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To June---
without whose constant help
and encouragement this paper
could not have been written.

INTRODUCTION

A few words of comment and explanation are necessary for a better understanding of this paper. We have used as many sources of the available information concerning Jews in agriculture as possible in the limited amount of time. At the same time, it should be made clear that many sources of information on the subject are not at hand in the facilities at the Hebrew Union College Library, the Cincinnati Public Library, and the Library of the University of Cincinnati.

We have covered completely the sources for the history of the American Jew in agriculture available in the Hebrew Union College Library. We have utilized all of the copies of the American Israelite dealing with the problem. We have also used the American Hebrew and many other periodicals to a lesser extent. Of our source material, the American Israelite and the complete reports of the Jewish Agricultural Society from 1900 to the present proved to be most valuable.

In addition to the source material a large amount of secondary material was used because of the impossibility of securing certain information in any other way. It is, of course, indicated, where material is from a secondary source.

One of the most important parts of the paper is the short analysis of the soils and adaptabilities of various sections of the country for agriculture. Throughout our history of the American Jew as a farmer we have continuously referred

to his position on the land with reference to the type of land which he chose to farm. We have tried to show the relationship between careful choice of soils and successful farming. We have continuously emphasized the necessity for careful selection of land in farming enterprises. The major part of our information concerning soils has been obtained from the United States Government Department of Agriculture. This department has published a map which shows every county in the United States and its adaptability to agriculture.

We have also been in correspondence with the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Labor, Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization. In dealing with the subject of the German Jewish refugee we have used material from letters from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the Jewish Agricultural Society, and several other Jewish organizations which work with those refugees.

One of the most important aspects of this paper is the use of maps. These have been designed and drawn by Miss June Kurlander. Through them we have shown almost every place in the United States where Jews settled as farmers. Frequently locations of certain settlements were not described exactly in the sources available to us. However, by comparing descriptions of those colonies in the west, and in other sections of the United States which were not developed at the time of Jewish settlement, it has been possible to place our locations, approximately, that is, within an error limit of ten miles. The settlements of farmers, or the farms of individuals, where they have been important, are located where they were at the

time of the settlement of the farm. We believe that this is the first time that such maps have been made to show the many farm colonization projects and settlements that have been carried on during the history of the American Jew in agriculture.

In general we have been concerned mainly with group settlements of farmers, and not with isolated men in scattered parts of the country. Indeed, Jews did not care to be widely separated from one another in their agricultural settlements. Therefore, we have not found it necessary to trace down every Jewish farmer in the United States but have generalized in many instances.

This is not by any means a complete treatment of the subject at hand, nor is it intended to be. A great deal of valuable source material is scattered over the entire United States and such data would be necessary to complete this study. It would also be advisable to visit the actual settlements, or what remains of them, and to converse with the inhabitants in order to get a true understanding of the problems that beset them.

However, this paper is an attempt to cover only the material at hand. It is an "essay" in the truest sense of the word. It will require a great deal of time and study to finish the work of which this paper is only the beginning.

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NEW YORK



PENNSYLVANIA

VERMONT

MASS.
CONN.

SUFFOLK





NEW JERSEY

JEWISH COLONIES IN SIX STATES









PART ONE

COLONIAL HISTORY OF THE JEWS IN THE
UNITED STATES.

European Backgrounds

The position, or lack of it, of the Jew in most of the countries of Europe had a marked effect on the history of the American Jew and his endeavors in the field of agriculture. Beginning with Columbus' men we find prisoners of the Spanish Inquisition who were pressed into service as sailors for the explorer's unpopular expedition. Among his crew there were Marano Jews and one in particular has gone down in history as the first Jew engaged in agricultural pursuits in the New World.

Luis de Torres was one of the Maranos with the fleet of Columbus, serving in the capacity of an interpreter. His ostensible position was to interpret the Indian and Oriental languages to the members of the fleet. The surprise of the men and the embarrassment of de Torres must have been great indeed when upon landing it became evident that de Torres could neither understand nor make himself understood to the Indians who were to be found in this part of the world. De Torres lost his job as interpreter and since there was no future for him in Spain he determined to settle in Cuba where he lived as a planter. De Torres is generally credited with having introduced the use of tobacco to civilized men.^{1.} It is perhaps significant that from this point on Jews were associated with the tobacco trade, not only as traders and manufacturers but as growers as well.

1. Christopher Columbus, Kayserling, p. 90, ff., quoted from Jewish Pioneers in America, Anita Libman Lebeson; Brentanos Publishers, 1931.

But we cannot strictly speaking call de Torres the first example of an American Jew engaged in agricultural pursuits. Indeed, the first evidence of Jews actively engaged in agriculture in the territory that became later the United States of America does not appear until a century and a half later.

But before 1492 and since 1628 there have been many examples of the Gentile's encouraging the Jew in the unpopular "professions". Beginning with the chivalric ages commerce and money speculations had been considered as unmanly occupations. Therefore they were almost entirely yielded to the Jew, forcing him to become a merchant and a financial speculator. Prior to 1793 there was no place in Europe where the Jew had complete equality in the estimations of Christian law. He could own no land, and legal status was based on land ownership. The European Jews who came to this country during the colonial period were penniless and friendless, unacquainted with the languages and laws of this country.¹ Yet, with all their loneliness even the soil could not offer them a living in the continent of Europe.

ENGLAND

England was the first country to lift the land ownership ban. During the rule of Oliver Cromwell, (1649-1660), the government urged that the Jews be admitted into Britain

1. American Israelite, August 22, 1856.

and her possessions. It was largely due to Cromwell's benevolent protection that the Jews were able to gain a foothold in the British colonial possessions. Thus, fostered by Cromwell, Jews were able to become prominent members of the American colonies controlled by England.

At the end of the seventeenth century a situation arose that might well have been in reaction to the government imposed by Cromwell. It may be regarded as an effort to displace those Jews who through his generosity were able to come to a position of relative wealth in the new colonies of Britain.

In 1696 an act forbidding any non-native resident of England, Ireland, or the British plantations threatened to end the commercial and agricultural activities of the Jews of England. Within two weeks of the introduction of that law in 1696 the House of Commons received a protest issued by the "Hebrew Nation Residing at London". This organization made its plea in behalf of its co-religionists in the colonies who were vitally interested and concerned with the law, since their livelihood was mainly trading, in many instances supplemented by agriculture. The following claims were made by the "Hebrew Nation" group:

"I. Because that most of them were by the Rigour of the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisition forced to Renounce their Native Countries and to shelter themselves under the Merciful Protection of the English Government...

1. Brief Survey of the Jews in American Agriculture, Darwin S. Levine; unpublished thesis (M.A.), Teachers College, Columbia University, 1928; p. 15.

"II. That those of the nebrew Nation (being a great many Families of Traders) and some planters in the Plantations, have been kindly entertained and Mercifully Protected above Forty Years, always trading with all Manner of Freedom.

"III. That this trade is in goods sent from England for which they made Returns in the Product of the respective Plantations, which... makes commodities, or rather necessities in the Plantations, more plentiful to the said Plantations.... and

"VII. That those of the Hebrew Nation do look upon whatever Country they Retire to from the Rigour of the Inquisitions, as their Native Country by Reason of the Protections they meet with there...." 1.

The importance of this document lies in its presentation of certain facts that should in themselves make the Jews eligible for citizenship. It described their allegiance and loyalty to the King and to the English colonies. It expressed the strong feeling of gratitude which the Jews felt toward any country that granted them refuge during those trying times. It also brought out their position in the agricultural and trading situation of the New World with reference to their rather precarious status in the Old. Whether because of this protest or in spite of it, Jewish commerce in the colonies continued to flourish.^{2.}

The type of immigration from England to the colonies may be deduced from the situation just related. It is apparent that the Jews who went to the English colonies at this early period were religious refugees who had to leave their homeland and find a livelihood elsewhere. If they did not have

1. Jewish Pioneers in America, Lebeson, p. 106-107.

2. Ibid.

full legal status it is evident that the Jews had at least been enjoying a considerable amount of prestige in England and in the colonies. The passing of such a decree by its very acknowledgment of the situation shows that the Jews occupied a strong position important enough to merit active opposition.

In brief summary it may be stated that the emigration of Jews from England to the colonies was partially of a voluntary nature and partially a case of necessity. English Jews were enjoying fair conditions at home at the time of early settlement. Only those adventurous souls who saw in the colonies new and great opportunities, or those who were so badly off that they were willing to try anything rather than to live on as they were became the pioneers. However there were refugees from other countries in England who also saw in the colonies a means for more wholesome and more profitable living. It should be understood that the number of Jews engaged in agriculture at this time was neither large nor important in any way, save that of marking a beginning. Yet this is important in itself as is the beginning of any great movement.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

As has been shown by the petition addressed to the House of Commons by the Jews of London in 1696 there were numerous Jews in the colonies whose former homelands had been Spain and Portugal. Conditions there were the motivating fac-

tor causing the Jews to leave those countries and settle elsewhere. "The earliest period of American Jewish immigration may be charged to the ceaseless persecution of the Jews by the Latin speaking countries under Catholicism."^{1.}

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

Germany contributed to the settlers of the New World as early as 1733.^{2.} Conditions prompting the Jews to leave Germany and to try their fortunes abroad were described in 1783 by a German Jew who addressed a Memorial to the President of the United States, in which he described the "wretched life led by the Jews of Germany".^{3.} He told of the many disabilities which kept the Jews from earning a living save in the most miserable fashion as petty shop-keepers or tradesmen. This man felt that America offered them an escape, an opportunity to fulfill their modest hopes which were: "...to establish colonies at our own cost and to engage in agriculture, commerce, art and sciences....Supposing that 2,000 families of us would settle in a desert of America and convert it into fertile land, will the old inhabitants of the province suffer by it?"^{4.}

The conditions in Germany which prompted Jews to leave are quite simply explained. They could not legally hold land and were thus kept from ever becoming anything more than

1. Brief Survey of the Jews in American Agriculture, Levine, p. 35.
2. Lebeson, op. cit., pp. 106-107. (wrong reference, delete note.)
2. American Jewish Historical Society Publications, Vol. I, pp. 9-10.
3. Lebeson, op. cit., p. 265.
4. Ibid.

the small business men described above and the usual money lenders. "In Austria no Israelite could hold real estate prior to the year 1848 of the Christian Grace; yet many of them cultivated the ground, although the title to the land was held by a neighbor and yielded to them only by invasion^{1.} of the laws." Thus, these people saw an opportunity to start as men with no disabilities or handicaps in America, only an unlimited future. The idea of a new "promised land" prompted them to leave their father_{land} and try their fortune in a strange country.

DIFFICULTIES OF ADJUSTMENT TO AN ADOPTED
HOMELAND

The Jews of England, Spain, Portugal, Germany, and Austria forsook an urban life and came to a pioneer country where it was necessary to make a difficult adjustment. They were more handicapped than the non-Jewish settlers since they were inexperienced in the ownership and management of property and they had had little opportunity to work on the soil. Since distances were greater then, relatively speaking, the people had to be more self-sufficient than they had been in their homelands. Therefore they produced their own goods insofar as they were able to do so. The colonists who were neither manufacturers or farmers were welcomed as middlemen and through them the others carried on their work and trade. It was into this group, for the most part, that the Jews drifted, by reason of

1. American Israelite, August 22, 1856.

their European backgrounds. Some of them became fur traders and trappers. Some turned to commerce, some to real estate, and some to business... A notable few surmounted the difficulties and devoted themselves to agriculture in the colonies where they had such opportunities. It is these with whom we shall now concern ourselves.

VIRGINIA

The first document dealing with Jewish ownership of land in the colonies states that in 1648 one John Levy received a patent for 200 acres of land on Powell's Creek, James City County, Virginia.^{1.} This is the only mention of this man to be found in the records of early American farmers, which leads us to assume that he became a recognized member of the community at James City, and probably assimilated with the non-Jews as was the case with many of the early pioneers.^{2.}

we find records of Michael Israel, another early Jewish farmer in Virginia almost a century later. He received a land patent in 1757, settled in Albermarle county, and farmed the land as did his predecessor.^{3.}

NEW AMSTERDAM

A theory has been proposed by at least one historian in the field of the history of the American Jew in agriculture,

1. William and Mary Quarterly, Vol. X, p. 95.
2. Levine, op. cit., p. 25.
3. Albermarle County in Virginia, Rev. Edgar Woods, pp. 359-363; referred to by Levine, op. cit., ca. p. 25.

that there were some Jewish farmers residing in the Dutch colony in New Amsterdam in the 1650's, the records of whose activities have not yet been brought to light through research. This historian, Darwin S. Levine, bases his theory on a letter written at Amsterdam, Holland, on April 4, 1652, by the Director of the West India Company to the Governor of New Netherlands in regard to soldiers sent to New Amsterdam by the Company at the request of the Governor and Council:

"Among them you shall find some Jews on the muster rolls, who have engaged to serve as soldiers during the term of one year after their arrival, but after that year they intend to return to farming business from which they were taken here. We do not hesitate to acquiesce in this proposal, as we may next year replace them by others."¹

MARYLAND

Maryland, in addition to virginia, is numbered among the states where there were early Jewish colonies. It is not likely, however, that there was any sort of Jewish organization there prior to the Revolutionary War.² The first Jewish pioneer in that state was Dr. Jacob Lumbrozo who was known as "ye Jew doctor". He resided in Maryland as early as 1658.³ His early activities were not in agriculture, so we need not discuss them here. It was not until he was given certain rights of citizenship in 1663 that he could legally own land and engage

1. Dutch Colonial Records, Vol. IV, p. 65, tr. by Vanderkemp; quoted by Levine, op. cit., p. 19.

2. The Jews of Iowa, Rabbi Simon Glazer; Koch Bros. Printing Co., Des Moines, Iowa, 1904, p. 95.

3. Levine, op. cit., pp. 19-21.

in the cultivation thereof. "The manuscript records of the Maryland Land Office at Annapolis have yielded somewhat fuller accounts of the uncertain period after 1663. Letters of denization were issued to him on September 10, 1663."^{1.}

These letters were of considerable importance to Lumbrozo for their effect was to change his status from that of an alien who had no standing, save that of being allowed to institute civil proceedings in courts, to that of a semi-naturalized citizen enjoying most of the privileges of a native or English-born subject. Among these was included the right of land settlement under the liberal terms of plantation established by the Lord Proprietary.

Lumbrozo lost no time in exercising his newly found privileges and prerogatives. "On September 11, 1663, the very day after the issue of the letters, an entry is found in the Maryland Archives in which Lumbrozo demands land 'for his own transportation anno 1656 and for Elizabeth his wife, anno 1662'. "^{2.} One year later, in August, 1664, Lumbrozo recorded his title to 200 additional acres of land. Of these 150 acres were secured by transfer. By reason of his bringing Jeremy Taylor, an indentured servant, into the settlement, the remaining 50 acres were allotted to him.^{3.}

The will of Dr. Jacob Lumbrozo shows definitely that besides being a practicing physician he was engaged in agriculture. It may be found in the office of the Register of Wills

1. Proceedings of the Council, 1637-1667, Maryland Archives, vol. III, p. 188; quoted by Levine, op. cit., pp. 19-21.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

of Annapolis, Maryland. A portion of it follows:

"Two years after my decease she (his wife) shall send to Holland or any other Convenient Place, 4,000 pounds of good and well-Conditioned tobacco and Caske to be delivered to my dearly beloved sister (Rebecca) Lumbrozo and two years after that the same quantity of good and well Conditioned tobacco and Caske to be delivered likewise to my aforesaid Loving sister (Rebecca) Lumbrozo." ^{1.}

GEORGIA

Tobacco planting is the first type of agricultural activity by a Jew in America that is recorded in our Colonial history. Jewish colonizations on a large scale began in the settlement in Georgia. Under Governor Oglethorpe Georgia contained numerous Jews concerning whom there is abundant material. In relation to Maryland the Georgia planters arrived at a later date; the first mention of Jews in Georgia does not come until 1733 as compared with Lumbrozo's arrival in Maryland in 1658.

Georgia was intended by its founders to be a silk raising and wine producing colony. Therefore the settlers were carefully selected with an effort to permit those who had special interests along these lines to enter first. "The Portuguese Jews, both the original settlers and those who came later were experts in these industries." ^{2.}

In 1733 Jews constituted one-third of the entire population of Georgia. ^{3.} Land was allotted to them by Governor Oglethorpe who sold them all they wanted. ^{4.} The Jews were

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1. American Jewish Historical Society Publications, vol. 1, article by J. H. Hollander on "...Material relating to Lumbrozo."
 2. Lebeson, op. cit., p. 172.
 3. The Jews of Georgia in Colonial Times, Leon Huhner, from American Jewish Historical Society Publications, No.10, 1902. pp. 77-78.

not interested in citizenship or civil rights; all they were concerned about was the freehold to the land which they had purchased.^{1.} The Jews were not segregated nor was there any attempt to make a distinctly Jewish section of the colony; they were permitted to purchase land at will in any section of the state, and they were represented in nearly every district.^{2.}

Forty Jewish families landed at Savannah on July 7, 1733, the day that Governor Oglethorpe was dividing up the land among all the inhabitants of the colony who had been there previously. Plantations, town lots, gardens, and farms were being given to those who expressed a desire to farm in any way at all and to continue their locations in Georgia.^{3.} The Jews were given their share of the distribution.

Two Hebrew congregations, a Sephardic group, and an Ashkenazic group were founded in Georgia before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War.^{4.} The Sephardic Congregation, in an attempt to diminish the strain of pauperism by immigration, appointed a committee to apply for Grants of Land in Georgia. These were being freely distributed by representatives of the British Government in that colony. The committee remained in effect for several years. Although it continued in its official capacity until after 1745 it is doubtful whether it ever achieved any practical results from its labors.^{5.}

4. (continued from page 12, ibid.

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Glazer, op. cit., p. 96.

4. Ibid.

5. Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History, James Picciotto; Trubner and Co., London, 1875, p. 152.

There is evidence that a group of 78 people, Salzburgers, arrived in Georgia coming from Berchtalsgaden on December 28, 1733. These people were given a settlement by Oglethorpe four miles below the present town of Springfield, Effingham County, Georgia. Three years later, in 1736, they abandoned their vineyards which had been unsuccessful. With the consent of Governor Oglethorpe they relocated on a high ridge near the Savannah River to which they gave the name of New Ebenezer. Here they prospered and multiplied in their main pursuit---the silk industry.¹

According to the American Jewish Historical Society Publications as just cited, there was a settlement of German Jews in the colony of Georgia who owned land and engaged in the silk industry in which they were quite prosperous. Mrs. Lebeson in her book, Jewish Pioneers in America, has used this source and yet we find the following statement in her book contradicting the report of the American Jewish Historical Society article:

"A peculiar internal rift separated the little band of Georgian Jews into two very distinct camps. Very much like the situation in Massachusetts 'where the Lodges speak only to the Cabots, and the Cabots speak only to God', the Portuguese Jews refused absolutely to have anything to do with the German Jews. In addition to the usual feeling of superiority the Sephardim were bolstered up by the knowledge that they have paid their own way whereas the German Jews were objects of charity. Then too, the Portuguese Jews were landholders, while of the German element there is no trace in the original deed. One of the historians of Georgia says that the Jews asked for no charity, claimed no peculiar privileges, and de-

1. American Jewish Historical Society Publications, volume I, pp. 9-10.

manded from the trustees nothing but the freeholds which their money purchased," ¹.

Perhaps the discrepancy in presentation may be explained by the fact that the Germans were given their land by Oglethorpe, and thus were "objects of charity", while the Portuguese Jews bought theirs, and so considered themselves socially superior. At any rate we must acknowledge that both race groups were extant in the colony of Georgia at the same time, and that they did not live together in any sort of harmony. We will see that this was also true in other colonies.

The Jewish colonists were not allowed to stay in Georgia merely because of generosity on the part of Oglethorpe. There was a distinct purpose behind the permission given to the Jews to settle in that colony. As has been mentioned there was the desire on the part of the proprietors to make Georgia a silk raising and wine producing colony. In Portugal the Jews had been accustomed to the planting and cultivating of vineyards. Although they were legally banned from owning land, in practice they farmed as independently as they wished on land to which their Gentile friends held the deeds. In this way many of them became expert vinerons, (i.e., those who were engaged in the productions of grapes), and silk growers. So it was only natural on the part of the proprietors of the Georgia colony to give the Sephardic Jews permission to buy land, and to allow them to settle in the colony. Then too, the fact that Georgia was to be a silk and wine producing colony undoubtedly

1. Lebeson, op. cit., pp. 172-173.

influenced the Jews to go there.^{1.}

The best known of the colonists of this colony, at least to those of us who read of their history today, was Abraham de Lyon who "stood high as a horticulturist".^{2.} De Lyon, one of the Sephardic settlers, introduced the culture of grapes into the Georgia colony.^{3.} In addition to being credited with the introduction of grape culture, De Lyon also was acknowledged to have "introduced successfully usefull foreign plants, and in the cultivation of the vine labored assiduously to make Georgia a grape growing country".^{4.}

De Lyon enjoyed the special favor of the governor and received considerable prominence in the community by virtue of his successful vineyard where he grew Porto and Malaga grapes.^{5.}

Since the trustees of the colony expected such a great profit from the colony it was only natural that they took a special interest in those of the colonists who were engaged in the silk and wine industries. They watched the progress of the settlers closely. One of their number, Colonel William Stephens, made the following descriptive report of the first vineyard in Georgia, that of Abraham de Lyon:

"1737, December 6. After dinner walked out to see what improvements of vines were made by one Mr. Lyon, a Portuguese Jew, which I had heard some talk of; and indeed nothing had given me so much pleasure since my arrival as what I found here; though it was yet (if I may say it properly) only

1. Huhner, op. cit., pp. 79-81.

2. Ibid.

3. Glazer, op. cit., p. 96.

4. The Settlement of the Jews in North America, Charles P. Daly and Max J. Kohler; Philip Cowen, New York, 1893, p. 66.

5. Levine, op. cit., p. 23.

in the Miniature for he had cultivated only for two or three years past about half a Score of them which he received from Portugal for an Experiment; and by his skill and Management in pruning etc., they all bore this year very plentifully a most beautiful large Grape, as big as a Man's Thumb, almost pellucid, and bunches exceeding big; all which was attested by Persons of unquestionable Credit, (whom I had it from), but the Season now would allow me only to see the Vines they were gathered from, which were so flourishing and so strong that I saw one Shoot of this last year only, which he allowed to grow from the root of a Bearing vine, as big as my Walking-Cane, and run over a few Poles laid to receive it at least Twelve or Fourteen foot as near as I could judge. From these he has raised more than a Hundred which he has planted all in his little Garden behind his House at about Four foot Distance, each in the Manner and Form of a Vineyard: They have taken Root and are about one Foot and a Half high; the next Year he says he does not doubt raising a Thousand more, and the year following at least Five Thousand. I could not believe, (considering the high situation of the Town upon a Pine Barren, and the little Appearance of such Productions in these little Spots of Ground annexed to the House), that he had found some proper Manure wherewith to improve the sandy Soil, without any other Art than his Planting and Pruning, which he seemed to set some value on from his Experience in being bred among the Vineyards in Portugal; and to convince the World that he intends to pursue it from the Encouragement of the Soil proving so proper for it he has at this time hired four men to clear and prepare as much land as they possibly can upon his Forty-five Acre Lot, intending to convert every foot of the whole that is fit for it into a vineyard; though he complains of his present inability to be at such an Expence as to employ Servants for Hire." 1.

Although de Lyon was the first person to introduce viticulture into the Georgia colonies, and although the Jews were also extensively engaged in silk raising, importing, and selling, they did not stay in the colony for a very long time. They left the colony because slavery was prohibited, and because the industries in which they were interested could not

1. American Jewish Historical Society Publications, Vol. I, pp. 11-12.

1. survive without slave labor. After a few years many of the settlers, Jew and Gentile alike, were forced out of the colony by the restrictions which were imposed by the English Trustees. The majority of these settled in South Carolina. Some of them returned to Georgia later, but the continuity of the Jewish Agricultural colony was broken.
2.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Indigo plant
The first mention of a Jew engaged in agriculture in South Carolina occurs in 1762 with the presence of Moses Lindo in that colony. In 1762 Lindo practically controlled the indigo industry in South Carolina. He owned many acres of indigo farms and encouraged and directed its growth. Lindo was interested not only in the production of indigo but also in other plants and roots and their chemical and medicinal properties. He made many experiments with roots and weeds in order to test them for their suitability as dyeing factors which interested him because of the great value of dyes at that period of history. He was regarded by the British government and by his fellow planters as the outstanding indigo merchant in the colonies. Strictly speaking he was a broker of dye-stuffs in general, but because of his active interest and participation in the growing of the produce which he later sold, he must be regarded as being among the early Jewish agriculturists.
3.

Closely following Moses Lindo was Frances Salvador,

1. Muhner, op. cit., pp. 79-81.

2. Levine, op. cit., p. 25.

3. The Jews of South Carolina, Barnett A. Elzas; J. B. Lippincott Co., Phila., Pa.; p. 53 ff.

another South Carolina Jew, prominent not only as a farmer but as a large land-owner. He was one of the most important figures in early American Jewish history.^{1.} Salvador owned a 7,000 acre plantation, cultivated it with slave labor, as was the custom, and lived the life of a planter. He is recorded to have been living on the plantation with his friend Rapley^{2.} at Coronaca in Ninety Six District by 1774.

NEW JERSEY

There is but one mention of a Jew engaged in agriculture in New Jersey prior to the Revolutionary period. He was David Hays, a planter residing on a plantation in Griggs Town, Somerset County, in 1774. Hays offered his plantation for sale in 1774 and no mention is made of him in the field of agriculture again.^{3.}

LOUISIANA

Evidence exists also confirming the residence of Jews in Louisiana during the early days of the Colonial period. This fact is shown in the attitude of the officials of the colony of Louisiana toward the Jews. In placing discriminations against them they were upheld by the French government. From the records of the early days in Louisiana we find that attempts were made to enforce the law which ordered the expulsion of all of the Jews from the colony. Attempts were likewise made to mal-

1. Elzas, op. cit., pp. 70-71.

2. Ibid.

3. American Jewish Historical Society Publications, Vol. XVII, p. 39.

treat the Jews and otherwise to keep them from continuing their settlement in that colony where they were largely engaged in general farming.^{1.} *qualify the settlement*

IMPORTANCE OF THE AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES OF
Jews IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD.

This last bit of information concludes mention of all pertinent records available to the writer on the Colonial period of the American Jew in Agriculture. The time was one of beginnings, modest and slow, but nevertheless important for several reasons.

The engaging of the Jew in agriculture in the United States on his own land, in complete religious and civil freedom (in most cases) represents the first time in centuries that he was permitted the privilege of purchasing land and working it himself. A second point of considerable significance lies in the fact that certain Jews at this time, although free to go into any profession that they might choose, and with full knowledge that almost anything they might do would be profitable because of the newness of the country and its unlimited opportunities, still chose to go into agriculture despite the difficulties which beset them. Inexperience hindered most of the Jews in addition to the natural proclivity on their part to be urban dwellers, having lived in cities only for so many centuries.

An emotional element presented itself as an additional

1. The Jews in Louisiana, Leo Shpall; Steeg Printing and Publishing Co., New Orleans, La., 1935, p. 6.

hardship. For the Jews who went on the land during this period it was necessary to give up practically all semblance to Judaism in their everyday lives. It was an impossibility for them to carry on the tradition of their faith when they were isolated from all other Jews and cut off from the Jewish community and its customs which had played so important a part in their lives up to this time. Indeed, this factor, which shows the willingness of the Jew to be a pioneer instead of a city dweller cannot be underestimated. It runs absolutely contrary to the situation which existed later on, when the Jews refused to go on the land unless there was at least a community of ten so as to enable them to hold their daily religious services.

The Jews of the Colonial period did not achieve notable success as agriculturists. They did succeed in paving the way for future successes. By their courage and hardiness they showed that the Jew, as well as anyone else, could be a pioneer. They showed that the Jew could overcome great handicaps and still survive in the field of agriculture. More than this, they provided an inspiration for certain far-sighted individuals who perceived how much more the Jew might be able to do with the proper education and preparation for the task of tilling the soil.

*no school in
the colonies
before 1840*

PART TWO

POST REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD---1776-1880.

GENERAL HISTORY

For the number of Jews that was living in the United States prior to 1800 there was a surprising amount of activity. There were only 2,000 Jews in the United States at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Of these 800 were in Charleston, 500 in New York, and 150 in Philadelphia. The remainder was scattered among the states in varying amounts.^{1.}

During the early part of the nineteenth century the German Jews began to come into America, first as individuals or in small groups. Later the number of immigrants increased. "Harby estimated that there were not more than 6,000 Jews in the United States in 1826."^{2.} In 1840 there were 15,000 which is an increase of 150% in fourteen years.^{3.} By 1880, statistics arranged by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations stated that there were 230,257 Jews in this country.^{4.} It is this period of immigration, from 1800 to 1880 that we shall now concern ourselves with, for it was a movement of an entirely different nature from that which followed.

The history of this post-Revolutionary period will be treated in two categories, first in a general survey and second in terms of its component parts, namely, the colonies and farm settlements that were made by Jews during that period.

There seems to be a gap in American Jewish agricultur-

1. Jewish Encyclopedia, p. 370.

2. Levine, op. cit., p. 35 ff.

3. Ibid., quoted by Levine from the American Almanac.

4. Ibid.

al history after the Revolutionary War, for although there are records of Jews serving in the War, there is no mention of their progress in farming immediately after the Revolution.

In Der Israelite, (1900), we come across an item *passim* which first saw print in 1803. It points to a matter which was destined to play a significant role in agricultural history of a later date. It reads: "The difficulties of agriculture for observant Jews, partly owing to Sunday legislation, partly to the antipathy of neighbors, are described by the son of a Jewish farmer who said that he and his brother had to sell the farm because under the conditions it was impossible to work it." This is the first notable instance of anti-semitic feeling in the experiences of the Jews engaged in agriculture. Later, in the Russian period of colonization and agricultural activity this argument was destined to play a much more important part, as it was used not only by the Jews themselves, but also by certain non-Jewish individuals who for some reason did not want the Jews to engage in agricultural activities.

In 1819 an interesting incident occurred, foreshadowing future impracticable attempts to settle Jews on the land. In that year a Mr. W. D. Robinson printed and circulated a pamphlet in London entitled "Memoir, addressed to Persons of the Jewish Religion in Europe, on the subject of ^{1.} emigration and settlement in the United States of America."

1. Daly, op. cit., pp. 92-96.

The object of this publication was to induce the wealthy Jews of Europe to unite and invest in a fund which would be used to purchase land, large enough for a considerable number of poor and indigent Jews to settle on in the upper Mississippi or Missouri territory. Upon their arrival the ghetto-freed Jews were to form an agricultural settlement. Robinson's plan was to offer each emigrant a certain number of acres of land on credit. The land was to be interest free for a certain number of years, after which time the settlers were expected to be financially able, from the profits that they were to make from their engagement in agriculture, to purchase the land upon which they had settled. Robinson also stated as a part of his plan that the Jews were to be transported free of charge from Europe to New Orleans, and from New Orleans to the settlement by way of the Mississippi River. Robinson also planned to send to the place of settlement "agricultural implements of every description to be sold to the settlers on credit."^{1.}

Rules and regulations were to be established for the purpose of governing the settlement and arranging for the return of the capital invested by the wealthy European Jews. The colony was to be run according to rules formulated by the colonists and their patrons for the best interests of both groups. Robinson had painted a picture in his pamphlet that was attractive and pleasing to the extreme. He visualized "...Jewish agriculture spreading through the American forests; Jewish towns

1. Daly, op. cit., pp. 92-96.

and villages adorning the banks of the Mississippi and Missouri ...arts, commerce, and manufactures would advance with the same rapidity in this new settlement, as had been exemplified in the agricultural regions of the United States."^{1.}

Robinson assured all of the men who were contemplating subscription to the fund that not only would they be doing certain needy people a distinct and invaluable service, but they would also be making a better investment with their money than they could otherwise make at that time. The Jews in Europe, who through their perspicacity and intelligence in making investments had piled up their wealth in the first place, did not need to be told how to invest their money. They were far in advance of Mr. Robinson in the knowledge of the means by which money could be invested most wisely.^{2.} Although they were naturally desirous to advance the condition of their less fortunate fellow religionists, the scheme was impracticable, and the Jews of Europe realized this.

The Jews who could theoretically be settled on the land were practically unfitted for agricultural work since they had no experience in the type of living that would be required of them. It would have been madness to have expected Jews, knowing not a word of English, to leave the cities which had sheltered them for so many years and to go out to the American frontier. That life was considered perilous and dangerous even by men experienced in the type of life that was

1. Daly, op. cit., pp. 92-96.

2. Ibid.

pre-requisite to successful pioneering. If these Jews, poorly equipped financially, educationally, and spiritually, as they were, had been transported to the American wilderness, the plan would have ended in disastrous failure. Fortunately Robinson's scheme miscarried shortly after its conception.^{1.}

Even the status of the Jew in the United States ran contrary to Robinson's premise. There were very few Jewish immigrants in this country in 1819. Education and habit had fixed most of those that were here in the commercial cities.^{2.}

"Those who have acquired wealth live in luxurious magnificence and consider Europe the only proper theater on which they can exist and flourish."^{3.}

The Jews who were in the United States at this time were in general of the wealthier class and followed the same vocations that occupied them in Europe. In 1819 they were the chief stock and money brokers in all of the large cities of the United States; an artisan or an agriculturist was a relatively rare person to find among the Jews.^{4.}

After Robinson's noise had died away and the objections to his scheme were forgotten, a more colorful figure arose with a scheme so fantastic that it would have made Robinson jealous. He was Major Mordecai Manuel Noah, but his pretentious name was the least of his titles.

1. Daly, op. cit., pp. 92-96.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

Projected settlements in New York State.

Although the American Jewish Yearbook calls Noah's experiment on Grand Island in the Niagara River the first effort at planting an agricultural colony in the United States consisting of Jews, we cannot fully regard the colony as such.^{1.} We have but to look at the history of the colonial period of the United States to find examples of other settlements of Jews in the nature of colonies.

The location of the colony planted by Noah is rather significant. Grand Island, in the Niagara River, is located in Erie County, New York, and has several geographical distinctions of some importance. It is an area of demonstrated agricultural quality which at the present time supports many farms. The climate is fairly warm, and the soils are of several types of loam---brown, silt, and clay loams all being present.^{2.} Grand Island is thirteen miles long and five miles wide. It divides the northwestern part of the state of New York from Canada, and is close to Niagara Falls.^{3.}

Located on the Niagara frontier, Grand Island was beautifully wooded, quiet, and isolated. It had never been used previously for agricultural purposes. Its forests were virgin. At the time of Noah's plan the island was well stocked with all kinds of wild game and animal life. The river was plentiful with fish, and the beauty of the whole district was inspiring.

1. American Jewish Yearbook, 5673, p. 56.

2. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics Map, Natural Land-Use Areas of the United States, 1933.

3. Daly, op. cit., pp. 127-132.

The island is equidistant from Lake Erie and Niagara Falls and contains 17,381 acres of land suitable for almost any type of farming that conforms to the temperature of the area.

In 1825 Grand Island was surveyed and subdivided into farm lots by the State of New York. The State announced at this time through the press that the land was to be opened for land settlement. At this point the personality of Major Mordecai Manuel Noah comes into the picture, and we must pause to consider him for a few moments.

Major Noah was a son of one of the soldiers who fought in the American Revolution and was a "pillar of the Portuguese synagogue of New York".^{1.} Mordecai Manuel Noah was a fervently patriotic American and was connected with the federal government in an official capacity during a considerable portion of his lifetime. His character seems to be erratic and rather given to spontaneous outbursts of enthusiasm for which there was not too much ground. But he was a dynamic figure and his influence on the people of his time, and the prestige that he must have had in the United States to carry through such a plan must have been considerable.

Noah fancies himself as a "judge" in Israel. ("The Judge of Israel").^{2.} As early as 1820 he had plans for the colonization of his brethren. John Quincy Adams wrote of Noah in his diary of September 7, 1820: "He has great projects for colonizing the Jews in this country and wants to be sent as

1. Hebrew Standard, January 7, 1921.

2. Lebeson, op. cit., p. 278, ff.

Charge d'Affairs to Vienna for the promotion of them." ^{1.} In this same year (1820) Noah petitioned the State Legislature of New York for a grant of land on Grand Island to be used as the ground for his colonization scheme. Although the project was given a favorable report by an investigating committee it was not passed until a later date. ^{2.}

When the area was finally surveyed and ready for settlement Major Noah was ready to go ahead with his plan again. Noah had been organizing a society for the purpose of colonizing Russian Jews since 1820 when first mention is made of his scheme. This was the "Reformed Society of Israelites". When its membership had grown from twelve to fifty members Noah felt that the time was ripe to go ahead with his plan. The first thing that he did was to purchase 2,555 acres of Grand Island for some \$17,000. This was done largely with his own money and through the contributions of the enthusiastic members of the society which he headed. The transaction was carried on through the aid of a Christian friend of Noah's---Samuel Leggett, who made the actual purchase of the territory. ^{3.}

In order to bring a Jewish note into the scheme Noah decided to call the colony Ararat, "A city of Refuge for the Jews". ^{4.} There was a novel twist to the plan of Major Noah which was unique in Jewish Agricultural history. Noah wanted the Jews to live with the North American Indians in his colony for he regarded the latter as being descendants of the Ten Lost

1. Lebeson, op. cit., p. 278, ff.

2. Ibid.

3. Hebrew Standard, January 7, 1921.

4. See plaque in the Buffalo Historical Museum, or Lebeson, op. cit., pp. 278-281.

Tribes, and so brethren to the Jews who were living in the United States also. He visualized the formation of a great agricultural and industrial community which would be the beginning of the restoration of the Jews as a nation. In this plan the Indians were to be included every step of the way because they too, according to Noah, belonged with the Jews as co-religionists.^{1.} Such a state would only be possible under the liberal laws and constitution of the United States. The ultimate plan of Noah included settlement and use of the entire island by the Jews and Indians as their city. No plan was made for further expansion.

Noah felt that the time was particularly ripe for the plan because the Erie Canal was nearing completion and would bring Grand Island into the path of the new commerce and trade that was bound to grow up when this new facilitator of transportation was finished. The frontier and backwoods would be changed when the canal afforded a contact with civilization that had not existed before. We might perhaps note here that it seems to be a general characteristic of the Jew not to want to stay in agriculture, but to improve himself as soon as possible. Here Noah saw an opportunity not only for an agricultural colony but also for a thriving industry in the future. At this point in their history the Jews can hardly be blamed for their desire to leave the soil soon after commencing work on it. America was a land of opportunity that offered chances to certain individuals who had the courage to go ahead and to take the necessary risk.

1. Daly, op. cit., pp. 127-132.

Through his paper, The National Advocate, Noah popularized his colonization idea. He publicized it to such an extent that when lots were finally put up for sale in Grand Island by the State of New York after the land had been surveyed, many capitalists who had money to invest began to buy up the property feverishly.^{1.}

Nevertheless there was a good deal of scepticism on the part of many Jews, some of whom opposed the project with all the strength of their influence.^{2.} It is highly possible that some of the opposition came as a result of the methods which Noah used to get his plan going: the setting up of himself as the central figure in the whole scheme. His personality was probably not too pleasing to many of the Jews of the time who were not as ready to accept him as "The Judge in Israel" as he was in proclaiming himself such. Noah did gain one very valuable disciple. This was A. B. Seixas of New York who was a member of one of the earliest Jewish families in the United States, and also one of the most respected. In August, 1825, Noah, the "Jewish Don Quixote" and his "Sancho Panza" Mr. Seixas left New York for Buffalo where they were to dedicate the cornerstone of the colony. Buffalo was then a small town of some 2,500 inhabitants.^{3.} The cornerstone read as follows:

Shema Yisroel Adonai Elohenu Adonai Echod
Ararat
A City of Refuge for the Jews
Founded by Mordecai Manuel Noah in the Month of Tishri
September, 1825, and in the
Fiftieth Year of
American Independence.^{4.}

1. Lebeson, op. cit., pp. 278-281.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., the transliterated Hebrew in the stone is the writer's.

On September 1, 1825, following his return from the Buffalo dedication, Noah issued a manifesto to the Jews of the entire world appointing himself Governor and Judge in Israel and ruler over seven million Jews of the world.^{1.}

The proclamation issued by Noah at this time reads in part as follows:

"Whereas, in fulfillment of the promise made to the race of Jacob, they are gathered together from the four corners of the world and to resume their part among the governments of the earth. Therefore, I, Mordecai Manuel Noah, citizen of the United States, late Consul to Tunis, High Sheriff of the City of New York, and Counsellor-at-law, by the Grace of God Governor and Judge of Israel, have issued this proclamation."^{2.}

The paper goes on to tell of the great advantages of the State of New York for the plan because of the fertility of the soil and the pleasantness and healthfulness of the climate. The beauties of Grand Island were extolled. It was described as a place where the Jews

"...can till the land, reap the harvest, raise their flocks, and enjoy their religion with peace and plentyin His name who brought us out of the land of Egypt I revive, renew, and reestablish the government of the Jewish nation and enjoin it upon all Rabbis, Elders of Synagogues, Chiefs of Colleges, and all of the brethren in authority throughout the world, to circulate this, my proclamation announcing to the Jews that an asylum has been provided for them. It is my will that a census of the Jews be taken throughout the globe and the returns registered in the Synagogues. Those who from infirmity or any other cause are willing to remain where they are, are allowed to do so, but are to encourage the emigration of the young and enterprising so as to add to the strength of the restored nation."^{3.}

In addition to these decrees Noah commanded that strict neutrality be observed by the Jews with reference to the

1. Daly, op. cit., pp. 127-132.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

war between the Greeks and the Turks which was threatening at that time. "Those ~~who~~ were engaged in military service may remain." Polygamy was abolished. Prayers were to be read in Hebrew. A tax of three shekels, amounting to about \$1.00 in the coinage of the day, was imposed upon every Jew in the world annually.^{1.}

Historians differ as to the day that was set for the inauguration of the colony. Daly puts the date as the fifteenth of September^{2.} while Mrs. Lebeson states that the inauguration took place on the second of September, 1825.^{3.}

On the day of the inauguration of the colony it was found that there were not enough boats in Buffalo to carry all the interested spectators to Grand Island to witness the ceremony. Therefore the service was transferred to Buffalo where it was held in the Episcopal Church in that town.^{4.}

The large crowd that witnessed the ceremony was a fit testimonial to the amount of time and energy that Noah had spent in publicizing this event. Not only did Noah plan the whole affair, but he also made sure that he was to be the chief actor in the event, and that a sympathetic account would go down in the future accounts of the proceedings. For Noah himself was the reporter who wrote up the affair in the Buffalo Patriot, from which a full account is available.^{5.}

At ten o'clock on the morning of September 2nd, 1825, the Masonic and military escort met, and at eleven the process-

1. Daly, op. cit., pp. 127-132.

2. Ibid.

3. Lebeson, op. cit., pp. 278-281.

4. Daly, ibid.

5. Lebeson, ibid.

ion began its march to the church where the ceremony was being held. The paraders were dressed in full Masonic and military regalia, and a Jewish flag was at the head of the procession. In the midst of the paraders was Noah, dressed as a Judge in Israel should be dressed. He wore black with the judicial robes that were of crimson silk and were trimmed with ermine. A gold medal, beautifully made and richly embossed hung from his neck as he majestically walked down the street in his full splendour. The group entered the Buffalo Episcopal Church to the music of the Grand March from Judas Maccabeus.^{1.} After the grand entrance a prayer was delivered by the Episcopal clergyman and passages were read from the Old Testament.^{2.}

Noah then began his sermon which "filled more than five columns of the large sized journals of the day", which, according to Daly, a contemporary Buffalo newspaper (the Buffalo Patriot, already mentioned by us) declared contained details of the deepest interest to which the crowded listeners^{3.} listened with rapt attention.^{4.} Daly neglects to remark that the reason the newspaper account was so favorable was that Noah had written the piece himself, in addition to being the publisher of the whole of his oration.^{5.}

The oration consisted of an account of the Jews in the various countries in which they had settled, and an exposition of Noah's scheme for their restoration as a nation.^{6.}

1. Lebeson, op. cit., pp. 278-281.

2. Daly, op. cit., pp. 127-132.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Lebeson, ibid.

6. Ibid.

The "Judge" looked upon himself as the heaven-sent instrument to bring about the restoration of the Jewish state. He stated that he was "born in a free country and educated in liberal principles"^{1.} which he felt was the prime qualification for the leadership he had assumed. He continued:

"...I am familiar with all the duties of government, having enjoyed the confidences of my fellow-citizens in various public trusts, ardently attached to the principles of our holy faith, and thus fitted to lead such a venture to success....I indulge in no chimerical views. I know this country, its soils, climate, and resources, and confidently embark in the undertaking....I am urged by strong and irresistible impulse; the project has always presented itself to me in the most cheerful light, the most alluring colors; and if the attempt shall result in ameliorating the condition of the Jews and shall create a generous and liberal feeling toward them and open to them avenues of science, learning, fame, honor, and happiness, who shall say that I have failed? I ask the trial and will abide the result....A few pilgrims driven to our country by European persecution have laid the foundations of a great empire. We have less difficulties to encounter because we are surrounded by civilization. ...The time has emphatically arrived to do something calculated to benefit our own condition and to excite the admiration of the World, and we must commence the work in a country free from ignoble prejudices and legal disqualifications---a country in which liberty can be insured to the Jews without the loss of one drop of blood."^{2.}

After the speech was delivered Noah made the following proclamation similar to the one made when he dedicated the cornerstone for the colony some two weeks previous to this ceremony:

"...the Jews are to be gathered from the four quarters of the globe and to resume the rank and character as one of the governments upon the earth ...to be restored to their inheritance and enjoy the rights of a sovereign independent people. There-

1. Hebrew Standard, January 7, 1921.
2. Ibid.

fore I, Mordecai Manuel Noah, citizen of the United States of America...and by the Grace of God, Governor and Judge of Israel have issued this my proclamation announcing to the Jews throughout the world that an asylum is prepared and hereby offered to them, where they can enjoy that peace, comfort, and happiness, which has been denied them through the intolerance and misgovernment of former ages."¹.

The exercises closed with the choir singing "Before Jehovah's Awful Throne".² following the hymn a salvo of twenty-four guns was fired and a monument of brick and wood was unveiled which was later to be erected on the island itself.³.

The result of all this ballyhoo and publicity was nothing more than some favorable accounts in a number of newspapers and a revival of the interest in the plight of the European Jew, on the part of Christians who had never thought of them before. An article appearing in the Christian Gazette presents a good example of contemporary non-Jewish sentiment referring to Noah's project:

"Here they can have their Jerusalem without fearing the pogroms of Titus...Here they can lay their heads on their pillows at night without the fear of mobs, of bigotry, or persecution."⁴.

The Jews, however, had an entirely different attitude toward Noah's scheme. They ridiculed Noah and cast all sorts of aspersions against him, and utterly repudiated his plan.⁵ The European Rabbis refused to sanction any part of

1. Lebeson, op. cit., pp. 278-281.

2. Daly, op. cit., pp. 127-132.

3. Ibid.

4. Quoted from Lebeson, ibid.

5. Ibid.

the plan or to recognize Noah as a "Judge in Israel". To them he was an ignorant man trying to usurp their power, and so they refused to support him in any way.^{1.} Thus the proclamation of Noah was completely ignored and the tax that he had imposed on all of the Jews of the world was never paid. Without European support the plan could not go ahead, and of course it was abandoned.^{2.}

One might think that Noah would have become embittered or disillusioned at the failure of his co-religionists to take up his plan. But he did not. He was a clever and witty man and saw that no good could come from his being angry at people not responding to what had been a sincere bit of work on his part. So, through the columns of his newspaper he replied to all of the remarks and caustic criticisms that came to him with a humorous and whimsical manner and did not allow himself to become angry or irritated about the way in which his project had turned out. By his actions he did not lose any prestige nor position either politically or socially. He was known to be eccentric and the affair was looked upon by those in America as the climax of his eccentricity.^{3.}

Perhaps Noah has been dealt with rather harshly at the hands of history. His certainly was not a selfish plan for he lost a good deal of money and stood to lose a great measure of his political influence. He was sincere in his beliefs, and, even though the colony did not materialize he

1. Daly, op. cit., pp. 127-132.

2. Ibid.

3. Lebeson, op. cit., pp. 278-281.

persisted in his lofty ideas. He thought the the settlement might eventually be used for a training school for future Palestinian settlers.^{1.}

During the course of years the impetus that the movement had was gradually lost and finally disappeared. Today, all that remains of the colonial scheme of Major Mordecai Manuel Noah, Governor and Judge of all Israel, are the remains of the cornerstone which repose in the Buffalo Historical Museum where they are preserved.^{2.}

Coincident with the Ararat project came another plan for colonization of the Jew in America. A scheme which illustrates the attitude of the early nineteenth century Christian toward the Jews in a slightly different light was plotted concurrently with the project of Mordecai Manuel Noah. This plan was known as "An Early American Hebrew-Christian Agricultural Colony"^{3.} but its name was rather misleading as we shall see.

A project for bringing the poor and persecuted Jews of Europe together in one colony where they would enjoy the rights and privileges of the New World was promoted by American societies for the conversion of Jews to Christians in 1824. In that year a committee was appointed by the American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jew, consisting of such well-known and prominent men as Elias Boudinot, John Quincy Adams, General Stephen Van Rensselaer, James Wadsworth, and Peter A.

1. Lebeson, op. cit., pp. 278-281.

2. Daly, op. cit., pp. 127-132.

3. American Jewish Historical Society Publications, Vol. XXII, pp. 184-186.

Jay. "The Jews who came to the settlement were to be principally employed in agricultural and mechanical operations"... and..."in order to facilitate this object the Board shall procure as much land as will afford a site for the necessary buildings, and the contemplated mechanical and agricultural operations."¹

Several provisions were made to apply to the government and general operation of the settlement.

"A farm shall be stocked and furnished with suitable implements of husbandry. The produce of the farm shall be considered common stock for the support of the different members of the settlement, and an experienced farmer shall be placed thereon to manage its concerns. All the members of the settlement are to be considered as a band of brethren, governed by the laws of our Divine Redeemer and are associated together for the purpose of aiding each other in the concerns of life that now is, and of that which is to come."²

The second annual report of the Board of Directors made in 1824 stated with respect to the agricultural and mechanical elements of the plan:

"It is a matter of undisputed Scriptural History that no nation was ever more attached to agriculture than the Jews in Palestine; and that it was only in the short period in which Solomon sent his ships from Ezion Zaber to Opher that they engaged in commerce. And though it must be conceded that since their dispersion no people was ever so averse to agriculture; yet it must be permitted to assign the true reason, a reason which the objector will not deny and which will justify us in the course which we intend to pursue. It is this: because the Jews in their dispersion have almost everywhere been denied the privilege of acquiring and cultivating land. Commerce, therefore, was the only road left open to them, particularly the retail trade, which as it offers only small and precarious profits, naturally produces a rapacious disposition. The result of a fair experiment will no doubt

1. American Jewish Historical Society Publications, Vol. XXII, pp. 184-186.

2. Ibid.

prove that the character of the Jew, like that of all other men, is the effect of education and circumstances; and that they have only to be restored to the privilege of acquiring real estate, a privilege which is secured to them in this free and happy country, in order to revive all that love of cultivating the soil and all the delight in pastoral occupations, which has characterized them on the mountain of Gilboa, and the vales of Bethlehem."¹

While the agents of the society were looking about for a suitable tract of land for the project a house and three acres of land were hired as a temporary location. This property was about three miles from New York City. It was to be used "as a place of reception for such Jews as may from time to time come to this country, where accomodation will be provided for them as one family, at the expense of the Society; and whence, at their option, they may locate on our agricultural establishment or engage elsewhere in employment under the auspices of the Board".²

It is interesting for us to note today that one of the reasons given for the belief that the work of the Society deserved encouragement was that: "...we, (the Christian world), owe them, (the Jews), too, reparations for the wrongs they have suffered at the hands of the Christians. All the Christian nations of the Old World are deep in the guilt of persecuting the Jews; and for this they need national expiation."³

In 1825 the Board of Directors reported in their third report that a suitable location had been found for the colonization project, and that a farm had been leased. It con-

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1. American Jewish Historical Society Publications, loc. cit.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid.

sisted of about 400 acres of land and was located in the town of Harrison, Westchester County, New York, about thirty-one miles from New York City and about three and one-half miles from the landing at Sawpit on the East River. The land was leased for a term of anywhere from one to seven years. At this meeting of the Society steps were also taken to appoint European Agents for the dissemination⁵ of information about the colony in the European countries with large Jewish populations. Other measures were also taken to acquaint the Jews with the enterprise and to encourage their conversion and their migration to this new haven set up for them. At its height the Society numbered some 200 branches throughout the United States.^{1.}

it is not surprising to learn that it took just one year for the society to give up its plan and to abandon the lease that it had taken on land in Westchester county. There was a complete lack of response upon the part of the Jews in Europe who seemed to feel that the American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jew was not entirely sincere. They thought that the society should not have insisted upon conversion but should have allowed anyone, convert or not, to come in if interested in agriculture or the trades. The Society completely gave up all hope and evidently forgot for the rest of its existence its one time desire to convert Jews on a large scale.^{2.}

1. American Jewish Historical Society Publications, Vol. XXII, pp. 184-186.

2. Ibid.

No further fantasies attracted any attention for the next few years. The only agricultural activities were practical ones. It was not until 1843 that another suggestion was offered by a Jewish idealist, a suggestion that must be included in our discussion of plans that failed to materialize.

Julius Stern expressed the wish that a considerable number of German Jews might migrate to the United States and found a colony in some of the western territories. Stern felt that the greatest number of people could learn to cherish their new fatherland most easily if engaged in agriculture. He also felt that they would be able to achieve economic security in this pursuit more readily than in any other. This goal would be easily accomplished if "a number of Israelites were to purchase a large tract of land in one of the western territories where Congress disposes of land at \$1.25 an acre".^{1.} Stern advocated a central community for those not engaged in agriculture, to be surrounded by farms with each farmer living on his own farm. The community was to be paid for by money advanced by Jewish philanthropy and the land would be mortgaged. Stern also emphasized the spiritual aspect of the idea, namely, that farming would develop a nation of Jews without the complexes they usually acquired when they were forced to compete with prejudiced Gentiles in city work. A successful colony of this kind would disprove the common belief that Jews were too lazy to till the ground. Factory work was to form another branch of the agricultural work. This was to include preparation of cattle for market, (salted provisions); the manufac-

1. Occident, April, 1843, vol. 1, No. 1.)

ture of flour, butter, wool, and other kinds of manufactured goods to be brought in when the Jews became proficient in handwork to manage their production satisfactorily.

The ultimate purpose of the colony suggested by Stern was the creation of a Jewish State in the United States. Here the Jews would have their own legislature and laws. If the formation of an all-Jewish state were found to be impossible, he felt that there should at least be certain Jewish boroughs with their own municipal legislation, and their own officials.

For a Jewish State a population of at least 70,680 was required. This number would comply with all federal requirements and would place the government in the hands of the residents---the Jews.

Stern made the final point that the educational advantages of raising Jewish youth with the Jewish idealism of ethics, laws, and Jewish learning might be achieved in a manner^{1.} so thorough as to be unattainable in any other way.

Rabbi Ldeser, the editor of the Occident, commented on Stern's article emphasizing the following considerations:

Since the Jews were not educated in agricultural methods and in farming practices they would need the assistance of those who were so equipped. The only people available in America for such a purpose were non-Jews. Were they to reside and work among the Jews the purpose of the community would be defeated before it could even start, for it would not be the all Jewish settlement which was the main purpose of Stern's

1. Occident, April, 1843, Vol. I., No. 1.

plan. The editor of the Occident also made the point that the scheme would not work for the reason that Jewish criminal laws would conflict with the criminal laws of the federal government. Thus, the Jewish criminal laws would need modifying. Their civil laws, too, would have to be subject to a tribunal which might or might not respect the Jewish point of view in any given matter of law. He further believed that not enough Jews would come to form such a State. There would not be as much enthusiasm as Stern felt, for the Jews would tend to regard the whole thing as an attempt at ghettoization. The editor in conclusion stated that he felt that communities alone, and not states, would have to satisfy the Jews' desire to be with others of their own kind, so long as they were as widely scattered as at the time that he was writing.^{1.}

It was only a matter of time until the Jews who were living, and had been living in the United States would commence to think about the agricultural problem, and to realize its implication to their position in the United States. They soon began to be interested enough to have articles written in contemporary newspapers and to have such men as Isaac M. Wise, as editor of the American Israelite become interested in the subject of the American Jew as engaged in agriculture. Thus we find the following article reprinted in the Israelite from the New York Sun, entitled Jews and Agriculture.

"Concerning the statement that there are about 17,000 Israelites in the United States and among all not one is engaged in agriculture, an Exchange asserts, that if there be none who till the soil with their

1. Occident, April, 1843, Vol. I., No. 1.

own hands, there are many who own land and oversee its cultivation. One of the greatest planters in Kentucky, Mr. Benjamin Gratz, an old personal friend of the late Mr. Henry Clay, is an Israelite; while in South Carolina, Georgia, and other states, there are many of that ancient faith extensively engaged in agriculture. Hon. M. Benjamin of Louisiana, is also extensively engaged in sugar planting, and has written a standard essay upon the culture and chemistry of that staple." ¹

Continuing in this somewhat chauvinistic fashion the article explains why there were so few Jews in agriculture using the traditional argument of their being away from the soil for such a long time through compulsion, and thus being unable to return to it when given the opportunity to do so. "Self preservation has compelled them (the Jews) to adopt commerce as their almost universal means to gain a livelihood....Without attempting to lessen the benefits of farming we must also assert, that commerce is as requisite to develop the resources of our country as agriculture." ²

The Israelite had considerable to add to the report in the New York Sun mentioning specific Jews who were at the time engaged in agriculture as practical farmers. Among them were Uriah Levy, owner of Monticello, (Jefferson's homestead); B. Behrend of Narrowsburg, New York; J. Kaffenburg of Bethlehementown, New York; Dr. Rodrigos of Charlestown, South Carolina, and many others. The writer of the article in the Israelite at that time also found objections to other statements made by the New York Sun, disagreeing with the population figure given and setting it at 100,000, five times as many as was

1. American Israelite, August 18, 1854.

2. Ibid.

given by the New York paper, or any other source, for that matter.^{1.}

These were only a few specific cases. But despite the seeming apathetic attitude of the Jew toward agriculture as a profession, among large groups of Jews in the east the first signs were seen of an attempt to encourage more of their co-religionists to take up the plow as a means of livelihood. Periodicals such as the Occident began to come out in favor of the Jew's engaging in agriculture, and reports such as the following began to appear in the Jewish press of the time:

"There exists in New York City an association under the presidency of Sigismund Waterman, M.D., for the promotion of agriculture among Israelites in America....it is needless for us to repeat that we should be happy to see Israelites resorting to the tillage of the soil in lieu of engaging so generally in trade of various kinds, education and labor being the best means to elevate the character of our or any other nation."^{2.}

It is interesting to note the difference in tone between this publication and the American Israelite which stood firm as long as it could in its defence of the Jew's not worrying too much about agriculture. The American Israelite was finally forced to take an active part in the agricultural movement, and after its about-face that publication did all it possibly could to assume responsibility and leadership in the promotion of agriculture among Jews.

The organization which the Occident mentioned above was the Hebrew Agricultural Society of New York which was one of the earliest of agricultural societies dealing actively with

1. American Israelite, August 18, 1854.

2. Occident, April, 1856, Vol. XIV, p. 311.

the problem of settling the American Jew on the land.

Although the agricultural societies dealing with the return of the Jew to the soil will be dealt with individually and at length later in this paper, we must consider the Hebrew Agricultural Society at the present time since it is mentioned earlier and in more detail than any other society until the time of the Russian immigration to the United States.

The American Israelite's account of the Society in 1856 gave not only the statutes governing it, but also an insight into the main reasons for its formation.

For centuries the feeling had prevailed, according to the Israelite, that commerce was the only pursuit which Jews cared to follow and which fitted their peculiar personalities. This feeling is erroneous and contrary to the records of history. In no way are Hebrews restrained from entering agriculture either by the laws of the Bible or by personal preference. The Scriptures constantly speak of the delights of an agricultural life. Many of its prominent personalities are engaged in agriculture as a sole means of livelihood. In general, agriculture is pictured as a happy and satisfying profession, pleasing to one's own soul and to God as well. So far as personal preference is concerned, when the Jew had the opportunity to own land he did so and enthusiastically tilled it and enjoyed the fruits of his labors.^{1.}

The Israelite continued, blaming "dark fanaticism and relentless persecution"^{2.} for the failure of the Jew to enter in-

1. American Israelite, January 25, 1856.

2. Ibid.

to farming in recent times. In the United States, however, a new era was coming. "The Israelite, no longer the pariah of the world, conceives that a new field has been opened for his inborn activity and energy, and it is this large comprehensive view of our future destiny, which has called this institution (the Hebrew Agricultural Society) into existence."^{1.}

The principal statutes governing the Hebrew Agricultural Society follow:

"1. It is the aim and object of this association to encourage and promote agriculture amongst the Israelites of America. To provide the poor and friendless with the means necessary to engage in, and pursue this honorable occupation; as also to give them an opportunity to acquire all the technical and practical information necessary for it.

"2. As soon as the funds of the association shall amount to \$3,000, a tract of land may be purchased for the purpose of establishing thereon a Jewish colony; the said colony to be under the direction of a supervisor who must be a scientific and practical farmer.

"3. The colony shall be open to receive able-bodied Israelites who are disposed to follow agricultural pursuits. They shall there be well treated, their material wants attended to, and employed according to their different capacities. They shall also receive ample instruction in the different branches of Horticulture, Agriculture, and if practicable, in Botany.

"4. Inducements will be held out to all those who excel in good behaviour, industry, and practical acquirements, by awarding them premiums commensurate with the means of the association.

"5. Wages earned by the operatives shall be entered to their credit, and the amount after deducting expenses shall be credited to them either in land or otherwise as the Board of Directors shall determine.

"6. Until the means of the association shall warrant the carrying out of this fundamental principle

1. American Israelite, January 25, 1856.

due exertions shall be made to place such young men as shall apply under the care of competent farmers.

"7. They shall be taught the principles of agriculture and horticulture, so as to be useful whenever their services shall be required by the association

"8. In order to secure the necessary funds shares shall be issued for \$12.00 each, said \$12.00 to be paid by monthly installments of one dollar. Shareholders wishing to continue as members of the association shall pay \$3.00 per annum for each succeeding year, and at the end of every fourth year another share shall be delivered to them.

"9. Donations will also be received. Any liberal donation will entitle the donor to a life membership.

"10. Members six months in arrears shall not be entitled to vote or hold office in the association.

"11. Applications for membership shall be received in the first week of each month.

"12. Whatever may be the number of his shares no member shall be entitled to more than one vote. 1.

There are several points that should be noted in this constitution of the Hebrew Agricultural Society as giving a clearer insight into the real workings of the society than that which appears immediately, and superficially.

To begin with, this society, like many of its successors, regarded agriculture as a poor man's profession. The organization was put strictly on a charity basis although it tried to make some show of having the colonists pay back what had been loaned to them. We shall see later one or two instances when the agricultural societies did not operate in this manner, and at that time we will better be able to judge the relative

1. American Israelite, January 25, 1856.

effectiveness. The point that is to be made here is this: By directing their efforts toward colonization at a group of people who were poverty stricken and who really had nothing else to which to turn, the Society was doing a very dangerous thing. It pasted a label of opprobrium upon the men who turned to agriculture because they were not successful in anything else. This practice kept many people away who were genuinely interested in agriculture. Young men and women of the Jewish faith hesitated to enter agricultural colleges which were just beginning because they saw only the poor and the miserable engaged in farming. It was a natural reaction on their part to turn to something with more concrete evidence of potential success.

If we stress but one point now, and make that point clear at the outset, one of the basic purposes of this paper will be clear. Agriculture must not be for the very poor, nor for the very rich. It must be the answer for that great number of people who are constantly striving to lift themselves up, but all too often fail in their attempt. And so we feel that the Society made a mistake at this early date in favoring agriculture only for those of the Jews who had made a failure of everything else. It was obvious that these spiritless people would make another failure in farming, since there is much more to successful husbandry than plowing some ground and dropping a few seeds onto it which will later produce lush crops.

The Hebrew Agricultural Society was to be run on a cooperative basis. This was also characteristic of following agricultural organizations, and all too often this plan forced a few industrious people to do all the work for those who had

never worked and never intended to do so.

In 1856, as two years before, the Israelite again found it necessary to print a refutation to the charge that there were not very many, if any Jews engaged in agriculture. The following account tells of Jewish farmers in 1856:

"While travelling in the west we conversed with several of them, although not stopping much in the country. We will mention some names. In Morris, Illinois, we met Mr. Samuel Frank, a hard laboring farmer who is a Jew and who informed us of having a Jewish neighbor, Mr. Jacobs, also a farmer. We met in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Mr. Nathan Perles, and paid him a visit on his farm in the vicinity. This gentleman is a Jew, an industrious operative and an extensive land owner. In Schleisingsville, Wisconsin, we met a gentleman, B. S. Weil, Esq., who is also a farmer and an extensive landowner. This gentleman was for the last ten years a member of the Wisconsin legislature, and was this year re-elected Senator notwithstanding that no other Jew lives in this district. There are but a few Jews in the western country who do not buy land or building lots as soon as they have a few dollars to spare. All of them are sincerely attached to the spots where they live. Jews are no longer strangers in this western country...hence it may be imagined that many will turn to agriculture, as this is the most profitable business and at the same time the safest and easiest occupation, claiming but half a man's time."

We must not take too seriously the last few words of the writer in the Israelite for few people would ever suggest agriculture as being the most profitable, safest, and easiest profession that a man could engage in. It is apparent that the Jews soon found other professions more appealing to them than agriculture in the west, and turned to follow them instead. For it is not until the 1880's and the Russian colonization frenzy that we find any large numbers of Israelites turning to the soil as a means of livelihood.

1. American Israelite, August 22, 1856.

The next item that comes to our attention in this period of beginnings is another article in the Occident pointing to agriculture as a means of solving the employment problem for additional Jews coming to this country.

The Occident opined that the time was approaching when business would no longer offer the Jews the opportunities that it did in 1857, and around that general period. What to turn to? Agriculture! Thus the Occident went on record as favoring the formation of associations for the encouragement of agriculture and the trades wherever Israelites were in the United States. The periodical suggested that a large tract of land be purchased somewhere in the western states by a joint stock company to be formed by the Israelites in favor of this scheme. The land, after having been bought, would be leased out or sold to those Jews who were willing to engage in agriculture and who could give assurance that they would do so upon the land which was to be leased or sold to them at cost or at a small advance in cost. The agricultural company would erect cabins for the occupancy of the new agriculturist in different sections of the land that had been purchased. It would also supply farming tools, draft, and other domestic animals as well as experienced agriculturists who would give the necessary instruction to the colonists who were not accustomed to agriculture as a profession. "A farming population could keep the Sabbath; would be surrounded with nobler influences than a mere trading one; and associated labor, such as a body of mechanics in a Jewish settlement...might set an example of devotion to our faith in the western hemisphere

which would defy comparison with anything now seen in the eastern....We would thus promote the real welfare of our brothers and elevate their characters, both physical and moral."^{1.}

The suggestion apparently came to nothing for there are no records of an agricultural settlement being formed following the initiative of the Occident, nor did any Jewish joint stock company purchase any great tracts of western lands.

In 1860 an event took place in Europe which was to have a great effect on many Jews as time went on. This was the formation of the Alliance Israelite Universelle. It was founded in 1860 by six Jews in Paris and had the following program:

The Alliance Israelite Universelle was to work everywhere for the emancipation and the moral progress of the Jews, not only in Europe itself, but all over the world. Another of its purposes was to give support and relief to those Jews who were suffering from persecution merely because they were Jews. A third was to encourage the continuation of all sorts of publications which were also working for these ends. The Alliance, a responsible and well run organization, was supported enthusiastically almost from its inception. It was supported by the donations it received. By 1898 it had a membership of 22,000.^{2.}

Around 1860 we find that the American Israelite had back-tracked considerable distance from its originally pessimistic attitude toward agriculture, and was, in 1860, encouraging agriculture as a favorable profession in contrast to commerce or industry.

1. Occident, April, 1857, Vol. XV, pp. 277-283

2. Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. I, pp. 413-414.

"The Mosaic laws were intended for an agricultural and not for a commercial people....Worst of all classes the merchant is situated. He is the servant of his customers and the slave of his business...why should your children choose an occupation which by circumstances is the least favored and least beneficial to human nature? Therefore we say turn your children's attention from commerce. ...This is an agricultural country. Our wealth consists...exclusively of the agricultural and mineral wealth of the country."¹

In the general account of the post-Revolutionary period which we have just concluded, we have noted a change in the position of the Jew in American agriculture. The trend was that from a society unconcerned with agricultural pursuits to one which became acutely concerned with the problem of agriculture and the Jew during the course of a very few years. We shall appreciate the significance of this change when we consider the period of Russian immigration, for it is then that the true interest in agricultural settlements overshadowed all other movements among Jews in the magnitude of its scope. But so far we have seen this period only in its generalities. It now remains to get down to particular locations and see just what the Jew did in agriculture from 1775 to 1880.

We shall deal with four parts of the country in this section; the east, the midwest, the south, and the west.

1. American Israelite, November 9, 1860.

NEW YORK

Following the Revolutionary War and the emergence of a United States, the first mention of Jewish agriculturists occurs in 1837, in New York State. As early as that date there were two or three Jewish farmers settled on farms in Wawarsing, Ulster County, New York. By the following year the settlement had grown to ten families. They remained there for a while but in time they grew discouraged, and for reasons not mentioned they returned to the city.^{1.}

In 1838, the same year that this settlement was abandoned, another group of Jewish colonists came into the same area. Eleven Jews bought land in that year in Ulster County, New York, and founded a colony named Sholam, or Sholom. These colonists were educated people, generally of a higher calibre than their predecessors in Wawarsing. They were interested in the arts, and in music, and brought with them fine paintings and elaborate household furnishings. Perhaps the underlying reason for their subsequent failure is the fact that they attempted to live on a much higher scale than the average farmer was accustomed to. One of the first things that these colonists did after they had been settled for a very short time was to address a plea for help in erecting a synagogue to the Shearith Israel congregation in New York city. Nothing was done about this request of the colonists. For four years they struggled on, trying to make headway against the deep forests

1. Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society Report, 1908, p. 18.

and the roughness of the pioneer life to which they were so unaccustomed. Their aesthetic tastes were of little use to them in clearing land or in cultivating crops. Their musical and artistic longings did not help them build houses to shelter themselves and the beautiful furniture which they had brought along with them. Finally, in 1842, the settlers saw that they could not possibly make a success of the project, and abandoned their colony. They returned to New York discouraged and disappointed.^{1.}

The reasons for the failure of this small settlement are quite obvious. To begin with, the people had absolutely no knowledge of farming beforehand. It would seem from the type of goods that they brought along with them that they were dilettantes, much too soft to live successfully off the land. Besides having no experience it seems that they spent most of what little money they had in buying the luxuries which were of such little use to them on their farms. These people were Russian immigrants. The project was done entirely on their own initiative, and under the leadership of one Moses Cohen. During the years of the progress of the colony, or "existence" is perhaps the better word, it grew until it numbered some thirteen families each on its own tract of land.^{2.}

We shall see later how a successful Jewish agriculture was finally built up in Ulster county, so perhaps these initial efforts were not completely in vain.

1. Lebeson, op. cit., p. 266.

2. American Jewish Yearbook, 5673, pp. 56-57.

Schemes for large agricultural settlements of Jews in America now died down for a while but we begin to find more mention of Jews engaged in agriculture. These Jews were usually isolated farmers going into the field entirely independently and without any outside encouragement. In many instances they achieved a measure of success as we shall see as we take them up individually. Naturally it is impossible to go into a complete history of every farmer in this early period of their residence on land in the United States. We have selected, therefore, some of the more important farmers as representative of the movement.

There occurs in the Occident of April, 1858, an account of Benjamin Etting Hays' death and a brief history of his life and his character. The article states that at the time of his death at Pleasantville, Westchester County, New York, he was the only Jewish farmer in the United States. His forefathers had emigrated from Holland with the first settlers who came to America. They had come in their own vessels and with their own livestock and agricultural implements to farm in this country as they had done in Holland. The Hys family settled at New Rochelle and remained plain farmers, completely unassuming, and adhering rigorously to Jewish laws. For this religious strictness on their part they were highly regarded by their Gentile neighbors, as they were also highly esteemed for their wealth, their industry, and their honesty, as well as their devotion to their adopted country as shown by their willingness to respond to the needs of their country before they

asked to do so. "They left the 'forgotten' sheaf for the widow, the fatherless, and the hungry. They never gleaned their fields or went over their trees twice."^{1.}

During one winter the kindness of Benjamin Hays to a Methodist minister who was having a hard time making a living won him the name of the best "Christian" in the region.^{2.} Hays observed all the rituals of the Jewish religion; he kept the Sabbath although it was difficult for him to do so when all those about him were working. He prayed three times a day. He had learned the art of ritual slaughtering from his father, and whenever there was an animal to be killed it was brought to him. The reason for this was that several families had to club together when they wanted to kill an animal for otherwise the meat would largely go to waste. And as they wanted "Uncle Ben to be able to partake" they brought the animal to him to be slaughtered according to the Jewish laws of slaughtering.^{3.} This shows the great respect that his neighbors held for the man and for his strict adherence to the principles of his religion.

This account is particularly interesting and enlightening because it shows so clearly the attitude of the early colonists toward their Jewish neighbors, and illustrates that the position of the Jew during the early days of the Republic was one of dignity and honor.

This ends the post-Revolutionary period of Jewish

1. Accident, Vol. XVI, p. 363, April, 1858.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

agricultural history in the east. It was a lively period and one of considerable importance as definite precedents were established in it which were to carry on into later history. But so far as the eastern part of the United States is concerned its most active period of development came much later. Let us now turn to the midwest where a surprising amount of agricultural activity was going on among Jews in the early days of the nineteenth century.

IOWA

Among the first mention of the Jews in the midwest is an account of a Jewish farmer leaving South Carolina to turn to the fertile fields of Iowa. As early as 1837, when the Indians were still living in Iowa one D. Morris came from South Carolina and laid claim to land in the western part of Jefferson County near Locust Grove. He has the record of being the most favored white settler among the Indians although he never gave them any liquor to win their favor. He was engaged in agriculture and was not interested in any other activity. We should note that he was engaged in a subsistence type of farming and did not particularly care to sell his products in nearby cities or settlements.^{1.}

In 1860 we find mention of another Jewish farmer in Iowa. This man was I. J. Brody who was also a merchant of considerable wealth in Elliott, Iowa, where he served in the city council. "Besides his merchandising he owns 600 acres of land

1. Glazer, op. cit., pp. 160-161.

which gives him also an honorable place among the few Jewish farmers of the State."^{1.}

ILLINOIS

Leaving Iowa we turn to Illinois where, it is found, there was a group of Jews with agricultural ambitions as early as 1841 or 1842. About that time a group of Bavarian Jews who were living temporarily in Chicago delegated a Mr. Meyer to go to Schaumburg, Illinois, and to make a report on the agricultural possibilities in that location. He went there and was evidently impressed with the location, for he declared the section to be one "in which milk and honey is flowing, especially for tillers of the soil".^{2.} Either the Bavarian Jews did not trust Mr. Meyer's enthusiastic report, or else they changed their minds about taking up agriculture for they decided to stay in Chicago, and to give up their agricultural plans for the time at least.^{3.}

Later on in the nineteenth century there comes to our attention some information pertaining to a certain Michael Hinrichsen who farmed in Lincoln, Illinois. He belonged to that group of farmers who devoted their entire time to agriculture, and all of what they possessed was a result of their successful tilling of the soil. Hinrichsen owned 1,100 acres of farming land every bit of which he had under cultivation in

1. Glazer, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

2. *The Hebrews in America*, Isaac Markens; Published by the author, New York, 1888; p. 105.

3. *Ibid.*

1879. Besides the farm land which he owned he also had some houses and real estate in town which he had purchased with the profits from his successful farming. Hinrichsen was one of the most influential men in Lincoln because of his success and his^{1.} general personality.

He began his farm life as a simple farm laborer, saving a little money as he went along until he had \$25.00. When he had that much money he married. Upon his marriage, at an early age, he rented a piece of ground to work for himself. He spent \$17.00 of his small savings to build and furnish a log house, and with the rest he and his wife started their life together. In a few years he had paid the owner of his rented land what it was worth and took it over for himself. This he was able to do from the profits he derived from his farming. Throughout this time he had lived off the land, and had also paid rent for his ground. His was more than subsistence farming for he raised food not only for himself but for sale as well, thus enabling himself to buy the property on which he was living as a tenant. During the course of time he purchased land that was contiguous to his until he became owner of the 1,100 acres of land which in 1879 comprised the large farm upon which^{2.} he was so successful.

According to Hinrichsen's beliefs, the only way to encourage Jews to take up farming was to give them land and let them go to work upon it. Hinrichsen was of the opinion that the land should not be given to them as a gift for any man who

1. American Israelite, October 17, 1879.

2. Ibid.

could not pay for his land during a reasonable length of time was not fit material for a farmer. He further stated that:

"...there is no philosophy or metaphysics in farming. A man willing to work can learn all that is necessary by merely seeing the work done once.... A school would not be a necessity except for a colony, for Jewish agricultural schools are not practicable.... There has never come out of such schools a practical Jewish farmer.... If a colony of 15 or more Jewish families is to be established the Society should be responsible for the building of a large house with commodious rooms to house the colonists together until each one of them builds his own house on his own plot of ground. The large house could then be used for a school, a synagogue, or for meeting purposes."¹.

Hinrichsen also stated that he was in favor of having an experienced farmer engaged to instruct the new settlers, but only for a period of one year in which he might show them all that was necessary to know in order to work a farm successfully. All that would be needed to start the farmers off in their new work would be \$500 to \$600, for that would be sufficient to buy their outfits for them. This money would provide for the purchase of a separate house for the farmer, a team of horses, and some cattle. "But I have begun with less than that", concluded Hinrichsen.².

The impression one gains of Hinrichsen from this report is not very favorable. He seems to be rather overbearing and quite impressed with his own importance, overlooking many things that were in his favor when he started farming that would not act in the same way for the settlers he talked so blithely of giving farms and letting them go to work from that point on.

1. American Israelite, October 17, 1879.

2. Ibid.

We may disregard some of his suggestions but nevertheless he must be recorded as one of the successful farmers of this period which was still relatively early in the history of the American Jewish farmer.

MISSOURI

The next state of the midwest area with which we are concerned is Missouri. There lived one of the most prominent figures in American agriculture, known throughout the United States, and to some degree abroad. This man was Isidor Bush who lived in Bushberg, Jefferson County, Missouri. This area was at that time, and still is, of demonstrated agricultural quality. Most of the land in this area is in farms and supports a relatively remunerative agriculture. The land is gently to moderately rolling with productive soils.^{1.}

Isidor Bush was born in Prague, Austria, in 1822, the only son of a wealthy cotton merchant, Jacob I. Bush. When young Bush was only 18 he became a publisher along with his father and within the short space of four years was the editor of many valuable works.^{2.}

During the Revolution of 1848 Bush was a Liberal and was forced to flee for his life from the country. He sought safety in America and arrived in New York in 1849 with only \$10.00 in his pocket. But he was not without friends who helped him open a small book and stationery store.^{3.}

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Dep't. of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

2. Markens, op. cit., pp. 201-202.

3. Ibid.

In a short time he moved to St. Louis, Missouri, giving up his store in New York because of insufficient capital to allow himself to advance, and also because of his inadequacy in English. In St. Louis he opened a grocery store and later a hardware store too. By 1857 he had built up enough capital to found the People's Savings Bank which became under his Presidency one of the most successful organizations in the state. In 1868 he was elected representative of St. Louis to the Constitutional Convention, serving as well in other official capacities and winning the great respect of his fellow citizens for his ability as well as his integrity. In 1862 he had been Aide-Camp^{1.} to General Fremont, with the military rank of Captain.

