street, New York. The Jewish community of New York became a kind of seismograph measuring rumblings against Jews in every part of Europe and Asia.

To add to the extra burden of philanthropy and increased responsibility, the Russian Jew of the eighties did not quite act as the German Jew would have desired. His attempts to better his lot through labor strikes and union activity were greeted as a sign of ingratitude both to the America which had welcomed him and to those Jews who had first cared for him. Also the Russian Jew's supposed medieval superstitions - his emphasis upon kashruth, Sabbath observances, mikvehs, Talmud Torahs, etc. - were treated as un-American backsliding. Salvation through Americanization was the cry of reformers!

But the Russian Jew of the eighties withal, viewed his arrival upon American shores as the Pilgrims might have in 1620; here in America the Jew might practise his religion and seek his livelihood as he pleased, unhindered and unafraid. The Russian Jew was in the main not yet ready for the kind of emancipation and middle class conservatism which was already the hallmark of American Judaism of the eighties.

In short, the cleavages between a Reform German upper middle class located in separate sections of the larger cities (on the "right side of the tracks") and the growing tenement ghetto of the East-European Jew are to be noted as developing almost from the very outset of mass emigration. Those intangible, yet potent prejudices which besmirch American Jewish community life, were already set into operation. What might have been a hope of the 70's, namely, of abolishing European distinctions and creating a unified Jewish community (along the lines conceived by I.M. Wise) became a shattered dream barely to be realized before another few generations.

180 ✓ There are nevertheless, records of real accomplishment directly attributable to the experience of 1880-1890. Perhaps no greater accomplishment can be noted than the new found "unity in adversity," a theme of the decade. The rising tide of immigration with all of its national complications forged a unity in American Jewish life impossible in the seventies. For the sake of contrast, one may compare the first national conference of Aid Societies held on June 4, 1862 with the Conference held September 22, 1891. The first conference was attended by representatives of hastily organized Relief Agencies and was in every sense a makeshift aggregation of community organizations. The conference, held in 1891, on the contrary, was attended by delegates of the I.O.B.B., Free Sons,

Keshet Shel Barzel, Sons of Benjamin, U.A.H.C., Jewish Alliance, U.H. Charities of N.Y., Associated Charities of N.Y., Associated Charities of the United States and the Baron de Hirsch Fund as well as by leading individuals from every large community in the country.

The preamble to the constitution of the newly created "American Committee for Ameliorating the Condition of the Russian Refugees" read as follows:

The representatives of the Jewish organizations of the United States do establish a general committee for ameliorating the condition of the Russian Refugees, to take exclusive charge in co-operation with existing organizations and local committees, to be formed throughout the several sections of the Union, for the reception and distribution and placing of Jewish refugees from Russia, arriving in the United States.

(cf. insert - in vol. "Proceedings of a Conference held in the city of New York at the Hebrew Institute Bldg." - N.Y. 1891- p.2)

Such united action, even if not effectual in these first trying years, spelled out a new type of unity in American Jewish life, more democratic than that originally designed by the Board of Delegates (later affiliated with the U.A.H.C.) more all inclusive than the efforts at unity tried by the U.A.H.C.

In these early years of trial one can find the precursors of the present-day attempts at an "American Jewish Conference."

Perhaps another accomplishment of the decade was the growing ties of fraternity and mutual help between American and European Jewish communities. The pressures of immigrant problems called forth new international Jewish relations. And in these early years of East-European immigration, America was forced to break with her adolescent youth and become an adult voice at the conference table of World Jewish affairs.

In the early years of the eighties, Ellinger, Lauterbach, Peixotto, Schiff and others became the first voices of American Jewry ever given serious hearing in European Capitals. The correspondence which is available in the archives of the ALLIANCE, the U.H. Charities and the other Jewish organizations of the time will show, to be sure, the coming of age of American Jewry due in no small measure to the exigencies of the Russo-Jewish emigrations.

When all is said and done, though the reception the Russian Jew did receive was not as warm and gracious as might have been wished, nevertheless thousands of immigrants were helped by the American Jewish agencies. The first greetings of welcome, the first kind advice was given by representatives of American Jews. And though the German Jews were reluctant to part with their dollars in any abundance (with notable exceptions) the immigrant Jew got a better welcome than any other immigrant group, barring none. If the Immigration Commissioners were overly harsh or discriminatory against Jews, the Jewish community sprang to the defense. If Russian Jews were maltreated as Jews, they had no better friends than the leading Jews of America. Perhaps no more succinct passage characterizing the perplexed attitude of the American Jewish community can be found than that penned by Emil G. Hirsch in his report to Executive Board of the United Hebrew Relief Association of Chicago (1887-1888 pp.9-10) where he said with reference to applicants for charity:

The character of our applicant is the second cause why the difficulties of our work are so much greater than those similar societies among non-Jews have to cope with. Our books show that at least 95% of our wards are recent immigrants from Russia and Eastern Europe. The condition of these people is, to say the least, peculiar and puzzling. In saying this let it be distinct-

ly understood that nothing is further from our mind than the desire to cast reflection upon these unfortunates as a class, or to hold them responsible for their habits of thought and living. They are what they are as the last victims of unequalled persecutions of centuried duration. But their peculiarities are for all that not to be less marked. If under all circumstances adjustment to new surroundings is a matter of slow accomplishment, the process in their case consumes still more time than usual, for many of their prejudices and habits retard its pace. Gladly would we humour them if it were possible to do so without doing unhurt to society at large, and finally to these unfortunates themselves...

Thus spoke the German Jew! Willing to help, he was afraid of "pauperising the immigrant." Unable to appreciate the traditional Jewish habits and customs, he piously prayed that they would soon disappear so that the process of "adjustment" might speedily begin.

But in the last analysis the one profound contribution of the American Jew to his Russian brethren, made unwittingly though forcibly, was the honored name which the Jew in general had already achieved by 1880. The heart of America had already warmed to the progress and position of her Sephardic and German Jews. And during those troubling years, in the throes of vexations, with depressing news daily pouring in from Russian zones of persecution, a Christian newspaper, understanding the perplexity and fear of Jews of America, published the following words of encouragement:

We would have no apology made for this immigration. We would not have our Jewish friends feel that such immigrants, however, humble, are unwelcome. We will find room for them, work for them, homes for them, ballots for them. They will add to our strength, to our wealth, to our material, and in the end, to our moral forces... We welcome them. We are grieved at their sufferings; we offer them our liberties and our opportunities. Let them come!

APPENDIX A

EARLY ATTITUDES, RESPONSE AND ORGANIZATION OF  
 AMERICAN CITIES RESULTING FROM EAST-EUROPEAN  
 IMMIGRATION 1881-1882

- - - - -

*System*  
 The following notes represent an alphabetical list of approximately sixty American cities, towns and villages, noting the early attitudes and response to East European Immigrations.

Before evaluating what appears on the surface to be a very creditable showing of American Jewish communities, one should consider that these findings are listed only for the first years of the great migrations, during that period when American Jewry's conscience had been touched most deeply. Thus the conclusion to be drawn from these notes can be stated in the following manner: The American Jewish community responded warmly to the news of Russian persecutions in 1881-1882. Contributions for the relief of Russian Jews was forthcoming. In preparation for continued philanthropic activity many cities for the first time organized Relief Societies and affiliated with national Jewish bodies. But when the New York Committee began to send emigrants to different outlying cities indiscriminately, the attitude of the smaller cities became embittered and resentful against refugees.

AKRON, O. (12-30-81-I-p.210)

"A family of nine persons of Russian refugees who were literally thrown upon us for support. This family was forwarded to Akron by the N.Y. Committee, but neither the Rabbi nor the Pres. of the Cong. was notified of the action of the Committee, and the first intimation we had of their arrival was when the husband was brought into the store of

of one Mr. Frank, with a paper in hand given by the N.Y. Committee - "Show this man to a Rabbi or Jew." Mrs. Frank at once proceeded to the depot with kosher provisions...\$103. were collected for them, one Jew only telling the Rabbi who made the collection that he would see next week. But be it said to the honour of Judaism that this man is not a member of the congregation...."

AUGUSTA, GA. (5-26-82-I-p.379)

"Of course we have the Russians among us, some 16 in number who are well cared for. Townsman Philip Cohen, with Christian wife, has been very kind to them."

BALTIMORE, MD: (8-18-82-M-p.2) Report of early activity.

BOSTON, MASS. (4-28-82-M-p.2)

" The Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society has applied for a charter from the State; efforts will be made to arouse interest in the Society and secure more members..."

BAY CITY, MICH. (1-20-82-I-p.238)

"...30 immigrants arrive Friday, Dec. 30, 1881. They were each given, 'one dollar, a ticket to Detroit and a supply of food.'"

BUFFALO, N.Y. (12-9-81-M-p.2)

Reference made to work being done by I.O.B.B., Keshar Shel Barzel and Free Sons through efforts of Rev. Dr. S. Falk of Beth Zion Cong. and others, large sums of money have been collected.

CAMDEN, S.C. (8-11-82-M-p.5) CORR signed M.H. Simmonds, telling of work in aiding Russian refugees

CHARLESTON, S.C. (2-3-82-M-p.2)

Society formed for Relief of Russian immigrants. Funds have been raised abetted by "Ladies Sewing Society." One Russian family already situationed (Names of officers given - the Society is called "The Society for the Relief of Russian and other immigrants exiled from their homes by persecution."

CHESTER, PA. (9-1-82-I-p.66)

Twenty refugees living here for six months. More would be welcome

CHICAGO, ILL. (6-3-81-I-p.381)

Meeting at Standard Hall with 250 leading Israelites present, Godfrey Snyder presided, Adolph Loeb and B. Heller, Secretaries. E.G. Hirsch, Herman Felsenthal, Julius Rosenthal, Rev. A. Warden and Philip Stein drafted set of resolutions. \$869. collected and sent to Paris.

12-2-81-I-p.179) - Meeting at Palmer House called by Henry Greenebaum and Adolph Loeb. M. Ellinger of N.Y. main speaker. G. Snyder told of troubles with immigrants; "These people had refused to eat any but kosher meats and would not consent to work on Saturday when work was obtained for them. Finally these emigrants were told that as long as they were in their present condition, they must consent to live in Christian boarding houses and to work on Saturday. Greenebaum asked for mass meeting and drive for \$12,500.00

12-9-81-I-p.187 - Meeting held at Temple "Scholem" (sic) poorly attended. General attitude was that Jewish immigrants must not be

treated by Relief Society as objects of charity. "Russian Refugee Aid Society" organized with Julius Rosenthal as President. (Interesting appeal issued at this meeting).

4-21-82-I-p.338 With J. Rosenthal in chain meeting held at "Bnai Scholem" Simon Rosenfeld reports that \$4,625. had been collected in four months. 234 emigrants already received. Resolution passed - "Resolved, that in view of the want of means and our inability to aid and assist the H.I.A.S. of the U.S., we decline to appoint a committee for colonization purposes to cooperate with them." Vote 16 to 12.

6-16-82-I-p.402 - Mass meeting held at Bnai Sholem a failure. Report shows 386 emigrants registered on books. \$2,311. had been expended.

7-28-82-M-p.2 Public letter printed appealing for further aid, to send contributions to Bernard Gradle 209 S Water St. "Unless this is done the committee will have to surrender its trust."

10-6-I-82-p.118 on the eve of Kol Nidre a collection for benefit of Hebrew Relief Association was undertaken, and the handsome sum of \$5,000. was realized...A new era has dawned upon our Jewish community

10-27-82-I-p.144 - Annual report of United Hebrew Relief Association given.

DENVER, COL. (5-19-82-M-p.3)

Mr. Epstein, pres. of Denver Synagogue reports on shiftlessness and inability of refugees. "We have determined not to give any more assistance to any that may be sent here in the future. It would therefore be cruel to send any more of them out here, when they will be sure to suffer want..."

7/11/25

CINCINNATI, O. (10-14-81-I-p.126) (cf. esp. 7-21-82-I-p.23)

K.K. Bnai Jeshurun and three other synagogues organize congregational campaign for allocating moneys collected for helping Russians.

CLEVELAND O. (10-14-81-M-p.2)

"The Israelites are zealously interesting themselves in aid of emigrants from Russia. \$84. has been collected.

COLUMBUS, O. (8-4-82-M-p.2) Pursuant to a call of Messrs. M. Mayer, A. Wise,

J. Goodman, F. Lazarus and Rev. B.A. Bonheim, permanent organization for relief was formed. Called "Hebrew Relief Association of Columbus, Ohio" Monthly subscriptions of \$3. to \$10. pledged.

CORRY, PA. (12-16-81-M-p.2)

"The Ladies Heb. Benevolent Society show their usefulness when they cared for a family arriving from Kieff..."