During the entire time that Bush was engaged in such activities which were distinctly non-agricultural, he preferred an agricultural life, and believed in it for the Jews. He was so firmly convinced of the benefits of agriculture that he determined to keep his son Ralph from the unpleasantnesses of a commercial life. He therefore sent his son to the best vineyardists for instruction in the methods of successful viticulture, and in 1856 he acquired a large tract of land which was suitable for the raising of grapes. This spot, which was at the time reputed to be one of the finest in Missouri, was located on the Iron Mountain railroad, on the banks of the Mississippi River, twenty-five miles from St. Louis. The town is known to this day as Bushberg.^{2.}

Bush did not consider himself too old to study viti-

1. Markens, op. cit., pp. 201-202.

2. Menorah, Vol. IX, 1890, pp. 198-190.

culture nor to go into the venture with his son. So greatly did the life of an agriculturist appeal to him that he was willing to give up his successful business ventures and to retire from the management of the Iron Mountain Railroad and to settle down with his son. This he did in 1868, and from that time on he and his son devoted themselves exclusively to the management of their vineyards and nurseries. At that time he became associated with a cooperative grape-growing business known as the Elufton Wine Company, which eventually failed. Bush lost a good deal of money in this venture but he regarded the experience he gained as well worth the loss.^{1.}

In 1869 Bush was ready to start more extensive operations in viticulture and in wine manufacturing which was the expression of his commercial adaptabilities which he was unable to stifle altogether. At the same time that the St. Louis firm of Isidor Bush and Company started its famous wine and liquor business, the vineyards and grape nurseries of Bush and Son and Meissner at Bushberg were advancing rapidly, and had already attracted a world wide reputation for the strain of grapes that were being produced there.^{2.}

In 1870 the French vineyards were in the state of being slowly destroyed by the phylloxera, a small insect that attacked the roots of the plant. Bush, who was a student of the theories of Darwin, at that early date, conceived an idea, guided by the theories of the great biologist, that a resistant American strain of grapes might be introduced into France which

1. Menorah, loc. cit.

2. Ibid.

would serve as a remedy for the grape industry which was gradually being ruined in that country. He based this idea on Darwin's theory of the co-adaptiveness of nature, which points out that nature provides for protection to diseases by building up immunity in plants which have been exposed to a certain disease^{1.} for a long time.

With the advice and encouragement of the well-known entomologist, Professor C. V. Riley, Bush sent two cases of American vines to Montpellier, France. He asked only that their resistance to phylloxera be tried. The French grape growers were at first suspicious of the American vines and hesitated to try them out. But they finally saw that they had nothing to lose since their own vines were slowly dying. The vines were tested and were found to be immune to the disease. Immediately the demand for American grown vines soared. They were recognized as the saviours of the grape industry and wine culture of France. Bush, and other viticulturists of America, shipped hundreds of thousands of vines to France where great acreages were replanted with American vines. The problem was solved, and a great investment in land and equipment was saved.^{2.}

In a short time the fame of Bushberg and Isidor Bush and his son had spread over all of the grape growing countries of the world. The vineyards of Bush became recognized by grape growers as models, they prospered, and the wine and liquor business carried on by the Bushes flourished. After taking up the study of American grapes at an advanced age Bush became

1. Menorah, loc. cit.

2. Ibid.

known as an authority on them. The catalogue of the Bush-berg vineyards became so highly regarded as a source of information for grape growers that it was printed in French, German, and Italian, and has been published in many European countries.^{1.}

MICHIGAN

Turning from Missouri to Michigan, we find that the condition of the Jews in agriculture was in no way the same in the two territories. Missouri was a success so far as one Jew, at least, was concerned. Michigan was a continual source of worry.

Agriculture in general had received a slow start in Michigan because of the bad reputation of the state's swamp land and general unfitness for use as an agricultural district. The swamp land in question was located in the southeastern part of the state which was the only part that was known to the people who might have been interested in agriculture. The rest of the state was forested and filled with wild animals and fearful imaginary dangers for the most part. This was the reason that Indiana, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Iowa developed as agricultural centers much more rapidly than did Michigan, although just as good land was available in Michigan as in any of the aforementioned states.

As the false impression under which Michigan suffered became corrected, settlers began to pour in along the fertile

1. American Israelite, October 8, 1869.

land that lay across the present route of the Detroit-Chicago highway. By 1840 Washtenaw County, which was the fifth to be organized in the state, was the best county in Michigan for farm stock. Washtenaw had an important output of wool and hides, which latter product kept four tanneries busy.^{1.}

Washtenaw County was largely settled by Germans, and even today has a large German community. When German immigrants began to arrive in this country in the 1840's they did not go to Detroit, as might have been expected for them to do, but they went to Washtenaw instead. These immigrants were prompted to settle there by the same general motives that caused almost all of the German immigration of this period. That was the desire for freedom, complete personal, religious, and intellectual freedom. "The hope of free air to breathe, free soil to stand on, and free opportunity to achieve, they found among the German farmers of Washtenaw."^{2.}

In addition to the opportunity that was theirs for the taking in this community, they also came to this place because of the similarity of language and custom between themselves and the German farmers who had been in the district previous to the arrival of the Jews.^{3.}

The Jewish immigrants did not succeed in farming as well as might have been expected. The first Jewish family in this area was composed of five brothers by the name of Weil, who had come from Bohemia to form the nucleus of the colony at Ann Arbor, in Washtenaw County. Leopold Weil, one of the brothers,

1. American Jewish Historical Society Publications, Vol. XIII, pp. 66-69.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

tried farming with Judah Sittig in Lima Township near Ann Arbor. After a year they gave up the attempt. The main difficulty seemed to be the general roughness of the country and the great number of wild beasts of the forest which were around the farm and which had to be dealt with constantly. Then too, the wilderness and the desolation, in contrast to the city life to which these men had been accustomed in former times, caused their unhappiness with the venture and forced them to give up the attempt. Moses Weil, another one of the brothers had a similar experience in South Lyons Township, just north of the county line.^{1.}

FLORIDA

In the Southern States from 1775 to 1880 there was neither so much activity as there had been in the previous period, nor so much as from 1880 to the present. Nevertheless, several attempts at farming were made by Jews in the South during the post-Revolutionary era with significant results.

During the early part of the nineteenth century a Jew by the name of Moses Elias Levy became interested in establishing an agricultural colony in Alachua County, Florida. Unfortunately he made a very bad selection of land for his venture. This factor contributed to the ultimate failure of the colony. Although early accounts of soil fertility differ from those which we have at hand today we must accept the modern analysis of the district to be more accurate than the optimistic

1. American Jewish Historical Society Publications, Vol. XIII, pp. 66-69.

prognostications of Levy. The fact that Levy was trying to promote an agricultural colony may have led him to exaggerate the first reports of Alachua's fertility. The land around Alachua is mainly smooth and poorly drained, of fair productivity when properly drained. It was largely forested at the time that the colony was projected. There is a long frost-free growing season, and a warm summer. In small isolated areas there occur soils which are excellent for garden crops, but at the same time swamps may surround them. This was the type of land which Levy chose for his experiment, the area that seemed to him to be the finest and the most beautiful in the United States.^{1.}

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries one of the favorite ways to make money was to plant a colony and to live off the successes of the settlement by exploiting hitherto virgin land. Single proprietor ownership of a tract was financially most successful because the profits did not have to be shared. For many years Moses Elias Levy had had the idea of an agricultural colony in the United States. With that thought in mind he acquired vast areas of land in Florida which must have made him one of the largest land owners in the entire region. He owned, in addition to much other property in the same state, a single tract of land amounting to 36,000 acres, (equivalent to two and one-half times the area of Manhattan Island) in Alachua County. He was to establish a colony there

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Dep't. of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

in accordance with the terms of the grant to the land which he held.^{1.}

When Florida was ceded to the United States by Spain many land disputes grew out of the cession of the land. In order to dispose of them in a fair manner a commission was set up to hear the disputes. In the case of Levy the Commission had no trouble in deciding his equity to the land and stated:

"...that whatever may be the true construction of our powers we have no difficulty in deciding in favor of the equity of Mr. Levy, to have his claim confirmed to a quantity proportionate to the merit and extent of his compliance".^{2.}

The original owners of the land had received it under the conditions that they have settlers upon it within three years of the date of taking title to it. When Levy took possession of the land from them he was granted one year's extension in which to get the land colonized. There were many problems that required attention before the land could be successfully settled, chief among the difficulties being the hostile nature of the Indians. Nevertheless, the land was settled under the time limit agreed upon in the original deed, and settlers were living on it after November 12, 1820. The original settlers came, for the most part, from Delaware County, New York; from New Jersey, and from Europe. Their settlement upon the land involved a great deal of expense and labor since the land had never been used for any purpose save as a hunting

1. American Jewish Historical Society Publications, Vol. XXV, pp. 132-134.

2. Ibid.

ground for the Indians of the Florida region. "It has been estimated that Levy spent more than \$18,000 in settling families, building houses, clearing lands, and furnishing provisions."^{1.}

Fifty persons, all brought to the settlement by Levy, were living on the land in 1823. These colonists had all been brought at the personal expense of Levy. He and his agents were constantly at work trying to persuade people to come to Florida as settlers. They ran into difficulty because of the lack of conveniences and necessities which made people hesitate to come into the land. In 1823, in order to obviate the objections of prospective settlers, twenty-five houses were built, and a road forty-five miles long was laid. Plans were made to build a saw-mill. By this time three plantations had been established on the land and a total of 300 acres had been cleared and put under cultivation.^{2.}

The settlement was commented on in the following manner by a contemporary writer:

"Several gentlemen of capital settled on a grant in Alachua which they had purchased while the country was still under Spanish dominion. They also obtained a cession of it from the Indians, and, having a great deal of enterprise and the necessary means were about introducing a large body of industrious settlers; by whom the wilderness will soon be converted into a smiling scene of cultivation and civilized improvement."^{3.}

Concerning the colony Levy himself said in 1823:

"The present owners of the grant consist of more

1. American Jewish Historical Society Publications, Vol. XXV, pp. 132-134.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

than seventy individuals, most of them agriculturists from New York, New Jersey, and other parts; many rich and opulent citizens, the major part of whom became purchasers with the intention of settling on the said lands."¹

One man in writing about Alachua said that:

"All accounts agree in extolling the fertility of its soil, salubrity of its air, sublimity of its scenery, and the abundant supply of cattle and stock of all kinds, ...and it is perhaps better calculated than any other part of the country for the establishment of a white population desirous of agricultural pursuits."^{1a}

The first point of settlement was the town of Micanope³ which has a fair number of Jews living in it today.

Levy also approached the Jews of Europe to interest them in coming to his colony. He worked through agents who travelled abroad and spread the news of the colony. One of these was Frederick Warburg with whom Levy had discussed his project when in London in 1816. Levy persuaded Warburg to come to this country and to settle in the colony. Although Warburg left his home in Hamburg to come to America he never became a settler in Florida. He remained north to wait for other families who were also supposed to come to America to settle eventually in Alachua.⁴

No record of this colony exists after about 1830, so it is fairly safe to assume that it gradually disintegrated for one reason or another when the proprietor felt that he could no longer put any more money into it, and when his co-investors

1. American Jewish Historical Society Publications, Vol. XXV, pp. 132-134.

1a. Ibid.

3. This is the statement of the American Jewish Historical Society (Ibid.) writer. Linfield in Jews in U.S., 1927 (American Jewish Committee, Pub., 1929) lists city as having less than 10 Jews in it at that date.

4. American Jewish Historical Society Publications, loc. cit.

had become disillusioned. Florida was never settled by Jewish agricultural groups again, and to this day has none, or very few Jews engaged in agriculture.

KENTUCKY

Kentucky was not the site of any concerted colonization movement on the part of Jews at any time during its history. When the Jews came into Kentucky they came, for the most part, singly, and quite alone. There they were made to feel so much at home among the people living in the state that most of them intermarried, and if the original Jewish residents did not, their descendants did to a considerable extent. The best known example of this is Benjamin Gratz, who intermarried and became completely assimilated with the inhabitants of the state. The reason for the assimilation of the Jews in Kentucky is that they came into the region by themselves. They were not able to find any of their own people to pray with or to marry. Perforce they associated with their Christian neighbors¹ as they might not have done otherwise.

TEXAS

In Texas quite a different situation existed from that in Kentucky. Here were Jews who had no apparent desire to assimilate, and who thought only of having other Jews come into the same region to join them as soon as possible, so that they could carry on the ceremonies of Judaism in the proper

1. Lebeson, op. cit., p. 310.

manner as prescribed by the customs of Israel.

One of the largest and most important settlements in Texas was made through the efforts of a Jewish pioneer and colonizer. Henry Castro, the founder of Castroville, the colony of which we speak, was born in France in July, 1786. A descendant of a famous Portuguese family, he was prominent in public affairs both in France and in the United States. In 1827 he became a citizen of this country and was soon appointed United States Consul for Naples. He returned to France in 1838 and with a partner, Lafitte, attempted to negotiate a loan for the Republic of Texas.^{1.}

On January 15, 1842 Castro entered into a five year contract with President Samuel Houston for settling a colony to the west of Medina in Bandera County. This area was not particularly favorable for an agricultural settlement. The land was mainly arid or rough suitable mainly for forage or rough pasturage.^{2.} Although the original territory was four miles away from Medina township on the Medina River, and by its location the settlement was deprived of valuable riparian rights, Castro soon improved the situation. Through his purchase, with his own funds, of lands adjacent to the original boundary of his grant, he was able to make Medina the eastern boundary of the area of settlement.^{3.}

The first attempts at colonization were halted by the

1. One Hundred Years of Jewry in Texas, Dr. Henry Cohen, et al., Texas Centennial Exposition, pub., 1936, Dallas; p. 13.

2. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Dep't. of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

3. Cohen, loc. cit.

invasion of Texas by Mexico. Throughout the War attempts at colonization were impossible. In December, 1844, when hostilities had ceased Castro's contract was renewed for three years so as to give him another chance to make good the terms. He was at the same time appointed Consul-General to France, from which country he expected to take his colonists. In France Castro encountered great opposition to his colonization scheme. The French government was trying to encourage migration to its own colonies in Algiers, and wanted no competition. Nevertheless Castro went ahead with his plans. On November 13, 1842, he despatched the ship Ebro from Havre at his own expense. There were 113 emigrants on the ship. He soon followed this detachment with other ships all filled with settlers for his colony. These ships were the Lyons, which sailed from Havre, the Louis Phillippe from Dunkirk, the Jeane Key from Antwerp, and the Jeanette May from the same city. These five ships^{1.} brought 700 colonists, men, women, and children, to Texas.

Between 1843 and 1846 Castro introduced over 5,000 emigrants to Texas. [All of them had been farmers, fruit, or vine growers in their mother country, France.] They came chiefly from the Rhenish provinces. On September 3, 1844 the colony of Castroville was inaugurated. It was given that name by the unanimous vote of the colonists. It should not be thought that the settlement of this Texas colony was an easy thing to do. For over 150 years the Spanish government had been trying to do the same thing and could not succeed. Dangers of the front-

1. Cohen, op. cit., p. 14.

ier, particularly the Indians, were deterrents to the success of any colony which was placed in the area.^{1.}

Soon after Castroville was founded Castro had to return to France for a short visit. Upon his leave-taking the colonists, both Jews and Gentiles, whom he had settled, presented to him the following acknowledgment of their gratefulness for what he had done for them. The document was in writing and was signed by fifty-three heads of families.

"We take pleasure in acknowledging that since the first of September, the date at which we signed the process verbal of taking possession, you have treated us like a liberal and kind father.... our best wishes accompany you on your voyage, and we take this occasion to express to you our ardent thanks and desire to see you return soon among us to continue to us your paternal protection."^{2.}

Today Castroville is a flourishing city, although it is no longer devoted exclusively to agriculture. Its residents have broadened out their original occupation to include all labor necessary to the successful conduct of a city. Castro spent over \$150,000 of his personal fortune on his colonization schemes. In addition to the settlement at Castroville he settled the towns of Quihi, Vandenburg, and D'hanis.

"He fed his colonists for a year, furnished them with cows, farming implements, seed, medicine, and in fact whatever they needed. He was a father, dispensing blessings hitherto unknown in the colonization of Texas. He was a devoted friend of Presidents Lamar, Houston, and Jones, who in turn did all in their power to further his partiotic work of planting permanent civilization in southwest Texas."^{3.}

Castro was the publisher of a number of maps and pam-

1. Cohen, op. cit., p. 14.

2. Ibid.

3. Cohen, op. cit., p. 15.

phlets which he used to aid his emigration movement by circulating them among the Rhenish provinces of France from which he took the main body of his colonists. His tastes were of a literary turn, and he was a very modest man, caring not for personal credit for the achievements he had accomplished. His religious characteristics were of a Marano nature; and he did not proclaim his Jewishness ostentatiously.

"...during his surveying tours he would leave his companions in order to retire to the forest for the purpose of binding his phylacteries."¹.

During the Civil War Castro attempted to return to France but reached only as far as Monterey, Mexico. There he became sick and died, where, "...at the base of the Sierra Madre, his remains repose; but his memory has an abiding place in the bosom of every Texan who reads of his labors in the cause of civilization."².

In 1855 we hear of a farmer in Texas who had his farm in Goliad. This man was a native of Prussian Poland and a former resident of Philadelphia. He took up residence on the Texas soil and was very happy with the change that he had made in his mode of life. He owned 4,444 acres of land twenty-two miles west of Goliad, Texas, on both sides of the Medios River, thus assuring himself of water rights. His land was well-suited either for cattle raising or for farming. Land in the area at that time was cheap, selling at from \$1.00 to \$3.00 per acre, and less if the land was purchased in large quantities. The

1. Cohen, op. cit., p. 15.

2. Ibid.

country in this particular area had a healthful climate with no swamps and therefore no malaria. Farming could be carried on quite successfully with the production of meat, cereals, and vegetables. These could be raised both cheaply and abundantly due to the fertility of the soil. A friend of this Jewish settler suggested to him that Jews who wished to take up farming ought to be invited into the area because of its general attractiveness and the cheapness of the land. He made the point that if a few of them came in together there would be no difficulty in carrying out the observance of the religious rites connected with Judaism. This was an important point for the prospective Jewish farm settler to consider in Texas as well as in many other places.^{1.}

In the course of the next few years we find references to a small Jewish farming community at Goliad. The plan of a religious settlement of farmers was carried out here.

MISSISSIPPI

Turning from Texas to Mississippi we find that there were Jewish farmers in the state before 1869. The American Israelite comments on the good business and farming practices of Isaac Lowenberg of Natchez who for two years, 1868 and 1869, had brought the first bale of cotton to market. This man had been a cotton planter since before the Civil War. Due to his enterprise and conscientiousness he had be^ecome quite successful in his business.^{2.}

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1. Occident, Vol. XIII, p. 513, April, 1855.
 2. American Israelite, October 8, 1869.

This concludes the record available to this writer for farms and farm settlements in the southern parts of the United States during the post-Revolutionary period up to 1880.

CALIFORNIA

In the far west, during this same period, there comes but one reference to a Jewish farmer, that of one in California. This account, in addition to the brief mention of any farmers we have made in the survey of the period, was about a man by the name of E. Linoberg. A native of Lissa in Posen, he was reputed to have been engaged in farming since 1853. His land was located in Tuolumne County, not far from Sonora, where he owned an extensive ranch.^{1.}

SUMMARY OF STATES' ACCOUNTS OF JEWISH FARMERS

The period that we have just surveyed was one of considerable significance in the history of the Jew in the United States, and corelatively in agriculture. For a time in which immigration was insignificant until the 1840's, and which even then was not large compared with what came later, the post-Revolutionary era in American Jewish history was important. It was a time when foundations were being laid and precedents were being established. During this time the Jews had slowly begun to spread through the United States, and their infiltration into the large cities had become quite noticeable. From the point of view of agriculture, however, the period's noteworthiness lies

1. Occident, XIV, p. 311, April, 1856.

neither in the number of Jews engaged in the field, nor with the success in which they engaged in this comparatively new occupation for them. The significant fact is that for the first time in Jewish history in the western hemisphere Jewish agricultural colonies existed and in some cases flourished albeit for a very short time. The ice had been broken and the start had been made. From this point forward the ideology of agricultural colonies was to lie in Jews' minds. It was no longer an incomprehensible and idle dream, for it had been tested and found workable. Now it remained necessary to wait for a time when circumstance would give an opportunity for the further expression of the belief that the Jew belongs in agriculture, and in agricultural colonies he can be happy and successful.

PART THREE

THE RUSSIAN REFUGEE PERIOD

RUSSIA AND THE JEWS

Frenzied thinking and activity unprecedented in the history of the Jew in America broke over a complacent people in 1881 with the start of the largest movement of emigrating Jews to this country ever known. Before this great wave started it was estimated by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations that there had been about 230,257 Jews in 1880. In 1897 David Sulzberger claimed that the American Jewish population then numbered 937,800. It was this, and succeeding waves of even heavier immigration that really developed the Jewish population of America.^{1.}

The nature of the Jews comprising this vast flow of humanity is very interesting. For the most part they were Russians who were forced to leave their country because of the bloody pogroms. We must consider the history of the Jews in Russia before 1880 to understand the problems which faced not only the emigrating Russian Jews but also their originally somewhat unwilling hosts in America.

The Russian Jews had engaged in many occupations ranging from the high to the very low in their mother country. There were lawyers and doctors in the families where contact with gentiles and consequent assimilation were not held to be so important. There were small shopkeepers and innkeepers, peddlers and shoemakers, and people who made a miserable living by working on the land for wealthy landlord.

1. Levine, op. cit., p. 35 ff.

Interestingly enough efforts had been made by the Russian government during the early nineteenth century to interest the Jews in agriculture and to place them on the soil.

"The Russian government, it is well known, has on several occasions during the last half century encouraged Jews to devote themselves to agricultural labor. The attempts made in this direction have generally failed. The causes of failure were two-fold. In the first place, the land given to the agriculturists was situated in remote regions, exposed to a rigorous climate, and in the second place, the grants in aid made by the government to the colonists for the erection of buildings, the acquisition of cattle and implements did not reach their destination as the late Prince Demidoff remarked in his memoir on the Jewish Question, until they had been reduced to minute dimensions. One colony, however, that of Antonooka in Volhynia, has apparently triumphed over all these difficulties. This settlement is located in a district covered with forests, and contains fifty families. The colonists perform all the necessary work without extraneous aid; among them are some boot-makers, tailors, and carpenters. They have a synagogue, school, and slaughter house, but not a single tavern is to be found on the estate."¹

We also find mention of a report by W. R. Ritkin who stated that there were Jewish agricultural colonies in Russia from 1807 to 1877. Here again the statement that Jews could not be successful agriculturists, and that they were incompetent and unfitted for this type of work is refuted.²

As late as 1892, after many of the Jews had begun to leave Russia for more comfortable places, an official report was made by the Minister of the Crown who inspected the Jewish agricultural colonies in southeastern Russia and found favorable conditions existing among the Jews who were still living

1. American Israelite, February 18, 1887.
 2. American Israelite, February 17, 1888.
- body not of J. has many details*

there. At that time there were "...7,000 Jews, (men, women, and children) in excellent health, in handsome villages surrounded by well cultivated fields, meadows, and orchards, provided with synagogues and school houses, a healthy and a well-to-do race".^{1.}

The assassination of Alexander II, Czar of Russia, on March 13, 1881, by Nihilists at St. Petersburg became the immediate cause for the immigration of Jews to the United States and elsewhere. Because a few Jews were involved in the conspiracy the entire nation was blamed, and it suffered all the horrors of a systematic governmental persecution. The officials took no account of the loyalty and love that almost the entire nation of Jews had shown to the Czar despite hardships that were imposed upon them under his rule.

On May 3, 1882, the legislation of the governmental machinery was brought into action against the Jews, and the following decrees, known as the "May Laws", were passed:

"1. As a temporary measure, and until a general revision is made of their legal status, it is decreed that Jews be forbidden to settle outside of towns and boroughs, exceptions being admitted only in the case of existing agricultural colonies.

"2. Temporarily forbidden is the issuing of mortgages and other deeds to Jews as well as the registration of Jews as lessees of real property situated outside of towns and boroughs; and also the issuing to Jews of powers of attorney to manage and dispose of such real property.

"3. Jews are forbidden to transact business on Sundays and the principal Christian holy-days;

1. American Israelite, November 24, 1892.

the existing regulations concerning the closing of places of business belonging to Christians on such days to apply to Jews also.

"4. The measures laid down in paragraphs #1, #2, and #3, shall apply only to the governments within the Pale of Jewish Settlements, (that is, they shall not apply to the ten governments of Poland)."¹.

The laws also sent out all artisans and small merchants from Moscow, limited the number of Jewish students in the universities to an insignificant per cent., and prohibited Jews from being elected to all public offices. By making the lot of the Jew so unbearable as to offer emigration as the only means of escape the Russian government hoped to solve its Jewish problem. The policy of the government was summed up by Pobiedenostseff, the Procurator General of the Greek Catholic church in his famous trilogy: "One-third would be forced to emigrate, one-third would be forced into the church, and the rest eliminated by starvation."².

Jews began to stream from Russia blindly and without planned destination. Their one thought was to get away from the terror that destroyed their land, their homes, their children and relatives before their eyes. Thousands left without money and were stranded as soon as they had crossed the Russian frontier into Austria. Many of these people were helped by the Alliance Israelite Universelle which gave them the necessary funds to leave the European continent and to go to the United

1. N.B. Previous reference in this section to "Levine, op. cit.", should be corrected to Social Aspects of the Jewish Colonies of South Jersey, by P.R. Goldstein, Univ. of Pa. thesis, 1921. This page's footnote refers to pp. 9-10 of the above work.

2. Goldstein, op. cit., P. 37, ff.

LEVINE

States. The few who had left with some money were systematically robbed by police and other officials so that when they eventually arrived in America they were completely penniless. During all this time pitiful letters and pleas for help were being sent to Jews in America and harrowing reports were coming from the devastated areas in Russia which once had been settlements of Jews living in security and relative happiness. Immigrants were landing in the United States with no money and with no friends or relatives to help them. The problem of what to do with the refugees mounted every day, and the Jews of the United States looked about wildly for a panacea to end the pressing problem.

Jewish leaders in the United States were panic stricken. They did not know what to do. They feared not only the fate that awaited the million Russian Jews who were coming into the country so quickly. They feared what would happen to themselves when the problem of absorbing these immigrants was put upon their shoulders as it would be since the people who were coming in were their co-religionists. They saw economic repercussions upsetting the whole delicate business machinery of the United States which was just beginning to achieve an equal basis with that of the rest of the world. They feared that the "May Laws" and the solution of Pobiedonostseff would become the usual thing for countries all over the world in an effort to solve their Jewish problems. Not knowing what to do they flitted from one solution to another before alighting on what they thought to be the one way of caring for the great influx.

The hysteria of the American Jews is reflected in the

in the words of the historian Benjamin Peixotto who, speaking before the Y.H.M.A. of New York on February 2, 1887 on the subject "What shall we do with our Immigrants?", made the following statement:

"If 500,000 Jews come into the city within the next thirty years, there will creep up a spirit of enmity; there will be bitter relations here as in Old Europe today. There will be no safety; there may be dishonor, disgrace, and misery on every side. There is enough of misery already. Go over to the East Side where from 40,000 to 50,000 Jews now live. Go into the tenement district along Hester, Forsyth, and Division Streets. Go on Sunday and look at the crowds of Jews on the corners of the streets, jabbering, uttering language unnatural, inhuman, making day hideous with their sights and voices. They are blind and they are deaf and they are dumb, because they cannot make known their wants except to those of their own condition. We must give them hearing and give them speech. We must rescue them."¹

Same man These statements came from a man of intelligence, a man whose Anglo-Jewish History is regarded as being a sound historical work. If a person of this high calibre could become so excited about the situation that was facing the Jews of America, we can imagine how great the hue and cry must have been in the middle classes from people who had only recently emigrated themselves, and who were worried for their own security which they saw put in danger by the Russian Jews' immigration.]

The immediate consequences of the immigration were the pressing civic and welfare problems only natural as a result of such a large movement of humanity from one country to another. This had a recognizable effect upon the Jews of the United States, mainly the German Jews. Their generosity was being imposed upon

1. Levine, op. cit., p. 37, ff.

constantly, but that did not disturb them as seriously as their fear for their own position, which they believed was endangered by the competition of the Russian Jews in the same communities. The solution that appeared to them was to sprinkle the Russian Jews over as large an area as possible and to place them in self-sustaining colonies. Looking to Russia they saw that a promising "back to the soil" movement had been destroyed, and the idea at once struck them that perhaps the solution for the problem in the United States was to recreate the Russian plan for a new occupation for the Jew.

The idea was taken up by groups of people and soon saw print. Societies were formed and interest in the future of the Russian Jew grew by leaps and bounds. Newspaper articles began to appear defending the Russian Jew and making excuses for him in not too faltering a way. It was explained that the Russian Jew had been maltreated on his way to this country and that his money had been stolen from him and other abuse heaped upon him. The point was strongly made that he was not penniless when he started on his journey but that "through torture and intimidation the agents of the German steamship companies, in league with the Russian police, blackmail and rob these people until they are destitute, when they allow them to proceed on^{1.} their journey."

The American Jews began to overcome their fears to a greater extent. Conservatives who had remained aloof from the problem became intrigued with the idea of planting agricultural

1. American Israelite, December 16, 1897.

colonies. Illustrating this point the following editorial appeared in the American Israelite:

"There is but one class of immigrants of which there never comes too many to this country and that is the class of agriculturists, because the area of arable lands is very large on this continent in proportion to those who cultivate it....There are already too many persons engaged in commerce and industry in proportion to agriculture which is the cause of over-production and over-trading, the unnatural growth of large cities, manufacturing, and mining districts, all the labor troubles, socialism and anarchism included. Immigrants...should be advised not to come to this country unless they are ready and prepared to enter at once upon agricultural pursuits, or as skilled mechanics in rural districts....Coercive legislation prohibiting or limiting immigration would be both unjust and imprudent, although it would seem beneficial to the laboring man who is here now and to him who is kept away, as we do want immigration of the right sort and are desirous to build up a large empire of liberty..." 1.

Finally, after much deliberation and arguing back and forth, after countless newspaper editorials from the various Jewish organs scattered through the east and middle west, opinion solidified, and it was decided to use the vast American territories as yet unsettled, as a sponge to absorb the rushing flood of immigrants which was increasing yearly. The Jews must be turned toward agriculture! Back to the land! Colonize and colonize again! These were the slogans as the enthusiastic Jews, almost to a man, turned their attention to the land available for the settlement of immigrants who were milling about in cities, supported by charitable organizations. Sites of land were chosen with little thought given to their suitability for agriculture or the availability of markets. Neither was the ability of the immigrants to take up agriculture considered. It was

1. American Israelite, April 29, 1887.

merely assumed that they would be so overjoyed at the prospects for a happy future that they would not be deterred by any of the hardships that must of a necessity come to them while living on farms in the undeveloped sections of the United States. In some areas the choice of land was a happy one, in others, very sorry indeed. But the enthusiasm went ahead, spurred on by the Jewish agricultural and charitable societies which were formed at this time in the effort to return the Jew to the soil.^{1.}

AMERICA AND THE JEWS
OF RUSSIA.
ORGANIZATIONS.

All over the country scores of agricultural societies began to spring up. Wherever there was a Jewish community there was bound to be an agricultural society also. This was especially true in the mid-west where in cities such as Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis, etc., interest was high because of the relative proximity of these cities to tested agricultural areas.

The fact that these societies worked independently for the most part during their early history contributed to the failure of many of the colonies which they placed on the soil. They did not take the trouble to appoint soil experts to study the land which they were to purchase for colonization areas. They did not consult the government agricultural stations which were active at that time, but went ahead independently. The criticism has been made that the organizations were too patronizing

1. Goldstein, op. cit., p. 13.

to the colonists. Many other criticisms were directed at these early enthusiasts. In the history of the colonies themselves we shall see how badly some of them were located, often on unproductive soil with little thought given to the proximity of markets, or the convenience of a water supply, or any one of the numerous factors that must be considered in planting an agricultural colony.

The American Israelite, under the editorship of Isaac Mayer Wise, reflected the ideas of its editor, who, during the period of the Russian emigration was one of the main proponents for the return of the Jew to the soil, and for the education of young men and women for a farming career instead of a commercial one. Frequently his efforts were misdirected, and there is at least one instance when the society in which he possessed a great influence deliberately wrecked a colony of Jews which had been placed on the soil. But his sincerity cannot be questioned nor can the great influence of the American Israelite at that time be underestimated.

Although the American Israelite was not, strictly speaking, an organization, nevertheless it may be treated along with the Jewish organizations of the time because of its effect on many of the organizations which have^{would} used different methods of approach to the problem had it not been for the recommendations offered by the Israelite.

Throughout this paper the various editorial opinions held by the Israelite are noted. The writer purposes to state at this point only those which have a direct bearing on the

problem immediately at hand, that is, the settlement in the United States of Jews who were the victims of the Russian Pogroms; and to compare the American Israelite's attitude toward the settlement of these people in this country as opposed to its attitude toward Palestine, Argentine, Mexico, and other projected places of settlement.

The attitude of the Israelite with regard to Palestine and immigration of refugees to that country, went through some revision before it assumed its final form. In 1894 the Israelite considered Palestine as a possible place of Jewish settlement although it did not recommend any mass movement in that direction. It stated rather favorably regarding Palestine at that time, that: "European culture is carried into Asia by those very Jews decried by their enemies as drones in society.... The Jew can be a successful farmer as well as an apostle of science and art, a merchant, and a financier."¹ It is questionable whether the American Israelite was in favor of Palestinian colonization or whether it was simply trying to make the Jew's position more favorable in the eyes of the world by turning a sympathetic eye toward what he had accomplished.

But if we decide from this that the Israelite was sympathetic toward Palestine all we have to do to change our minds is to read an article of October 28, 1897. The statement reads in the Israelite as follows:

"The absolute unfitness of Palestine to support a large agricultural population has been set forth by those in a position to know best; and on the other

1. American Israelite, November 15, 1894.

hand no attempt to form a colony has been a success....There are some 50,000 to 60,000 Jews in Palestine today who are all paupers....To add to their number would be repeating the Deinard folly on a large scale."

In this article the Israelite likened Palestinian colonization to Ephraim Deinard's abortive attempt to settle in California with a group of Russian Jews. The latter failure, of which we shall hear more later, was one of the many ventures resulting in an indelible imprint upon the policy of the periodical.

One interesting thing about the American Israelite is that almost every time it was offering a bit of polemic material that it wanted to have accepted as Gospel by its readers, although fearful of its not being swallowed whole, it would state unequivocally that a person who knew what he was about, or, as in the above article, "...those in a position to know best" had written the statement and was responsible for the thoughts therein contained.

An article appearing on February 1, 1900, told of the failure of the Jewish Colonization Society in the Argentine, and criticized the taking over of the Palestine colonies by the Jewish Colonization Association. The following statement was made: "Until the Jewish Colonization Association changes its policy the income from Baron Hirsch's millions is worse than wasted."² The Israelite could foresee only failure for any colonies not in the United States.

For that matter we shall see later on in this paper

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1. American Israelite, October 28, 1897.
 2. American Israelite, February 1, 1900.

that the Israelite was very critical of colonization efforts in which it did not have an active part. On more than one occasion it took to task severely efforts by individuals in other sections of the country who were proceeding contrary to the methods which it felt were the proper ones to be pursued. We should not condemn too finally, for this practice, since a great deal of good was accomplished through the paper's influence. Nevertheless, simply because the protecting aegis of Isaac Mayer Wise floated over the newspaper is no reason for us to assume that all of its policies were perfect and wise.

THE BARON DE HIRSCH FUND

Perhaps the most potent single force aiding the Russian Jew during the entire period of his colonization, and, for that matter, his emigration to, and his existence in the United States, was the Baron de Hirsch Fund.

"The measures now being enforced against the Jews which are equivalent to their wholesale expulsion do not appear to me to be altogether a misfortune to the Russian Jew. I think that the worst thing that could happen to these unfortunate people would be to continue for an indefinite period the wretched existence which they have led up to the present time, crowded together in narrow streets, merely vegetating without hope and without a future, reduced to a condition incompatible with the dignity of human beings. The only means to raise their condition is to remove them from the soil to which they are rooted and to transport them to other countries where they will enjoy the same rights as the people among whom they live and where they will cease to be pariahs, and become citizens. What is going on in Russia today may be the prelude for their beneficent transformation."¹

1. Baron de Hirsch, "Refuge for Russian Jews"; The Forum, August, 1891, Vol. XI, p. 627.

These words express the opinion and the sentiments of Baron de Hirsch toward the Russian Refugee problem. Sympathetic and understanding, he felt the needs of the people who were entering upon new and terrifying phases of life of which they had no idea, and which seemed only blank and without hope.

Baron Maurice de Hirsch was born at Munich, December 9, 1831, the son of Joseph von Hirsch, and the grandson of Baron Jacob von Hirsch, who had founded the family fortune. He received an education in secular and religious matters from an early age. Although he was not a willing student he manifested a good mind which was to show itself later in his accumulation of his large fortune. At an early age he went to work in the banking business in which his whole family was very prominently engaged, and soon became regarded as the master mind behind the success of the Von Hirsch banking business. In time, feeling that he was being held down by the conservatism of a banking firm which regarded his ideas as too radical to be put into effect, he left that banking house and went into business for himself. By that time he had already married Clara Bischoffsheim who was an heiress in her own right. With the dowry of his wife along with the money which had been left to him through his father and grandfather he invested in railway enterprises in Austria, the Balkans, and Turkey. Largely through the efforts of the Baron, Europe and the ^{near} east were connected by railway. The project of de Hirsch was looked upon with scepticism by many of the leading financiers of his day, but the Baron, with the

help of the leading engineers of the day went ahead with his plans and made the railroad a success. Although he had been called a visionary and a reckless man, the success of this venture stamped him as one of the leaders in industry, and a man whose achievements had placed him high in the esteem of the most important people in Europe.^{1.}

During the course of the commercial and industrial career of the Baron he engaged to some considerable degree in philanthropy and was always able to be interested in alleviating the conditions of Jews in various parts of the world.

We are concerned chiefly with the activities of Baron de Hirsch as they concerned themselves with the American Jew in agriculture.

May, 1889 saw a committee of a number of important American Jews meeting to consider the disposition of a fund whose establishment was being considered by Baron de Hirsch. The meeting was called by Isidor Loeb, who was then the Secretary of the Alliance Israelite Universelle. The personnel of the committee which was later to administer the Fund to be set up by the Baron was to consist of men who had had some experience in philanthropic matters. The yearly income of the proposed fund was estimated to be at a figure somewhere between \$100,000 and \$120,000 yearly.^{2.}

Original plans of the committee called for relief to the Russian Refugees, education for the children and adults,

1. History of the Baron de Hirsch Fund, Samuel Joseph; Baron de Hirsch Fund, Publishers, 1935; pp. 10-22, passim.
2. Ibid.

and provision for the establishment of an agricultural colony for which a sum of money was to be set aside at the express direction of Baron de Hirsch.^{1.}

The committee which met at New York was criticized by influential Jews in Baltimore and Philadelphia who sent a memorandum to Baron de Hirsch. He received their communication graciously and agreed with the principles that it brought out. These men, Dropsie, Hackenburg, Dr. Aaron Friedenwald, and many others, had had experience with colonies which were exclusively Jewish in New Jersey, and were opposed to any future trials in the matter. The answer from Baron de Hirsch declared that he did not propose to form an exclusively Jewish colony, but that he preferred land to be purchased which would afford to the immigrants to be settled opportunity for contact with their neighbors. He desired that a sum of \$240,000 be set aside for the colonization plan, and further asked that the two groups belonging to New York, and Philadelphia and Baltimore unite and consolidate their efforts.^{2.}

At a meeting held on July 29, 1889, plans of policy, the basis for further activities of the Fund were made. Several important points were brought out, the gist of them being the following: A distinction was to be set up between temporary relief and that which would require a foundation of a permanent character. Immediate aid was defined as that which would enable the emigrant coming into this country to take up work immediately in a profession in which he had been previously em-

1. Joseph, op. cit., pp. 14-22.

2. Ibid.

ployed, or to give him the opportunity to get out where he could learn a new profession rapidly, and begin to practice it. This type of aid did not include settlement on farms, although it did allow for the transportation of immigrants to the interior of the country in an effort to find work for them there. In some cases it also supplied to artisans the tools and instruments^{1.} without which they could not get work.

Those refugees who had been in the country for a time, and who already had become somewhat established could look for help of a more permanent nature although it was made clear that they were not to receive supporting doles merely to keep them going on the land which they had settled. For them the Fund was ready to provide training in trades and technical problems. English was to be taught to the adults as well as to the children, and also to those who had not been given an opportunity to take advantage of such instruction before the plan had been set up, i.e., those immigrants who were in the country before the mass emigration from Russia started. It may be seen that one of the main purposes of the Fund was to allow the refugee to go ahead at his own speed, and to feel that he was becoming independent rather than more and more dependent upon some outside source for his progress. Baron de Hirsch was opposed to charity as such. He did not feel that money should be used on those who could never make themselves self-supporting, and was of the opinion that only those ambitious people who did possess promise for the future should be given aid.^{2.}

1. Joseph, op. cit., pp. 14-22.

2. Ibid.

This attitude is reflected in the following words:

"I contend most decidedly against the old system of alms-giving which only makes so many more beggars; and I consider it the greatest problem in philanthropy to make human beings who are capable of work out of individuals who otherwise must become paupers, and in this way create useful members of society." 1.

*English
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A problem of considerable importance to the members of the committee was that which concerned the attitude of the American people against the Jews in this country who were encouraging immigration of large numbers of aliens who might prove incapable of work, and thus undesirable. A definitely hostile attitude prevailed. After much talking and explaining the point of view held by those Americans was adjusted after some considerable waste of time when every moment was needed to prevent suffering. 2.

In February, 1890, Baron de Hirsch wrote to the committee in New York that if they were willing to assume responsibility and would administer the money he was about to send he would give them a donation of \$10,000 a month beginning in March which would continue until a permanent method of arrangement was satisfactorily set up. The committee, which then became known as the "Central Committee" agreed to the plan as proposed by Baron de Hirsch, and in March the money payments began. 3.

Once the mechanism for the management of the Fund was set up things proceeded smoothly, and an authorization of powers

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1. Joseph, op. cit., pp. 14-22.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid.

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not altogether
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was made by the Baron which gave the Trustees of the Fund wide jurisdiction. De Hirsch looked ahead to the time when the refugees from Russia would no longer be coming into the country as they had been and sought to provide for such a situation by making the Fund that was established broad enough to expand into other fields of work when the time became ripe. The Trustees of the Fund were even given permission to encroach on the principal of the Fund itself within certain set limits. This clearly shows the far-sightedness of Baron de Hirsch and his realization of the needs for a philanthropic organization that would not look at the present alone, but would consider a time when, the emergency being past, the time would be ripe for other activities and services. These might continue with added benefit derived from experience and efficiency in administration which had been acquired by dealing with previous situations.

By March, 1891, the principal for the Fund was complete. In the meantime the Baron had been sending the Committee in New York \$10,000 per month.^{1.}

The purposes of the Fund as expressed in the Deed of Trust are as follows:

"1. Loans to immigrants from Russia and Roumania, actual agriculturists, settlers within the United States, on real or chattel security.

"2. Transportation of immigrants (after arriving at American ports) to places where they may find work and make themselves self-supporting.

"3. To teach immigrants trades and to contribute

1. Joseph, op. cit., pp. 14-22, passim.

to their support while earning a living, learning their trades, and also furnishing their necessary tools enabling them to earn their living.

"4. Improved mechanical training for adults and youths.

"5. Instruction in the English language and the duties of American citizenship; technical and trade education; establishment of special schools and workshops.

"6. Instruction in agricultural work and improved methods of farming.

"7. Cooperation with established agencies in the United States for the purpose of relief and education.

"8. Other methods of relief and education which the Trustees may, from time to time, decide.¹

After 1900 all of the agricultural work of the Fund was taken over by the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society which later changed its name to the Jewish Agricultural Society, and has kept that name to this day. But up to that time the Barn de Hirsch Fund accomplished much important work including the establishment of a colony at Woodbine, New Jersey, which will be considered elsewhere in this paper, and an agricultural school which was located in this colony. An agricultural school was also contemplated at Peekskill, New York, but the two "Fund" schools eventually gave way to the National Farm School, the only agricultural school of note existing today which was founded by Jews. The history of the Jewish agricultural schools will be taken up at some length later.

1. Joseph, op. cit., p. 22

In addition to the activities of the Baron de Hirsch Fund already mentioned, there were others which were not directly concerned with agriculture. Truly a great piece of work and a fine organization, its work was invaluable at a trying time in the history of the American Jew. An editorial from one of the leading Christian newspapers of the time sums up the attitude of the non-Jews toward a project to which, at first, it was feared they would be hostile, but which they learned to respect and to value in terms of its potential worth to the country.

"There will be no encouragement from the Fund for idlers, now, nor in the future, nor will the helpless and incapable be transferred. We would have no apology for this immigration. We would not have our Jewish friends feel that such immigrants, however humble, were unwelcome. We will find room for them, work for them, ballots for them. They will add to our strength, to our material, and in the end, to our moral forces. We will assimilate them to some extent by our language and by our civilization. We thank God for the opportunity to afford a refuge for the oppressed and we will a little longer, and as far as we can, boast that we welcome the stranger; we have the faith to believe that his labors enrich us; that his ignorance can be instructed, and that time will teach him our civilization; our doors stand open, and, please God, shall stand open inviting every Jew in Russia to our shores. We welcome them; we are grieved at their sufferings; we offer them our liberties and our opportunities."

It might be well to mention that in addition to the original gift of Baron de Hirsch of \$2,400,000, his widow, after his death in 1896 gave an additional \$250,000 to the Fund.

A great deal of unfavorable criticism was borne by the Baron de Hirsch Fund. The main point of criticism was that

1. Joseph, op. cit., p. 22.

much of the money was wasted, as for example in the Argentine project which failed after the expenditure of a large sum.^{1.}

But we may close our account of the Fund by stating that once the enterprise became stabilized, and the Trustees became accustomed to handling large sums of money, the project went ahead and was managed satisfactorily, particularly from the point of view of agriculture, since the true control passed into the hands of a society devoted to agriculture and nothing else in 1900.

THE UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS.

The next organization which shall be dealt with is another in which agriculture was not the only activity. This was the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, which, of course, still exists today. This organization was founded on July 8, 1873 upon the instigation of Moritz Loth who had been encouraged by Isaac M. Wise.^{2.} Although the objects of the organization, as they appear in its constitution, contain nothing of an agricultural nature, nevertheless the group was very definitely connected with the early history of the Russian, and emigrating European Jew, in agriculture.

As early as 1873 the head of the Union became interested in agriculture as a solution for one of the pressing social problems of the day. Moritz Loth felt that overcrowded commercial and mechanical occupations demanded the opening of

1. American Israelite, December 7, 1893.
2. Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. XII, p. 344.

of new fields of labor. He advocated that the Union of American Hebrew Congregations issue an appeal for donations of land to be used ultimately for farming. He stated that the land must be fertile and not inaccessible. It was to be placed under the special care of three members of each of the Boards of the Cleveland Orphan Asylum, the Mount Sinai Orphan Asylum of New York, and the Orphan Asylums of Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Orleans, and San Francisco. [These twenty-one men were to form the board of Governors of the Jewish Farming Laborization Society which was to form a self-sustaining farming community to which all orphan children, male and female, were to go after graduation from the Orphan Asylum in which they had been housed. This plan was not to apply to those who had the capacities for higher studies, but was mainly for those who showed definitely that they could not go on to a high school or college.¹

All the orphans who were not able to find employment elsewhere were to be sent to the colony where they would be steadily employed and would have a pro rata share of the profits that would be derived from the sale of crops. This share was to be kept in trust by the Board of Governors for five successive years after which time the orphan whose money it was would be given his earnings. They were then to be used for the purchase of land which the orphan himself would own, and would farm. This plan was proposed by Loth, but evidently it did not find too much support on the part of the other members

1. American Israelite, June 14, 1878.

of the committee. It was forgotten eventually after being dropped by Loth after a long and enthusiastic explanation and presentation.]¹

In the following year, 1879, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations really started into its agricultural work with a resolution favoring agricultural activity by the Jew in the United States. The Committee on Agricultural Pursuits which had been appointed only that year made the following report which was unanimously adopted in the form of the resolution which follows:

"Whereas: In our opinion the true emancipation of the Jews consists in the greater infusion of the spirit of manhood and self-dependence which can best be done by encouraging the large masses of Israelites dwelling in Eastern and Southern Europe to become farmers, agriculturists, and mechanics; and

"Whereas: The millions of acres still lying waste in this country await the toil of the thrifty and industrious husbandmen and laborers to yield the untold wealth sleeping in the soil, and to millions of Jews the independence of the farmer would be the true redemption from bondage; and

"Whereas: This country, our brethren all over the Old World, and society at large would be greatly benefitted by the enlistment of willing hands and stout hearts in an enterprise that would largely effect the great social question of modern times; and

"Whereas: Such work could be carried on with facility in cooperation with our sister societies in Europe, the Alliance Israelite Universelle and their German branches, the Board of English Deputies, and others; therefore be it

"Resolved: That the Board of Delegates on Civil and Religious Rights be and they are hereby instructed to take into consideration the feasibility

1. American Israelite, June 14, 1878.

and practicability of our active cooperation with our sister societies in Europe, for the purpose of encouraging agriculture among Jews and the settlement in this country of such that are willing and able to devote themselves to that pursuit in the West and South.

"Resolved: That the Executive Board be, and they are hereby authorized to accept donations of land, funds, and hold them in trust for the purpose of encouraging agricultural pursuits among Israelites.

Moritz Ellinger
Emanuel Wertheimer
Lewis Seasongood

Committee¹.

At the next meeting of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations the problems brought up by the report of the Agricultural Committee were gone into more thoroughly. At that time Dr. A. Wise made a resolution to the effect that a committee composed of three men be appointed to inquire into the merits and status of the organization known at that time as the Hebrew Colonization Society. He also suggested that some members of the society be selected as pioneers in the movement to colonize in the South and West if they were willing. Dr. Moses of Mobile, Alabama, stated that he was in opposition to the scheme for he felt that the only reason that the Jews occupied any position in the country at that time was because of their residence in large cities, and that it was folly to try to meddle with the existing conditions. For that reason he did not think that the project was a feasible one. He was completely opposed to diverting the Hebrews in the United States from com-

1. American Israelite, June 14, 1878.

merce to agriculture. Other speeches delivered at this meeting in New York brought out that: "Moses of old, 3,000 years ago, was a farmer..."; "...the rabbis of old stated that a man who has not a little ground to till is not a man!"; "The Council already has too many irons in the fire"; "Deliberations of the Council were for the purpose of giving the poor man of Israel a farm and a home."^{1.}

By Dr. Gottheil the Council was advised to "...take up the scheme with force and energy to keep the poor Jews from pauperism." Simon Wold stated that he was ready to lead such a colony. Many other speeches were also made, the majority of which were favorable to the establishment of the colony as^{la.} proposed by the Committee's report in the previous meeting.

The report as finally adopted provided for the accommodation of fifty families the funds for whose support were to be provided for by public and private donation. Provision was also made for the instruction of rudimentary farming in the Jewish orphan asylums which may be regarded as an adaptation of the original idea of Moritz Loth. A committee was appointed into whose hands was put the entire affair. Lands were to be purchased just as rapidly as the funds could be acquired. The Union was to cooperate with other societies having colonization schemes in view. Families who took advantage of the plan were to be given the privilege of seven years in which to pay for their land. The money that was received from them

1. American Israelite, July 18, 1879.
1a. Ibid.

was to be turned once again for the purchase of land which was to be treated in the same manner so far as payments were concerned.^{1.}

The next meeting of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations was held in San Francisco on September 26, 1879. The discussion that had taken place in New York at the previous meeting had met with some considerable interest in the West and there were several land speculators about when the members of the Union arrived to have their meeting. The members of the organization who were present in San Francisco went out to the farm of a Mr. Stone which was situated about two miles from the city. This was a dairy farm and was offered by the Union as living proof that the Jews could be successful in agricultural pursuits.^{2.}

Stone was quite well-to-do, and had a fine house and a dairy herd of about 175 cattle which were cared for by four native Swiss. The farm buildings were new and well-kept. There was a horse stable for eighteen horses in addition to the accommodations for the cattle. There was also room for milk wagons, hay lofts, and farm implements in sheds, and outhouses which were in good repair. A blacksmith's shop, a well, and a small gas works completed the equipment that the property contained. The milk wagons were driven by Stone's sons who were in excellent health from the effect of their life on the farm. Stone and his family had formerly lived in San Francis-

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1. American Israelite, July 18, 1879.
 2. American Israelite, September 26, 1879.

co, but had lost all of their possessions in a flood. Through the generosity of the Jews in San Francisco they were given a little money with which they started their new farm. By 1879 when the members of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations saw the farm it was built up to a fine point of prosperity.^{1.}

The next meeting of the Union took place in January, 1880. At this meeting a committee was appointed and authorized to solicit land and farming equipment as well as money, with which the agricultural colonies were to be started. The committee was also authorized to appoint sub-committees, the idea being that in the various cities with large Jewish populations smaller committees could do the work for the central committee and thus render the efforts of the whole more effective. The Central Committee consisted of Moritz Ellinger of New York, who was the chairman, Lazarus Silverman of Chicago, Simon Wolf of Washington, D. C., Emanuel Werthelmer of Pittsburg,^{2.} and Julius Freiburg of Cincinnati.

At this time donations of land were received from the Messrs. I. and S. Bernheimer of New York City consisting of 600 acres of land in Minnesota. The land was accepted on condition that it be found to be good farming land. It was located near a railroad on a river. Also at this meeting a report was made concerning a communication from the President of the First Hebrew Colonization Association informing the Union of American Hebrew Congregations that about thirty fam-

1. American Israelite, September 26, 1879.

2. American Israelite, January 16, 1880.

ilies were ready and willing to settle in the West as farmers as soon as they could be guaranteed material aid. This group of thirty families had taxed each member \$2.00 per month in an effort to collect enough money to go out to the location in which they wished to settle. Although the Union of American Hebrew Congregations wrote to the association encouraging its members and promising them aid no answer was received to the letter and the Union was "deeply disappointed".^{1.}

Up to this time the Union had been proceeding on its own initiative and entirely without any outside aid. It had accomplished little, if anything, and its prospects for doing anything even in the future seemed not too bright. Then, on the occasion of a trip to Europe made by Emanuel Wertheimer the Society began to take on an entirely different aspect. Wertheimer left for Europe on the twenty-seventh of May, 1880, and carried with him two important letters which had been given to him by the Rev. Dr. Max Lillienthal, one of the Professors at the Hebrew Union College at the time. One of the letters was an introduction to Professor Isidor Loeb of Paris, Secretary of the Alliance Israelite Universelle, written in French and asking for kindness to be shown to Wertheimer. He also carried letters to Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart., Ramsgate, England. Thus the Union of American Hebrew Congregations began to take on an international aspect in its agricultural plan since it was asking for help and assistance as well as cooperation in these letters.^{2.}

1. American Israelite, January 16, 1880

2. American Israelite, May 28, 1880.

Both of them are reprinted here because of their importance as documentary evidence of the agricultural activities of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

"Cincinnati, Ohio
May 23, 1880

"Isidore Loeb, Esq.,
Secretary, Alliance Israelite Universelle
Paris, France

Dear Sir:

"The bearer of this letter is the Hon. Emanuel Wertheimer of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, United States of America, who is the Chairman of the Committee on Hebrew Agricultural Pursuits, appointed by the Executive Board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. The said Committee has been instructed by the Sixth Annual Council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations to solicit donations of land, farming implements and money, and as soon as they possess a tract of land they will subdivide it into farms of 80 acres each for one family, who shall have it for a term of seven years free rental; and after seven years the family will have the right to buy the land at the price it was worth when they took possession of the same. The money thus received by the Executive Board will be reinvested in fertile lands and will be given to other Jewish colonists on the same conditions. The Israelites of the United States are in favor of the measure of leading our brethren into agricultural pursuits, and the opinion prevails that the proposed monument to Adolph Cremieux should be "The Adolph Cremieux Hebrew Farming Colony" established in the United States on a scale worthy of his memory and the beneficence of the Israelites of Europe. Such a movement would be a most fitting memorial to the good man whose philanthropy illuminated both hemispheres, and brought light and relief from oppression to thousands of our persecuted brethren; and if this measure is carried into practical working order it would lead hundreds of Jewish families from dark valleys of oppression, poverty, and ignorance to the broad fields of freedom, prosperity, and education.

"I respectfully request you to bring before your Board and the friends of our poor brethren this view of a monument for Adolph Cremieux, consisting not of stone or metal but of a spiritual creation ---The Adolph Cremieux Hebrew Farming Colony. Such a monument will outlast storms and the tooth of time, and would lead our brethren gradually into a field of permanent prosperity and independence.

"I hope that this measure will meet with favorable consideration and action by the Israelites of Europe. Their brethren in the United States will gladly cooperate in this good work by the selection of lands advantageously located, and by giving the colonists every aid that their experience and brotherly love will dictate.

"Our distinguished representative will deliver to you for the Archives of the Alliance Israelite Universelle, a volume containing the reports of the six Annual Councils of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations which I trust will be acceptable.

"Any courtesies or kindnesses extended to the Hon. Emanuel Wertheimer will be highly appreciated and gladly reciprocated by

Yours truly,

M. Loth

President of the Union of American Hebrew¹.
Congregations."

The second letter that Wertheimer carried is also of interest since it was addressed to a well-known personality in England, a philanthropist and a scholar.

"Cincinnati, Ohio
May 23, 1880

"Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart.,
Ramsgate, England

Honored Sir:

1. American Israelite, May 28, 1880

"With a feeling of deep reverence I take the liberty of introducing to you the Hon. Emanuel Wertheimer, of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, United States of America, who is a member of the Executive Board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and the Chairman of the Committee on Hebrew Agricultural Pursuits appointed by the Board by express instruction of the Sixth Annual Council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. The said committee is authorized to solicit donations of land, farming implements, and money, and to adopt a practical plan by which our brethren may be led successfully into agricultural pursuits.

"By this act the Union of American Hebrew Congregations has plainly manifested its policy to work in unison for the spiritual welfare and the promotion of general education among the children of Israel, and also to extend its aid in promoting their general and material prosperity.

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"The news that reaches our peaceful shores of the persecutions that our brethren are subjected to in Russia, in Roumania, and in the Orient causes deep regret and heartfelt sympathy by the Israelites of the United States, and the opinion is general that the Alliance Israelite Universelle, in conjunction with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations should adopt a general plan for permanent relief to the Israelites of those countries and raise a fund of \$1,000,000, and create therewith a monument to the late Adolph Cremieux, namely the "Adolph Cremieux Hebrew Farming Colony", to be established in the United States, which is indeed a land where milk and honey flow to all those who work and conduct themselves worthy of men.

"One million dollars is a large sum; still it can be raised, provided that the right men of the right spirit will take the lead in this truly philanthropic measure, and the Israelites of every country should vie with each other to excel in the largeness of the sum and the promptness with which they contribute their share.

"This measure, although meritorious and fruitful of the happiest results, needs, nevertheless, in its infancy the most powerful advocates and the most consummate leaders whose enthusiasm inspires and secures success.

"I appeal to you, noble sir, who for three-quarters of a century have been the foremost leader in Israel, to mitigate the sufferings of our poor brethren, to give the movement of leading our brethren into agricultural pursuits on a large scale your powerful influence and aid.

"Our distinguished representative will present to you, as a token of great esteem and reverence, a volume containing the reports of the six annual Councils held by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations which gives a history of its organization and growth.

"May this letter find you in good health which God may prolong for many years, is the sincere hope and prayer of

Yours truly,

M. Loth

President of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations." ^{1.}

At the next meeting of the Committee on Agricultural Pursuits of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations the following resolution was introduced by Mr. Silverman:

"Resolved: That every congregation in the country appoint three members to act as a committee to solicit land, implements, and donations of money."^{2.}

Also at this meeting it was agreed by the members of the committee that it would take at least \$500 per family, not including the cost of land to bring things into a decent working order for the particular colony that was being settled. Each family was to have 60 acres of land (the original plan had called for 80) along with ten acres of timber land. The committee did not stop to think what would be done in a section where there was no timber to be had, such as the farm land on the Great

1. American Israelite, May 28, 1880.

2. American Israelite, February 4, 1881.

Plains. The land was to be rent free for seven years after which time the colonists were to buy the land from the Union for three dollars an acre and were to return to the organization any money that had been advanced for settlement on the land. Loth also reported at this meeting that the Grand Lodge of the B'nai B'rith had moved to join with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in their land settlement project and that they would cooperate with them to the full extent of their power, and also would do all to help them procure money and donations of land as well as to interest proper people in the project.^{1.}

In the issue of the American Israelite for December 2, 1881 an appeal appeared to the Jews of the United States to subscribe to the one million dollars worth of stock that was being issued by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and which money, as subscribed by the buyers of the stock would be used to settle colonists on Western Lands. The possibilities for agriculture and labor in the United States were held to be almost unlimited by the American Israelite, and were stated to surpass by far anything that Palestine could ever have to offer the Jews. There was all the room needed for farmers and laborers, according to the Israelite, but no room for beggars, hucksters, peddlers, haberdashers, and hardly any for professional men.

In 1882 the Union had not yet been able to put its plan into effect because of the wave of Russian immigration

1. American Israelite, February 4, 1880.

which took all the funds which could possibly be raised, according to the Union's sympathetic spokesman, the American Israelite. In an article appearing on August 4, 1882 the American Israelite stated that the Russian refugee was a made to order settler. This statement was made despite all that had been said about the refugee desiring to go into other fields than agriculture, and not being desirous of working at manual labor. The following plan was proposed by the newspaper.

The Russian refugees were held to be martyrs because they could have avoided all their difficulties had they been willing to give up their faith and join the church. But they had refused to do that and left their country. The paper held that all martyrs are sensitive and must be treated carefully so as not to harm them further. The belief was expressed that refugees should not be sent out in groups of less than ten to colonize because they required the opportunity to practice the rites of their religion to which they were attached. Each settlement had to be supplied with a Torah, shofar, and rabbi, for otherwise the settlers could not possibly be made happy, according to the Israelite. The point was stressed that these were not ordinary people who were being dealt with but men and women who were looking ahead to the future, and who would not be satisfied with a mere pittance on which to live. Care was therefore to be exercised to make sure that the Russian Jews who were going to settle in the colonies that were to be established by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations would be given the opportunity to look ahead and see a bright future be-

fore them beyond a mere subsistence. Otherwise their work would give them no pleasure and they would be as unhappy as they were in Russia before the pogroms drove them out. At this early period the Israelite was in favor of coddling and nursing to a great degree. (Its attitude changed when it saw that the poor Russian martyrs whom it was so carefully trying to nurture stood a good chance to lose much of the money it had invested. In taking back all of the possessions that the colonists had been given when they settled on the land, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations completely forgot about being careful with these martyrs it was so worried about at one time. Large tracts of land were to be given to the refugees whether they could farm it all or not. The reason given for that plan was the idea that when the Russians had a chance to feel that they were the sole owners of such a large amount of land the pride that they would feel in their new homes would make them work all the harder, and cause their success in the new country which in no other way would have been possible.¹

The important point of careful selection of land and climate was also brought out at this time. Although the Union seemed to recognize the true importance of having fertile soil for the colonists to work with, and to have a climate that made for a long and frost-free growing season, it did not seem to recognize the necessity for markets. It would have planted isolated colonies all over the United States with no attempt

1. American Israelite, August 4, 1882.

at strategic location if its will would have been attainable. Beautiful visions were being dreamed and it was unfortunate that they could not possibly come into being. The colonies were to be run cooperatively at first, with the entire group of colonists dwelling in one unit and deriving security and help from the proximity of each other. This would cut down expenses and enable farmers to share such important and costly necessities as horses and other stock, and expensive harvesting units. The colonists were to be made to understand that everything they were given was but lent to them, and that they were responsible for the return of everything to the society that placed them on the land.^{1.}

The article in the Israelite closes with an appeal for funds with which to start the colonies that had only been prospects for such a long time. The paper promised rapid and successful growth and assured any investors who wished to put their money in the stock issued by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations that the investment could not possibly go wrong. Not only were they putting their money to a charitable cause, but they were assuring themselves of a handsome return. Vaguely reminiscent of the colonization efforts in the post-Revolutionary period of Mr. Robinson and Mr. Noah were the alluring promises of the Israelite speaking for the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

In late August of 1882 the Executive Board of the Union issued an appeal to the members of the various congregations

1. American Israelite, August, 4, 1882.

of the United States to enroll every Jew and to have all of them pledge at least one dollar a year which was to be used for the colonization of the refugees.

"The plan is likely to be the first step towards the solution of a problem the importance of which can hardly be overestimated. To Mr. Moritz Loth, President of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations Israel is indebted for the practical answer of how to raise funds for this purpose is his. Two of the best and largest congregations of the United States have already responded. Bene Yeshurun of Cincinnati was preceded by Adath Israel of Louisville. The Hebrew Congregation of Indianapolis has also acted favorably and has appointed a committee of influential men to canvass the city."¹

In addition to the colony the Union was in favor of founding an agricultural college to be run in conjunction with it. A plan was formulated and its practicability supposedly assured. Unfortunately the people of the various Jewish congregations scattered throughout the United States did not respond to the plan of this organization as readily as it was supposed that they did. After three years of getting things ready it was found that nothing had been accomplished despite all the talk that went on. The Union determined that something should be done at once.²

Despite the claims of the American Israelite, and the names of those prominent men who were associated with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, this organization was probably the most impotent of all of those connected with early agricultural development. So much appeared in print about the society

1. American Israelite, September 22, 1882.
2. American Israelite, December 22, 1882.

that the uninitiated reader might suspect it as being the chief force behind the American colonization movement of the Russian Jew. Such was not the case. We have given so much space to the activities of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations because of the featuring by the American Israelite of almost everything that the body did. The Israelite obviously preferred this organization to all others and worked for the group almost exclusively. We shall best be able to determine the actual value of the society through its achievements with relation to the colony which it planted in the West.

THE HEBREW UNION AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY.

The American Israelite devotes a great deal of space also to the work of the Hebrew Union Agricultural Society, which group was also known as the "Maccabees". It was originally formed under that name, but changed because of lack of understanding and misinterpretation of "Maccabee". The Constitution^{1.} of this society follows:

"For centuries have the Israelites been deprived of the right to own in fee land and to till it as farmers, thereby virtually compelling them to become traders, and in order to correct this and again to promote agricultural pursuits among the Israelites, we, for that purpose adopt the following as the organic laws of our organization:

"Section 1. The name of this organization shall be the Hebrew Union Agricultural Society.

"Section 2. Every person over thirteen years of age shall be eligible to membership and shall become a member on signing the roll and paying \$1.00 annual-

1. American Israelite, November 17, 1882.

ly, which amount shall be promptly remitted to the Central Board of Control.

"Section 3. Every person paying \$100.00 shall be enrolled as a life member and his name shall be recorded in a book for life membership which shall be kept in the archives of the Central Board.

"Section 4. The organization shall be composed of sections and of a central Board of Control.

"Section 5. Any number of Israelites may organize a section.

"Section 6. A section shall consist of those enrolled as members in one city, town, or locality.

"Section 7. In each town, city, or locality where a section is organized those forming the section shall have the right to choose one of their own number as a Supervisor. When none such is chosen by a Section it shall be the duty of the Central Board to appoint one.

"Section 8. Every section not numbering less than fifty members shall have the right to choose one of their members as a Representative.

"Section 9. Sections may make laws in furtherance of the object of the Association which shall affect the Section making them alone.

"Section 10. Supervisors shall collect subscriptions, and promptly remit the same to the Central Board, and perform such other duties as may be designed by the law of their Section or the Central Board.

"Section 11. Representatives of a State or Territory may meet when and where a majority may determine, and may make general laws affecting the Sections in their respective States or Territories.

"Section 12. Representative of a State or Territory may choose one of their own number to a seat in the Central Board. Such choice must be made by the vote of at least twelve representatives, and a majority of votes from the Sections in a State or Territory shall be required to elect such. The

votes of the several Representatives shall be sent out in writing to the Secretary of the Central Board, who shall declare when the incumbent is elected to a seat in the Central Board of Control.

"Section 13. Every Section in a State shall be numbered by the Central Board of Control consecutively as soon as organized.

"Section 14. The Central Board shall consist of the nine members now chosen as a provisional Executive Council, and also one Representative from each State and Territory when elected as provided in Section 12 hereof.

"Section 15. The Central Board of Control shall be charged with the duty of doing all matters and things pertaining to assisting indigent Jewish families in agricultural pursuits; it shall have supervision over the affairs of the Association; it may make all necessary laws and regulations to carry out the intended object; it shall have charge of and be the custodian of all the moneys and property of the Association; it may employ superintendents, or other agents or persons, as it may deem proper, and it shall have full power to do all things necessary to carry out the objects of the Association; it shall decide all questions or disputes between the Sections, Supervisors, or Representatives.

"Section 16. The seat of the Central Board of Control shall be in the City of Cincinnati, State of Ohio.

"Section 17. This Constitution, or any part thereof may be amended, repealed, or new additions made thereto, at a meeting of the Board of Control as now existing, if moved in writing at one meeting and passed by two-thirds of the Board at a subsequent meeting. After the election of ten Representatives to the Board of Control, then it may be changed at a regular meeting to which all Representatives forming part of the Board of Control shall be notified to attend, by a majority vote of those present at such a meeting."¹

This society, contemporary with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, was more active than the latter group

1. American Israelite, November 17, 1862.

whose activities were also largely centered in the same section of the country. In 1882 the Hebrew Union Agricultural Society was able to point with some pride to the existence of colonies in Cotopaxi, Colorado, at Painted Woods, North Dakota, and at Mason, North Dakota, in whose founding it participated. These colonies will be dealt with at length in the historical sketches of the colonies of the Russian Immigration period. But the society working alone had found very little support, relatively, for its efforts. It called upon the Jewish communities through the medium of the American Israelite to come to its aid so that more colonies could be planted, and so that more necessary help could be given to those persons already on the land.¹

The following quotation from the American Israelite is typical of their pleas:

"The rabbis of the United States will do honor to themselves and to the positions which they occupy by advocating with all their power a hearty and unanimous support of the Hebrew Union Agricultural Society. The association is no local affair. Originating in Cincinnati, the Provisional Board is ready to resign the control into the hands of the people at large as soon as they will choose their representatives. The sum asked from each, one dollar, is so small that it becomes insignificant when the incalculable good of the society, if successful, is taken into consideration. On behalf of the society we appeal earnestly to the pulpit and press for the aid of their influence."²

THE RUSSIAN EMIGRANT AID SOCIETY.

1. American Israelite, December 1, 1882.
2. American Israelite, November 17, 1882.

At this time also there existed a Society known as the Russian Emigrant Aid Society. This group, with similar purposes to those of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations was entirely independent of that larger organization. Its object was to settle Russian Immigrants on agricultural land. Its President, J. Stanwood Menken, was a widely known and highly respected personality who possessed considerable influence on this period of colonization. The Society did not propose to take away from the Union any of its obligations or provinces of work. It felt that there was plenty of work for itself and for all other organizations. This group was of the opinion that it did not matter how many organizations and colonizations societies there were in the United States for they were all working for the same ends even if they were using different means of achieving them.

When the first group of Russian Emigrants arrived, the Jews of this country were without any method of dealing with them effectively and efficiently.

THE HEBREW EMIGRANT AID SOCIETY.

This society was probably the most effective in the immediate relief of the Russian Jew. It was formed in 1881 as a means of solving the emergency of dealing with large numbers of people hastily coming into the country. The President of the Society at the time of its organization was Henry S. Henry who enjoyed a distinguished position in contemporary Jewish life. The purpose of the organization, as stated in the

articles of its incorporation were in part---

"...to afford aid and advice to emigrants of the Hebrew faith coming to the United States from countries where they have suffered by reason of oppressive laws or hostile populace, to afford aid and advice to emigrants desiring the help of the Society in settling in the United States on lands of the Society or otherwise." 1.

Because many of the families who came to the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society were desirous of settling on land as farmers a colony was started by this society at Cotopaxi, Colorado where the Hebrew Union Agricultural Society was also active. The situation there will be dealt with in more detail in following pages. An illuminating letter from Henry S. Henry, President of the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society to Joseph Abraham, Corresponding Secretary of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, reveals a great deal of the work done by the Society and the problems that were faced by this group. Conditions in New York with which the organization had to contend are pictured graphically and realistically in the letter that follows.

"June, 1882

"Joseph Abraham, Corresponding Sec'y.,
Union of American Hebrew Congregations,
Cincinnati, Ohio

Dear Sir:

"I have received the letter addressed to me under date 21st inst., relative to settlement of twenty families on land in Kansas selected by your society, one-half the expense of which (you estimate at \$3,000 to \$4,000 for entire charge) you ask our society to bear. You probably have

1. American Jewish Yearbook, 5673, pp. 56-59.

no idea of the present conditions of things here in New York. We are feeding at present 3,000 people, and our expenses foot up over \$2,000 per day for that item, transportation, clothing, etc. Our resources are taxed to the uttermost to meet this outlay and we cannot talk colonization in any shape. We have gone to work to raise money and expect \$75,000 from our people here inside of two weeks but at our present rate of expenditure this will not last six weeks, and I do not see how it can be much diminished in view of what we learn from the other side---the emigration of thousands to our shores, when we have cabled positively to stop altogether....Outside of New York...we receive no assistance whatever, and you will probably find when too late that every city of the United States will be swarming with these people because Hebrews everywhere do not put their shoulders to the wheel to distribute the burden and to help properly to combine to place these refugees in some self-supporting way....Cincinnati should raise from \$30,000 to \$40,000 and be prepared to place 250 to 300 emigrants a month, organizing an employment agency and having a shelter somewhere under proper superintendence, where they could be fed for about 20¢ a day pending future settlement. New York would contribute \$10.00 per head (adults) for this purpose, but to expend now \$2,000 to \$3,000 for twenty families while such burdens are looking to us for their daily bread is out of the question...."

Yours truly,

Henry S. Henry,

President, The Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society of the United States.¹

And so the planning and hopes for cooperation between Hebrew the/Union Agricultural Society and the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society never did materialize.

1. American Israelite, June 30, 1882.

THE JEWISH AGRICULTURISTS' AID SOCIETY OF CHICAGO.

The Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society of Chicago was another organization of this period, working for the benefit of the refugee and having a good deal of trouble with its economic arrangements and its efficiency in operation and control of what refugees it was able to place on farms.

The Society was organized on October 28, 1888 when a committee was formed by Rabbi A. R. Levy to help poor Jews locate on farms. At first the organization had no permanent funds with which to work. It received money from its friends and supporters whenever a situation arose which required immediate action. By this type of haphazard raising and spending of funds it was able to do quite a bit of good. The Society located a fair number of refugees on farms in the Middle West and in the Dakotas, spending about \$35,000 in doing so. In 1901 the Society had sixty-seven members and a cash fund of \$4,700 which was raised by selling "certificates of credit". Between 1900 and 1904 it received \$30,703.15 from the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society of New York which took over some 63 mortgages in order to provide the Society in Chicago with sufficient funds to keep on operating. By 1908 the membership of the Society had increased to 413 people who purchased \$47,215 worth of the "credit certificates" which the Society had on sale. From 1888 to 1912 the Society claimed credit for having aided 400 Jewish families to settle on farms which were chiefly government homesteads located in North Da-

kota. The Society was finally absorbed by the Chicago office of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society.^{1.}

The constitution of this Society follows:

"Article 1. Name and object.

Section 1. This society shall be known as the Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society of America and shall have its headquarters in the city of Chicago, state of Illinois.

Section 2. The object of this society is: to encourage and aid Jewish people to embark as agriculturists in any section of this country or the Dominion of Canada.

"Article 2. Membership.

Section 1. Any individual, or any organization paying the sum of \$3.00, or more, annually, to this Society, shall be a member of the organization.

"Article 3. Meetings.

Section 1. There shall be a General meeting of this society biennially, held in the city of Chicago during the month of January. The day of such meeting to be fixed upon by the Directors of the said Society.

Section 2. Special meetings of the Society may be held at the call of the directors, or at the request of ten members of the Society.

Section 3. At the General meeting of the Society there shall be elected by ballot, eleven Directors to serve for the term of two years, or until their successors shall have been elected and qualified.

"Article 4. Officers.

Section 1. The Board of Directors shall elect from their number the following numbers: President; Vice-president; Secretary; Treasurer; and such other officers as may from time to time be necessary for the transaction of the Society's business.

Section 2. The Board of Directors shall meet at such time and place as may be fixed upon by the Board or by the officers of the Society.

"Article 5. Quorum.

Section 1. The Board of Directors and ten members

1. Levine, op. cit., pp. 114-115.

of the Society shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at the meetings of the Society; and five members of the Board shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at the Directors' meetings.

"Article 6. Vacancies.

Section 1. The Board of Directors shall have the power to fill all vacancies in any office for unexpired terms.

"Article 7. Amendments.

Section 1. These by-laws may be amended by a vote of two-thirds of the members present at a meeting of the Society." 1.

The Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society was interested in raising a permanent fund for its use in aid to the refugees largely because of the unreliability of the methods it had to employ to get money to expend. It estimated that a fund of \$100,000 would enable it to settle annually between forty and fifty families. In each case it was figured that the money would eventually come back to the Society so that the fund would remain constant and would continually revolve. As security for the money that would be loaned to each farmer the land that was purchased with the funds of the Society would be acceptable.^{2.}

In 1901, continuing the argument that it had advanced the year before, the Society explained that although it had loaned out about \$35,000, it had no money of its own on hand with which to settle prospective colonists. This was due to the money's being advanced as fast as it came in with none be-

1. Jewish Agriculturists Aid Society report, 1900, Chicago; pp. 3-4. Hereafter this Society will be referred to in foot-
notes simply with its initials-J.A.A.S.

2. J.A.A.S. Report, 1900, p. 17.

ing kept as a permanent fund. The work of looking for people with philanthropic intentions and capabilities was becoming increasingly more difficult since the supply of such people did not increase. Also, after a person had once given money to the Society he was not likely to want to contribute again for some time. Therefore the Society decided on the following plan.

A "Loan Fund" established by the organization itself was to be formed. The fund was to be made possible by offering "Certificates of Credit" issued by the Society in denominations of \$10.00 and upwards. These certificates were to be redeemable after a period of ten years and would bear interest at the rate of 3%. The money that was derived from the scheme was to be used for no other purpose save that of making loans to Jewish farmers who had left the cities and were trying to establish themselves as farmers. The operating expenses of the Society itself were to be paid for by the Associated Jewish Charities of Chicago, and by members of the Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society. They would donate¹ money particularly earmarked for that purpose.

In 1902 the work of the Society was broadened in scope through the help of the Baron de Hirsch Fund. The Fund helped the Society to the extent of taking over some mortgages amounting to about \$5,500. It also made loans of nearly \$6,000 to the farmers connected with the Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society. During that year only \$8,295 worth of the "credit

1. J.A.A.S. Report, 1901, p. 30.

certificates were sold which was not regarded as being very successful.^{1.}

In 1903 the Society was able to report little more than it did the previous year. It still had not been able to get together any large sums of money and was dependent on aid from other organizations for its philanthropic work to a large degree. Nevertheless the Society was quite enthusiastic over its success in transforming the Russian emigrants into healthy individuals who were no longer cringing and afraid as they had been when they first landed in the country. Mention is also made in the Society's report for 1903 of the pleasant relations between itself and the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society with which group joint meetings had been held.^{2.}

All through the reports of the Society run a note of conviction in the excellence of farm work for the emigrant Jew. The organization believed in farming as a means to build the Jew up physically, and to make him the equal of the Gentile in his ability for farm work.^{3.}

Although the Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society would have had the general public believe otherwise it was a distinctly local organization. It was composed almost exclusively of Chicagoans, and supported by them for the most part. In 1907 it made a final attempt to achieve national recognition and support. Failing that, the next best thing that it could do was to affiliate with a Society which already had

1. J.A.A.S., Report, 1902, pp. 5-7.
2. J.A.A.S., Report, 1903, pp. 1-8.
3. J.A.A.S., Report, 1906, p. 38.

a position in the country. Upon the affiliation of the Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society with the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society the former was absorbed into the latter's organization as a branch office.^{1.}

THE JEWISH ALLIANCE OF AMERICA.

Another early colonization association was the Jewish Alliance of America. This was an organization composed of Russian Jews who lived in Philadelphia. Its purpose was to alleviate the condition of the Russian Refugee and to give him protection, education, and assistance. This organization was also in favor of giving the refugees the opportunity to leave large cities and to settle on farms and in farm colonies.^{2.}

This society was criticized by the American Israelite because of the high-sounding name which it adopted. The paper felt that the name made the society look as though it was a representative of all of American Jewry. The organization was of short duration and accomplished nothing of note. It did some good in doing a certain amount of relief work among the Russian refugees in Philadelphia.^{3.}

THE JEWISH COLONIZATION ASSOCIATION.