DAYTON, O. (12-9-81-M-p.2)

Two families arrive and are cared for.

DEFIANCE, O. (4-7-82-I-p.327) (4-14-82-M-p.3)

Contribution of \$100.00 and formation of "Defiance Hebrew Relief Ass'n."

DENVER, COLORADO (5-19-82-M-p.3) CORR M. Epstein

Complaints about Russian emigrants who are arriving.

DETROIT, MICH (2-17-82-I-p.266)

The President of the Beth El Relief Society expended \$500. for fifty refugees who had come there. The N.Y. Committee criticised.

ELMIRA N.Y. (10-21-81-M-p.2)

Russian refugees forwarded here.

*20 copies  
sent by 10/10/82*

FRANKFORT, KY. (5-5-82-I-p.354)

Formation of Hebrew Aid Society. "We hope to be able very soon to contribute what little will be in our power to aid the poor and unfortunate Russians."

GLOVERSVILLE, N.Y. (10-21-81-M-p.2)

Russian refugees forwarded here from N.Y. City

GUNNISON, COL. (4-7-82-I-p.326)

Collection of \$123.50

HAMILTON, CAN. (10-21-81-M-p.2)

"A collection amounting to \$57. was made for the Russian Jews."

HARTFORD, CONN. (7-21-81-I-p.21)

HELENA, ARK. (11-18-81-M-p.2)

"...It seems that the emigrants on the Mississippi Steamer 'Gold Dust' going to Greenville, Miss were harshly mistreated. They were jeered at and taunted by officers of the steamer. The emigrants were crowded into a small space and their appeals for food went unanswered, except for jeers and taunts of officers. Several prominent non-Jews and Mr. Fink of I.O.B.B. took charge of the refugees and brought them to Memphis. The whole matter will be laid before the Commissioners in New Orleans and the Bureau of Immigration of La..."

HOPKINSVILLE, KY. (4-21-82-I-p.342)

Contribution of \$10.00

HOUSTON, TEX. (10-21-81-M-p.2) (10-7-81-I-p.118)

"Seventeen of the emigrants who arrived at this place were kindly received by the Committee and provided with employment."

## INDIANAPOLIS, IND. (4-21-82-I-p.338)

Thirty refugees received in past six months. \$563.47 collected. All given jobs.

7-28-82-M-p.2 "Hebrew Aid Society" formed to help Russian refugees. Resolution for formation printed in full.

## KANSAS CITY, MO. (1015-81-M-p.2)

"A committee has been formed in this flourishing town which has remitted \$200. to the relief of Russian Jewish emigrants."

(1-6-82-I-p.222) Russian refugees sent by N.Y. Comm. received with open arms.

KNOXVILLE, TENN. (1-20-82-I-p.234) Family arrives here. Meeting held and collection made. A Mr. Victor Burger offers family free house.

## LAFAYETTE, IND.

1-3-82-I-p.250 Banquet for Russian Relief given by I.O.B.B.

3-10-82-I-p.290 Russians who arrived are taken care of.

## LEAVENWORTH, KAN.

? ?!

## LOUISVILLE, KY (4-21-82-I-p.344)

An organization "Louisville Association for Relief of Russian Refugees" established. President N. Bloom, Vice Pres. S. Ullman and S. Henle Committees on Contributions, Employment, Board and Lodging, Morals and Education.

(Also 10-14-81-M-p.6) Garfield Moses Relief Fund of Louisville contributed \$500. to Russian Emergency Relief Fund of N.Y.

MACON, GA. (1-6-82-p.222) Fine families arrive here, twenty-four souls. Relief organized.

MARION, S.C. (4-7-82-I-p.326-7) - Contribution of \$150.00

MEMPHIS, TENN. (10-21-81-M-p.2)

"The Israelites of this city have selected an active committee to assist in the work of providing for the emigrants." The members of Cong. "Children of Israel" contribute \$200. to Russian Emigrants Relief Fund of N.Y. (Noted on page 6 - same issue)

MILWAUKEE, WIS. (10-21-81-I-p.135)

In a meeting at Progress Hall on Oct. 13 it was determined to organize a "Wisconsin Emigrant Relief Society" as an auxiliary of the ALLIANCE when announcement made that 10 emigrants from Russia were arriving. Pres. David Adler; Vice Pres. Philip Carpeles, Treas. A.W. Rich, Secretary Louis Schram

8-4-82-M-p.5 - Extremely valuable exchange of correspondence between Milwaukee and Montreal in re shipment.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN. (6-9-82-I-p.394)

"We have here eight Russian refugees to take care, and some of them are pretty unmanageable...They want land and nothing but land as if they knew anything about husbandry...We have gathered \$360., have formed a Relief Society, have spent more than half of this amount and are at a loss how to deal with this problem without some advice and material help from the East..."

MUSKEGON, MICH (4-21-82-I-p.342)

Contribution of \$143.50

NASHVILLE, TENN. (2-24-82-M-p.6) (3-24-82-I-p.310)

The Ohabei Shalom Congregation appoints committee to take up large collection. Twenty three Russian refugees arrive and cared for.

NEW HAVEN, CONN. (6-17-81-M-p.2) (3-3-82-M-p.2)

"Last Sabbath Dr. Kleeberg addressed the congregation upon the recent outrages committed upon our co-religionists in Russia. The result of his remarks was that \$55. was at once handed partly to the Pres. and partly to the Minister of the Temple and nearly \$50. more has since been contributed without having been asked for."

NEW ORLEANS, LA. (10-28-81-M-p.2)  
(11-11-81-M-p.3)  
(12-30-81-I-p.214)  
(3-24-82-I-p.306)

OSKALOOSA, IOWA (4-21-82-I-p.342)

Contribution of \$65.

PEORIA, ILL. (9-2-81-M-p.2)

Mr. L. Bennett of Peoria offers 350 acres of half-cultivated land in Nebraska.

PHILADELPHIA, PA. (10-14-81-M-p.3) Meeting held at Temple. Announcement made that 10% of Russian refugees will be sent to Philadelphia.

(2-24-82-I-p.278) 100 emigrants have so far arrived, reports Mr. Levin at annual meeting of ALLIANCE. \$3,000. of \$4000. collected already spent. Professional worker looked for, "to look after the wants of the emigrants and to search for employment for them."

(3-3-82-M-p.2) Graphic description given of immigrants in temporary quarters at the old depot of the Penna. R.R. Station.

(1-22-86-M-p.2) First annual Report published of Association for Protection of Jewish Emigrants."

PITTSBURGH, PA. (11-25-81-M-p.2) (12-16-81-M-p.2)

"Although there has been no direct forwarding of Russian exiles to this city, our public spirited brethren display a decided interest in the welfare of their Russian co-religionists, who are already residing there in large numbers."

(7-15-81-M-p.2) "The ~~Cremix~~ Association has so far collected over \$700. for the suffering Israelites of Russia.

(11-17-82-I-p.172) CORR ("J") telling of dissolution of Emigrant Aid Society and the work done for them during past year.

PLYMOUTH, IND. (3-17-82-I-p.302)

Ladies Benevolent Association responds to call by donating \$75. for Russian relief.

QUINCY, ILL (9-30-81-M-p.2) Russian refugee forwarded here from N.Y.City

ROME, GA. (4-7-82-M-p.2)

Ball for benefit of Russians, at which \$212.75 was realized.

ROCHESTER, N.Y. (10-21-81-M-p.2)

"Several Russian Israelites have arrived and have been provided with employment."

SAN ANTONIO TEX. (2-3-82-I-p.250)

Fourteen refugees arrive, "eight young men and a widow with five children." Three carpenters, one blacksmith, one watchmaker and one day laborer. All are employed except the widow and three smaller children.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL. (11-25-81-M-p.2)

Meeting held for the purpose of cooperating with N.Y. Committee

(Russian Emigrants Relief Fund). Comm. of 12 appointed to canvass for funds. \$1000 already collected.

(4-14-82-I-p.330) First Russian refugee arrived.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL (1-6-82-I-p.221)

"We have our share of Russian refugees...six were sent by the N.Y. Society. House rented for them. All Israelites donate food and clothing.

ST. JOSEPH, MO. (10-21-81-M-p.2)

"Rev. Dr. Schwab has sent \$168. to the Treasurer of the Russian Emigrant Fund...\$142 from the Israelites \$25. from the Heb. Benevolent Society and \$1 from a Christian lady."

STARKVILLE, MISS. (4-7-82-I-p.326-7) (5-19-82-M-p.2)

Contribution of \$80. Meeting for purpose of assisting Russian Refugees.

ST. LOUIS, MO. (3-17-82-M-p.2)

A Russian exile Aid Society has been organized. \$2000 already raised and a number of Committees appointed to provide premises employment and other necessities for incoming immigrants.

(3-17-82-I-p.297)

Art. by I.M. Cohen, "...the charity doled to Russian emigrants should be limited to enable them to stand on a footing which will assure them..a living. Another matter is that sloth and indolence should not be encouraged to the end that reflection be brought upon Judaism, and another crusade transpire in these United States

for misdeeds of such emigrants.

(7-7-82-M-p.2)

Benefit to Russian exiles planned 5000 tickets issued for performance at Pickwick Gardens offering Russian Emigrant Society and U.H. Relief Association resolve to act conjointly in receiving and caring for refugees.

(9-8-82-M-p.3) Conflict between Hebrew Relief Association and the Russian Aid Society. Controversy spills out into newspapers. Spectacle not very edifying...

(10-13-82-M-p.2) - H.E.A.S. of St. Louis dissolved. Very important factual report of Albert Arnstein given showing reasons.

(10-13-82-I-p.128) "U.H.R.S. held its annual meeting at Harmonie Hall; of the 275 contributing members, only twenty three attended... Verily one cannot help expressing his indignation and sorrow at the endeavours of our best men cannot arouse our people." At this meeting U.H. Charities of St. Louis organized (3-23-83-M-p.2) Emigrant Aid Society disbanded (8-17-83-I-p.2). Resolution sent by Hebrew Relief Society that hereafter no aid or assistance will be granted by this association to any immigrant coming to St. Louis from any point to which said emigrant had been previously sent by any persons or association.

(10-19-83-M-p.2) Financial report of Relief Association (annual receipts \$6767.28, expenses \$6017.55) of the total collected \$3,764.05 is chargeable to Russian account. "Unfortunately for many of these poor Russian Jews the idea seemed to prevail among

many persons east of the Mississippi River that the question 'What to do with the Russians?' would solve itself by placing them as far from them in the West or South as possible, furnish them with land and a few farming utensils, provisions to last them, say six months, and lo and behold! they would be independent farmers."

SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA (8-11-82-M-p.5) CORR.

"ben Abraham" suggesting seven point method of solving the Russian refugee question.

TORONTO, CAN. (3-24-82-I-p.309)

"Jewish Relief Committee of Toronto welcomes two Russian refugees, Harris Dulkan and Ephraim Bocett...they are married and left their wives and families in Galicia."

TRINIDAD, COL. (3-24-82-I-p.310)

"The children...have formed a society, whose object it is to render such assistance as may be in their power for the Russian refugees." Dues of 5¢ a week and 25¢ initiation fee.

VICKSBURG, MISS. (1-6-82-I-p.221)

"The Russian immigrants, of which we have about 15 mostly sent from that unfortunate expedition to Greenville, Miss, are now thanks to the unremitting and laborious efforts of Dr. Bien, all provided for."

WILMINGTON, N.C. (10-14-81-M-p.2) \$35.00 sent to Russian Emergency Relief Fund of N.Y.

A Society known as the Hebrew Relief Association to work in conjunction with the N.Y. Branch of the ALLIANCE now formed."

APPENDIX B.

## NOTES ON EARLY COLONIZATION SCHEMES

IN THE UNITED STATES -1880-1890

Though the notes in the following appendix are meager and sparse, a general survey of their contents gives a fair answer to the question: What was wrong with large scale colonization attempts in the eighties that they failed with few exceptions?

Perhaps no better reason for the failure of colonization as a solution to Russian immigrations can be found than the simple fact that there was no single, strong national agency in existence. The sporadic attempts to create such an agricultural agency were frustrated by external factors. The various Union agricultural schemes never took hold because their significance was not fortified by results. Moreover, were it not for the efforts of a handful of people, primarily Marcus Loth, the persistent attempts of the U.A.H.C. to create a national agency would have been squelched by early disappointment. The competition for national hegemony between forces in Cincinnati representing the U.A.H.C. and forces in New York (formless but somehow persuasive) hindered still further any hopes for a national organization.