The Jewish Colonization Association, while of great significance throughout the world will not be treated with any

1. J.A.A.S. Report, 1907.

2. American Israelite, September 4, 1890.

3. Ibid.

detail in this paper. Founded by Baron de Hirsch, its efforts were largely to direct the Jews into agricultural fields, but not in the United States. It worked mainly in Palestine and in the Argentine where it was supported by the Hirsch millions.^{1.}

THE JEWISH AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL AID SOCIETY.

It is perhaps significant to note that of all the societies considered above not one is still in existence today. They all have completely passed from the Jewish agricultural scene and have left all of their work in the hands of the most important organization dealing with the Jewish refugee in agriculture. This society is the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society which changed its name to the Jewish Agricultural Society in 1922.

This organization is still in existence today, strong and influential in the modern American-Jewish farm situation. Its importance and the wealth of material that is available concerning it requires that it be divided into two distinct parts. Thus we shall treat of the Society from its formation in 1900 through 1913 in this section of the paper, leaving the completion of the history of the organization to date for the section dealing with the Modern period, or Recent period of the American Jew in agriculture.

1. American Israelite, November 19, 1896.

When the Baron de Hirsch Fund had been running for several years its Trustees saw that they had entirely too much on their hands. The activities of the Fund were spreading in all directions. They were embracing industrial as well as agricultural problems, educational problems too were dealt with by the Fund. The Baron de Hirsch Fund wisely admitted its inadequacies. It showed unselfishness in being willing to share with others any glory or credit that might come from a successful administration of the refugee problem. In order to separate agricultural activities from the Fund it supervised the formation of a new society. This organization was to concern itself with agricultural matters exclusively, and was called the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society of New York.

The Society was formed and incorporated on February 19, 1900 with the following officers: Julius Goldman, President; Morris Loeb, Vice-President; Sigmund Neustadt, Treasurer; and Eugene S. Benjamin, Secretary. Immediately upon its formation all matters pertaining to agriculture formerly administered by the Baron de Hirsch Fund were turned over to it. It was supported by the Baron de Hirsch Fund and by the Jewish Colonization Association. The objects of the new society as taken from the articles of incorporation, follow:

1. The encouragement and direction of agriculture among the Jews, residents of the United States, principally immigrants from Russia and Galicia; the removal of all such persons from dwelling in crowded sections of cities to agricultural and industrial districts, and provision for their temporary support.

"2. The grant of loans to mechanics, artisans and tradesmen, to enable them to secure larger earnings and accumulate savings for the acquisition of homes in suburban, agricultural, and industrial districts.

"3. The removal of industries now pursued in tenements, or shops in crowded sections of the cities by aiding manufacturers to transfer their shops and businesses to agricultural and industrial districts where their employees may continue to labor and acquire individual homes.

"4. The encouragement of cooperative creameries and factories, and of storage houses for the canning and preserving of fruit and vegetables and making wine."¹

From these objects it may be seen that the purposes of the Society were not purely agricultural at first, and that it was only later, with the dropping of some of the extra-agricultural activities that the society became what it constitutes today.

At the outset the future of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society was bright. It was adequately supported from its inception by the Jewish Colonization Association. This organization agreed to contribute \$80,000 annually for a period of ten years during which time the Baron de Hirsch Fund was to contribute \$30,000 per year. It should be understood that the Baron de Hirsch Fund practically supported the Jewish Colonization Association and thus in reality was bearing the burden of the new society itself.²

During the first year of the Society much time was spent in carefully trying to determine methods that would

1. American Jewish Yearbook, 5673, pp. 68-72.
2. Joseph, op. cit., p. 129.

serve the purpose best. Agricultural activities of the Society were somewhat limited until the organization was in working order. During the first year loans amounting to about \$14,000 were made, mainly to the residents of the South Jersey colonies. 1. *notes*

The fundamental activity of the Society was from the first lending money. Loans were to be granted to those who wished to locate as farmers and to those on farms already who needed aid to continue their work. The loans were to be used for the purchase of equipment for the farm when necessary or for the farm itself when the settler was one just commencing his agricultural career. The loans were usually made at 4% interest with the principal repayable in easy installments. It was attempted not to press the borrower for the return of the money until it became apparent that there was something radically wrong with the type of farming that he was carrying on which would keep him from ever making a success of farming. A policy of the Society also was not to loan money unless it was impossible for the farmer to get it elsewhere. Most of its loans, therefore, were second and third mortgages, going on up as high as seventh mortgages when necessary. Chattel mortgages were also taken as security. Loans were made up to 75% of the value of the farm property and frequently were made above the value of the farm. [It will thus be understood how the principal of the association was depleted during the course of time for investments such as it was making in farm property obviously were not going to prosper and bear fruit. Many of the loans were not made so much to set the farmer on

his feet, but were granted in order to keep the man on the land. This was the practice during times of stress when if he were to leave his land nothing better would be open to him.]

The most difficult part of the Society's work was the selection and location of the new farmer upon a farm suitable to his particular abilities and past experience if there had been any. The Society cooperated with the new farmer in every possible way to settle him satisfactorily. Stock was selected and purchased under the supervision of the Society. Implements were bought and their use explained. Work plans were made for the farmer and valuable assistance was rendered to him in many other ways.

The main part of the early work of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society was the care and support of the South Jersey colonies which were settled by the organization. Their work in this enterprise will best be seen in connection with the history of the colonies themselves.

At one time the Society had thought of combining with the Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society of Chicago. It had encouraged that organization to think that it would be aided by the New York organization. Its plans were changed along these lines when it found that the Chicago Society had been entirely too enthusiastic in its reports about a certain colony which it had founded. These reports, which were made by a superintendent who was more interested in putting up a good front than in accomplishing his duties showed things that en-

phatically did not exist. It was reported that the land could be very easily tilled, that it was readily attainable under the Homestead Laws, and that the maximum amount of money that would be required to settle a family would be \$600. According to the Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society the farm would be able to support itself during the first year and from that point on would be able to show a profit.^{1.}

In answer to the appeal for help made by the Chicago society money was advanced and mortgages were taken up as mentioned previously. After the money had gone to Chicago an investigator was sent out by the New York Society to find out more definite information than was available to them from the Chicago group. The situation that the investigator found differed entirely from that which had been described by the Chicago organization. Very few farmers had been able to get a foothold in the land. Almost all of them were heavily in debt to the local merchants who had carried them along since their settlement on the land.^{2.}

The New York Society came to the conclusion that a family could not be settled in the Northwest for under \$1,000, and stated:

"When it is remembered that a far smaller sum would suffice to settle a family upon a purchased farm whose fertility has already been fairly ascertained, which is not subject to the intense climatic risks of the Dakotas and accessible to our insular spectator, it will be seen that there is no advantage in seeking such remote places for our people."^{3.}

1. Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society Report, 1903, pp. 10-13. From this point on referred to by initials-J.A.I.A.S.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

The Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society was notified by the organization in New York that no assistance would be available for farmers sent out after 1903. It was suggested by the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society that colonization in the area be stopped.^{1.}

By 1906 the Society had been brought into contact with 1,627 farmers and their families, numbering 8,709 people. Under cultivation at this time was 145,314 acres of land which were valued at the time of their purchase at \$2,716,649. There were also chattels valued at \$639,780.^{2.}

Continuing efficiently through the years of its early history the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society met many problems and dealt with them in a satisfactory manner. When one considers the scope and breadth of the problem with which it was faced the conclusion can be reached that excellent work was done by the society. To give some idea of the problems that faced the organization with new refugees coming into the country we have only to quote from a letter written by a colony of Jewish farmers in Russia, bearing the date of May 17, 1909, and certified to be true by the Superintendent of the village in question.

"We, the people of the Colony Reckon Palech, province of Kiev, Russia, beg to make known the following: In 1850 a grant of land consisting of 220 Deciatiens (about 533 acres) was given to us. At that time we were 27 small families, making it about eight Deciatiens per family. These 27 families have grown to be 92 comprising 390 souls. Not

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1903, pp. 10-13.

2. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1906, p. 5.

only have we not enough land to maintain us, and on which to keep our livestock, but we get little out of the land we have, because we are constantly harassed by our Gentile neighbors and our position has become intolerable. In 1905 our neighbors destroyed our crops and caused us much damage and since then we have been unable to get on our feet.

"We, the colonists, therefore appeal to the American Societies interested in colonization and have appointed two delegates with full power to find a tract of land which could be bought for us. We are able to pay part of the purchase price and the balance we should like to pay in annual installments. We must reserve some money to erect buildings, and for the necessary equipment. We therefore ask you to give heed to our appeals and to rescue us from our deplorable condition in Europe."¹

Although this problem was supposed to be taken up by the Society apparently they did not have the necessary funds to aid this group of Jews. At any rate no mention of the farmers is made in any subsequent report of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society.

By 1911 the Society estimated that there were 30,000 Jews scattered throughout forty states dependent on agriculture for their livelihood.²

By 1913 the Society was running as smoothly as could be expected. It was an efficient organization which embraced at that time more aspects of the farming problem and its relationship to the Jew than had ever been thought of before the inception of the group. The placing of the Jew on the soil had been put on a scientific basis. Careful investigations of farm land, soil, woods, water, fences, buildings, outbuildings

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1909, p. 21.

2. American Israelite, January 12, 1911.

neighborhood, nature of farming pursued in the region, and the questions of markets, schools, railroads, etc., etc., before it would allow a family to locate itself on a farm with the help of the society either completely or partially. Investigation of the character of the applicant was also carefully made.¹ The history of this society will be concluded with the general history of the modern or Recent period of the American Jew in agriculture.

SUMMARY

In brief summary of the work of the organizations connected with the Russian Immigration the following rather general conclusions may be drawn:

Not one of the early agricultural societies with the exception of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society lasted into the twentieth century to become a factor in the settlement of the Russian Jew on the land during the period immediately following his emigration to the United States.

We may explain this failure as being due to the inefficiency and bad management of these societies, their hasty formation, the questionable character of their sponsors, and the petty jealousies that destroyed so much of their work in its very beginning. Failure of the societies themselves as organizations came as an after effect of these faults. People would not contribute to their support only to see the

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1913, pp. 18-19.

fruits of the societies' labors failing and suffering miserably. "Nothing succeeds like success" wrote Alexander Dumas and the corollary might also be made that nothing fails like failure for once the colonization organizations started to go nothing could save them. If one fault only were mentioned it would be sufficient to condemn them completely. Throughout their activity they manifested an almost complete indifference to the selection of the land itself that was to be used for agriculture. As we shall see in the history of the colonies themselves many of them were located on bad land, with infertile soil, poor water supplies, and frequently miles away from civilization. The societies were doomed to fail because of their mistakes. By using the emotionalism of the Jewish people, their sympathies, and their charity, they prolonged the period of their solvency.

But if they did no more than to arouse a people dormant in its attitude toward agriculture as a new profession for the Jew, their struggles and faults are justified. It was through their propaganda that American Jewry became conscious of the fact that a fertile field existed untouched by them and possibilities were open for them were they only to exert themselves to take hold of them.

The history of the societies is significant and meaningful. Theirs was a beginning the end of which is not yet in sight.

A GENERAL HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN
JEW IN AGRICULTURE --- 1880-1910.

As we have already seen, the period from 1880 to 1910 was one of intense activity in agriculture for the American Jew and for the newly arrived immigrant. We have considered the situation from the viewpoint and through the activities of the organizations dealing with the problem which sprang up at that time. In doing so we have not intended to present a general or a comprehensive picture of the Jew in agriculture.

The chief motivating factor in the turning of the immigrant Jew to agriculture was the Homestead Act which had been passed in 1862 and signed and made into a law by Abraham Lincoln.

The Homestead Act granted a quarter section of land (160 acres) to the head of a family or to any person over twenty one years old who was a citizen of the United States or who had filed his intentions of becoming one. The land was granted free after residence of five years upon it. During this time the applicant could not be away from the land for a period of longer than six months at one time. The land was partially to be put under cultivation during the five year required residence period. After fourteen months, however,

residence on the land might be commuted by the payment of \$1.25 an acre. This requirement was later reduced to a three year period and land that was going to be used for stock raising was allowed to be taken up in areas of 640 acres. At first glance the conditions of the Homestead Act seem extremely liberal and favorable to the prospective settler. The immigrant Jews thought so too. It seemed to them as though millions of acres of land were waiting for them in the west, to be taken up and possessed under the easy rules of the government. As we have seen, many organizations sprang up for the purpose of taking advantage of the government offer and for the settling of their "problem" on the land.

The earliest record that comes to our attention pertaining to a settlement of Russian Jews on government homestead land is the story of a group of families originating in Cincinnati under the leadership of Charles Davis of that city. This group, consisting of some twenty families travelled to Southwestern Kansas where they made their homesteads on a tract of land "near a stream, 22 miles from a railroad".^{1.} This group was ready to start colonization at this time and made an appeal for aid through the columns of the American Israelite. Some of the people had been practical farmers in Russia and it was felt that they would have no difficulty in getting started in their new environment.^{2.}

All through the period of Russian colonization pro-

1. American Israelite, June 30, 1882.

2. Ibid.

jects were viewed with optimism. The thought of failure never occurred to the rosy-visioned idealists who looked upon themselves and their pet projects as the current messiahs for the entirety of the Russian Jewish people.

During the twenty year period from 1880 to 1900 there are a few records of Jewish farmers scattered through the states having no affiliation with any agricultural society, and not having settled on the land for more than a period of ten or fifteen years. [One of these men was located in Sacramento, California, where he was the successful owner of a fine vineyard. His farm, a short distance from Sacramento, consisted of 240 acres in fruit and vines and another 100 acres in fields and meadows. In addition to the grapes, which were his main cash crop, this farmer, a man by the name of David Lubin, grew figs, almonds, apricots, pomegranates, oranges, and lemons. He spent eight months of the year on his farm, during the entire growing season, and returned to his city home for the remainder of the year where he lived on his own farm produce which he had stored up, and also through the sale of the remainder to the readily available market in Sacramento.]¹

*more
about
the
farm
man*

Mention is also made of another independent farmer of the 1880's. This man, whose name was not stated, owned a farm located between New York and Philadelphia where he raised hogs. He was quite successful in this type of agriculture since he helped increase the production of hogs through his

1. American Israelite, September 24, 1886.

raising of them. In another way he also contributed to the increase of hog production. "The man is doing a heap of good to the country; he eats no pork and increases the hog production, which is clear profit to the country and to his latitudinarian money purse."^{1.}

In 1890 the first book written by a Jew on the problem of Jews in agricultural pursuits dealt with the question of agriculture as a solution for the "Jewish Problem". The name of this work was Migdal Zophim, "The Watch Tower". It was written by Moses Klein of Philadelphia, and dealt specifically with the Jewish colonies in New Jersey.^{2.}

The general position of the Jew in American agriculture up to 1900 was not too strong. Here and there a few isolated Jews were engaged in farming. Throughout the country Jewish farm settlements were struggling. Although we shall review many failures of Jews in agriculture in this period the general concensus of opinion as derived from the reports issued from the colonization societies must have been favorable. The societies were always optimistic in their reports and if we were to go by what they had to say alone our comprehension of the Jew in agriculture would be most one-sided. According to a report of the Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society many of the rough hardships of the earlier days had been smoothed over by 1900. The Jews were able to farm successfully and were regarded as permanent additions to the soil. This was because of their ability to surpass the first

1. American Israelite, September 24, 1886.

2. Ibid.

3. J.A.A.S. Report, 1901, passim.

difficulties and gain their foothold on the land.^{1.}

From 1900 to 1910 the Jewish farmer in the Midwest did not make a great deal of money from his farm. Indeed, it was all that most of them were able to do merely to get along. The highest gross income in 1902 that was reported by any farmer associated with the Jewish Agriculturalists' Aid Society amounted to only \$1,700. Considering the amount of money that had been invested by the agricultural society, and the amount of time that the farmer himself had put in, the return was disappointing.^{2.}

Loans were constantly being made not only to farmers just attempting for the first time to farm, but also to men who had been settled for several years and were in need of more money to keep themselves going. Although many of the undesirables among the settlers had been sloughed off by this time, there were still many people engaged in agriculture who were completely unfitted to this type of work. They were only allowed to continue because it was felt that they would, if removed from their farms, become objects of charity in crowded cities. The fact was constantly considered by the men in charge of agricultural settlements that it was wiser to keep people on farms where a healthy outdoor life contributed to their welfare than to return them to the less favorable environs of the cities from which they came.^{3.}

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1. J.A.A.S. Report, 1901, passim.
 2. Ibid.
 3. J.A.A.S. Report, 1902, pp. 5-7.

Besides the purchasing of farm land by Jews there was a fair amount of renting of farms that had been proved capable of successful crop production by their former residents. This latter type of farming was not largely found among the Russian Jews in spite of its advantages. The reason that is given for the lack of renting on the part of Jewish farmers is two-fold. In the first place, with so much land that could practically be had for the taking, agricultural societies were reluctant to use their money to sponsor an experiment when they could have the real thing for the same amount. Secondly, very few farmers were willing to rent their land to inexperienced persons to use, since they were aware of the work that would have to be done to recondition the land if the tenant farmer was not able to till it properly.

After 1900 an interesting change began to take place among the farmers, who, Russian refugees and city dwellers only a short time ago, were truly becoming accustomed to the ways of the soil. One man, who had lived in the "Pale of Settlement" in darkest Russia for his entire life, a man who was accustomed to being crowded into a house or on a piece of ground barely sufficient to support himself and his family, "now complains that he hardly has elbow room with a neighbor one-half mile away".^{1.}

The Jewish farmers in the west at this time were not,

1. J.A.A.S. Report, 1906, p. 35.

on the whole, as successful as their brethren in the east. The New Jersey colonies, though forced to begin over many times, were experiencing a fair amount of success although not as much as their sponsors had predicted for them originally.

Despite the knowledge of the Jewish public that there had been many failures among the agricultural colonies that had been settled in the early exuberance of the newly founded societies, applications to get out to the land continued to increase. The great majority of the people who were applying were doing so mainly out of desperation, thinking quite logically that their condition could be no worse on the soil than in the tenements. Fortunately many such persons were weeded out of the applicants. It should be recorded that a definite effort was made to select the prospective farmers with some degree of care, so that those obviously unfitted should not be given a chance only to waste money and perhaps do injury to themselves.

During the year 1907 alone the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society received 1,345 applicants who wanted to be farmers. 829 of them had over \$500 which they were ready to invest in a farm as a means of showing their faith in their ability to succeed, and also to show their great desire to get out of the city. The applications came from all sections of the United States. This shows the widespread effect the agricultural movement was having on the Jews living throughout the United States in causing them to think seriously of

the practicability of agriculture for them as a future means of livelihood. From its organization to 1907 the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society assisted 764 farmers in 19 states with loans totalling nearly \$500,000.^{1.}

By 1907 the real property of the Jewish farmers of the United States had reached a valuation of close to \$1,250,000 exclusive of an estimated \$400,000 worth of personal property. In 1907 the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society introduced the use of agricultural experts to act as guides for farmers who were in need of advice.

By 1907 the number of Jews in agriculture was set at 1,346 families in 34 states. This figure was reached by the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society through its contact with Jewish farmers throughout the country. The Society's spokesman, Leonard G. Robinson, was very careful to make the point clear that there were probably many more Jewish farmers in the United States who had never heard of the Society's interest in a Jewish farm census and so did not make their presence known. The Society thus estimated that there were 5,000 Jewish farmers in 1907 and declared that the only reason that there were not 25,000 or 50,000 was due to the poverty of the immigrant "who has no means open to him to make ends meet but the shop".^{2.}

The total figure of Jews who were dependent on agriculture for a livelihood was set by the Society in 1907 as ap-

1. American Israelite, April 2, 1908.

2. Ibid.

proximately 25,000.^{1.} This was on the basis of five people to the family and was a simple process of multiplication. In 1908 the Society put the figure up another 5,000 and made their estimate of Jews engaged in agriculture 30,000.^{2.}

By 1909 the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society had come to the conclusion that Jews could not live as farmers in isolation. The Society stated that the only way for the Jews to be successful in agriculture was to be placed on farm land in groups. The reason for this was that the religion of the Jews demanded fellowship. If this fellowship was not available to the farmers and their children they eventually moved to the cities and another generation was lost for farm work. The Society pointed out to many communities which were the result of the Jews' refusal to be alone and his attracting of other Jewish families to that place, who, in turn, attracted others until a community was established.^{3.}

An interesting fact brought out by the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society in 1910 was concerned with the number of Jewish families that sometimes farmed one tract of land. Frequently one man would find that his land was too much for him to handle alone and he would invite a close friend or relative to come onto the land with him. This resulted in the following situation in 1910. The number of

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1909, p. 12.
2. American Israelite, April 2, 1908.
3. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1909, pp. 40-45.

Jewish farmers was given by the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial as being 3,339 while the number of farms under partial or complete cultivation was listed as 2,984. In addition to the above explanation for the discrepancy we should note that farmers' sons were ~~listed~~ as farmers in their own right even though all they did was to assist their fathers in the duties about the farm. These figures represent the farmers with whom the Society had contact only. The actual total number of Jews in agriculture in 1910 was estimated at over 30,000 by the Society. The statement was also made at this time that there were 36 regular Jewish students enrolled at the New York State Agricultural College, a department of Cornell University.^{1.}

Geographical distribution is one of the prime factors to be considered in the matter of Jewish farm population during the first ten years of the century. More than 90% of all the Jews engaged in American agriculture were located north of the 39th parallel with 75% located in New York, New Jersey, and New England. More Jews were reported in New York State agriculture than in any other. 27.9% of the total number of Jewish farmers were located in this state. The only state west of New York in which the Jew played any part of importance as a farmer up to 1910 was North Dakota.^{2.}

The following table shows the "Hebrew" farmers and farms occupied by Jews as compiled from the Jewish Agricultural

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1910, pp. 8-9, and p. 24.
2. Reports of the Immigration Commission, Part 24: Recent Immigrants in Agriculture, Presented by Mr. Dillingham; Washington, Government Printing Office, 1911. pp. 3-9.

al and Industrial Aid Society Report of 1909 by the United States Government Immigration Commission in its report published in 1911.

States	Number of groups.	No. of scattered farmers.	Farms Num- ber.	occupied % distri- bution.	Farmers Num- ber.	% distri- bution.
36 states	-	-	2701	100	3040	100
States re- porting defined groups.	53	327	2437	90.3	2756	90.7
New York	10	85	718	26.6	847	27.9
New Jersey	15	61	639	23.7	703	23.1
Connecticut	9	47	490	18.1	575	18.9
North Dakota	8	17	210	7.8	216	7.1
Massachusetts	3	47	167	6.2	183	6.0
Ohio	2	19	64	2.4	75	2.5
Michigan	3	16	69	2.6	76	2.4
South Dakota	1	19	33	1.2	33	1.1
Wyoming	1	3	25	.9	27	.9
Washington	1	13	22	.8	24	.8
States not re- porting de- fined groups.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Illinois	-	-	17	.6	20	.7
Indiana	-	-	23	.9	23	.8
Iowa	-	-	22	.8	23	.8
Louisiana	-	-	17	.6	23	.8
Pennsylvania	-	-	45	1.7	51	1.7
Wisconsin	-	-	32	1.2	32	1.1
Other States	-	-	108	5.0	112	3.7

The table must be viewed with caution since its checking with assessors lists by the United States Immigration Commission showed that in many instances the figures listed by the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society were exaggerated as much as 30%. The error was most noticeable in the accounts of the Society of the New England States. In New Jersey the statistics checked very closely.

The Society was liable to error in several particulars. In the case of small settlements which were still in the

developing stages of their growth the numbers of men engaged in agriculture were enlarged. Exaggeration also occurred in areas where the population was widely scattered such as the Ulster and Sullivan district in New York where the owners of the land changed rather frequently accounting for double listing in some cases. Errors also occurred in the case of scattered figures coming from the western states. The Immigration Commission noted a tendency on the part of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society to give maximum figures wherever possible. There was also an inclination to use improper methods of enumeration which were likely in themselves to cause a considerable degree of error. The United States Immigration Commission stated in its report published in 1911 that "the number of Hebrew farmers may be hesitantly estimated at 2,300 to 2,600 and the number of farms operated at 2,000 to 2,300".^{1.}

Hebrew rural communities were stated to be composed almost exclusively of Russian, Roumanian, and Galician Jews with approximately 85% of all Jewish farmers in the United States of these national groups.^{2.}

In the New England states and New York the Jewish farmers almost to a man were dependent on some activity besides agriculture for their livelihood. They engaged in peddling, cattle trading, junk buying, and speculating in real estate as a means of building up their incomes. The keeping

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 3-9.

2. Ibid.

of summer boarders became an industry in itself in some districts. Frequently the farmer became engaged in extra-agricultural activities altogether.^{1.}

"The rural Hebrew as a whole have given little to American agriculture either in the way of crops, culture, management, or marketing; with a few notable exceptions the agriculture is but mediocre or unsatisfactory. Crops, tillage, quality, and quantity of produce show up rather more poorly than of most of the colonies of several different races investigated. In a few instances progress is shown and a growing interest in scientific agriculture and advanced methods is manifested, giving evidence of the agricultural capacity of the Hebrew when once his intelligent interest is aroused. Otherwise, except for the acreage of wild land subdued and improved in New Jersey, Jewish communities have not added greatly to the rural life of their respective adopted States."^{2.}

The Government report went on to show that agriculture had been of great benefit to the Jews up to 1910. The healthfulness of life in the country and the beneficial effects on the morale of the ownership of land left their mark on the Jewish farmers of the time.

One of the characteristics of Jewish farming was reported to be the general lack of attention to the farmstead in comparison to the farm itself. Frequently the farm house and the land immediately adjoining were not at all well-kept. Houses were dilapidated and needed paint badly. The farmyard was often littered with rubbish. When the farmers were engaged in the junk business piles of old iron and old bottles were lying about in profusion and unsightliness. This was said to be true in all save a few notable exceptions, mainly farms

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 3-9.

2. Ibid.

located in Ulster and Sullivan counties in New York State where the farmers had in many cases put in improvements and had made their holdings quite attractive and well kept up. In those localities improvements were largely due to the summer boarding trade which demanded attractive and well-kept houses.^{1.}

In Connecticut also conditions were of a better nature than in many of the other localities where Jewish farmers were located. In this state the farmers had been able to purchase well-built homes that had been used by generations of New England farmers before them. The homesteads were abandoned because of the apathy of the children toward farm life and farming.^{2.}

Jewish farm incomes were seldom, at this time, very large, except in the cases where the farmers were successfully engaged in tobacco growing. It is true, however, that in comparison with the other newly-arrived immigrant families the Hebrew farmers were not too badly off. The largest net incomes among Jewish farmers were those in the Ellington, Connecticut, district, where the men were engaged in tobacco growing. The farms in this section were in cultivation for only a few years. In some cases the Jewish farmers had been the first to start the cultivation of tobacco seriously.

The largest net incomes of all the Hebrew farmers in the United States were probably those men of Vineland in

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 3-9.

2. Ibid.

the period up to 1910. In this district the farmers were able to be successful because agriculture was coordinated with industry. By this coordination the farmers were able to do a great deal of work during the portion of the year when they were normally free from agricultural responsibilities. Part of their time was spent on their farms and part in the factories which had been built in conjunction with the farms.^{1.}

Judging by the appearance of the farms and the farmers themselves the most successful men were located in the New Jersey colonies. In this district the farms were nicely kept and the general appearance of the fields and out-houses was pleasing. It may thus be assumed from the external aspects that these farmers were able to succeed in their enterprises.^{2.}

In general the Jewish farmer lived better with respect to food and clothing than did the Polish or the Italian farmer of the same period. (1900-1910) One of the chief differences between the homes of the Jewish farmers and those of other race groups was the presence of many more modern conveniences in the home of the Jewish farmer. The tendency on the part of the Jewish agriculturist was to purchase rocking chairs, hammocks, books, and many other comfort making items. These were often bought before the farm and its equipment had been paid for and while the tilling of the soil was still in its first stages. The average immigrant bought necessities

1. U.S. Immigration Commission op. cit., pp. 3-9.

2. Ibid.

first, paid for his land and equipment next, and when this was taken care of purchased items that would make his home more comfortable to live in. The Jewish farmers were contented to stay in debt longer in order to enjoy the comforts of home at an earlier period than their neighbors. Thus the Jewish farmer was a good consumer, a better consumer than he was a farmer.^{1.}

Civically speaking the Jew was a welcome addition to the men of the district in which he settled. The Jew at this time, no matter what occupation he engaged in, wanted to become a citizen of the United States and directed his attention to that purpose primarily. He became a citizen sooner than did the other immigrants contemporary with him. In addition to his desire to become a citizen the Jewish farmer also manifested a more intelligent attitude toward politics than did other foreigners. Also, as might be expected from the more intelligent attitude manifested by the Jew there was a smaller percentage of illiteracy among the Jews as a group than among the other aliens of the same period. Particularly desirous that his children assimilate the customs and habits of the country into which they had been brought, the Jewish farmer saw to it that his children learned to speak, read, and write English just as soon as was practicably possible. As a corollary to this desire the Jewish farmer demanded better schools for his children than existed in the neighborhood at the time.^{2.}

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 3-9.

[The Jewish farmer entered into the commercial end of his enterprise in an intelligent and thoughtful manner. He was among the first of the farmers of the day to protest against unregulated commission marketing, the abuses of which were forcing the farmers to sell their produce at a price considerably less than that which was considered as being fair by them in relation to the cost of producing the goods. They also protested against the high freight rates which were being charged by the railroads. The only recourse was to ship by wagon or truck and this method was so slow that perishable products would spoil before they reached the market. In answer to their protests and like protests of other farmers all over the country the present faster freight system was put into practice. This transported the marketable goods of the farmer to the large cities for a fairer price, and more quickly than previously.]

The Jewish farmer was interested in good government and not in cohesiveness to any false sense of race loyalty. This was shown by the fact that in no Jewish community that was investigated by the U.S. Immigration Commission was there any evidence to show that the Jewish farmer voted as a group. Instead, it was clearly shown that he intelligently cast his vote for the person or group which he thought had earned that support. He was not influenced by the candidate's religion.

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 3-9.

2. Ibid.

Frequent charges were made against the Jewish farmers that they were not strictly honest in their business dealings. It was stated that they had dealt sharply with their neighboring non-Jewish farmers and had come out far ahead in their dealings with them. This charge, and others of a like nature may be ascribed to jealous motives and a resentment against strangers coming into land that had been settled by non-Jews for a long period of time.^{1.}

On the whole the influx of Jewish settlers into farming communities raised the general moral tone of the settlements because of the characteristics of the Jewish farmer that have already been discussed: his civic pride, and his desire to be a good citizen. These factors, in addition to the almost total lack of crime in the communities where the Jews settled, and the proverbial sacredness of the Jewish family, put the moral influence of the Jewish farmer on a high standard.^{2.}

Despite these favorable factors the United States Immigration Commission was not over-optimistic about the future of the Jew in agriculture in the United States. In making the following conclusions an illuminating picture of its attitude toward the Jewish farmer is drawn:

"Despite these virtues a study of several settlements does not lead to the conclusion that the Hebrew is likely to be an important factor in American rural life. The business of agriculture is in too many instances incidental, the farm is too often

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 3-9.
2. Ibid.

a speculative venture rather than a home, and there is too little permanence in his proprietorship. More than all, the children love the land even less than the American young people, and from the commission's inquiries it is apparent that a very few intend to spend their lives in the country. That many mistakes have been made in methods of colonizing the Hebrew all who know their facts will readily admit, but it is questionable whether, after all, the source of failure does not lie in the fact that few of the Hebrews settled were adapted to agriculture. The Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society is doing all in its knowledge to promote Hebrew agriculture, to make farm life agreeable and profitable, and to establish the race as a factor in farming in the United States. If the Hebrew on the farm can be made to enjoy the same prosperity as his brother in commerce or industry, this desirable result may be brought about. Without pronounced material prosperity however, it is doubtful whether there will be any considerable and permanent movement toward rural life."¹

The report of the Government Commission naturally stirred up a good deal of discussion in Jewish circles concerning the value derived from the large expenditures of money and effort in the attempts to place the Jew on the land as a farmer. It was inevitable that a reply should be made to certain damning conclusions that had been reached by the Government agents.

The statement of the Jewish side of the question was made by Leonard G. Robinson, the General Manager of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society which was the largest and most powerful Jewish agricultural society in the country.

Robinson took issue with the Government report and survey in its conclusions that the Jewish farmer was of no material benefit to American agriculture. He also did not a-

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 3-9.

gree with another statement that no new methods of agriculture had been introduced by Jews into the United States.^{1.}

Robinson, in a speech before the Jewish Chatauqua Society of Philadelphia, pointed out that it was the duty of the agricultural expert to introduce new methods and new crops into a country; this was not to be expected of an outsider and a beginner in the field. In his opinion the sole duty of the Jewish farmer was to make a good living and to bring up his children properly. This dual requirement seemed sufficient to him for men who were starting in practical farming.^{2.}

Robinson said that farm property valued at \$30,000,000 was owned by Jews newly engaged in agriculture in this country. He asserted that the Jewish farmers in the United States had led the way in providing better schooling, in developing the spirit of self-help and of cooperation, and in beginning a method of cooperative agriculture in the United States that had not existed before their entrance into agriculture.^{3.}

Referring to the introduction of new methods and the standards of farm efficiency that were supposed to differ between Jew and non-Jew in the New England States, Robinson made the following statement:

"Were this standard of farm efficiency generally applied I very much fear that the vast majority of American farmers would have to be put in the

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1. This statement was made in a report by the Government of farming in Connecticut which we shall consider in our appraisal of the history of the Jew in the agriculture of that State.
 2. American Israelite, February 19, 1914.
 3. Ibid.

same category. (as the Jewish farmer). As for the Connecticut farmer, the chief contribution that he has made to the agriculture of his State in the last one hundred years, is the abandoned farm. (It might be noted here that the Jewish farmers coming into Connecticut were the main purchasers of these abandoned farm houses and farm lands.) But this is a narrow way of looking at things. The day is rapidly passing when human efficiency on the farm can be measured in bushels, just as the day has long since passed when human efficiency in the city is measureable in dollars and cents." 1.

"To make two blades of grass grow where formerly there grew but one is all right provided it is done at a profit, and the extra blade contributes to the happiness of the one who produces it. If it is done at a loss it is a prodigal waste of God-given energy.

"The introduction of new crops and new methods is the business of the agricultural expert, of the scientist. The farmer's business is to be a good neighbor, a good citizen, to get as much enjoyment out of life as possible, and to contribute his share toward making life in the country more livable." 2.

Robinson questioned the figures of the Government and restated the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society estimates of the numbers of Jews engaged in farming. He reasserted the authenticity of the figures despite the error possibilities cited by the Government. Concurring with the Government report, Robinson made the point that the importance of the Jews in agriculture lay not so much in the amount of land that they were able to till, or their numerical statue, but upon the tangible contributions that they had made to agriculture in the way of social betterment of rural conditions and progress in schools, living conditions, sanitary conditions, etc., etc. "...the Jewish farmer shines

1. American Israelite, February 19, 1914.

2. Ibid.

preeminently in the manner in which he takes hold of civic affairs and in devotion to the country of his adoption."^{1.}

In 1907 the Country Life Commission of President Roosevelt had pointed to serious deficiencies existing in rural schools. They were criticized not only for their poor standards but also for their apparent lack of interest in improving conditions. Robinson brought out that the effect of the Jew on rural schools had been salutary its its constant demand for improved educational opportunity for the children. Lack of interest in schools upon the part of the farmer himself was one of the reasons for their inefficiency. Parents did not care whether their children were receiving the education that was necessary for them or not. Consequently when authorities found that there was no interest in maintaining schools at the proper standards tax moneys were diverted to other uses and the schools were allowed to run down.

In North Dakota, before the entrance of the Jew, the school year consisted of only four months of classes. The Jews were not satisfied with this and through their efforts the school session was raised to six months per year.

In New Jersey the distinction of having established the first kindergarten in Cape May county belongs to the well-known Jewish farm community of Woodbine.^{2.}

According to Robinson one of the most important aspects of the Jew in agriculture was the development, through

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-9.

2. American Israelite, February 18, 1914.

his efforts, of the cooperative system. We are aware of the fact today that consumers' cooperatives play an immensely important part among the farmers of this country. Were it not for the organization of the farmer into definite groups that bought goods in quantity and bought them cheaply and also enabled the farmer to possess a better market through their efforts, there would be many a farm vacant today that is successfully producing marketable goods.

The Jewish agricultural organizations, particularly the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, were instrumental in the formation of the earliest consumer leagues and general cooperative organizations to assist the farmer in the purchasing and marketing of goods at a greater benefit.^{1.}

"The Jewish Farmers' Cooperative Credit Unions--the first and so far the only agricultural credit banks on American soil, owe their creation to the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society. With reference to these credit unions the Indianapolis News of December 14, 1912 says: 'While there are two bills now in Congress calling for a commission to go abroad and study the question of cooperative credit to farmers, the Jews in New York have organized just such a society and are aiding Jewish farmers. Their system is based on one of the three German systems. We do not need commissions to hunt knowledge. We need simply to follow the lead of the Jews and set to work to provide credit. And we need to do it just as they did---which is simply to do it. We do not have to have laws or Congressional aid, or legislative enactments, but just plain common sense and the spirit to help ourselves'".^{2.}

Of an article by Alexander E. Cance, Professor of Economics at the Massachusetts Agricultural College in The Survey

1. American Israelite, February 18, 1914.
2. Ibid.

entitled "Jewish Immigrants as Tobacco Growers and Dairymen", the following remark is made:

"The Jewish farmers of this section do not suffer by comparison with their German, Swiss, or American neighbors. Their substantial buildings, modern equipment, and large herds impress him that they are commercial farmers and look for no mere subsistence only; they expect handsome returns."¹.

Robinson ended his speech with the following observation:

"The rural life today is a general topic of discussion. Articles are found on this subject, both in the popular and more serious magazines. Conferences are held everywhere, and a great deal of talk, both serious and frivolous, is unloosened. Commissions are appointed and committees are elected. But with all this we seem to be, insofar as the country at large is concerned, just where we were several years ago. The Jewish farmer alone has made an effort to do something and put his ideas into actual operation."².

These two conflicting reports, the U.S. Government's, and that of Robinson, illustrate how controversial a subject may become when approached from different standards. Really, the only differences between the two reports are those of emphasis. It is clear that the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society representative believed that there were certain factors more important than new methods in agriculture and success in growing crops of new kinds. It is significant, however, that the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society man referred only to certain sections where he could report that satisfactory activity was taking place. Of the two reports we are compelled to regard as the more authentic the one made by the Government, not because of the prestige of any-

1. American Israelite, February 19, 1914.

2. Ibid.

thing done by government authorities, but because of the fairness of the paper in recognizing both the good and the bad and giving credit for the good that had been accomplished by the Jew. The Jewish Agricultural And Industrial Aid Society, partly because of its own position being in question was placed on the defensive. It was forced to disregard points that should have been made which would have been to the detriment of the reputation of the Jewish farmer. It was compelled to emphasize those factors alone which reflected to the credit of the Jewish farmer. Both reports are valuable because they represent two different opinions and both come from representative sources.

By 1910 the Jew had made a fair amount of progress in agriculture. He was located for the most part in the eastern states. His activities embraced others than those directly related to the tilling of the soil. He was a good and conscientious citizen, respected in the communities in which he lived. The future, however, did not promise too much for him because of the lack of desire upon the part of his children to go to work on the farm. This came to be the case because the Jewish farmer had not made a great financial success out of his labors, and the younger people felt that a livelier life awaited them in the cities as well as a more lucrative one. Jewish young men and women specifically are not to be censured for this attitude, for the non-Jewish young people the same age had done the identical thing. In a word, the Jewish position in agri-

culture in the east was fair and not too promising. In the west, the small numbers of Jews engaged in agriculture precluded any general statements at the time. We may note that the Jewish farmer who had been able to hold out despite all hardships was doing well. Others of his brethren had failed miserably after much bitter struggle with natural elements.

During the years from 1882 to 1886 almost a quarter of a million Russian Jews came to the United States. The immigration wave increased annually up to 1914. In 1914 the emigration stopped almost completely, not to gain momentum again until the beginning of the twenties. From 1910 to 1914 Jewish activity in agriculture seemed to slow up also. These were years of unsatisfactory agricultural conditions throughout most of the United States. The non-Jewish as well as the Jewish farmer suffered from a limited market and from heavy expenses entailed in growing his crops. With the onset of the War farming took on a different character; formerly it had been but partially mechanized, now it was motorized as well. The character of the immigration changed somewhat also, and we find that the period of Russian Immigration on a large scale comes to an end at this point. The Russian refugee period was without question the largest single period of immigration in the history of the American Jew. The general character of this group underlies, as a basic element, any consideration of the Jew in agriculture in the United States. We have seen how the causes of emigration emanated from the cruelties of the pogroms in Russia. The effect upon the American Jews who had

been in this country for some time has been noted in their formation of agricultural societies to place the newly arrived Jews on the soil. We have also gone over the period in a general survey considering the salient experiences of the immigrant upon the soil. The background has been laid. We are now ready to deal specifically with the agricultural colonies formed during this period. Through the consideration of them we shall round out the general impression we have given so far and develop the aspects of success and failure and the reasons for each in the story of the colonization ventures into agriculture by Jews in the United States.

THE RUSSIAN JEWISH COLONIES IN THE UNITED STATES:

HOW EXTERNAL FACTORS AFFECT THE CHOICE
OF LAND FOR SETTLEMENTS.

The importance of uncontrollables, of external factors silent and not easily apparent, went almost unrecognized in the early selection of land for use as agricultural colonies. Today we all know that in certain sections of the country potatoes will not grow as well as they will in another given section. We realize that there are areas of the United States well-suited for wheat growing, while other areas are better adapted to the growing of corn. We have come to these conclusions about different sections of the country not only through consideration of the natural qualities that make them fitted for a particular crop, but also because of their distance from markets, their location in relation to large cities, and the relative value of land, whether cheap or expensive.

It has taken a long time for this knowledge to accumulate. It was not reached over night nor even in many years. We are constantly adding to our information about land use areas and types of farming areas. We shall continue to do so as long as agriculture is carried on in the United States.

The complexity of the subject may be realized to a degree when it is understood that there are more than 500 different type-of-farming areas in the United States. There are the well-known Corn and Cotton belts, easily designated on maps

and reasonably stable in their position for the last forty or fifty years. There is the wheat belt, the livestock range, the dairy region, and many others. To make the problem even more complex, the character of farming that may be carried on in any one of these regions is by no means uniform. The Cotton belt may be divided and subdivided into various regions and subregions according to classifications ranging from the economic to the physical and geographical. We may discern at least fifteen or twenty such regions in the Cotton belt.

"They include such areas as the small irrigated valleys of the Southwest, the large-scale cotton area of western Texas and Oklahoma, the Black lands of Texas, the Mississippi-Alabama clay hills and rolling uplands, the Piedmont and the Coastal Plain. The processes of refinement may be carried still further. In the Mississippi-Alabama clay hills and rolling uplands, for example, there are six different type-of-farming areas; and within each of these, differences between individual farms are often as great as those between areas."¹

In addition to a thorough consideration of previous experience in the growing of particular crops the soil of any given area must be understood and carefully charted before any successful use of land can be assured in the district. Today we recognize the importance of utilizing certain types of soils for the growing of crops best suited to them. We would not try to grow potatoes in sandy soil, or grapes in a swamp. We would consider growing season and climate, rainfall and types of weather to be expected. Of all the factors to be considered by a prospective farmer soil is perhaps the most important.)

No important soil is made up of any one group of

particles. Experience gained in the study of soils over the greater part of the earth's surface shows that soils consist of mixtures of particles belonging to two or more groups.

The recognition of this fact made it necessary, when the work of soil mapping was taken up in earnest, to group the entire range of possible combinations of the several soil material classes into a limited number of units and define each in terms of the proportions present of the several classes of materials. It became necessary to give each unit a name, thus avoiding the necessity of describing each unit on referring to it. Six principal texture groups were established to which the names sands, sandy loams, loams, silt loams, clay loams, and clays were given, each of these being further divided into minor subgroups, according to the sizes of the predominant sand grains and the extreme variations of silt and clay present.

As we consider the many farm settlements of Jews in the United States we shall look into the type of land on which they settled and from which they hoped to make a living. We shall frequently be amazed at the wide discrepancy between the type of land that the Jewish farmers settled and the type of crops that they thought they were growing to grow.

NEW YORK STATE

(1880 - 1914.)

BRIEF AGRICULTURAL HISTORY

Long before the white man came to the United States the Indian cultivated fruits and vegetables. Beans, squashes, pumpkins, cucumbers, and watermelons were raised in abundance by the Indians who carried on quite an extensive agriculture along with their hunting and fishing. Fruit and berries were raised in the section of the country which later became New York as early as the seventeenth century.^{1.}

The grape industry was first begun in 1835 and during the course of its hundred year history has made great strides forward, particularly during the last eight years after the repeal of prohibition.

The dairy industry has always been of great importance in New York State and farmers all over the state are engaged in it. The reason for the large number of dairy farmers is, of course, the great centralization of population in this state.

Flax, hemp, and tobacco, were also among the early crops raised in New York. At one time cotton was produced in limited amounts on Long Island. Broomcorn, peppermint oil, and other crops of a like nature have been superceded by more profitable ones. Other crops that have been given up in this state are hops, maple sugar, teasels, willows, and violets. All of them yielded to economic pressure and the fact that land was more practicably used for produce with a larger market.

1. State of New York, Agricultural Manual; Department of Farms and markets. pp. 53-65, passim.

Today, tobacco growing, dairying, and orchards occupy most of the farmers of this state. New York, for the most part, has lost its importance as a producing state, and has changed into a consuming one. This is of course explained by its large population which is centered in the large cities.^{1.}

ULSTER AND SULLIVAN COUNTIES

Jewish farming in New York State has, since its inception, been centered in Ulster and Sullivan counties. Here the Jews were grouped about Livingston Manor, Parksville, Ferndale, Hurleyville, Monticello, Centerville, Mountaintale, Ellenville, Greenfield, and Kerkhonkson.^{1.a.}

Generally speaking, the topography of Ulster and Sullivan counties is rough and mountainous. Deep valleys have been cut between the hills during long periods of time. The Jewish immigrants settled in some instances at fairly high altitudes being located in some sections between 1,400 to 1,600 feet above sea level.

The land is largely underlaid with rocks, a remnant of the great continental glacier. The rocks have not helped the soil along very much and in some places have been broken up and have scattered in small pieces in soils that were originally poor. Through years of erosion the hills have been almost completely cleared of what little top soil remained after the glacier so that, at the present time, there are only

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 69-84, passim.
1.a. American Jewish Yearbook, 5673, pp. 80-82.

a few inches of soil above the bedrock which in some places comes to the surface. Thus, land on hills and hillsides is difficult to cultivate, not only because of the awkward position required to plow and otherwise render the land fit for planting, but because of the scarcity of the soil and also due to the large amounts of fertilizer necessary to make what little soil remains workable.^{1.}

The only area where the land is really suited to agriculture is along the streams in the valleys. Here the soil has been brought down from the highlands and the bedrock has become heavily covered with earth to a depth that makes farming quite practicable.^{2.}

Most of the land is cleared, but only a small percentage is under cultivation. Potatoes are the most successful crop that can be raised on a large portion of this land. But even their production is a matter of relativity to the poor possibilities of other crops, for the soil is not really suited for their growth. Corn is also grown, but the growing season is not long enough for it to fully mature so that the main use to which it is put is silage. Wheat, oats, buckwheat, and rye, are also grown in small amounts. Some small orchards are found and there also exists a small berry growth but these two crops do not play a very large part in the agriculture of Ulster and Sullivan.^{3.}

Of all the crops raised the most suited to the type

1. United States Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 69-84.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

of land in the area is wild grass. This type of grass supports dairying well and it is for this purpose that it is largely grown. But the grass lands have not been well cared for and consequently their yield is rather low.^{1.}

In 1899 there were only a few Jewish farmers in Ulster and Sullivan counties. It was not until about 1904 that they began to come in in any large numbers. The chief reason for the migration of the Jews to these two counties in New York State is the relatively high altitude which makes the locality highly beneficial to those with weak lungs or a tendency toward tuberculosis.^{2.}

Generally speaking the land in this district was purchased by the prospective Jewish farmers at high prices, above the true value of the land. Few leases were made, most of the land being purchased outright. The strong desire on the part of the Jewish farmer to buy land in this area, in spite of the general eagerness of the American farmer to sell his land caused a scarcity of land for sale. After the first few flurries of buying the prices of land advanced to fit the demand^{3.} for the property.

The terms of the purchase of the land were in some sales quite peculiar. The native farmers, receiving high prices for their land were often careless of the terms under which they sold their property. Frequently after they had sold their farms they regretted their action and by the time they

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 69-84.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

were able to repurchase them the land had very often deteriorated badly. The Jewish farmer, in buying land, usually made a small down payment, the remainder to be paid in annual installments. The native farmer did not stop to think that he was giving up his livelihood in selling his land, and that he was receiving relatively a small amount of the real worth of the property in the down payment. Thus, after he had sold the land he was frequently forced to go to work for one of his neighbors as a hired farm hand. The new farmer farmed his land in his place and made the small payments to him. The cash amount that the native farmer received was not sufficient for him to buy another farm, so the work as a farm hand was all that was open for him to do. This situation was caused only by the unfamiliarity of the native farmers with business practice and not through any desire of the Jews to work hard-
1.

Sometimes the Jewish farmers coming into this area would buy the land from the native farmer with all the stock, machinery, farming implements, poultry, and other farm goods included. It has been reported that the native farmers neglected to take chattel mortgages on the stock and farm implements. The Jewish farmer stayed on the land during the boarding season, then sold all the farm accessories for more than the cash payment of the farm and disappeared from the community. The native farmer was then forced to go back to a farm devoid of all equipment and stock and neglected through

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-84, *passim*.

an entire season by the Jew and to try to start things all over again. "Only in rare cases did the Hebrews pay cash for their farms and in most cases the land was heavily mortgaged,"^{1.}

The entire number of Jewish farmers in this section was composed of Russian Jews who came to Ulster and Sullivan from New York City. None of them had been engaged in farming in the United States before they entered into that profession on the land that they bought in this district. The majority of the men who came to Ulster and Sullivan as farmers had owned some kind of small businesses in New York City previously and were struck with the idea of going into farming as a profession because of the seeming better chance for advancement than in the city. The pleasantness of the country and its healthful atmosphere for their children also appealed to the Jews who moved and took up land in Ulster and Sullivan. In New York these people had owned pawn shops, clothing stores, second hand stores, and furniture stores. Some of them had been real estate agents and had been struck with the beauty of the land which they sold to others. Some were contractors, restaurant owners, travelling salesmen, garment workers, etc., etc. Almost to a man they had not been engaged in occupations with any relationship to agriculture. Only a very few of them were strong enough for the long hours of work under the hot summer sun or had the general knowledge of mechanics so necessary to make minor repairs on machinery on the farm.^{2.}

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 69-84.

2. Ibid.

Because of their general inexperience the Jewish farmers were forced to hire farm hands for the first year or so of farm work. Not only were they unaccustomed to the type of work required, thus needing instruction, but they could not do the physical labor that a native farmer was used to doing as a matter of course. In many instances crops failed because of lack of care or knowledge in cultivation and preparation of the soil. Livestock frequently died because they were not cared for properly and were wrongly handled ^{or} had fed. It was simply a matter of people with no experience in practical farming trying to take over the whole job at once and being unable to do so. The hired help that was necessary because of their inexperience was a heavy expense on budgets already severely cut because of overestimation of profits and over-exuberance in expecting life on a farm to be pleasant and easy. Very often it cost the new Jewish farmer more money to produce a crop than it was worth on the market. This is considering the expense that he had in hiring labor, paying for fertilizer, and other sundries. His own labor and investment are not even attempted to be reckoned into this figure. "If it had not been for the revenue derived from summer boarders it is scarcely probable that the Hebrews could have retained their farms, for the crops they raised were entirely inadequate to support their families."¹

The amount of farm produce that the Jew was able to produce per acre in this period (1900-1910) was considerable

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 69-84.

in relation to what other Jewish farmers in other farm settlements were able to raise. At the same time, he did not raise as much as his Gentile neighbors. "The immigrant on land equally as good as that of the native does not raise one-half the produce per acre and...the crops are of inferior quality."

1. The general condition of the farm of the Jew as compared to the farm of the non-Jew was also inferior. Frequently farms were neglected because of the boarding industry which was the more important to the farmer because it supported him more than the land itself. Therefore, in some cases he stopped bothering with the annoyance of constantly cultivating land that seemed to him to be anything but productive. The Jewish farmer was also accused of being careless of farm machinery, not putting it away when finished with it but allowing it to lie around and rust. Also, being unfamiliar with the working of machinery he did not oil it and keep it in efficient working order. Although marketing and marketing conditions were good, a subsistence farming was carried on and almost all of the crops produced were consumed at home.

2. The Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society had considerable contact with the Jewish farmer in the Ulster Sullivan region. The Society loaned them money frequently and on the whole had a rather happy contact with this group of farmers. In 1903 the first report of the Society's contact with

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 69-84.

2. IBID.

these farmers was made. Here it was mentioned for the first time that the summer boarding trade was already the chief factor in the support of these families which had moved to the farms from New York City. The Society concluded at that early date that "inasmuch as they are prompt in meeting their obligations to us they must be doing well".^{1.}

By 1904 the Society already knew of 161 farmers who, with their families, comprised over 830 people and owned a total of 14,029 acres of land.^{2.}

During the years 1904, '05, '06, '07, the condition of the Jewish farmer in Ulster and Sullivan counties developed successfully enough. These were lush years when the farmers had good boarding seasons which carried them along regardless of their poor success in agriculture. By 1907, however, the situation had changed somewhat. Work had decreased in this district by that time because many prospective farmers were being diverted to other localities. This was being done because it was realized by the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society that farming in Ulster and Sullivan was not on a satisfactory basis. Boarding was never meant to be the main support of a farmer. It was wrong from the start, as was later proved, because of the instability of the boarding business. By some fluke the Jewish farmers had been very successful in their boarding seasons up to 1907, when they were hit for the first time with a cool summer which all but wrecked

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1903, p. 10.

2. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1904, p. 6.

the season for them completely. The boarding period was cut to an absolute minimum, and while there were plenty of customers for the short time that the season lasted, they did not compensate for the loss that was incurred when the majority of them stayed away. Therefore the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society began to consider before it allowed more Jewish families to come into this region whether they meant to farm and to do nothing else.^{1.}

By 1909 the summer boarding business had been hit even worse. The depression following 1907 kept many people from going to resorts and the farmers who had not tilled their land once again were punished for their straying from agriculture. [In 1909 emphasis began to be placed upon dairying which was a natural enterprise for the region as we have already pointed out. Hilliness in topography makes no difference to a cow's ability to produce milk although it does make land hard to plow. Therefore, by turning land into pasture, and by utilizing the land's innate ability to produce grass that was very suitable for pasturage the farmer on the land at this time began to solve some of the difficulties that bothered him. He now had something to do that was not so difficult as agriculture, although it did entail care of cattle of which duty he was not fond. Feed crops did not require as much cultivation as corn, potatoes, and the like. Thus, by turning his attention to dairying and by shipping dairy products to the larger cities in and near the area the Jewish

1. J.A.I.A.S., Report, 1907, p. 13.

farmer began to take advantage of the land he was located on for the first time.] Although he did not prosper he was doing much better than he had ever done before.^{1.}

The Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society's attitude toward the agricultural problem in this district is rather difficult to understand. When a boarding season was good and the farmers were able to earn enough from their boarders to keep themselves fairly comfortable for the coming year, the Society was strangely silent on the subject of getting away from boarding house keeping. On the other hand, a poor boarding season, with ensuing necessity for loans to the farmers from the Society brought about an entirely different reaction. When a poor season was completed the Society preached crop diversification and the evils that must eventually come upon the farmers because they were depending entirely on boarders to carry them along.^{2.}

It should be understood that the keeping of boarders was not exclusively a Jewish institution. Indeed, one of the reasons for the hard feeling that existed against the Jew in this period in the counties of Ulster and Sullivan, was that by the Jew's taking up boarding the non-Jew's trade had been driven away. His customers did not care to come to a locality that was rapidly becoming filled with Jews.

By 1911 the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society was able to report that more and more of the farmers

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1909, p. 45.
2. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1911, p. 38.

were leaving the precarious business of boarding and were turning their attention to dairying and other types of farming. In 1912 the Society had evidence that could be presented as proof as to the unprofitability of boarding as opposed to agriculture. In that year a cool summer completely ruined the farmers who had counted on their boarders to see them through the year with profits.^{1.}

In addition to being the prime cause for the gentile farmers' loss of their boarding trade the Jewish farmer was blamed for harm to the small shopkeeper in the district. This was due to his desire to patronize only Jewish storekeepers.^{2.}

Because of the demand for land that was artificially created by the strong desire of the Jew to settle on farms, prices for land almost doubled within a few years. This also served to cause hard feeling against the Jew as a cause for sky rocketing prices of areas of land that were not worth anywhere near the prices being asked for them.^{3.}

But despite the unfavorable things that are blamed on the Jew he was directly responsible for developments that did improve the area. As we have already see, in any district that the Jew entered one of his first desires was for good schools for his children. This was also true in Ulster and Sullivan where his constant demands for better schools caused improvement. In addition to the improvement of schools

1. J.A.I.A.S., Report, 1912, p. 40.

2. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 69-84.

3. Ibid.

the price of dairy products, poultry, eggs, grain, fruit, and feed for livestock "has increased, and the American who has retained his farm finds himself in a better position to make money than ever before".^{1.}

It would seem that the Jews engaged in farming in Sullivan and Ulster counties would have a lot to complain about. Such was not the case. Despite the difficulties that they had in the matter of crop failures and poor boarding seasons, the farmers in this district were very satisfied up to the point where we carry their history at this time. (1914.) Many of them stated to the investigators of the United States Immigration Commission that they were more successful on their farms than they had ever been at any other period in their lives. They also stated that they were happy and content with their new form of life and that the climate and the general beauty of the country appealed to them much more than did the type of life that they had led in the city before moving to the farm. This does not speak well for the lives of the Russian immigrants in their homeland, for according to American standards they did not live well at all, when they first came into Ulster and Sullivan.

One factor remains to be considered that is perhaps as important as anything that has been said before. The U.S. Immigration Commission states the following briefly and concisely without attempting any elaboration:

"Hebrews of the second generation associate

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 69-84.

little more with the natives than the older immigrants; very few of them remain on the farms of their parents, and as soon as they are old enough to go to work they seek employment in New York City."¹

This fact runs through the history of the Jew in agriculture in every state that he settled. The young people were never satisfied with farming as a life's work for themselves. For that matter, their parents did not care to have them continue in it either, for we find no record of a Jewish farmer objecting to the transfer of his son or daughter to the city to find work there. This condition existed despite the strong ties of the Jewish family which are well-known and recognized by historians. It boils down to the fact that the young Jewish man or woman did not care for farm life and had no intention to continue in it from the time he first became aware of possibilities for employment and advancement in the city.

RENSSELAER COUNTY

(NEW YORK.)

Turning now to Rensselaer county we find that Jewish farmers first settled there in 1904. They located in Nassau on cheap land, purchased at prices from \$20 to \$75 per acre. In Rensselaer county the surface of the land is uneven and hilly, the central and eastern portions of the county being quite rocky. The Kinderhook creek runs through the county and the land is watered by it to a fair extent. Other small streams furnish

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., p. 84.

water power which has been harnessed and is used in some cases. Among the hills of the district lie many small lakes and the Psanticoke Swamp, west of the center of the county covers several hundred acres. The soil is clayish and gravelly and is underlain by a hardpan formation of rock. The main products of the county are rye, buckwheat, and dairy products.^{1.}

The Jewish settlement in Rensselaer was located about twelve miles from Albany. In 1908 there were forty farming families on the land. On the whole, the section is well fitted for agriculture although the soil has become worn out from continuous farming without the use of fertilizers. The Jewish farmers in 1908 were raising buckwheat and rye along with fruit and berries. They ignored dairying during the early stages of their development because of the investment required in a dairy herd which they could not afford when they first started farming in the area.^{2.}

Later on they took up dairying and met with good success. What the district lacks in excellent soils is made up by its proximity to good markets and efficient transportation to those markets. Both railroad and trolley systems were running in good condition by 1908 thus insuring the farmers easy access to the cities around about where they could market their products.^{3.} Troy and Albany were not far from the settlement and New York could be reached by boat.^{4.}

1. State of New York Agricultural Manual, pp. 583-584.
2. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1908, p. 19.
3. Ibid.
4. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1909, p. 46.

Although the first Jewish farmer in Rensselaer county came in 1895 and remained there permanently, the real settlement of the county by Jews did not come until 1904 when there was an influx of Jews into the district.^{1.} Up to 1914 the Jewish farmers in Rensselaer county had met with a good deal of success. They were situated on good land, within easy access of markets and the future augured well for them.

ONONDAGA COUNTY

(NEW YORK)

Onondaga county, where geographical characteristics are much the same as Rensselaer, had one fairly important Jewish settlement before 1914. This was the group of Jewish farmers around Syracuse. Here they had come in around 1904 and had remained to grow into a settlement of about fifteen Jewish families by 1910.^{2.}

The Jewish farmers near Syracuse have been quite successful. They have carried on a purely agricultural existence as have the farmers in Rensselaer county. In Onondaga the farmers have engaged mainly in dairying and in raising the fodder consumed by their cattle. Their market, Syracuse, was good, and was not situated too far from their farms to work any hardship in the way of expensive transportation. They received fair prices for their dairy products in Syracuse and,

1. J.A.I.A.S., Report, 1909, p. 46.

2. J.A.I.A.S., Report, 1910, p. 8.

while the prices were not as high as they were in other sections of the State, this was compensated for by the farmers growing their own feed which lowered the cost of production. They also made use of the fitness of the soil for alfalfa and hay and raised a good deal of it, using it for feed in addition to the wild grasses and meadow land in which the cattle grazed.^{1.}

In addition to the use of alfalfa for cattle feed the good limestone soil enabled the farmers to raise a sufficient amount of the crop to be able to offer some^{of}/it for sale also.

Newcomers to the section found lack of capital and inexperience quite a handicap but were able to overcome these two major difficulties in time. Their neighbors have been helpful to them in getting them started, and by 1914 there was a prosperous Jewish farming community near Syracuse.^{2.}

In addition to the Jewish farmers living in and near Syracuse there are also some within a short distance of Manlius New York. Here too they engaged, in this early period, in dairying. Two other settlements which were started at the same general time as Syracuse were located within a few miles of Rochester, not far from Honeoye Falls in the general vicinity of Batavia. These are respectively in Genessee and Munroe counties.^{3.}

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1920, p. 8.

2. Levine, op. cit., p. 96.

3. Ibid.

SUFFOLK COUNTY, LONG ISLAND

The last effort at Jewish farming in New York State during the period from 1880 to 1914, with which we shall concern ourselves, took place on Long Island, in Suffolk county, in King's Park. This is an area of much diversity in physical character with lands running from high to low in natural productivity. The region has been settled since the time of the early American colonists and is situated near large urban centers. The land is undulating and is interrupted occasionally by hilly morains. Soils are mainly sandy and not too well fitted for general agricultural use. Occasional moderately productive loams and silt loams are found. The district has a warm summer and a fairly long growing season.^{1.}

This land in Suffolk county interested the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society in 1904. The Society in that year purchased 275 acres of land in King's Park, paying a total of \$40 and acre for the land and the improvements that went into it. Later, an additional tract of 225 acres was purchased by the Society. The land was at the time about a two hours drive from New York City. When purchased it had upon it a dwelling sufficient for the housing of three or four families besides barns and outbuildings of various kinds. The buildings were not in very good repair when the Society took over in 1904. One-fourth of the land that was purchased had been in cultivation up to the time of purchase although the original owner had been not too successful with

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Dep't. of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

the growing of crops in the area.^{1.}

[The Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society purchased King's Park to be used as a farm settlement for Jewish farming families who had not had experience in farm practice before. They were to be placed on the farm in a group and taught agricultural methods by employees of the society. After they had completed the prescribed course on the land at King's Park they were theoretically ready to go out on their own land and to begin practical farming themselves.^{2.}

Mr. F. Schmidt was hired as superintendent in 1904 and was put in charge of the farm. The families were to report to him on the ground and houses would be given to them which they would be allowed to use during the length of their stay on the farm. A nominal rental fee was made for the houses that they received and for the small plot of ground that was turned over to them for their use. It was understood by the families who came to King's Park that if the man of the family was discharged from the farm because of incapacity or inadaptability for farm work the land was to be surrendered to the society.^{3.}

Usual wages for a day laborer were to be paid to the men who were learning agricultural methods on the experimental farm. Instruction was to be given in farm methods, in dairying, poultry raising, and truck farming, which were the most common branches of farming that were being carried on by Jew-

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1904, p. 14.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

ish farmers at the time.^{1.}

The settlement, which became known as the "Indian Head Farm", consisted of 500 acres of land in 1905. The total purchase price of the land and buildings was \$16,700. The buildings, which were old and out of repair had to be fixed up at a cost of another \$2,000 to the society. The total expenditure provided houses for four families and for the superintendent. In addition to these houses two double houses were erected which took care of another four families. A horse and cow barn was built to accomodate 26 head of cattle. A granary was set up along with two silos which could be enlarged to allow for the expansion in the amount of stock that was owned by the farmers. A dairy building was erected by the society and a range of chicken houses. These buildings, which had not been on the land previously, and which were needed if the land were to be used for the purpose for which it was intended cost the society \$17,000 making a total investment of \$33,700 for Indian Head Farm.^{2.}

But after all these expenditures and lofty ambitions to instruct Jewish farmers in the methods of successful agriculture through actual experience, the farm did not prove to be a success. In more than one way the farm proved unsuccessful. It did not train Jewish farmers adequately and efficiently, and moreover, it discouraged more men than it encouraged to go back to the soil. The district was not particularly

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1904, p. 14.
2. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1905, pp. 15-16.

suitable for agriculture as we have already seen. It was a worn-out area that had been farmed for many years. Probably the only reason that the original owner of the land had sold it was to get off land that he realized was no longer fitted for agriculture without large expenditures for fertilizers, and without giving the land a good rest for a number of years which he could not afford to do.

By 1908 the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society was ready to give up the farm as a bad investment. Up to that time there had been no success at all in growing crops or even of raising poultry. The superintendent had had poor material to work with, for men who have never farmed before can barely make a success even when they have expert instruction, and it is extremely doubtful whether Schmidt was an expert. As an experiment to adapt family men who had a penchant for farming to the actual work of agriculture the scheme was a failure. The experiment was therefore discontinued in 1908, but the land was to be kept under cultivation to preserve the value of the investment that had been made. In the four years that the land had been worked and the farm operated by the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, 28 men with their families had been graduated from the farm and had been placed on farms of their own, or as hired farm-^{1.}hands.

In 1910 the Society made its last report on the Indian

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1908, p. 39.

Head Test Farm. Statistically speaking 405 of the men placed on the farm were considered by the Society to have been satisfactory graduates. However, the net educational results were not felt by the Society to warrant the continuance of a rather expensive project.

The net cost of the experiment was \$36,853.52 . This was an average expenditure of over \$9,000 a year. The total number of families placed on the farm during the entire period of its existence was 58. Of the number of men who successfully graduated from the farm and were placed on farms as independent farmers, nine failed, making a total of nineteen men who really came out of the experiment with something to show for the time they had spent on the land. A cost of almost \$2,000 per family settled on the test farm was entirely too high to warrant the continuance of the project. When one considers that \$1,000 would have settled a family very comfortably on farm land that was known to be productive, it may be appreciated how poor an investment had been made by the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society. The Society was wise in admitting its mistake and in not continuing to throw good money after bad. This is the first and last experimental farm for adults that was run by Jews during the entire history of the American Jew in agriculture.]

This concludes the account of the Jews in agriculture in New York State up to 1914. The recent history of the Jewish farmers in this state will be dealt with later in this paper.

THE NEW ENGLAND STATES

From 1880 to 1914 the New England States were the scene of an immense amount of Jewish activity in agriculture. Connecticut and Massachusetts were the states most widely settled and it is these states that we shall now concern ourselves with.

Jewish farmers in New England did not meet with much success in their labors during the early period of their history in this area. The earliest farmers, settled by the Baron de Hirsch Fund, had a sad history. Those who depended purely upon agriculture for their support were not able to last very long. This was due in large part to the poorness of the soil and to the inexperience of the farmers in making the best of what little the land had to offer them.

In 1897 the following paragraph appeared in the American Israelite describing the general situation in the New England states:

"A few years ago there were a number of small farming colonies established in the New England States by the trustees of the Baron de Hirsch Fund. Their history is a very sad one. Those that were agricultural did not last very long. Those that had some opportunities for light manufacturing did a little better, but only led a precarious existence at best. Practically all of them still existing today need more or less assistance. It has been fully demonstrated that recent immigrants cannot be turned into successful tillers of the soil since they have been reared in cities, nor is there any reason to believe that their children can be. It has also been demonstrated fully, on the other hand, that the children of these immigrants, notably Russian are ex-

ceedingly apt at acquiring mechanical trades. It would therefore seem that after supplying the first needs of the absolutely sick or destitute the best use that the Hirsch money could be put to would be to enlarge the capacity for usefulness of the existing trade and technical schools and the establishing of new ones. We trust that no more money will be uselessly frittered away in agricultural experiments."

This is a significant article to appear in the Israelite. The editors of the paper had been among the first to encourage the Russian emigrant to get into agriculture as fast as possible, viewing agriculture as the saving power for all of the Jews who had been forced to leave Russia because of the pogroms. But the attitude of the paper changed again in two years in its report of the situation of Jewish farmers in the New England states in 1899.

At that time an investigation brought out the fact that the Jewish farmers who settled on farms in the New England states had bought farms that had been abandoned by the original settlers. The American Israelite made editorial comment at that time to assure the American public that the farms should not have been classed, strictly speaking, as abandoned farms because they were not abandoned because of unproductiveness. According to the Israelite abandonment was caused by the death or the old age of the original settlers and the failure of their children to take up where they had left off. The children of these people were often willing to sell the land at a sacrifice in order to get into the city. They had become tired of farm life and felt that it no longer offered

1. American Israelite, April 8, 1897.

them a chance to earn a living commensurate with that which they could earn in the city. Therefore, the Jewish immigrants were able to buy up this land which frequently had large farm houses and good and substantial outbuildings upon it. The Jew had been accustomed to carrying on dairying on a small scale. With the purchase of the larger New England farms he was able to carry on his dairying on a much larger scale than before. By 1899, 600 Jewish farmers had been assisted by the Baron de Hirsch Fund. The farmers themselves at this time had over \$1,000,000 of their own money invested in the land which they had purchased. Besides the Baron de Hirsch Fund capital they borrowed another \$1,250,000 which they were also using in the investment.^{1.}

Generally speaking, the New England farmers by 1907 had managed to improve their conditions. They had, at this time, turned almost exclusively to dairying with some attention paid to poultry raising and tobacco growing in certain sections of the area. Some of the farmers were still engaged exclusively in the summer boarding business which was being discouraged by the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society as being extremely risky when carried on independently^{2.} of agricultural enterprises.

The following table will give a clear and concise picture of the agricultural activities of the Jews in the New England States, namely Connecticut and Massachusetts:

1. American Israelite, October 19, 1899.
2. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1907, p. 13.

CONCLUSIONS FOR NEW ENGLAND

General location	Date of founding	Number of farmers reported by JAIAS 1909, including Norwich.	Tax Lists 1909		Type of farming	Supplementary income from---	General economic condition of farmers.
			Tax- pay- ers.	Total farms taxed			
Chesterfield and vicinity, Niantic, Salem, and Montville.	1877-1893	164	93	80	Dairying and general farming.	Summer board-ers.	Poor.
Colchester and vicinity, East Had- dam.	1893	183	86	79	Dairying and general farming.	Summer board-ers.	Few make more than their subsistence.
Near Willimantic.	1900	31	25	18	General farming	None	Fair
Ellington and vicinity.	1904	40	26	21	Tobacco and dairying.	None	Rather prosperous outlook.
Holliston, Medway, & Millis, Massachusetts.	1890	51	34	39	General crops.	Junk ped- dling, board-ers, etc.	Not very prosperous.
TOTAL			758	264	257	1.	

In addition to the settlements included in the above table the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society reported other groups of Jewish farmers as follows: "Near Hartford, 20; Stepney, Connecticut, 58; Cornwall Bridge Connecticut, 2. Sandisfield, Massachusetts, 68; others in New England, 111.

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 11-12.
2. Ibid.

From this more or less general and scattered picture of the Jew in agriculture in New England let us turn to a particular phase of his agricultural activity, that in Connecticut.

CONNECTICUT.

Connecticut was originally considered so important from an agricultural standpoint that it was labeled the "Provision State" by General Washington during the American Revolution. Since that time Connecticut has seen its agriculture gradually supplanted by industrial activity until, at the present time, comparatively little agriculture is carried on in the State. Fabulous stories of the fertility of the soil of the Connecticut Valley stimulated early English colonization in this section. The first crops that were grown by the colonists were tobacco, onions, and oak trees from which oak staves were made. Cattle raising soon followed. All of these enterprises in agriculture were highly successful during the early development of the United States. Today tobacco is the outstanding cash crop. For more than a century some of the best wrapper leaf in the world has been produced in Connecticut. Where the yield is high the usual rotation on soil where tobacco is grown is potatoes and corn followed by tobacco. The local markets absorb all of the corn and potatoes that are grown, while the tobacco is exported. The central valley loams, which is the main soil type in the Connecticut Valley, is ideal for tobacco growing. Vegetables also grow successfully in tobacco soils and they are used as a rotation crop by some to-

tobacco farmers today. Berries grow well on sandy loams and celery is well fitted for the heavier soils. On 80% of the farms that are operated on a commercial basis today, dairying is an important activity. Poultry raising has been on the increase in Connecticut although during the early period with which we are concerned it was not of great importance. Chief among the difficulties that beset the Connecticut farmer was the high cost of living in a state where industry was the most important activity of the people. Correlative with that fact is the inevitable rise of taxes on land that had become industrialized. The farmer has seen his land go up in value but not in productiveness. The area of farm land that is workable compared to that which has to be left fallow is comparatively great in this state. In fact, the area of land that can be worked on almost any farm is so small as to obviate the necessity of using machinery in cultivation or in harvesting. Normal expansion of farm land in this state has been further restricted by the purchase of cultivated land by the large power and water companies preventing private farmers from utilizing as much land as possible in the growing of crops. But despite all these difficulties the farmer in Connecticut has not done badly. [The one factor that has enabled him to keep on his feet is his proximity to market. Here, through low freight costs, he is able to compete with farmers who have all the advantages that he lacks.] By utilizing his land in such a way as to produce the most expensive products on as little land as possible he has built up an agriculture that

is unique in its monetary value.^{1.}

There are few places more rough, stony, broken, and barren than the height of land that runs north and south through the State east of the Connecticut Valley and including the central part of Tolland County, the western part of New London County, and the eastern sections of Middlesex County. On the summits of the ridges in New London, where natural drainage carries water away from the land in various directions is the largest and oldest of the Jewish colonies in Connecticut.^{2.}

Almost all of the men who bought land during 1891 in Jewish farm areas in Connecticut engaged in dairying. This field of agriculture was chosen because the land was not fertile enough to make market gardening profitable. It was fertile enough, however, for each farmer to raise what fodder he needed for his dairy herds and for the potatoes and vegetables that his family required for their own use.^{3.}

The farms which were purchased by Jews during 1891 and 1892 were generally bought by a payment of one-third to one-half in cash to the owner of the land previous to the Jewish farmer's accession. The balance of the money was tied up in a mortgage that ran at from 5% to 6%. Later on the Baron de Hirsch Fund came to the aid of some of these farmers by refinancing them and making their interest rates lighter. The procedure involved the paying off of the mortgages by the

1. Connecticut, A Guide to its Roads, Lows, and People; by members of the Federal Writers Project of the W.P.A.; Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1938.
2. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 11-12.
3. Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. I, p. 260.

Baron de Hirsch Fund to the original owners of the land or to the bank which had taken the mortgages over for the owners. Then, the money which in effect had been loaned to the farmer was financed under a new agreement which usually bore interest payments of about 4%. This was not, however, the main feature of the procedure. The problem originally involved in many of the cases was the inability of the farmer to pay off his principal payments as fast as was required by the terms of the contract. The Baron de Hirsch Fund in its refinancing plans made allowances for this inability and permitted the farmers to pay off their debts as slowly as they wished. In addition to this factor, the Baron de Hirsch Fund was a much more benevolent mortgage holder than a bank or a farmer who both needed ready cash and could not afford to wait for it until the Jewish farmer could pay conveniently and without crippling himself. The Fund was not in business, and all that it wanted was to get its money out of the investment. This aid from the Baron de Hirsch Fund was invaluable to farmers who were just beginning to establish themselves on the land and needed help to get through trying periods of adjustment and experimentation.

In April, 1891, there were 2,376 acres of farm land owned and operated by nineteen Jewish immigrant families in the State of Connecticut. These farms had cost \$20,800, of which \$5,840 had been paid in cash. The total Jewish farming population at this time was 143. By January, 1892, the amount of land owned by the Jewish farmers had increased to 7,843 acres, of which 1,420 acres had been cleared and prepared for planting.

This land had been purchased at a total cost of \$89,600 of which \$36,050 had been paid at the time. (1892) By December, 1899, there were 600 Jewish farmers in the New England states, most of them being located in Connecticut. They had invested a total of \$1,100,000 in cash and had mortgaged about \$1,250,000. The main settlements of Jewish farmers will be dealt with in reference to their specific histories. There were many small settlements in various sections of the State. We shall also mention these in our consideration of specific colonies.
1.

NEW LONDON COUNTY
NORWICH AND NEW LONDON.

Jewish agricultural colonization in Connecticut began in 1691 with the settlement of three Jewish families at New London and Norwich. These families were Russian immigrants and were settled on the land through the efforts of the United Hebrew Charities of New York City. The United Hebrew Charities was, at the time, being assisted by the Baron de Hirsch Fund. This is probably the reason for the settlement of these people on the land instead of finding work for them in the nearby cities.
2.

Although these families were supposed to have been placed on the land they were in reality only put closer to the mills than they had been previously. But these immigrants were not satisfied to remain in the New England woolen mills

1. Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. I, pp. 259-260.
2. Ibid.

and so they saved their money with the intention of purchasing more land as soon as they were able. With the land that they would have then acquired they wanted to begin their lives all over again as farmers. They were helped in their ambition by the Baron de Mirsch Fund which gave them the necessary assistance to buy up the abandoned farms that appealed to them after they had saved some of their own money and felt that they were in the proper position to change their occupation. The land that they purchased at this time was located near Norwich.

The land in this vicinity is largely hilly or rolling. Many sections are steep and very stony, particularly those regions which have been settled for any length of time. A large part of the land is even today in forest largely because there is no better use to which land of this unproductive type may be put. Abandonment of farms has occurred in this district as in many other sections of Connecticut. Conditions are not at all favorable to agriculture, but dairying and certain types of agriculture that may be artificially^{1.} stimulated may be carried on.

CHESTERFIELD

In 1892 a man by the name of Hayyim Pankin who had been working in a mill in New London bought a farm near Chesterfield. This was about eight miles from his former place

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

of employment. He was assisted in his enterprise by the Baron de Hirsch Fund. Pankin had had no experience in agriculture or in doing any work but that of an unskilled mill worker when he started in to farm.