That colonization attempts were actually made was due more to local efforts than national planning. The Cincinnati community sponsored the doomed Kansas colonization. Baltimore, New Orleans, St. Paul and New York experienced similar failures. Furthermore these programs of colonization were dictated more by distressing expediency than by well planned long range programs. Though hopes for expanding Jewish colonization had been discussed

for decades before the arrival of the Russians in the eighties, they were the first to come in such large numbers as to warrant putting dreams into action.

These dreams were the creations of single individuals, Loth, Heilprin, Rosenthal, Wechsler, Rosenfeld and a few others. But their dreams were insufficient to provide patience, fortitude and most important, funds, for the colonization schemes. Perhaps no sadder truth is apparent in these early failures at colonization than the inability of the planners to put farming on a sound commercial basis. As an ameliorative measure intended to drain surplus Russian Jews from the larger cities, farming programs were logically unsound.

Nevertheless, it is true that many of the early farmers were individuals who undoubtedly saw in the invitation to become farmers a head start towards financial success and escape from the tenements. Their interest in the soil was secondary to their desire for security and happiness. And without a shadow of a doubt, few of these early farmers were imbued with any convictions concerning a correction of the age long canard, that Jews are incapable of becoming farmers. It was the tradesman, middle class urbanized German Jewish population which desired a repudiation of this accusation by colonization schemes.

The farming colonies which were started in isolated places also suffered because the Jews who pioneered them were accustomed to contact with urban life in Russia. Loneliness, lack of educational facilities and religious life were handicaps from the outset. The large cities lured the farmers from without. The terribly difficult first attempts to clear the grounds, break soil, plow, sow and reap crippled the spirits of these farmers. The incentive to remain at these back breaking tasks at lonely outposts was absent.

Cowen in his book Memories of An American Jew comments very accurately (p.96) that the record of failures marked by these early attempts at colonization would have been much lower had the colonies been started near "avenues of communication." For that was the crux of the problem. That government land was cheap during the eighties proved disastrous, because most of the government land was located in unpopulated, inaccessible parts of the country.

Thus the colonies which were located near large cities benefited because there was a market for the produce grown and because these larger cities acted as benefactors of the colonies, giving aid in times of crisis and crop failure.

Withal, the early attempts at colonization were never successful. That Carmel Colony, Vineland and Rosenhayn Colonies did succeed is due more to their proximity to Philadelphia and New York than to any other reason.

NOTE: The following notes must be read against the background given in the text of this paper dealing with agricultural attempts of the U.A.H.C. and the New York Committees

#### SICILY ISLAND, LOUISIANA

(10-28-81-M-p.2)

Russian Immigrants arriving here are being well taken care of by the local committee, which in its noble work is receiving the hearty cooperation of the press, the gentile citizens and public officials. Lands in "Attakapas Parish" will be provided and the governor offers to give 160 acres to each family. Committee decides to furnish emigrant with sufficient means to support themselves for one year, or until their farms are paying....

(11-4-81-M-p.2) Send more immigrants to New Orleans! Those who arrived Octo. 2 (19 in number) are well received. Telegram sent to N.Y. to forward 50 more.

- (11-11-81-M-p.2) Copy of the report prepared in re the establishment of a Jewish colony in Attakapas Parish sent to NY. They must help finance colony and must look after condition of immigrants "as many have arrived in New Orleans in a most destitute condition.
- (12-6-81-M-p.2) Purchase of New Orleans Continental Hotel with accommodations for 500 refugees.
- (12-23-81-M-p.2) "Jewish South" notes that first agricultural colony founded and Emigrant Aid Association has been chartered.
- (12-30-81-I-p.214) Russian Israelites set aside Nov. 16, 1881 as special day of rejoicing. Account given in TIMES-DEMOCRAT of festivities, merrymaking, speeches at Touro Synagogue, sermon by Rev. Leucht and departure for Harrisonburg, Cathahoula Parish when party of refugees go overland to Messrs. Newman property where colony is to be established.
- (1-20-82-M-p.3) The SOUTH, N.O. publication, comments on the fact that Col. E.J. Kursheedt, Sec'y. of N.O. Emigrant Aid Society had been very rudely received by officers of the N.Y. Committee, which seemed to consider the City's aid to Russian emigrants to be lukewarm, notwithstanding the fact that New Orleans had established first agricultural colony for them.
- (2-17-82-M-p.2) N.O. Immigrant Aid Society received \$1000. from N.Y. Society for establishing houses on Sicily Island Colony. (NOTE) JEWISH SOUTH attacks U.A.H.C. for their opposition to H.E.A.S. of N.Y.C. only specific agency providing for immigrants.

(1-20-82-I-p.233) Long excerpt from J. Stanwood Menken's report on "The First American Jewish Colony," (Cata-houla Parish). Thus the colonies which were located near large cities benefited because there was a market for the produce grown and because these large cities acted as benefactors of the colonies aid in time of crisis and crop failure.

(4-21-82-M-p.2) Herman Rosenthal, Pres. of colony. Jacob Borovitch, Vice President and Interpreter. Barovich said that "it was not originally organized on account of Russian outrages, but in 1877 he with a number of his friends in Elisabethgrad formed an idea of emigrating and he came to this country and studied farming for two years in Kansas. He then returned to Russia and with 60 started...."

(7-21-82-M-p.2) Excerpt from JEWISH SOUTH denying failure of colony.

(12-29-82-M-p.2) Brief mention of epidemic on colony by Judge Marks, chairman of N.O. Immigration Aid Society.

(6-30-82-I-p.419) - A vivid description of the group which came to Texas, known as the AM OLAM Society, to establish a colony. Description written by J. Voorsanger ("Koppel Von Bloomburg")

(7-6-83-I-p.3) Sole attempt at colonization in Texas a failure. Writer "SOPHER" (in ISRAELITE) only one who realized that support of Russians must be conducted on the basis of business principles.

Dallas Tex. was to blame for spoiling the embryo farmers. The Russians are more interested in trade than in farming.

#### MIDDLESEX, VA. AND CHARLES COUNTY (PISGAH) COLONIES

(11-3-82-M-p.2) Story of beginnings of colony. 700 acres in Middlesex had been provided by Joseph Friedenwald and others. Contributions notes as well as help of Baltimore Russian Relief Association.

(5-25-83-M-p.5) Letter of "Sulamite" (probably Henrietta Szold) on colony at Charles County, Md. called "Pisgah" Realistic picture of conditions there is given.

(7-13-83-M-p.2) Dissolution of Pisgah Colony noted.

(7-27-83-I-p.6) Pisgah Colony was abandoned because colonists claimed they needed more money. Such colonization has proved unsuccessful. Enough should be given them to afford shelter "and the plainest kind of food," and nothing more. So long as they are maintained at public expense, so long will they refuse to work. Therefore, their supplies should be cut off and they must be given to understand that they must depend on themselves. We are giving a lazy set of men a woefully bad education." (The above paraphrase from remarks of "Sopher", the ISRAELITE'S Washington correspondent.

(8-3-83-M-p.2) The Middlesex Va. colony consists of 60 Russian refugees.

Meeting was held July 31, 1883 in Baltimore where pledge to raise \$200. a month was made.

(8-3-83-I-p.7) Charles Co. County and Middlesex started as charities. Would

be better if on business basis as elsewhere where it is successful. Baltimore SUN reported that fault of failure in these colonies not with Russian Hebrew but in the method of colonization.

(8-17-83-I-p.6) Article on Colonies by "SULAMITE" (probably Henrietta Szold) with a beautiful defense of the Russian Jew and a justification for treating him with a different kind of charity than that accorded other immigrant nationalities. Article also points out why colonies are failing. Suggests bond scheme for selling land. (An important source)

(12-7-83-I-p.7) Middlesex colony now abandoned. Some anxious to return to Russia. Most remaining to be trained with sewing machines, etc.

#### PAINTED WOODS, DAKOTA COLONY

(8-11-82-I-p.43) CORR. telling of establishment of Colony.

(9-15-82-I-p.88) Giving origin of first colonists as twelve families from Philadelphia who arrived in May 1882.

(11-17-82-I-p.167) CORR Wechsler report on success of colony on possibility for greater colonization program.

(2-2-83-M-p.5f) Long article by Rev. Wechsler of St. Paul, Minn. describing plight of refugees condition of new colony and disappointments because no real help forthcoming except \$500 from H.E.A.S of N.Y.

(3-9-83-M-p.5) CORR. from Wechsler on colony at Painted Woods.

(5-25-83-M-p.5) CORR "Among the Dakota Immigrants" optimistic report on progress of colony called here "Wechsler Colony."

(11-16-83-I-p.5) Description of shortcomings of Russian Jewish colonists.

Can't get along together. Behavior is obnoxious etc. @ article by J. Wechsler.

(1-11-84-I-p.3) CORR. Letter describes condition of families in St. Paul Minn. 50 families there are all but self-supporting. They are better off than colonies for they are humbug. These Russian Jews fit only for peddling or trading.

(2-15-84-M-p.2) Wechsler sends report on conditions at Painted Woods Colony. Plea made again for funds, although \$10,000 already expended because colony is foundering.

#### COTOPAXI, COLORADO COLONY

(7-7-82-M-p.4) "Russians in Colorado" an article by Joseph Raphael giving history of Cotopaxi Colony from its inception, with stirring description of dedication and short biographies of Managers S.H. Saltiel and Julius Schwarz

(10-6-82-M-p.2) Report of Morris Tuska on Cotopaxi telling of mismanagement of Saltiel, original Co. director with Julius Schwarz. Report also gives financial, statistical and sanitary condition of colony.

(11-17-82-M-p.2) Report of Julius Schwarz to Directors of H.E.A.S. giving details to prove that Russian colonists are successful at Cotopaxi. "The facts are," he said, "that the colony in Cotopaxi is a success."

(1-5-83-M-p.2) CORR. Letter of Saltiel saying in part, "I regret, however, to be compelled to state that the farming experiment in colonies, is a lamentable failure, and if attempted further in the Far Western Mountain States, will cause loss of money and great misery. From the past year's experiences, I am led to believe that \$100. given into the hands of the head of each family will be productive of more goods than thousands expended on colony experiments..."

(1-5-83-M-p.2) CORR. Letter of J. Schwarz, late manager of Cotopaxi saying in part, "The colony will always stand forth as a monument of Jewish charity, and as a proof of the agricultural capacities of our co-religionists..."

(2-2-83-M-p.2) Comm. of two citizens from Denver Col., George H. Kohn and S. Witkowski, give an accurate report of the condition of Cotopaxi colony. Mismanagement, abuse of funds, no deed for land, etc. Suggestion made to H.E.A.S. that colony be disbanded.

(6-1-83-M-p.2) Second comm. of two, Messrs. Epstein and Aufenge report story of plight of colonists.

#### BEERSHEBA, KANSAS COLONY

(6-23-82-I-p.414) Russian Emigrant Aid Society of Cinti meets at instigation of I.M. Wise to help Russians settle on government lands in Kansas. Joseph Abraham offers resolution to this effect which is adopted.

(6-30-82-I-p.420) CORR. H.S. Henry of N.Y. H.E.A.S. to Joseph Abraham saying

that it is beyond the possibilities of N.Y. Committee to give financial aid. But 20 families should be settled.

(8-42-82-M-p.2) Vivid description given of the method used in selecting colonists for "Beersheba" Colony.

(8-4-82-I-p.36) Long editorial on colonization urging that Russians should be colonized on government lands. Five reasons for colonization given.

(9-8-82-M-p.3) Reports of Messrs Davis and Wise to Cincinnati E.A.S. in reference to establishment of Beersheba Colony.

(10-20-82-I-p.140) M. Loth's report as chairman of Russian Refugee Relief Comm. A detailed report of conditions as well as an evaluation.

Also note that \$4,222.46 spent for colony during previous year.

(10-27-82-M-p.2) Subscriptions issued for donations of cattle to be given to colonists at Beersheba of Mason, Grey County Kansas.

(11-17-82-M-p.4) Report from Cimarron, Kansas that colony is failing. J. Baum of Cincinnati sent to act as superintendent.

(12-8-82-I-p.196) Report of Hebrew Union Agricultural Society giving a detailed analysis of weekly rations to Beersheba colonists. Colony consists of 19 men, 19 women and 38 children - 76 in all.

(7-20-83-I-p.6) Report of H. Marks of H.U. Agricultural Society. Colony consists of 11 families - 59 persons. Live on area covering six miles. Each family owns 160 acres. Best building is schoolhouse, doubles for synagogue. Colonists have erected all buildings.

Health of colonists excellent. Jews as successful in farming as gentiles. Settlers have cost \$1000. per family. Future settlers will cost only \$500. Suggestion that more colonies be formed.

(3-21-84-I-p.7) ISRAELITE denies statement made by Joseph Abraham of Cincinnati in MESSENGER that colonists of Beersheba starved between time of dissolution of Cincinnati Emigrant Aid and formation of H.U. Agricultural Society.