Within a few months there were 28 families in the in the neighborhood. These families had followed Pankin because of his glowing accounts of the new life that he was leading and because of the difficulties of mill work. Work in the mills seemed to these enterprising people as vastly inferior to the type of life that was open to them on the farm. In addition to these families, the heads of which had all been working together with Pankin, a number of families who had been employed in a rubber mill in Colchester, Connecticut, also bought land in the neighborhood. They too were Russian immigrants. Before the influx of the Pankin group some well-to-do Russian immigrants from South Russia, among them Alexis Pincus, purchased land in the vicinity. These people were able to buy relatively good farms for they had the necessary capital. They were also able to purchase dairy herds and adequate equipment.^{1.}

The farms of the immigrants in the Chesterfield section varied from 40 to 200 acres. In reality, however, the farming area was much smaller, for not all of the land could be cultivated because of the stoniness of the soil and the large amount in woodland or in wild pasture. Much of the land

1. American Jewish Yearbook, 5673, pp. 82-90.

was overgrown with brush and covered with moss. Probably not more than one-sixth of the land was cleared at this early date. Seldom was more than \$15.00 an acre paid for land, and a good deal of it cost the purchaser less than \$10.00. Fortunately for the Jew there was none of the rapid rise in real estate prices in this State as there had been in New York when the owners of the land found that immigrant settlers were trying to come in. Some land was purchased for as low as \$6.00 an acre when it was bought in lots of 100 acres or more. One-half was paid for in cash, and one-half was mortgaged at 6% interest. The money which had been borrowed from the Baron de Hirsch Fund at an early date to purchase the original land was secured by second mortgages.^{1.}

According to the report of the United States Immigration Commission there were a number of farmers in the vicinity before Hayyim Pankin and his friends came. "Six had bought or leased land in the vicinity of Colchester and Chesterfield in 1890 and 1891. In April, 1891, there were 19 farms consisting of 2,376 acres operated by Hebrews."^{2.} Most of the farmers settling in this section had come from New York but one or two had been in the country around the district as peddlers. Frequently peddlers were so enthused over the type of life that they saw on the farms that they visited that they could not rest until they themselves had saved enough money from their peddling to buy farms and settle down

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 13-43, passim.
2. Ibid.

also. Few of the Jews who settled at this time on the land near Chesterfield had ever been farmers before. Some of them had been influenced by newspaper advertisements to take up farming, others took it up because anything seemed better to them than their life in the city. "There were Hebrew owners in Salem and Montville townships as early as 1867, but for all practical purposes the foundation of the settlement may be dated 1890."¹ By January, 1892, there were 52 farms aggregating 7,843 acres with a total of 1,420 acres of cleared land. These farms were operated by 491 Jewish farmers, or an average of about nine people to a farm in Connecticut.²

The problem of feeding all these people during the beginnings of their settlement on the land was quite a serious one. It was not handled properly or efficiently and because of this factor many of the early settlers were compelled to leave the land that they had taken up. By the fall of 1894 out of twenty-eight families that had taken up land settlements originally there were only fifteen left on their farms. The rest had gone back to the cities or the near by towns where they took up, once more, the mill work which they thought they were leaving forever.³

The value of the property of the Jewish farmers of Chesterfield when they took up the settlement there was estimated at \$20,800 in 1891. At this time there had been paid

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., p. 13.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

in cash \$5,840. By January, 1892, the purchases of the Jewish farmers in the area amounted to \$89,600. Of this amount \$36,050 had been paid in cash by the early part of 1892. By 1899 the value and amount of the investment had increased once more. At this time there had been purchases made to the amount of \$2,350,000 worth of land which was paid for partially, i.e.,^{1.} \$1,100,000.

At the close of 1894 there were 33 families in the Chesterfield colony. The early days of life in the colony were quite different than they had been pictured by the enthusiastic settlers. Hardships made the early period quite difficult. The colonists showed a different attitude than those who settled in the New Jersey colonies and seemed more independent. It was unfortunate that agriculture was in such a depressed condition generally in the district for the Jewish farmers. In some cases the difficulties which had plagued the non-Jewish farmers for such a long time compelled the Jews to give up their farms and to abandon farming altogether,^{2.} in the district.

Grain raising was not suited for the area and was not profitable. The requirements for the profitable raising of grain involve a great deal of cheap land that can be cultivated mechanically. In this area the farmers were not able to purchase large tracts of land because in the first place there were none for sale, and in the second place they would have

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 13-43, passim.

2. Ibid.

been too expensive even if they could have been bought for \$5.00 or \$6.00 an acre. The most deterrent factor in the bad conditions for grain raising in any large quantities was the hilliness and general ruggedness of the land. This type of land could not be plowed with gang plows nor could it be harvested with combines because machinery was too cumbersome to be handled easily over rough ground, particularly during the early development of agricultural mechanization when most of the farm equipment was horse drawn.

Hay production was largely problematic, some years a good stand of hay could be raised. Other years spelled failure for any attempt on the part of the farmer to grow a decent supply for his own use with perhaps a small surplus for sale. In the early days of the settlement market gardening was also a field of agriculture that could not be carried on successfully. During the first few years of development bad roads led to Chesterfield and the goods had to be laboriously hauled down steep hills by horse and wagon. This limited the amount of produce that could be taken at one time and wasted much of the farmers' time in the effort of taking his crops into the city. If this were not enough to discourage the farmer from any extensive market gardening the expensive fertilizer that had to be used would have been reason enough in itself. It has already been mentioned that the soils were worn out in this area and required a great deal of fertilization to be able to produce crops. Coupled with the expense of the

crops and the difficulty of taking them to market the farmers soon found that they could not successfully engage in market gardening or in truck gardening in Chesterfield.

Throughout the early years of the Jewish farm settlement in Chesterfield a rather interesting and paradoxical development was taking place in land investment. Frequently a Jewish settler would buy land and live on it for a few years. At the end of two or three years, perhaps a bit more, he would see that he had made a rather serious mistake in thinking that the land would be able to support him adequately, or make a fair living for himself and his family. Therefore he would sell the land to another city man who was willing to try his luck on a farm. The original farmer, however, was not willing to part with his property without allowing his investment to bring back some small profit to him. In his sale of land to the new farmer he saw to it that he made a few dollars on the deal. In the meantime the land had not been improved. The Jewish farmers had usually been unable to put in any of the much needed fertilizer and the already impoverished land had become worse off than when they had acquired it. This procedure was not only carried on once. The second man, and even the third purchaser would get off the land when he found an opportunity to do so, always making sure of his own investment, and not taking a loss. Perhaps we should not make such absolute statements. This process of land sale was not done every time a man went into agriculture. But it was done sufficiently to make it noticeable to government agents who saw the paradox of

land that was becoming poorer and poorer being sold for higher and higher prices. Of course there finally came an end, and the last farmer that had purchased the land had to take the loss on it that had been foisted onto him from many farmers beforehand. This was one very good reason for the unpopularity of Connecticut and Chesterfield during the early days of the Jews' engagement in agriculture in this country.^{1.}

A concrete instance of the above description is recorded in the records of the United States Immigration Commission. Taking place for the most part after 1900 the case went like this:

A farm was purchased by a Jewish farmer around 1895 for about \$1,200. This was already a price that was too high for land that was so impoverished in its productive qualities. The land changed hands three times before 1910. The final price of the land as sold to the last Jewish farmer that settled on it was \$4,000. This was for infertile land, worked over by three sets of Jews before him, and no one knew how many non-Jewish farmers before the Jews came into the area.^{2.}

Most of the settlers of Chesterfield had money when they came into this colony. Purchasing land immediately on arrival, it usually took them a long time to become accustomed not only to farming, but to the particular type of farming that was required by the area. Because of the difficulties that they found in agriculture, many of them turned to different activities on the land which they had purchased. Some ran small tailoring shops, taking piece work from the cities and working

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 13-43.

2. Ibid.

on it at their farm houses. One or two ran butcher shops, while others worked as farm laborers for their Jewish and Gentile neighbors who had the money to pay them. In the last instance, at least, they found a fairly steady income besides learning agricultural methods as they were working.^{1.}

Then a new industry started, an industry which was much more lucrative in a good year than farming could ever hope to be. This industry was the summer boarding industry which we have already discussed in some detail. Through the income that the farmers made from their boarding they were able to satisfy their ambitions to have their children pursue their higher educations. Some of the children of these farmers went to the State Agricultural College, but usually they had seen too much of the seamy side of agriculture to be interested in it as a life work for themselves. Despite the poverty and the hard struggle that the Jewish farmers had in this area they were good citizens and ambitious for the improvement of the community and for their own welfare.^{2.}

The settlement at Chesterfield developed with varying degrees of rapidity. Of the settlers who had originally come to the area prior to 1894 not many were there in 1910. We have already intimated as much in our consideration of the problem of the constant speculative sale of land.^{3.}

Upon the development of the boarding industry the

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 13-43.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

group of farmers in the area increased materially.

Although the Jewish farmers recognized at an early period in the history of their settlement at Chesterfield that dairying was the best field of operations for them they were not able to carry this on successfully. This was due to the general characteristics of the land. Parts of this area are, and were at the time when the Jews settled them, so barren of vegetation and so incapable of producing anything more than scrub and brush that ten acres would not even support a cow. Thus, hay for the cattle was difficult to grow and the winter feeding problem was acute. The farmers could not afford to buy hay and feed that was necessary for them to have, and when their hay crops failed because of lack of rain or other reasons, they had to get rid of their cows or watch them starve during a rigorous New England winter. "In some instances the feed bill and the checks received for milk balance each other."¹ Obviously this was no way to carry on a successful type of agriculture.

Orchards offered a possibility to the farmers but the Jews did not seem particularly interested in this type of agriculture. Although the land would support trees and the valley would give them the necessary protection during the early frosts, the Jews did not care to plant trees and wait for their investment to grow. They wanted to see their crops grow quickly, and would not wait five or ten years until trees

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 13-43/

began to bear fruit.

The Jewish farmers were slightly interested in poultry raising at this time, but did not go into it as extensively as they did later on. Their Gentile neighbors had fine flocks of birds in some cases. But the Jews, when they did invest in flocks of poultry did not have any marked success largely because of their inability to recognize ailments among their chickens and to cure them. Anything that required an amount of former experience was doomed to failure so far as the Jewish farmers were concerned.^{1.}

The agricultural methods employed by the Jewish farmer were probably to some degree responsible for his rather poor condition on the soil in this area. During his early settlement on the soil he worked almost exclusively by hand, even using a flail to thresh the wheat he grew. Sowing was also done by hand. The Jew was accused of sloppy agricultural methods by the government inspectors who stated that the ploughing that the Jewish farmer did was not well done. There was an attempt to get the work done quickly with little or no regard to the quality of it. This showed up later in the poor harvests of the Jewish farmers.^{2.}

According to the Immigration Commission the Jewish farmer of the day suffered by comparison with the Gentile farmer in the Chesterfield and Colchester area. In part this was due to the Gentile farmer's owning the best land which he was

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 13-43.

unwilling to sell. The Commission report stated that the farms of the non-Jews were more neatly kept and that better produce was raised, showing more care in the tending of crops and of animals.

"It is not hard to pick out the Hebrew and immigrant farms....There is seldom a clean, tidy or uncluttered yard, a well painted house, a carefully kept lawn, or many of the evidences of thrift and prosperity that make New England homes a pleasure to look upon....Very rarely is there found a Hebrew who takes pride in the appearance of his place; shabbiness is all-pervasive.... Their aim is to get the money out of the farm with the least possible outlay, in other words, to exploit the farm. As a rule the American farmers are considered above the Hebrew in point of intelligent farming and in the disposal of the products of the farm."¹

Despite the struggle that the Jewish farmers had in keeping their holdings together and in managing to make a living off the land, they lived fairly well with respect to food. Although the boarders added little more than \$500.00 a year to the income of the farmer they helped to keep him going, and, what was more important, made it possible for him to keep cattle. The dairy herds were a source of food for the farmers during the winter when the boarders were no longer with them. These boarders were largely composed of middle-class Jews who could not afford a more luxurious vacation, and went into the nearby mountains in an effort to get away from the city for a short time.²

In general, the table that was set by the Jewish

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 13-43.

2. Ibid.

farmer, contained more variety of foods, and more and better food than that of a more prosperous non-Jewish farmer.^{1.}

The moral tone of the Jewish colonies was high. There were no thefts or petty crimes. The only trouble that did occur was that of boundary disputes or cattle trespassing over the land of a neighbor.

"...The advent of the Hebrew has not been of great material benefit to this section of the State. They took up exhausted farms and a declining, decaying agriculture. In most instances the farms have not been rendered much more productive, and, as has been said, the higher values are in a large measure speculative. The city Hebrew, eager to get out into the country on a piece of land of his own, like that on which he spent his summer vacation, is likely to compare land values with those in the vicinity of New York City, rather than with the actual productivity of the farm. The shrewd seller knows this and makes the most of it. The Hebrews have introduced no new crops and almost no new methods. In fact, they have not been altogether successful imitators of the old time farmers in most lines of farming. In some senses they have raised the social, moral, and educational standards of the settlement. They are ambitious, if pessimistic, and a good many have more energy than some of the native stock. A more or less healthful discontent pervades the communities but the desire to get on materially leads to more or less shifting tenures. Very little race prejudice manifests itself in business or educational affairs. There is a social race cleavage that is mutually respected and generally observed. And of course there are no religious affiliations with the Gentiles. In general the Hebrews are respected, especially the early settlers, as neighbors and citizens, but the opinion prevails that the majority are not good farmers."^{2.}

FAIRFIELD COUNTY

STEPNEY.

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 13-43.

2. Ibid.

Jewish colonies in Connecticut also existed in Fairfield county near Bridgeport. Here conditions were almost identical with those in Chesterfield and Colchester. The land was poor, the farmers were inexperienced. Land speculation and rapid turnover in ownership went on, and in general an unsatisfactory sort of agriculture was conducted by the Jewish farmers in this area. The farmers in Fairfield county worked about fifty farms in 1910 when the U.S. Immigration Commission made its survey.^{1.}

The Jews in Stepney were far better off than those in many of the other Jewish farming areas in Connecticut. Although the farming region was old, the Jewish farmers who managed to stay on the land for any length of time were not doing badly. Their position was better, at any rate, than that of the Jews in Cornwall Bridge and Canaan in Litchfield county,^{2.} Connecticut.

LITCHFIELD COUNTY.

These groups of Jewish farmers were the most unfortunate of all. While they were in a mountainous section of the country they could not turn their farms into summer resorts because of the inaccessibility of the land. Due to the hilliness and stoniness of the country-side farming was very difficult to carry on successfully and poor markets spoiled what little chance they had after their crop was harvested.

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 13-43.
2. Levine, op. cit., pp. 107&108.

Their only salvation lay in the construction of roads which would make their farms accessible not only to vacationers but to enable them to take their produce to market much more easily.^{1.}

TOLLAND COUNTY

ELLINGTON.

The settlement of Jews in Ellington township met with more success than in any other part of Connecticut. This settlement was located in the Connecticut Valley, north of Hartford, and extends from Rockville, in Tolland County, north to Enfield and east to Bloomfield and East Hartford in Hartford County. The town of Ellington, near to which most of the Jewish farmers settled, is about twelve miles from Hartford.

One of the main reasons for the success of the Jewish farmers in this district is that they settled on land that was adapted for the growing of tobacco, which adaptability was utilized by the Jews. The credit for the settlement of the land is due to the research of Hyman Caroline of the staff of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society who carefully investigated the type of land that was there. Upon his recommendation a different type of Jewish farmer was located on this land. They were men who had money to invest, some putting as much as \$10,000 into a farm. The men who became engaged in agriculture in this section brought with them a-

1. Levine, op. cit., pp. 107-108.

mounts of money ranging from \$2,000 to \$18,000.^{1.}

The settlers of the district were given practical advice by the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society both as to the purchase of farms, and in farm practice. The price of the farms that were being purchased by the prospective settlers was carefully investigated by the experts of the Society as were the terms of purchase. Owing to the assistance of the organization very few Jewish farmers investing in this region paid too much for the land that they bought. The action on the part of the Society also prevented speculation which we have observed in other Connecticut settlements founded before the organization of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society in 1900.^{2.}

The settlement near Ellington started in 1904 when a Colchester farmer sold his farm and bought another one near Rockville. He was soon followed by another Jewish farmer who came from Groton, Connecticut, near New London. He purchased land near Ellington in the same year (1904). More settlers followed, all men of means, for the land was expensive.^{3.}

In this section of Connecticut transportation facilities were good even in the first few years of the twentieth century. The township had been settled by New England farmers during the early days of the history of the United States and had been a fine neighborhood for many years. The western part of Ellington township was, and still is, a good

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-43.
2. *American Jewish Yearbook*, 5673, p. 90.
3. Levine, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-108.

farming region devoted principally to tobacco culture. The country has a diversified contour which is particularly adapted to the growing of tobacco. There are two groups of Jewish farmers in this area located on two different ridges of the sloping hills so common in the district. Because the slopes rise gently the land is also usable for tobacco, corn, and vegetables. The drainage is excellent which is one of the main requirements for the successful cultivation of tobacco. The soil is mostly a light sandy loam giving way in places to a rather heavy clay. There are few stones in any section of the soil. The sandy soil may be used for potatoes also. The clay land was well adapted for corn and hay, but not so well^{1.} for tobacco.

In Ellington, which possessed the largest concentration of Jewish farmers in 1910, tobacco was raised by almost every farmer. Although the farms were not very large a fair amount of tobacco was grown by each farmer, proving to be a much more profitable crop than any other he could grow. The average acreage of the farms run by Jewish farmers was, in 1910, from six to ten acres. Production of tobacco ranged from 1,400 to 2,000 pounds per acre. This was a relatively high production per acre for the average amount of tobacco raised per acre at that time was about 735 pounds. (This is an average figure for the entire United States taking into consideration land that was very poor and land that was very

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

good, such as that which the Jews in Ellington were located on.)^{1.}

As an example of the type of year that could be expected occasionally in tobacco, the Jewish farmers in Ellington in 1912 sold \$60,000 worth of tobacco. All of this was apart from their income from other sources, such as dairying, which was conducted on a fairly extensive scale by all of the farmers in the county.^{2.}

During the first few years of settlement in Ellington the Jewish farmers met with many difficulties. Chief among them were difficulties of climate. Climatic changes, weather conditions, such as heat, frost, drought, humidity, hail, wind, to which the tobacco plant is very sensitive brought much damage to the crops of the farmers during the first few years. Animal pests had to be dealt with, and it took time for the Jew to learn how to deal with them. After the first few years of experimentation things went along fairly smoothly. The Jews used the same farm methods that their neighbors used. They introduced no innovations since they had learned nothing of tobacco culture in Europe. The Jewish farmer in the area found that he could plant potatoes along with his tobacco crop and raise about 100 bushels an acre. Potatoes were a profitable cash crop because of the proximity of the farmer to market. Outside of the potatoes very few vegetables were grown.

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 43-54. For comparative statistics see World Almanac, 1940, p. 536.

2. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1912, pp. 39-40.

This was true of fruit also. In the district there were also some farmers engaged in dairying.^{1.}

Some had quite extensive farms by 1910 when the government survey was made. Although the Jewish farmers had rather large dairy herds they did not seem to have any well-bred cattle. They were simply satisfied to have a large number of cattle and did not worry about whether their cows and bulls were prize winners. The bulk of the dairy products was shipped to Hartford where there was always a good market for these products.^{2.}

The Jewish farmers in this area represent the best type of Jewish agriculturist. Most of them were well-to-do Russians who had been used to a comfortable life in Russia before they emigrated to the United States. On the whole they were able to get along with their Gentile neighbors much easier than were some of their poorer brethren. Their investments in the farms which they purchased were larger, they did more work, and their returns were better than those of any other Jews engaged in agriculture at the period. In general their farming efficiency was of an improved and advanced type^{3.} comparing very favorably with that of their Gentile neighbors.

The first two men who settled in this area were practical farmers and men of intelligence. One of them went into dairying which was successfully carried on by other farm-

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 43-54.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

ers in the area. The other man went into tobacco and was successful in the enterprise. The promising work on the land satisfied the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society and the organization became more interested in it than it had been at the beginning. The Society could see the possibilities for Jewish farmers in this area not only because opportunities were offered which did not exist in other parts of the State, but also because the soil problem was discouraging men from farming in other sections of the State. The men who desired to start farming in places which were known to be unprofitable and unsuitable for agriculture had to be placed somewhere. The new land that was becoming available to men with some capital meant that people could be kept reasonably close to New York and could still devote themselves to agriculture.^{1.}

Because of the capital possessed by the Ellington Settlers the farms in the area were well-equipped. They were in much better shape than those of the other Jewish farmers in the State. The Ellington farmers were able to buy modern farm machinery and to constantly improve their equipment through the good profits that they made in tobacco. Their equipment was frequently more complete and modern than was that on neighboring American farms. The farm buildings and the permanent improvements that were introduced by the Jewish farmers were also excellent. Their houses were large and were built of wood and stone. Despite the fine farm houses that they had pur-

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp.43-54.

chased from the original farmers, they did not pay as much attention to repairs in their buildings and fences as did their Gentile neighbors. Some of the barnyards, as in other sections of the State, were littered and untidy, as were other parts of the farm which might have been kept up in better fashion.
1.

On the whole, the Jewish farmers were progressive in their methods of farm practice, once they caught on. They were not at all backward in the use of fertilizer and in attempts at crop rotation. They practiced what they were advised to do. It was difficult for them to think things out for themselves since they had had so little experience in agriculture before they came to their new homes. Tobacco growing, in particular, was strange to them, because it involved dealing with a very sensitive crop, and one that was also decidedly affected in value by the size of the national crop. The Jewish farmer had much to learn and he did not do badly. "When one considers that they have learned all that they know of American agriculture in four years, their present stage of progress is gratifying."
2.

Socially the Jewish farmer did not do so well. Internately he was a trader and a bargainer, which did not please the people with whom he lived. Within five years some of the farms in Ellington changed owners three times although there was not as much speculation in the area as there had been in

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 43954.
2. Ibid.

the other sections of Connecticut where the Jews settled. Hard labor was a difficulty for many of the Jews who had been city dwellers all their lives, and were not accustomed to the long hours of labor on the farm. But these were all factors that could be corrected as ultimately they were. We find that many of the neighbors of the Jewish farmers liked the men and spoke well of their industry and integrity. They worked hard when at last they became used to the difference in work between the city and the farm and they became adept in the labor they had to perform. The Jewish landowners were frugal and saved their money. They invested what they saved in improvements and were careful that none of their money was wasted.
1.

There was a tendency on the part of the Jewish farmer, however, to replace a broken farm implement with a new one instead of attempting to repair it. Cows and cattle were fed more expensive rations than was necessary. There was a tendency for the Jew to try to live well and he succeeded in part at least, for he set a better table than did any of his Gentile neighbors.
2.

The Jewish women did not work in the fields as did the women of other immigrant races in the district, namely, the Swiss. The children did not work in the fields either, but went to school as the Jewish farmer was very anxious that his children should improve their condition. Whether he intend-

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1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 43-54.
 2. Ibid.

ed for his children to continue on the farm or not we can only guess at, but it is not likely that he did. The Jew at no time regarded his farming work as being uplifting or of a high type. It was merely a means of supporting himself. He did not feel the close affinity to the soil that some of the non-Jews felt, nor the love of the land that was almost inbred in many American farmers who would do almost anything before they would give up their land.^{1.}

"That the economic independence of most of these colonists had much to do with this comparatively high moral standard is a fair assumption."^{2.} This statement is quite true. The Jewish farmers who settled in Ellington were of a higher type. But still we find that they were accused of the same rather small faults that their brethren in other parts of the state were also criticized for.

"Most of them are honest, hard working, law abiding people seeking prosperity, desiring American citizenship in the best sense, and aiming to educate their children in American ways. Opportunities to realize this condition are offered at Ellington in greater degree than in many places. There is fertile soil, good marketing facilities, large possibilities, and no race segregation. Nearly everywhere the Hebrew has a non-Hebrew neighbor. Prejudice is rapidly dying out and the Hebrew farmer is making himself respected as a farmer and as a citizen."^{3.}

We shall see later in this paper whether the Jewish farmer in this district achieved his ambitions and whether he became as prosperous as he had hoped. Up to 1910 he was

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 43-54.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

doing as well as his Gentile neighbors. According to Professor Alexander E. Cance of the Massachusetts State Agricultural College

"...the Jewish farmers in this section do not suffer by comparison with their German, American, or Swiss neighbors. Their substantial buildings, modern equipment, and large dairy herds impress him that they are commercial farmers and look for no mere subsistence only; they expect handsome returns....the Jewish farmers do not produce less pounds per acre of tobacco and on the whole the quality of the cured leaf is not inferior to the average of the vicinity."¹.

With these favorable reports in our minds we shall leave Connecticut for the time to return to this state when the more recent period of the history of the American Jew in agriculture is taken up. Up to 1914, his position in the State was gradually becoming stronger. He had become a factor in the agricultural economy of the State and had proved that, given proper land he could farm as successfully as any other man.

MASSACHUSETTS

In the early days Massachusetts, chiefly a farming region, produced its own grain and meat. But when the rich soil of the states further west was opened up to agriculturists Massachusetts farmers began to stop cultivating their farms because agriculture in the State had begun to decline and to become less profitable. This happened largely because the

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, *op. cit.*, pp.43-54.

land had become worn out through constant usage without replacing the elements that had been used up by the growing of certain crops. When the farmers of Massachusetts saw that they could no longer compete with the western lands and their farmers, agriculture on a large scale began to decline. This does not mean that an extensive form of agriculture is not carried on in the State today, although Massachusetts has become largely a manufacturing State and is no longer important as an agricultural center.

Although agricultural activities by Jews in Massachusetts did not assume the importance that they did in other states they did embrace a good deal of land and quite a number of people. The soils in this State today are basically the same as they were when the first Indian plowed up the land and dropped into a hill the first few grains of corn. The only difference in the land in Massachusetts at an early date was its greater fertility. As in Connecticut the land is worn out and unproductive unless large amounts of fertilizers are used. This may be true of any land that is near large centers of population and has been in use for a good deal of time.

The soils in Massachusetts are of diverse physical character. Lands in this State range from high to low in natural productivity in long settled regions.

MIDDLESEX COUNTY

In Middlesex County, the first county with which we shall deal in our history of Jewish settlement and farming in Massachusetts, was a long settled region near large urban centers of population. Here, the use of the land has always been well adjusted to its character through specialized and intensive farming. The poorer land has been kept in forests. The land is undulating and rolling with occasional rough or rocky lands. The soils are varied with a predominance of brown loams and sandy loams which may support almost any kind of agriculture if their fertility has not all passed from them.^{1.}

Holliston, Medway, and Millis are the three main towns with which we shall deal in our consideration of agriculture in the county of Middlesex. These three towns are situated in East Massachusetts about 25 miles west of Boston.^{2.} They are well located with reference to markets.

In 1909 there were seven farmers in Holliston, 14 in Medway, and 13 in Millis. In none of these colonies did the Jewish farmers depend entirely upon agriculture for their livelihood. Among them were cattle buyers, junk gatherers, butchers, peddlers, summer boarding house men, poultry buyers, day laborers, and absentee owners of land. Almost all of the men depended upon their outside profession as much as upon agriculture itself for their support; several of the farmers

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.
2. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 61-68.

depended more on their outside professions, for they could not manage to make a living out of the land that they happened to be situated upon. On the whole, the Jewish farmers in this area were not enthusiastic about their farming. They had purchased old farms with poor farm buildings and their holdings were not very large. In Millis the average Jewish farm in 1909 was less than sixty acres. The average value of the land was a little over \$2,500 per farm which is not a low valuation for land of the type that they were engaged in farming. In Medway, the average farm consisted of something like forty acres of land also worth about \$2,500. In both districts dairying was the chief branch of farming, with the farmers selling anywhere from \$500 to \$1,000 worth of dairy products per year.^{1.}

The oldest Jewish settler of this district came to Holliston from Boston in 1886. He had originally come from Poland where he had lived as a farmer. In the United States he had worked as a peddler for two years before saving up enough money to go back to the land. He was able to buy a small tract of uncleared land with the savings that he had accumulated from his peddling.^{2.}

This man was able to clear some of the land that he bought. He built a home and gave his children a good education besides supplying his family with the necessities of life. During the time that he was engaged in clearing the land and

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, pp. 61-68, op. cit.

2. Ibid.

in planting and harvesting his original and later crops he was forced to continue to peddle in order to make ends meet. This was because he had not accumulated enough money to keep himself and his family going during the first few years of the inevitable struggle that took place. There is no gainsaying that cultivation of the land was difficult. It was very hard for a man to start from scratch on land that had been worked for many years and then allowed to turn into wasteland. Scrub trees and brush had been allowed to grow up over the land which once had been the scene of fairly active operations. The land had become very difficult to clear, for not only did the brush have to be taken away, but brambles had to be cut out as did old tree stumps and young trees of second and third growth. Therefore, unless a man had the cash to support his family while he took a year off and got the land ready for cultivation, planted it, and raised his first harvest, it was practically impossible for him to emerge from the class of a farmer who was always in debt and who had to constantly scrape and struggle to make ends meet. In 1909 the man who had settled on the land in 1886 was still paying on his mortgage, and there was very little hope for him to be able to lift it as long as he lived. ^{1.}

Although transportation has always been fairly convenient in this area the land has changed hands as frequently as in the poorest lands in Connecticut. There has been some speculation in land because of the general desire of the Jews

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp 61-68.

to make a little extra money if possible. They were not making good on the land and they knew that they had to turn to other things to support their families. Therefore they were not averse to palming off their land or land in the area to anyone who was willing to buy and who obviously had the money^{1.} to pay their slightly exorbitant price.

In addition to the land transfers there were a good many desertions from the land in this area. There was no steady flow of immigrants here nor any one particular time when they came in. The influx of Jews seemed to come in dribbles, by spurts and stops.^{2.}

The Millis group of Jewish farmers was much more stable than the Holliston group. The numbers of the Jews in Holliston has always been small and the only prospect of keeping the number in any way stable is from without. This fact was true because of the almost general characteristic of the children of the farmers of the area to turn to the cities and to leave their farm homes. None of them had any idea to stay on the family land. Not only were opportunities better in the city but the children had lost faith in farming after seeing the failures that their fathers had made on the land.^{3.}

In Millis the average Jewish farm had fair soil which was well drained, and relatively free from rocks, and capable of producing grain and grass in quantities that would be prof-

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 61-68.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

itable to the farmer. Here, too, machinery could be used to harvest and to plant the crop because the land was not too hilly as in Connecticut. In Millis the farms were small, the average being somewhat under ten acres. The common amount of land to be planted in the staple agricultural crops was only about five acres which did not make for agriculture on a very large scale. When grain or hay was raised by the farmer it was usually not for sale, but for the use of his cattle. Thus the raising of feed in conjuncture with dairying was an important activity of the farmers in this area.^{1.}

The Jewish farmers in Millis had sizeable herds of dairy cattle for that region. They commonly had from fifteen to eighteen head of cattle which were often well-housed in nicely built cattle barns. The barns, however, were not kept very neat. The Jewish agriculturists did not care for dairying even though it was the most lucrative branch of agriculture in which they could engage. The reason given for their aversion to cattle raising was that the high cost of feed took away almost all of the profits made in selling dairy products.^{2.} Another factor may have been that noted by certain non-Jews in the district: "Several American farmers in the neighborhood stated that the hebrews are poor stockmen, and do not seem able of judging, handling, feeding, or breeding live-stock in a satisfactory manner."^{3.}

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-68.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*

According to the report of the United States Immigration Commission (which is the basic source of our information concerning the New England settlements of Jews engaged in agriculture up to 1910) the Jewish farmers did not compare favorably with the native American farmer in the district either in quality or quantity of produce marketed or in the appearance of the farm in general.. The yards of the Hebrew farmers in this district were also supposed to be littered with various assorted rubbish. According to the Immigration Commission the Jewish farmers seemed to have collected all the rubbish they could find from the parts of the area in which they were farming and then proceeded to throw it all over their front lawns. Their yards were littered with old machinery, hunks of old iron, bottles, and broken glass.^{1.}

Although we realize the validity of the United States Government investigations as a source for the condition and history of the American Jew in agriculture, it seems to us that the Commission has exaggerated somewhat the Jew's penchant for junk. In every district that the Commission dealt with, the Jew was supposed to have a miniature junk yard in his front yard. The only place that this did not hold true was in Ellington where the prosperous Jews did not turn to the inspiring piles of junk to remind them of home. Perhaps the United States Commission has slightly overestimated the Jew's proclivities as a junk dealer for if we are to regard the statements

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 61-78.

of the Commission as wholly true there would have been no scrap iron to be had in the whole of New England because the Jews had gone after it and were hoarding it in their front yards.

Up to 1909 there was a comparatively large amount of indebtedness among the Jewish farmers who did not live well, except in the matter of food, according to the Immigration Commission. Little race prejudice existed but there was no intermarriage since Jew and Gentile scarcely intermingled. The American farmer was not overly sympathetic with the Jewish farmer and was inclined to ridicule him and to make light of his accomplishments. This was only natural since the American farmer regarded the Jew as an interloper on his preserves and could see no good in what he did no matter how successful the Jew would become. Therefore the American farmer considered himself superior to the Jewish farmers of the district both^{1.} socially and professionally.

"A few of the early arrivals of Holliston, Medway, and Millis, have proved their worth, and are highly respected by all, but even these do not enter fully into the social life of the community."^{2.} In education once again the Hebrews in the district showed their desire for the improvement of their children and did all in their power to secure good schools and a longer school year that would correspond to the regular school year in the public schools in the city.^{3.}

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 61-68.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

*Notes on the
character of the
Jews of
Bristol*

"In matter of personal morality, family integrity, and in their political relations there is little criticism of the Hebrews... they are homeloving and in family affairs the authority of the father is almost unquestioned...their children are more carefully brought up than those of many American families.... The records shows no crimes or misdemeanors committed by them, and while there are occasional, perhaps rather frequent lawsuits, not many are of a serious nature. As everywhere in rural communities studied, they are peaceable, law abiding, and sober."

BRISTOL COUNTY

Turning from Middlesex county Massachusetts to Bristol county we find that soils in this area are comparable to the soils we have already considered in Middlesex. The land here is more hilly and rolling than that in Middlesex and Bristol county has a gooddeal of stony land where settlements have been located for a good length of time. A large part of the land is still in forest today and more of it was forested at the time of the first of the Jewish farm settlements. Conditions are not especially conducive to a successful agriculture. The best use of the rather perverse land calls for local determination, for the soil and the terrain change. The fact that no one part of the county is the same as another necessitates the consideration of the entire county and the attempt of some few generalizations from that point on. The soils are mainly loams where they are not too stony to be called anything but stones instead of soil. The climate is cool and the grow-

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 61-68.

ing season is not very long in comparison to land only a few miles further south. However, the valleys in between the hills retain the warm air and provide protections against the damage of frost. On the whole the soil is fairly productive in places and some of the land is quite worthy of serious cultivation for it is capable of producing a good crop.^{1.}

The Jews were not very successful in their attempt to settle in this area. The settlement near Attleboro in Bristol county resembled the settlement of the Jews in Holliston. There were also Jewish farmers in the vicinity of Taunton, Massachusetts, at this time. The farmers in this area were slightly more progressive than those in and around Holliston and they met with a fair amount of success in the period up to 1910. Their principal occupation was that of poultry raising^{2.} and they received good prices for their birds and their eggs.

BERKSHIRE COUNTY

The Jews who had the largest farms at this time were those who were located in Berkshire county. This county has the same general characteristics as Bristol county. The chief difference lies in the fact that the soil is somewhat poorer and less capable of supporting a highly developed agriculture. This is compensated for somewhat by the larger farms of the Jewish agriculturists in this county. Here they were located

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.
2. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 61-68.

about Great Barrington and Lee. The farms were sometimes as large as 500 acres, but, as has been mentioned, not much of the land was fit for cultivation even when it was ploughed up and fertilized. Dairying was the only profession that the Jewish farmers in the Berkshire county settlement could make any success at. In addition to the land being stony and hilly the markets for the products were poor and transportation facilities were equally bad. The steep roads that led up to many of the farms made them all but inaccessible especially in the winter time. Because of the difficulty of making a living from the land many of the farmers were forced to add to their income by cutting wood in the winter. Fortunately for them many of the farms had good stands of timber which were cut by the farmers and hauled into the city.^{1.}

SANDISFIELD

Sandisfield, Massachusetts, was the scene of another Jewish agricultural colony that started about 1908 along with another colony that commenced at about the same time, moving from Worcester. The Sandisfield colony did not achieve much notoriety. In fact, it is not mentioned in any one of the agricultural societies' accounts of the Jews in agriculture nor even in the government report which was supposed to be all-inclusive of the Jews who were engaged in agriculture in New England. The only mention that we do find of this colony

1. American Jewish Yearbook, 5673, pp. 91-92.

is in the book Massachusetts, a Guide to its Places and People; written and compiled by the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration for the State of Massachusetts; Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1937.

WORCESTER COUNTY

The last settlement that was made in Massachusetts by Jewish farmers during the period of active "back to the soil" activity, was from Worcester. In 1908, the real estate dealers of Worcester, Massachusetts reported that the Jews were commencing to move from that city to farms that were located in Oxford, Charlton, Boylston, Brookfield, and Spencer. The Jews were purchasing the farms, intending to leave their occupations in the city and to engage in agriculture. The farm brokers, while glad to assist the emigration of the Jews from the city to the farm were, at the same time, rather doubtful about the success of the Jew as an agriculturist. They were obviously waught up with the general spirit of the times that influenced so many people to entertain romantic notions about leaving their homes in the cities and settling on farms where they would grow their own food and live as God intended them to live. But the real estate agents were not adverse to making a bit of ready cash. Although they were¹ slightly worried about the security of the mortgages that the Jews offered on the farms that they were about to take up, the brokers went ahead and helped in the miniature exodus.

1. American Israelite, September 10, 1908.

It was stated concerning the Jews and their sudden return to the soil that "They are too good financiers to become good farm hands."^{1.}

Although the real estate agents were more than ready to help the Jews to find farms that would be satisfactory for their use as new farmers, the Jews frequently went out looking on their own. They drove out many miles into the country, ostensibly to buy cattle and in the meantime looked over the landscape and considered whether they liked the way things were in a particular section. They concluded their business trip, bought their cattle, which they used for their own meat trade, and went back to the city. At other times they went out to the farms in the country with peddlers' packs, or in search of poultry. They would find out where there were farms for sale and would often be able to make trades with the owners of the land directly, thus obviating the necessity of hiring a real estate agent to do the work for them and saving themselves quite a little money. "The showiest farm in Oxford, on the main road between Oxford and Webster has been bought by Solomon Rosenblum from Fred L. Snow. Rosenblum with his family have moved on the place. The farm comprises about 80 acres."^{2.}

This farm was excellently situated from point of view of livestock traders since it was located in the midst of almost all of the cattle trading in the district. Almost

1. American Israelite, September 10, 1908.

2. Ibid.

anyone who was going to engage in cattle trading had to either pass the erstwhile Snow farm or spend the night there as it was at a halfway point between the farms where the cattle were purchased and the cities from which the cattle purchasers came to buy. The farm controlled the Jewish livestock trade south of Worcester since Rosenblum was in a position to know about everything that was going on in the livestock world.^{1.}

Another Jewish farmer by the name of Abraham Cresswell bought a farm at the same time as Rosenblum in West Brookfield, Massachusetts. It was a fairly large farm and enabled him to control the live beef trade from the western end of the county, which was destined for city trade.^{2.}

In Spencer, Massachusetts, at this same time a Jewish farmer, Solomon Goldstein, located on a farm that was within one easy day's drive of cattle from Cresswell's place. Besides caring for the immediate needs of his farm this man was also engaged in buying livestock and poultry for the kosher market of Worcester.^{3.}

In one year, 1908, seven Jewish families bought farms in Boylston and moved upon them. In Rutland, in the same year, a Jewish farm colony was started and was furthered by the subsequent sale of land by several of the native owners. When they saw the influx of Jewish farmers growing they figured that they could make more money by selling their land when there was

1. American Israelite, September 19, 1908.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

a demand for it. Here the Jewish farmers bought land upon which they also intended to go into the raising of cattle. Some of them were also interested in poultry.^{1.}

For some reason that was not known at the time to the real estate brokers in Worcester, none of the Jewish farmers who bought land in this area around the years 1907 and 1908 had any interest in market or truck gardening. This was strange for the land was fairly fertile and with the use of fertilizer it would have been possible for the Jews to have engaged in quite successful truck gardening. The most important factor to be considered in truck gardening is not condition of soil, for the soil can always be improved when an expensive crop is to be grown that sells for a good price. In truck gardening proximity to markets is the important factor and this area had good markets surrounding it. The Jewish farmers who came into the district were not interested in hay cropping or the raising of corn or any other staples. They wanted to concentrate on livestock buying and selling. Therefore the real estate dealers of Worcester came to the conclusion that the Jews would not have gone into this business unless it offered them good profits. These men had a wholesome respect for the Jews as business men.^{2.}

"On account of the way that the sons of the native-born farmers have been deserting farms for the last twenty years and locating in cities there are many excellent farms within easy reach of Wor-

1. American Israelite, September 10, 1908.

2. Ibid.

cester that may be bought for one-half their intrinsic value because the old folks can't carry them on alone." 1.

Thus we see that in Massachusetts the Jews were also taking over run-down farms that had been occupied before. They were not interested in attempting farming in any of its pioneer forms but preferred to go after someone else in a location that was already established and was not too far from civilization. This fact was true not only in Massachusetts but in Connecticut also. In New York, the first state we considered in this group of Russian immigration historical sketches, the factors at work were much the same. We shall consider the recent period of agriculture in those states, (1914-1940) later in this paper. Suffice it to say now that the Jews entered into farming in states where the agricultural importance of the state had already broken down. In areas of large urban centers agriculture cannot be carried on to its fullest extent not only because of the expense of land, which cannot be paid by the small farmers who have to have a certain number of acres under cultivation to really make a living, but also because of the heavy taxes which make expenses of raising a crop too high to leave the farmer a sufficient margin of profit.

SUMMARY

In 1911 an expression of doubt as to the future of

1. American Israelite, September 10, 1908.

the colonies of Jewish settlements in Massachusetts was expressed by the American Israelite. The article follows:

"What is to be the future of the western Massachusetts hill farm? It is a fact that greater prosperity awaits the farm than ever before, for according to a report a syndicate is being formed, for whose members are Jewish financiers, with the object of buying throughout Berkshire as many farms as answer their particular requirements. These are not deserted farms, but general farms that are producers to a greater or less extent. They are fairly easily accessible. It is felt that the syndicate wants to speculate in the beauties of the Berkshires for it is felt that there is a growing demand for places in the Western Massachusetts hills on the part of city people. Meanwhile the land would be farmed scientifically so as to yield a profit. There are reports of fine properties selling for exceeding little money and there are a great many people who believe that latter day knowledge of farming would make it possible for places that are now abandoned to be run with profit on a business basis, while the profits of a good farm could be increased many fold."¹

For successful agriculture there must be plenty of cheap land. Land that has not been worn out by the use of many generations of farmers before the final group came to it. Land that does not require heavy expenditures of money for fertilizers. Land that does not have to be rested and coddled to the extent that the land in the New England States had to be. The land was worn out in New England before the Jews got to it. It was worn out when the pilgrims came for they soon found out that their best chances in agriculture lay to the west in Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York, Indiana, and Iowa. The Jews took over an agriculture that no one else wanted in the New England States. It is not to be wondered at that they did not make a good job of it, for they were

1. American Israelite, August 24, 1911.

beaten before they ever put a spade into the ground.

THE NEW JERSEY COLONIES

The Jewish agricultural colonies in New Jersey have always been the most prominent in Jewish agricultural history. In the first place they have been the only colonies in which Jews engaged in agriculture on a large scale and emerged successfully. Despite the many difficulties which arose during the span of their history these colonies have kept on. Settling on land that had never been used for agriculture before, the pioneers that came into New Jersey faced problems that the Jews we have considered so far did not have. The story of Jewish agriculture in this State will also be taken up in two separate parts. We shall first consider the history of the Jew up to 1914. Then we shall leave the State to return to its recent history in our consideration of the Recent period of the American Jew in Agriculture.

New Jersey has been rightly called "The Garden State". Its farms, which extend from the northern mountains to the southern plains of the State are mere garden patches when compared to the western prairies or the southern plantations. But these so-called "gardens" produce a large proportion of the fruits and vegetables consumed in New York City and in Phila-

delphia. For the millions of people in the large cities of the eastern seaboard, notably New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, New Jersey has developed extremely prosperous small farms and some of the most highly developed forms of agricultural specialization.^{1.}

The State has three main soil and topographical farm belts. The soil is underlaid largely with limestone and other rock of glacial formation. In the northern parts of the State the counties are hilly and some are even mountainous. In this section dairying and the raising of grain and other field crops predominates. Here too, the market gardening persists as one of the most important types of agriculture in the State. Commercial poultry farms are concentrated today in the north and central areas of the State and have reached peaks of importance during the past fifteen or twenty years.^{2.}

In the middle part of the State the counties are fertile, with loam farm lands of productive soil. The land is level and rolling with a rich subsoil of green and marl. In this part of the State truck crops are of first importance, while grain, hay, fruits, and milk are of secondary importance.^{3.}

In the southern areas of the State where the land is mainly sandy with many pine barrens there are spots where the land is fertile and regions exist that are well suited for the growing of apples, peaches, cranberries, and other small

1. New Jersey, A Guide to its Present and Past: Compiled and written by the Federal Writers' Project of the W.P.A. for the State of New Jersey; the Viking Press, New York, 1939, pp. 89-95.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

fruits and vegetables. In Burlington and Cumberland counties the peaches are well known for their excellent quality.^{1.}

When the early settlers of New Jersey arrived in the state they found the Indians engaged in the growing of corn, pumpkins, gourds, tobacco, and beans. They followed the example of the natives, cleared lands, and with the help of seeds and livestock imported from Europe they made the state's agricultural beginnings. New Jersey was an important agricultural colony at an early period in the history of America.^{2.}

Before the Revolution New Jersey ranked as one of the important wheat growing states. But the farmers in the state were progressive and they soon saw that the land was too good to be used in such large quantities for a crop that was relatively low in its profit value. They saw that in the future need would exist for many other things that could be grown in the state besides wheat. They also recognized that with the opening of the western lands wheat was going to pass out of the picture as an important crop in the east, for land was too expensive to grow wheat in competition with that which was grown in other parts of the country on cheaper land.^{3.}

It was fortunate for New Jersey that the farmers of the state did not depend too much on their previous success in wheat growing, for, after the Revolutionary War, the Hessian fly that had been brought to this country by the mercen-

1. New Jersey Federal Writers' Project, op. cit., pp. 89-95.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

aries of the English, devastated the wheat fields of the eastern states. The farmers who had begun to practice crop diversification were thankful that their losses were not so heavy as they might have been were wheat the only crop that was being grown by them.

During the first half of the nineteenth century farmers in parts of the state that had been under agricultural cultivation for some time knew that they would have to replenish the fertility of the soil which was being worn out. Marl, lime, and fertilizer were therefore used by the farmers to restore the worn out qualities of the soil and crop production soared as a result.^{1.}

At this time also the horse began to replace the ox in agriculture and agricultural machinery began to be developed. Its use increased the output of the individual farmer, and his profit as well.

When the west began to open up in the latter half of the nineteenth century the general farming that had been practiced in New Jersey gave way to specialization. The production of field crops, such as corn, wheat, barley, rye, etc., and the raising of hogs, sheep, and cattle declined and a specialized form of farming was introduced. This was the cultivation of berries, fruits, and vegetables along with increased dairying. Dairying soon became of paramount importance in the northern sections of the state while the growing of potatoes

1. New Jersey Federal Writers' Project, op. cit., pp. 89-95.

assumed the lead in the central portions of the state.^{1.}

In the nineteenth century the New Jersey farmers began to turn from dairying to a comparatively new field of agriculture. This was the raising of large poultry flocks and the placing of egg production and hen raising on large scale production. This industry originated in Hunterdon county in 1892. At the present time New Jersey is one of the leading states in commercial egg production. On one farm, north of Bridgeport there are 5,000 acres devoted to the raising of hens for the poultry market and for their eggs.^{2.}

New Jersey has also become a center for the growing of flowers and many prominent nurseries are located in the state. The state has been progressive in agricultural methods and colleges have been set up with bureaus for the progressive education of New Jersey farmers in modern agricultural practices.^{3.}

Since the turn of the century New Jersey farmers have suffered from two more insect pests in addition to the Hessian fly. One is the Japanese beetle while another is the Mexican bean beetle. These pests have been combatted through spraying and dusting but considerable harm has been done to the crops of the state through the activities of both of these pests.^{4.}

Concerning progress in the state we should also re-

1. New Jersey Federal Writers' Project, op. cit., pp. 89-95.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

cord that motorized transport instead of trains is now used for bringing crops to market. Many of the farmers have roadside stands which have increased their income tremendously, particularly since the motorist has come into his own so greatly during the past ten or fifteen years.

Today in New Jersey there are 1,914,110 acres of farms occupying about 40% of all the land in the state. The monetary value of all the crops in this state was in 1935 \$87,054,275 which was low compared to the high of 1929 when the figure was over \$105,000,000.¹

We have spent all this time in the consideration of the general agricultural history of New Jersey before even attempting to discuss the history of the Jews in the state because of the importance of the relationship of the type of agriculture that developed in this state to the type of agriculture that the Jews themselves engaged in. New Jersey is the one place where Jews have been successful as farmers to any considerable extent. In this state they have been able to find a place for themselves and have made good in the profession.

Much has been written about the New Jersey colonies of Jews. The South Jersey colonies, the largest group referred to, have occupied the major part of the work of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society (today continuing its work under the name of the Jewish Agricultural Society). Much money has been poured into Jewish agriculture in this state.

1. New Jersey Federal Writers' Project, op. cit., pp. 89-95.

More than was ever invested by any charitable organization to assist non-Jews in agriculture. Throughout our survey of the Jew in agriculture we may observe that the Jew must be subsidized to a considerable extent before he is able to make a success of farming. This feature existed in the New Jersey colonies and we shall be aware of its importance as we study the small colonies of Jewish farmers in the various countries.

Jewish farming in New Jersey did not begin until 1882. From Russian pogroms, Jews had come to the United States with not a place to turn for help but to charitable organizations which were rapidly formed for their aid. Agriculture seemed to be the panacea for all ills, the one means of solving the problem of absorption of Jews quickly and without forcing anyone else out of work. South Jersey, an area of pine barrens and sandy wasteland, was picked for these Russian immigrants as their future home and settlement. In other parts of the country attempts had also been made and were going on at the same time as the New Jersey experiment. The settlement of New Jersey seemed to have something of the successful enterprise in it.

Probably the one factor that enabled the New Jersey colonies to weather their difficulties and to come through the early period of their growth without breaking into pieces was the continuous and substantial support of the Baron de Hirsch Fund. South Jersey was really the only part of the state in which agricultural colonization succeeded, for although

it was tried in other parts as well it was in South Jersey that the Jewish colonies met with their best success and lasted---miraculously---as some people believe.

The Baron de Hirsch Fund helped the farmers in more than one way. By establishing industries that were related to farming, and by giving the farmers something to do when farm work did not press them, the Baron de Hirsch Fund gave the Jews settled in this area more opportunity to succeed than in any other part of the United States where Jewish colonies were settled. Had it not been for the additional money available to the Jews through their work in the factories around the colonies they would never have lasted in the South Jersey settlement. In that way inactive seasons in agriculture were put to profitable use. Women and children were given an opportunity to add to the family income, and perhaps more important, the farmer had the comforting knowledge that though his farm work might go badly he would always have the factory to fall back on.¹

In 1900 when all the agricultural matters that had been under the Baron de Hirsch Fund were transferred to the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, the spending program was reorganized. All will agree that money was wasted by the original trustees of the Baron de Hirsch Fund in the first few years of their management. There was simply too much money for a group of men who had no previous experience in

1. American Jewish Yearbook, 5673, pp. 82-90.

in this type of work to handle successfully. When the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society took over the project the waste was curtailed almost immediately to a considerable degree. This organization became interested in putting the colonies that had been established at such great cost on their own. They wanted the people who had been settled on the land to learn to do their own budgeting and to be able to shift for themselves instead of requiring to be handled with gloves constantly. The policy was enforced and the colonies began to show more independence and success than they had under the management of the trustees of the Baron de Hirsch Fund.

In 1893 the New York Sun commented on the establishment of the Jewish colonies in South Jersey and stated that an encouraging showing was already being made by the colonists at that time. The newspaper said that the soil in the area where the Jewish settlement had taken place was quite capable of cultivation and that conditions present in the South Jersey section approximated agricultural conditions in the districts^{1.} in Russia from which the colonists came.

At the same time the paper mentioned that it did not feel that farming activities of the colony had kept pace with the extra-farming activities in cloak-making, knitting, cigar manufacturing, and other factory occupations that had been introduced in order to give the men who were not able to succeed on their farms alone an opportunity to make the money neces-

1. American Israelite, February 2, 1893, reprint from N.Y. Sun.

ary for themselves and their families. It was the fear for the possibility of extra-farming activities tending to exclude the agricultural activities of the farmers altogether that led many people to doubt the efficacy of the Fund's work to begin with, and the success of the experiment of the Fund. These apprehensions were not entirely incorrect although at the time the article was written bringing this fact out it probably too early to determine the answer to the problem one way or the other. The natural preference of the colony for activities outside of agriculture should be noted, however.^{1.}

The following favorable report of the South Jersey colonies was made in the Israelite in the next year:

"An investigation by the proper authorities into the condition of the Hebrew colonies in New Jersey, which has just been concluded, develops the fact that they are in so flourishing a condition that arrangements will at once be made for bringing over in the spring a large number of new recruits. The investigation shows that hard times have little or no effect upon the colonies.

"The new colonists are to be taken, we suppose, from the population of New York or Philadelphia, where quite a number of immigrants from Russia suffer among the unemployed, and the charities are unable to assist all that need assistance."^{2.}

The colonies in New Jersey struggled along up to 1903. In that year weather conditions so combined against them that they would have been almost ruined had it not been for the increase in the summer boarding industry which brought their income up, and the industrial situation which enabled them to

1. American Israelite, February 2, 1893.
2. American Israelite, March 15, 1894.

work in the factories. It was fortunate that an industrial and an agricultural depression did not hit in the same year for the farmers would not have survived had anything like that happened.^{1.}

The farmers were helped during the ensuing years by the presence of the Allivine cannery which took a lot of their surplus produce off their hands and allowed them to sell all of their crops instead of leaving them to rot in the fields. This cannery will be discussed at greater length in the history of the Alliance colony. The model farm that was operated at the time by Mr. Fels of the Fels-Naphtha Soap Co. of Philadelphia exhibited new and improved farm practices which instructed the farmers in the best methods of farming even though the times were hard and climatic conditions were unfavorable.^{2.}

The Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society reported the financial unreliability of the colonists who could not be relied upon to meet their obligations. It seemed that many of them had the idea that they were being supported by the agricultural society and that the money and supplies that they had received were donated to them and were not expected to be paid for by them. Such, of course, was not the case. All the material that any colonist received was only given to him as a loan. Unfortunately, the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society was not even able to get interest payments from the farmers (some of them) to whom money had

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1903, p. 8.

2. Ibid.

been loaned as a start in agriculture. "...Successful farmers cannot be made out of paupers or those who consent to go to the country out of sheer necessity."^{1.} This was the attitude taken by the Society, and they were quite right, for in general, the men who had been settled on the land went to this form of livelihood only because there was nothing else open to them. They did not care for the work, and hoped that they would not have to engage in it for a long time. This attitude was manifested by the actions of the children of the farmers in this area and in almost all the districts where Jewish farmers took up agriculture. They stayed on the farm only as long as they had to, and then left to find more profitable work in the city. In 1904 there were 311 farmers totaling 1,175 people who owned 9,847 acres of land.^{2.}

By 1906 conditions had improved somewhat in South Jersey for the Jewish colonists. [The Allivine Cannery was working almost to capacity since it was supplied with crops that were well grown and plentiful. The farmers were able, through their sale of crops to the cannery, to secure a fair profit for themselves and also to make it possible for the cannery to turn out much better produce than that which they had before. The cannery was supported largely through the efforts of Maurice Fels whom we have already mentioned. In 1906 there were 625,000 cans of tomatoes, lima beans, and sweet

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1903, p. 8.

2. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1904, p. 6.

potatoes canned. ^{1.}

The year 1909 was another of the bad years for the colonies in New Jersey. From 1906 to 1908 things had gone along very smoothly, on the whole, for them. They had even introduced the growing of a new crop---strawberries, which in 1909 were a total loss. When the crops had been good the market was glutted and the farmers did not make enough profit considering the effort and expense required to grow their products. By this time grapes were also being grown in the New Jersey colonies but were not a successful or a popular crop. ^{2.}

Marketing was also somewhat of a problem along about 1909. It was difficult for the farmers to get their perishable crops to market on time; and not only that, but the frequent glitting of markets caused them a good deal of loss. 1911 was another bad year in respect to strawberries, tomatoes, and potatoes. Strawberry plants were burned out completely causing a total loss of the money that had been invested in them. Tomato plants had to be replanted several times, taking almost all of the profit out of that crop before it was even harvested. ^{3.}

On the whole the Jewish farmers who settled in the New Jersey area were good workers and were quick and intelligent. Many of the farmers paid too much for their land although the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society did

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1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1906, p. 9.
 2. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1909, pp. 46-47.
 3. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1911, pp. 35-36.

all that it could to prevent this from taking place. In the South Jersey districts the farms were on the whole well-cultivated and well-kept up in this period we have been considering, but the numerous exceptions to this status corresponded to the conditions in the New England states. The standards of living of the Jewish farmer were not much different than those of the Gentile with the possible greater amount of neatness and cleanliness in the homes of the Gentile farmers. They were no better farmers than the American and German farmers alongside of them, and differed mainly in their discontent with the average farm wages which were not enough for their ambitions or for those of their children.^{1.}

The Jewish population of the State of New Jersey is centered in six counties: Salem, Cumberland, Cape May, Middlesex, Morris, and Hunterdon. These counties vary in importance with the emphasis being largely placed upon Salem and Cumberland. We shall take them up one at a time and consider the various towns which made up the Jewish farm settlements, their history up to 1914, and the characteristics significant of their growth.

SALEM COUNTY

The soil of Salem county is of demonstrated agricultural quality that has been and is today largely in farms. A remunerative agriculture is supported by the land in this district with silt loams and loams as the basic soil formations.

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 101-118, passim.

The land is rolling to hilly and its contour does not interfere with successful agricultural cultivation.^{1.}

ALLIANCE

On this land, on May 10, 1882, the first agricultural settlement in New Jersey, and the first of the famous South Jersey colonies was settled. Alliance, named in honor of the Alliance Israelite Universelle which contributed \$3,000 to the enterprise, was located in Salem county, New Jersey.^{2.} It is five miles from Vineland, ten miles from Bridgeton, ten miles from Millville, and twenty-five miles south of Philadelphia.^{3.} The soil, which we have already described, was covered at the time of settlement with dense forests of scrub pines.^{4.} Unlike the fanfare with which ceremonies preceded the opening of Grand Island in New York, the twenty-five families who came to Alliance were met only with the noise from the busy humming of the mosquitoes which were to plague them in their labors of clearing tangled underbrush and knotty pine and oak.^{5.}

The settlers of Alliance were refugees fleeing from the Russian pogroms of the eighties. In Russia they had been, for the most part, small traders and storekeepers. Not one of them had had any previous experience with agriculture as a livelihood.^{6.}

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, *op. cit.*

2. American Jewish Yearbook, 5673, pp. 63-65.

3. Menorah, April, 1907.

4. *Ibid.*

5. Goldstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-15.

6. Menorah, April, 1907.

Assisted by the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society of New York they came mainly from Odessa, Kief, Elizabethsgrad, etc.^{2.} Shortly after the arrival of the first group of families another contingent of Russian refugees came, bringing the number of families of the colony up to 67.^{3.}

It might be noted that Migdal Zophim disagrees as to the number of families that came to the colony at the outset of the settlement. According to Moses Klein, the author of this book, the number was about 43 families.^{4.}

The colonists were housed temporarily in three large buildings which they called "Castle Garden" which was the name of the famous immigrant station in New York harbor.^{5.} One historian, Leonard G. Robinson, writing in the American Jewish Yearbook, was of the opinion that "Castle Garden" was a humorous appellation designated by the colonists to a place which was anything but castle-like.^{6.} Mr. Robinson labored under a false

assumption, however, since the colonists were obviously referring to the likeness between their new home and the large immigrant station in which they were placed when they just arrived. It was not simply one large house, but three, in which these first colonists were housed for about six months. There was a common kitchen and not too much privacy.^{7.} The kitchen was supplied with food during the length of time that the set-

1. Menorah, April, 1907.

2. Klein, op. cit., pp. 41-65.

3. Goldstein, op. cit., pp. 13-15.

4. Klein, loc. cit.

5. Ibid.

6. American Jewish Yearbook, 5673, pp. 63-65.

7. Menorah, loc. cit.

tlers were housed in this fashion by the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society of New York.^{1.}

An option had been secured by the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society on 1,100 acres of land before the colonists had arrived at the site of the colony. The land had been surveyed and divided into ten-acre plots of land which were to be given to individual families.^{2.} At this point we find that Moses Klein does not agree with the statement as to the amount of land that was given to the individual colonists. Klein put the figure at about 15 acres per family^{3.} confusing the history of the colony at this time with a later purchase of land. After being surveyed the land was leased to the families for a term of ten years.^{4.}

By the end of the first month of settlement corn had already been planted on the land. By working together the newly settled immigrants had been able to clear thirty acres of land. As more land was cleared plantings of potatoes and other vegetables were made.^{5.}

As the clearing of the land went on, the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society, later known as the Alliance Land Trust, had small houses built, wells dug, and household utensils furnished. This came only after about six months of cramped living in "Castle Garden" which was not such a pleasant experience for the immigrants.^{6.}

1. Menorah, April, 1907.
2. American Jewish Yearbook, 5673, pp. 41-65.
3. Klein, op. cit., pp. 41-65.
4. Ibid.
5. Menorah, loc. cit.
6. Ibid.

The houses that the Society had built were 12 by 14 feet, one and one-half stories high. The building of them went on during the first summer of the colonists' life at Alliance.^{1.}

The Society hired a farming instructor and a farmer to superintend the work of the colonists during their first few months on the land. The Superintendent of the Colony was a man by the name of Sternberger, while the farming instructor was a Mr. Schmidt. Several of the Jewish farmers worked out part of their time for the neighboring Christian farmers. They had not sufficient work to keep all of the men busy on the land at Alliance and this was a good method for them to secure some additional money.^{2.}

The total cost of this colony was \$41,960.42 of which \$12,129.92 was for land, \$9,897.77 was for houses, and the balance for maintenance and relief. This was the original cost and includes the expenditures for the first few months of the colonists' stay on the land.^{3.}

The work during the first summer and early fall on the land consisted largely of clearing, planting the small area with corn and potatoes, of uprooting stumps and digging out heavy boulders, and in general getting the land prepared for work of a different ^{nature}---that of planting, cultivating, and harvesting exclusively. During the first summer's work ber-

1. Menorah, April, 1907.

2. Ibid.

3. American Jewish Yearbook, 5673, pp. 63-65.

ries were also planted in addition to the crops already mentioned.^{1.}

While the colonists were not actively engaged in agriculture since their land was not prepared, they were given monthly allowances off from \$8.00 to \$12.00. Without this outside help it is doubtful whether the farmers who had only recently been placed on the land would have been able to succeed.^{2.}

After the colonists were somewhat settled in their small homes, two of the large houses which had been built for their shelter during the early days of the colony were torn down. The third was left standing to be used as a cigar factory.^{3.} In the meantime the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society purchased eighty more acres of land and divided the tract into 15 acre parcels which were to be used for new settlers as they came in. On all the land was thick woods and mosquitoes. The insects and the lack of water probably added more to the hardships of the farmers during the first summer of work than did anything else.^{4.}

During the winter the Society installed stoves for all of the farmers and continued to give them the monthly allowance that they had started in the summer. In the spring each family, after spending a busy winter clearing as much land as the weather would permit, received "the value of \$100.00"^{5.} for tools, plants, and farm utensils. Household goods already

1. Klein, op. cit., pp. 41-65.

2. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 91-94.

3. Klein loc. cit.

4. Ibid.

5. Menorah, April, 1907.

had been supplied to the settlers.^{1.}

To save the expense of horses and farm tools the farmers tried to work together with the equipment of four neighbors serving as a unit. Each man was given the work which he was best adapted to do. But the idea, though good in theory, did not work out well in practice. Therefore the horses, that had been bought in partnership, as well as the tools, were sold. Individual tools were bought for each farmer. All the work that required horses was done with the animals that were hired from the Gentile neighbors of the colonists for that purpose.^{2.}

During the summer of 1883, the second summer on the land for the farmers, they planted trees, grapevines, blackberries, strawberries, and some garden truck for their own consumption. Those who found the proceeds from the labor on their own land insufficient to support themselves had to look for work from their Christian neighbors. For them they picked berries, dug potatoes, husked corn, and did the many menial tasks about their farms.^{3.}

In the fall of 1883 a cigar factory and a shirt factory were established in the one large original building that remained of the three with which the colonists started out. During the ensuing winter the colonists were kept fairly busy with this work and were able to make a living while all activity was stopped on their farms. About forty of the farmers were

1. Menorah, April, 1907.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

engaged in sewing in the shirt factory, while about 26 worked on cigars. These industries also occupied some of the families who had come to the colony with no intention of engaging in agricultural pursuits, but who wanted industrial occupation instead. The cigar manufacturing was the suggestion of Mr. M. W. Mendel of New York City. This same man erected a large brick building which was later used as a tailoring establishment. In the spring of 1884 the cigar and shirt manufacturing came to an end when the buildings housing these industries burned down.

1. Menorah, April, 1907.

Mention should be made at this time of an item that appeared in the article of F. R. Goldstein's Social Aspects of the South Jersey Colonies. When he wrote his paper Mr. Goldstein was under the impression that a cider mill was started and run in the Alliance colony by Moses W. Mendel of New York City who is the same man the U. S. Immigration Commission, and J. C. Reis, writing in the Exponent and in the Menorah state started the cigar and shirt factories. We must disregard Mr. Goldstein's theory at this juncture, not only because there is not another source of information that says a word about a cider mill, but because it was manifestly impossible for the Jews to manufacture cider in this colony. This is clear because there were no apples grown by Jewish farmers in Alliance from the time that the colony started to the present. If there were any that escaped our notice they certainly were not grown in large enough amounts to be of any importance so far as cider is concerned. Cider involves the growing of a lot of apples for it takes a good number of apples to make a little cider. While the obvious thing is that Mr. Goldstein misread cigar for cider we bring the matter up here to show how reports, supposedly reliable, may differ from each other. In this instance we prefer the authority of J. C. Reis and the U.S. Immigration Commission because Reis was one of the New Jersey farmers and certainly would not have mentioned Mendel as the promoter of a cigar factory had he been interested in cider. The U.S. Gov't. report does not make any mention of cider or apples either.

In the spring of 1884, following the burning of the shirt and cigar factories the more capable Jewish farmers invested in horses and began to plow their farms themselves and to do the other work that required the use of animals. By dispensing with the horse hire from their Christian neighbors, they were not only able to save a good deal of money, but what was more valuable, they were able to save time. Every time that they had to use horses it had been necessary for them to go to the Christian farmer who was usually some distance away, bring the horses over to their own farms, and then take them back. This was not the only waste of time; a good deal of time was also used up in waiting for the non-Jew to finish his own plowing before he would allow his horses to be used by another farmer. Frequently the late start that the Jewish farmer got because of his many delays slowed up his agricultural progress and the potential produce that he might have gotten otherwise had he had more time to himself in which^{1.} to care for his farm.

Even though the colony was progressing, by the fall of 1884 only about one-third of the original colonists still remained on the land. The shirt and cigar factories had burned down and a good deal of tailoring was therefore carried on in the homes of the farmers thereby adding to their income. By 1884 the incapable had been weeded out of the colony and those who remained were regarded as having a fair chance to

1. Menorah, April, 1907.

stay on the land permanently. Therefore, these farmers were given \$50.00 per family by the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society to buy fruit trees, grape vines, and berry bushes to replace those which they had planted originally and which had failed because of poor planting and ill-consideration of land.^{1.}

The replanting was necessary because the plants which had originally been given to the farmers were not in all cases suitable for the area. Neither were they all planted at the proper time of the year. In the fall of 1884, when the colonists should have been busily at work harvesting their crops they found that their produce was going to be so light as to obviate the necessity for all of them working on the harvest. Therefore, many of them helped their Christian neighbors and managed to earn extra money in that fashion.^{2.}

During the winter of 1884 and 1885 some of the farmers went into Philadelphia and secured tailoring work for themselves and their families. This aided to keep them going through the winter which was not an easy one. In addition to the work on the garments which they secured for themselves there was also much work for them to do on their land. However, since it was very difficult work, and since the crops of the previous fall did not seem to warrant any over-exertion on their part the colonists did not care to pull stumps and clear brush all winter.^{3.}

1. U. S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 91-94.

2. Menorah, April, 1907.

3. Ibid.

During this winter, seeing the great amount of work that was being done by the colonists in extra-farming activities, Leonard Lewisohn of New York City, a philanthropist, donated a sewing machine to each family. It is rather significant that such a gift should be made to a colony that was supposed to be agricultural and not industrial. But since the colonists were engaged in tailoring enterprises for the most part for the entire winter, the gift was acceptable and quite useful.^{1.}

Nevertheless, despite all the outside aid that was given to the farmers, they were, at this time, in very bad financial condition. A number of the families who were in acute distress appealed to the Association of Jewish Emigrants of Philadelphia. The President and the Treasurer of this organization, Alfred T. Jones, and Simon Muhr, respectively, came out to look things over and to see what could be done. During the winter, upon their recommendation, certain families received help in the form of food, clothing, household goods, and kitchen utensils. This was done in addition to farming implements^{2.} which were sent to the farmers for use during the coming spring.

At this time also the Mansion House Committee of London gave about \$10,000 to the Alliance Land Trust, (formerly the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society) to assist the farmers in paying off their mortgages. Through this aid the colony became strengthened and the morale of the farmers was raised. Some of the

1. Menorah, April, 1907.

2. Ibid.

farmers were enabled to secure the deeds to their farms by the loans that were granted to them.^{1.}

In 1885 the outlook improved for the farmers. During the first part of the year a new cigar factory had been erected for them through the help of Mrs. Reckendorfer of New York City who donated \$1,000 for that purpose. The factory was run by a Mr. Jacobson in the colony.^{2.}

In the spring of 1885 the farmers were confident and happy. Those who had stayed on the land and had been helped had managed to make a small profit during the winter. Of course they did not consider the amount of money that was necessary for various societies and philanthropic individuals to pour into the colony from the outside as debit, when they announced their profit. Nevertheless, they were cheered and heartened and were able to go to work with new and restored vigor. They built many new buildings on their farms including new houses for themselves since the old were much too small for them. In addition to the new houses barns were built as well as miscellaneous outbuildings.^{3.} During this spring and summer the farmers took off their land products to the value of \$200 to \$400. (1886.) Not every farmer was able to do this but the slower agriculturists saw the success of their neighbors and became sure that they could do the same in a short time also. The winter of 1886-1887 passed as winters had before. The col-

1. Goldstein, op. cit., pp. 13-15.

2. Menorah, April, 1907.

3. Ibid.

onists engaged in some farming activities but devoted most of their time to tailoring which they were once again able to secure. By this time there were colonists in Alliance who did no agricultural work at all but spent all of their time working in the clothing factories.^{1.}

The spring and summer of 1887 was the most profitable period of time that the colonists had had. Some of them were able to take as much as \$700 from their farms. The average amount of money earned during this period was between \$400 and \$700. A little boom now appeared in Alliance and other immigrants began to be attracted to the colony. They saw the success of the farmers who were there and became interested in agriculture themselves. They also saw that the colonists had been helped in their difficulties and so figured that they had nothing to lose in attempting to settle there.^{2.}

These new colonists were employed largely in the tailoring shops. Shops they hardly could be called for they consisted only of activity in the houses of the colonists. Nevertheless there was a good deal of work accomplished by the farmers every year in tailoring since they had little else to do in their off seasons. In the winter, then, the new farmers were employed as tailors, and in the summer as berry pickers. Their condition depended entirely upon the success of the original settlers in agriculture for a bad year could throw them all out of work and compell their removal to the city. Some of the

1. Menorah. April, 1907.

2. Ibid.

best farmers were developed during this period from the experience they gained from working on the farms of others. The colonists had been given a post-office late in 1887 which also acted as an encouraging factor in the growth of the settlement.^{1.}

The summer of 1888, the one following the arrival of the new settlers, was good, and the farmers prospered. There was plenty of work for everyone and the colony was looked upon as being highly successful.^{2.} On July 29, 1888 the Alliance Synagogue, Eben Ha'ezer, was dedicated. This synagogue was followed by another two years later called Tifereth Israel. During this summer (1888) teachers were hired to instruct the children of the colony in Jewish subjects. These factors are all indicative of the success of Alliance at this time.^{3.}

The following statistics show the condition of the colony up to 1889:^{4.}

Number of families	67
Population (souls)	294
Land (acres)	1,912
Under cultivation (acres)	261
Houses	23
Barns	12
Horses	12
Cows	14

1. Menorah, April, 1907.

2. Ibid.

3. Goldstein, op. cit., pp. 13-15.

4. American Jewish Yearbook, 5673, pp. 63-65.

In 1889 the Sunday Mercury of Philadelphia wrote a glowing article describing the good conditions at the colony and giving a fine account of its prosperity. The newspaper had first made a thorough investigation of the settlement, or at least so it said. Perhaps the account was influenced by the fact that 70 of the settlers of Alliance applied to Salem, New Jersey, during that year to receive their final naturalization papers.^{1.}

Despite the outward appearance of prosperity, the colony was not in good condition and all that was needed was a lowering of farm prices to show the colonists how insecure they really were. This happened in the early nineties. In 1891 farm prices fell and the colonists were swiftly put in arrears on all of their outstanding debts. Money was borrowed to keep the farms going and the families supplied with food. Lumber was needed for repairs, paint for the preservation of buildings. Farm tools, horses, and cows were all needed by the farmers if they were going to be able to continue on the land. Money was borrowed from the building and loan associations of Bridgeton and Salem, New Jersey, and as security mortgages were given on the farms. With this money the colonists paid the debts that they had contracted up to this time to keep their farms running, and also made the necessary repairs on their buildings.^{2.}

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 91-94.
2. Menorah, April, 1907.

For a few years the farmers were able to meet their interest and principal payments to the building and loan associations. But farm prices were low in the nineties and business had stagnated. The farmers soon found that they would be unable to continue their payments, and they fell behind. The Building and Loan Association of Salem, New Jersey, threatened to foreclose the mortgages which it held on certain of the farms, and to eject the Jewish farmers from the land. Some of the farmers left their land and returned to the cities, discouraged and disheartened to think that after all the struggles they had been through they were now forced to quit, and were beaten.^{1.}

An account blaming the plight of the farmers on the fact that they built new and expensive houses against the advice of the Alliance Land Trust was printed by the American Israelite on June 17, 1897. This newspaper blamed the colonists for their difficulties and ignored business conditions completely. Also, in accusing the farmers of building large houses, the paper did not stop to consider the fact that these men, women, and their children, had been living in one and one-half story houses, with an area of twelve by fourteen feet. The article as printed by the Israelite follows:

"The Alliance Agricultural settlement in Salem county, New Jersey, is in difficulties. The Alliance Settlement was due to the efforts of the Hebrew Immigrant (sic.) Aid Society of this city, (New York) fourteen years ago, when the Jewish exodus from Russia

1. American Hebrew, September 3, 1897.

to the United States was at its height. The colony had been in existence three years when the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society decided to withdraw from its management. Some English Jews came to the rescue and advance 2,000 pounds sterling to pay for the land. They thus became the mortgagees, and another association, known as the Alliance Land Trust was formed to act as representatives for the English owners and to conduct the affairs of the little colony. The first settlers at Alliance numbered 53. Since then more than 100 families have gone there. Up to two years ago the settlement prospered. The colonists raised good crops of berries and fruits and received good pay for them. Some of them had such bright prospects that they increased the size of their farms, and against the advice of the Alliance Land Trust, built expensive houses. On these houses and farms second mortgages were placed. These mortgages are what are now adding to the trouble at the colony."

In 1897 when all this was going on in the colony there were 96 families living in the settlement. These families amounted to 512 persons and possessed 1,502 acres of land. Their security was threatened and their labors of fifteen years endangered by the action that was proposed by the Building and Loan Association of Salem.^{2.}

The danger that threatened the colony in the possibility of foreclosures was averted by the intervention of the Baron de Hirsch Fund in the winter of 1897 and 1898. The Baron de Hirsch Fund bought the mortgages from the building and loan association that was threatening foreclosure and arranged for partial and gradual payments of the debts owed by the farmers.^{3.}

1. American Israelite, June 17, 1897.

2. Menorah, April, 1907.

3. Ibid.

After the work of the Baron de Hirsch fund farm life began to move along smoothly for the colonists again. In 1899 the berry and fruit crop in this area of New Jersey was valued at \$40,000 while sweet potatoes were valued at another \$18,000. About one-third of this total crop was raised by the farmers of Alliance. Their expansion had not been in vain, for, when industrial and economic conditions became better the farm situation likewise improved. The improvement of the facilities of the farmers, which had been the cause of all their trouble, enabled them to make more money than would have been possible without these improvements.^{1.}

From 1900 the situation of the Jewish farmers began to improve noticeably. To the brothers Maurice and Joseph Fels of the Fels-Naphtha Soap Manufacturing Co. of Philadelphia was due most of the improvement. During the period of the colony's difficulties, from 1897 to 1900, these men began to take an interest in the Jewish farmers and made innovations in the colony that concretely showed their interest. These men desired to give the farmers a chance to help themselves. They did not like the charity methods used in helping agricultural colonies and were of the opinion that given the proper opportunities colonists could work out their own salvation. Adhering strictly to this principle the Fels brothers established a cannery known as the Allivine Cannery. After a survey showed that a cannery could be run efficiently and profit-

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 91-94.

ably in the area the enterprise was set up on the condition that the farmers were to supply the cannery with all the produce that it wanted or needed. The cannery was thus to have first call on the products of the farmers, and in return for this service would give them the fertilizer required to grow their crops. This arrangement made the farmers independent of the commission merchants in the neighborhood to whom they had previously been compelled to send their goods whenever they wanted to sell them. Formerly the commission merchants offered the only outlet for the farm products of the settlers. When the market in the city became glutted the farmers lost almost all of what they might have made in their profit on their crops for the season, and their work had all been done for
1.

The cannery, by taking all the goods that the farmers wished to unload, kept this condition from recurring, and still allowed the farmer to sell his goods at perhaps a higher price than that which the cannery could pay. For they allowed the farmers to sell in the city all the goods that they wished to get rid of after they had fulfilled their part of the contract with the cannery.
2.

This cooperative enterprise was headed by Maurice Fels as President of the canning factory which was located at Norma Station, New Jersey. The cannery thrived, and in 1915

1. Menorah, April, 1907.

2. Ibid.

was leased to a corporation under the same agreements with the farmers. In 1919 the corporation bought the cannery which is still in existence today. In addition to the other benefits derived from the existence of such an enterprise on the land was the employment of the young people of the colony in the business. This had a twofold effect. It increased the income of the families on the land in the first place. Secondly it kept the children of the farmers home, and kept them busy so that they did not get hankerings after city life. Through this sort of work many of the young men and women who might otherwise have left the colony were able to stay and find employment and see that life on the soil could be quite pleasant if given the proper encouragement. ^{2.}]

In 1900 the Alliance Land Trust turned over the management of the colony at Alliance to the Baron de Hirsch Fund. As we have already seen the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society was organized in this year for the purpose of taking care of the agricultural activities of the Baron de Hirsch Fund and from 1900 on this colony was in charge of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society. ^{2.}

After 1900 things began to improve for the colony and by 1905 there were 165 Jewish families, totalling 891 persons, in the settlement at Alliance. The possessions of these families and their material condition since the time that they

1. Goldstein, op. cit., pp. 13-15.

2. Ibid.

first came upon the land had improved markedly. It may be interesting to note that the whole township in which Alliance was located had a population of only 2,154. Thus the population of the Jewish farming colony was over one-third of the total population of the immediate district.

We may leave the colony of Alliance now, returning to it in our treatment of the Jewish colonies that still remained after the War. Alliance represented one of the most persevering efforts in Jewish colonization that we have witnessed so far, and it deserved to succeed if only for the amount of money and labor that was put into it.

SIX POINTS

In the immediate neighborhood of Alliance lies the colony of Six Points. Rightfully it should be considered along with the larger and older colony. The land for Six Points was purchased by the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society in 1907. This land was not intended to be given to colonists as a gift. The Society started the new policy of selling the land to colonists after the benefit of the savings by purchasing large tracts had been made. The Society would divide the land up into small tracts suitable for farming areas and sell the land to colonists at cost, on easy terms. The land that was sold was in areas of twenty-five acres each, which was not a great deal of land to use for farming. In 1913 the settlement at Six Points was populated by fifteen families and was a success. It benefitted from the experience

of the older colonies in the state and its settlers were moderately successful from the start.^{1.}

WOODSTOWN

Another colony of minor importance in Salem county, New Jersey, was Woodstown. This colony, which came into existence in the early 1900's was not so successful during its early years, like most of the New Jersey colonies. But after the farmers saw that they could be assured of a good income from operating dairies their luck turned and most of them became fairly prosperous. This colony was settled on good land near excellent markets, a condition necessary for dairy farming. In general, dairying is an expensive business, and requires capital not only to get a start but also to keep going after the start has once been made. Dairy cattle are not to be purchased cheaply if the farmer wants to make a success^{2.} of his enterprise.

The farmers around Woodstown had small dairy herds on the whole. Two of them in 1908 had herds of ten cows; all the rest of the farmers fewer. Land in the section was suitable for the raising of hay which enabled the farmers to produce their own feed cheaper than they could have purchased it outside of their own farms. These men were also able to grow potatoes, tomatoes, and corn, in addition to their dairying

1. Goldstein, op. cit., p. 15.

2. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1908, p. 20.

and feed growing. Due to the inexperience of the farmers they did not meet with as much success as did the farmers of Six Points.^{1.}

CUMBERLAND COUNTY

Cumberland county, scene of activity in Rosenhayn, Norma, Carmel, Carton Road, Vineland, Millville, and Brotmanville, is not a very satisfactory district for farms from the standpoint of fertile soils.

This county, which we shall now consider, and the settlements within it, was a different type of area than Salem county and its colonies of Jewish farmers. In Cumberland there is much diversity in the physical character of the lands available for farming. They ranged from high to low in potential productivity. This section of New Jersey is located near large urban centers and has been settled for some time. Often the farm of one man would have soil that would support a market and truck gardening farm while across the road another farmer would have trouble with bare subsistence farming. Thus, the land use in the county came to be highly specialized and intensive in character. The poorer land was left in forest^{2.} and other land was of course, taken up in urban use.

ROSENHAYN

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1908, p. 20.
2. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

The village of Rosenhayn, in Deerfield township, Cumberland county, was established about 1868. At that time, however, it was not a Jewish settlement, but was intended as a colony for Seventh Day Baptists. J. W. Morton, the founder of the colony, expected that his idea for a settlement of the religious sect of which he was a member would meet with great approval and hearty support. At first it appeared as though he was correct in his supposition, for a great number of settlers came to the colony from New England. The settlement was named Rosenhayn because one of the first sights that met the eyes of the early colonists was a large field of roses on the present site of the colony of Carmel. And so the German equivalent of "field of roses" was given to the new settlement.^{1.}

Although Morton had been very optimistic about his venture the colony did not meet with the support that he had expected. The settlement was never very prosperous although new recruits were constantly being brought into it. By 1880 a number of the men who had originally settled in the colony had moved away and the stage was set for the Jewish migration to the land.^{2.}

The history of the Jewish colony at Rosenhayn began in 1882, the same year that Alliance was settled. Six Russian Jewish families were placed on the land by the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society of New York in the upper section of the village

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, *op. cit.*, p. 94.
2. *Ibid.*

and another small group of Jews were settled in the lower section. Both groups started to cultivate the land at approximately the same time. Although they had settled in sections that had been farmed before they met the same problems that troubled the Alliance farmers. The soil was not too good, and to make matters worse, wells could be dug only with difficulty because of the sandy soil which made cave-ins frequent during the digging for water. Although the settlers in this colony had been able to put a good deal of land under cultivation, and had also commenced the building of houses, the usual 12 by 14 foot dwelling, they were not able to interest the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society in their condition after the initial efforts of settlement were made. This seems rather unfair because the Alliance colony received a great deal of help as we have seen. The settlers of Rosenhayn were ignored in their pleas for aid and therefore had to abandon their small holdings soon after they had settled upon them, and return to the cities from which they came.^{1.}

In 1887 another attempt was made to colonize successfully the village of Rosenhayn with Jewish farmers. This was at a time when Alliance was advancing rapidly, and there was a great deal of optimism not only among the prospective settlers but among their backers as well. In 1887 a group of Jews settled near Rosenhayn and bought land in the village itself. Their

1. Klein, op. cit., pp. 51-65.

idea was to do manual work in the city until they had earned enough money to get out on the land and to purchase it outright. In 1888, thirty-seven additional families bought land under similar conditions. In the contracts of this second group, however, there was a clause that worked to their detriment. They had agreed to erect a dwelling on the land which they were going to purchase and cultivate a certain number of acres of land. This necessitated their living on the land instead of their being able to earn enough in the city to gradually pay for it, farming in their spare time as the first group of colonists had arranged to do. The additional factor of having to complete the work of clearing and cultivating land before a given period of time had elapsed also worked¹ hardships on these prospective colonists.

In order to employ the would-be farmers who had been unable to purchase their land because of the rigid requirements, a large building near the railroad was converted into a tailoring shop where these men worked. The building was called "The Hotel" by the farmers who had now turned to tailoring for their livelihood. In 1889 there was a total of 1,000 inhabitants in Rosenhayn of which 270 were Russian Jews. They owned about 1,912 acres of land but only 300 acres were under cultivation. Sixty of their children were at that time attending the Rosenhayn school and rapidly becoming assimilated into the ways of American children in games, speech, customs, and attitudes of mind.²

1. Klein, op. cit., pp. 51-65, passim.

2. Klein, op. cit., p. 83.

On the land that was being cultivated by the inhabitants of the colony at this time were patches of strawberries, raspberries, blackberries, grapes, and corn. The colonists lived in twenty-three houses six of which had been built by Jewish carpenters. Almost to a man the colonists had no money to invest in improvements on their land, but had to satisfy themselves with the bare necessities.^{1.}

All that the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society was willing to do in Rosenhayn was to construct a hall, Franklin Hall, that was used for recreational and educational activities. It was probably due to the general lack of encouragement on the part of the Society that Rosenhayn never became a true agricultural colony, but was concerned with industrial activities mainly, instead.^{2.}

"Had it not been for the fact that a large building was equipped with sewing machines to accommodate forty or more operators on clothing sent in from Bridgeton and Philadelphia, it is almost certain that the settlers must have starved or deserted before the land produced sufficient to support them."^{3.}

What little was accomplished was due to the hard work and the diligence of the settlers alone because there was little, if any outside financial help available. The settlers managed to gain considerable experience in practical farming in their work on the farms of their Christian neighbors during this period, but even the knowledge of new methods and new equipment

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1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 91-94.
 2. American Jewish Yearbook, 5673, pp. 82-90.
 3. U.S. Immigration Commission, loc. cit.

was of no avail, for the Jews could not afford the innovations. By 1890, many of the houses of Rosenhayn were deserted, and about one-half of the settlers, giving up agriculture entirely, were trying peddling as a means of support. Others managed to find work on neighboring farms as farm hands. By 1899 there were only 47 Jewish families in Rosenhayn engaged in agriculture as a livelihood, and the condition of these farmers was a depressed one.^{1.}

One of the main reasons for the failure of the Jews during this period at Rosenhayn was the bad agreement that had been made with the Building and Loan Association of Bridgeton with reference to tilling the soil and cultivating a certain amount of land within a given time. Despite the fact that the Building and Loan Association of Bridgeton had many of the farmers of the area under its thumb, there were some in Rosenhayn who lived in the old and dilapidated houses which they had built themselves. These farmers managed to hang onto their land and to keep themselves alive with the small amount of farm produce that they were able to raise from their soil. Not a pleasant existence, to be sure, but they had not taken help from any outside source. It is to be wondered whether the colonists at Alliance would have done so well had there not always been help for them when they were in need.^{2.}

After 1899 the colony became more active and in ten

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 94-96.
2. American Hebrew, September 3, 1897.

years there were twenty three additional farm families added to the number of families already there. In 1910 there were about 65 families living in Rosenhayn who depended upon the soil for their livelihood.^{1.}

We have painted a rather depressing picture of Rosenhayn up to 1910. We shall find that this colony did not improve much even in a later period. Rosenhayn never should have been settled as an agricultural colony. People were so anxious to get on the land during the period of the early eighties that it made no difference to them where they went. In the early history of Rosenhayn there is even a record of some men who tried to settle on land that was almost pure sand and could not possibly support any kind of agriculture unless it was flooded and planted with seaweed. But these men staked the land out and tried to get started, but of course they could not^{2.} and failed.

The story of the colony of Rosenhayn will be resumed when New Jersey agricultural colonies settled by Jews are taken up in the Recent period of Jewish agricultural colonization.

NORMA

The next colony to be considered in Cumberland county, New Jersey, is Norma. This colony is one of the least important of the group since its activities center mainly about its

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 94-96.

2. Ibid.

industrial aspects. This colony started about the same time as Rosenhayn, and had an almost parallel growth. It was not assisted to any degree by the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society with reference to loans or active support. It was, of course, helped by the agents of the Society who worked over the entire district.

"In Norma...there are a few who own farms in Alliance or Six Points, but the great majority work in factories in their own locality or in Vineland."¹

Rightfully, then, Norma should not even be treated separately as an agricultural colony, but should be regarded as industrial instead. Indeed, the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society looked upon it as such for this organization reported the following concerning this colony:

"At Norma the industrial conditions have been more favorable. The vest factory of Israel Eskin has been furnishing steady employment and besides this factory there are a number of smaller shops. The prosperity of the community is evidenced by the general effort made by the residents to acquire their own homes, thus turning the semi-floating population into a permanent one."²

CARMEL

More important than the Jewish colony of Norma is Cumberland county was the establishment of the settlement at Carmel under the aegis of Michael Heilprin. Heilprin was well

1. Goldstein, op. cit., p. 15.

2. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1906, p. 14.

known at the time as a scholar, author, journalist, philanthropist, and idealist. He was a native of Russian Poland and had been very well educated. In 1843, because he was a strong advocate of Hungarian liberty his position became insecure in Russian Poland and he was advised by the great Hungarian Leader Kossuth to come to America. In 1856 he arrived in Philadelphia where his interest in progressive activities continued and in the 1860's he interested himself in the work of the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society of New York. With Jacob Schiff and many other influential people he believed that colonization was the answer to the emigrant problem. Because of this conviction he engaged himself in work with the refugees and in 1892 was instrumental in securing the piece of land that later became known as Carmel.^{1.}

In 1882 Heilprin and a few of his friends settled seventeen Russian Jewish refugees on the land that they had secured at Carmel. His associates in the enterprise were Jacob Schiff, Jesse Seligman, Julius Hallgarten, and other influential Jews of New York City. The colony met with great difficulties during the first two years when the attention of agricultural societies was being centered on the colony at Alliance.^{2.}

The settlement was abandoned by the first group of refugees who were settled there because of the privations which

1. Goldstein, op. cit., pp. 16-17.

2. Klein, op. cit., p. 81.

they were expected to endure while in Alliance the colonists were being helped considerably. The places of these first colonists were taken by other more hardy refugees and the colony went ahead from that point under the guardianship of Heilprin who tried to assist them as much as he could. Through his constant efforts the colony became fairly well established by 1888.^{1.}

Soon after Michael Heilprin's death in 1888 the colony which he had founded and nursed through its early stages of development was in trouble. It was very hard at the time to get support for any colony but Alliance, for the interest of the Jewish communities was centered upon that particular colony and they did not want to diversify their spending. Many people felt that one really successful colony was worth more than several colonies that just managed to get by. With this attitude to combat, the colonists appealed to Reverend Sabato Morais of Philadelphia. Through him they contacted the Baron de Hirsch Fund, and largely through his efforts they were able to secure a loan of \$5,000 from the Fund which was allotted to individual colonists according to their needs. The amount of money to be given to the individual farmers was decided after a survey of conditions by Moses Klein, who was an agent for the Jewish Emigration Society of Philadelphia. It was this aid which prevented the disintegration of the colony of Carmel. In Philadelphia the cause of the settlement

1. Klein, op. cit., p. 81.

was taken up by such prominent men of the day as Judge Mayer Sulzberger, and Simon Muhr, who used what influence they possessed to persuade the Baron de Hirsch Fund to grant the colony money. With the aid that came from the Fund necessary implements were purchased and an additional 1,500 acres of land was added to that already owned by the colonists. The interest in the colony, as much as the loan, added new impetus, and several new families were encouraged to try their luck.^{1.} At this time some of the farmers were able to erect new houses in the places of the very small, uncomfortable ones that they had been living in since they came to Carmel.^{2.}

The following statistics of the colony were contained in a report of Moses Klein for February 17, 1889, and give a report of the colony's condition at that time:

Population (souls)	286
Land (acres)	848
Under cultivation (acres)	247
Houses	30
Barns	25
Horses	11
Cows	11

"A sidelight on their economic progress is the contribution by the settlers of \$47.00 for the sick and homeless sufferers of the Johnstown Flood."^{4.}

1. American Hebrew, September 3, 1887.

2. Klein, op. cit., pp. 81-83.

3. American Jewish Yearbook, 5673, pp. 66-67.

4. Ibid.

In 1889 Carmel contained a postoffice, synagogue, school, library, two teachers, and a number of artisans who were not engaged in agriculture. This is mentioned here to furnish some idea of the activities of the colony with reference to other subjects than agriculture.^{1.}

In 1889 the farmers of Carmel were criticized for making shirts on a large scale for a city manufacturer who brought the work out to the colony for them to do. Although the work was necessary for the farmers to keep going and was done in their spare time, their actions were felt to be unjustified by certain people. Moses Klein took the part of the colonists wholeheartedly in this matter. He explained that in Pennsylvania machines played an important part in the life of the farmer. He said that the farmers of Carmel should be admired rather than criticized for their earnest work which they did not only in farming but in trying to earn some money in other ways also. Klein suggested that if the objectors were finding fault with the fact that the colonists were not doing manual labor, they should erect a brick yard or a cannery in either of which the farmers would be more than glad to work, and work very hard. Klein was all in favor of allowing the farmers to do anything that they could in order to keep themselves on the land and alive.^{2.}

In 1897 there were 98 families in Carmel. Of these,

1. Klein, op. cit. pp. 81-83.

2. Klein, op. cit., pp. 55-56.

twenty families worked their own farms and the rest found work in the shirt factory. The farmers were able to produce enough milk, butter, eggs, and vegetables for the whole settlement. Some of the farms were flourishing as were some of the farmers who had been fortunate. One man, who had been able to invest \$30,000 in a farm, had one of the finest farms in the entire state, and was able to work his land entirely independently. This man owned fifty cows and was able to support the settlement at Millville, nearby, with 1,500 quarts of milk daily.^{1.}

By the early 1900's Carmel had become mainly an industrial colony with a good proportion of its inhabitants depending upon agriculture for their main support, nevertheless. The farmers had learned by this time that it was practical for them to engage in some activity besides agriculture. The soil, which was not so greatly different from that of Alliance, although not so fertile, perhaps, was well-adapted to corn, Irish potatoes, and truck. In addition to these crops, peaches, plums, and pears could also be grown. The main difficulty which the farmers encountered in the area was the variation of the soil. They might have an acre of land that was well fitted for almost anything that they cared to put into it. On the other hand, land might be found alongside of good land that was sandy and barely able to support anything. Fruit trees and grape vines will grow on a sandy soil. Grapevines, in particular, thrive

1. American Hebrew, September 3, 1897.

1.
on a sandy soil.

By 1910 the clothing business that had been carried on in the colony had become quite brisk and produced a fine income in addition to the farm work carried on by many farmers who were also tailors. The district appeared well-kept to the United States Immigration Commission inspector, differing in that respect from other Jewish settlements. The village had "a thrifty, well-to-do appearance, the residences were comparatively large and well-built with good lawns which were neatly kept and fenced and ornamented with trees".^{2.}

Thus, Carmel seemed to be passing from the difficult stage in its development to one that promised much for the future. Even though the colony was not to become strictly agricultural its history is quite significant because of the number of Jews living in it who were engaged in agriculture. It will be discussed again with the rest of the New Jersey colonies in the Recent period of the history of the American Jew in agriculture.

CARTON ROAD

Carton Road is the next small settlement in Cumberland county with which we shall deal. This colony was started by a Russian immigrant in 1868 who purchased 20 acres of brush

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 96-100.
2. Ibid.

land on the Central Railroad near Woodruff, New Jersey. The settlement is located about two and one-half miles west of Rosenhayn. Additional people from Bridgeton having heard of the pioneer's success almost from the start, came to the colony. By 1901 there were thirteen Jewish families in the village.^{1.}

This colony's success is exemplary of the queer soil formations in Cumberland county. Located but a short distance from Rosenhayn the soil in this colony was sufficiently superior to make the difference between success and failure. The farmers who settled here were fortunate in their choice and they benefitted from their selection of land.^{2.}

In addition to the more favorable soil conditions prevailing in Garton Road, the later date of the settlement aided the colony's stability. Too many people rushed into farming in the early eighties counting on the fact that they could probably receive help from one of the agricultural societies if they did not succeed. Thus they felt that they themselves were taking no chances. Since the Jewish communities were agriculturally minded this attitude was justified and many people who went onto the soil in reality had no right to be there at all. In the case of the men who settled Garton Road, however, the situation was different. Here were men who wanted to farm on their own land. Even after seeing

1. Goldstein, op. cit., p. 17.

2. American Jewish Yearbook, 5673, pp. 82-90, passim.

many failures about them they were willing to go ahead and try, knowing that they could not expect help from the agricultural organizations who were no longer interested in establishing any more colonies until they had put the ones that had been already established on a paying basis.

That this colony remained entirely agricultural through the period of its history up to 1914 is also significant. It shows that here the farmers were able to live successfully on the products of their agriculture alone. By 1910 there were 22 farming families living in Garton Road.^{1.} The number of Jewish farmers increased to 24 by 1913.^{2.}

In 1903 the colony had attracted the interest of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society to the extent that the Society loaned money to some of the farmers of the district to erect a social hall. The Society was confident in the success of the colony at Garton Road at that time.^{3.}

VINELAND

Vineland is located between Alliance and Carmel. It was established in the earliest period of colonization along with Alliance and Rosenhayn. Its early years were characterized by the same struggle that marked the early period of all the other colonies of this area. In 1883 the Am-

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, Op. cit., pp. 94-96.
2. American Jewish Yearbook, 5673, pp. 82-90, passim.
3. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1903, p. 9.

American Israelite reported that "the Vineland colony in New Jersey is still keeping afloat, but the reports from it are so contradictory that it is impossible to tell its condition without visiting it in person".^{1.}

The soil around Vineland was suitable for agriculture which was almost a unique situation for the New Jersey Jewish farm settlers to find. It was a light, sandy loam that was well adapted for the raising of vegetables, berries, and grapes. In addition to these crops the farmers were also able to plant strawberries as an early season crop. Frequently the strawberry crop was quite important and yielded an income of as much as \$300.00 an acre. Farmers in the colony often had as many as six acres in strawberries alone. The tomato crop was also an important one for they could be sold to the local canneries. Thus there was almost always a market for them and the farmers could raise them with security unless climatic conditions were too obtuse. Grapes were sold to the Vineland Grape Juice Co. and were also used by the farmers themselves in the manufacture of sacramental wine which they could sell in New York, and other cities with large Jewish populations for Passover and for other holiday uses. The staple crop of the colony was sweet potatoes. This crop was shipped all over the United States after it had been canned bringing higher prices than^{2.} sweet potatoes from any other part of the country.

1. American Israelite, May 25, 1883.

2. American Jewish Yearbook, 5673, pp. 82-90, passim.

By 1912 the colony had reached a fair state of security and was assured of its future as an agricultural colony. Although industry had entered the colony to a degree, it did not interfere with agricultural enterprise on the part of the farmers. Vineland developed into a successful colony by 1914 after a slow start. When we consider that all this colony has accomplished came through its own efforts we must admit that an excellent job has been done.

BROTHMANVILLE AND MILLVILLE

Mention should also be made at this time of the colony at Brothmanville which became largely industrial during an early stage of its history.¹ This colony was located near Alliance and its problems were identical with those of the larger colony with the exception that this settlement was not given the support by the Jewish community that Alliance was given.

There was also a colony at Millville, but there are no records of its activities available to the writer. It was not of great importance for it was not mentioned, except in passing, by any of the sources dealing with the South Jersey colonies.

1. American Jewish Yearbook, 5673, pp. 82-90, passim.

CAPE MAY COUNTY

The third colony in New Jersey in which Jewish agricultural colonies were located was Cape May. The soil in this county was almost identical with that of Cumberland at the time of the Jewish settlement there. The range from good to bad, the undulating characteristics of the contour of the land, the sandy loams, and the sands, were all evident here. The soils were in some places more poorly drained than in Cumberland county.^{1.}

WOODBINE

The colony at Woodbine was largely due to the efforts of Professor H. L. Sabsovich: "to his untiring energy and self sacrifice is due in no small measure the success of the Woodbine colony".^{2.} Dr. Sabsovich was born in Russia where he received a general education. He later took a three year course at the agricultural school of the Federal Polytechnicum in Zurich, Switzerland. Up until 1888 he was an agricultural chemist at the University of Odessa. In that year he emigrated to the United States and accepted a post as agricultural chemist of the Colorado State Agricultural School. While in Russia Prof. Sabsovich had taken an active part in Jewish communal affairs and was the organizer of the Committee of Safety in Odessa during the riots of 1881 which were directed against the Jews. Later he was one of the founders of "Am Olam", which was one

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.
2. Jewish Philanthropy in the United States, Dr. Boris D. Bogen The Macmillan Co., New York, 1917., p. 130.

of the intellectual groups in Russia that emigrated to the United States in the 1880's and whose history we shall consider later in the discussion of the Jews in Oregon.

As we have already noted, Baron de Hirsch had specifically designated the sum of \$240,000 for the establishment of an agricultural colony to consist solely of Jewish farmers. As time went on, and the trustees of the Fund did nothing to discharge the trust that had been placed in them, they began to receive letters from many different sources asking why the agricultural colony had not yet been started. This agitation was going on in the nineties after the unsuccessful attempts at colonization in the previous years had been dimmed by time. Michael Heilprin was one of the main influences at work demanding that a new agricultural colony be founded that would use all of the experience of the former failures to make the new colony a success. In response to requests and questions the Trustees of the Baron de Hirsch Fund organized the "Russian Auxiliary Committee". This committee, which was composed of Herman Rosenthal, Selig Rosenbluth, and Dr. Paul Kaplan, was delegated to find a proper location for the proposed settlement and also to find families that would be suitable candidates for colonists. Professor H. L. Sabsovich was later added to the committee, and it was understood that if a colony^{1.} would be founded he was to be its superintendent.

After considerable prospecting for suitable land the

1. History of the Baron de Hirsch Fund, Samuel Joseph, Jewish Publication Society for the Baron de Hirsch Fund, 1935. P. 49.

committee decided upon a 500 acre tract located in Woodbine, in Southern New Jersey. A railroad was running fairly close to the site of the colony. As we have already seen from the government reports, the soil was suitable for truck gardening as well as for the growing of small fruits. Markets were available for the products that were grown in the colony. The committee felt strongly that the land was suited for the settlement and most conducive in every way for growth and development that would soon establish the colony of the same rank as the other South Jersey colonies which had managed to become a success by this time.^{1.}

In 1891 capital of \$50,000 was put into a corporation called the "Woodbine Land and Improvement Company". This organization held all of the stock in the colony and purchased the land for the settlement at a cost of \$37,500. Dr. Goldman was the president of the corporation and Professor Sabsovich was the Superintendent of the colony.^{2.}

After the land had been selected work started as quickly as was practically possible. "The land was surveyed and divided into parcels of fifteen acres. A similar area adjoining each plot was reserved for subsequent occupancy by the owner of the first parcel. Eight hundred acres were set aside for the town."^{3.} In addition to the farms which were to consist of thirty acres apiece there was to be pasture land.

1. Joseph, op. cit., p. 49.

2. Joseph, op. cit., p. 50.

3. Ibid.

In August, 1891, the selection of the colonists for the settlement was begun, and by February, 1892, sixty families had been enrolled. Since the colony was not to take on the aspects of a charity settlement, each colonist was required to invest some of his own money in the project and also to pay \$200.00 to the Baron De Hirsch Fund for the money that the organization had expended for tools, implements, and other improvements in the land itself. "By February, 1892, the sum of \$3,365 had been collected from the settlers."¹

The project attracted considerable attention and the following article gives a good example of what the non-Jewish press' general comments were:

"Before the families of the settlers moved to Woodbine, the men built the houses and prepared everything for the final settlement. During this interval they lived in rude structures that afterwards became barns. A small stove, a table made of a barrel and a board, and rough bunks on the ground and in the loft were the only furniture.

"The diet of the men was mostly coffee and black bread. Their Russian costumes, in most cases had been put aside. Some of the older men, however, clung to their astrakhan cap and the long cloak with the astrakhan trimmings. The Hebrew cast of countenance was not so marked as expected. The faces were broad and full. The hair of the young girls was cut straight across the forehead.² The children were noticeably bright and active."²

One of the farm leaders of New Jersey gave one of the most important descriptions of the colony in an address before

1. Joseph, op. cit., p. 50.

2. Leslie's Weekly, April 7, 1892.

the New Jersey State Board of Agriculture. We quote from the American Israelite of February 2, 1893:

"According to the report of Mr. Lee, the agent of the New Jersey State Board of Agriculture, the town of Woodbine, in Cape May County, under Superintendent Sabsovich of the Hirsch Fund, consist of 1,536 lots, around which are 30 acre farms and the outlying lowlands are reserved for pasturage upon the plan of medieval English communities. In a year 650 acres of farmland, 12 miles of driveway, and 170 acres of town lots have been wrested from a natural wilderness. The town houses were built by the company, (composed of the Trustees of the American Hirsch Fund) cost from \$850 to \$1,300 each, and are models of neatness and adaptability for the colonists needs. Active work is expected to give Woodbine 150 houses by spring. A hotel, a railway station, a synagogue, and a public school are completed, or are in course of erection. A park has been laid out with side streets and avenues lined with poplars and maples. On the farms each agriculturist has 250 fruit trees, planted in 1891, with an acre of grapes and small fruits. Early vegetables growing as readily in Cape May as in Norfolk, were also successfully raised."¹

The corporation that was managing the colony arranged for the establishment of a basket factory and also made arrangements with a wood turning firm to establish a branch in the colony. This was done in an effort to wean the Russian colonists away from needlework which was their chief occupation in other colonies. There was, however, a cloak factory, that was operating in the settlement almost from its inception, and which was responsible for a good part of the money that was earned by many of the farmers.²

In the spring of 1893 serious trouble came to the

1. American Israelite, February 2, 1893.

2. Joseph, op. cit., p. 52.

colony. With the establishment of the cloak factory in the colony the trustees felt that their support of the settlement could cease since the farmers now had an additional means of income besides that derived from their farming. Professor Sabsovich told the trustees that this was not the case. That many of the farmers had not been aided at all by the cloak factory because it had not been running long enough and also because only those farmers who had children old enough to work in the factory were really able to derive a benefit. Sabsovich wrote the following to the trustees of the Baron de Hirsch Fund:

"I strongly advocate more help for the farmers. I would suggest that we advance them \$100.00 each to plow and harrow the land; for though they earned good money during the first year of Woodbine's existence, still, considering that everyone had to build a new home, and besides that, send a considerable amount of money to Russia to bring their families over, and to invest some on their farms, it is easy to realize that of their earnings they could save nothing. By helping them to improve their farms we shall the sooner free them from our wardship. After all they are our wards."

Some of the trustees agreed with the note written to them by Sabsovich but some of them would not consent to any further support for they claimed that most of the money of the corporation was already used up. The decision was finally reached to extend no further aid to the colonists and nothing was done to alleviate the discontent of the farmers. The farmers' reaction came as a matter of course. When new leases were submitted to them for signing in January, 1893, they refused to

1. Joseph, op. cit., p. 52.

sign, all except two men. The trustees were then ready to proceed with eviction and depopulation of the colony if their terms were not met. This determination on their part raised a storm of protests all over the country. The colonists hired lawyers, people spoke for and against agricultural colonies, and newspapers played up the whole affair because of the original publicity that had been given to the colonization plans. The following newspaper article in the New York Press of April 2, 1893, is a good example of what was going on:

"They first bought five thousand acres of the scrub oak and pine land at \$6.00 an acre. It is called virgin soil. It is severely virgin. Spinster soil confirmed in old maid habits would be, perhaps, a better name for it. There is no doubt that it will make good farm land with patience, time, and scientific methods, but the battle to be waged against the stumps and the ever-springing brush, is one that is taking the heart out of many a 'farmer' bred to town ways, and has done much to bring about the present state of affairs.

"Then there was the selection of the colonists to occupy the then wilderness. The first requisite in the colony was the possession of a large family. Here again the scheme was ideal and chimerical. It sought to make what had been a burden a help, by providing for the children in the cloak factory to bring in ready money while the father should be at home bringing the wild land under subjection. This process, it was thought, would take some three or four years during which time other factories would be started, thus in time creating the much desired local market for the product of the farms, whose presence is wealth or death to the agriculturist.

"But it was not supposed that the children should support the parents while they were farm making. The other resources of the farmer were, first, the pay which he was to receive while clearing his farm at the rate of \$7.00 an acre, and the next paid work on making the many miles of road, de Hirsch Avenue, and the cross roads, Jefferson, Madison, Adams, and the rest

named after the presidents of the land of refuge.

"Then a house and cow stable with forty dollars for a cow and \$12.50 for chickens, with implements, seeds, fruit trees, and plants were to be given to each settler for a start.

"Sixty heads of families were chosen with care for the experiment. Most of them had settled for some time in this country. Only about fifteen were brought from the other side. They all signed contracts which would give them in fee simple, thirty acre farms in twelve years at an average cost of \$1,100. The first three years they were to pay fifty dollars rent, and execute leases upon presentation. Then they were to receive a deed upon paying \$200 down, and giving a purchase mortgage for the land and house, and chattel mortgages on implements and livestock.

"After the first heads of families had been selected they sent a delegation down to Woodbrien to look at the site. Then the contracts were signed, and it is probable that no great stress was laid upon the contents at the time, for the simple reason that the company had no mind that the worthy beneficiary would suffer by not being able to live up to its terms. They have asked none but the agitators for the first year's rent.

"The houses were not built until late in the autumn and early winter, an inauspicious season to begin farming in the wilderness. There may have been some hardship. William Sigall and his friend Isaac Grimsky, had the two farms at the two extreme ends of the colony. Today they point to a little shanty behind Sigall's house---it was not bigger than a hen's roost in a prosperous dairy country---and said: "We and our families lived in that place, sixteen in all, for five months while we were clearing off the trees."

"This was not a desperate matter for pioneers who, as Superintendent Sabsovich says, are glad in Dakota or Kansasto live in dugouts their first years. Yet work under these circumstances made just this significance in the case, that it gave the colonists a feeling of having put some of their lives into the soil and animating that feeling which made evictions so incomprehensibly hard for the Irish peasant, which made the interminable lease peasant of the patroons rise in this state in 1845 and set their pitchforks against the clauses of those manuscripts and

the bayonets of the militia." ^{1.}

"The story described at some length the difficulties attending the first summer's planting, difficulties which led Professor Sabsovich to admit that possibly the farmers had been given too many acres and too many seeds to plant in them. It described minor riots, engendered by the general discontent, which precipitated the ejection proceedings against the seven alleged 'riot leaders', and pointed out by innuendo that possibly the Trustees, although they had the right on their side might have tempered justice with mercy." ^{2.}

Finally, to settle the whole dispute without any evictions, the Trustees of the Fund made the necessary compromise to the farmers and in other ways pacified them. But when even these arrangements did not suit the farmers it was necessary to evict nineteen of them leaving forty-one still on the land in May, 1893. It took the colony some time to settle down after all the excitement and to proceed with its work. Progress came very slowly for these settlers, particularly in their agricultural work. Finally it was decided to open an agricultural school in the colony which would not only stimulate agriculture but would train the young people for their future profession. This would eliminate the necessity, in the eyes of the trustees, for the young men and women of the colony to leave it for education and occupations elsewhere. This school which was known as the Woodbine Agricultural School will be taken up in detail later. ^{3.}

In the meantime, following the trouble in 1893⁴ in-

1. Joseph, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Joseph, *op. cit.*, pp. 54 ff.

dustrial enterprises were encouraged by the Trustees of the Fund. A basket factory, another clothing shop, a brick manufacturing factory, and many other industries were encouraged to come to Woodbine. Thus, the agricultural nature of the enterprise was gradually becoming obscured by other activities engaged in by men who were supposed to have been farmers.^{1.}

Nevertheless the farms continued and by 1897 some of the farmers had met with a fair amount of success. Their fruit crops, such as peaches, pears, etc. usually did well and with their grape vines and market truck enabled them to make a fair living most of the time. There were, however, occasions when the farmers were in bad condition because of the failure of their crops either totally or in part. In times as those the industrial aspect of Woodbine was a boon to them for it provided them with work until they could recoup their losses.

Despite the improvement at Woodbine there was a good deal of dissatisfaction throughout the country at the way in which the colony had generally been run. The following report was an attempt to answer the critics of the Woodbine colony:

"In an interview with a representative of the New York Evening Post, Mr. A. S. Solomons, agent of the Hirsch Fund, says of the Baron de Hirsch colony at Woodbine, New Jersey: 'Hard times have not injured in the least the prosperity of the colony at Woodbine. There is not an idle man or woman in the settlement. There have been no reduction in wages, no strikes, no worries of the sort that have come to the rest of the country. In the iron mills, the basket factory, and the brick-yards, the tailoring shops,

1. Joseph, op. cit., p. 61, ff.

and on the farms there has been no trouble such as that in the Alliance colony in Salem county, New Jersey."

"There are about 240 families in this colony, over 1,000 people. If Mr. Solomons is correctly reported it is an achievement to be proud of....But why should so good a work be shrouded in mystery? Why do not the Hirsch Fund trustees give a public account of the discharging of their trust? They have achieved a great success and the world is anxious to know how it was done that the methods may be copied."

By 1914 Woodbine was infinitely more important as an industrial settlement than an agricultural one. That this status continued we shall see in our discussion of present day Woodbine elsewhere in this paper.

MONTEFIORE AND MAY'S LANDING

The small settlements of Montefiore and May's Landing were also located in Cape May county, New Jersey. Montefiore has never been more than mentioned in the sources used in preparation of this paper so it is safe to assume that the colony in that city never really attained any great importance. It does not exist today, and probably passed out of the picture during the difficult period of the nineties when all of the newly established colonies were in great distress and usually unable to procure the necessary aid.

May's Landing has never been a very important district so far as Jews have been concerned. Their settling there was never large and only a handful of farmers engaged actively

1. American Israelite, July 8, 1897.

in agriculture there. It does have good soil and is capable of supporting a well-paying agriculture. Probably because Gentile land-owners have not been willing to give up their farms in the area Jewish farmers were unable to come in. The chief distinction of May's Landing today lies in its being the capital of the Nudists of America.

HUNTERDON COUNTY

Hunterdon county, New Jersey, the locale of Flemington, presents a different soil picture than that of the general situation in New Jersey. The Jewish settlement was located about seven miles southwest of Flemington and about eight miles northeast of the Delaware River. In this area high ridges which are overgrown with second growth timber are the chief characteristic. The soil is a yellow or brown loam of about ten inches depth, in some cases being gravelly. The slopes, which contain, in general, the same soil characteristics, are not adaptable for general farming because of their steepness. They are, however, suited for fruit growing as sloping land affords the fruit trees shelter from cold air resulting from early frosts.¹ The soil is suitable for general farming, and for stock raising. The Jewish farmers have followed the example of the other farmers of the district and have engaged in² general farming, dairying, and poultry raising.

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

2. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., p. 142.

FLEMINGTON

The first settlements of Jews near Flemington were made in 1906 when a Jewish family located there in the spring. As was the case in many previous instances other families followed soon after the first. One came in the fall of the year (1906) and three or four more came during 1907. These farmers all came on their own resources and out of their particular desire to settle in the area. Most of the farmers were Russian Jews with the exception of a few who had come from Austria Hungary. Most of the settlers had been in the United States for only a few years. In general the immigrants who settled on the land in this area had had no experience in farming abroad, and had been merchants, tailors, carpenters, and other non-agricultural workers. In addition to the farmers who came to the settlement on their own initiative there were several additional families who were brought in by the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society. These families brought the total up to approximately eighteen in 1909.^{1.}

Attempts were made to train potential colonists of this settlement by placing them on the Test Farm operated by the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society on Long Island. Here they were supposed to be seasoned for their future work and given a sound background for farming.^{2.}

Most of the farmers who settled in this section came directly to New York from Russia and spent only a very short

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., p. 141.

2. Ibid.

time at the training farm, some none at all. They purchased their land on easy terms. Usually the land did not cost more than \$25.00 to \$50.00 an acre. A down payment of \$100 was supposed to be required from every farmer but many of them did not pay any money down at all. Interest of only 4% was paid on the land that the farmers bought, the price of which land depended upon its location and its suitability to agriculture. Usually the farms were from 50 to 100 acres in size but there were a few farms purchased which were less than fifty acres in area.^{1.}

The Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society was able to take steps to prevent the settlers who came into this district from paying too much for land. The Society's representatives were in the field constantly and were glad to consult with the prospective purchasers of farm land who had no true idea of the worth of the land which they were buying. The land they purchased eventually was worth the price they had to pay for it. Being 55 miles from New York it was well-situated so far as a market was concerned. Considering all the factors involved land was purchased properly and intelligently so far as the Jews in Flemington were concerned.^{2.}

The farmers in the area were fairly successful soon after they started their settlement. In 1907 they needed a total of \$11,579.21 against \$5,075.97 in the previous year.

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., p. 141.
2. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1907, pp. 13-14.

This moderate success, small though it was, encouraged the farmers and raised their morale, enabling them to stomach future hardships in the matters of weather, insects, and the many other hazards that confront the farmer. Some of the families were unsuccessful in their efforts to farm the land and had to return to New York City. Of the total number of farmers in Flemington only three or four families were forced off the land and had to return to New York.^{1.}

Though large farms were purchased by the Jewish farmers in this section they were not farmed extensively and a considerable amount of the acreage controlled by the new colonists was left uncultivated. The Jewish farmers did not introduce any new methods of farming into the district nor did they plant any new crops. Despite their experience on the Test Farm on Long Island they were still forced to copy from the native farmers in farm methods and crops to plant. Most of the Jewish farmers engaged in poultry farming and in dairying as did their Gentile neighbors. Poultry farming was the most popular of the two because of its simplicity as compared with dairy farming. The latter required a great deal of labor as compared with the easier task of caring for chickens. In addition to the activities of the Jews in farming and in poultry raising they also practiced general farming. They raised hay, which was used as feed for their dairy herds, as well as corn, wheat, oats, rye, and other staple crops. In addition to these crops some of the

1. U. S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., p. 142.

farmers also had a fair amount of land used for the production of buckwheat. Some of the farmers in Flemington also used their farms for boarders, and these farmers grew vegetables with which they were able to supply their own table needs.^{1.}

The Jewish farmer was reasonably successful with his crop in this area. His yields were fairly high in comparison to other districts. In addition to the crops already mentioned a few of the farmers engaged in fruit growing but not to any great extent. In general the Jewish farmer was not so successful as his Gentile neighbor particularly in cattle raising. Perhaps this was due to the fact that the Jew was not used to this occupation yet and that the hard work connected with dairy-
ing held him back until he became physically fit.^{2.}

The Jewish farm, as has been mentioned before, was not as well kept as the Gentile farm. Lack of paint and poor repair characterized the colony as so many other Jewish settlements. It is true that a few of the settlers had sufficient time to make their homes presentable. But most of them had found the land so overgrown with brush and undergrowth that all their efforts went to prepare the land for their crops and they did not have much energy left when they got through with that work. This was particularly true of the period before the War when the Jewish farms were still in their initial period
of development.^{3.}

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., p. 142.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

A few of the farmers returned to the city in the winter time in order to find work for themselves during the slack period in farming. They had to do this in the colony because there was no opportunity for work outside of farming in Flemington as the colony was devoted exclusively to agriculture. These farmers did not go into the city every year as a matter of course but only when they were beginning to farm and needed the extra capital to be obtained from the winter's work to build up their farms during the coming summer.^{1.}

The social life of the Jewish colony of Flemington was not very significant. There were not enough males over twenty-one to play an important part politically. In addition to that fact the Jewish farmers here as elsewhere kept pretty much to themselves. They felt, and perhaps rightly, that they were not welcome in the social activities of the non-Jews and so did not mix to any extent at all.^{2.}

"The Hebrews are industrious and their reputation for honesty and sobriety is good. While the social intercourse between the natives and immigrants is limited, no prejudice or antipathy to the Hebrews seems to exist further than the general sentiment due to the difference in religious belief."^{3.}

By 1910 the farmers at Flemington had acquired 38 farms which totalled 3,262 acres. They had invested \$100,423.77 in the farms, all of which were sold under contract to farmers who had been carefully investigated as to character and experience first.

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., p. 143.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

The colony at Flemington was prosperous and its future seemed secure in 1914. Due to the farmers' exclusive interest in agriculture with only a few of them taking in boarders, the sufficient time was spent in agricultural experimentation to make these farmers secure. Their settlement on good land, and their initial good fortune instead of the devastating problems that met other early colonists made the difference between success and failure in this settlement.

HALBERTSTOWN

The final colony with which we shall deal in New Jersey is one of small importance because it never progressed very far. Halbertstown was founded in the early nineties by a group of New York speculators. These men sold plots of land to Russian immigrants which were supposed to be used for farming and for industrial work since factories were to be brought into the district by the same promoters. But the promoters of the idea were not able to get enough men together to warrant the forming of the colony or to induce any factory owner to come to the town which was supposed to be run on a cooperative basis. Eventually the land was sold out to satisfy almost \$40,000 worth of mortgages upon it. The village was deserted for the experiment proved a failure.

With the mention of this last colony we have finished

1. American Hebrew, April, 10, 1896.

the history of the New Jersey colonies for the period of 1880-1914. We shall deal with them again during the course of this paper, bringing them up to date.

PENNSYLVANIA

Jewish farming activity in Pennsylvania during the period of Russian immigration was limited, due to the expensive nature of the land that was open for farm settlements in that state. With the exception of the National Farm School near Doylestown, and the few farms in the immediate vicinity, there was little activity on the part of Jewish farmers in this state.

The Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society reported a number of Jewish farmers in eastern Pennsylvania in 1908. This was very desirable farm land, as brought out by the Society, and much in demand. The farmers settled in this state were not Russian refugees since the refugees did^{1.} not have the money necessary to buy farms here.

Although there are numerous scattered farmers in the state of Pennsylvania there was never any concentrated effort on the part of any particular group of Jews to colonize this state for the above mentioned reasons. What Jewish farmers there were in Pennsylvania before the War used the same methods as the non-Jews among whom they lived. Small numbers of Jewish farmers were located in Addison, Norristown, Pottstown, and Doylestown, the home of the National Farm School.

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1908, p. 22.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Turning from Pennsylvania to the District of Columbia we find one colony mentioned near Washington at quite an early date. The soil characteristics which dominate in the area of Washington are not particularly favorable to farming. The land is rolling and undulating and is low to fair in natural productivity. The surface of the land is mainly sandy and a large part of it is forested or cut over. The best use of the land calls for local determination.^{1.}

In 1883 fifteen Jewish families purchased land near Washington, D.C. They called their colony "Washington". These families were of the more wealthy class of individual for they purchased their land independent of outside help and also bought cattle for dairy herds. They intended to go into dairying since they were most interested in that particular branch of farming.^{2.}

The colony was successful from the start but the start did not last very long. The following report from the American Israelite belies the fate of the colony:

"From the dairy farm at Washington, D.C. we have no recent news. The experiment was successful from the start, and proved that the projectors were as wise as they were benevolent."³

If the word "benevolent" in the quotation is to suggest that the colony was founded by philanthropists the Ameri-

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

2. Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. I., p. 259.

3. American Israelite, May 25, 1883.

can Israelite errs, for, as we have stated, this settlement was established solely by the colonists. Because of their independence and the fact that they were not able to get support when they needed it, the colony failed a year or so after its inception, and the colonists had to go back to the cities from which they came. This failure may be attributed to the general lack of interest of individuals or organizations in any colony but the ones in South Jersey, particularly Alliance, at this time.

ARKANSAS

The first record of a Jewish farmer in Arkansas dates back to 1876. The farmer in question was successful, in spite of the fact that he was located on very poor land in Pine Bluff, Jefferson county. The land was flat and poorly drained, of generally low productivity when drained. In order to be farmed it was necessary to clear the land of second growth timber and to drain it.^{1.}

Col. Sam Franklin of Pine Bluff, Arkansas, was, in addition to being a farmer, a politician. He was well thought of in his community being asked to run for the State Legislature by some of the most influential citizens of the city in which he lived. "Mr. Franklin is a gentleman of intelligence and standing and is about the largest planter on the Arkansas River."^{2.}

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.
2. American Israelite, September 1, 1876.

NEWPORT

In Jackson county, near the city of Newport, a Jewish colony of Russian immigrants was established about 1882. The land in this area was superior to that in Franklin's district. It was smooth and inherently productive, but was poorly drained and in forest with a large part of the area subject to flood.^{1.}

In 1883 the colony of Russian emigrants was supposed to be doing well on the land and their future was regarded as being bright. Most of the colonists of this settlement were members of the intellectual Russian organization, the Am Olan which was founded in Russia and one of whose purposes was to foster agriculture in America and encourage members of the society in that field. Before the migration of the members of the society to New port they had been basket makers in Brooklyn, New York. They stayed in this work for only a short time for they were anxious to get out on the land. They were given this opportunity through Dr. Winter's Help Committee in Brooklyn. This organization paid the cost of their transportation to the colony and also supplied them with sufficient farming materials to get started.^{2.}

The life of this colony was very short. Not only was the radical change in the type of existence that they were

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

2. Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums, Vol. 47, pp. 536-537, 1883.

leading too much for the men, but the conditions at Newport were too rigorous for them. Serious epidemics of malaria due to the swampy condition of the country caused the colonists to abandon their holdings and give up the project completely.] The dissolution occurred in 1884, just two years after the founding of the colony. During that time little had been accomplished on the land besides clearing, and the planting of a few crops. The colony goes down as one of the numerous failures of colonies settled in the southwest during the early period of Russian immigration.^{1.}

DES ARC

Mention is also made of a colony at Des Arc, Arkansas which also failed due to the bad condition of the land^{2.} which the colonists were supposed to farm.

Thus in Arkansas not much of significance was accomplished during the Russian immigration period. Agriculture in this state has always been handicapped by soil and climatic conditions. The farmers have usually needed large holdings of land in order to be able to get along at all. The Jewish immigrants, of course, were not able to afford any great amount of acreage and so were limited in their efforts. Lack of markets also held the Jewish farmers back even had they been able to grow crops successfully.

1. Levine, op. cit., p. 60 ff.
2. Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums, Vol. 47, pp. 536-537, 1883.

LOUISIANA

Turning from Arkansas to Louisiana we find that a Jewish farm settlement was made at an early date in the period of Russian Jewish emigration to the United States, at Sicily Island, in Catahoula Parish, Louisiana. The soil in this area was inherently productive at the time that the colony was placed on the land but it was poorly drained. [A considerable portion of the land in the area was in forest and was also subject to flood. Whether it was worth while ever troubling to clear this land is problematical.]^{1.}

BEGINNINGS

In 1882 the Hebrew Foreign Mission Society was colonizing Russian Jews in various parts of the United States. New Orleans was one of the first communities to take an active interest in solving the problem of the mass immigration of Russian Jews to the United States. This community wished to establish an agricultural settlement, feeling that through agriculture could the problem of absorbing the many refugees be solved most satisfactorily. The movement in this direction in New Orleans was started by Alfred Montagu who wrote to the New York Board of the Alliance Israelite Universelle in 1880 concerning aid for the city in their efforts to start such a colony. Land was offered to the originators of the project by I. B. Kurscheidt

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

speaking for the Governor of Louisiana who was interested in the projected settlement. Governor McNery was willing to give 160 acres to each family of Jewish immigrants who came to Louisiana to settle.^{1.}

The communication with the Alliance Israelite Universelle in New York was followed by a telegram from Governor McNery to the Hon. Myer Isaacs who was the President of the branch society of the Alliance. In this message the Governor of the State expressed his satisfaction with the proposed settlement and offered help to the colonists. Following this, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations issued an appeal to New Orleans Jewry to give some assistance to the plan. A meeting was called, and largely through the efforts of Rabbi Guttheim a substantial sum of money was collected and a permanent committee was appointed to make arrangements as quickly as possible.^{2.}

The land that had been offered by the Governor was studied first of all. It was located in Attakapas parish and was found to be infertile land unsuitable for an agricultural colony. Turning from this land to other available land the organizers of the colony purchased land from Isidor and Henry Newman, who were well-known philanthropists. This land consisted of a tract of 2,900 acres which was 350 miles from New Orleans and twenty-five miles from Natchez. It was in the

1. The Jews in Louisiana, Leo Shpall, Steeg Printing and Publishing Co., New Orleans, 1935, pp. 13-15.
2. Ibid.

vicinity of several thriving towns and was generally regarded as being good land, well fit for agricultural settlement.^{1.}

"...The land was rich, about one-half cultivated and is not subject to being inundated by floods. In its surroundings are found many pleasant cities, of which New Orleans is the chief market place, which can be reached in forty-eight hours by boat. Catahoula lies in a favorable climate. The temperature hardly ever goes higher than ninety degrees in the summer or lower than freezing in winter. Sunstroke is uncommon. The winters are so mild that a man can have a very nice garden throughout the entire winter. The following crops may be produced: cotton, tobacco, sugar cane, corn, oats, and rice. All kinds of vegetables and fruits can be grown here. It is very suitable for cattle raising as there is nutritious pasturage the whole year round."^{2.}

SICILY ISLAND

The land was purchased on very easy terms. The price was \$7.00 an acre for the Lovelace, Green, and Dr. Peck plantations. This price included all improvements which were already on the land such as houses, cabins, and cotton gin houses. The purchase money was to be paid in yearly installments of \$2,000 beginning on January 1, 1885. The money outstanding was to be free from interest for the first five years. After that time it was to bear 6% interest. Both State and Parish taxes on the land were to be paid by the Newman brothers for the first five years of the colony's existence. The first two years on the land were to be of a probationary nature. If the project were abandoned before the end of that time no rent

1. American Hebrew, January 13, 1882.
2. Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums, May 16, 1882, p. 329, tr. by the writer.

1.
was to be charged.

The colonists for the settlement, which was made in 1881, came largely from Kiev, Elizabethsgrad, and other Russian cities. They consisted of 51 men, 34 women, and 66 children of both sexes under fifteen. Among the men there were 12 merchants, 11 farmers, three teachers, one lawyer, one carpenter, one book-keeper, one typesetter, one cigarette maker, six clerks, one student, two tobacco cutters, one tinsmith, one saddler, one professor, and one tobacco manufacturer. All of these people had strong desires to go into agriculture and had been interested in agricultural pursuits while yet in Russia.
2.

The following is a synopsis of the constitution of the settlement of the Russian immigrants at Sicily Island, Catahoula Parish, Louisiana:

"The domicile is fixed at Sicily Island, parish of Catahoula. The object of the association is the improvement of the moral and intellectual condition of its members and their families, to promote their welfare by united and harmonious action on their part, and to afford mutual assistance to themselves. To found a colony on the Sid Sicily Island, there to purchase lands, apportion the same, erect dwellings farm houses, a school house for the education of the children; establish a library for the common use of the colony; supply money, farming utensils, or other articles of husbandry, household furniture and stock to its members, and generally do and provide for their mutual support or for the furtherance of their aims and purposes aforesaid whatever shall be necessary.

1. American Hebrew, January 13, 1882.

2. Ibid.

"The corporate power of this association or colony shall be vested in a Board of Governors, composed of seven members to be elected by ballot.

"The said board of Governors shall serve without compensation; they shall have no power to fill vacancies in their number; they or the President may call meetings of the association whenever necessary; they shall keep regular accounts of the affairs of the association and shall furnish at the general meetings of the colony a correct and particular account of the work performed and of the conditions of things generally; which report together with the books and vouchers, shall be submitted to and examined by a committee of revision to be elected by the association or colony.

"No member of the colony shall be allowed to sell or deal in spirituous or malt liquors within the limits of the colony; and no member shall engage in any business without the consent of two-thirds of the members of the colony.

"All disputes arising among members, their families or employees shall be decided by the board of governors. The party thinking himself aggrieved may appeal to the Immigrants' Aid Association of New Orleans as intermediators, whose decision shall be considered final. Any member who shall violate this article by appealing to the courts of justice shall lose his rights as a member of the colony and his lands and property shall, at the discretion of the colony be bought by said colony at the valuation or price fixed by the Immigrants' Aid Association of New Orleans.

"All money belonging to any individual member which was deposited with the Immigrants' Aid Association of New Orleans, will remain as a general fund for the benefit of the colony, but such member shall be entitled to a special credit on the books of the colony for the amount so deposited less the cost incident to his voyage and his support.

"In the event of the death of a member, his family (if consisting of a widow or minor children) shall be supported by the colony or associa-

tion for the term of five years, during which time the members of the association shall be bound to cultivate the lands of said family. This obligation shall cease, however, upon either the son of the deceased, if any, attaining the age of twenty-one years, or the widow entering into another marriage.

"In case of sickness of a member, his family shall be supported by the colony until said member's recovery.

"The lands of the colony shall be divided into groups by the board of governors, who shall apportion them into lots drawn for by the members of the colony. All lands, farming utensils, etc., shall remain the property of the colony. No member of the colony can dispense of the same until the debt of the colony to the Immigrants' Aid Association is paid. Of course this does not affect his private property. Ample provision is made should any member become objectionable to the colony. All amendments to the constitution must receive a two-thirds vote.

"On the dissolution of this colony by limitations or sooner, by the will of four-fifths of its members, its affairs shall be liquidated and wound up by the Immigrants' Aid Association of New Orleans (if still in existence) or else by three commissioners appointed by the association at a general meeting convened for that purpose. Its assets, if any remain after payment of all its debts, shall be divided among the members of the association or colony in the proportion of their respective interests therein."

The colonists came directly from Russia to New Orleans. Their nominal leader was Herman Rosenthal who was a merchant of some considerable means in Russia. Help came to these potential pioneers from many sources. Supplementing the money which some of them had been able to invest the Alliance Israelite Universelle made a loan of \$2,000 which was in addition to what had been raised in New Orleans by the Imm-

1. American Hebrew, January 6, 1886.

igrant Aid Association there.^{1.}

A large load of timber was sent to Sicily Island by Mr. E. E. Dreyfus, who was an architect in New Orleans. This man also agreed to take up the building of forty houses and a store house for the keeping of provisions. This, he said, he would do without charge. The cost of each house was to run somewhere between \$125 and \$150. An experienced Russian farmer who lived in the community at New Orleans volunteered to teach the settlers practical farming. He was satisfied to work for a very modest wage.^{2.}

Twelve plows were donated to the colony by A. Baldwin and Co. of New Orleans, a hardware concern. In addition to this gift the hardware company gave the colonists eighteen sets of harness besides furnishing all the hardware that they needed at cost. Doors and sashes were donated by Lhote and Co. Other donations, such as furniture, seeds and farming implements were also promised to the colonists.^{3.}

The majority of the settlers came to the colony with some cash. A few of them had a good deal of money but most of them did not have much left by the time they reached their destination. Altogether their money amounted to \$7,500. Of that amount \$3,200 was put aside for the common use of the community according to the advice of the New Orleans Immigrants' Aid Committee. This money was to be used for the advancement

1. Shpall, op. cit., pp. 13-15.
2. Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums, May 16, 1885, p. 329.
3. American Hebrew, January 13, 1882.

of refugees in New Orleans. The remaining \$4,300 was put aside as a reserve fund to be used by the members of the colony if necessary.^{1.}

The colonists were very well received on their arrival at New Orleans preparatory to proceeding to their new home. In addition to the welcome of the colonists at New Orleans there was also a celebration held at Harrisonburg for them. This town was located not far from Sicily Island itself. A public meeting was held in Harrisonburg during which a unanimous motion of welcome was passed for the new settlers.^{2.}

Plans were now being actively made for settlement of the settlers on the land. Many small matters had to be dealt with which had not been considered in full detail before this time. Each family was to be provided with the means for one year's support on the land as well as the necessary horses, mules, oxen, and farming implements. It was hoped that with these preparations in addition to the requirements that the colonists be only experienced farmers or mechanics would enable the colony to shift for itself after the first year of outside support.^{3.}

On Saturday evening, December 17, 1881, twenty-five of the men who had landed in New Orleans with the Russian refugees left for Catahoula Parish for the city of Harrisonburg. From that point they still had a considerable journey overland

1. American Hebrew, January 13, 1882.

2. Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums, May 16, 1885, p. 329.

3. Levine, op. cit., p. 42.

before they would reach the land that had been sold to the New Orleans society for the immigrants. When they left the wharf there was a large crowd to see them off. It was composed of many refugees who were to follow these men in a short time, and numerous friends and sympathizers with the Russian refugee movement. The remainder of the men left New Orleans on the following Wednesday, there having been two groups who went to Sicily Island separately. All of the women and children were left in New Orleans to wait until the colony was reasonably prepared for settlement.^{1.}

The colonists were anxious to get to work. They wanted to show that they were equal to the hardships of agricultural work and that they were eager to be allowed to take up land and to farm it. In three days the colonists hauled 150,000 feet of lumber, 40,000 bricks, 100,000 shingles, 100 packages of nails and hardware, sashes, doors, lime, and many other materials. These supplies had been landed near the Sicily Island settlement by the barge that ran between that village and New Orleans.^{2.}

After the work of hauling supplies had been concluded the men were ready to start work on the colony itself. Over 450 acres of land was fenced in by the Russian farmers. They plowed 200 acres also, and planted grain, corn, and vegetables. Trees were cut down and land was generally cleared. Fruit trees were planted by the optimistic settlers. Roads were re-

1. American Hebrew, December 23, 1881.

2. Levine, op. cit., p. 42.

paired or put in as needed, wells were dug, and other pieces of work were done about the colony requiring great diligence and untiring labor on the part of the Russian immigrants. Two large houses on the land when the settlers arrived were used as common homes for the men during the initial work in building up the settlement. After the more elementary pieces of work had been concluded the men turned their attention to the building of permanent homes for themselves and their families. Three-room houses were erected by the farmers in addition to the other buildings on the land already.^{1.}

Plans were also made at this time for the planting of twenty additional acres of land in vegetables, of one hundred in cotton, and another hundred acres in corn. The balance^{2.} of the land was to be used for pasture.

But the farming activities of the emigrants soon encountered serious difficulties. There were only two yoke of oxen and two mules in the settlement. This worked great hardship in the plowing of the land for only four farmers could plow at one time. Thus progress was slowed up to a considerable degree. The heat also began to bother several of the colonists and the scarcity of drinking water aggravated this hardship. The colonists were disappointed in that their wives and children were not with them during the early period of their settlement. They did not stop to consider the frightful hardships that would be faced by their families if a large

1. Shpall, op. cit., pp. 13-15.

2. Levine, op. cit., p. 42.

number of people descended on the colony at one time.^{1.}

In addition to these complaints the colonists also missed the spiritual side of their lives which they could not indulge since they had no synagogue on the land and since there was no time for them to go to a larger city for services on the Sabbath. This evidently had a serious effect on their morale. They looked about them and saw that the farms of their neighbors were almost uniform in their failure. The farmers around the settlement respected the Jewish colonists for their diligence in the preparation of the land which was poorly fitted for agriculture as we have seen in our survey of the condition of the soil in this area.^{2.}

[Weeds were a constant source of irritation to the farmers. As they were located in a warm, moist climate weeds grew quickly, much more quickly than did the corn and vegetables on the unproductive soil. The constant necessity for cultivation in order to keep their crops from being swallowed up by weeds worked to the unhappiness of the farmers. Then malaria began its ravages and the men continued to lose their enthusiasm for the profession which they had thought at one time they were going to like so well. Therefore, after a few months' work on the land, during which time their position did not seem to them to become any more secure or happy, about one-half of the colonists left to take up peddling or factory work, abandoning their holdings and the little progress

1. Shpall, op. cit., pp. 13-15.

2. Ibid.

that they had made.^{1.}

In April, 1881, the Mississippi River rose and broke the levees which had been constructed in the district. The lands of the farmers were completely inundated despite the previous assurances on the part of the Newman brothers that the land in this area would not flood. When this took place there was no other choice for the colonists but to leave their holdings and forsake the investment that they had made in the property. It was tragic for them since many of them lost what little savings they had when they came to this country and had to begin all over again.^{2.}

Sicily Island was the first of the Refugee settlements of Russians in agricultural colonies in the United States. It represents only one of the many failures which were destined to take place before the Russian refugee found the place where he rightfully belonged in agriculture. It certainly was not in isolated farm settlements on land that was difficult to develop. The failure in Catahoula Parish need not to have taken place had there been adequate investigations before hand. It could have been seen easily that the farms of the neighborhood were anything but prosperous, that the agricultural activities of many of the farmers were severely limited by the poorly drained land and the low productivity of the soil. Unfortunately there were people who could see only farm settlement as a solution for the absorption of the

1. Sheall, op. cit., pp. 13-15.

2. Ibid.

refugees who were flooding the country. They were blind to all other projects and failure seemed far removed to them when they first planned their Utopias. It is perhaps significant that the originators of this settlement were not farmers themselves, but were city dwellers who had no desire to go out on to the farmland such as it was in Louisiana.

The history of the Sicily Island colony may be concluded with mention of the words of the leader of the colony, Herman Rosenthal, in New York, May 24, 1882. Mr. Rosenthal called the colony "...a piece of Jewish history, and, while in the Paradise promised for them they had found only serpents," he has words of praise for the "...devotion and enthusiasm of the New Orleans leaders, such as Rabbi Gutheim,^{1.} and Mr. Solomon Larx".

No further colony was attempted in Louisiana by promoters of Russian refugee settlement on the land.

TEXAS

We have already made mention of two Jewish colonies in Texas during the post-Revolutionary history of the American Jew in agriculture. Attempts at settlement did not end with Castroville and Goliad, however. Another attempt at a Jewish settlement on the land in this state came in 1904.

1. Shpall, op. cit., pp. 13-15.

TYLER

Tyler, in Smith county, was the scene of the next agricultural colonization venture by the Jews in this state. The soil in this area was not, and is not today, conducive to a successful agricultural economy. In and around Tyler are located rolling and gently undulating lands. The sandy soil is fair, at best, in its natural productivity. A large part of the land is forested or cut over. The land must be fertilized before use and an adequate water supply must be available.^{1.}

A Jewish community was established in Tyler, Texas in 1904, with the Rev. Faber as the leader. Land amounting to 220 acres was purchased for the Jewish farmers in one tract consisting of a "fertile farm".^{2.}

The money for the purchase of the land was supplied by the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society. The farm was equipped through the efforts of the Jewish community at Tyler and the Society. In 1904 considerable optimism was felt for the five families who settled on the land. This was due to the cheapness of the land in Texas, and the few expenses entailed in placing families on the soil. In 1904 the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society was already speculating on future land settlements in the area because it felt that a family would be able to be independent of outside

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

2. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1904, p. 14.

aid in a short time. This would enable the Society to go in, place its settlers on the land with the necessary implements and food for a year, or even less, after which time they would be fully prepared to take up their own responsibilities.^{1.}

At first the colony established near Tyler seemed to justify all the hopes of the Society. Everything went along smoothly and the colonists were able to take full advantage of the soil upon which they had settled. Then an epidemic of malaria broke out in the colony. Every colonist contracted the disease and all of them were left too weak for effective farm labor. They all began to beg to be taken away from the unhealthy area. This occurred in 1905 and destroyed the hopes of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society for a future colony in this immediate area, for no colonists would think of returning to the place.^{2.}

The Society had to forward money to the colonists to take them off the land upon which they had so briefly resided. Of the families two were placed in the Woodbine colony so that the agricultural experience that they had received was not totally wasted. The Society was not disturbed by the financial loss at Tyler. "The monetary loss of some \$3,000 does not matter so much as the failure to complete a plan involving the establishment of small farming communities too far removed from our center of activity to be satisfactorily administered by our local agents."^{3.}

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1904, p. 14.
2. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1905, pp. 14-15.
3. Ibid.

IDA M. STRAUSS SUBDIVISION

In 1912 another colony was established in Texas. The name of this colony was the Ida M. Strauss Subdivision. It was named in memory of Mrs. Isidor Strauss whose husband died in the Titanic disaster. The Ida M. Strauss Subdivision was a 5,000 acre tract of land that was purchased by the Jewish Farmers' Association of St. Louis. "The effort represents only a weak endeavor and has been given up as an unsuccessful venture."¹

This concludes our second survey of Texas. One fact may be mentioned pertaining to the situation of the Jews in Texas concerning their activities in stock raising. Due to the tremendous acreage required for such activities, Jews were not found in the cattle business since they were limited severely as to capital and backing. This was unfortunate because the land was ideally suited for large scale cattle raising. Perhaps this accounts for the sparceness of Jewish activities in the general field of agriculture in this state.

VIRGINIA

Turning now to the southeastern part of the country we note the farm settlements started by Jewish farmers in Virginia.

RICHMOND AREA, HENRICO COUNTY

In 1897 a settlement was made near Richmond, Henrico

¹ Bogen, op. cit., p. 130; see also, Hebrew Standard, May 10, 1912.

county, Virginia, on several hundred acres of land. The land in this area was rolling to fairly hilly. It consisted of brown sandy loam soils with many small streams running through a large part of the countryside.^{1.}

In 1897 a deal was made through which the representatives of some Cincinnati Russian Jewish families were given land near Richmond. The land was located on the line of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad about 23 miles east of Richmond. The settlers intended to engage in dairying and tobacco culture in this area. They were to begin with dairying and later to develop the tobacco and market gardening enterprises to add to their income.^{2.}

The colony near Richmond started with seven families. Twenty-five additional families were to follow the original settlers as soon as it was practicable for them to leave the city and live on the land. The earlier settlers were to erect houses for the ones that were to come out later, and otherwise to prepare the settlement for them. Therefore, the first men placed on the land were the hardier and the more experienced of the group.^{3.}

The movement differed from other enterprises of an earlier period in that all of the men who left for the settlement were able to purchase their own land and were not objects of charity. The colony was to be owned completely from the

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

2. American Israelite, November 11, 1897.

3. Ibid.

start by the men who bought the land.^{1.}

This colony is not mentioned again by any sources used by the writer. We may assume that some of the farmers were able to continue on the farms which they had bought, but that others were forced to go to Richmond to make their living in the city.

MIDDLESEX COUNTY

MIDDLESEX SETTLEMENT

At an earlier period in Virginia there had been another two settlements made, one at Middlesex, and the other at Water-view. The colony at Middlesex was started in 1882 by twelve families. This colony was not the beneficiary of charity either for each family contributed \$100.00 to the settlement fund. With the money 1,000 acres of land were purchased in Middlesex Virginia. Easy terms were arranged for the payment for the land. Fifteen years were given during which time payments were to be made by installments. The financial burden was further lightened for the colonists by the agreement that the first payment^{2.} did not have to be made until the end of the third year.

One of the interesting features of this colony was the provision for the selection of three elders who were to act as a Court of Justice which was to safeguard the observance of the Sabbath, the dietary laws, and other ceremonies connect-

1. American Israelite, November 11, 1897.

2. Levine, op. cit., p. 80.

ed with Judaism. The settlers wanted to insure themselves of a complete observance of their faith at all times and therefore took no chances on any compromise.^{1.}

{Despite the loft/ideals of the colony and its notable plans for the purchase of land in a way so as to prevent the members of the colony from becoming wards of charity, we must record that this colony failed soon after its formation. Its failure was due to that which wrecked the hopes of so many groups of Jewish farmers in this period. The land was not fertile, and the farmers did not have the proper experience. These factors, in addition to the inability of the farmers to buy the necessary equipment because of their limited budgets brought about the failure of this group of Russian refugee settlers.^{2.}

WATERVIEW

In 1882 a group of Russian Jewish families were established at Waterview on the Rappahannock. Nine families in all were put upon the land through the influence of some philanthropic families in Baltimore. This too, probably proved to be an unsuccessful attempt at settlement since there is no mention of the colony after 1886.^{3.}

1. Levine, op. cit., p. 80.

2. Ibid.

3. Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. I., p. 259.

MARYLAND

The final southern state with which we shall concern ourselves is Maryland. There were two settlements in this area in the Russian Refugee period, both located very near to each other. The settlers who took up farms here were fortunate in that the soil on which they settled was capable of supporting relatively remunerative agriculture although rolling and hilly in the region near Baltimore. The soil was a brown silt loam which was productive.^{1.}

COLONY IN THE BALTIMORE AREA

The first of the two settlements in this state was established in 1882. This settlement, near Baltimore, was founded under the supervision of the Hebrew Russian Relief Committee of Baltimore. In 1882, 700 acres of land were bought for the potential settlers who consisted of ten families numbering 90 persons. The colonists built their own houses completely without any outside help. These settlers were poverty stricken and had a difficult struggle on their farms for the entire time that they were settled on the land. But they were encouraged by the knowledge that they had left a country in which conditions had been much worse for them^{2.} than they were in their new home.

They were soon forced to do some outside work to

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.
2. Levine, op. cit., pp. 80-81.

get along on the land for their income from agriculture alone was not nearly enough to support them. Therefore they turned to wood-cutting. They received \$80.00 a cord for the wood which they cut. In addition to this income they were helped out by the Baltimore Committee which sent them cows, poultry, tools, flour, and potatoes. The women of the city of Baltimore also sent them a good quantity of clothing, shoes, blankets, and food. Despite all the outside help and interest this colony was not able to keep its head above water and failed soon after its formation.^{1.}

ELLICOTT CITY

The second colony in Maryland that was settled by Jews has been successful. It was founded at a later date in the Russian colonization movement and was thus able to benefit from the experience gained from the many failures which preceded it. In 1902 twenty-five residents of Baltimore organized the Hebrew Colonial Society of Maryland. In a short time they acquired 351 acres of land in Ellicott City which is located about 10 miles away from Baltimore. The members of the Society settled on this land and were soon in difficulties. In 1905 the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society loaned the settlers \$11,000. Even after this loan was made it appeared as though the colony would not be able to straighten out its affairs and was still bound for failure.

1. Levine, op. cit., pp. 80-81.

When things began to look a little better in 1908 another loan was made to the group of farmers, this time to the amount of \$9,000.^{1.}

According to the original plan of the colony the land was to be divided into equal parcels. Each family was to own its own parcel of land independently of the other families in the group. This was done because of the many complications inherent in the cooperative system of farm management. These had all appeared during the early history of the colonies in New Jersey and elsewhere and the members of this colony did not wish to have the same experience.^{2.}

By 1908 there were still eight or ten families on the land. They were at the time largely engaged in the raising of garden truck and poultry. Their advantage in this type of farming lay in the Baltimore market which was so very near at hand. The condition of these farmers improved and was on the up-grade at 1914 where we leave them.^{3.}

INDIANA

Many farming colonies were established in the middle-western states for the Russian Jewish refugees. We shall consider these states one by one commencing our history of them with what is perhaps the least important of the lot---Indiana.

Jewish farmers settled rather late in Indiana in

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1908, p. 14.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

comparison to some of the other middlewestern agricultural settlements. They probably did not come into this state until about 1900. This may be accounted for by the fact that there was no homestead land available in Indiana. As it was largely homestead land that the Russian Jewish farmers settled they stayed out of this state. Another reason for their non-appearance in Indiana may be due to the relative expensiveness of the land in this state. The soil in Indiana was fertile and productive, well suited for the carrying on of a successful agriculture. Non-Jewish farmers had been in this state for some time and did not wish to sell their farms since the agriculture that they were able to carry on in this area was satisfactory to them. Thus the Jews did not have much chance to get in here since the land was expensive and hard to obtain.

KNOX

We have come across only one record of Jewish settlement in Indiana. This was in the vicinity of Knox where there were Jewish farmers from the early years of the twentieth century. These men were largely engaged in the raising of onions which was a profitable crop and did not require any great amount of agricultural skill. They met with all the difficulties of the early farmers. Seasonal and climatic conditions were always present to be dealt with as were the inevitable insect pests on their farms. But the few Jewish (not necessarily Russian) farmers who engaged in agriculture in

this state seem to have been fairly successful. The Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society had contact with the farmers in the vicinity of Knox in 1912. The Society discovered that although the year had been a very difficult one for the onion growers they still managed to get along. This is significant for it shows that the farmers of the area were able to build up a certain amount of security so that they were not forced out of farming immediately after they were hit by the first bad crop.^{1.}

These farmers were not settled on the land by any society nor were they objects of charity at any time during their stay on the land. They lived, not as a group, but individually, since they were not the wards of any agricultural organization. Although they managed to keep afloat on their lands through 1914 and into the recent period, theirs was never a very successful type of agriculture in terms of high prices and large profits.

ILLINOIS

Illinois is a state where there were few concerted efforts made to plant agricultural colonies and hence there are very few group settlements of Jewish farmers in the state today. There were, however, many individual farmers who were assisted in their efforts to farm in this state by the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society. Most of

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1912, p. 38.

the settlers in Illinois came after 1800. The history of general agricultural efforts in Illinois is significant and applies directly to the problem of the Jews engaged in agriculture in that state since they never were a group set apart.

The so-called "log-cabin" type of agriculture in Illinois was shorter than in any of the neighboring states to the east and south. In this state the transition to modern agriculture was quite rapid. This fact was due mainly to the character of the land itself, but other notable causes were also at work which brought the development about. The first factor was the increasing liberality of the land policy during the settlement of this state. The compromise which opened up the Northwest Territory to settlement also gave concessions to Revolutionary War soldiers to settle in this and other states on the free land available to them. The richness of the land in Illinois was publicized and the period of settlement began about 1820. As late as 1850 it was possible to acquire good prairie land, rich and fertile for as little as \$1.25 an acre, but by the time the Jews came it was more expensive. Railroads were soon put through to this country. Highways followed in the present century until today Illinois is the leader of the midwest in hard-surfaced roads leading from farm to market.

Corn has been the major crop in the state from the beginning of farming. Other crops in relation to their import-

1. Illinois, A Descriptive and Historical Guide: A. C. McClurg and Co., Chicago, 1939; Federal Writers Project of Illinois, W.P.A. pp. 70-77.

ance are: oats, wheat, soy-beans, hay, and clover seed. In the large industry of stock raising milk cows, mules, horses and poultry are important.^{1.}

The soils of Illinois are of demonstrated agricultural quality. The land is largely in farms which are located in areas that are quite capable of supporting a relatively remunerative agriculture. Level and well drained the land offers excellent conditions for almost any kind of crop suited to the climatic conditions and the growing season in this section of the country.^{2.}

As we have mentioned the agricultural efforts on the part of Jewish farmers in the state of Illinois were largely individual. However, the farmers in this state were compelled at several times to seek aid from the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society which gave them the help they needed.^{3.}

We have records of Jewish farmers located at Drexel, Illinois, and at Western Springs. Abraham Brooks, the farmer at Drexel, was engaged in dairying and market gardening. He had received a small loan from the Society in 1900 and was successful enough in his farming to be able to repay it partially by 1901.^{4.}

Morris Lobel, the farmer of Western Springs, was also engaged in dairying. In 1901 he had a herd of 21 cows and had been settled on the land for only two or three years.

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1. Illinois Federal Writers' Project, op. cit., pp. 70-77.
 2. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.
 3. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1901, p. 13.
 4. Ibid.

He too borrowed money from the Society and was also making payments on his debt trying to pay it off as soon as he could.^{1.}

FLORA

The one farm settlement which we shall not^{2.} in the state was in Flora, in Clay county. This settlement had been planted by the St. Louis Prospective Farmers' Association, which was an organization of immigrant Jews who were living in St. Louis. In 1910 this organization purchased an 800 acre farm in Flora at a cost of \$48,000. The money had been raised through contributions from the members of the Society. Some of the members were men of considerable means and were able to contribute large amounts to the Society's treasury. The land was bought with a down payment of \$8,500, the balance remaining on a mortgage.^{2.}

At first the colonists attempted to work the land together, but this plan did not succeed. Because of the failure in cooperative farming the land was divided into eight farms in proportion to the investments made by the original farmers in the district. These men soon came into difficulties and were in need of assistance. It came to them in the shape of a \$14,500 loan from the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society. The money was to be used in paying off the mortgage on the farm since the interest payments were consuming a large amount of the farmers' capital which might otherwise

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1901, p. 13.
2. American Jewish Yearbook, 5673, p. 97.

have been put into more active use as improvements on the farms.
1.

But this colony did not last as the state did not seem to be encouraging to settlements of farms. The farmers gradually left the settlement and farmed in other parts of the district or left the profession altogether. Some land was sold to outsiders and the colony as such disintegrated.
2.

MICHIGAN

Agriculture in Michigan has largely been limited to the southern part of the state. Michigan had a comparatively late start in agriculture because of the bad reputation of the state in the nineteenth century. It was thought that Michigan was almost totally swampy land and rough forests. It took quite some time for this impression to be corrected after which the state was settled quite rapidly. The first Jewish colony in Michigan was planted in 1882 in Emmett county, at Carp Lake.

CARP LAKE

This is a very diverse area so far as soils are concerned. A large part of the land is still forested to this day. Moreover, the state and federal governments are trying to turn more of the land back into forest in this state for they recognize its unfitness for almost anything else. In the eighties the land was largely cut over by the lumber companies which had already been through the district. Around Carp Lake the

1. American Jewish Yearbook, 5673, p. 97.

2. Ibid.

soil was generally heavy with some sandy portions. There was a good deal of peat bog and in areas the land was stony. The bogs and the stony land were generally interspersed. The land was gently rolling with numerous hills and was well watered. The best use of the land had to be determined by the individual farmer.

1.
In 1882, Lazarus Silberman, a Chicago banker and philanthropist, took thirteen Jews to the office of the Circuit Court in Chicago to have them naturalized. While the group was making the trip the discussion arose as to professions mutually preferred by the different men. Silberman was interested to know what these Russian immigrants were going to do in the country, and led them on to talk to him and to tell him their plans and ambitions. The entire group told him that if they were given an opportunity they would like nothing better than to go into agriculture. Silberman saw this as his opportunity to do something really worthwhile and told the group that if they were sincere in their desire he would help them fulfill their ambitions and would give them a chance to go out on the land.

2.
In a short while Silberman had concluded the purchase of 300 acres of land which were to serve as the nucleus for the settlement of the small colony. More land was to be purchased when the success of the group upon the original 300 acres was proved. The land was to be bought by Silberman and

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

2. Levine, op. cit., p. 68.

leased out to the colonists rent free for a period of five years. During that time they were not to be forced to make any payments to him or to pay taxes on the land; it was to be a trial period during which time the men would have a chance to see whether they really cared to stay in agriculture or not.¹ During the five year trial period they were to be permitted to purchase as much land as they wished at \$5.00 per acre.²

The composition of the group of prospective farmers seemed quite promising at the time. Their previous trades were those which would, in almost every case, help them in their new lives on the land. There were three men who had been practical farmers in Russia, two copper smiths, three tinsmiths, one papere hanger, one cooper, one blacksmith, one wagon maker, and one tailor. Together with their families these thirteen men numbered 100 persons. The only thing that was lacking in the group was capital which was extremely necessary since Mr. Silberman's interest did not hold in the scheme very long. Sources differ as to the ultimate result of the colony. According to Levine in his Brief Survey of the American Jew in Agriculture, Silberman never did purchase the land, but gave up when he saw the great efforts required and the large amount of money to be expended upon the settlement.³

The Jewish Encyclopedia has another view of the end of the colony. There the writer states that the colony had to

1. Levine, op. cit., p. 68.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

be abandoned because Silberman withdrew his interest after the settlement had been founded. He recognized the difficulties that the people would have to face and did not think that success was probable.^{1.}

No matter which view we take it is obvious that the proffered help did not come through to the colonists to the full extent that it had been promised, and therefore the colony failed.

TWELVE CORNERS AND BENTON HARBOR

The next attempt to colonize in the state of Michigan did not occur until 1890. This settlement was made in a more favorable location than Carp Lake which was in the northernmost part of the state. In 1890 Isaac Berliner was assisted by the Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society of Chicago to settle at Twelve Corners, near Benton Harbor, in Berrien county.