(6-6-84-I-p.6) Report of Charles C. Davis of Cincinnati who had first of all accompanied the original settlers along with Leo Wise.

#### VINELAND - ALLIANCE COLONY

(7-21-82-M-p.2) Report to H.E.A.S. printed in full from H.C. Sternberg, Mgr. of Vineland 450 in colony. Cost per family \$500., etc.etc.

77  
(8-82-I ) Article reprinted from Philadelphia PUBLIC LEDGER (7-31-82) on Vineland, N.J. Colony describing conditions of colonists, the buildings and the land, the men in charge, the work done, the cost of the colony, the neighbors and the plans for the future.

(11-10-82-M-p.2) Marriage noted between Russian colonists, Isaac Steinschneider and Lena Beckerman.

(3-2-83-M-p.5) Article telling of complaints and conditions at Vineland and Estelleville (18 mi away). Comment on Seaman, real estate agent who tried to arouse trouble calling Vineland a "Pauper's Farm."

(3-9-83-M-p.5) Seaman's reply Denies accusations.

(5-18-83-M-p.4) Visit of Berger of Vienna to report on agricultural pursuits in America.

(1-2-85-M-p.1) Reports that colonists are starving. Contributions made by prominent New Yorkers. Counter-claims made that colonists not

starving, but trouble from 5 or 6 chronic beggars.

(1-9-85-M-p.3) Conditions eased at Vineland through financial aid, yet this is poor way of solving problem.

(1-23-85-M-p.6) Comment made that while Vinelanders are starving, grand social affairs being given in Philadelphia.

(2-20-85-I-p.1-2) Report of ALLIANCE colony. 49 families consisting of 285 souls. Heilprin and Judge Isaacs provide Hebrew teachers from N.Y. Colonists complain of exploitation in the cigar factory erected by Mrs. B. Reckendorfer to memory of her husband, Joseph.

(2-27-85-M-p.3) "Colonists are not starving, their wants have been relieved. "Paid officers required to investigate conditions. Those engaged in assisting them are competent. Sufficient money has been raised to support colonists until Spring brings work.

(2-20-85-I-p.1) Report of Alliance colony. Mention of condition of soil which is not perfect. Best suited for berries (fruits)

(4-24-85-I-p.2) CORR. Letter to JEWISH RECORD of Philadelphia by Messrs. Leach who formerly owned land of colony. Asks Jews to help immigrants by giving them employment.

(4-9-86-M-p.5) Lack of proper clothing keeps some Vineland children from attending school.

(9-9-87-M-p.4) Conditions at colony satisfactory and special credit due founders who have never lost hope from the start in the energy and enterprise of our Russian brethren.

(12-2-87-M-p.2) Synagogue to be consecrated at Vineland in few days.

- (12-16-87-M-p.4) Cornerstone laying of Temple Emanu El Vineland described.
- (2-3-88-M-p.1) Trouble brewing over Vineland Religious ritual.
- (3-9-88-M-p.2) Description of Purim celebration
- (8-3-88-M-p.3) Description of dedication of synagogue
- (8-10-88-M-p.1) Immigrants consecrated synagogues at Vineland, another at Jewish summer colony at Long Branch.

#### MISCELLANEOUS REFERENCES TO COLONIZATION 1880-1890

- (10-17-84-M-p.3) CORR. Letter of Jacob H. Schiff to Hebrew Agricultural Aid Society meeting in N Y (10-9-84) Mass meeting where Kaufman Kohler is main speaker. J Schiff urges agricultural program and mentions Jewish capacity for such tasks.
- (6-24-81-M-p.2) Mention of offer made to Jesse Seligman by Louis Samuels, Kansas farmer of proposed colonization program.
- (8-18-82-M-p.2) Private colonization program inaugurated by Lazarus Silvenman of Chicago who plans to send 150 refugees now in Chicago and "many more" to his 300 acre property in Michigan near Carp Lake.
- (3-14-90-M-p.4) Growth of Jewish Colonies noted in privately published book Migdal Zophim by Moses Klein.
- (2-23-83-M-p.5) CORR. letter signed "D" (Jersey City N J 2-8-83) An extraordinary letter suggesting colonization scheme with reasons given

very similar to Pinsker's "Auto-Emancipation."

(1-26-83-M-p.2) CORR. letter signed "A Russian Refugee" one of a group who will set out for Oregon to found "New Odessa" colony. Claims only friend to be Michael Heilprin. (Also cf. editorial reaction to letter page 4)

(9-21-83-M-p.2) Resolution sent by St. Louis community regarding Jewish colony at Hancock Arkansas to N.Y. Committee, "Whereas, the colony at Newport, Ark. was organized through the efforts of the N.Y. Committee of the Russian Emigrant Aid society; and whereas said colony was located in marshy and swampy lands, totally unfitted for cultivation, which lands are productive of fever and chills; and whereas said Russians, colonized there through the unjudicious action of said N.Y. Committee, became sick and helpless, and said N.Y. Committee is to blame for having sent said Russians to a section of the country totally unfitted for unacclimatized persons, and said Russians were necessarily compelled to leave said place to save themselves...RESOLVED: that we transport all of said colony coming here to New York City..."

(11-14-84-M-p.4) CORR. Letter written by Jacob Borovich in English to Michael Heilprin regarding the Montefiore Colony at Pratt County, Kansas.

(4-19-89-M-p.2) Statistics on conditions of Carmel Colony Now inhabited by 286 colonists, originally started by 17 Russians. Colony is in flourishing condition.