This land was to be used for a general type of farming originally, and it was not until a while after the area had been settled that its suitability for fruit growing was discovered. The area is one of great diversity in physical character with lands ranging from high to low in natural productivity. Since the soil is not uniform throughout the area the land must be adjusted to its individual uses through experimentation on the part of the farmer. Much land of poorer quality has been left in forest land. The land is rolling and the

1. Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. I, p. 259

thermal conditions are favorable for fruit growing because of the leeward lake shore position of the area.^{1.}

The original settler of the land around Twelve Corners and Benton Harbor, Isaac Berliner, was soon followed by other Jewish families who wished to farm in the area. At first all of them had a very hard time on the land. The soil was worn out and eroded, and much brush had to be cleared from the land. The isolation of the district made the marketing of produce difficult and expensive. But this group of colonists, and a nearby group at Benton Harbor, struggled on through the difficult nineties.^{2.}

When 1900 finally came and the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society was formed colonists in the region began to have more success. They had commenced fruit growing shortly before this year and were in a position to expand and also to solidify their position. They were given aid by the Society which also sent some of the people in whom it was interested to farm in this area along with the colonists already there. It may be noted that there never was any effort to plant an agricultural colony as such in this area. Individual settlers were simply turned loose on the land, which was cheap. They were given a certain amount of support and if they succeeded it was fine, if not, well, the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society already had developed a philosophi-

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

2. American Jewish Yearbook, 5673, pp. 92-93.

cal attitude about failures in agriculture after the experiences in New Jersey of its mother organization, the Baron de Hirsch Fund.^{1.}

By 1901 there was considerable activity among the Jews of this area who were engaged in fruit growing. As we have mentioned the district was suited for fruit because of its geographical position. Perhaps it should be explained that fruit trees can grow in a sandy soil if they can be assured of a long frost-free growing season. Although the climate in Michigan is not very warm, the peculiar position of Twelve Corners and Benton Harbor on the leeward side of the lake protected them from the blasts of cold air that were so damaging to fruit crops in other sections of the state. Then too, the hills and valleys of the area proved of distinct advantage. When night fell the valleys served as pockets for warmer air and trapped it so that it stayed there during the cool nights and kept the trees warm when otherwise they might have frozen. These characteristics were soon discovered and taken advantage of by the Jewish farmers.

Their crops consisted of the following fruit: Pears, peaches, apples, plums, grapes, and garden vegetables to a small degree. Despite losses that were rather heavy during some seasons the diversification of the fruit crop enabled them to keep their heads above water at all times with the aid of a little timely assistance from the Jewish Agricultural and

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1901, p. 14.

Industrial Aid Society. The Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society of Chicago also helped these farmers in their early development on the soil.^{1.}

By 1906 the fruit farms began to branch out in Michigan. More and more Jewish farmers became interested in this form of agriculture for they saw in it a means of assuring themselves a livelihood on the soil. They also saw that it was not the hard type of farming that required constant plowing and cultivation. Perhaps some of them did not fully realize the pruning, grafting, and constant war against insects that was necessary for the preservation of a good fruit farm. At any rate, if they did not know that at first, they soon found it out for the majority of Jewish farmers who went onto farms in Michigan to grow fruit were successful enough to keep their land and to make a fair living on it.²

Kalamazoo

In 1906 a Jewish farmer purchased one of the largest farms in the state ever bought by a Jew when he took over a farm of 178 acres in Kalamazoo. At the time that the land was purchased all of it with the exception of ten acres was under cultivation. The land was being used ideally since the farming practices were highly diversified. There was a five acre orchard, thirty acres of timothy hay that could be sold for

1. J.A.A.S. Report, 1901, p. 14; see also J.A.A.S. Report, 1903, pp. 4-6.

2. Ibid.

used as feed for cattle, and a twenty acre pasture. This was a fine arrangement for the farmer was given all the opportunity he needed to make crops pay. If the fruit failed he still had his cattle and vegetables. The rest of the farms in this county were fruit farms, and only the one Jewish farmer was actively engaged in any other branch of agriculture.^{1.}

In 1906 the fruit farms in Kalamazoo county were doing very well. By that date markets had begun to open up and in addition to this transportation had improved so that the farmers were able to get their crops to market with a minimum of expense and time consumption. By 1911 another industry was developing in Michigan to help the farmers. This was the summer resort business. It is significant that the Jews did not go into the boarding business in this state as they did in New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. The reason for this fact is that there were hardly any Jewish boarders coming to the area, since it was so far away from the centers of Jewish population and involved a good deal of expense in travel to be reached. Perhaps it is as well that the Jews did not go into the boarding business here. There had been many failures because of the dependence on summer boarding and the neglecting of planting crops in the New England States. It is better for a people to concentrate their attention on one occupation or another so by ignoring the possibilities in establishing summer resorts the Jews were able to build up fine farms with flourishing orchards for themselves.

1. J.A.A.S. Report, 1906, p. 19.

The effect of the summer resorts on the business of the Jewish farmers was very favorable. They were supplied with a market for the fruit that they were growing, a market that became larger every summer and which was a strictly cash business. By 1911 the Jewish farmers in the counties of Berrien, Kalamazoo, Washtenaw and Van Buren had developed satisfactory farms from which they were earning comfortable livings. Their truck gardening was also helpful though much more risky than the orchards. Vegetables are more easily damaged by insects, frosts, and too much or too little rain than are trees. For this reason few of the farmers in southwest Michigan did much in the way of truck or market gardening.^{1.}

In addition to the fruit growing and vegetable gardening of some of the Jewish farmers there was also a group of farmers engaged in dairying and poultry raising which industries were met with excellent markets by the summer resorts.^{2.} In 1913 there were about fifty Jewish families in the Benton Harbor area engaged in agriculture with probably as many more scattered throughout other parts of the state.^{3.}

Thus did the fruit farms of southwest Michigan prosper from the time of their establishment in the nineties. Their development, slow at first, gradually came up to a fine point of success.

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1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1911, p. 35; see also J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1912, p. 38.
 2. American Jewish Yearbook, 5673, pp. 92-93.
 3. Ibid.

PALESTINE

An interesting colony was planted high on the north-eastern side of Michigan in 1891. The Palestine agricultural colony of Jewish farmers was located near Bad Axe, Huron county, Michigan. This was a rather unfortunate selection of land as we shall see from the history of this colony. The contour of the land was rolling, sometimes very strongly so. The soil was moderately productive being composed of brown loams and sandy loams. Perhaps the outstanding feature of the area were the many lakes, small ponds, peat bogs, and swamps that abounded in the district to the discomfort of the Jewish farmer.^{1.}

Palestine colony was located in the center of the so-called "Thumb District" of Michigan. It was 125 miles north of Detroit, 50 miles east of Bay City. Until 1894 the district about Bad Axe contained vast stretches of heavily timbered land which was destroyed by forest fires in the fall of that year. By 1891 the land was covered again with a growth of timber composed of birch and poplars. In addition to these trees the old stumps of many of the trees that had been destroyed in the forest fire littered the ground. The timber was of no use for anything except fuel.^{2.}

The settlement at Palestine, which was four miles from Bad Axe, was composed almost exclusively of Russian immigrants

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

2. American Jewish Historical Society Publications, Vol. 29, pp. 61-74. We shall refer to this reference hereafter by the initials A.J.H.S.

who had been living in Bay City. The exception was a German Jew who joined the colony from his previous home in Detroit. All of the prospective farmers had been in the country for less than four years with the exception of one man who had been in the United States for eleven years. With no exception they had all been peddlers before they decided to come onto the land and try their hand at farming.^{1.}

During the early nineties there was a period of depression throughout the entire United States. As these Russian peddlers walked about from village to village in Michigan they came into contact with many farmers. They were able to observe at first hand the type of life that the Gentile was living on the soil and it appealed to them. Their life was an uncomfortable one. They had to walk for weeks on end carrying their heavy packs and barely managing to eke out an existence for themselves and their families. Naturally as they compared their lot to that of the farmers they saw a chance for improvement and a surcease from the wearying travel with the heavy packs.^{2.}

This occurred particularly to Hyman Lewenberg who had been in the country for eleven years. In addition to his experiences in traveling throughout the country he had read of the numerous attempts at colonization that had been made by Jews during the decade just past and his mind fixed itself on Bad Axe as the site for a future agricultural colony. While

1. A.J.H.S. Vol. 29, pp. 61-74.

2. Ibid.

Lewenberg had peddled around Bad Axe he had become acquainted with Langdon Hubbard and his son, Frank W. Hubbard. These men were bankers and "land barons" owning vast stretches of property in Huron and adjoining counties. Lewenberg went to these two men, father and son, with his scheme for a settlement of Jews on the land. They thought the idea was a fine one and offered to sell land on very easy terms if Lewenberg could get together a fair number of Jews who would be interested in the establishment of such a colony. Negotiations went on and resulted in the purchase of twelve contiguous parcels of land by Lewenberg and some others whom he had interested in the project. The farms ranged in size from twenty to sixty acres and were reasonably priced. The sixty acre parcels of land were sold for \$11.00 an acre while the smaller parcels were sold at \$12.00. The easy part of the arrangement was that less than \$200.00 was required for the initial payment.^{1.}

The first thing that the group of settlers whom Lewenberg had gathered together did was to build some shacks and to clear some small patches of land for fall plowing with the intention of planting in the spring. The shacks were made out of the poplar saplings and the large logs that lay everywhere as remnants of the forest fires. While the work of clearing land and preparing shelters was going on the farmers lived in the open in tents, such as they were. When cold weather set in some of the men were forced to take their families back

1. A.J.H.S. Vol. 29, pp. 61-74.

to Bay City for the women and children could not stand the privations that were suffered on the land at this time. Upon their return to the city for the winter they were forced to resume peddling to keep things going until they could return to the land in the spring. The men and women who were able to stay on the land during the first winter spent their time clearing land and erecting more shacks for their fellow colonists to live in when they came back again in the spring. Those who remained in the colony were almost destitute and had to depend upon what their fellow colonists could send them from the city from their earnings in peddling. Nevertheless, despite the privations and sufferings, from the cold and lack of food and proper shelter, the settlers stayed on the land.^{1.}

Their struggles to keep going during the first winter attracted the attention of a Jewish peddler who brought the story of their courage to Martin Butzel, a prominent Detroit merchant, well-known for his philanthropy. Before the peddler, whose name we do not know, told Butzel about the plight of the colonists he had tried to take care of some of their needs himself. But he soon realized that they needed more than he could possibly give to them and so he went to the philanthropist with the story of their hardships.^{2.}

An important phase in the development of the colony of Palestine now began. Emanuel Woodie, a close friend of

1. A.J.H.S. Vol. 22, pp. 61-74.
2. Ibid.

Martin Butzel, was an experienced farmer of some twenty-five years on the soil. Butzel turned to Woodie as the man ideally suited to make a thorough investigation of affairs at Palestine and to report back to him.¹

Woodie arrived in the colony in March, 1892. At that time some sixteen farms had been taken up by the settlers and the population of the colony was 57. It was composed of 16 men, seven women, 23 boys, and eight girls. The entire settlement lived in ten shacks which they had built themselves out of the wood which they found lying around. Naturally the shacks were nothing but flimsy shelters. The colonists had not been able to clear more than an acre or two of ground on each farm. They had livestock consisting of seven horses and two cows.²

Woodie returned to Detroit immediately after he had made his brief survey of the colony's status and upon his return a meeting was called of the Beth El Relief Society. The terrible plight of the settlers was clearly brought out and the attention of the members of the society turned to their needs at once. A supply of clothing and groceries were sent to Bad Axe and arrangements were made to procure fodder for the cattle which were in very bad physical condition after the rigorous winter when neither men nor cattle got enough to eat. At this time a fund of \$1,200 was raised and was given to Woodie to use as he saw fit. Woodie returned to the colony in

1. A.J.H.S. Vol. 29, pp. 61-74.

2. Ibid.

in May, two months after his first visit. The first thing that he did was to supply every farmer with a cow. He also bought three plows, three drags, a yoke of oxen, and other equipment. He came provided with oats, peas, and potatoes for planting. Groceries and provisions were given to each family again at this time in addition to that which had been sent out following the meeting in March.^{1.}

Woodie remained in the colony for the entire spring and summer. His presence was required there for there was no one of the colonists who was properly qualified to till the soil despite their assurances that they would be able to do so. Woodie stayed with them and showed them the proper methods of agriculture, teaching them how to cultivate their land, and how to harvest the first crops that they would have grown by the fall. Woodie kept the men constantly at work clearing more land, for the amount of land available for planting crops was not sufficient when he arrived at the colony. He also saw to it that a temporary saw-mill was erected which could be used to saw the burned logs up into rough sidings to be used for the crude dwellings built by the colonists. He acted also as the nominal leader of the community and as the arbiter for the many disputes among the colonists.^{2.}

Since there were no accommodations for Woodie at the colony he was forced to stay at Bad Axe and had to walk the four miles back and forth from the colony to his room each day.^{3.}

1. A.J.H.S. Vol. 29, pp. 61-74.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

At the same time that Martin Butzel had appealed to his own society for relief for the colonists at Palestine he had asked the Baron De Mirsch Fund for aid also. In answer to his plea the Fund sent \$3,000 for the use of the colonists. By the time that this money arrived a year had passed and all was prepared for the coming season. However, no income had been derived from the work that was done on the land at this period so that easier arrangements had to be made for the re-payment of the money owed to ^{the} Hubbards' Bank. Butzel set the financial affairs of the colony in good order to the benefit of the settlers whom he admired. In his report to the Baron de Mirsch Fund he wrote of them:

"These people, both men and women...through industry early and late, in all kinds of weather seem to have accomplished all that could be expected in such a short time and thus given proof of their sincere intention and earnestness to become farmers in fact. Notwithstanding their present poverty, scanty food, and poor habitation, which would discourage others, these families seem to make sacrifices of all personal comforts and stick to farming."¹

Durring the Succoth holidays of 1892 an exhibition of some of the products of the colony was made. The display was set up to reawaken interest in the colony and it accomplished just that. The colonists were encouraged by the new interest in their welfare and also by the reduction that had been made in their debts to the Hubbards. They set about clearing more land with new vigor. They cut down saplings that had inhibited progress on the soil. They labored diligently

at the difficult work of pulling stumps, digging ditches, and draining swampy portions of the land. They plowed up more land and prepared it for sowing of winter wheat. By this time the colony had received a good deal of publicity and many Jewish farm enthusiasts began to congregate about the settlement. They were all supposed to be eager to settle on the land but when they saw the actual conditions under which the farmers were living and heard some of the stories told about the difficulties encountered by the farmers during their early stay on the soil they changed their minds. In one day 33 prospective farmers came to look over the colony, leaving \$125.00 in deposits. Only one of the group came back after the visit to settle as a farmer.^{1.}

During the winter of 1892-1893 Butzel kept in close touch with the farmers and gave constant encouragement to those who were hardy and courageous enough to stay on the land throughout the winter. In December, a report was made on the colony by a Jewish resident of Bad Axe who stated that the colonists "...were working industriously preparing the land for a large crop that year."^{2.}

During the year the colonists planted fifty acres with potatoes and hoped that the income derived from the sale of them would take them out of debt. But since the harvest was a long way off they needed supplies and asked Butzel for help. He responded by sending them a supply of kosher meat and also

1. A.J.M.S. Vol 29, pp. 61-74.

2. Ibid.

gave one of his agents authority to buy flour and potatoes for them as needed. During the same winter he sent another plea to the Baron de Hirsch Fund asking for additional money. This time he received \$1,000 from the Fund. The amount was immediately loaned out to ten of the colonists in amounts ranging from \$60 to \$250.^{1.}

During this entire period Woodie had remained as superintendent of the colony. Under his supervision the colonists worked diligently and sowed, cultivated, harvested, and cleared land besides putting up buildings. The colonists used their livestock continuously, proving the excellence of the investment made by Woodie.^{2.}

In 1893 the colony numbered sixteen families. Within a year's time three new farmers and their families had come to the settlement from Saginaw, while some of the older settlers were forced to drop out. 1893 and 1894 were the best years that the colony had and marked the height of the settlers' success. They did more in this period than they were able to do in any other. They worked extremely hard under the direction of Woodie and accomplished a great deal in preparation for what they thought was to be a successful crop. But despite all their preparations the potato crop which they had counted so much upon failed in 1893 and the settlers were not able to meet their interest on the land contracts in the fall of the year when they fell due.^{3.}

1. A.J.H.S. Vol 29, pp. 61-74.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

They were helped out of this difficulty by Lutzel and in the following year they were able to do much better and made enough to pay for their own maintenance in addition to making partial payments on their interest for the first time.^{1.}

During the entire time that the colonists had been on the land there was a true religious spirit in the colony. Religious services were held on Saturday and no work was done on that day. At first the services were held in one of the shacks but as soon as they were able the colonists built a synagogue, however small. A schochet came out to the colony, from Saginaw whenever he was needed which was not very often because the colonists were not able to afford much meat. During the summer and autumn of 1892 Rev. Charles Goodwin of Bay City was rabbi, cantor, and teacher in the colony for which he accepted no pay. During the time that he officiated in the settlement a modest Hebrew school was erected by the colonists.^{2.}

The difficult and really critical period for the settlement began in the autumn of 1895. The years that followed were continual struggles to hold onto the land upon which so much suffering had already been experienced. In 1895 the colonists were not able to make their interest payments and defaulted on their contracts. They were in immediate danger of eviction by the hands of the Hubbard Company. The colonists appealed to Butzel to come to their aid. He at once wrote the following letter to the Hubbards:

1. A.J.H.S. Vol. 29, pp. 61-74.

2. Ibid.

"You must have patience with these poor farmers be they Jews or Christians....You would not be so cruel as to set families with small children out of doors. Do not do what the law allows you to do but be merciful to your fellow man....I cannot believe that you have considered the consequences and fully comprehended your order for the removal of those tenants. Just think of the anguish, heartaches sufferings, and disappointments of women and children to be driven from that which they have toiled for for four years with earnestness praiseworthy to build up a home for future good citizens;----just now when favorable conditions seem to appear, would you insist that they be driven from houses and home just for the reason that each one of the family heads owes less than \$100 for interest past due?

"I appeal to your own judgment and sense of justice, saying nothing of charity or humanity. Do grant them an extension that they may try this season once more. I hope and trust that you will not only grant this request but give them aid, comfort, and advice. This would give all parties peace of mind, satisfy the teachings of the Saviour and the God of Israel alike. 'The prayers of the oppressed have never been unanswered.'" 1.

Despite this plea from Butzel the Hubbards persisted in their demands on the colonists. The settlers in addition to being long behind on their interest and principal payments also owed the company about \$1,300 for merchandise for which they had given joint notes. The Hubbards were now trying to get more security for the money that they had advanced. Butzel told the colonists not to give any chattel mortgages on any pieces of private property. When the company heard about this advice from Butzel to the colonists they determined to end the trouble right there. Therefore they sent an agent to the colony to serve summonses on the entire group of colonists.²

1. A.J.H.S. Vol. 29, pp. 61-74.

2. Ibid.

The colony sent a committee to Butzel asking for advice and counsel. Butzel acted promptly by sending a letter to the Hubbards reminding them that movable property was exempt from their claims by law. He told them further that he was a trustee of the colony and had a prior claim to the chattels of the settlement since the organizations which he represented had spent over \$6,000 on the colony none of which they expected to get back. He also pointed out that the colonists had improved the real estate by clearing 165 acres of land that had been tangled brush before they arrived on it and had erected buildings, which labor should have been more than ample to serve as security for the company. He continued:

"I protest against any such unlawful proceedings on your part or on the part of your agent to take away property of whatever nature which is exempt by the law of the state....I shall be compelled to hold you strictly accountable and responsible for all damages thus inflicted."1.

This firmness on the part of Butzel served its purpose. The land contracts were again redrawn and the period of payment was extended to 1906. In the meanwhile the colonists were to make payments of \$50 a year to serve as the necessary payments on interest and principal until the final date of complete settlement. The new contracts were made out to the individual purchasers of the land from the company so that one family's default would not result in the eviction of the entire settlement. It was further agreed that if the payments were not met this time the colonist or colonists in question would

1. A.J.H.S. Vol.29., pp. 61-74.

leave their land and turn it over to the company without the necessity of the Hubbards having to resort to eviction proceedings.^{1.}

For a time things went along smoothly enough and it seemed as though the group of settlers might have a chance to pull through. But the 1897 crop failed and once again the community was in distress. The end seemed to be in sight and as a last hope a petition was sent to the Baron de Hirsch Fund for additional aid. In the letter to the Fund the colonists suggested that it might be a good idea for the organization to buy the land from the Hubbards and thus obviate all the trouble that the colonists were having with the bankers. An agent of the fund was sent to look over the settlement and to make a report of things as he found them there. He made the following report at the home offices of the Fund:

"...Some of them had to sleep on the bare ground in weather and storm with the animals of the field as their companions, but they braved it all with the ultimate expectation of possessing what they then began to toil for. It should not be difficult to convince you how almost insurmountable were the obstacles that they had to contend with and it is surprising that they did not lose heart. That they were industrious beyond measure none can gainsay as their own shoulders served as animals which they had not the means to purchase, and their Christian neighbors testify to their pluck, energy, and determination."^{2.}

The trustees of the Fund considered the problem carefully. They were convinced that any further contributions to the colony would only result in prolonging the agony. Therefore

1. A.J.H.S. Vol. 29, pp. 61-74.

2. Ibid.

they stated that they could not see their way clear to purchasing the land from the Hubbards and taking over the responsibility from that point on. An attempt was made to lighten the contracts that had been made in 1896 in order that the land would be assured to the colonists' possession in the future. But the Hubbard Co. would not do anything further in lightening the contracts since they felt that they had already taken sufficient of the problem to themselves. The only thing that could now be done was to keep going as long as possible and to hope that the crop situation might pick up sufficiently to allow the colonists to manage themselves at least, if not the payments on their mortgages.^{1.}

As a measure of protection to the colonists quitclaim deeds were taken in the name of Henry Rice "conveying the purchasers' rights under their contracts".^{2.} Once again payments on interest fell due and could not be met. Taxes had piled up on the land in the meantime. Money was also owed to the state for drainage services. Once again the Hubbard Co. began ouster proceedings against the settlers. Butzel appealed again to the Baron de Mirsch Fund and softened them to the extent that they sent him \$1,000. This was to be used by him to avert the eviction with which the Hubbards were again threatening the colonists.^{3.}

On Monday, January 17, Butzel received a telegram from the Hubbards stating that eviction proceedings would be

1. A.J.H.S. Vol. 29, pp. 61-74.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

served no later than Wednesday, the nineteenth. The amount of money that was due to the company at this time was \$1,552.17. By Wednesday Butzel was in the colony with \$1,000, part of which he wanted to use for other purposes than to pay off the Hubbards. Through his persuasion the company agent agreed to accept \$825 as full payment of the money due them at that time. The balance of the money was used for medical attention for one of the colonists, for payments of long due doctors bills, and for the purchase of seed. Butzel now thought that the colonists would be left alone for a while so far as the Hubbards were concerned. Such was not the case. Interest and taxes had been paid until October, 1898, and Butzel figured that the Hubbards would not want anything from the colonists until 1899. But since a few of the settlers could not pay the small principal payments the Hubbards threatened eviction all over again early in 1899. Once again Butzel was able to ward off^{1.} disaster. The end was now near, however.

"The disintegration of the colony began in the fall of 1899 when three colonists abandoned their farms. In 1900 only eight families remained in the colony and these rapidly disappeared. Except three parcels all of the land finally reverted to the Hubbard Co. and was later sold to German immigrants. The odds were too great---a small band of peddlers, without agricultural experience, insufficient capital, swampy, cut over, burnt out, and infertile lands, under mill-stonelike contracts with a severe financial panic before they oriented

1. A.J.H.S. Vol. 29, pp. 61-74.

themselves (1893) and most of all the constant spectre of the sheriff and eviction, they were doomed to failure."^{1.}

This was the last attempt at group colonization in Michigan. The individual farmers with who we have dealt remained in this state and were successful in their farming efforts.

WISCONSIN

Turning from Michigan we shall now consider the history of the American Jew in agriculture in the state of Wisconsin. The first record of Jewish farmers in this state deals with a few who were located in Barron county, at Turtle Lake and at Barron.

BARRON COUNTY TURTLE LAKE AND BARRON

The soil in this area is fairly productive although stony in certain areas. It is smooth and rolling with a considerable part forested or cut over. The soils are laamy and the climate is warm in this area.^{2.}

In 1894 the Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society of Chicago located some of the farmers in whom it was interested at Turtle Lake and at Barron. The first few years on the soil were very difficult for these people for they did not have a great deal of fertility in land with which to work.

1. A.J.H.S. Vol. 29, pp. 61-74.

2. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

The soil was not fertile and anything they managed to get out of it was done after only much struggle, and hard labor. After four years of work they were able to live in homes of fair comfort erected by themselves. During the summer of 1898 when all was going along smoothly for them and a good crop lay in the field all of their belongings were swept away by a forest fire which came down upon them on October 10, 1898. The whole township was laid waste, all of the farmers suffering equally. The four Jewish farmers of the small settlement lost all they had. Their farm implements, their buildings, their furniture, wearing apparel, crops, and part of their livestock. Since the fall was already upon them there was little they could do but to go into the city, leaving their farms. They were given free transportation to the city by the State Relief Association which also cared for them when they arrived in Barron, the^{1.} county seat, from their farms at Turtle Lake.

When the Jewish farmers heard that the Jewish Agriculturalists' Aid Society would do what they could to help them re-establish their farms in the spring they returned to their land and commenced rebuilding in the spring. It took more money to resettle the farmers during this period than it did to place them on the land in the first place. When the Jewish Agriculturalists' Aid Society saw that they were going to need further aid in order to put the farmers back where they had been, the Society made an appeal for donations and wearing apparel and household goods were received. The Society was also answered

1. J.A.A.S. Report, Chicago, 1900, p. 12.

in its plea with \$877.25 in cash. In all \$1,140.73 was spent^{1.} in reestablishing the Jewish fire sufferers on their farms.

The Jewish farmers in this area sowed mainly grain crops. Winter rye and wheat were both cultivated extensively as were oats and corn also. The farms in this district may scarcely be regarded as colonies since there were never many farmers in the neighborhood.

WOOD COUNTY

NEKOOSA

The Jewish farmers that did settle in Wisconsin were isolated and scattered. This is illustrated by the record we have of another farmer in an entirely different part of the state, Wood county. This was Michael Pichersky, who settled in Nekoosa. He grew rye mainly which he used to feed hogs from^{2.} which he made his livelihood.

ARPIN

In the same county which was the locale for the Nekoosa farm was a settlement of Jewish farmers. The name of the farm settlement was Arpin, taking the name of a nearby village. Wood county had the same general soil characteristics as Barron county which we have discussed. The land is productive to a fair degree and is gently rolling with a silty soil^{3.} which is in many places poorly drained.

1. J.A.A.S. Report, 1900, pp. 12-13.

2. J.A.A.S. Report, 1901, p. 13.

3. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

The village of Arpin was a former lumber and saw-mill town in Wood county, 150 miles northwest of Milwaukee and fifteen miles northwest of Grand Rapids. Lumbering stopped in the district about 1903, and the population of the small village dropped to almost nothing. The pine timber which was the incentive for the lumberjacks was all taken out before the Jews came into the village. But much hard wood remained which was usable by the Jewish farmers not only for their home use but also to cut up and sell as cord wood. The whole section was heavily wooded when the Jewish settlers came in, and stumps were all around interfering with the farming until they were taken out which was a laborious process. The soil was adaptable to grass and clover and also fitted for small grains and corn but not to a very great degree. The soil was too heavy for potatoes and truck gardening was not good for there was no market for vegetables. The native farmers in the district were largely engaged in dairying and had fine herds of cattle. In addition to their dairying activities they also raised stock for sale. The grasses were nutritious and the cattle did very well on the land. One of the main reasons for the popularity of dairying was the relative ease of preparing pasture land after stumps which had been left in the ground by the lumberjacks were removed. Grass could be grown just as soon as brush was cleared away and the land burned over. These pastures could then be used for cattle grazing purposes with great success. It was also possible for the farmers to cut the grass with their mowing machines when they desired to take ad-

vantage of the high prices for the commodity due to a shortage in one part of the state or another. The cutting of grass was possible only after the small stumps were taken out of the ground, for otherwise the mowing machines would not have been able to pass over the land. The general method of removing the smaller stumps was to allow them to rot away. As for the large stumps, it was impossible to take them out completely with the use of stump-pulling machines. Fire and dynamite were the only other alternatives. Fire was slow and time-consuming in addition to being very trying to a man's patience. To remove the stumps through the use of dynamite was an expensive process which few farmers could afford.^{1.}

"The labor that must be put in on an acre of raw land before it is freed from stumps is almost incredible. Clearing land in this region is a task for the strongest and most patient men. Nevertheless it is just such land as this throughout northern Wisconsin that hundreds of Germans, Scandinavians, Poles and Swiss have been buying, clearing, and making a good living on since the early nineties."^{2.}

Accounts differ as to the method of forming the settlement. According to the report of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society that organization lent \$10,000 to the Milwaukee Agricultural Society with which to purchase land. The Society, which was under the presidency of A.W. Rich, purchased 280 acres of land and hired a superintendent to guide the colony. The \$10,000 was supposed to be used for the purchase and improvement of land. According to the Jewish Ag-

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 145-148.

2. Ibid.

ricultural and Industrial Aid Society the Milwaukee Agricultural Society believed that a "...compact colony can be better handled by them than scattered farmers".^{1.} To this the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society deferred despite its conviction that this was not the best plan. The following comment was made by the New York Society: "In this colony the land is fertile enough to enable the settlers to profit immediately by the advice of a competent superintendent, the responsible trustees residing only a short distance away from the colony."^{2.}

The report of the Milwaukee Society and other sources differ as to the number of acres purchased. The figure is placed at 720 by the United States Immigration Commission and by the Milwaukee Society. The Milwaukee Society made no mention of the fact that they were loaned \$10,000 by the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society of New York.^{3.}

The colony was founded in December, 1904. The settlers were Russian and Roumanian Jews who were refugees. These refugees had come to Milwaukee originally from New York through the help of the Removal Office in that city. That organization which was a part of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, had as its purpose the removal of Jews from the crowded sea-board cities to locations where there were comparatively few Jewish refugees.^{4.}

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1904, pp. 13-14.

2. Ibid.

3. American Hebrew, November 24, 1905.

4. Ibid.

The colony of Jews was placed on 720 acres of wild land just north of Arpin. It was temporarily housed during the winter of 1904 in the old houses that had been abandoned when the Arpin Lumber Company closed its mills in the village. At the time of purchase the entire tract of land was covered with second growth timber consisting of maple and birch for the most part. The settlement was divided into forty acre farms which were allotted to the refugees as they came into the colony. The refugees were to pay the original cost of the land back to the Milwaukee Agricultural Society within ten years. The loan was to bear 4% interest from the second year, no interest was to be charged for their first year on the land. According to the plan of the Milwaukee Society each family was to receive \$5.00 a week until it became self-supporting. This money was to be regarded by the settlers as a loan.^{1.}

In addition to the money which the Society gave the colonists each week as a dole, more or less, they also owned stock and farm equipment which was used jointly by them. This consisted of six horses, six milch cows, several farm wagons, two light wagons, and all the necessary farm implements except mowers and reapers which were not needed until there was a crop to be harvested.^{2.}

The Society at first intended that the colony should consist of eighteen families who should be settled on forty

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1. American Hebrew, November 24, 1905.
 2. Ibid.

acre plots of land. The money for the original purchase of land, contrary to reports of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society was received from the philanthropic president of the Milwaukee Society who paid for the land in addition to paying for the original primary improvement on the land. Houses were constructed, one on each forty acre plot of land. They were built of good lumber which had been sold at a discount to the Milwaukee Society by the Upham Manufacturing Company located at Marshfield, six miles away from Arpin. The houses were built on stone foundation and were 18 by 24 feet. There was a summer kitchen in the rear and three rooms on the first floor, with another two or three on the second. In addition to the houses a small shed was built on each tract of land besides a roofed barn. Cowstables were also built near each house. The houses were built cheaply but of good lumber and had sturdy foundations. They compared well with the houses used by pioneers in other sections of the country and cost between \$400 and \$500 each. Some of the houses were put up in August, 1904, while others were vacated by lumbermen so that there were ample accommodations for housing the immigrants before the first contingent of them had arrived at the settlement.^{1.}

In November, 1904, the first families arrived. There were six or eight families who came at that time comprising some 45 people.^{2.} In 1905 the settlement had increased to ten

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 145-148.

2. Ibid.

refugee families with a total of 34 children.^{1.} Later the settlement increased to fourteen families most of whom came from Milwaukee.^{2.} At this time the settlement could be reached easily by three lines of railroads---the Milwaukee; Northwestern; and the Wisconsin Central.^{3.}

The settlement was proceeding along a ceryain plan which had been laid down by the president of the Milwaukee Society, Mr. Rich. The essentials of the plan follow:

"1. Men were to be selected with a view to physical strength and eagerness toward the undertaking.

"2. Land must be fertile and within two or three miles of a prominent railroad.

"3. Not less than ten or more than twenty families should form a settlement.

"4. A practical woodsman and farmer should be in charge of the men to teach, guide, and control them, and all the necessary implements provided for the work.

"5. An inventory should be taken at the end of each year of the proceeds obtained from the labor of each, each man being credited with that amount as against the amount paid to him for the first aid, the rest to go to his credit.

"6. When one-half of the principal and interest of the original loan shall have been paid, the settler shall receive a warrantee deed, subject to a mortgage for the balance due on his forty acres and improvements.

"7. The association may, with the consent of each settler, purchase at his own expense a life insurance policy on the settler in favor of the association for its, and the family's secur-

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1. American Hebrew, November 24, 1905.
 2. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 145-148.
 3. American Hebrew, loc. cit.

in case of the death of the head of the household," 1.

"The estimated cost of providing the settlers with a farm under these conditions have been figured as follows:

"Forty acres of land at \$20 an acre	\$800
Frame house and barn	350
Cow and chickens	40
Tools necessary, first	50
One horse, wagon, etc.	150
Provisions for six months	<u>150</u>

Total, original investment \$1,540" 2.

One item of extreme importance concerning the general character of the colonists was brought out in the report of the United States Immigration Commission. That follows:

"Only one seems to have had any experience previously with farm life or agricultural methods, and that across the ocean". 3.

The effects of this inexperience and romanticizing of their ability to succeed on the land if only given a chance to do so will be seen in the later development of the colony's history.

The settlers came onto the land in the fall of the year with very little money. It was necessary for the sponsoring society to take care of them until their livelihood would be obtainable from the land itself. Therefore the Society advanced money to them, as we have already mentioned.

1. American Hebrew, November 24, 1905.

2. Ibid.

3. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 145-148.

"This seems to have been a mistake, for although the allowances were called 'wages' there was no material service that could be rendered to the Society in return therefore, and the amount was insufficient in itself to support a family in a poor way. Moreover with sustenance assured few of the settlers were willing to do any very hard work, relying solely on the advances made by the Society."¹.

Nearby the colony a good district school offered the children an opportunity to learn English and to become acquainted with the customs of their Gentile neighbors. The Milwaukee Agricultural association was also interested in providing instruction for their farmers in clearing lands and in raising crops. To this end the Society employed as a superintendent a young man who was supposed to have had experience along the lines of practical farming.².

This young man sincerely wanted to do a good job of supervising the colony. Therefore he tried to have the entire group work as a unit to cut up cord wood for sale. There was plenty of wood around and all that the farmers had to do to earn a little money was to set to work and cut it up. There was a ready market for the wood if they were not able to use it themselves. In addition to this work the superintendent also set the men to work clearing a small patch of ground on the fifty acre tract belonging to each one of them. This work did not proceed so well and he said concerning the men that: "... they were ignorant of even the simplest operations. No one could handle or sharpen an axe or a saw, or milk a cow, care

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 145-148.

2. Ibid.

for stock, or conduct any sort of farming operations. Ask any one to dig a post hole and he would as likely dig a well."^{1.}

From these facts we may gather that the plan of having the men work together did not work out so well since constant supervision was necessary. Therefore a complete instruction system had to be worked out whereby the men could learn about elementary farming operations before attempting to do them without previous experience.^{2.}

In addition to the men's inexperience in doing the work required of them there was also a great deal of loafing done when the superintendent was not on the spot. The report of the superintendent concerning this matter stated: "As long as I remained in sight work went on, but whenever my back was turned soldiering began."^{3.}

There was a great deal of jealousy among the settlers concerning the land that was to be taken up by each family. They all wanted plots of land to which they had taken a particular liking, believing some of the land to be better than other portions of it. Thus there came to a trouble over the division and distribution of the land. Finally, in order to obviate any continuation of the complaining and petty arguing that was going on each family was assigned to a specific lot and told that the land was theirs and that none other would be given to them in exchange for it. This land consisted of a forty acre plot of land with the house that had been built upon

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 145-148.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

it and all the improvements which had been put in. The land was worth about \$1,000, or \$25.00 an acre.^{1.}

Very few of the colonists had any money with which to pay for the land given to them on credit by the Milwaukee Agricultural Society. Very easy terms were made for the payment of the money due the Society. No payments of principal at all were scheduled for the first two years of settlement. After that time the principal was to be repaid by small payments with interest at 6%. Through this plan the settlers would have full title to the land inside of thirteen years, some of them in ten years. The stock which was furnished to the colonists was also given to them on these same easy terms of repayment. Everything was done to make the settlement as simple as possible for people who had never been on the land before. Consideration to the extreme was shown to these people who took everything that was done for them more or less for granted.^{2.}

During the early months of the settlement nothing was done on the land at all. The houses were set up in the woods among what trees were left. The colonists did fell some of the trees during their first on the land and had severe hardships in doing so for the snow was very deep and they were unaccustomed to that type of work, especially under the inauspicious conditions. One factor which irked these people was their utter loneliness. They were completely isolated during the winter time when the heavy snows made communication with

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 145-148.

2. Ibid.

outsiders almost impossible for the colonists. The lack of a synagogue and communal religious services was also a matter of importance to the settlers. They did not like to live as they were forced to. They had very reluctantly accepted their present way of life as they had never done anything comparable before. Their attitude toward the work which they were obliged to do soon showed their discontent.^{1.}

Within eight months the settlers had cut 200 cords of wood, beginning their labors in the dead of winter and handicapped by unfamiliarity with tools and by the deep snows. They made enough money from the sale of this wood to keep them and their families in food and clothing throughout the winter. They were assisted, of course, by the weekly allowances which were given to them by the Milwaukee Society.^{2.}

During the summer of 1905 the superintendent in charge of the colony instructed them in the planting of garden truck and vegetables which were to be used for their own needs. They managed to grow enough of this to serve not only themselves but also to sell a little on the outside. The sale did not amount to enough to be important, however. They also painted a few potatoes during the summer which came along nicely although the soil was not fitted to their ideal growth. The cream that they skimmed from their milk always met with a ready sale. It had to be shipped to the railroad station which was

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 145-148.
2. American Hebrew, November 24, 1905.

about a mile away and those who had cows and could spare the cream were able to add to their incomes slightly from this source also.

1.
The colonists met with difficulties during their first summer on the land. Very severe rains spoiled some of the crops which had been originally planted and replanting was necessitated in several instances. Despite this trouble they were able to derive a small amount of profit from their crops during their first year on the land. This was only possible because of the heavy subsidization on the part of the Milwaukee Agricultural Association which had defrayed many of the expenses which would otherwise have had to be paid for by the colonists themselves and would have destroyed their profit.

2.
In the fall of 1905 Mr. Rich, the President of the Milwaukee society made the following statement:

"I have, up to the present time, refrained from saying much for publication regarding this settlement. It was, to a great degree, a experiment, and was my own plan. I have been charged, by friends and co-workers with too much enthusiasm. But from what we are now enabled to see here, I am inclined to the belief that my plan is working out even better than my own enthusiastic nature predicted. I have placed no man here without first sending him here and showing him everything, so that no one can say after coming that things were not as they were led to expect. I am fully satisfied with the results."

3.
By the spring of 1906 the settlers were supposed to have ten acres of their forty acre tracts cleared and ready for

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1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 145-148.
 2. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1906, p. 14.
 3. American Hebrew, November 24, 1905.

planting. This would have enabled them to have a money crop by the following fall if all went well with their plans. They were to plant grass, which was to be used for fodder for their stock, corn, potatoes, and other vegetables. It is unfortunate that the settlers entertained thoughts of growing vegetables on the land which they had taken up since it was not well suited for truck or market gardening. Had they cleared all land for pasturage they might have had a better chance of success.^{1.}

In various accounts of this colony we have run across conflicting stories emanating from the Jewish press and the United States Government reports in conflict with actual events that developed later on. In the case of Arpin the American Hebrew flagrantly stated that: "None has expressed the least desire to leave the settlement."^{2.} This is in direct contradiction to the facts of the case. The colonists were very restive during the entire time that they had been on the land. The only thing that had kept them quiet and had made them satisfied to live on their farms was the weekly dole that was given to them by the Milwaukee Agricultural Association. But this could not keep on forever. Apparently the colonists were not aware of this fact or else chose to ignore it. At any rate, when the Society announced that it would shortly have to discontinue the allowances which were being given to the settlers it became^{3.} obvious that the people would not stay on the land much longer.

1. American Hebrew, November 24, 1905.

2. Ibid.

3. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 145-148.

They had tried to prepare land for the summer of 1906. A fair amount was ready for planting when the colonists heard that the Milwaukee organization was not going to be able to take care of them in the way of allowances any more. They objected violently on the grounds that they were not being fairly treated by the society which they felt had placed them in the colony under false pretenses. When the weekly payments stopped several of them packed their belongings and left the settlement not caring for the crops which were rightfully theirs or any of the possible benefits that might come to them from the farms in the future. In addition to the families which deserted the project a few others had been earlier removed because they had proved objectionable. In all cases of desertion the land that had been previously owned by the settlers reverted to the Milwaukee Agricultural Association. The Society refunded to the deserters any money that they had put in the project. Only ^{1.} nine families remained in the settlement in the fall of 1906.

We are able to draw one conclusion from the history of the colony up to 1906, that the colonists were manifestly unsuited for the work which they were supposed to be able to do. The men were inexperienced, as we have shown. They also were completely devoid of the pioneering spirit so necessary for the success of such a project. The Russian immigrants who were placed on the land in this case had been in the country for a while. They had been led to expect that they would be

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1906, p. 12.

taken care of by their fellow Jews and that all they had to do was to relax and let some one else worry about them. This was not the case with the earlier colonists in the United States. To be sure, some of them failed also, but not because of the laziness of the settlers. Arpin's unsuccessful career up to 1906 lay exclusively in the fact that the Russian and Roumanian immigrants who settled in the colony did not care about farming at all and accepted the chance to get on farms only because there was nothing else for them to do. In it they saw a fairly easy means of support for themselves and their families and a chance to get out of the crowded cities where they usually lived in the most unattractive places.

After the first large-scale movement of the settlers away from the colony, the Milwaukee organization hired a young Jewish farmer who was a graduate of the National Farm School at Doylestown, Pa. He replaced the former superintendent of the colony as its new guide and teacher. The former superintendent had not been able to accomplish very much with the settlers. The National Farm School man was unacquainted with the type of country in which he had to work. He was used to more or less ideal conditions in Pennsylvania and was in no way expecting what he found when he came to Arpin. He was therefore unqualified to serve as a leader for the type of colony which was settled in Wisconsin since he did not know the first thing about farming in this state. His inexperience was shown by his order to erect a large barn for the community. It was

put up with the money donated by the Milwaukee Agricultural Association. The barn was well-built and large and commodious. In it there was all the room that could be desired for the storage of corn, hay, and other crops. Unfortunately, it was never used. This effort represented another waste of time and money which might have been avoided with a bit more experience of the supposed leader that assumed responsibility for the guiding of the settlement. The superintendent from the National Farm School was also of the opinion that satisfactory truck gardens could be set up in Arpin just as they had been set up in Pennsylvania. He persuaded the Society to allow him to plant experimental plots of various garden vegetables, endeavoring to put the colony on its feet as a market gardening community. As we have seen from our soil reports of this area any such attempt was doomed to failure for the soil and growing season were neither suitable for the growing of vegetables or for their maturing before the frost would kill them.^{1.}

When the United State Immigration Commission Report was made in 1909 there were only three families left on the land. The Society in Milwaukee expected that there would be more farmers coming to take the place of those who had left the colony. The constant movement of farmers on and off the land in the settlement did it no good, of course. The superintendent, or the instructor in charge of placing the men in active work in agriculture had to start his instruction all

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 145-148.

over again every time a new batch of farmers came to him. When a group of men finally were broken to farm life and were able to do the tasks required about the settlement, they discovered that there was not as much profit to farming as they thought there might be and so left the colony. From that point the continual process would begin all over again. It must be said for some of the farmers that they left the land only for the winter and returned in the spring. They were not able to stay on the land for the entire year for they had no source of income in the winter outside of what little they had^{1.} been able to make on the farm.

There were some farmers among the Russian immigrants who were able to make a success on the land. These men were capable of enduring the hardships of farm life and even were able to make some payments on the money that had been loaned to them by the Society in Milwaukee. They tried to clear the land and kept working on it during the entire time that they remained on it. Every group of farmers that came to the land would start in on the clearing process. Some of them would accomplish a good deal while others would not even be able to make a dent in the brush which so effectively screened the land from new^{2.} agricultural attempts.

The best of all of the farms in the area in 1909 did not have more than twelve acres of well-cleared and broken land. This was all that was accomplished in five years on the soil.

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 145-148.

2. Ibid.

A large quantity of the heavy timber of the area was removed during the period but not a single farmer was able to raise any considerable acreage of any farm crop.^{1.}

The reasons for the failure of the Arpin colony were due to more than one cause. Perhaps the most important factor in the colony's failure lay in the physical conditions faced by the colonists on their arrival in the settlement. Uncleared land, hard to bring into cultivation, was their chief obstacle. In addition to this problem they had to face the great distance from markets as a very important cause of their inability to make a success out of certain crops. The isolation of the colonists and their inevitable loneliness played a great part in their discontent in the life which they had been forced into, they felt. The fact that the settlers were not people who had been engaged in agricultural activities prior to their settlement on the land also was very important as we have brought out previously. Certainly people who have never engaged in such activities before should not have been placed on desolate land requiring all sorts of labor before it was even in a position to be worked.

The payment of money to the colonists while they were in the pioneering period did not help them to develop self-reliance, or any form of independence that is so necessary to a man who must live alone and be self sufficient. "The establishment on improved land of Hebrews with greater capital re-

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 145-148.

sources and a better knowledge of farm life seems to be the only satisfactory method of Hebrew colonization at the present time,"^{1.}

This concludes the history of the Jew in agriculture in Wisconsin where individual successes on the part of scattered farmers perhaps balanced the failure at Arpin.

NORTH DAKOTA

One of the most popular states so far as Jewish colonization attempts were concerned, was North Dakota. Here, following the Russian emigration to the United States in the eighties, many settlements were launched. The Jews were probably actuated in their desire to settle their co-religionists in North Dakota by the ease with which land was available to them in the state since the Homestead Laws were in effect in this state.

At the present time 87% of the state of North Dakota is devoted to agriculture in one form or another. This state originally contained the famous "bonanza" farms, so called because of the great amount of money that many of the farmers made through their growing of wheat. During the time that the wheat production of the state was so immense, the farms consisted, sometimes, of two or three townships. Today, although the very large farms have disappeared, farms of 10,000 acres are still in use. This is rather startling to those who are

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 145-148.

used to farms of a much smaller size as they are in other states. Today the average farm in North Dakota is 463 acres compared with the national average of 154.8 acres.^{1.}

Ordinarily the rainfall in North Dakota is sufficient to bring about successful crops. This is true despite the fact that the western part of the state is quite dry, and is located, in fact, in the dry-farming area of the United States. This dry-farming area in North Dakota comprises almost two-thirds of the state today. Droughts occur on the average of twice in a century. It took the recent drought, starting in 1929, and ending about 1937 to show the United States Government the tremendous importance of irrigation in this section of the country, and the great extent to which the farmers might rely upon it if available to them at a reasonable cost. At the present time there are about 1,000 irrigation projects going on in the state. The drought was a costly lesson but an effective one.^{2.}

Although the land in North Dakota has always been recognized as being good agricultural land, strangely enough there never was a land boom in this state. Land prices have always been low.^{3.}

The state is divided roughly into three general agricultural belts. The Red River Valley and the Drift Prairie are combined in what is known as the "black earth belt". The

1. North Dakota, a Guide to the Northern Prairie State, Federal Writers Project, W.P.A., Knight Printing Co., Fargo, North Dakota, 1938., pp. 58-59.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

Coteau-du-Mississippi constitutes the farming grazing belt, and the Missouri slope is the grazing-forage belt. In the black-earth belt farms are comparatively small, averaging less than 400 acres. In this area rainfall is usually from 18 to 24 inches yearly. Six to eight inches of this falls in May and June when it is most important for the small grain crops. This area was the first region of North Dakota to be settled. The first settlers were interested in exploiting the fur trade and looked with active disfavor upon the establishment of agricultural settlements in the state. Frequently they would combine with the Indians in an effort to keep the farm families from coming into the area. The first agricultural colony in North Dakota was established at Pembina in 1851. This was strictly a frontier project with all of the vicissitudes of the early pioneers being suffered by the colonists when they came into this area at that time.^{1.}

Despite the liberal terms upon which the land was opened to settlement, there was no large influx of settlers while the country was still in the grips of the Civil War. Indian troubles in the far west frightened many people who otherwise might have settled on the land. Drought and the grasshoppers also contributed in keeping these prospective settlers of the state away from the areas so liberally opened to them. In addition to these factors the Homestead Office at which land claims had to be filed was a great distance away from the land

1. North Dakota Federal Writers' Project, op. cit., pp. 58-69.

which was opened to settlement. A few claims of land were filed in the seventies but it was not until about 1885 that any great number of settlers generally began to come onto the land. They came on the Northern Pacific Railroad which had extended itself across the Red River and into North Dakota. Through this means the settlers were able to reach the land. As time went on and the Red River Valley and the Drift Plains became filled up with settlers, the newcomers were forced to go farther west. In the western parts of the state rainfall was much less abundant than in the east. The settlers, realizing this, tried to compensate for the loss by acquiring much larger farms than did the people settle in the more favored sections. In the nineties much land was bought back from disastified settlers who had been placed on the land in the "back to the soil" movement. These were mainly Jewish farmers who took up their 160 acres and tried to farm it only to find that with the small amount of rainfall available to their farms there was nothing that they could do. The best thing for them was to sell out and get back to the cities before they starved to death on the unproductive land.

Today North Dakota is second to Kansas in the production of wheat. It is the third state in grain seeds and the seventh in cereal crops. Other important crops in the state today are flax, winter rye, barley, oats, and emmer, which is used locally along with the barley, oats, and rye, for feed. Potatoes and sugar beets are the main cash crops of the state. Red clover, alfalfa, hay, timothy, and broom grass are also

grown in addition to some sheep and cattle-raising and a small amount of poultry raising done mainly by the farm wives for their own personal expenses.^{1.}

The history of Jewish farmers in North Dakota is a highly complex matter. This is due to the fact that there were always new settlers moving into the state to take the place of older farmers who had failed. Jewish farmers settled in North Dakota on homestead land in the Red River Valley which was regarded as being the best land in the state. We have already seen that this land was more popular than the other areas open to homesteaders for it was rapidly settled and the farmers coming into the land later were forced to move on farther west.^{2.}

In general, Jewish settlements in the areas open for colonization in North Dakota were frowned upon by people who might otherwise have assisted the movement along to a great extent. Jewish efforts were delayed, for the most part, until the best land had been taken up by other homesteaders. The few farmers who had been fortunate enough to secure land in the Red River Valley were among the very few who had the vision to come into the state when it was just beginning its opening up development. The claim was made, by the people who did not favor Jewish settlement in the area, that the country was out of the way and was climatically unfit for habitation. This argument was used to discourage settlement in almost every part of the state. Even after the fertility of the soil and been

1. North Dakota Federal Writers' Project, op. cit., pp. 58-69.
2. J.A.A.S. Report, 1906, pp. 44-48.

proved in some areas no encouragement was given. It was only when the good land was practically all gone that the Jews began to be given the necessary aid to come into this state. Jewish farmers in North Dakota have never played a very important part in the agriculture of the state.^{1.}

The Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society and the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society were most effective in the settlement of colonies and individual settlers in North Dakota. Their activities will best be seen when the colonies they assisted are viewed individually. By 1905 the height of the Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society's activities had been reached when this Society settled some 42 people in that year. Settlements were made in McHenry county, Burleigh county, McLean county, and in Ward county, by representatives of the Society. Crop failures accounted for the scuttling of many a settler's hope of ever becoming an agriculturist for one year's bad luck was usually enough to break up the settler's small financial backing forever.

Since the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society was not formed until 1900 they had nothing to do with the colonization in North Dakota at an earlier date. Through their general activities in the state is to be gained an illustrative picture of North Dakota agricultural effort on the part of the Jews from 1902, when their interest really began, until 1912.

1. J.A.A.S. Report, 1906, pp. 44-48.

In 1902 the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society sent eight families from New York to North Dakota. In one year's time seven of the eight abandoned their claims. They all had settled on homestead land and all met with the same difficulties which caused their uniform failure. During their first year on the land practically all of the crops of the farmers failed. This would not have been so disheartening to the settlers had not the older residents of the district told them that they had had the same experience with their crops year after year and that there seemed to be no hope for agriculture in the district. The severe climate and the great distance from other Jews made the lives of the settlers on the land miserable until they became accustomed to the privations. Railroad stations were also located far away from the settlements of the Jews and this did not help the loneliness of their lives.^{1.}

The living accommodations which the settlers used were necessarily poor. This was due to the high cost of lumber in the treeless district. It was also costly to dig wells because of the scarcity of skilled labor, and because material had to be hauled from a considerable distance. Stock, farm equipment, and household furnishings, along with the other necessities of life were all very expensive.^{2.}

Lack of capital also played an important part in the failure of the settlement planted by the New York society. Be-

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1903, pp. 34-35.

2. Ibid.

cause of their own lack of money the settlers had to borrow money from the Society. Naturally security was required for the loan. Mortgages could not be given on the homestead land for it was not yet the farmers' but still belonged to the government until the requirements of the Homestead Act had been met. Therefore, the settlers were forced to give chattel mortgages to the Society. By mortgaging their chattels they had no security to offer the storekeepers in the district when they went to buy the goods that they needed for the immediate present. The knowledge that they could not obtain any more money unless they hired themselves out at hard physical labor was^{1.} too much for the settlers.

The failure was met rather stoically by the Society in New York. This was probably because they were still relatively inexperienced in the matter of settling colonies and did not realize the significance of each additional failure in the eyes of the advocates of the Jew in agriculture in the United States. [Because of the many abortive attempts at agricultural settlements in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Jews for many years after, even up to the present time, were regarded as being inefficient agriculturists and not able to succeed in the profession.] The Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society thought that it had the solution to the problem. The organization brought out very clearly in one of its annual reports that a settlement could only be success-

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1903, pp. 34-35.

ful if in addition to the capital investment of at least \$1,200 per family, and more if possible, the settlers were men of strong physical, mental, and moral qualifications. Considerably more than \$1,500 would be necessary for the successful settlement on the land of a pioneer family if the father was the only one who could do any large amount of work during the active season of farm labor. The Society also felt that the work should be attempted by families who were experienced in agricultural methods and who were acclimated to the part of the country in which they would be farming. No other families should make an attempt to go into the profession blindly. In other words, the Society no longer believed that a family should be taken from New York with no experience of a farm whatsoever, and placed to farm in a part of the country which they had never seen before. The Society went on:

"From both points of view---those of the applicant and our own---this work is not attractive since we know that we \$500 in addition to a small payment in the purchase price of land, and just average physical, mental, and moral qualifications, our applicants are sure to be at least moderately successful if purchasing a farm in eastern sections with our assistance, while we are fairly sure that our investment will come back with interest."

In 1907 the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society acknowledged once again that they had made a rather serious mistake in their colonization in the west. For, through their efforts most of the colonists who left for North Dakota had been able to locate only on poor land. This was true for

we have seen how the good land became occupied fairly soon after the district was opened up to homesteaders. It was hardly likely that any good land should be overlooked by experienced farmers and the more shrewd speculators. In addition to taking up homestead land the settlers also had the privilege of pre-empting land which would otherwise not have been available to them. This land consisted of additional tracts which contributed to the size of the farm. These tracts were taken by payment, after eighteen months residence on an original homestead tract at which time the settler was eligible for more land that he had settled on originally. By the opportunity that many of the settlers took advantage of much additional land was added to an original homestead claim and the Jews found even less land available for their purposes.¹

English

One of the most popular ways of getting a start during the homestead period was that of working for another farmers until a sum of money sufficient to buy some tools and the necessary provisions was available. A considerable number of young Jewish men went out to North Dakota in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and worked for other farmers in the vicinity of their homestead locations. This meant that they had to do their own farm labor besides working at the home of their employer for the great part of the day. Frequently this entailed walking several miles every day for the homesteads were often located at some distance from each

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1907, pp. 14-15.

other. The Jewish farmers were favored in one respect. In North Dakota during the early part of the summer the sun is up for about 16 hours. Plenty of light was thus assured to them for the labor that was necessary for them to do on their farms in order to fulfill the homestead requirements. The length of time that the sun was up also favored the growing of crops which otherwise might not have been so successful because of the shortness of the growing season. The labor was hard for these men, but being young they felt capable of doing it successfully.^{1.}

In addition to the difficulty of finding sufficient time to work on their farms in order to meet the homestead requirements another serious problem confronted the farmers who hired themselves out to work for others. Even when they did save up enough money to get started on their own land it was not enough to buy all of the necessary equipment. On land the size that theirs was a good deal of machinery was needed for successful farming. In order to purchase the machinery the farmers had to go into debt, and, to make matters worse, the interest rates were very high in the state. This, the sign of the risk that the lending company was taking when it loaned money to men who were going to farm.^{2.}

Once again in 1907 the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society came out against farming activities on the part of Jews in the Dakotas. Their experience had taught

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1907, pp. 14-15.
2. Ibid.

them that "...the same money...diverted to the East or to the South where not so much is dependent on chance, would yield more satisfactory results."^{1.}

By 1908 there were over 1,000 Jews engaged in agriculture in North Dakota. All were settled on government homestead land. They followed several lines of farming. The most popular was the growing of wheat. Following wheat in importance as to the number of men engaged in the particular type of farming were flax, barley, oats, and spelts. Some of the Jewish farmers were also engaged in sheep raising and a few of the more prosperous in cattle raising. Some of them had been able to buy considerable acreage of land, in some cases as high as 640 acres---an entire section. Every year they had some difficulty to overcome. If the crops were plentiful, then the prices were low. High prices only came when crops throughout the entire area were small, and of course no one but the lucky man who had raised a big crop made any money in such a situation.^{2.}

From 1908 to 1910 successive crop failures almost ruined what was left of Jewish agriculture in North Dakota. Crop failures could be met by the farmers who had been established for a fair length of time and had saved something from previous successful harvests. It was the new farmer operating on slender capital, whose reserve and surplus were invariably swept away after one bad year. Then he was at the mercy of

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1907, pp. 14-15.
2. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1908, pp. 25 ff.

of his creditors unless some benevolent Jewish agricultural society would come to his aid.^{1.}

For the four years before the World War the farmers of North Dakota had fair crops. In 1912 the yield was a bumper one. The profitable harvests of that year enabled many of the farmers who had been in severe difficulties up to that time to emerge with new hopes for the future of their agricultural ambitions. That was one thing about farming in North Dakota which was unique. Enormous profits in wheat could be made if the world market was strong. It was the possibility of making these profits that led so many farmers to go into agriculture in this state regardless of the hazards that threatened them. It was only natural that each man should think that he was going to prove the exception to the general rule of failures.

By the close of the first decade of the twentieth century there was already a considerable degree of crop diversification being carried on in the area. This too helped out many of the farmers when one crop failed or did not meet with the proper markets. The growing of flax began to assume some degree of importance because of its utility in the manufacture of paints. Linseed oil became necessary because of the great amount of building that was going on in the United States after the depression of 1907. Throughout this entire period the farmers in North Dakota were doing well enough to

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1910, p. 38.

begin to pay off their debts. Although many of them owed large amounts to the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society they were given permission by the Society to pay off their other creditors first. Despite this permission some of the men did so well that they were able to start payments on their debt to the Society as well as clearing up the money which they owed to other people.^{1.}

Thus we have seen how Jewish agriculture progressed in North Dakota up to 1914. From a consideration of the general trends in agriculture in North Dakota so far as Jews were concerned, we shall now concern ourselves with a picture of the various Jewish settlements in particular in this state.

BURLEIGH COUNTY

Probably the most important county in North Dakota so far as the Jews were concerned was Burleigh county. Here the Jewish settlement was more firmly founded than that in any other section of the state. In Burleigh county the soil was quite suitable for the growing of wheat or almost any seed crop. The land was of demonstrated agricultural quality having supported farms for some time by the beginning of Jewish settlement in the vicinity. A fairly remunerative type of agriculture was carried on by the farmers in this county in the gently rolling hills which were frequently interspersed with unplatable broken and hilly country. The soil was stark

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1912, p. 38.

brown and productive, predominantly in silt loams and sandy loams. The only factor that was lacking in this county, or in this area of the state of North Dakota was plentiful rainfall. There was not a great deal of rain in this particular district, at least not enough to make wheat raising a certainty.^{1.} At any rate Jews settled in this county and some of them managed to make fair profits from their crops of wheat. Others, of course, failed.

PAINTED WOODS

The first colony of Jews in North Dakota was in Burleigh county, having located there in 1882. Sources differ as to the men responsible for the settling of the colony. The majority give the credit largely to Rev. J. Wechsler of St. Paul, assisted by the Jews of that city. There is also mention of another man by the name of Julius Austrian, stating that it was he who located the colony at Painted Woods, near Bismarck, in North Dakota.^{2.} What probably caused the mixup as to the founder of the colony was the identification of the nominal leaders of the colony with the man responsible for the raising of money which was necessary to plant the colony. We may be certain that the founder was Wechsler as we shall see later on when we review his correspondence concerning the small colony.

In the first settlement of the colony, made by Rus-

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

2. American Israelite, May 25, 1883.

sian Jewish immigrants from St. Paul, there were only twenty two families placed on the land. Their number in actual persons came to about 100. When they settled in the area the vicinity was already beginning to fill up. The best government land had already been taken but good railroad land was purchased at \$4.00 an acre.^{1.}

The people were very much impressed by the beauty of the country and the long stretches of land reaching almost as far as the eye could see without being marred by a single cabin. Their neighbors, who were all a great distance away had told them that they had been fairly successful on the land, and the members of the Jewish colony at Painted Woods looked ahead to the future with confidence and hope.

The colony resembled a small village, and was kept very clean by the refugees. This was in contrast to many of the other refugee settlements in other parts of the country. Log houses were built which were warm and comfortable, more so than the shelter which had been provided for the people when their home had been in the city.^{2.}

All of the new settlers were very enthusiastic when they first came on the land. It looked very good to them to see the vast stretches of land about them, and to feel the freedom from the crowded cities and the cramped living quarters. This sensation did them a great amount of good as a mental reviver. The men and women busily went to work at once

1. American Israelite, May 25, 1883.

2. Ibid.

to get their land in condition for planting and to prepare their small houses. In a short time a fair amount of land had been plowed and twenty acres of wheat was planted. As an example of the interest and the industry of these settlers on the land, a young girl of sixteen spaded up an entire acre of land and planted potatoes.^{1.}

Many of the farmers planted potatoes in addition to the wheat crop upon which they depended so greatly. Seed had been supplied for the settlers in addition to the other necessary provisions. Groceries and food sufficient for four months were stored at the colony. It was expected that no more food would have to be given to the settlers after this first installment for the harvest was only four months away and good profits were expected from the small amount of crops that had been planted. Cattle, wagons, and other farm implements and machinery were also supplied to the colonists when they first came on the land.^{2.}

The colony contained a school district of 160 acres such as was set aside in every township by the government to serve as the land for the public school. Upon this land there was to be no other building or activity as private enterprise. The school was to derive any possible source of income from the land. In addition to this district each family had 160 acres of land of its own. On each tract there were small log houses. Some of the settlers were fortunate

1. American Israelite, May 25, 1883.
2. Ibid.

in being able to take out tree claims---this according to the American Israelite, which also stated that there were many large trees in the area which could be used for building purposes for generations to come.^{1.}

As we^{may} have brought out previously, tree claims were not taken by the people for the purpose of cutting down trees and using them for housebuilding. Trees in this area were at a premium and were so regarded by the government which would give a tree claim to a man if he would agree to plant a certain number of acres of trees in the vicinity in which he was farming. The purpose of this was of course to reforest the area and not to deforest it. Perhaps these settlers were fortunate in locating near a section where there were sufficient trees to be used for building and for fuel purposes. Most of the trees on the plains were small and of no great value for building. The possibility exists, of course, that the American Israelite mistook the tree claim provision for something entirely different than for what it was intended and so interpreted the matter in a distorted sense. We mention this only in passing in order to justify our statement previously that one of the chief difficulties of the settlers who came to the plains was the expensiveness of building materials.

The colony had some trouble keeping out undesirable settlers. There were many Russian refugees in St. Paul, and when one of them would hear that there was to be a settlement

1. American Israelite, May 25, 1883.

in a hitherto unexploited area he immediately made plans to settle there whether he had been included in the plans of the colonization association or not. The Jewish community of St. Paul, and other organizations which were largely responsible for the settlement in this area were hard put to keep out people whom they classified as undesirable for the protracted settlement. They sincerely wanted to get a type of man whom they could count on to do the necessary work of getting the colony going and they wanted to take every precaution against those whom they knew were unqualified for the life in the wilderness. Thus, one of the requisites for settlement in the area was the prospective settler's possession of between \$600 to \$800. This weeded out many of those who thought that they would like to have a try at someone else's expense and kept the number of people who were accepted in the colony down to those who were sincere in their desire to farm. Thus the organizers of the settlement at Painted Woods weeded out of the 600 refugees at St. Paul those whom they felt were most likely to make a success of their life in this new form of work. ¹

Little aid was received by the colony at the start. The support did come through at a later date but many appeals were necessary before it was given. Besides assistance from ^{aid} J.C. the New York Emigrant Aid Society \$250 was received from Mr. H. Schiff, a well-known philanthropist of New York, and another \$250 from the Hebrew Union Agricultural Society of Cincinnati.

1. American Israelite, May 25, 1883

These gifts with a few smaller donations and the original capital of the settlers were all that there was to start on. The colony did not have the necessary machinery or implements to get a large quantity of land under cultivation immediately. Perhaps if they had been enabled to do this from the beginning they would not have met with the difficulties which came their way. In 1883 the American Israelite was already emphasizing the necessity for more help to be given to the colony. Glorious prospects were held out for the future of the settlement if a reasonable amount of aid was given to it. The paper stated that with a good harvest the settlers could raise 500 bushels of wheat besides 5,000 bushels of potatoes, oats, corn, cabbage, beans, peas, and other vegetables. During the first year of the settlers' stay on the land they were able to cut 1,000 tons of natural hay from the school section alone. This was without the proper machinery and even without the help of horses. With these aids the American Israelite was of the opinion that even a larger yield could be expected. "A few thousand dollars is needed to make the colony a success; four good horses, a few good mowing machines, and a lot of small stock for which there is good feed would help the colony along immensely. Sheep would do very well. A few thousand dollars would more than double itself in a single year."¹

The settlers were said to be willing to get along on very little and not to mind having only the most scanty of food to eat so happy were they to be able to be on land of

1. American Israelite, May 25, 1883.

1.
their own.

In October, 1883, the following report was made concerning the progress of the colony which had been planted at Painted Woods:

"A correspondent from the Dakota colony of Jewish agriculturists is quite encouraging as to the ultimate success of the colony and the health and satisfaction of the colonists. The correspondent hits upon an idea which will bear repetition. He says the Russian Jew first and foremost needs physical restoration which he can find on the American prairies and forests. The atmosphere, the exercise, the food, the feeling of security and liberty to be found there will restore and invigorate the immigrants."2.

In other words the colonies were looked upon as the places in which the jaded strength of the refugees was to be restored. In some cases, however, the hard work and the serious lack of the necessities of life did not help the colonists along in their search for new health.]

By 1883, the second year on the land, the increase in the number of settlers was regretted by Rev. Wechsler. He felt that the element of selection should have been kept in choosing the colonists instead of simply permitting a more or less hit or miss method of selection of needy people from all over the United States. Referring to the new settlers who came to the colony, increasing the number of families to about fifty-four, he said:

"....Simply taking a homestead for a few dollars entrance fees they claim all assistance believing that a large sum of money is at our

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1. American Israelite, May 25, 1883.
 2. American Israelite, October 5, 1883.

disposal and upon settlement they will receive equal shares....It should be understood that the mere possession of a homestead amounts to nothing and those who come with the delusion that bread grows on trees will find themselves sadly mistaken. Five hundred dollars to start with is the least possible sum to enable any settler wishing to locate in the locality to get along. Even with that sum it will require the greatest industry and a willingness to live for a few years without the least comforts; but to be satisfied with the most common food. Some who came there have no knowledge of farming which increases the difficulty. I found some there who were doing well elsewhere as tailors, shoemakers, etc., but in their folly came to the colony which is the last place they should have selected. It should be understood that this colony is not the place of refuge for these Russians who are of no account for themselves or others. I wish for the good of the cause that we had a place where all these unworthy individuals would have to locate for the benefit of the others. Taking all these things into consideration our experience with these Russian refugees is anything but pleasant. I have met with disappointment on every side. It is needless to state how they have had and still have endless quarrels among themselves, for these facts are known to all who came into actual intercourse with these people during the last two years. Originally we settled forty persons, consisting of nine (persons (sic)) families. At that time a very small sum was at our command to assist these settlers. They needed shelter for themselves and their families, we could not procure for all the necessary implements for tilling the land. We were, therefore, very fortunate to buy for a small sum of money from a Frenchman his houses, such as they were, and improvements he had made on a school section, which could not be pre-empted for homesteads but which was to serve as a temporary abode for the settlers until they could go on their own claims. According to the homestead laws every settler has six months time to live upon his claim. Now what has been a great obstacle to the prosperity of the colony was this: Not all have left their temporary abode---the school section within the pre-scripted limit, which caused some lawsuits as other parties contested their claims, yet they were decided in favor of the settlers, it having been proved that unavoidable circumstances prevented the parties from complying with the law. This was not all

These houses made vacant were always occupied again by the new settlers who are no welcome acquisition to the colony. At the previous time a number of families still occupy the school section contrary to my instructions, as I already in July made every person promise to vacate these houses to settle on their claims. They have not done so. Some of them made themselves quite obnoxious by their bad behaviour and quarreling. Everyone who has had anything to do with these people will agree with me when I say that their greatest shortcoming is---they are unable to agree together. It is therefore my candid opinion that separation is necessary if the colony shall be a full success. I called them to account again at my recent visit and stated to them in the most emphatic terms that they will not receive the least favor from me if they will not leave this school section. When spring approaches I propose to take the most severe measures possible to remove them from the houses. As they all have good claims they can cultivate their own land and if unable to do so they must leave this section altogether. Some of these individuals are an actual obstacle for the better ones, and some will never succeed in agricultural pursuits. Every new settler who comes without sufficient funds adds to the many difficulties which are already in the way. The season has been for the new settlers by no means a prosperous one. The drouth in that locality has impaired the growth of all kinds of crops and vegetables. The yield of potatoes has not been more than one-sixth of what it was last year. Quite a large number of acres were planted with that product. This has been most seriously felt, for if the yield of potatoes had been as productive as last year, these settlers would have raised enough for their use for a whole year, and would have been able to realize a nice little sum from the sale of the surplus to buy all the necessaries of life. Only a small number of acres of wheat had been cultivated which did as well as could be expected; but oats, corn, cabbage, etc., yielded little. To this must be added another greater misfortune which befell the settlers. A prairie fire spread over the claims of some of the settlers destroying a great many tons of hay and doing otherwise great damage in destroying some of the shanties in which they lived, consuming clothing, bedding, in fact everything these poor people possessed."

This letter illustrates more graphically than anything we could say how difficult it was to establish a successful ag-

1. American Israelite, November 16, 1883.

ricultural settlement. Despite the hard work that was lavished by the promoters of the scheme the settlement at Painted Woods did not prosper. Large sums of money were poured into the colony by many organizations. The Baron de Hirsch Fund gave \$2,000; Committee of Berlin, \$3,700; Mansion House Committee of London, \$6,000; Alliance of Paris, \$1,000; Special Committee of Paris ;
1. \$1,000.

Despite all this aid the colony was still in constant need of money and after the prairie fire that was so damaging
2. to the settlement another \$5,000 was needed.

In 1884, the year of the fire, Rev. Wechsler had to supply the colonists with implements, cattle, and seed, to replace all that which had been destroyed. Unfortunately it was too late in the season for full advantage to be taken of the
3. supplies.

In 1885 the colonists of Painted Woods bought, on their own account all the cattle that they felt they needed. Because they did not have the money to buy the stock outright it had to be held subject to mortgages. During 1885 the settlers really went to work energetically for the first time since the earliest days on the land. They plowed and cultivated 1,400 acres of land. Prospects seemed very promising and the settlers' hopes were raised high. But the year brought drought and their high hopes were shattered. Before the prairie fire and the drought which we have just mentioned, the population

1. Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums, Vol. 48, p. 272.

2. Ibid.

3. American Hebrew, November 5, 1886, Vol. 18, No. 13.

of the settlement had reached a figure of 232 colonists. This number was composed of 71 men, 52 women, and 90 children. But the succeeding misfortunes soon decimated the colony and by the spring of 1886 there were only forty people left.^{1.}

In 1886 mortgages were due on the settlement. The assets of the settlers amounted to 1,400 acres of cleared land, 53 horses, 56 oxen, 86 calves. All this besides a house, well, and barn for each member of the colony. Their debts amounted to \$5,475, half of which was due on the mortgages on the cattle which they had purchased.^{2.}

The Jewish community of St. Paul came to their aid and they were set up for the following year. By that time over \$20,000 had been spent on the colony. The end finally came in the summer of 1886 when the drought in the section caused the crops to fail again. This entailed much suffering on the part of the colonists and brought to them the knowledge that they would not be able to stay on the land in that district. Lack of rainfall, natural disasters, little capital, and the general unfitness of the members of the colony for agricultural pursuits caused the failure of the Painted Woods colony.

RAMSEY COUNTY

DEVIL'S LAKE.

Some of the settlers went farther north and settled

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1. American Hebrew, November 5, 1886.
 2. Ibid.

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Some of the settlers went farther north and settled at Devil's Lake in Ramsey county which settlement we shall

1. American Hebrew, November 5, 1886.

2. Ibid.

deal with shortly. Concerning those who were able to remain on their land, there are available some fairly revealing reports. In 1901 there were three farmers in the area of Painted Woods who were remnants of the old colony there or who had come to the region since the departure of some of the older colonists to join their friends who were just able to eke out a living. Louis Brown, Victor Barskey, and Hyman Brody, were all farming near Painted Woods in 1901. Their main crop was flax from which they threshed the seed which was becoming an important crop in the vicinity. Each one of these men had threshed over 250 bushels of flax seed that year and they were all very enthusiastic over their good fortune. In addition to their acreage in flax they also had cattle, and Barskey had planted several acres of potatoes from which he derived a nice profit. The flax and the cattle raising went well together for the cattle could be fed on the hulls of the flax seed after the oil had been extracted from the seed. This made a very nourishing and fattening feed for the cattle, besides being very cheap.^{1.}

In 1903 on September 12, a killing frost swept through most of Minnesota and through parts of North Dakota. The frost hit some of the Jewish farmers' land badly in Burleigh county, some of the farmers harvesting ~~as~~ as little as two bushels of wheat or flax an acre. Despite the frost, however, the farmers managed to pull through with enough to

1. J.A.A.S. Report, 1901, pp. 12-14.

keep them going for the year and did not have to leave their farms.^{1.}

By 1906 there were 42 homesteads in Bureligh county. The settlers, at the time, had a total of 6,700 acres of land under cultivation half of which was brought into a cleared state after the turn of the century. The value of the lands on which the Jewish farmers had settled was valued in 1906 at about \$75,000. In addition to the farms and equipment the farmers owned 400 head of horned cattle, 115 head of horses and colts, and more than 2,000 fowls. The livestock was worth not less than \$18,000 in 1906. In addition to this investment there was at least \$16,000 in implements while \$1,000 had been expended for wells, some of which had been very difficult to dig. Thus, in round figures, about \$110,000 was spent up to 1907. Of this amount the Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society of Chicago invested nearly \$23,000.^{2.}

By 1908 the acreage of Jewish farmers in Bureligh and McLean counties, considered as a unit had increased to 35,000. On this land there were settled some 200 homesteaders whose personal property was valued at over \$500,000. The continuance of the work of the Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society in this area was urged, at this time, by Dr. Sigismond Sonnenfeld, Director General of the Jewish Colonization Association of Paris, France.^{3.}

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1. J.A.A.S. Report, 1903, p. 15.
 2. J.A.A.S. Report, 1906, p. 32.
 3. J.A.A.S. Report, 1908, pp. 17-18.

Settlements continued to go along in Burleigh county. While in general the farmers were not overly-prosperous in the days of the period immediately before the World War some of them lived quite well. The planting of flax increased and the more prosperous farmers who had money to invest purchased herds of horned cattle and sheep for whom there was adequate pasturage. The indebtedness to the Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society was also slowly being decreased in the latter part of the first decade of the twentieth century by those men who were doing well on the land. However, by the time of the War many of the Jewish farmers in the area had sold their farms... Some of the farmers who were well-to-do and who seemed to be making a good living on the land did not care to stay. One of the main reasons for this desire to leave was the fact that their children did not wish to live on the farm after they had grown up. They wanted to go to the larger cities where they could find more lucrative work. Also, since the Jews were scattered there was little, if any, opportunity for any Jewish community life. This was true particularly since they were not accepted into the Gentile groups but made to feel that they were outsiders and did not rightfully belong with their contemporaries

RAMSEY COUNTY

DEVIL'S LAKE

As we have brought out, some of the colonists who were forced to leave their homesteads at Painted Woods in Burleigh county, North Dakota, located soon after their failure in the district at Devil's Lake, in Ramsey county. Here they formed what became known as the Iola settlement, after the short period that it was called Devil's Lake. This area was slightly more favorable for their agricultural efforts than was the initial region of their settlement. The soil was undulating, dark, and productive. It was well-drained, having mainly silt loams and loams. The climate in the region was colder than it was at Painted Woods. Otherwise the soil characteristics and the general geographical features of the land in the two places were identical.^{1.}

The colony at Devil's Lake met with varied success and failure throughout its existence. It was started in 1887 by the men who, although they had failed in their attempt to become farmers at Painted Woods, still had the desire to go into agriculture as a profession. Their first few years at Devil's Lake were fraught with the same troubles that they had met at the other colony. In general, however, it may be safely stated that the settlers were more successful in their farming attempts at Devil's Lake than they had been at Painted Wood.^{2.}

One of the most important needs of the Jewish settlers was that of tools and farm implements. They never seemed to have enough money to purchase the necessary farm machinery

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, *op. cit.*

2. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1903, pp. 10-13.

after they had taken care of the rest of the expenses of the farm. They needed threshing machines and other implements having to do with the harvesting of their crops particularly. This was true because of the necessity for a quick harvest while conditions were favorable for it. Wheat, when it becomes ripe, is extremely perishable, as long as it is left standing. A heavy rain will knock down the heavy stalks and put them on the ground where they will rot and ruin a good harvest. Hand harvesting of wheat over a large territory was therefore, scarcely possible. The only way in which wheat could be effectively harvested with a minimum of waste was by the large horse-drawn combine which harvested and threshed the wheat in one operation.

Therefore in 1900, we find that the Jewish Agriculturalists' Aid Society began to actively urge^{that} the settlers in Devil's Lake have a threshing machine purchased for them because of the losses that they had suffered in not being able to get their grain in when it was ready. Frequently when machines were available they were used by other farmers first. The non-Jewish farmers in the area were glad to rent their machines to the Jews---after their own crops were in.^{1.} The Society made the following statement:

"There is no threshing machine in the immediate vicinity and if one is placed at their disposition, and also for the use of neighboring farms, the money will come back within six or eight years. This year, 1900, they have threshed

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1900, p. 10.

2. Ibid.

over 5,000 bushels of grain and have paid \$200 for the work. That amount, plus the money earned from farmers in the vicinity, will pay for the machine besides allowing grain to be threshed in the right season."¹.

The Society's plea took effect, for by 1901 the threshing machine had been purchased for the farmers around Devil's Lake. The statement of Phillip Greenberg, one of the farmers in the area shows how the men appreciated, and were able to use the new machine:

"We had a very good crop this year, and all of the Jewish farmers were greatly benefited by the threshing machine which the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society of New York placed here. All of the farmers threshed in good season. This is the first time that the crop of the Jewish farmers has been threshed² before November since they have been here."