(4-11-90-M-p.6) CORR. Letter requesting purchasers of \$10.00 (one share) of capital stock in Carmel Colony,

APPENDIX C

## TREASURER'S REPORT H.E.A.S. OF NEW YORK DEC. 1, 1882

TOTAL RECEIPTS FROM ALL SOURCES	\$281,418.13
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DISBURSEMENTS	<u>249,482.56</u>
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	\$ 31,935.57
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CONTRIBUTION AFTER DEC. 1, FROM <u>ALLIANCE</u>	20,000.00
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INCOME:

Russian Emigrant Relief Fund.....	1,886.03
Cont. from Purim Association.....	6,500.00
" from Schiff Russian Relief Fund.....	57,517.49
" Russian Emigrant Relief Fund of.....	2,500.00
San Francisco	
June Festival Fund.....	7,419.00
Individual Donations prior to June 1.....	22,544.19
Additional Donations in June.....	66,596.40
M.S. Isaacs Special Fund.....	2,500.00
Paris Alliance.....	38,492.55
Berlin Committee.....	33,444.30
" " for St. Paul.....	1,200.00
" Krementschuger-Gesellschaft.....	600.00
Mansion House Committee.....	40,000.00
	<u>\$281,418.13</u>

EXPENDITURES:

N.Y. Expenses.....	\$157,385.41
Vineland.....	41,960.42
Colorado.....	10,233.57
Completion of Schiff Refuge.....	4,000.00
Traveling expenses - Agents.....	2,761.34
General Expenses.....	18,623.61
Contribution to Other Communities.....	<u>12,718.21</u>
	<u>\$249,482.56</u>

### SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

The research done in writing this paper has given rise to many unanswered questions and thrown brief glimpses of light upon hitherto undeveloped subjects for further study. The following subjects might be profitably treated by the same method used in writing this thesis, namely research in the files of the Anglo-Jewish Press and in the archives of American-Jewish organizations.

1. The Influence of Lay Leaders upon American Reform Judaism.
2. The History of the ALLIANCE ISRAELITE In America.
3. The History of Relationships between the American and European Jewish Communities.
4. The History of the U.A.H.C. Agricultural Schemes
5. The Development and role of the Sisterhoods in Reform Congregations.
6. Predecessors and origins of the American Jewish Committee
7. Religious attitudes of Russian Immigrants and their influence upon American Judaism.
8. The Return of Jewish Immigrants to Europe
9. History of Jewish Educational Alliance
10. History of the Y.M.H.A.-Y.W.H.A.
11. The Efforts of Baltimore and Philadelphia on Behalf of Russian Immigrants
12. The History of Educational Attempts in Behalf of Russian Immigrants.

## CHRONOLOGY

### OF IMPORTANT EVENTS RELEVANT TO RUSSIAN JEWISH IMMIGRATION TO THE U.S.-1880-1890

#### Before 1880

- Oct. 4, 1869 Meeting of ALLIANCE ISRAELITE at Berlin where immigration of Russian Jews to America is discussed.
- Mar. 18, 1870 "Hebrew Immigrants' Aid Society of the City of New York" formed.
- June 27, 1879 Agricultural Pursuits Committee of U.A.H.C. established.

#### 1880

- June 4 "Independent United Hebrew Association" for the purpose of assisting Emigrants formed in New York City.

#### 1881

- Feb. 4 "Committee on Agricultural Pursuits of U.A.H.C." organizes Congregational committees in co-operation with I.O.B.B.
- July 14 Educational and agricultural project of U.A.H.C. for one million dollars published
- Sept 14 "Russian Emigrant Relief Fund" established in New York City
- Nov. 11 Publication of Goldschmidt (Alliance) H.E.A.S. Correspondence
- Nov. 18 "Hebrew Emigration Aid Society of the United States organized in N.Y.C.
- Auxiliary - "Downtown Emigrant Society" formed.

1882

- Jan 13. Moritz Ellinger goes to Europe for H.E.A.S.
- Jan.23 Publication of Menken's correspondence with Cincinnati Emigrant Aid Society and U.A.H.C.
- Feb. 1 Chickering Hall Mass Meeting - New York City
- Feb. 15 Pittsburg, Pa. Mass Meeting
- Feb. 17 Establishment of Schiff Russian Refugee and Colonization Fund.
- Mar. 4 Philadelphia Mass Meeting
- Mar. 10 Call by Cincinnati E.A.S. for National Conference
- Mar. 13 Montreal, Canada Mass Meeting
- Mar. 16 New Orleans Mass Meeting
- June 4 Conference of Hebrew Emigrant Aid Societies of the U.S.  
Publication of Reports by Messrs. J. Stanwood Menken, Moritz Ellinger, Julius Goldman and speech by George S Yates of Mansion House Committee.
- June 23 Appeal of New York Minister on behalf of H.E.A.S.
- July 14 Jacob Schiff donates \$10,000. for erection of refuge at Ward's Island
- Sept. 9 Resignation of Augustus Levey, Sec'y. of H.E.A.S.
- Oct. 13 Dissolution of Emigrant Societies begins! St Louis first organization to disband.
- Oct. 14 Dissolution of Cincinnati Emigrant Aid Society.
- Oct. 27 Formation of "MACCABEES" (Hebrew Union Agricultural Society)

1883

- Jan. 19 Concluding Meeting of New York, H.E.A.S.

1883

- Feb. 2      Executive Comm. U.A.H.C. dissociates from Hebrew Union Agricultural Society.
- March 2     Dissolution of H.E.A.S of New York City.
- Oct. 10     Evening Classes for Instruction of Russian working men organized

1884

- Jan. 15     Opening of New Hebrew Technical Institute
- Feb. 8      Hungarian Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society formed
- Dec. 5      "Montefiore Society for Tenement Reform" organized
- Dec. 19     Sanitary Aid Society of Tenth Ward formed.

1885

- Jan. 1      Silver Anniversary of ALLIANCE ISRAELITE
- Jan. 22     Formation of Philadelphia Society for Protection of Jewish Emigrants
- Feb. 2      Formation of Jewish Protective Emigrant Aid Society of New York
- Feb. 2      Call for National Convention of Jewish Charities by Louisville Relief Association
- Mar. 20     Lodging House #1, Sanitary Aid Society built
- May 15      Tenement House Building Committee established
- July 3      St. Louis invites convention of Jewish charities
- July 24     U.A.H.C. Agricultural and Educational Scheme dissolved Sine Die

1886

- Jan 7       Twenty-eight American Communities joined in Associated Hebrew Charities
- Jan 8       Formation of Russian Hebrew Colonization Ass'n.
- May 28      First opposition to Russian Jews as strikers
- Aug. 3      Hungarian Emigrant Association formed.

1888

- Jan. 27 Chief Rabbi Jacob Joseph elected.
- Feb. 17 Lodging House #2 Sanitary Aid Society erected.
- July 14 Chief Rabbi Joseph arrives in N.Y. City
- Aug. 31 Five Orthodox Synagogues dedicated in three weeks.

1889

- May 5 Chief Rabbi Joseph takes lead in planning Centennial Celebration  
program of Ratification of Constitution.
- May 31 Moses Rapaport made Chief Rabbi of Galician Congregations.

1890

- Oct 10. "National Convention of Russian-Jewish Workmen."
- Dec. 5 Plans for Hebrew Institute of Educational Alliance given.

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