But despite the aid of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society the farmers in the Devil's Lake area soon were asking for another service. This was to lift the mortgages which they had been obliged to take upon themselves in order to start their farms. As we have shown before, exorbitant interest rates often kept the farmers enslaved for years paying off debts which had been made on items which were highly over-priced to begin with. One of the main reasons for the great numbers of failures in North Dakota was the expense involved in getting a farm due to the very high prices which were charged for almost anything that the farmers needed to use in their work. The excuse given by the dealers

1. J.A.A.S. Report, 1900, p. 10.

2. J.A.A.S. Report, 1901, p. 14.

for the high prices was that the demand warranted extra profits on their part, and that the high railroad freight rates from Chicago and other points to the west made the prices of farm tools more expensive when compared to prices charged in the east.

In 1904 the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society came to the aid of the farmers around Devil's Lake and in other parts of North Dakota and gave them the necessary funds to continue their farming. It was fortunate that this was done. The harvest of 1904 turned out to be one of the best that the farmers had ever taken from the land and they were able to pay off their indebtedness besides realizing a fair profit for themselves. During the summer of 1904 seventeen farmers threshed in all 47,312 bushels of wheat,^{1.} flax, oats, and barley.

After 1904 it seems that the prosperity of the colony at Devil's Lake progressed, and from that date on the farmers enjoyed comparative good fortune. Their crops were better, for the country had entered into a wet period. There was also a better market for all that they grew. But strangely enough, the farmers, just as soon as they became successful in this area, sold their lands and went into business with the money they had made.^{2.}

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1904, pp. 12-13.
2. Ibid.

MCKENZIE COUNTY

STROUD.

77 In McKenzie county, North Dakota, Stroud settlement
od isolated Jewish farmers started at about 1905 or 1906. The
farms were located in the general vicinity of Stroud in this
county. The land in this area was mainly arid, rough, non-
forested land. The land was, of course, unfitted for any kind
of agricultural work. There were, however, some occasional
bodies of land which were able to be irrigated or which could
be used as dry farming areas. The land was usually hilly and
broken with occasional smooth lands. At first glance the
district would appear to be anything but favorable for any type
of agriculture.^{1.}

Nevertheless, in this unprepossessing territory
there were farmers who managed to obtain some of the land
that was adaptable to agricultural settlement and to make their
homesteads on this land. The Jewish farmers in this area were
probably the most progressive of all the Jews who engaged in
agriculture in the west. They had to be progressive in this
district in order to make a living from the land to any ex-
tent at all. No matter what conditions they came into it
seemed as though they always had a crop. This was accomplished
by their practice of early fall plowing and summer fallowing.
By plowing the land in the fall they were able to turn up

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Econ-
omics, op. cit.

more surface to the moist air of the winter and to allow the land to become more thoroughly impregnated with moisture than if they had merely let the land lie normally all winter through. Because of the difficult conditions of the land the grains grown on it were always slightly below size and weight. But they did not meet with any pests and were also free from other diseases which cut down the profits of men who farmed in more favorable area of North Dakota. In addition to these factors the grain raised by the few Jewish farmers in this area was^{1.} almost free from wild oats and chaff.

The Jewish farmers around Stroud started with very little capital and met with the same difficulties at first that contributed to the failure of the other colonists in the state. But because these men had settled later, and because they were more experienced than those who had come earlier they were successful in their attempt at farming in a relatively short time. One man or two might leave the vicinity but the few farmers located in the district around Stroud stuck to their original purpose and remained in agriculture although they saw people all about them leaving the field. One man who took up his farm in 1906 was worth \$10,000 in 1916. Another who started at the same time owned 800 acres of land, a fine herd of cattle, and was worth \$15,000 by 1916. These men had both started originally on free homestead land, had fulfilled their contracts, and with little or no help from the outside

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1916, p. 10.

had made their way in agriculture.^{1.}

McINTOSH COUNTY

SULZBERGER

McIntosh county was the scene of Jewish settlement in 1904. This county was a good selection for agricultural activities on the part of Jews. By the time that they had come the land had been proved to be of good quality for agriculture. A great part of it was in farms by the time they came in. The farms that were located there in 1904 were all supporting a relatively remunerative agriculture. The land was gently rolling interspersed with hilly to broken lands. The soil was composed of loams and silt and sandy loams and was dark and productive. The rainfall was pretty fair considering the area in comparison to other sections of the state.^{2.}

1911 was probably the most disastrous year for the Jewish farmers in North Dakota. Up to that time the colony in MacIntosh county, which was known as the Sulzberger colony, had been getting along well. Its struggles had not been so difficult as those of the other Jewish settlements which had been established in the state. The 1911 setback was doubly harmful because it followed so closely on the heels of the serious crop failure of 1910. In some of the sections of the

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1916, p. 10.

2. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

state the drought was so severe that farmers did not make enough from their crops to compensate them for the cost of the seed which they had so hopefully sown. The result of the drought of that year was to compel the farmers, many of them, to abandon their farms temporarily and return to the city until they could return to replant and recoup their losses. The next year, as we have seen, was favorable, and from then on through the War years all went along nicely with the settlements and the settlers.^{1.}

The Sulzberger colony was visited during 1911 by two representatives of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society. These men were Messrs. Davidson and Blaustein. They travelled throughout the devastated districts in all parts of the state and they made a specific report dealing with McIntosh county which follows:

"This year's crop was almost a total failure; few, if any, farmers will have any grain to sell. All that they will realize is enough for seed and feed. However, in spite of the crop conditions our settlers have held their own in the past year, having contracted few debts and their indebtedness having grown only through accumulation of interest. This is of course mainly due to the assistance granted them last fall.

"The drought was almost general though there were sections that were favored with rain, the peculiar feature being that the rain fell in streaks. On one of our four trips through the settlement we noticed rain falling on two sides of us while the spot in which we were was entirely dry. Unfortunately, the majority of the settlers are in the territory which the rain did not reach. Where

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1911, pp. 32-33.

the rain fell the farmers will get a good crop while in the other sections, they will have just enough for grain and seed."¹

The effects of the drought wore off rapidly and the colonies soon became restored to their former position of gradual growth. However, many farmers were frightened out of agriculture by the drought risk. They did not feel secure and could see no reason for jeopardizing theirs and their family's future merely for the sake of an ideal. The point should be made very clearly that had these farmers used dry farming methods and planted dry farming crops, they would not have suffered such serious losses.

The settlers of Stroud, which started out as a colony of 60 families who had been placed in the area through the efforts of the Industrial Removal Office of New York² had made progress up to the time of the bad drought, but their setback then was serious for many of them. They did, however, make a comeback, and regained a good part of their former position before the World War.³

BOWMAN COUNTY

The last settlement with which we shall concern ourselves in North Dakota was located in Bowman county. Located in the southwestern part of the state it was not started until 1908. The selection of land for the colony here was carefully

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1911, pp. 32-33.

2. This organization was a division of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society of New York.

3. American Jewish Yearbook, 5673, pp. 93-96.

made and the choice bore fruit. The soil was fertile and more capable of supporting a remunerative agriculture than many other sections of the state. The contour of the land was gently rolling while the actual composition of the soil was loams which were either silty or sandy. In general the soil was being used by the colonists to its best advantage although for the amount of rainfall in the area a wider use of dry farming methods would have met with greater success than did the normal type of agriculture which they carried on. Fifty families comprised the initial settlement in the state which was the largest extant in 1914.^{1.}

SCATTERED SETTLEMENTS

Among the other scattered settlement of Jewish farmers in this state were: Dogden, in McLean county; Leipzig, in Morton county; and Velva, in Ward county. In addition to these settlements, however small, there were Jewish farmers scattered throughout the state in Ramsey, Cavalier, Towner, McHenry, Ward, McLean, and Logan counties.^{2.} These included other Jews besides the Russian refugees who took advantage of the offer of free government land and settled upon it.

1. American Jewish Yearbook, 5673, pp. 93-96.
2. We should take notice of the statement in the American Jewish Yearbook of a colony which was established twenty miles south of Wilton in McLean county, and twenty seven miles north of Bismarck in Burleigh county. The colony according to the Yearbook article was located on the Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Sault Sainte Marie Railroad. We were not able to locate any such colony and upon examining our maps we found a serious discrepancy in the figures of the writer of the article in the

North Dakota was certainly not a very fertile field for the Jews' attempts to engage in agriculture. Their work was of no permanence in the state nor was their contribution to agriculture significant. When they did become successful too often they sold out and left their farms for the city rather than continuing in the work for which they had no particular liking.

We have already indicated some of the reasons for the failure of Jewish colonies in North Dakota. To clarify our views we wish to review these reasons briefly now before leaving the history of Jewish activities in agriculture in this state.

While the land in North Dakota was practically free and existed in great abundance for almost anyone who wished to take it, everything connected with its tillage was very expensive. In addition to the expense necessitated by long hauls by railroads of all supplies coming into the state, besides the large amount of machinery required to run a large farm successfully, the chances for success were not in favor of the farmer. There were too many times that a man thought he was secure only to find out at the end of a drought season that he had lost whatever he had been able to put aside in

American Jewish Yearbook. If one were to go south of McLean for twenty miles, then north of Bismarck for twenty-seven miles, there would be no meeting place, but two distinct overlappings. The facts in the case are that Bismarck is only about twenty-five miles away from Wilton, which would make such an identification by distance between the two cities impossible. In addition to the discrepancy in figures, and the fact that no other source mentions the existence of such a colony we are rather doubtful of the authenticity of the Yearbook's statement and think that confusion existed in the author's mind

previous years and must start from the beginning once again. It was not possible to recoup losses in this state through replanting because the growing season was a short one and frosts came early and stayed late.

To get into active agriculture the new farmer was forced to go into debt almost as soon as he came on the land. The local storekeepers, who were the creditors for many colonies of Christians and Jews were forced to bear the risk of these debts. It was only natural that the storekeepers should charge high rates of interest, 12% being the legal rate. Once the farmer fell into debt it was very difficult for him to extricate himself. He usually was able to emerge only for a short time before having to purchase new supplies and seeds to start off the farming season once more. The Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society offered the following formula for success in the North Dakota settlements:

"...The real chance for success in that region is reserved to young men, unencumbered with large families, willing to work for several years for wages, while spending on their own homesteads only that amount of labor required to bring them gradually into full bearing. Thus truck-farming and dairying in more settled parts of the country should be encouraged rather than grain farming in distant locations."

Experience has shown that the suggestion of the So-

between the Painted Woods colony which we have already dealt with, and some other colony which may or may not have been Jewish. We mention this only to make our description of Jewish agriculture in North Dakota complete since we do not wish to appear as neglecting any account of any Jewish colony in that state.

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1903, pp. 10-13.

ciety would not have done any more good than the type of farming that was already being carried on. In North Dakota today, grain farming is the main type of agriculture. Expansions into dairying and truck gardening have not met with success because of the distance from markets, and the unfitness of the soil and climate. North Dakota is a state suitable for large holdings of lands and for large investments. The small farmers could never hope for success in this state where chances must be taken, and gambles made in order to insure any profit from investments at all.

SOUTH DAKOTA

South Dakota presents problems similar to those of her sister state to the north. The period of expansion and growth in this state, as in North Dakota, was from 1857 to 1910 when the last of the homestead lands was open to settlement. Today, one-half of the soil of South Dakota is still in virgin state. It would seem that this state offers reasonable possibilities for the farmer today, but when we consider that the western half of the state is untillable except with the aid of irrigation, we understand why progress in South Dakota has been so slow. In the western portions only crops that mature quickly and require little moisture can be grown, especially forage crops.^{1.}

The same impediments to agricultural development

1. A South Dakota Guide, Federal Writers' Project, W.P.A., State Publishing Co., Pierre, S.D., 1938., pp. 49-58.

that occurred in North Dakota kept farmers from settling in this state rapidly. The Civil War, dangers from Indians, and the combinations of grasshoppers and drought kept many prospective farmers from making their homes in this state. When the railroads began to come into the state, however, settlement began to speed up. 1.

Near the eastern border of the state the farmland is similar to that of Minnesota where dairy farming and generally diversified farming is carried on. In this section the yield per acre is considerable, more than that in the area further west, and consequently the farms are smaller and the land more expensive. Going westward the farms are large, with farm houses farther apart and much land set aside for grazing purposes. In the bottom land of the Missouri River the land is productive and suitable for the growing of alfalfa and other forage crops. Heavy growth of timber and brush on the sides of the river indicate the general fertility of the soil throughout the entire state. If irrigation could be carried on to a larger degree South Dakota would become a garden. 2.

After the Missouri River there is an abrupt change in the land as we consider the land farther west. For miles no houses are visible, the country is as it has been for many years, and all of the land is used for stock grazing. The

1. South Dakota, W.P.A., op. cit., pp. 49-58, Federal Writers' project.

2. Ibid.

cattle depend on the native grasses instead of forage that has been grown from tilled crops. At one time this land was plowed up and grain was planted. This was done when the price of wheat was high and when all available land was being turned to its culture. It soon became apparent that this land could not support a paying agriculture and that its best use was that of grazing land for cattle. Most of the homesteaders who came into South Dakota were forced to sell out to men with large amounts of capital who were buying up huge acreage to be used as grazing ranges. If the homesteaders would not sell out they frequently had to abandon their small holdings anyway and leave the district because of the terrible hardships suffered in it.¹ The prairie is still the cattleman's paradise today, with the difference being that he rents or buys land instead of taking whatever he wishes to take.

There is better land in South Dakota on the tableland to the west, and many farms are well improved in this area today although it took a long time to bring them into their present state of cultivation. The yield in the area is smaller than in the east. Near the Black Hills there is an irrigated section which is an oasis for the growers of sugar beets, stock feed, and alfalfa. Here are thousands of acres planted with these crops. In the valleys of the Black Hills garden crops are grown for market also. The major crops of North Dakota are corn, wheat, oats, barley, and rye. Flax and alfalfa are also grown. Dairying and stock raising

1. South Dakota W.P.A. Federal Writers' Project, op. cit., pp 49-58.

are carried on to some degree in the east, while in the range sections of the state all that can be done is to raise cattle on the open, or fenced in ranges.^{1.}

South Dakota was a land which would yield a profitable agriculture only to the most experienced of farmers. Besides a good knowledge of the country a large starting capital was prerequisite to success. Here on the Great Plains large scale enterprises were the only ones which had a chance to survive.

The general history of the Jews in South Dakota follows closely the experiences of the Jews in North Dakota. Coming into the state in the eighties and nineties they met with numerous hardships and farm abandonments were the common thing. Some Jewish farmers stayed on but these were the exceptions. Even in the present century many prospective farmers have been driven from the state because of the rigorous conditions and the small profit available from the land.

DAVISON COUNTY

Davison county, South Dakota, was the scene of the major attempts of the Jewish farmers to establish and agricultural existence in the state. This county was one of the better farming areas. The soils were productive, the climate was fairly warm, and the rainfall in the area was better than in many other sections of the state.^{2.}

1. South Dakota, WPA, Federal Writers' Proj., op. cit., pp.49-58.
2. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

One of the oldest settlements of Jews in the state was located at Cremieux in Davison county. The colony was named for Adolphe Cremieux who was supposed to have been one of the founders of the Alliance Israelite Universelle.^{1.}

The colony of Cremieux was founded through the efforts of Herman Rosenthal who was a well-to-do farm enthusiast in the eighties. Originally he was one of the Russian refugees who had fled from the pogroms, settled in the Sicily Island colony in Cathoula Parish, La., and stayed there until it failed. He must have had some money when he went into the venture for he came out of it with sufficient funds to go north to South Dakota and start all over again. He induced another member of the same colony to go with him. They settled in Davison county in 1882. After they had been settled on the land for a while Rosenthal interested Michael Heilprin in the venture, Heilprin, as we have already seen, was one of the foremost figures in the encouragement of the "back to the soil" movement, among the Jews in the late nineteenth century. It was not very difficult for him to become interested in almost any communal venture and to give it his whole-hearted support.^{1.a.}

1. Although he is generally referred to as "the" founder evidence is apparent that such was not the case. He was certainly not one of the charter members of the organization for his name does not appear on the appeal that was made to the French government for the right to form the society. He was not mentioned in any way or form in connection with the organization until he became its president in 1863. See---
Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums, 1863, pp. 467 ff.
1.a. Levine, op. cit., p. 60.

Rosenthal is supposed to have built himself a fine house on his land which consisted of 1,000 acres. In addition to the house, which was supposed to have had eight rooms, there were also said to have been fine farm buildings on his property including a well-built barn, and carefully constructed out-buildings for various purposes. Near him there was another Jewish farmer who was reputed to be the owner of a five hundred acre farm. But the other members of the colony were far from being rich. In the best period of the colony there were only twenty families settled on the land. They totalled about 90 persons and owned 5,000 acres of land. Only a small part of the land which they owned was under cultivation. This was because of their lack of stock and the necessary farm implements. The whole colony was never very prosperous but they stayed on the land suffering the hardships that came their way. Their sufferings were due to the heavy rates of interest which they had to pay on the money they borrowed to get a crop started. Their attempts to farm were set with attacks of Hessian flies on their small produce along with the periodic drought. A significant factor in the establishment of this colony was the financial independence of the colonists when they came to Davison county. During their first year on the land they managed to harvest small but paying crops of wheat, barley, oats, rye and flax. During their second year on the land their crops were destroyed by the Hessian fly, while their cattle were killed by the drought. In their third year all of their standing crops were destroyed

by hail. Naturally they could not stand such hardships indefinitely and were driven from the colony in 1885 after having lost what small amounts of money they had started out with.^{1.}

BETHLEHEM YEHUDA

In addition to the colony which had been established at Cremieux another settlement was made in Davison county which was known as Bethlehem Yehuda. This colony was also established in 1882 with the assistance of the Alliance Israelite Universelle. It was located close to Cremieux but it was organized on an entirely different plan. It was composed solely of unmarried young men who were to work the land and live on a communistic basis. Unfortunately they met with the same difficulties which caused the failure of the settlement at Cremieux. Bethlehem Yehuda lasted only a year and a half with the help of outside support which they received in an effort to keep them going for a while longer. In addition to the trouble that the farmers had with their crops they could not get along together. The continual strife and disagreement over matters of planting and cultivation of crops, as well as the sharing of work about the settlement was too much for^{2.} the men and they left their holdings after a year and a half.

1. Levine, op. cit., p. 60; see also American Jewish Yearbook, 5673, p. 60.
2. Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. I., p. 258.

ADLER AND MENDELSON

Two other colonies, Adler and Mendelsohn, were also founded in 1882 in Davison county.

"During the short period of their existence, however, at least one tragedy occurred which may offer a vivid conception of the sufferings that the colonists endured. In December, 1882, a man named Selinger, while moving his wife and child to a more comfortable home discovered when he reached his destination that they had been frozen to death."¹

The hardships of the colonists and the general unsuitability of the land for pioneer settlements which were not backed with a good sum of money and settled by experienced farmers forced them to abandon their holdings within a year.²

SIOUX FALLS

At least one Jew became a successful farmer in South Dakota. This man was a Mr. Kuh, whose farm was located near Sioux Falls in the present county of Minnehaha. At the time that he settled there the district had not yet been incorporated. In 1883 Kuh owned a 160 acre farm homestead. His chief occupation was the growing of broom corn and the manufacture of brooms. In 1883 he was the owner of four horses and all the equipment necessary to farm his land properly. Kuh was fortunate in being able to locate in the eastern part of the state where the rainfall was sufficient to give his crops all the moisture that they needed. Kuh's farm had been taken up

1. Levine, op. cit., p. 61.

2. Ibid.

in the late sixties and he was probably one of the earliest if not the earliest Jewish farmer in the state. One of his letters to the American Israelite follows:

"The regular outdoor exercise gives us plenty of good appetite and sound sleep, and in consequence strength, good health, remunerative employment, content, and freedom from doctor's bills, and what is more we are spared the many slurs and insults from ill-conditioned customers and business rivals which the Jewish merchant is so often forced to swallow. I advocated the establishment of an Agricultural College in your columns as far back as 1868, and offered at that time to be one of 100 to give \$100 each for that purpose, and also made an offer of land on which to place the college. As however, the plan came to nothing, I determined to organize a Jewish Agricultural colony so far as lay in my power by turning my two sons from a commercial life to that of a farmer....My sons are growing into strong, heavy, broad shouldered fellows, who can take hold of and perform heavy farm labor with any of the neighbors' boys of a like age, in spite of their disadvantage in not having been accustomed to the work from childhood.

"Of course, for a middle aged man with no previous experience,...a large family...and little or no money, it is a very difficult step to change the counter for the plow, and it therefore behooves his friends and co-religionists so to assist him that there can be no doubt of his ultimate success....

"It is not best to wait until his boys are grown big enough to assist him, because in the first place, the present good opportunities to get hold of good lands for a small price may not last until then, and secondly, because it will be a great benefit to the young men to have grown up accustomed to farm work as the farmers' sons about them. Boys who are intended to follow agriculture as a business cannot be placed on the land too early if you want them to be successful.]

"I am therefore surprised that this all-important movement does not meet with a prompt, liberal, and generous support from all men who have the welfare of Judaism at heart....No man can tell how soon ...commercial life may force him or his children to

seek relief in one of these very colonies..."^{1.}

Again in 1890 farmer Kuh took it upon himself to write to the Israelite and to expound more of his theories concerning agriculture which are quite sound with the exception that he did not take into consideration the fact that he had been able to locate on good land, while other farmers who would come out to the area much later would not find the same opportunities open to them.

He made one suggestion which was not at all out of place. According to the way that Kuh felt about farming, a man should be required to spend at least one year with an experienced farmer before going out on land of his own. By the experience gained with the other man he would be more likely to succeed than without such experience. The general impression that we gather from Kuh's letters and from his opinions as expressed therein, are of a rather self-satisfied man who was fortunate in being able to settle in a fertile section of the country and wanted everyone to look to him for advice and counsel in choosing types of farming to do in other sections of the United States. The American Israelite did not treat him too well in its editorial comment in the columns in which his suggestions and criticisms and theories appeared.^{2.}

PERKINS COUNTY

Perkins county, South Dakota, was the scene of a Jew-

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1. American Israelite, January 26, 1883.
 2. American Israelite, January 18, 1890.

ish agricultural settlement in 1908. This settlement was near the town of Meadow and about 35 miles from the nearest railroad settlement at Lemmon on the Milwaukee and Puget Sound Railroad. The colony met with fair success at first.^{1.}

The characteristics of the soil and the climate of Perkins county soon asserted themselves and trouble began for the colonists who were located in the vicinity. The whole area is noted for its deficient and unreliable water supply. There is much smooth land which may be used for grazing or crop raising depending on whether the farmers is a gambler or not. The land was in general dry with areas suitable only for grazing. There were sections in the county which were hilly and broken besides being dry.^{2.}

At first settlers flocked into the area from many different places. The Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society gave considerable help to many of the newcomers. The New York Society was of the impression that the land was fertile and well-sutled for the growing of corn and other grain crops, which was, of course, far from the truth. This was discovered by the Society only after a good deal of their money had been invested in the area.

Some of the settlers who came into the vicinity were men who had saved up some money since their arrival as refugees and were independent when they first went on the land.

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1909, p. 48.

2. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

Others were completely dependent on the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society for their support and for all farm implements and seed; in fact, everything that they possessed had to be given to them in order to allow them to get on the land.^{1.}

The colony was fairly successful at first while their land was watered by rains which were known to be infrequent in the area, but which changed their habits for a time. In 1909 they had a very successful crop and all of the new farmers were elated with their success on the land. By that time there were twenty families in the settlement and there was every prospect of more coming from many sections of the country to join them.^{2.}

After their initial success, however, failure came to them in a large dose. For two successive years their crops were almost a total loss because of the severe drought which dried up everything. This drought came throughout the entire area of both Dakotas during 1911 as we have already noted. Almost all of the settlers were forced to abandon their homesteads because there was nothing for them to eat or to do while they remained on the land. Despite the terrible hardships that met them, a few remained on the land throughout the entire period of drought and immediately afterwards. Some who left stayed in cities for a short time only, returning to their farms just as soon as they were fi-

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1909, p. 48.

2. Ibid.

financially able to do so. Nevertheless the drought left its mark on the colony as such, for it never existed as a colony again. There were only a few isolated settlers who were able to carry on their farming operations in the area. Life was constantly a struggle for them, and certainly not the lush existence they had dreamed of when planning to become agriculturists.^{1.}

DELMONT COUNTY

We also have records of isolated Jewish farmers who were located in the county of Delmont, South Dakota during the early years of the twentieth century. One of these men was quite successful in his farming operations threshing as much as 1,400 acres of wheat in one season. He also had large yields of corn and oats. The size of his farm is an example of the large area of land needed by farmers in the Dakotas to make a success. At least if they can put a large amount of land in cultivation they had a gambling chance to harvest a portion of it.^{2.}

SCATTERED SETTLEMENTS

We also have records of Jewish farmers in Lyman and Hutchinson counties in South Dakota. Here there were no actual colonies planted by Jews, but many of them took up land

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1. American Jewish Yearbook, 5673, p. 92.
 2. J.A.A.S. Report, 1901, p. 12.

under the Homestead Laws and secured help when they needed it from the Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society, or from the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society.

All of the Jews in South Dakota, as well as all of the non-Jews engaged in agriculture were hard put to it to remain on their land after 1911. In 1909 and 1910 everything had been going along as well as could be wished for by the colonists throughout the state. Settlers were pouring in from every section of the country. Town settlements were springing up in harmony with the agricultural development of the state. Railroad construction was going along as in a boom period, spurred on by the many people who were coming to the unsettled districts. Prospects looked very promising for the establishment of a permanent agricultural colony. [But the natural conditions of the state had to be reckoned with. The settlers had placed too much hope in the benevolence of their luck and did not stop to think of the time when the rains might not fall and stimulate the tender spears of wheat to grow, but leave them to the blasting sun shining down from a pitiless inferno of sky.

Drought came. Cattle died by the empty water holes. Men looked hopelessly to the heavens for wisps of clouds which never came. Crops withered and died and stood like spectres in the heat. Streams dried up. Wind stirred up baked dust and choked the already half-dead settlers with the dust of their own farms. Homesteads were abandoned. The whole country was dry and wasted.]

"The abandonment of homesteads is, however, not peculiar to Jewish farmers. The entire locality is depopulated, the farmers having found it utterly impossible to remain. Unlike the other sections which suffered from the drought, these farmers cannot even engage in dairying because they can get no hay. The country is absolutely dried up. There was hardly any snow last winter, almost no rain, the heat was so intense that even the natural creeks are dry and the rivers are lower than they have ever been before....There is little doubt, however, that many of these homesteaders are merely left for the winter, which is a very common thing in this section, expecting to return in the spring to resume operations." 1.

On this note we shall leave South Dakota. We have not shown a very favorable picture of agriculture in this state. In truth, there is not much good to be said. The Jews were generally unsuccessful in planting colonies and whatever success there was, was due to the efforts of individual farmers. We attempted to show in our introduction to the state that the area was not favorable to the success of small farmers. Large capital was needed to purchase large acreage, and to run the land efficiently with machinery. Yet we must give the Jewish farmers in the district great credit for their ability to stay on despite the constant travail. If nothing more, they established proof of their courage and their willingness to undergo severe privations for their belief in an ideal---that they could return to the soil and be successful in the attempt. Inexperience and natural causes brought about the failures in this state. Nothing that man can do will prevent drought, and irrigation projects are still quite ex-

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1911, p. 33.

pensive and suitable for only certain sections of the country. The history of Jewish agriculture in both North and South Dakota is a depressing one keynoted by courageous struggles and inevitable failures.

KANSAS

One of the most important early states to be considered in the history of the American Jew in agriculture is Kansas. In this state some of the earliest settlements were made and some of the most interesting events occurred.

The territory of Kansas was opened to settlement in 1854. Many of the settlers who went in at that time had had no experience or training in agriculture. Climatic conditions were adverse and this factor along with the continual strife over the slavery issue kept agriculture in this state from developing as it should have progressed. The first crops which were planted were corn, melons, pumpkins, and wheat.^{1.}

After the Civil War the government offered free homesteads to soldiers and 100,000 of them took advantage of the offer. Many of the men who accepted the offer of the government had been farmers in Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana, as well as Iowa, and were somewhat familiar with the difficulties in going into virgin territory and setting up a farm. At first primitive methods of agriculture were in use in Kan-

1. Kansas, A Guide to the Sunflower State, Federal Writers' Project, W.F.A., the Viking Press, New York, 1939, pp. 65-76.

sas and only a very small amount of land was kept under cultivation.^{1.}

In 1874 the first radical change in the agriculture of Kansas was made. In that year a farming settlement of Mennonites came to the state. They planted "Turkey Red", a hard wheat which proved to be particularly adapted to Kansas and which soon became the greatest crop produced by the state.^{2.}

The second great development in the history of agriculture in Kansas was the use of machinery. Kansas was well adapted for the use of machinery because of its broad, level plains. Production soon shot up as a result of the introduction of machinery and speculation in land began to take place. In the boom that followed many of the farmers lost all that they had because of over-expansion on their part in a desire to cash in on the profits while they could.^{3.}

The third stage in the development of agriculture in this state was the use of motorized machinery and the combine. This was accelerated by the World War and the fabulously high prices of wheat. Eventually, of course, the crash came from over-production, and today there are many problems in agriculture connected with this state, and in fact with all the grain growing states, which are too numerous and too complicated to be dealt with in this paper.^{4.}

1. Kansas Federal Writers' Project, op. cit., pp. 65-76.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

In the eastern part of the state the average subsistence homestead has been about 80 to 160 acres as a rule. In the western part of the state there is a need for more land because of the smaller yields to be derived from the property in that area. Thus, in the west of Kansas, farms usually have a minimum of 240 acres.^{1.}

At one time one-half of the hard wheat of the country was grown in Kansas. In the early seventies fruit trees were also grown and met with great success until the soils became so worn out that the trees stopped producing. The farmers then did not bother to practice rotation of crops nor did they plant leguminous crops to place the nitrogen back in the soil which their extensive farming operations had removed. In Kansas transportation has always been favorable to the farmer. The principal difficulties encountered in this state have been drought and speculation. At the present time soil building is being encouraged in Kansas by the government to render worn out soils, which were made so by careless use, productive again. The state is also a producer of large quantities of cattle and sheep, along with wheat, sugar beets, and corn, which are probably its most important crops.^{2.}

Kansas, from the first appearance of the Russian refugee in the United States, was one of the most popular havens for these people. The homestead land was a great attraction.

1. Kansas Federal Writers' Project, op. cit., pp. 65-76.

2. Ibid.

The climate of Kansas in being warmer than that of the states to the north was one of the important factors in making this state desirable for the early Jewish colonists.

The American Israelite and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations were two of the most important agents in the settling of the state by Jewish farmers.^{1.} The American Israelite particularly, through its editorial columns, spoke constantly for colonization in this state.

HODGEMAN COUNTY

BEERSHEBA

The most important settlement of Jews in Kansas was made in Hodgeman county at a settlement called Beersheba. There were many areas which would have been more favorable to an agricultural colony than this one. Although the land was composed of a fairly productive soil, the area was dry which made large farms a necessity for a successful type of agriculture. It was possible to farm, of course, but the district was not as well suited to agriculture as other sections were.^{2.}

The settlement on the colony in Hodgeman county began on July 29, 1882, when the first contingent of settlers left for their new home from Cincinnati, Ohio. They were sponsored by the Cincinnati Emigrant Aid Society. The Society's

1. American Israelite, July 27, 1883.

2. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

committee was composed of Isaac Mayer Wuse, Joseph Abraham, Abraham Trounstone, Moritz Loth, Henry Mack, and Max Isaacs who were in charge of the necessary arrangements to get the people off to the land and settled upon it.^{1.}

The first group of Russian refugees consisted of about fifty or sixty people. There were twelve married men with their families, and twelve single men. All of the members of the group were robust and strong. They had been carefully selected by the committee of the Cincinnati Emigrant Aid Society. All of them were volunteers and all of them were very anxious to get out on the farms in the land which they had heard so much about, and which had been represented to them as being so desirable in every way.^{2.}

The funds for the enterprise had been collected through the efforts of the American Israelite which had publicized the venture through its news columns as well as devoting many editorials to the excellence of the scheme. Subscription blanks had been widely circulated by the newspaper and a total of \$402.50 had been raised by the time that the first group of settlers had left for their lands. Livestock was also supplied to these settlers on the condition that they return the cattle to the next contingent of farmers who would be sent out to the same district after the success of the first group had been established. In other words, the calves were not to be slaughtered but kept as a nucleus

1. American Israelite, July 28, 1882.

2. Ibid.

of the future herd which was to replace the original herd given to them by the Cincinnati Society. This agreement was to be carried through within five years. Provisions were also furnished to the settlers by the Society as were small tools, and some of the larger farming implements.^{1.}

Along the way to the colony at Kansas the settlers were supplied with food by the Jews in the various cities which they passed through. Rules and regulations had been arranged for the government of the colony before the settlers left. Two men, Leo Wise, and Charles K. Davis of Cincinnati volunteered to accompany the settlers to their new home and to supervise the trip as well as seeing to it that the men became settled properly. These two men were empowered to buy whatever was necessary, and to employ the services of a practical agriculturist to act as superintendent of the colony. The rules, regulations, and conditions governing the Society had been drafted the day before the settlers left by Isaac M. Wise, Joseph Abraham, and Moritz Loth. They were adopted by the settlers without a single dissenting vote.^{2.}

According to the American Israelite the settlers were very well supplied with provisions and goods when they left. Although it is hardly possible to understand how all these supplies could have been purchased on \$402.50 we must record the statement of the Israelite:

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1. Levine, op. cit., pp. 48-55.
 2. American Israelite, August 4, 1882.

"They have been supplied by the Committee with wagons, horses, steers, harness, cows, sheep, poultry, agricultural and mechanical implements, dairy vessels, provisions, tents, cots, lanterns, and lamps, about everything necessary to go to work at once and put in a good patch of wheat this fall and to prepare shelter for themselves and their livestock for the approaching winter."

The colonists were also to have in their midst a minister who could serve as a schochet and a mohel, so that religious rituals would not be neglected. The group was also to have a Sefer Torah and a Shofar "so that they may live and worship God according to the dictates of conscience".² The colonists also had a blacksmith, a carpenter, a mason, a midwife, and quite a number of practical farmers among them in addition to the hired superintendent. They were all supposed to have been able to read and write and some of the colonists were reputed to have been intelligent scholars in Russia.³

By October 13, 1882, the colony was progressing in its efforts to have things so arranged so that there should be a certain amount of security during the coming winter. Houses had been built by that time as well as wells for all of the families. Plowing and sowing had also been done so that there could be a fair amount of spring wheat to harvest after the winter was over. By the date given above all of the colonists were in possession of their complete homesteads

1. American Israelite, July 28, 1882.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

of 160 acres and had fulfilled the requirement of building
the house and well on each one.^{1.}

In the meantime more families had been recruited for the project in Cincinnati, and they were sent out to the settlement in October. Five families of Russian refugees were sent out at that time in addition to a Hungarian superintendent by the name of Baum, "...said to be an excellent practical farmer".^{2.} In addition to the families which were sent in October there were thirty or forty more ready to go. They were waiting only for favorable weather to come in the spring, for otherwise the housing capacities of the colonists would have been taxed to too great a degree. The Cincinnati Emigrant Aid Society expected the colony to grow to 500 people by springtime, with the help of the Jewish communities of the large cities of the United States.^{3.}

The health of the colonists was satisfactory during their first few months on the land. The settlers complained about their food and also about the small number of cows and sheep which they had. At the time the settlers stated that they needed fifty cows and five hundred sheep, as well as two steers. "Such a supply would virtually secure the success of the colony."^{4.}

By November the expenses of the colony had amounted

1. American Israelite, October 13, 1882.

2. American Israelite, October 20, 1882. change to Ibid.

3. Ibid., i.e., October 13, 1882.

4. American Israelite, October 20, 1882.

to \$4,222.46. The Superintendent of the colony was in complete charge of all the purchasing and dispensing of goods. He was supposed to have been the superintendent of a large estate in Hungary before he took the position offered to him by the Cincinnati Society, and was said to have ^{had} the control of 200 farmers on the estate in Hungary. "All provisions, tools, farming implements, and cattle are under his direction, and he can with-hold these from any colonists who do not conduct themselves properly."¹

In January, 1883, the executive committee of the Cincinnati Emigrant Aid Society received the following joint letter from the settlers who had been placed at Beersheba:

"Messrs. Moritz Loth, Josephh Abraham, and
Gentlemen of the Agricultural Society:

"Respected Sirs:-

"May you ever prosper. All of us have signed our names to this letter. All of the brethren who are at present here in the Beersheba colony offer their thanks to you for the kindness and benevolence which you have shown to the~~r~~ destitute and miserable fugitives. May God grant you much health and prosperity and grace for the kindness with which you have treated us, and for the promise to aid us in the future. We have received from you boots, shoes, stockings, socks, blankets, flannels, and cat-tae, for which we, our wives~~r~~ and our children thank you. Indeed we are unable to express our thankfulness. May the all-good God reward you with all that is good and great.

"We have especially to thank Mr. Loth ~~is~~ that he has sent us so able and good a man as Mr. Joseph Baum for superintendent. We are highly satisfied with him. He busies himself for us in every way, and we obey him. He treats us all alike. To him we owe that each one lives in his own house. Oh gracious sirs! You

1. American Hebrew October 22, 1882.

have provided us with more than our ancestor Jacob prayed to God for, for he asked for bread and clothing alone. You provide us with all necessities in a still higher degree. Therefore we are under obligations to repay your kindness with the utmost gratitude, in that you have aided the like of us poor and miserable ones in our sorrow and need. May all go well with the members of the Agricultural Society. May you thrive in might and beauty as your grateful servants of the Beersheba colony wish it!"¹.

Two weeks after the receipt of the letter from the members of the colony Superintendent Baum was called to Cincinnati to make a report on the colony and its progress including the character of the people who had been placed on the land, and what he thought of the future of the settlement. Baum reported that he had the people under his control completely and that they "obey the word of command as soldiers".² At first the settlers were unruly and did not wish to pay the necessary heed to the directions of the superintendent. "...but by a systematic course they are now tractable and docile."³ According to Baum's report the settlers worked hard and without stop for six days a week. "On the seventh they meet together, observe faithfully the day, and perform their religious duties. After which they consult together for the common good, the Superintendent reading them the directions he receives, and instructing them in all things."⁴ Baum stated that the colonists were able to work with one another and also

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1. American Israelite, January 5, 1883.
 2. American Israelite, January 19, 1883.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid.

for each other. This statement contradicts some of the criticisms of the Russian colonists who stated that the settlers were constantly quarreling and never were united in anything that they did.^{1.}

As we have mentioned, one of the members of the colony was a schochet. He slaughtered meat every week and it was given to the storekeeper. Thus the colonists were never without their supply of kosher meat. "In fact everything is carried on in the colony that the most rigid Jew can exact."^{2.}

One of the colonists' sons was able to get \$1,000 credit from a Mr. Krouch of Larned, Kansas. With the money the young man put in a stock of goods and kept a store through which the colonists were supplied with household goods and general items needed on the farms. In addition to the butcher shop and the store which were both run by former farming members of the colony there was also a school. The school house was erected after the other houses of the colony were already put up and was met with great enthusiasm by the farmers who did all in their power to make the building possible. They agreed, that in addition to furnishing the necessary labor for the building of the school house itself, that they would also see to it that a school teacher was hired as soon as possible.^{3.}

One of the greatest needs of the colonists, according to the report of the Superintendent was cattle. Right-

1. American Israelite, January 19, 1883.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

fully Mr. Baum stated that the country was a grazing one. He did not make it clear that larger ranges would be needed by the Jews if they were to be successful with their cattle. To him all that was necessary was to be supplied with cattle and the rest would take care of itself. The Israelite stated in this connection that: "The Hebrew Union Agricultural Society will furnish them with stock if the means be within its power, but only as a loan, the stock remains the property of the Society until paid for by its increase---the full amount is to be refunded."¹ It was believed by Baum and the Hebrew Union Agricultural Society that the purchase of cattle for the people would make them self-sustaining.² The Israelite made pleas for funds for the purpose in its columns.

An illustrative account of how some of the early pioneers occupied themselves on their homesteads is shown through the following account which brings out how they took advantage of the natural growth of hay on the land when they came upon it:

"About August 1, Benjamin returned from St. Louis. He brought along a good two-horse wooden axle wagon, and a good yoke of five year old oxen, a two barrel shot-gun and lots of provisions and tools, and a hired man to assist him in putting up a good lot of hay. Including myself we were five men. I continued as chok, Benjamin to keep the breaking plow going, and the hired man, Klein, and Fox, to start and to keep at haying, to mow, and to rake....Every man did valiantly perform his share of the work assigned to him."³

1. American Israelite, January 19, 1883

2. Ibid.

3. Lebeson, op. cit., p. 310.

The first winter on the land for the Jewish pioneers in Kansas passed successfully. There were no desertions from the colony although the winter was not an easy one. The people consolidated their position and developed the proper attitude toward the work which they no longer regarded as being the very simple, pleasant life which had been forecast for them. They approached the summer with healthy attitudes toward the amount of labor to be done if they were to be successful in their attempts to settle on the land.

Back in Cincinnati the settlement was still regarded as being in its first stages. The backers of the group of settlers were quite enthusiastic about the potentialities of the group as shown through the editorial opinion of the American Israelite:

"The Beersheba Colony is as yet in a purely experimental state, and it will be impossible to speak definitely of failure or success until next fall. There is, however, but little doubt that the families now located there will after this year be able to earn a living by farming and stock raising combined."

As the spring passed into the summer the tenor of opinion concerning the colony changed, and the promoters of the settlement began to regard it as being almost certain to succeed. The following editorial is a good example of that attitude:

"All croakers, fault finders, and birds of ill-omen who have been decrying the Hebrew Union Agricultural Society and its colony at Beersheba are invited to read the report of Mr. M. H. Marks

1. American Israelite, May 25, 1883.

....At Beersheba we are done with all questions and experiments and theories; we have formed a colony and proved the possibility of successfully forming agricultural colonies of Jews, by putting one on a safe basis inside of one year, and in such location that a thousand families settling around them would still leave room for thousands more."

Marks started on his trip to Beersheba thinking that all was lost and that all of the money which had been poured into the colony by the committee in Cincinnati had been completely wasted. He was told by the men who met him at the station that things were not progressing as well as they should and that the colony was a failure. In this frame of mind he visited the settlement and wrote the following report:

"The colony consists of eleven families, 59 persons in all, of which 36 are children, and one is an unmarried young man. Each family owns 160 acres of land upon which they have built a dwelling (dugout). The majority are now building additions such as kitchens, alcoves, etc. Each house has a well with good water. The houses are clean and neatly whitewashed, some of their interiors being decorated with bric-a-brac. The eleven families live on an area of land covering six miles, i.e., the first settlers lives six miles from the last. The best building in the colony is the school house intended for both school house and synagogue. But there is no teacher and it is the duty of our board to provide one. Services are held every Saturday and holiday under Mr. Edelhertz, who acts as Chasan, Schochet, and is a first class farmer. The Sabbath is strictly observed and no labor is performed by man or beast. The colonists have plowed 350 acres of land, 200 of which are covered with sorghum in fine condition, and will in addition to several acres of kitchen vegetables last until next harvest, as all the men are able to work on the railroad, when not needed in the colony.

"The working force of the colony consists of five yoke of oxen, a team of mules, a team of hor-

ses, six plows, and five wagons. Domestic stock: 23 cows, 22 calves, and a great number of chickens, all of which are the finest stock to be had in the State of Kansas, and far superior to any owned by the older settlers in this part of the country. In addition to this they own various implements necessary for so distant a settlement, such as a full set of blacksmith's tools, planting and harvesting machinery, etc.

"Their neighbors, Americans, have done all in their power to help and assist the colonists with their advice....The work now on hand is to lay in fuel for the winter consisting of stacking up piles of cattle dung obtained from the great Texas cattle trail nearby. There is no wood and coal is much too high because of expensive transportation. The climate is excellent, little snow; the cattle can eat prairie grass all year round. Despite information to the contrary they had all the rain they needed and old settlers say that this section of the country suffers no more than any other. I am not prepared to say that the land here is as fertile as any other land, but from careful investigation I do find that after several years tilling of the soil any grain such as wheat, corn, oats, in addition to sorghum, rice, and broom corn, can be successfully raised. Still the greatest amount of money can be made in stock raising.

"The question: 'Can Jews become successful farmers?' is solved by the Beersheba colony----they can become successful tillers of the soil. Most of the farming failures have been due to theoretical farming. I am a firm believer in practical farming. I venture the assertion that out of every hundred of our successful farmers in this country not one ever heard of an agricultural school, and my idea of making farmers is to send them on a farm and let them learn by experience....The colonists have cost the Society about \$1,000 per family to put them in and independent condition. \$500 is the outside figure to locate heads of families with two to five children on government land provided that not less than two families club together until they have made their first harvest."

We might comment very harshly on this report of Mr. Marks which certainly did not bring out the factors concerning

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1. American Israelite, July 20, 1883.

the colony which soon brought about its undoing. His theory that agricultural practices are easily understood by the relatively uninformed are of course, not true. He probably did not consider what he wrote very carefully or he never would have made the statement that all that had to be done was to place a man on the land and let him go to work. We are already cognizant of the fact that this could never be true, as we have seen the failure of colonists where that seemed to be the theory behind settlement.

In June of 1884, Charles Davis, of Cincinnati, one of the men who led the colonists on their initial pilgrimage to the land, went out to Beersheba to investigate certain rather disturbing report which had reached the Hebrew Union Agricultural Society as to the condition of their colony. He found that the colonists were well-regarded by their Gentile neighbors who spoke of them as "temperate, frugal, industrious men who, with the exceptional difficulties which they had to face being in a country of whose language they were ignorant, and of undertaking work to which they were unaccustomed, had done so manfully, and had succeeded".^{1.}

Mr. Davis found that the superintendent of the colony, Mr. Baum, who had been in Cincinnati to report not so long before Davis' trip, was not regarded as the proper man for the position. He was also accused of not always having the best purposes of the colony in mind and of not be-

1. Levine, op. cit., pp. 48-55.

ing strictly honest in his dealings.^{1.}

Davis concluded the report of his visit to the colony by stating that all was well and that the colonists were doing excellent work in being gradually acclimated to their new lives on the land. He dismissed all charges as being fabrications and stated that not only was the success of the colony assured but that the inhabitants were^{2.} "contented and happy with their homes".

Before Davis had come to the colony the settlers had been in need of ready cash. Their position as to supplies was not good, and equipment and implements were also needed by them badly. It was partly to investigate this condition that the Hebrew Union Agricultural Society sent Davis out to the colony in the first place. Because of the need of money by the colonists they had leased a right of way through the land upon which they were living to a cattle syndicate. This had caused a great deal of excitement in Cincinnati, for the Society resented having the colonists doing anything without their approval first. Concerning this matter Davis made the following report:

"The matter was entirely misrepresented/ The transaction was legitimate and had the full sanction of all the neighbors. Before the contract was entered into a meeting of the neighbors was held and a resolution passed consenting to the transaction. This arrangement leaves the as much land as they can possibly cultivate and gives them the means to fence it around and replace the stock and implements taken from them

1. Levine, op. cit., pp. 48-55.

2. Ibid.

and sold by order of the Cincinnati Committee. Under this contract made for one year with the privilege of five, eight families receive \$200 per year, a living in itself. There was no feeling against the Beersheba colonists, nor is there any now. If there is any indignation it is against Baum who induced the Committee to take back the stock, implements, etc., that had been advanced to the colonists, and for his overzealousness in carrying out instructions," 1.

It is strange that no mention at all of the above fact is made in any of the reports in the Israelite. There is no statement in any issue of the paper bringing out the fact that the colony was deprived of implements by the very Society which placed it on the land but a short time before. The action was supposedly taken as a disciplinary measure because of the colonists entering into a contract without the approval of the mother society. The objections which were raised to the contract probably came from the Gentile neighbors who were envious of the ability of the Jewish farmers to make some money from the cattle companies because their favorable location was desired by the rangers in driving their cattle.

The following receipt was similar to many which were given to colonists of the Beersheba settlement and shows graphically how the sentiment of the Cincinnati society must have changed toward the colony which they settled.

"Cowlands, Kansas, April 9, 1884.

"Received of Moses Edelhertz property belonging to the Hebrew Union Agricultural Society to J. Baum, Agent:

1. Levine, op. cit., pp. 48-55.

"One pair oxen, two cows, one calf, one wagon, one yoke, one chain, one well bucket and rope, axe, shovel, churn, twelve milk pans, two milk buckets, hatchet, wheel-barrow, hand saw, file wrench, corn knife, one pair boots, one straw hat, one bale of wire.

"The above articles were turned over to me as a constable of Moss Township, for the Hebrew Union Agricultural Society.

"(signed) T.J. Patterson
Constable."¹.

This seeming deliberate wrecking of the colony established by the Cincinnati Society at such cost and effort does not appear to be logical in view of all that we have read about the Society's high ambitions for the colony which the had placed on the soil.²

Apparently nothing was done to revive the colony after the death blow had been given to it by its parent. At the same time it does not appear that the act of the Hebrew Union Agricultural Society was publicized in the city of its origin---Cincinnati. As late as 1884, about one year and a half after the colony had been deprived of its loaned goods the following article appeared in the Israelite which certainly does not suggest the radical move in taking away outside aid from the settlers:

"The Jewish press is now giving much attention to the problem of how to make farmers of Jewish emigrants. If they would send a committee to Cowlands, Hodgeman county, Kansas, they would find there Beersheba colony established in September, 1882, containing twenty families besides a number of unmarried men and women, who have re-

1. Levine, op. cit., pp. 48-55.

2. Ibid.

ceived no outside assistance of any kind since August 1, 1884, yet are prospering and increasing in numbers; have just completed and dedicated a synagogue, keep the Sabbath, live kosher, and are on good terms with their neighbors. But inasmuch as this was a Western experiment the wise men of the East cannot possibly benefit by its teachings."¹.

The tone of this item was, of course, unnecessarily hostile and belligerent. Its sarcasm was unprovoked and without cause for western experiments had been aided to a great extent by eastern agricultural societies, and yet all attempts to establish permanent settlements failed as we have seen in our consideration of the Dakota colonies. We must criticize the attitude of the American Israelite at this point for not being strictly fair in its outlook toward the work that was done by other people. Too often the newspaper had words of criticism for anything that did not meet with its immediate favor. This particular article was certainly out of place in the light of the Hebrew Union Agricultural Society's method of rendering the colony which they had planted on the land self-supporting. It is one thing to plant a colony and to give them the necessary support while they are in a formative stage and need such help. It is quite another to dump people on land, become angry with them for a slight matter which was mostly a misunderstanding, and to remove from them all vestiges of support and aid which had not been so very great even in the beginning.

In January, 1886 there appeared a final summary of this in the columns of the St. Louis Jewish Free Press:

1. American Israelite, November 20, 1885.

"The colonists attempted to promote harmony in their ranks by forming a society known as B'nai Azaryah. They organized a district school and engaged a competent teacher with the aid of the Cincinnati Society. Nevertheless the colony was reduced to a deplorable condition by its first manager, an energetic, but illiterate Hungarian. He governed the colonists by a rule of terror causing an obstinate attitude to develop which resulted in the requisition and sale of chattels by the Cincinnati Committee. The colonists reduced thereby to abject poverty, scattered to surrounding towns and engaged in odd jobs to eke out an existence. When they saved up enough to buy a couple of cows and horses a few returned to their claims." 1.

This closes the history of the colony at Beersheba, Kansas. As we have seen the account of the colony's existence was highly controversial at the time. The sponsoring committee did not care to admit many of its actions through the American Israelite which amounted to the official organ of the Hebrew Union Agricultural Society. After 1886 no record exists of any of the settlers as Cowlands. Not only was the land unsuited for the type of agriculture that was carried on, but the Jews could never acquire the land in large enough quantities to engage in cattle raising at which they might have been more successful than they were in attempting to raise grain and vegetable crops on the dry land of the area.

COMMANCHE COUNTY

But colonization did not stop in Kansas despite the failure of the Beersheba colony. The next colonization efforts which we shall consider were those carried on in Commanche county. In this county the soil conditions were and are more favorable to

1. St. Louis Jewish Free Press, January, 1886.

agriculture than they are in Hodgeman county. The land is level to gently rolling and consist of dark productive silty soils. Some of them are capable of supporting a fairly extensive agriculture although they are badly mixed in with areas not at all fit for agricultural pursuits. The land which can not be planted is suitable for grazing purposes. In some places the chief characteristic of the land is that it is composed of sand hills which are of course, not able to support anything but clumps of sage and small bushes of desert plants.^{1.}

We have already dealt with a Jewish colony at Newport, Arkansas which failed in 1884. Between this colony and one subsequently established in Kansas there was definite relationship. We refer now to the colony of Lasker.

LASKER

Lasker was located in Comanche county and was the scene of an agricultural colony soon after the failure of the group of people who had been located in Arkansas. After the failure of the Arkansas colony some of the settlers were not satisfied to have their hopes dashed to the ground so quickly and with so little of a fight. They wanted another chance and determined to try to locate elsewhere, where perhaps conditions would be more favorable to them in their efforts to become established on the soil. They felt that their previous experience would enable them to eliminate certain mistakes which they had made. They knew that their location had been bad, and they felt that if they

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

could settle in a place that was free from malaria and swamps they would be able to start where they left off and set themselves up in agriculture with very little outside aid.^{1.}

After the necessity to remove themselves from New port they settled in New York along with the rest of the colonists who had formerly been in Arkansas. They agreed among themselves to work until each of them had saved \$200. When they had that sum of money they were going to form another colony, using their former experiences as a basis for their work. They secured the ever-ready help of Michael Hellprin. But this was another instance when his promise for advancements of money and other forms of aid to them did not materialize and the prospective Jewish farmers were left on their own resources which were not too good. The would be colonists, in the meantime, were living frugally and working hard. They were saving everything that they possibly could in order to return to the land. They had worked out a scheme by which they thought they would be able to manage things better. The idea was to divide their membership into groups of six. Of each group four men would be sent to the land and two would stay in New York to support those who had gone, through their contributions to a general fund. They were to alternate working and farming so that all of the members of the the group would be given a chance to farm before the permanent settlement was made.^{2.}

1. Jewish Criterion, January 29, 1932.

2. Ibid.

During the formation of the plans of the group correspondence was carried on with the Montefiore colony which was located near Dodge City, Kansas, and had but recently been established. The prospective colonists were assured that there was plenty of land left for them in the same neighborhood. The colonists at Montefiore even offered to help the settlers decide on a tract of land.^{1.}

In the latter part of April, 1884, thirty of the colonists left for their new home. They went from New York to St. Louis first, where they inquired of the United States Land Office as to the location of available land. Upon being told where they would be most likely to find the amount of land that they wanted to found their colony, they prepared to leave and to take it up as a settlement. In their preparation they purchased horses, wagons, and implements for use on their farms and sent them ahead to Dodge City from which point they were going to go out on the land. The cost of the trip to St. Louis and of the equipment which they purchased was met by the funds in the treasury of the small organization.^{2.}

When the colonists arrived at Dodge City they were met by a group of the Jewish farmers who had settled at Montefiore. Upon invitation they went along with them to their settlement. When they arrived at the settlement they found that all of the available government land in the district had been pre-empted. Apparently they had not been apprised of that fact when they

1. Jewish Criterion, January 29, 1932.

2. Ibid.

had inquired at the Government Office for they had come a long way out of their path if they knew that no land was available for them in the district. The only thing for them to do was to find a place where there was land that was still open for homesteaders. They set about to do this immediately. They hired a scout and got into covered wagons and set out across the prairie in quest of land on which to settle. This was not a very wise or safe thing for them to do. In the first place there were still Indians on the land at the time who were not very friendly to the white men who were rapidly driving them out of their hunting preserves which they had used for so long a time. In addition to the danger from Indians there was even more danger of their being lost on the prairie without food, for they had no idea or knowledge of the geography of the land. They had only an approximate idea of the direction in which to go in order to locate a favorable area. It certainly was not the best way for them to try to find fertile soil to locate on, for they had no maps of fertility, nor were they advised as to the nature of the land upon which they were travelling over so great an area.^{1.}

Finally they were compelled to stop their travels because of sheer exhaustion. They located their colony, called Lasker, in southwestern Kansas, about 40 miles from what is now Ford City, but at the time a community of about five families. In this district they staked put their claims and filed their entries at the United States Land Office. An area of 3,840

1. Jewish Criterion, January 29, 1932.

contiguous acres of land was acquired by the colonists.^{1.}

The settlers built a large sod house which was to accommodate all of them during their first few months on the land. Since there were no trees in the immediate vicinity lumber had to be hauled for a distance of thirty miles. They put a roof on their house with much labor and at considerable expense. The cost of lumber was high because of the great distance involved in its hauling, and the labor in getting it across undeveloped prairies. After they had put the roof on their hut the fruit of their hard labor and expense was swept away by a storm.^{2.}

Water supply also offered the settlers a considerable problem. The only natural supply of water was the Arkansas River which was about fifteen miles away. They could not possibly haul water from the River to suit all of their needs so it was necessary for a well to be dug. It is hard for us to appreciate today the difficulty involved in digging a well on the prairie without motorized tools. The job was very difficult when only a shallow well was necessary, but when a great depth had to be reached before water could be found the job was one of intense labor. The settlers were not able to dig the well themselves and had to go to considerable expense to hire professional well diggers. With the help of the well diggers it took the colonists two weeks of extremely hard labor to strike water. A shaft of 200 feet depth had to be dug so far beneath the surface of the land was the water table. By the time the well had been

1. Jewish Criterion, January 29, 1932.

2. Ibid.

completed it cost \$500 which was a considerable sum of money in those days. The well was crudely built and it took twenty minutes of pumping to get the water up to the surface. Each day water was carried around to the different homes of the settlers with a team of horses since some of the men lived too far away from the well to be able to carry water each day conveniently.^{1.}

After the immediate need, that of supplying water to the colonists was taken care of, the men set about building houses for themselves. Up to this time they had lived in one large house which was unsuitable for them for any great length of time. This was true for the men had too great a distance to walk from the central dwelling to their land holdings. Therefore houses were built for each individual group of men. In all, there were six houses built at this early period. They all bordered on the land which had been plowed, since a furrow had been made through the whole three mile tract almost as soon^{2.} as the men were unpacked and settled.

The technique used for the construction of the houses on the prairies was rather interesting. Since the earth, when mixed with water possessed remarkable adhesive qualities the settlers were able to make a plaster by mixing a little dirt with water. For the sides of their houses they cut up sod strips and allowed them to bake in the sun until they became almost as hard as brick. When the sod strips were plastered

1. Jewish Criterion, January 29, 1932.

2. Ibid.

on the inside with mud which was left to dry the result was a draft-proof house which was remarkably well-insulated despite the simplicity with which it had been made. There was no floor to the houses and the only lumber was that in the roof. As we have mentioned lumber was a precious article and not something to be used indiscriminately. A lean-to was attached to each one of these sod huts. It was designed to serve as a chicken house, a barn, and a stable, if necessary. The small size of the lean-to did not matter since the men did not have many animals to keep in it.^{1.}

The settlers, who were mainly Russian, had a unique and rather intelligent plan for the government and the successful running of the small community which they had set up. One of the main difficulties which the settlers had encountered in the other colonies was the constant arguing which took valuable time from labor and disrupted the morale of the colony. To obviate the possibility of arguments in Lasker colony the settlers were divided into groups which were known to be congenial in religious and economic views. Each small group was composed of people who had the same temperament and who, when granted autonomy got along very well together. The type of government which any group adopted was entirely its own business. It could be individualistic, communistic, or socialistic, and no one cared. The members of any group could have religious services if they desired, but if they did not want to attend services or practice the tenets of their religion no

1. Jewish Criterion, January 29, 1932.

one was forced to do so. The importance of this plan might well be emphasized more emphatically. We are all familiar with the many cases of insanity that were induced by life on the open prairie in the great loneliness. Women, particularly, were apt to lose their minds because of the dreadful monotony of life in the Great Plains area. Quarrels were only natural for nerves were at the breaking point most of the time. Particularly in a colony where men were with each other all the time, where frequently they did not have enough to eat, and suffered many privations, the wisdom of trying to keep congenial people together may be recognized.^{1.}

The agricultural developments of the colonists were not very noticeable. One of the first crops which they planted was sorghum. Although the crop did well, and a great deal of it was harvested the settlement at Lasker was too far from any market to sell the proceeds of the labor of the men at a profit. Therefore, it was used as fodder. Wheat was also sown the first year on the land and turned out badly. It was just enough for consumption on the grounds of the settlement. The eggs which were gathered from the poultry which had been brought along were not a profitable item. They sold at only six cents a dozen in 1884 which did not pay the colonists to bring them into market or to ship them away from the settlement. Vegetables were only sufficient for home use. Thus the settlers did not derive any profit at all from their operations during the first year on the land. In fact, they did not earn enough to pay for the

1. Jewish Criterion, January 29, 1932.

material that had to be brought into the colony, such as clothes, and additional tools. Their meat all had to be purchased out of reserve funds which were supposed to be limited to other uses.^{1.}

The second year on the land was even worse. During that year a severe drought destroyed or damaged almost all of their crops resulting in a total failure. Wild horses destroyed almost all of the poultry which had been purchased at such an expense. Despite all these hardships during the first two years of their settlement the settlers were not dismayed. The men led a very active social life, meeting in the evenings for discussion and debate, reading books, of which they had quite a few, and engaging in religious worship on occasion. Religious services were held on the high holy days. Even those who did not take any interest in the regular daily services attended those for the holidays in the fall of the year.^{2.}

The plan of alternation by which members of the colonization association who had remained in the city were to come out to the settlement was carried out only in part. It was seen that the plan was hardly practical because it involved so much money to be spent on transportation. Another difficulty was the necessity of breaking in a man every time he came from the city from the type of work he had been accustomed to doing to the hard farm labor. Nevertheless the city members of the association kept their part of the agreement by contributing

1. Jewish Criterion, January 29m, 1932.

2. Ibid.

regularly to their fellow members on the farmlands, thereby demonstrating their sincerity and their desire to establish the colony on firm grounds. But despite this willingness to help, and to sacrifice, the colony was not able to last.^{1.}

In 1886 a land company began to buy up property around Lasker supposedly for use as an irrigation project. Prices of land immediately boomed and for the first time in history mortgage money became plentiful for use of the farmers. The prospect of having irrigation for their land filled the colonists with new hope. They put up with their crop failures and drought, along with the severe physical hardship which they constantly suffered. For most of them the temptation to take advantage of the inflation was too great, and they sold their land. The colony thus began to disintegrate through the very presence of a force which might otherwise have contributed to its security. Only two of the men had the courage to keep possession of their land. All of the rest took advantage of their opportunities to sell out and left,^{2.} because of the intense suffering which they had been through.

The irrigation scheme did not go ahead as planned, and with its collapse the two farmers who had remained were forced to leave. They were in debt, and they knew that without irrigation there was no hope of getting out of that position. When these two last colonists left in 1889 the end of Lasker colony had finally come. A hopeless up-hill fight had been

1. Jewish Criterion, January 29, 1932.

2. Ibid.

fought and we cannot help but admire the courage of the settlers in this colony.^{1.}

GILEAD

In March, of 1886, another colony was established close to Lasker. This was the colony of Gilead. It was founded by about twenty families of Roumanian Jews. This settlement, too, ended in failure after an existence much the same as that of Lasker.^{2.}

FINNEY COUNTY

Finney county, Kansas, was also the scene of some little Jewish agricultural activity in the eighties. This was an area of insufficient moisture for the successful carrying on of agriculture. The land was smooth in places which made it problematical whether crops should be planted or grazing carried on alone. There were certain areas where the only possible thing to do with the land was to open up the ranges for grazing.^{3.}

The general practice in this county regarding those who engaged in agriculture, was unique. After planting was over in the spring, since the crops required little attention during the growing season, many of the settlers would leave their farms and go into the cities. This was particularly

1. Jewish Criterion, January 29, 1932.

2. Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. I, p. 259.

3. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

true of those men who had a trade. Thus, "the mechanic even is he becomes a farmer finds himself better situated if he has an occupation to which he can turn his hand between times, which serves him well in case of the failure of his crops".^{1.}

TOURO

In Finney county there were two colonies established at approximately the same time. The first of these two colonies was Touro, or Tour as it was sometimes called. It was settled on March 20, 1886 by twelve Russian refugee families. Nine days after the colonists had settled in Touro they were nearly swept bodily off the land through a late spring blizzard. The blizzard caused a good deal of suffering because it prevented the settlers from completing their houses, which had only been begun. The colonists had to live in tents during the cold spell which was a period of intense discomfort. In addition to the great delay in building the houses caused by the blizzard, and the suffering, the crops of the settlers were slowed up. They had to plant them later than they had expected because of the generally cold spring which the district suffered during the year of settlement. By June, however, three houses had been completed and five acres of ground broken on each claim. As the crops of were put in they consisted mainly of corn, millet, sorghum, and a few vegetables. Despite a dry summer the settlers stayed on their land. They were interested in progressive farming

1. American Hebrew, June 4, 1886, Vol. 27, No. 4.

organizations and formed, along with their gentile neighbors the Home Protective Association. But the colony was not successful and failed after the first year on the soil.^{1.}

LEESER

Leeser was the second colony established in Finney county, also in 1886. It too was composed of Russian families and had a smaller number of people in it than did Tourp. Being in the same area it suffered the same hardships as did Touro, and also failed, a symbol of the extreme difficulty in establishing a farming colony on land that was fit for nothing but grazing.^{2.}

[As we review the history of so many failures it is impossible for us not to wonder why there was not a more careful examination of the land upon which all these people were sent to live. Quite obviously the reason for the popularity of the districts in the west was the fact that the land did not cost anything, being subject to the Homestead Laws. But if the land had been examined, and all of the incidental costs considered before the settlers were sent out, we cannot help but believe that a much more successful account could have been written concerning these colonies.]

BARBER COUNTY

Barber county, Kansas, was also the site of another

1. Levine op. cit., p. 59.

2. Ibid., see also Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. I., p. 259

agricultural colony of the eighties. In Barber county there were some lands which were capable of supporting remunerative agriculture. This county was a bit more suited to the carrying on of agriculture than were the other counties we have considered so far. But there were some area in this county which were, and are, completely unfitted for any type of agriculture, and which should have been devoted entirely to grazing which the Jewish colonists were not able to do.^{1.}

HEBRON

Hebron, the name of the colony of Jewish agriculturists in Barber county, was formed in 1882. The colony was aided in its settlement by the Montefiore Agricultural Society of New York. It started out with eighty families, one half of whom had private means and were thus not dependent on the Society for their support. The colony fared much the same as the others in the state. There were certain physical advantages which this colony enjoyed. There were creeks flowing through the settlement and water was available at from five to six feet beneath the surface of the ground. This simplified well-digging considerably.

Originally the colonists lived in dugouts which were in the side of one of the hills which surrounded the colony. There was only one real house in the whole settlement. That belonged to a "well-to-do" man who staked out an entire sec-

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.
la. Levine, op. cit., p. 56.

tion, 640 acres, for himself and his family. The house of this relatively prosperous individual cost only \$150, and its dimensions were sixteen feet long by sixteen feet wide, certainly not a mansion by any means.^{1.}

Due to the abundance of water in the district the colony was able to get along better than many of the settlements we have reviewed up to this point. It was still in existence in 1887, but did not last much later than that date.^{2.} Only a few of the farmers were able to make their land pay.

FORD COUNTY

The last county which we shall consider in Kansas is Ford. The soils in Ford county were capable of supporting a fairly remunerative agriculture if a reasonable amount of moisture could be assured during the growing season. Although the land was in some places almost pure sand in the form of dunes, its formation in other sections was strikingly different. In some places it was composed of dark, sandy loams, which were excellent crop producers if given the necessary rainfall.^{1.a.}

MOSES MONTEFIORE COLONY

Moses Montefiore colony was founded on March 27,

1. Levine, op. cit., p. 56.

2. Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. I, p. 259/

1.a. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

1884, by the Montefiore Agricultural Society of New York. Michael Heilprin was the colony's guardian angel, as it were, and it was largely through his efforts that the settlement was placed on the soil. According to the Jewish Criterion of January 29, 1932, the colony of Moses Montefiore was established in Ford County. This is contradictory to the Jewish Encyclopedia, and to Levine, op. cit., which state its locale as Pratt county, but since the statement is made the the colonists of this settlement joined the Lasker colony we are tempted to accept the statement in the Criterion as being correct because of the proximity to Lasker if located in the same county. Otherwise too great a distance would have had to have been travelled by the colonists in transferring from one colony to another. For our purposes, therefore, we shall consider the locale of the county as Ford and have indicated the colony's position in that area on our maps.

The colony was originally settled by fifteen families all of whom were young people. Unfortunately the area did not have sufficient water for the use of the settlers. In order to get any water at all deep and expensive wells had to be dug. The scarcity of water made for hardships and difficulties in the colony from the start. Soon after its settling the colony failed. According to Michael Heilprin: "This was due partly to the extreme poverty of the colonists and partly to the fact that the Montefiore Aid Society found its resources inadequate to meet the needs of the colony,

the possible difficulties of which had been underestimated." ^{1.}

After the failure of the settlement its members scattered. Some of them went east and settled at Alliance, in New Jersey. Others went to the Lasker colony in the same neighborhood whose fate we have already discussed. Within a year this colony was non-existent and the land which had been settled was sold. ^{2.}

This concludes our history of the Jewish farmer in Kansas during the Russian refugee period. The colonies in this state could certainly not be considered as successful. The colonists made noble struggles but their failure was pre-determined by conditions over which they had no control. Their chief difficulty was lack of capital, for had they had a greater sum of money they might have been able to buy sufficient land to go into cattle grazing or else purchase large enough area to farm in wheat so that their total crop would not have been a loss when drought struck them. With greater land areas diversified farming might also have been carried on in the state which would have helped by preventing all of the work done by a man being wasted because of a single crop failure.

NEBRASKA

From Kansas we turn to Nebraska in which state there were only two or three Jewish farm settlements. Nebraska farm-

1. Levine, op. cit., p. 57.

2. Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. I., p. 259, see also, Levine, loc. cit.

ing was not very old when the Jews came into this state. The state did not open up until 1857 after the Panic of that year. It opened then because with the loss of money the only thing that men could turn to was agriculture since that was the most secure occupation with which many of them were familiar. The farmers going into agriculture in the early days farmed primitively and met with mixed success, sometimes good, and sometimes bad, mostly bad. Corn and wheat were grown and stock and poultry were also raised. By the time that Nebraska became a state in 1867 railroad expansion had opened up the west and agriculture was entering its greatest boom period. Times were hard in the sixties when grasshoppers swarmed over the state. Grain prices were low and freight prices were high. The farmers became lean and angry and muttered constantly against the railroads. This was particularly true during the panic days of 1873. But in 1880 all changed. The rains came more regularly and the farmers grew enthusiastic. Expansion, wild and unbridled began, and continued until 1890, the start of a ten year drought which broke the magic spell and crashed dream castles into crumbling ruins. The period of drought was not without good, however. Through it a new type of farmer and a new type of agriculture was developed. Alfalfa was introduced, rotations of crops began to be practiced, the rotary drill came into use, planting was done in the fall instead of the spring, and sugar beets were planted. 1.

1. Nebraska, A Guide to the Cornhusker State; Federal Writers' Project, W.P.A., The Viking Press, New York, 1939., pp. 73-81.

But even with the change in agriculture there were many bad years. The pre-War days were years of mild prosperity and of general serenity. After the World War boom and the consequent collapse, agriculture was in worse shape in Nebraska than it had ever been. Almost all of the farms were mortgaged to the hilt and the farmers had to pay for farms which they had purchased at \$2.00 wheat prices with \$.50 wheat. Tenancy became high and foreclosures increased to a great extent.^{1.}

At the present time the most important crop in Nebraska is wheat. Nebraska is surpassed only by Kansas in wheat growing. Corn is less important than it used to be in this state. Forage crops are increasing as is livestock production. Sugar beet growing has also become important. At the present time strong efforts are being made in this state to correct the many mistakes that have been made and to adapt the size of the farms and the production of livestock to the soil, climate, and economic conditions of the area.^{2.}

LINCOLN COUNTY

The first settlement of Jews in Nebraska was made in 1897 in Lincoln county. The soil in this area was not very productive at the time of the location of the Jews in agriculture, since the drought during the few years previous had done a great deal of damage. Much of the land was rolling with some hills

1. Nebraska, Federal Writers' Project, W.P.A., pp. 73-81.

2. Ibid.

and occasional flats. Some of the land in the county is in sand hills covered with native grasses.^{1.}

In November, 1897, 21 out of 26 families who comprised the Occidental Cooperative Society of San Francisco, arrived in Lincoln county to take up land. The organization to which they belonged had been in existence for some time among the Jews who were in the city as refugees from the Russian pogroms... The land on which they were to settle was sold to them by Morris Cohn of Canon City who gave them easy terms on the land, the price of which was \$5.00 an acre. He sold them 500 acres at this price and also furnished them with \$3,000 worth of lumber with which they were enabled to build^{2.} their houses. Cohn also helped the colonists in other ways.^{3.}

Most of the Jewish families who went out to Lincoln county from San Francisco were well-supplied with money and intended to take up permanent residence in the section in which they settled. With the money which they brought along with them they were given good chances to get through the winter^{3.} and to start farming in the spring.

We have no further record of this settlement in Nebraska.

CHERRY COUNTY

Another settlement of Jews took place in Cherry county

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, *op. cit.*

2. American Hebrew, November 26, 1897.

3. Ibid.

in 1910. The soil in this area was mostly sandy with sand hills and native grasses. It was grazing, or wild hay land.^{1.} In 1910 fifteen Jewish families filed claims on government land taking advantage of the Kincaid Desert Land Act which permitted them to take up an entire section---consisting of 640 acres in a single claim. Since the land was suitable only for grazing that was all that these men attempted to do. These farmers came in with a fair amount of money and with some stock. Never truly agricultural we mention this settlement to show that there were some Jews who did engage in stock raising.^{2.}

LOGAN COUNTY

A settlement of Jewish farmers also existed in Logan county, Nebraska, at approximately the same time as Lincoln.^{3.} Here too, the same conditions prevailed.

SCATTERED SETTLEMENTS

Isolated Jews had settled in the state before the time of the settlement of the colony in Lincoln. By 1897 indications were that still more would be coming in. This was true because of the irrigation projects which were being rumored. According to the State Labor Commissioner of the time, a man by the name of Jennings, there were good opportunities for farmers in the state if they were competent agriculturists

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, *op. cit.*

2. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1911, pp. 33-34.

3. American Hebrew, November 26, 1897.

and understood irrigation. Jennings said that the land was fertile but needed water to make it productive. Irrigation schemes in the offing made the future for the area bright. "Mr. Jennings is of the opinion that in the spring there will be a large increase in immigration of this character pertaining to men who know agriculture and irrigation."¹

COLORADO

In Colorado we find one of the most interesting of all the Jewish farm colonies considered so far. This was the colony of Cotopaxi located in Fremont county, Colorado. We may begin the history of this effort at colonization with a soil report which is probably one of the least promising of any so far, at least from the point of view of agricultural activities being carried on in the land.

FREMONT COUNTY

Fremont county was almost entirely rough forest land interspersed with grazing land. There were also mountains in parts of the county interspersed with arid basins. There was some land fit for farming, however, although it was very little since it did not receive enough moisture.²

2. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

1. American Hebrew, November 26, 1897.

COTOPAXI

The colony at Cotopaxi was started May 9, 1882. Reports differ as to the number of families present at the beginning of the colony but it is safe to say that there were over ten, and under twenty. They were settled on 1,780 acres of land at a total cost for the first year of settlement of \$10,233.57. There was land available for fifty more families but the expense of settling colonists in the area was too great for more to be placed on the land. It cost from \$600 to \$1,000 to settle a family. The settlers were placed on very unfavorable land which was almost totally without rainfall, despite the name given to it---Wet Mountain Valley. They also located nearby in Old Grove Creek. The only time these areas were ever wet was in the period of spring floods when the colonists were likely to be completely swept off the land. For the rest of the year the area was dry, completely so, and could not support agriculture successfully without irrigation.^{1.} Out of the entire acreage of land taken up (1,780) only 100 acres could be cultivated.^{2.}

We may derive more concerning the history of the colony at Cotopaxi from a careful examination of two letters than from any other method. Probably the most interesting record of the colony concerns the dispute over managers and the deposition of two of them, one following the other. The full

1. American Hebrew, October 27, 1882.

2. Ibid.

story will be revealed to us in the following quotations:

"Some difficulty in the management of the colony having arisen, the Executive Committee of the Aid Society, (i.e., the New York Emigrant Aid Society) deputed Mr. Morris Tuska to go out to the colony and investigate the troubles, giving him the fullest powers in the premises.

"Mr. Tuska in his report says:

"Immediately on arrival I called on Mr. Julius Schwartz, the general manager of the colony, whom I found master of the situation, and who willingly gave me all the information required as to the doings of E. H. Saltiel, in whose care the colony was intrusted.

"The general condition of the colony, is, considering the many difficulties that arose from the mismanagement of Saltiel and from his omission to furnish the colony with the necessary funds--- a favorable one.

"Owing to the indefatigable perseverance of Mr. Schwartz, who rendered himself worthy of the trust put in him, the refugees were settled on Government land of 160 acres of land for each family. The lands are very fertile, full of phosphate, and of almost surprising growing power. The farms are situated on the first division of lands called Oak Grove Creek, and are drained by a creek that is always filled with water, and is more than sufficient for irrigating purposes. Here three farms are located. A high mountain range separates these farms from the second division of the lands, from the so-called Wet Mountain Valley. Here the rest of the farmers are located. Mr. Schwartz told me that although there is no water for irrigation he is confident that the farmers will in the winter be able to secure a supply by digging a three mile long ditch and filling the same with water, which is in abundance in the lake, situated in the mountains that border the farms and separate Fremont county from Custer county.

"The colonists sowed mostly potatoes---about 17,000 pounds altogether. Mr. Schwartz told me that he repeatedly requested Mr. Saltiel to give him the means to sow a large quantity of potatoes as they are saleable and greatly wanted; but Mr. Saltiel did not give him the funds required. 17,000 pounds will, as Mr. Schwartz says, yield about 140,000

pounds. 40,000 pounds he intends to save for seed-
ing purposes and 100,000 pounds he will put on the
market. The general price of potatoes varies from
one and one-half to two cents per pound; thus about
\$2,000 are expected from the potato crop. Cabbage,
peas, beans, cucumbers, beets, turnips, etc., have
been sowed, but owing to the slowness with which the
houses have been built, most of the garden stuff was
destroyed by grazing cattle, and what has been spared
is just sufficient to cover the household require-
ments. Had Mr. Saltiel used the money so readily
put at his disposal for the purposes of the colony---
for buying or hiring teams and plows, erecting houses
and buying wire for fencing, the colonists not only
would have been self-supporting, but been able to
repay every cent that has been spent for their sake.
As matters stand at present the colonists will be
able to pull through; they must however be provid-
ed with cows and wire fences. Mr. Schwartz proposed
to purchase twelve cows and wire fences for ten a-
cres on each farm and assures me that by means of
the income of the crop and by means of the cows that
will furnish them the two chief feeding articles,
namely milk and butter, they will make a livelihood,
and will next year get along splendidly, so much the
more as Mr. Schwartz has been offered labor for the
refugees during the winter, which will help towards
defraying their expenses for living.

"The facts are that Mr. Saltiel used the money
put in his hands for his own purposes and left sever-
al bills unpaid which he said were paid by him. He
did not build the houses although having received the
money for them and thereby caused the colony much dam-
age, much annoyance, and much disgrace on account of
his actions; and fully trusting in the ability, in-
tegrity, and energy of Mr. Schwartz, who in my strong
belief is the only man that prevented the colony's fi-
nal destruction. It is with much satisfaction that
I note that the Society possesses a faithful, honest,
and persevering officer in Mr. Schwartz, who gives his
heart, his mind, and all his time to his duties. Mr.
Schwartz is now the only manager of the colony, and
is ably assisted by Mr. Leon Tobias, who acts as field
overseer.

"Permit me now to give you a statistical state-
ment of the families that compose the colony:

"There were on the 30th of July 14 families, com-
prising 61 souls, 34 males and 27 females. One family
consisting of six souls I sent to Denver on the request
of the head of the family, Abraham Moskovitz. Another

family, the Schochet, Joseph Friedman, who was sent on the recommendation of Mr. Saltiel, who promised to assist him but who failed to do so was also sent to Denver, as there was no prospect for his making a living in the colony. Since my leaving Cotopaxi, 15 more persons, relatives of the colonists, were sent there, making the total number of families, fifteen, with 64 souls, 34 males and 30 females. The working force amounts to thirty persons.

"The sanitary conditions of the colony leave nothing to be wished for. No serious cases of sickness have occurred. The refugees show a very favorable appearance, look well, and robust since Mr. Schwartz took over the colony. Kosher meat is procured from Denver, and the people are well satisfied with their food. The colonists are clean and neat, and take good care of their children. The children will receive education at the public school erected at Cotopaxi. Mr. Schwarz will see that the houses are finished and the crops sold at a profit. The colonists keep their religion in accordance with the ancient customs, keep the Sabbath and holidays, possess a Sefer Torah donated by Rev. Dr. Baar and are on friendly terms with their Christian neighbors. The colony required thus far the following funds: \$6,260 paid to Mr. Saltiel, \$500 paid to E.S. Hart by me, \$1,000 sent to Mr. Schwartz so far. Total \$6,750. Mr. Schwartz wrote me that \$500 more will be required for food, \$600 for cows, and about \$350 for wire, making the sum that the colony cost the Society \$8,200. The colonists are aware of the fact that they will have to return the expenses laid out for them, and I have no doubt whatsoever that the Society will be partly repaid. I hope despite the many drawbacks this colony had to undergo it will be maintained and stand as a monument of Jewish charity, and as the best proof of the laboring abilities of the refugees and their capacity and competency to become farmers. Jewish farmers are looked upon with scorn; the Cotopaxi colony has and will render evidence that such scorn is nothing but prejudice, and that the Jew can make as good a farmer as any other human being.

Respectfully submitted,
(signed) Morris Tuska¹.

1. American Hebrew, October 4, 1882, Vol. 12, No. 8.

The answer to the above letter was not long in coming from Mr. Saltiel. It is reproduced here:

"Cotopaxi Placer Mining Co.,
Cotopaxi, Colorado, October 19, 1882

"To the American Hebrew:

"In your issue of October 4, 1882, I find a publication purporting to be a 'report' of Mr. Tuska, on the condition of the colony of Russian refugees now here. The glaring falsehoods contained therein necessitate a reply, and as you have given publication to Mr. Tuska's side, I must respectfully request that my side be given, and assure you that in every charge made, I hold substantial proof, both under proper oaths administered by proper persons and officers or by letters written by persons in high repute.

"In the commencement of the quotation from Mr. Tuska's report he states that 'Immediately on my arrival, I called on Julius Schwartz, the General manager of the colony whom I found master of the situation, and who willingly gave me all information required as to the doings of E.H. Saltiel in whose care the colony was intrusted.'

"In this opening paragraph the entire foundation for the falsehoods concerning my 'doings' is laid bare and the reason for the criminal libel, thereafter perpetrated can be briefly shown. In the first place, Schwartz, a relative of Mr. Tuska, was employed at the office 15 State Street last April as a clerk at a salary of Ten dollars a week, out of which he boarded himself, and was, after several conversations, between M.A. Kuresheedt, Esq., and myself, appointed, or hired at a salary of \$20 per week to go to Colorado as a clerk and interpreter to the colony. I went to Colorado at my own expense and arranged for the building of a number of houses during the summer months, guarding, as is usual, loss or delay to the Contractor from flood, fire, or visitations of Providence. On the eighth day of May this contract was verbally agreed to, between the Contractor and myself, and a memoranda agreement in writing was drawn up, but not signed on that day, but a short time afterwards the signatures of both parties were attached, and the houses proceeded with.

"The Refugees arrived on May 9th, at Cotopaxi, and on May 11th, I requested Mr. Schwartz to accompany a colored farmer, one Edward Jones, to Oak Grove Creek with a few of the colonists to stake out the bottom land under the farmer's direction. In the afternoon the whole of them returned discontented, and reported a fierce quarrel had taken place between Schwartz and themselves and they did not like the land. Quarreling continued between Schwartz and the colonists at intervals, until early in the morning of May 12th when I was awoke by loud cries and shouts. I immediately partially dressed and started for the door of my house where I found Schwartz terribly excited, surrounded by a threatening mob of men and women. Not understanding their language I at length, by asking a few questions in Hebrew got to understand that they had demanded their 'declaration of citizenship' papers and that Schwartz had refused to deliver them up. I at once peremptorily ordered him to bring them to me, as the colonists made themselves understood that they wanted to leave Cotopaxi. On obtaining their papers from my hands with the exclamation 'Go in peace! God be with you!', they quieted down until Schwartz turned on them with an hateful look and made use of some angry expression in German that I did not understand. Whatever it was, it had a similar effect to throwing oil on a fire, and a regular mutiny broke out; so much danger did I consider him to be in that I called to a couple of men and had rifles loaded to protect him should it have been necessary. During this time the colonists were comfortably housed in a long house that I had bought for them and in two log houses that I owned and had hitherto used for several of my miners. Detailed account of the tribulations of the colonists were sent to the Secretary and to L. Gershel, Esq., of New York; and all of which are set forth in full in my report now only waiting a settlement with the Society to complete.

"For about four weeks after his arrival, Schwartz worked hard, and being a young man, entirely ignorant of everything pertaining to either pioneer life or methodical business, did really well, and his efforts to overcome the novelty of the situation received from me warm praise. On May 27th I went with Schwartz and another man into the Wet Mountain Valley, and selected a corner to start a survey line, and gave directions to run from that point as a center and take up 2,000 acres of the best land. I drove three stakes into the ground and directed Schwartz to tell

the colonists that ploughing must commence the following day. One team of good horses and two plows had already been provided from funds sent to me from M.A. Kursheedt for that purpose. Syéreal of the colonists had appealed to me to give them lots to build upon, on the town site of Cotopaxi, of which I am the largest owner. I agreed to grant them to a 49 year lease---and under certain condition and restrictions permit them to take the water from the Cotopaxi Placer Mining Co. ditches---of which company I was President. Two families only, out of the twelve here appeared settled and willing to work the land with a determination to succeed. To these families I apportioned two buildings' lots each and ordered the Deputy County Surveyor to run certain lines across my land to enable the houses to front what will, at an early date, be a business street. This Deputy Surveyor Freeman had already been engaged by me to lay out and survey the lands for the colony, and it took him about two and one-half days to run the lines across my lands for the benefit of these two deserving families. That has been the only cost that the Society has been at in this matter.

"About the end of the fourth week after arrival here I found that Mr. Schwartz began to grow somewhat discontented over not having received his salary, and as he had learned by letters received by him from New York that Mr. Kursheedt had either resigned or that change was about to take place he urged me to go to New York and see if I could obtain some further aid to guard these people during the coming winter and especially to look after his salary. On my asking how much was due him he replied that some six weeks salary was due, and after I had figured it up at \$20 a week he demanded that his board be added to it. I was so astounded at the proposition that I determined to simply hand him \$20 on account, pay his board bill, and leave to the society to settle up with him. I said nothing at the time to Schwartz but found that my business was suffering from the time and attention that I had given to the colony, for which I neither received nor asked for any compensation; but as I had performed work for which Schwartz claimed both pay for and the merit of doing, I determined to have him earn, if I could, his full wages in the future. By my direction the horses of the colony were carefully stabled in a neighboring barn, neither Mr. Schwartz nor the field foreman Tobias pay-

ing much attention to them. I had my son and another lad take them up nearly every night. By terribly hard usage the horses became slightly disabled. I ordered them carefully taken care of for a few days by Edward Jones, and as soon as they had recovered admonished Schwartz of the necessity of caring for the horses better. So neglectful had Schwartz become that on the 15th of June I felt compelled to tell him that he had neglected his work. I at once noticed his suppressed anger, but never imagined that it would lead him either of his own accord or by conspiring with others to defame my fair name. In the meantime two houses had been completed and occupied by the Nudelman and Chutman families notwithstanding Mr. Tuska's report that 'Seltiel had failed to build the houses', and over 40,000 feet of lumber, a large quantity of nails, doors, windows, spikes, and materials purchased to build other houses, the greater part of which had been delivered on the ground near the railroad depot. In addition to the building material, six out of twelve No. 8 Western cooking ranges, costing in Canon City \$25 each had been delivered as well as stove pipe and cooking utensils. One June 25 it became necessary for me to employ a lawyer on behalf of the colonists, as Mr. Schwartz reported to me that an attempt had been made to illegally take away two parcels of land that the colonists had located on. I paid for that purpose \$25 as a retainer to have the matter looked into.

"Having found that the funds on hand were insufficient to both complete houses, buy wire fence, cows, etc., that were necessary, I reluctantly left my business and started for New York, to lay before the Society the exact condition of affairs. In the meantime I requested the then contractor, Mr. Hart, to continue building houses steadily on the farms until my return, and ordered ploughing to be continued and a turnip crop be planted early in July. About 14,000 of seed potatoes had been sowed prior to the 21st of June, and a supply of seed for later planting, such as turnips, etc., that are always planted in July in this part of Colorado.

"My orders before leaving here were to push forward the building of houses vigorously upon all farms selected by the colony, and particularly to take good care of the horses. Several coils of wire fence I purchased, so as to start fencing in the most exposed parts, and requested Schwartz to see that the men cut sufficient posts and have them set in the ground ready

to receive the wire as soon as the Society should have supplied sufficient funds to obtain it. Mr. Schwartz gave me profuse promises that these instructions would be carried out, and the man Tobias, who acted as field man well understood my directions. I placed great confidence in Schwartz so much that, at the time he passed his time almost entirely with me---slept in the same bed and actually became a confidante of my social affairs and secrets. While absent in New York trying to aid these people I received several letters, now in my possession from Schwartz, urging me to try to procure for his father a position in the Society, on account of his father's financial condition, and also urging me to have his salary paid at \$27 per week. This, I afterwards learned, was all that he had done during my absence of over three weeks in New York.

"On my return to Cotopaxi I found the horses dead---owing to the two men Schwartz and Tobias, not taking the proper care to have them stabled at night. They were run over by passing trains on the railroad. The few rolls of wire fence remained where I had left them and no fence posts of any consequence had been set in the ground. It was reported to me that Schwartz had not visited the Wet Mountain Valley settlements during my entire absence. The colonists crowded round me on my return with complaints and lamentations. I told them that I could not understand much of what they said, but that if they had any real grievances to set them down in writing, and I would consider them. Tobias heard me tell them that it was the duty of Schwartz, the salaried man to have taken care of them. Schwartz knowing the facts also, immediately set to work, changed his entire behavior towards me, and commenced the preparation of a Jesuitical plan to circumvent what he readily understood must be my action, namely a demand for his instant recall from the position that he had of late so poorly filled. I telegraphed on the 17th, 19th, 20th, and 21st to Henry S. Henry that wither Schwartz leaves or I cease my connection with the Society. I was ignorant at the time of the fact that he Schwartz, was a relative of Mr. Tuska.*** Mr. Tuska arrived on April 30th and left on the 31st. It will be perceived that there was a motive to shield Schwartz or why did Tuska go to the salaried clerk of the colony instead of the Trustee and General Manager, who gave his time and labors gratuitously. In my letter of instructions from Mr. Kursheedt, no men-

tion was made of Schwartz as a manager---he simply came here as an interpreter and clerk, or so I was informed. It must be plain to ever intelligent person, that a green student only 18 months in America, and never without a guardian, far away from his parents, could successfully plant a pioneer colony in one of the wildest spots in the Rocky mountains of Colorado, and without any previous training. Whilst I, who have lived here eighteen years, mined successfully and brought hundreds of men to the mountains, and am personally known to all the leading men of Colorado from the Governor down to the county clerk of my county, for the past sixteen years, could make a rank failure of a refugee colony. The article published in the New York Herald during the last days of my personal supervision, and written without my knowledge by Mr. Schwartz gives the direct lie to the report made by Mr. Tuska on his visit a couple of weeks later. The utter absurdity of Mr. Tuska and his impudence in attempting to make our co-religionists believe in what he has called a report is best exposed to the scorn it merits by quoting one of his own paragraphs, in which he absurdly states:---

"'Cabbages, peas, beans, cucumbers, beets, turnips, etc., have been sowed, but owing to the slowness with which the houses have been built or, better said, owing to their not being built at all, most of the garden stuff was destroyed by grazing cattle, etc.'

"Mr. Tuska first stated that Mr. Saltiel did not give Mr. Schwartz funds to purchase potatoes and other seed. Mr. Schwartz never asked nor did he have the authority or reason to ask for such funds, as I had ordered and paid Mr. Hart for such seed potatoes and other seed that he, Hart, had procured and delivered according to my orders, and which my bills previously sent in fully exhibit. Mr. Tuska then goes on to state that because the houses were being 'slowly built', or as he would have probably liked to have had them 'not built at all' crops would not grow. It is the first time in my life of experience in the mountains and valleys of the far west that I have ever heard of 'cucumbers, peas, beans, cabbages, beets, and turnips', requiring 'houses' to make them grow or to shelter them. The proposition only tends to further show that Mr. Tuska is as ignorant of the subject that he essays to write or report on as his nephew is boastful of his integrity and ability to manage colonists in Colorado. I regret to be compel-

led to take up so much of your valuable space in defending myself against the malicious attack that your columns have been made the channel of procedure, but I cannot close without stating the actual facts of the case which are as follows:---

"In the winter of 1881-1882 I was urged by several of the directors of the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society to visit the office at 15 State Street. I reluctantly consented to go, and one day in the company of Uriah Herrmann, Esq., I went there and was told of sending off emigrants into Louisiana and other Southern States. I was asked my opinion, and freely gave it to the effect that the peculiar training of the Israelites and their wants would of themselves be sufficient to cause failure when brought into competition with the half-starved, half-clothed negro of the South or the cheap pork and corn eater of Missouri and Arkansas, and I therefore recommended the rich phosphate soil of Colorado and the speedy growing and hardy vegetables as the most likely crop to have them succeed in raising. After many subsequent interviews with M. A. Kursheedt, Esq., Hon. M. S. Isaacs, L. Gershel, Esq., and Uriah Herrmann, Esq., I consented to look after the colony so far as my mine operating business would permit, and by request made a proposition and estimate which upon due deliberation by the Committee was accepted, and I selected a number of families for a colony, that with no change in the management would have been a success today instead of a failure, excepting for the aid extended by myself and the railroad company in the shape of daily work for which they were paid actually more than they could earn when compared with the muscular Christian laborer. At the time of Mr. Tuska's arrival, the potatoe crop was several inches above the ground---thousands of cabbage plants were growing and all other seed plants were growing, and all other other seed planted. Similar imaginary complaints, such as is heard every day in New York City from the refugees whenever a prominent Israelite comes near them, was repeated to Mr. Tuska. What Schwartz in an attempt to obtain revenge for my requesting his dismissal may have tried to have coached them in, is unknown to me, although I am informed that he acted as prompter to them to air their new found grievances to his relative for nearly two hours. The whole burden of the complaint seems to have been and yet is 'the houses are not being built quick enough!' Mr. Hart explained to me that a great flood had come about twelve hours after my departure for New York and washed away both wagon and railroad bridges and thus pre-

vented him from building as quickly as he could have desired. This, and other reasons equally legitimate, prevented the houses that would have been built in the West Mountain Valley from being rapidly constructed.

"After Mr. Tuska had left, as I had been pleased to learn requested Schwartz to look after the colonists, what really was the duty for which he had been salaried. I talked with Mr. Hart and got him to turn over the building contract to me and such building material as he had on hand, and permitted him to apply the various sums of money that I had paid him to my credit for other matters that I might require excepting \$500 for the reception house, which I had already turned over to the Colorado Placer Mining Co., and I personally assumed the responsibility of building the houses, and have since that time quietly proceeded with them with two carpenters. I have given some of the men of the colony frequent employment and have two families yet in my log house, burning my timber and using a stove free of charge.

"At the time of Tuska's flying visit he expressed himself pleased with everything excepting the slowness of the housebuilding. He even went so far as to talk of uniting a certain smelting works that he owned with one of my mines, and asked me if Schwartz would not make a good secretary. Other incidents occurred that lead me to the belief that Mr. Tuska has been somewhat imposed upon, other wise a man of his standing would not have risked a heavy lawsuit for criminal libel.

"In regard to Friedman the Shmochet, he arrived after I had ceased controlling the colony, but I contributed \$10 to his aid. Schwartz prevented his remaining. So far as the colony is concerned today, the majority of them are on my lands gratuitously leased to them, at their earnest solicitation, and are sincerely happy for being thereby enabled to keep their religious services in sight of my mountain home. They are not living on the imaginary crops raised by the vivid imagination of Schwartz, but upon the proceeds of their labor done for the railroad company, and in my mines.

"What was the actual cause of the failure of their crops? Nothing more or less than the unnecessary time consumed in the preparation for every little religious feast or fast, engagement or marriage celebration. Schwartz, by pandering to these super-

stitious ceremonies, obtained a mastery over their minds, and encouraged superstition and bigotry, and when one little man, Snyder, with more manhood than the balance, had the temerity to tell Schwartz and Tobias of their miserable activities and called them rascals, they had him formally excommunicated and actually prevented him and his family from being employed and earning a living. The incapacity of Mr. Schwartz is not in itself blameable, as experience was lacking; but his persistent attempts to destroy the good name that I have earned by nearly eighteen years of hard and generally successful work in this state, is what I condemn, as sooner or later the truth must come out. I will, Mr. Editor, before closing hereby declare that I can take this colony of Russians and without a dollar from the Society make them sow their crops in the Spring of 1883, and without a calamitous visitation from Providence, put every family in a good position by the fall of the year with abundance to live on and spare."¹

Emanuel H. Saltiel

While we may be tempted to regard some of these letters in a humorous vein, their connotation was quite serious to the men who were directly concerned with the whole affair. To us it is obvious that no colony could exist under conditions where constant bickering and quarreling was the keynote. We are also aware that the land at Cotopaxi was not favorable to the settlement of an agricultural colony upon it, and that no matter how efficient the managers of the colony might have been there was scant hope for its future prosperity.

The value of these two letters lies in their first hand demonstration of the quarrels and minor problems that beset those who would form a colony. We do not try to uphold either Schwartz or Saltiel, let their letters speak for them. It is obvious that both men were at fault and that because of

1. American Hebrew October 27, 1882.

their actions the end of the Cotopaxi colony was hastened.

After Saltiel had been deposed and Schwartz put in his place the colony fared no better. Finally the colonists decided that they, themselves, were going to have to try to do something. They sent a delegation to Denver which pleaded the cause of the colonists before a mass meeting in that city. The meeting was held on January 30th 1885. After the meeting both of the leaders of the colony were formally deposed and charged with culpability for the failure of the settlement. It was felt at the time that unless something happened very soon to the colony the attempt at settlement^{1.} would soon be over completely.

In February, the cause of Cotopaxi was taken up by the American Israelite which stated that the condition of the settlers at Cotopaxi was "a stigma and a disgrace in this land of plenty".^{2.} The newspaper also appealed for \$50,000 for the colony. It was fortunate that the Israelite's request for money was not answered for anything more that would have been put into the Cotopaxi attempt would only have been wasted. Apparently many people were aware of this fact and so did not pay much attention to the passionate pleadings of the Israelite which were becoming pretty much a matter of course so far as the many refugees' colonies were concerned.^{3.}

In May, 1883, the following announcement appeared

1. Levine, op. cit., p. 65.

2. American Israelite, February 23, 1883.

3. Ibid.

which marked the official end of the colony:

"The settlement at Cotopaxi has been abandoned and all the colonists have gone to other places."^{1.}

This was the rather ironical answer to the proclamation made in such emphatic terms by Manager Huius Schwartz on October 23, 1882, as follows:

"I pronounce the agricultural colony in the Rocky Mountains a full and complete success; the question whether Jews are fit to become farmers solved and answered in the affirmative!"^{2.}

We can readily understand the causes of failure with such a man as superintendent of the colony.

LOGAN COUNTY

Logan county, Colorado, was also the scene of a Jewish colonization attempt. This area is in need of irrigation before any successful agriculture can be placed on the land. Moisture is unreliable or deficient although there is some smooth land with fairly productive soils. The best and most profitable labor for a man in this area is cattle raising for their is considerable grass, and water holes are not infrequent.^{3.} Apparently, however, the Jewish colonists, were not dismayed over the condition of the land. They, and their sponsors were sure that a settlement could be made on it.

1. American Israelite, May 25, 1883.

2. American Jewish Yearbook, 5673, pp. 60-61.

3. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

ATWOOD

This colony was settled at Atwood, in the southern part of Logan county on the Platte River and was one of the later colonies settled in the west. It was not projected until April of 1896. Atwood was composed of Russian refugees who had been in the country for some time. The land which the prospective colonists were to take up was already in ditch in March, 1896, preparatory to being irrigated. It was to be sold to them on very easy terms and the settlers were to be able to discharge their indebtedness within a short time.^{1.}

The colony was to consist of about 200 Jews altogether. They were to purchase land, cattle, houses, and seed on very favorable terms. "The ground was well adapted to agriculture since vast sums of money were lying idle in reservoirs, canals and ditches for irrigating purposes."^{2.}

This is the last record which we have concerning this colony. It is doubtful whether any large number of colonists ever settled. It is even more doubtful whether they were successful after they had settled. Irrigation farming methods could not be learned immediately and the type of farming was expensive, since in an area where water was scarce it was not to be had for nothing, particularly after large expenditures had been made to construct the necessary ditches and reservoirs for the irrigation which was to be carried on. We may

1. American Hebrew, March 27, 1896.

2. American Hebrew, April 10, 1896.

safely assume that the colony was of no great importance, if it was ever settled.

WELLINGTON SMITH'S VALLEY

Mention is also made of a few families who settled in an area known as Wellington Smith's Valley in Colorado. These families were from San Francisco and numbered five, all told. Their place of location may be surmised to be at Wellington, in Larimer county. After their first record in the American Hebrew of November 26, 1897, there is no future mention of their progress or success or failure.

Colorado was a difficult state for an inexperienced farmer to make a living in, in the early nineties. Irrigation was the only hope of salvation, and that required an enormous investment. It has not been until the last few years with the United States Government Irrigation Projects that agriculturists future in Colorado has been at all promising.

MONTANA

Montana was the locale for at least eight Jewish farmers before 1914. The settlement of these few men was located twenty-six miles northwest of Lavina, in and around the present county of Golden Valley. In the district farming was not very profitable because the land was dry and rains were scattered and few. Even dry farming could not be relied

on in this district because of the uncertainty of moisture. 1.

WEST LAVINA

The Jewish farmers who settled in the district called West Lavina were interested in a very narrow valley where the soil was supposed to be quite fertile. Theland had been opened up by an extension of the Aberdeen branch of the Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway. When the Jews settled, in 1908, they were encouraged by the future promise that the railroad would be further extended to pass through their lands. 2.

These men could not have been very well-known as a unit for their is no record of their subsequent history in the area. The settlement was significant for it was not in the form of a colony, nor is there any evidence to show that it was composed entirely of Russian refugees. It is possible that these farmers or their descendants are still in the locale today, although the assumption is not based on much fact.

UTAH

We have records of only one settlement of Jews located in Utah. It is true that some Jews may have settled in the state independent of any outside help, but we do not feel that an independent settlement was likely in rough

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

2. J.A.A.S. Report, 1908, p. 25.

country where it was necessary for the settlers to brave the hardships of pioneer settlement.

CLARION

The settlement of which we speak was located near Clarion, in Sanpete county, Utah, on the Sevier River. The land was not well suited to agriculture. It was mainly grazing land, arid, and rough with few trees. The land included areas which could conceivably be used for dry farming or farming with the help of irrigation, but in general the land was not suited for the usual type of agriculture which the Jews were able to carry on with their limited experience.^{1.}

Clarion colony started rather late. Indeed, it began after almost all of the other western colonies had given up. Its beginnings took root at a meeting in Philadelphia on January 16, 1910. At that meeting there were about 150 persons, all Jews, who were interested in leaving their professions and returning to the soil, from which, incidentally, few, if any, came. They were chiefly tradespeople who had grown weary of the city and had decided that they would try their hand at something else. These individualistic persons^{1.a.} organized the Jewish Agricultural and Colonial Association at the meeting and began to formulate plans to purchase land for a colony and to raise the necessary funds to place themselves on the land. Among the group were three graduates

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.
1.a. According to Jewish Philanthropy, Bogen, pp. 129-130, the society was called "The Utah Colonization Fund."

of the Baron de Hirsch Agricultural School (Woodbine). Benjamin Brown, one of these men, was elected President of the newly formed society and was chosen as the future manager and leader of the colony.^{1.}

In order for the members of the society to be eligible on the land to be purchased, each individual was to invest \$350 in the organization. This investment placed him on the eligible list for those who were to go out to the land when it was bought. There was also a bond issue of \$150,000 authorized which was to be secured by the real estate of the colony.^{2.}

The colonists to be, decided that Utah was the state in which they wished to settle and in August, 1911, they purchased 6,085 acres of land directly from the State. The land was purchased by them at public auction through W. D. Grandall, Chairman of the State Board of Land Commissioners.^{3.}

The plans of the Society included the placing of 500 families on the land. The initial settlement was to consist of 200 families who were to go out to the settlement in the Spring of 1912. Eventually the Jewish Agricultural and Colonial Association expected 1,000 families to be settled on the tract of land which they had purchased for amounts running from \$2.50 up. "It is considered admirable suited for agriculture with comparatively little work needed to grow the first

1. American Israelite, August 24, 1911.
2. Ibid., see also, Levine, op. cit., pp. 76-79.
3. American Israelite, loc. cit.

crop." ^{1.}

Once again the enthusiasm of the Israelite was more hopeful than accurate, or practical.

Many of the members of the Society were poor people and had to borrow money to make the necessary \$350 entrance fee. They showed a great deal of enthusiasm in the prospects of the colony but we cannot help but think that the reason for their enthusiasm was because they figured that by paying \$350 they were insuring themselves of an easy berth for the rest of their lives. The out-of-doors seemed very promising to them after years of being cooped up in crowded cities and the price seemed cheap for their future security on the land.

The tract of land that the Society purchased from the state of Utah was located about five miles east of the small town of Clarion from which the colony took its name. The nearest large town was Gunnison which was composed of 950 people at the time of the first settlement of the Jews on their newly acquired land. The principal market for the colony was to be Salt Lake City which was 140 miles away. The area was eventually to be a part of the Pinte State Reservoir Project. ^{2.} Pinte

The soil in the immediate area of the colony should also be considered. It differed somewhat from the general soils of the area since it was composed of some loam soils in addition to the gravels which were a characteristic of the re-

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1. American Israelite, August 24, 1911.
 2. Levine, op. cit., pp. 76-79.

mainder of the land in this district. The land was ideally suited for irrigation. It sloped gently offering the perfect level for a proper flow of water through irrigation ditches. In addition to that the land was underlaid with a hard-pan subsoil. Thus, through the land's ability to hold water and not allow it to seep through and be lost to the crops, a very favorable condition was offered. The altitude of the region was high, being about a mile above sea level. The growing season was short due to the frosts which came in the early part of September. This difficulty was somewhat compensated by the brilliant sunshine which lasted a considerable part of the day during the summer months and which was more concentrated than in any other district with longer^{1.} growing seasons.

Due to the geographical position of the colony and the soil characteristics, the colonists were forced to limit themselves to comparatively few crops. This would be true until the projected irrigation system was brought in. Alfalfa, and other types of hay which could be used for dairying could be successfully grown here. Sugar beets, and Irish potatoes were the only two other crops which the settlers could raise. This limitation was of course going to cause^{2.} some difficulties.

The area was worked by other farmers in huge tracts of land which were devoted to the growing of forage crops and

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, *op. cit.*
2. Essentials of Geography, Brigham, Albert; American Book Co., New York, 1916.

grazing areas. Since the ecologists at Clarion did not intend to use large plots of land they had to make different plans. They intended to divide the land which they had purchased into 40 acre tracts which were to be farmed by individual farmers. Nevertheless the colony was at the same time supposed to be cooperative. By the small divisions of land the settlers limited themselves to an irrigation agriculture for in no other way could the land support the colony since it was not productive enough without irrigation to carry on a successful agriculture. Because of the breaking up of the land into small units it was necessary to get water rights from the Sevier River Project to enable the farmers to carry on their labor. Without the water they could not possibly grow enough to maintain themselves on the land. The use of water proved to be quite expensive. The water company charged the farmers \$35 an acre to make the land useable. Along with the price which the colonists had originally paid for the land they now had an investment of an average of \$46.40 per acre of land.^{1.}

Since the land payment was to be made in ten equal installments the title of the land was vested in the state until the principal, in addition to the five per cent interest charge had been made. When we recall that the colonists had already begun attempts to raise \$150,000 for improvement on land that was not theirs we begin to see the flaws in this

1. Levine, op. cit., pp. 76-79.

optimistic scheme of the Jews of Philadelphia. Legally it was not proper for them to raise money on land to which they had no title. This practice of theirs was analogous to a man's deliberately stating that a certain house belonged to him when he needed money for repairs. With the faith of people in his word that the house belonged to him, though his equity was next to nothing, he might be able to raise some money. Of course the man might also land in jail, which was what would have happened to the promoter of the Jewish Agricultural and Colonial Association if the subscribers to their fund had not recognized that they were contributing to a charity and regarded their so-called investment as such.

By November of 1912, there were 25 members of the organization settled in the colony of Clarion. Of these people only six had stated that they knew anything of farming. The rest of the men had been tradesmen in the city. The six had not been engaged in farming in the United States but said that they had known farming practices while they were yet in Europe. There was a civil engineer among the group of settlers as well as a surveyor. These men were to prove quite useful to the colonists. The men of the settlement were all comparatively young; all but two of them were under forty years of age. This was, of course, in their favor, for the pioneer work in the colony was to prove difficult and taxing to the strength. These people had invested all of their savings in the enterprise and all of them were confident in its suc-

cess. Because of their strong belief in the potentialities of their colony none of them came to the settlement with any money. They all felt that they should invest all that they had in the Society. Thus, their only hope for support during the early days on the land was from the money that was to be paid by the Jewish Agricultural and Colonial Association to each settler who settled on the land. This was to be a salary of sixty dollars monthly.^{1.}

When the settlers first came to the land there were no houses upon it. They lived in tents until a few small wooden shacks were put up for them. Even as late as 1913 there were only five houses in the colony. There was a good deal of cheap lumber available in the nearby mountains, and it was this lumber which the colonists thought would be useful to them for the construction and heating of their houses. Evidently their plans miscarried for the lumber was not available to them. Transportation problems prevented them from conveying the wood to their home sites at a reasonable cost. Although the settlers had quite a number of animals besides a fair amount of equipment for farming purposes, it was not considered that they had enough. They valued their implements and stock at about \$25,000 which was a considerable amount, but still it did not seem to them that they had a large enough supply to go around.^{2.}

In order to get more support for the colony at Clarion

1. Levine, op. cit., pp. 76-79.

2. Ibid.

Benjamin Brown, the leader, interested Dr. Krauskopf in the project. In turn Dr. Krauskopf interested the Rev. Dr. Landman of Philadelphia in the settlement. Through Dr. Landman a number of prominent Jews of Salt Lake City came to the aid of the colony when it appeared that the colonists would not be able to stay on the land much longer. The cause of their heavy losses was the great amount of money that had been paid to the irrigation company for watering the land that otherwise could not have been used for farm purposes. Even after the land was irrigated it was not fruitful and much of the money was wasted.

2.

The balance sheet of the colony read as follows:

(-) indicates that the figure should be in red ink.

	INCOME	DISBURSEMENTS	BALANCE
Bonds sold-\$20,000			
1912-Net Liquid assets-\$22,675.05.			
TOTAL	\$ 42,675.05	\$ 92,500.00	(-) \$ 49,824.95
1913	14,625.00	18,413.13	(-) 3,788.13
1914	29,000.00	118,128.52	(-) 89,128.52
1915	45,625.00	127,618.89	(-) 81,993.89
1916	47,250.00	37,259.28	9,990.72
1917	51,250.00	47,899.66	3,350.34
TOTAL	\$ 230,425.05	\$ 441,819.48	(-) \$211,394.43

1. Levine, op. cit., pp. 76-79.
 2. Ibid.

That Clarion would fail was foreordained. The whole financial structure of the colony was unsound. There are, however, several other apparent reasons for the failure of this colony which we shall now consider.

The colonists, as we have already pointed out, lacked farming experience. This factor was one of considerable importance because farming knowledge of a very specialized nature was, and is required for agricultural activities on irrigated land. The procedure of farming on such land differs greatly from general agriculture and it is necessary that any men going into that particular type of work have a good knowledge of soil chemistry, fertilization, and of the usability of the land for the type of crop they are going to grow. Such knowledge is imperative because of the expensive nature of the crop when raised on artificially irrigated land.

The initial lack of capital on the part of the colonists who settled here also played an important part in their failure. We have seen how they were forced to resort to illegal methods of obtaining money, on security which did not really exist. This factor, and their subsequent appeals for aid from various known benefactors of agriculture marked the importance of capital or lack of capital in such a venture.

The region which the Philadelphians settled in was certainly not well suited for agriculture. We have seen, in our soil analyses, that the land was really suited only for grazing purposes. The hard-pan subsoil, while offering

good protection against undue water seepage and waste of irrigation water, also meant that in some places the topsoil was not over six inches deep which was not enough to carry on any extensive agriculture.

One of the most important factors, and one which should have been recognized by the founders of the colony, was the great distance from any large markets. It is true that Salt Lake City was an outlet for the produce of the colonists. This was only one market, however, and it was not sufficient. It should have been obvious to the promoters of the enterprise that they were entering into a very expensive type of agriculture. They were paying high prices for land that was worthless without irrigation. They were farming on small acreage so that it was necessary for them to grow large quantities of expensive vegetables in order to maintain their expenses in balance with their profits. They should have recognized that the high rail fares for freight from their farms to the potential market would not allow them enough of a margin to make any profit when they could only farm on forty acre plots of expensive land upon which were listed heavy debts that were far from being paid.

The last factor was that of ineffective leadership. Brown, although he had studied at the Baron de Hirsch School, was not familiar with the particular type of agriculture that he was going to have to practice in the area. He had had no previous training in dry farming or irrigation and it was necessary for him to unlearn much of what he had been instructed

at the Baron de Hirsch School in order to manage the colony effectively.

The significant thing about all these causes of failure is that they might have been considered before the settlers went forth onto their land. The people knew that conditions in Utah were not suitable for the type of farming that they wanted to carry on. They knew that they would have to irrigate their land and that it would cost them a good sum of money to do so. They might have found out exactly how much the irrigation was going to cost them before they contracted for this service. By the spending of a few hundred dollars for one investigator to go to Utah and make a complete report as to markets and prices, and most important, the type of agriculture that other people were carrying on in the neighborhood, all the trouble might have been averted and the money that was wasted might have been put to better use. Bad planning and too much idealistic and wishful thinking were the ruin of another colony. The words of one of the investigators of the colony are a good summary to the whole enterprise:

"The loss involved in this venture runs into many thousands of dollars. Although this was certainly a costly experiment it might also most be regarded as a good investment, it is a glaring example of ill-considered colonization plans. Just like the South Sea Bubble, so Glarion should be come a household word to be considered with a deep feeling of awe by all venturers and investors in agricultural colonization schemes." 1.

1. Levine, op. cit., P. 79.

WYOMING

Wyoming was also among the states which were colonized by Jewish prospective agriculturists. The state was settled rather late in the period of Jewish expansion and emigration westward, but not late enough to prevent the settlements from being made in unfavorable areas for the best conduct of farming. All of the Jews who settled in Wyoming from 1907 to 1912 located in approximately the same area. The locale was bad. The district had a deficient water supply for the most part. At best the moisture was uncertain. Although there was much smooth land in the area, the water supply problem made the use of the land highly problematical. Grazing was probably the best use to which the land could be put. The soils in the vicinity were diverse, making any generalizing as to their best farming use impossible. Some of them were so constructed as to be poorly retentive of moisture when it was available. We may generalize by stating that the area was not one fit for small farms or local agricultural activities.^{1.}

LARAMIE COUNTY

Laramie county, Wyoming, was the scene of the first settlement of Jewish farmers in this state. The settlement was made in 1907. At the time it was recognized by some that a much more suitable location might have been found had a lit-

1. U.S. Dep't. of Agric., Bureau of Agric. Econ., op. cit.

tle more time been taken in placing the families on the land. The rainfall in the area was less than ten inches a year, which could not make for a very successful settlement without irrigation. The small colony was made up of residents of Pittsburgh who had become tired of city life and wanted to try their hand at farm work. There is no record as to whether these people had become engaged in agriculture with the benefit of any past experience or not.^{1.}

The land in the area was supposed to be included in the plans of the Government for a future irrigation project and this was the basis of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society. Unfortunately the plans did not propose to go into effect for five years from the time that the first colonists settled on the land. The small group of farmers was in need of aid on the land. It was given to them by the Society which sent out a representative to make an investigation in 1907.^{2.}

To the north of the land which had been settled by the colonists in Laramie county lay land already under the irrigation ditch. This land had been offered for colonization before irrigation was put into it but plans did not materialize for the settlement. The Society did not think that the area was favorable for settlement because of the unsatisfactory nature of farming that had been carried on by other farmers in the area. Therefore, by the time that the Jewish Agricultural

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1907, p. 15.

2. Ibid.

and Industrial Aid Society went into the area to take advantage of the offer of the Government, irrigation had started, and the land had been removed from eligibility for homesteading. By the removal of the land from homestead classification the Government caused the Society to locate farther south and to pick land that was believed to be included in the ultimate irrigation projects of the Government. This was an area of some 600,000 acres which was in the same condition as the land to the north had been before irrigation had been brought in---that is, unfit for any agriculture except grazing of cattle.^{1.}

By the time one year had passed the settlement in Laramie county was in difficulty. It was not a success simply because the farmers could not grow crops on the land to which they had been assigned without irrigation. It seems peculiar to us as we review the history of this small colony that the Society did not realize the impossibility of the situation for the colonists. The farmers were somewhat embittered at their experience with the Society and applied for loans in addition to the money that had been granted to them originally. They were given an additional sum of money amounting to \$4,043.78. This was to be used for the purchase of farm equipment and seeds which would enable them to farm their 160 acre homesteads more efficiently. But the farmers did not intend to use the money for the purposes that the Society had given it to them, and there were instances of collusion

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1908, p. 21.

with the local dealers with the result that money advanced to them for use on their farms was misapplied. In addition to this act on their part, the settlers refused to give real estate mortgages as security on the money which had been loaned to them by the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society. In retaliation to this attitude and action on the part of the farmers the Society took back chattels that had been given the settlers. These were such items as plows and other farm equipment. This had to be done in seven cases.^{1.}

Despite this trouble which was disturbing to the security of the small settlement, the farmers made some progress. It was expected that they would be able to continue until the irrigation system proposed by the Government would be installed. In 1908 the Society thought that it would not be long until the irrigation would be put in for the Government was already beginning to withdraw lands in the area from further entry, under the Reclamation Act. This had been the procedure in the north and the action seemed to indicate that irrigation ditches would be in the area within a short time.^{2.}

But the hopes of the settlers and the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society were unanswered. By 1911 the Government had still not started work on the irrigation project in the area, and there were no reasons to suppose that work would be commenced for some time. Fortunately the settlers were not without work. Since there were

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1908, pp. 25-26.

2. Ibid.

many other farms belonging to non-Jews in the area there was always work to be had on them. Some of these were already in the process of being irrigated and there was a lot of labor to be done on them while the work of irrigation was going on. Since these farms were not too far removed from the settlers own homesteads they were enabled to make a fair living while they were waiting for the Government to put the ditches in their neighborhood. But the life that the colonists were leading was not that of agriculture. They were doing manual labor which they might have done in their homes in the cities as well. Many of them were quite disappointed as to the way that the scheme had turned out and there were some who left the project at that time. It was true that those who stayed were only making a subsistence from the type of work they were enabled to do for their neighbors, but at the same time many of them were stroing up valuable knowledge whih they would^{1.} be able to use when they were able to go on their own lands.

The Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society was not particularly enthusiastic about the colony which they had planted in Wyoming. Although they knew that the land was easily worked and that it was fairly fertile if given sufficient moisture, they discouraged the small farmer in the district unless he had a large bank roll to back himself up with. Grains, potatoes, alfalfa, and sugar beets, could be grown in in Wyoming if the land received the necessary irrigation.

1. J.A.I.&S. Report, 1911, p. 34.

There was too much of a tendency on the part of the Jewish farmer in the area to depend on one crop and to count on harvesting that crop alone. This was very risky for there were frequent failures of crops and when a single crop failed the farmer was left with nothing to show for his efforts.^{1.}

We shall return to Laramie county in our consideration of Wyoming during the period after the World War.

PLATTE COUNTY

One other county in Wyoming was touched by Jewish colonization. This was in 1911 when a number of Chicago families were to be placed on the land in Platte county. This was the largest of all the colonization schemes in the period of the mass Russian immigration. It was launched in Chicago by the Hebrew Farmers' Colonization Society. At a meeting of this organization it was decided to take 450 selected Jewish families from Chicago and locate them in the Wheatland district in Wyoming which was about 90 miles north of Cheyenne. This scheme was to require a great deal of money for each of the colonists was to be advanced \$1,000 in cash by Jewish philanthropists who were interested in their settlement. This means that some \$450,000 would be invested in the project. The money was to be given to the farmers as a long term loan and no interest was to be charged. They were to have at least ten years to pay the money back, and probably fifteen

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1909, p. 49.

as a maximum. The reason for the large amount of money that was to be given to each family was because it was felt that with one investment all of the needs of the colonists could be cared for. They could go out to their new homes with all that was required for successful farming and there would be nothing further for them to worry about except their crops. Each of the families was to take up a homestead of 160 acres of land. The entire district of farms would comprise 72,000 acres and would be quite a large settlement.^{1.}

After the initial report of the prospective settlement in the American Israelite nothing more appears concerning this grand scheme in the period up to 1914.

Farming in Wyoming was not very successful for the Jewish farmers during the first ten years of their settlement on the land. Since it only took its beginning in the late part of the period which we have designated as that of the Russian refugee we can scarcely make any generalizations at this time. Thus we shall leave our conclusions as to the Wyoming colonies for the history of the Jewish farmer in the recent period of his growth and decay on the soil.

NEVADA

Mention is made of but one colony of Jewish farmers in Nevada. This was in Smith's Valley in Lyons county. It is possible that this colony might have been confused with the

1. American Israelite, October 12, 1911.

small settlement of San Francisco Jews in Wellington Smith's Valley, Colorado.^{1.} We have no further record of the colony beyond its mention. The area, however, was not suitable for farming crops but only for grazing cattle. Therefore, it is not likely that the Jewish farmers who settled here, if they did,^{2.} met with any success.

WASHINGTON

The state of Washington was favored by very few Jewish agriculturists during the great period of the "back to the soil" movement from 1880 to 1914. We might well raise the question of why this was so. We have seen how many Jews settled on the open prairies and in the wildest parts of undeveloped country. For some reason they did not seem to want to make their homes in country that was forested. Very few of them liked the heavily timbered country with its wild animals and the other hazards that met the colonist. Thus it is that we find few records of Jews where there was virgin timber. Perhaps it was because the land was too hard to clear or because the land was not regarded as being fertile enough to support agriculture. But we are inclined to believe that the Jew did not settle in forested regions because they were areas of mystery to him. Through the tall tree shafts of dusty sunlight filteres through, offering sufficient

1. American Hebrew, November 26, 1897.

2. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

light only to make a sort of green gloom out of the whole district. Therefore the Jew stayed away from the timberlands and kept to the open prairie or else to land that had been cut over and upon which there was only a small growth of trees.

In Washington, however, we find the one exception to this peculiar aversion which we have noted. In this state where tall timber was the rule there were one or two Jewish settlements. Neither of them were very important and so far as actual progress in agriculture is concerned they did little.

FERRY COUNTY

REPUBLIC

The first of the Jewish colonies in the state of Washington was located in Ferry county. This was the colony known as Republic, being near the city of the same name. The land was almost all in rough forest lands. Mountains and valleys were interspersed with a few non-forested grazing lands as well as some land that was fit for farming. The area was not favored with any great amount of moisture and the foothills of the district were often quite dry.^{1.}

The area about Republic had been devoted to mining although most of the mining activity had stopped by the time that the Jews came into the vicinity. The settlement of Jews

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

was made in 1906. The lands which they took up were homestead lands and because of their hilly nature and the heavy timber that was growing upon them improvements in the area were necessarily slow. But it was believed that the vicinity held great promise for the future for the land was rich after the trees were cleared and a good agriculture could be carried on. Only a few acres of land were required to make a living for an entire family because of its fertility and proximity to market.

A rather interesting arrangement was made for the use of the wood on the land belonging to the settlers. The farmers were not permitted to sell any of the wood on their land before they had acquired full title to the land on which they had settled. They were allowed to clear as much land as they wished but any of the wood that remained after they used some for building and some for fuel had to be burned. Thus the men were prevented from adding to their incomes at the time of their early settlement on the land when some extra money might have come in very handily. At the same time the Government ruling concerning the use of wood on the land settlement worked to the benefit of the settler. By being held in at the beginning in possible attempts to clear too much land, the valuable timber was saved for them to cut when they had more time to do so and were better prepared for expansion than they had been during the early period on the soil. A five year residence period on the land was required of every settler who came in to the area of settlement before

title would pass to him.^{1.}

Despite the favorable nature of the land in Washington few of the Jews took advantage of the opportunities open to them there. They preferred to remain on the prairie. One man^y who settled in the area of Ferry county stated that he would have much preferred to stay on the prairie had not a brother-in-law located on the land near the forest.^{2.}

The Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society as well as the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society were interested in the settlement of Jews in the Washington section. Nevertheless the Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society was not prepared for loaning any money in excess of \$800 to any settler in the area. This firm stand taken by the Society in 1908 was probably caused by the many bad investments which the organization had made during the years of its existence in the settling of farmers in the west and middle west. They made this limitation even though they felt that the land was good enough in Washington to merit use as an agricultural project.^{3.}

[The Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society came to the help of the farmers who were located near Republic in 1906, the first year of these farmers on the land, with a loan of \$2,500. Help was necessary at that time because of the closing of the mines in the district. After the mines

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1908, p. 26.

2. Ibid.

3. J.A.A.S. Report, 1907.

closed the farmers in the area did not do so well. Most of them were forced to give up their work on the land after a short while for they were not able to make a living after the loss of their market when the miners left the district.^{1.}

This account completes the history of the colony at Republic.

PIERCE COUNTY

LAKEBAY

The remaining settlement of Jews in Washington took place in Pierce county, at Lakebay, about fifteen miles west of Tacoma. This area was settled at the same time as Republic and its settlers did well almost from the start. It also was heavily wooded land, but once cleared it made very good farm land. The chief difficulty lay in the clearing of the land which was quite expensive. As we have already pointed out in connection with the Arpin colony in Wisconsin the clearing of land of big tree stumps is not to be done with great ease. It is expensive and patience trying labor. Nevertheless the farmers did clear a great deal of land and engaged in a type of agriculture in which they soon became fairly successful. The farmers in this area combined two occupations which complemented the other. The farming activities consisted largely of fruit growing for which the land was almost ideally suited. It was gently rolling and had soils of various tex-

1. American Jewish Yearbook, 5673, p. 98.

which were in large part underlain with porous sands and gravel layers which made for good drainage,^{1.} and important factor in the cultivation of fruit. When their fruit growing became successful they combined trucking with it. They were able, in this manner, to eliminate the cost of transportation of their produce~~s~~ from their farms to their markets.^{2.} By this saving they were able to expand their holdings, clear more land, and plant more fruit trees.

The settlement at Lakebay, which started in 1906, went ahead and constantly improved. In 1912 the group of Jewish farmers in the area numbered around twenty families which was quite an achievement for them since they came into country where there were very few Jews, with little encouragement,^{3.} and made their own settlements on the land.

OREGON

Although farming activities of the Jews who settled in Washington were successful in some cases, the settlements made in Oregon, only a little farther south, and in the same general agricultural area met with difficulties.

DOUGLAS COUNTY

It was in Douglas county that the Jewish pioneers located in Oregon. In this locality there were large tracts

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

2. American Jewish Yearbook, 5673, p. 98.

3. Ibid.

of forest land, some gently rolling valleys and foothills, and a good deal of very rugged country. The soils were diverse and cannot be accurately placed in any one category. There was not a great deal of rainfall.^{1.}

NEW ODESSA

There was only one settlement made in Oregon by Jews interested in agriculture. That settlement was called New Odessa and was established in the summer of 1882. The settlement was made by a group of Jews who had been members of the Am Olam, "Sons of the Free" political society in Russia. We have mentioned this society briefly previously and have stated that it was a socialistic organization.

In Detroit, Michigan, there were a number of members of the Am Olam who were very interested in going out on the land as pioneers. They were about 100 strong when they first began to seek land upon which to settle. Through the Southern Pacific's travel agent, a man by the name of John M. Scott, they sought to locate suitable agricultural land. They were quite poor and had to take whatever land was available to them without being able to make much selection. Thus, the land on which they finally settled was not very good. In fact only about one-fourth of the land which they purchased for settlement was fit for cultivation. Immediately upon settling the land the colonists were brought face to face with the difficulties that beset most of the pioneers in any district which

they came into. The land was heavily forested and had to be cut. The Detroit men were not fit for the hard labor which such a task involved for none of them had been engaged in this sort of work before. Then too, they were not very well nourished, and did not have a great deal of money with which to support themselves on the land which they had purchased. All in all a very bad picture of farm life stared at them and they soon became discouraged. Some of them did not even wait for the first harvest, but left their land and went into cities to seek better living conditions where they would not have to live as pioneers and do such difficult manual labor.^{1.}

In 1884 some of the original settlers of New Odessa left, their places were taken by new members of their society who came onto the land only at that time. These men had some cash available and about forty of them purchased 760 acres of land near Glendale, Oregon, for \$4,800. They were able to pay one-half of the purchase price. The rest was to be paid by them within three years in three equal installments.^{2.}

While their predecessors had come onto the land almost destitute and were forced to find almost any kind of work to keep themselves going, these people were in no such circumstances. They were aided by some New York philanthropists in their enterprise so that they were at least given a start in the business of farming instead of having to begin completely from scratch.^{3.}

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1. Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. I, p. 258.
 2. Levine, op. cit., pp. 66-67.
 3. Ibid.

The second group of settlers at New Odessa consisted of twenty-five young men, and four families. The community was to continue in its socialistic aspects which were closer to being communistic than they were to socialistic. The entire colony ate in one large dining hall and slept in a single large dormitory. The following description of their life was written in the San Francisco Overland Monthly in 1885:

"Nearly all members eat, and sleep, and stagnate---for I can hardly speak of it as living---in a large hall of rough boards and unplanned planks and containing only two apartments, the lower story being the dining room and kitchen in one, and the upper story a large sleeping room without partitions. They have no religion, no political organization for management of their affairs, no defined code of morals unless it is to be good."

Despite this unfavorable description by a non-Jewish correspondent the people were not as disorganized as they were made out to be. Although none of them had been farmers before they came to the United States they had received educations in other fields, most of the settlers having attended colleges in Russia. Thus they were not of the ignorant type of individual who lived under poor conditions because he knew no better. They were probably proceeding according to a plan that had been worked out in advance for them.

The Rev. J. Wechsler, who we will remember from our survey of the Painted Woods colony, paid New Odessa a short visit. His trip to the colony was made in September of 1884 and he wrote the following account of his experiences in the colony:

"The are good mechanics and do all their own repairing. They even built a small grist mill themselves. They live, eat, and drink together harmoniously like members of a vast family. They have an excellent library. They believe in no religions, keep no Sabbaths, and do nothing that would distinguish them as Jews."¹

Since the colonists were located in the midst of virgin forest there was considerable timber around for their use. They seem to have been able to sell their timber even though they had not completely paid for their land. They made a good deal of money from the sale of ties to the railroad that was being extended through their land. This helped them along greatly. In addition to the money that they were able to earn from selling ties to the railroad they were also able to work on the construction gangs for which they were well paid. Perhaps the most important aspect of the railroad being near the colony was the ready market that it furnished for the produce that the settlers grew. The gangs working on the railroad bought all the vegetables that the colonists could possibly grow. This ease with which the colonists disposed of their crops during the first two years on their land was not to continue, for when construction of the railroad was completed, their market was finished also. The colony soon went to pieces, and by 1868 there was nothing left of it.²

CALIFORNIA

1. Levine, op. cit., pp. 66-67.

2. American Jewish Yearbook, 5673, p. 61.

We have already dealt with two Jewish settlers in California; one in our description of the visit of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations Committee to the farm of Mr. Stone,^{1.} and the other in our mention of the farm of E. Linoberg in Tuolumne county,^{2.} It seems rather strange that California was not the scene of more colonies than it was. In reality very few agricultural settlements were made in that state in comparison to the less favorable prairie states. However, it is true that there were several individual Jews engaged in agriculture in California. We have already mentioned two of these men earlier in this paper. We have space for but a short account of another whose influence is still felt in California today, and who was nationally known not only as an agriculturist, but also as a statesman.

DAVID LUBIN

This man was David Lubin who came from a prominent Sacramento, California, family. Mr. Lubin was the author of AN Inquiry into the Causes of Agricultural Depression, and the Remedy therefor. This was a paper which he had read before the House of Representatives in Washington, in December, 1894.

"Mr. Lubin is a gentleman of...high intelligence who has for years made a special study of political economy in its bearing on agriculture. Both in agriculture and commerce Mr. Lubin has been exceptionally successful;

1. See p. 110-111.

2. See p. 81.

he is unbiased, patriotic, and conscientious. He is giving much time and money to the task he has voluntarily assumed, that of bettering the conditions under which American farmers labor..."1.

In April, 1897, the American Israelite received:

"...a copy of the full text of the memorial of David Lubin of Sacramento, California, presented to Congress by Mr. Perkins, on behalf of the State Granges of California, Oregon, Illinois, Washington, Missouri, Virginia, and Pennsylvania; setting forth certain evils of the present system of protection and suggesting modifications in the interests of those engaged in agriculture." 2.

Today there exists in California an agricultural society named after David Lubin and supported partially by the remainder of his fortune. He left an indelible mark on the history of agriculture in the state of California.

THE DEINARD-

SAN FRANCISCO COLONY

In 1897 one of the many agricultural fiascos in which the Jews of the United States engaged was begun by Ephraim Deinard, a Jew who had lived in Philadelphia. In June of that year Deinard proposed that a settlement of about twenty-five Russian Jewish families be started in or near San Francisco, California. Despite vigorous opposition from almost all sources to which he turned for aid Deinard started about 200 people for California on June 29, 1897, from Philadelphia. The colony was to be located on government land.

1. American Israelite, January 24, 1895.
2. American Israelite, April 1, 1897.

The following criticism of Deinard's agricultural colonization attempt was printed in the American Israelite:

"...That suffering is going to ensue there can be no reasonable doubt. It is probably too late to stop these people but we trust that there will be no more to follow. We never met Deinard and can only form our opinion of him from the printed matter he send out and from what he has to say in newspaper interviews. He appears to be one of that common type of demagogue who being ignorant of practical knowledge of their subject and filled with inordinate self-conceit, have no respect whatever for the opinions of others, no matter how well they may be informed. The Jewish press errs gravely when it treats men of Deinard's stripe with courteous consideration. Had he and his folly, if it be no worse, be denounced as deserved, it is possible that the complication would not have arisen. We Jews are sentimentally silly over agricultural schemes as are our Christian neighbors over missions to the Jews and scamps of both denominations are making use of our amiable weakness." ¹

Deinard did not stay very long in California with his group of colonists. After his arrival in that state, being unable to locate any government land which suited him, he communicated with the Governor of Oregon as to possibility of settlement there. The Governor replied favorably to the request of Deinard. However, we do not have any record of Deinard's leaving California to go to Oregon with his small flock. At the time of his application to the governor of Oregon, the following editorial comment was made in the American Hebrew:

"...Though he started out to colonize on California land, Deinard has communicated with the Governor of Oregon as to settlement in that State; of course, the Governor cannot be expected to be familiar with the circumstances connected with the expedition, so to call it, and on the general principles that the accession of immigrants is health-

1. American Israelite, June 17, 1897.

ful to any state, so that his reply was of the kind to be expected. The colonists, of course, have our best wishes for success, but upon Mr. Deinard alone falls the responsibility of their success or failure."¹.

The forecasts of the American Israelite and the American Hebrew turned out to be correct. Deinard's plan was a failure. By October, 1897, 23 of the 37 colonists who went along with Deinard to San Francisco, the number having diminished from the original plan, were returned to Philadelphia. The other 14, which number consisted of two families remained where they were to try to make a living in the west. The money to pay for the railway fare of the colonists from San Francisco to Philadelphia was paid by the Russian Alliance,² and the Eureka Benevolent Society.

The Israelite went on to comment at this time:

"...Deinard may be a fool, but his recklessness and his disregard of the truth in his statements and his unabashed impudence, his heedlessness of protests and advice, imply that he is something worse. This matter should not be dropped here. The statutes of both California and Philadelphia should be carefully examined, and if possible a criminal proceedings should be instituted."³.

The paper continued:

"The responsibility for this criminal folly does not rest entirely with Deinard. The movement might have been stopped in its inception by the Philadelphia Jewish Exponent had its editor, Mr. Charles Hoffman, had a glimmering of good sense, or for once allowed his colleagues' actual knowledge of facts and their experience to weigh for something when balanced with the

1. American Hebrew, September 10, 1897.
2. American Israelite, October 28, 1897.
3. Ibid.

theories spun from Mr. Hoffman's imagination. But he, as usual, could not conceive the possibility of his being in the wrong and whether intentionally or not became Deinard's ally.¹

Thus the colonization scheme of Ephraim Deinard died before it proceeded farther than putting its constituents on the soil. Perhaps if the scheme had met with support on the part of those persons whose influence counted in the securing of monetary support the colony might not have fared so badly.

PLACER COUNTY

In 1909 a colony was planted in the Sacramento valley in Placer county, California. The land in this area was varied. Some of it was capable of supporting a remunerative agriculture while other parts were suitable for grazing purposes only. The land was usually gently rolling with diverse soils, some poorly drained and alkaline. The area was humid and moist and has much irrigated land.¹

The settlement of which we speak in this area was located six miles from Lincoln in Placer county. It was composed of small plots of land consisting of parcels from six to eighteen acres. The colony was run cooperatively with most of the activity being centered in orange groves. Other fruits were also grown and some of the settlers were interested in poultry raising. Because of the diversity of activity and the suitability of the land upon which the colony was lo-

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1. American Israelite, October 28, 1897.
 2. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

cated it was able to be self-supporting after a short time.^{1.}

IMPORTANCE OF THE RUSSIAN IMMIGRATION PERIOD
OF THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN
JEW IN AGRICULTURE.

With the narration of the rather brief history of the Jews in agriculture in California we have come to the end of the colonial ventures of the Jews in the period which we have designated as the Russian Immigration Period in the History of the American Jew in agriculture. The importance of the Russian Immigration period, as we have chosen to call the years from 1880 to 1914 cannot be underestimated. In the first place it was the largest single period of colonization or of immigration for the Jew in the United States. During that time more colonies were planted and more individual Jews went into agriculture than at any time before or since.

The survey of this period proves that the Jew can engage in agriculture successfully, if given an even chance. Despite the many failures there were enough successful colonies established to show the Jew that he as well as the Gentile can farm. Let us not imagine that all of the Jews who went into farming at this time were Russian refugees. Although a great number of them were we do not intend to give the impression that no other Jews were farmers. Rationalizations can be made as to the failures, attributing them to poor land

1. American Jewish Yearbook, 5673, p. 99.

and inexperience. The mere presence of the Jew on the soil is enough to show that he can be an interested participator in the profession that was the "backbone of America" and not only a consumer and a spectator. The effect of this upon the non-Jew is significant. The non-Jew had scoffed many times at the inability of the Jew to choose agricultural activities for himself and for his children. The many attempts of the Jew to engage in agriculture were pointed to with pride whether they were failures or successes.

The many failures of the period show that too much haste had been made in the dive into agriculture from a non-agricultural position in society. It was impossible for the Jew to become a farmer over night. Too many enthusiasts thought that he could. In that fact lay a great deal of the trouble that the Jews had to suffer. The hasty selection of land which was unfit for settlement, and the equally hasty selection of candidates for agricultural enterprises proved to be disastrous in many instances. However, they showed the Jew that he must learn agricultural methods of selection as well as the other items of knowledge with which he had struggled. The results of haste showed that farming experience was a prime necessity for success in agriculture, and that for experience there was no substitute.

The main accomplishments of the period in tangible items were the establishment of distinctly Jewish agriculture in New Jersey, New York, and in some New England states. In addition to this achievement Jewish farmers were scattered

throughout the United States, many of them persisting in their farming operations until the present day. By taking Jews from the seaboard cities and scattering them over the country something important was done. Frequently after the failure of colonies Jews would stay on in the location where they had attempted to farm, and would engage in some other type of work for which they were better fitted. This scattering of the Jews throughout the country helped to eliminate to a degree, the great problem that would otherwise have arisen in the crowded seaboard cities.

As we leave this period we must bear but one more fact in mind. Although we have shown successful agricultural colonies being established in many states and have left their histories at an early date, we should remember that often the Jews did not stay in agriculture just because they began to work in it. Frequently after being successful in some form of farming Jewish farmers would sell their farms and would move into the nearby cities. This illustrates the love of the Jew for urban life, which is a factor we must consider in present day problems of economic placement of the Jewish professions. We might illustrate the point a but farther by stating that often, as we have shown in our treatment of the New England states, where the parent was successful in agriculture and built up a comfortable home in the country, the child was not satisfied. This dissatisfaction led to many young men and women leaving the farm and going to the larger

cities for more gainful and interesting employment.

On this note we shall leave the Russian Immigration period when often ill-conceived agricultural plans and hopes flowered. It was only unfortunate that a more lasting fruit was not produced. The opportunities were there, but the Jew did not possess the qualifications.

PART IV

THE RECENT PERIOD

1914-1940.

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE AMERICAN

JEW IN AGRICULTURE :

1914-1940

From 1914 to 1940 there was not so much activity in the American Agricultural scene, so far as Jewish farmers were concerned as there had been in the period from 1880 to 1914. The recent years have been significant in several aspects, however. Problems have arisen which have not concerned the American farmer before. The Government's activity in agriculture; new agricultural methods; the great dust storms and drought from 1929 through 1936, and in some cases longer; all these factors and others had a great effect on the type of agriculture that has developed in this country and also upon the position of the Jew in his relationship to the whole picture.

We shall consider the recent period from several points of view. Perhaps the most efficient way of viewing the Jewish activities of the period is through the eyes of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society. This organization was easily the most powerful force after the turn of the century in placing the Jew in agricultural activities and in helping him after he was placed.

In 1915 a new development came into the agricultural activities of the Jews in the United States. Up to this time the Jew had been concerned mainly with his immediate sit-

uation. We have seen the constant struggle to which he was subjected. But throughout the whole history which we have drawn we have also seen the desire of the Jew for the education of his children, and for the continuation of his spiritual life. However, it was not until 1915 that there was any concerted effort on the part of organizations interested in the welfare of the Jewish farmer to give him what he wanted in the way of religious activities. In that year the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society received the help of the Jewish Chatauqua Society in the matter of religious and spiritual guidance in an organized and effective form. Through the efforts of the Jewish Chatauqua Society a resident rabbi was placed in the South Jersey colonies who conducted classes in Jewish history and religion for the younger people of the settlement. This activity was introduced into other parts of the country during the same year. A rabbi was appointed to serve what remained of the North Dakota colonies, and another was placed in New York. Before this time religious activities had been limited to what the local Hebrew teacher could offer. In 1915 the beginning was made for an even wider expansion of this important side of farmers' lives.^{1.}

In 1915 there was another important change, this time in the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society's loan policy. During that year the money available to the society for lending purposes was less than it had been at any

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1915, p. 38.

period up to that time. Nevertheless more loans were made in 1915 than had been made by the Society in the previous year. There were 396 loans made in 1915 as against 327 in 1914. The loans amounted to \$190,036.21 in 1915 as compared to \$170,811.92 in 1914. The large increase in number and the small increase in amount shows that the Society was making more small loans to farmers already on the land than it had before, and also that it was not entering as actively into colonization efforts which necessitated the gift of large sums of money as in previous years. We use the word "gift" because such money was hardly ever returned in full.^{1.}

In 1915 there were 3,118 Jewish farming families in the United States, comprising an estimated population of 18,590. These farmers owned a total of 3,438 farms with an estimated total acreage of 437,265 acres. This land was valued at \$22,196,336. Additional equipment was valued at \$4,166,329.^{2.}

According to the estimate of the United States Immigration Commission the above figures represented only about 75% of the Jewish farmers in the country at that time. "A fair estimate of the extent of Jewish farming would be about 5,000 families comprising a population of 25,000; occupying an acreage of 600,000 acres, and having a value in real and personal property of about \$33,000,000."^{3.}

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1915, p. 5.

2. Bogen, op. cit., pp. 127-128.

3. Ibid.

While 1915 was a year unfavorable to the farmers on the United States, 1916 proved to be the opposite. The Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society felt the improved conditions and was able to enlarge the amount of money in loans.^{1.} The crops raised in 1916 were favorably met with climatological conditions. Marketing facilities and reception were better than they had ever been before. The Jewish farmers were able to procure credit and make the necessary expansions. "The economic position of our Jewish farmers was never better."^{2.}

By 1917 the activities of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society had become limited to dealing with individual farmers almost exclusively. In that year loans were made for the purchase of farms on the part of men who were known to be reliable and to be good risks for the Society. Money was also advanced for equipment, for the erection and improvement of existing farm buildings, and for the payment of maturing mortgages or other debts that were pressing the farmers.^{3.}

1917 was a boom year for agriculture in general and Jewish farmers were able to take advantage of the good conditions brought about by the War market more than anything else. During that year Jewish farmers planted record crops of potatoes and corn which compared favorably with the best that the non-Jewish farmers grew. Though the cost of production

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1916, p. 5.

2. Ibid.

3. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1917, pp. 8-9.

of all crops was high this disadvantage was offset by the "exceptionally good markets created by the unprecedented demand for all species of food".^{1.}

The Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society was a sincerely cooperating organization in War activities. It joined with the Patriotic Farmers' Fund in making emergency loans to Jewish farmers in New York State, not to help them out of difficulties, but to enable them to increase their normal crop production. This increase was made necessary, of course, by the War. The Society also granted loans to Jewish farmers outside of New York, thus contributing to the benefit of agriculture throughout the country. The Farm Labor Bureau, which was the placement bureau for farm hands operated by the Society, placed more farmers on the land in 1917 than at any other time in its entire history. The official magazine of the Society, The Jewish Farmer, also cooperated with the demand for increased crop production by printing articles on methods of increasing production and upon conservation. It also served as a means for dissemination of the official bulletins of the United States Government to the people who could not read English as readily as they could read Yiddish. In addition to all of these efforts on the part of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society to assist the Government in its War activities they also offered the free use of farms owned by them to various municipalities

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1917, pp. 8-9.

that would provide farmers to work on the donated lands and cultivate crops.^{1.}

In 1918 the work of the Society continued along the lines which it had followed since the beginning of the War. The organization kept on its association with the Government and also went ahead with its own private work. It was in this year that the Society began to advise farmers in the selection of individual farms more than it had previous to this time. It was true that the Jewish farmers needed guidance in the purchase of farm land. We have seen what happened to those who did not investigate the land before they settled. On the other hand the success of those who came to the Society should also be noted. These were for the most part farmers whose individual enterprise were founded on their own initiative.

One such man who had purchased land in which the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society was interested experienced marked success. He purchased land in 1911 for \$3,500. On it he built tobacco sheds and developed the culture of tobacco to a high degree. By 1918 his farming activities had so grown that it was necessary for him to purchase a larger farm, for his capital could be invested to greater advantage in the larger enterprise. He therefore sold the farm that he had developed for \$19,000 and bought another farm for \$28,000.^{2.}

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1917, pp. 7-8.
2. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1918, p. 21.

By 1919, according to the estimates of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society there were 7,000 Jewish farmers in the United States, with a possible figure of 18,000. "There is not a state in the Union where there are not Jewish farmers."¹ In New Jersey and Connecticut alone "today there are 1,000,000 acres valued at \$50,000,000 with an equipment aggregate of \$10,000,000."²

1920 was not so active a year as the previous ones had been. The activities of the Society broadened during that year to a degree. In 1920 there were a number of tailors, storekeepers, carpenters, merchants, and machinists, who purchased land through the Society upon which they were going to engage actively in agriculture as a change from the profession or labor in which they had worked before this time.³

1921 was the most critical year in the history of American farming. The critical condition in that year was a result of the serious economic depression that had started in 1920 as an aftermath of the War. Because of the constant demands upon the farmers from all sources to plant heavily and to increase their production as much as possible, many of them had plunged into debt. They had foreseen a period of expanding markets which did come about. Their expansion had been made with an inflated dollar, so that when the crash came they lost heavily. The situation was so serious in 1921

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1919, pp. 7-8.

2. Ibid.

3. Hebrew Standard, January 7, 1921.

for national agriculture that Secretary of Agriculture Wallace, under the direction of the President, summoned a national conference to consider the situation. Despite the national difficulties which agriculture found itself in the Jews were not hit very hard. This was proof positive, according to the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society that Jewish agriculture in the United States was finally on a sound basis.^{1.}

"...The progress of the Jew as a farmer in America is phenomenal. Twenty years ago there were 216 Jewish farmers. Today there are 10,000 and there is not a state in the Union part of whose acreage is not plowed by Jewish hands. From the 12,000 acres owned by your members, (referring to the members of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society) two decades ago you may well be proud of your holdings aggregating as they do well-nigh 1,000,000 acres valued at \$50,000,000 and in addition an equipment of probably \$10,000,000. The number of Jewish farmers is important to the gentile communities as proof that Jews are not all either peddlers or multimillionaires."

The only part of the United States where the Jewish farmers suffered badly in this year was in the west. There were some of them who had still not learned the necessity of crop diversification and the failure of the grain market, grain being their principal crop, all but ruined them.^{3.}

From the first mention of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society up to 1921 we have referred to this organization by its long name. In 1921 the name of this society was changed to the Jewish Agricultural Society, Inc.

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1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1921, p. 5.
 2. Hebrew Standard, January 7, 1921.
 3. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1921, p. 9.

The explanation of the change as reported in the organization's bulletin follows:

"...Industrial features having gradually given way to our agricultural work, we feel that our name would more accurately reflect the nature of our work if the word 'industrial' were omitted. The term 'aid' implies eleemosynary favor. We do not dispense alms. Our aid does not take the form of charitable doles, but is extended on a business basis that any self-respecting man can accept without the sacrifice of prestige or dignity. We felt, therefore, that the elimination of 'aid' from our title would raise the standing of our clients both in their own eyes and in the estimation of others, and would put our dealings with them on a higher plane.

"Another change in our organization is the enlargement of our directorate from seven to nine members. Our work is of such a nature and presents problems in such number and of such variety that it was deemed wise to give them the benefit 1. of the study and deliberation of a larger board."

We shall refer to the Society from now as the Jewish Agricultural Society, or simply as the J.A.S.

In 1922 the fortunes of the American farmers were at a low ebb. Due to the poor harvest of the previous year and the profitless expansion that had made the situation of the farmers very bad, the outlook in the United States for a returned prosperity in agriculture was dark indeed. In addition to the effects of the depression which had gripped the entire nation after the War there were things inherently wrong in the American agricultural system as it had been carried on in the early twenties. Methods of farming were not scientific, nor were the financing or marketing systems. Overlapping, unnecessary expenditures, and other wastes, of both

1. J.A.S. Report, 1922, p. 8.

money and time caused the period to be one in which the farmer suffered damage that would take a long time to repair. But both Government and private organizations took an active interest in the situation and slowly prices began to advance again, credit became easier, and interest rates were lowered. Thus the conditions were made easier for the farmers and they were given a chance to regain their security of but a few years previous.

By 1922 there were 75,000 Jewish immigrants and their families tilling the soil of the United States. They were farming on about 1,000,000 acres of land that was valued at approximately \$100,000,000 along with the equipment that was in use. Despite general agricultural conditions being bad, the Jewish Agricultural Society was appealed to in that year by 1,160 families who wanted to turn to agriculture from their commercial life. Of this number only 104 persons completed the purchase of farms for they were all very carefully considered by the J.A.S. before assistance was granted. In addition to the assistance given to these men the Society also made loans to 84 other potential farmers. The other men who were interested in farming as a profession but who could not be helped by the Society were given advice by the agents of the organization toward achieving their goal.^{1.}

The J.A.S. commented on the economic situation of in the country as affecting the Jew in the United States as

1. J.A.S. Report, 1922, p. 7 ff.

follows:

"As a class Jewish farmers have hardly been long enough established in American Soil to come through so critical a period with poise and equilibrium. Yet despite a few defections, an individual failure here and there, the movement in general has suffered no setback. The Jew is inured to privation and hardship. Ruthless fate has accustomed him to a bitter struggle for existence. It is just this familiarity with the stern realities of life that has enabled the Jewish farmer to pull through these trying times."¹

In 1922 an addition was made to the first Yiddish Agricultural text book ever published which had been brought out in 1921. This addition was a treatise on the diseases of domestic animals written by Benjamin C. Stone, the director of the extension activities of the Jewish Agricultural Society, which had published the first book, in 1921.²

In 1923 farm conditions began to improve slightly and the farmers found more ready markets for the goods that they were producing than they had been able to find before this time. Nevertheless the three years of depression had left their scars on the position of the American Jew in agriculture. No longer was the Jew so solidly settled even in districts which he had strongly intrenched himself in. A pronounced drift away from the farm had begun to take place because of the general discontent among the farmers who had struggled for such a long time with so little to show for their efforts and the money which they had expended on their farms. As we have indicated before, the children of the farmers were

1. J.A.S. Report, 1922, p. 7 ff.

2. J.A.S. Report, 1922, p. 6.

often the first to leave for the city.^{1.}

In our history of the Jewish Agricultural Society we have dealt mainly with the Society's activities in lending money to needy Jewish farmers. The necessity of there being an organization which would act as a lending agent for farmers who could only get third, fourth, or fifth mortgages was apparent. The fact was recognized by the federal government which realized the importance of their being more money available to farmers for reinvestment in their land. A farm is not judged by the amount of produce so much as by the equipment which the farmer uses. One can tell the prosperity of a farmer by his farm implements, his stock, and his home. To run a successful farm it is necessary to improve constantly. The Jewish farmers were able to do this because the J.A.S. was ready to loan money on security that no bank or private individual would dare to risk money on. In addition to saving a man's land through lending money otherwise unavailable to him the J.A.S. made it possible for many men to put necessary improvements on their land at a nominal rate of interest. Thus the making of loans were easily the most important single activity of the Jewish Agricultural Society.^{2.}

But there were other interests of the Society which in some ways eclipsed the importance of loans. One of these was the cooperation given to prospective farmers in their search for available land. We have noted that in many in-

1. J.A.S. Report, 1923, p. 5.

2. J.A.S. Report, 1925, pp. 9-16.

stances Jewish farmers were defrauded by high prices and hindered by other means in their efforts to secure for themselves good land upon which to farm. The Jewish Agricultural Society maintained a staff of men who were capable of judging farm land in almost any area. One of their jobs was the assistance of any man who wished to go into farming by accompanying him when he went out to look at land that was on the market. By supervision of purchases of land the J.A.S. was able to insure the Jewish farmer, new to the profession, of a fair start on land that was at least reasonably productive and upon which successful crops had been raised in the past.^{1.}

Sanitary conditions are always a problem on a farm. They were even more of a problem during the early twenties when some of the farms of a district were modernized while others were left unimproved. Because of the unimproved farms all of the farms in the area suffered since sanitary improvement must be general to be effective. The Jewish Agricultural Society made constant inspections along the lines of keeping farms sanitary. They were frequently looked to by both state and municipal governments for their assistance in clearing up a particularly bad area where insanitation was causing disease and discomfort as well. The Society made a great many investigations and wrote many comprehensive reports on their findings. In one year over 700 investigations were not uncommon.^{2.}

1. J.A.S. Report, 1925, pp. 9-16.

2. Ibid.

Another department of the J.A.S. was the so-called extension department. This department offered advice as to crops to plant and methods of harvesting them most effectively. Farm management was planned by this department for the individual farmer. It was a frequent occurrence for the farmer to be faced with production problems---what to produce on his farm, and what not to produce. The J.A.S. worked on this problem in New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey. Through the recommendations of the Extension Department of the J.A.S. introductions of cauliflower, vegetables, and fruit were made by farmers that had not been interested in such items previously. Strong efforts were made by the Society to eliminate tubercular cows. Poultry farms were set up with the result that "a Jewish poultry farmer near Kingston, New York, was awarded first prize at the county fair. His stock also won one of the highest prizes at the State Exhibition".^{1.} Explosives were introduced by the Society to aid the farmers in clearing their land. Spraying machines were purchased cooperatively to be used to protect the fruit trees in the areas which required spraying.^{2.}

Educational efforts were made by the J.A.S. through the publication of The Jewish Farmer, a magazine printed partly in Yiddish, and partly in English which offered the farmers instruction in the most approved modern methods of agriculture. The first number of this magazine appeared in

1. J.A.S. Report, pp. 8-9.

2. Ibid.

May, 1908. The aim of the magazine as stated by its publishers was to "...provide for the non-English reading Jewish farmer expert advice on agricultural subjects not otherwise available to him; to supply him with a publication to which he can turn for sympathy and encouragement; to furnish him with a medium for the expression of his feelings and aspirations; and to bring him inspiration through keeping him in touch with his fellow tillers of the soil".^{1.}

The Purchasing Bureau which was set up by the J.A.S. was also a valuable addition to the activities of the Society. By the ability of this Bureau to purchase supplies in great quantities money was saved for the Jewish farmers. They were able to buy directly from the Bureau at the cost that the cooperative organization paid for the goods originally.^{2.}

An Agricultural Night School was established in the fall of 1924. It served as a medium for the giving of lectures and of class room instruction to farmers who desired such information. In addition to the formal class room instruction, trips were taken by the classes to various successful farms in the neighborhood to observe the farm methods that were in use. Trips were also made to the Madison Square Garden Poultry Show and to the New York Institute of Applied Agriculture at Farmingdale, Long Island.^{3.}

Free scholarships were instituted by the Society in

1. J.A.I.,A.S. Report, 1908, pp. 27-32.

2. J.A.S. Report, 1925, pp. 9-16.

3. Ibid.

1908 to interest the children of Jewish farmers in continuing in the profession of their parents. The scholarships were to provide the means for implanting within the children the necessary love of the soil to keep them on the land. They would also serve the main purpose of supplying the information for the successful carrying on of farm activity. These scholarships were given to the young men and women for the short courses in the agricultural schools which were given during the winter so that as little time as necessary would be missed from farm work. The courses usually lasted from six to twelve weeks.^{1.}

The Society also maintained a Farm Labor Bureau whose function it was to secure positions for Jewish young men as farm hands throughout the United States. The theory behind the organization was not only the importance of finding jobs for refugees who would otherwise have gone unemployed. Probably the most important feature of the work of the Bureau was the experience given to the young men in preparation for owning farms of their own. While farm hands never made much money they did not have many expenses either. Since the young men were out of the city where there were not many opportunities for them to use their money they managed to save substantial amounts with which some of them purchased their own farms.^{2.}

Naturalization classes were also held by the J.A.S.

1. J.A.S. Report, 1925, pp. 9-16.

2. American Jewish Yearbook, 5673, pp. 68-72.

The organization did all that it could to encourage early naturalization on the part of its proteges.^{1.}

The Jewish Agricultural Society also had branch offices through which it worked. These were located in Ellenville, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and New York City. The J.A.S. cooperated with the following agencies: Council of Jewish Women, United Synagogues of America, National Farm School, The United States Department of Agriculture, and the various state departments of agriculture wherever there were any number of Jewish farmers.^{2.}

1925 was a fairly good year for American agriculture. So far as Jewish farmers were concerned they too were successful. The period of depression after the war was passing and things were beginning to pick up in industry with corresponding climbs in food consumption.^{3.}

1926 was a year of considerable activity for the Jewish Agricultural Society. During the year 1,718 farm visits were made by representatives of the organization and over one hundred meetings were held at the Society headquarters. The sanitation department was particularly busy that year with 789 investigations in New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts.^{4.}

The Farm Labor Bureau found positions for 588 men during the year. Since 1908 the Bureau had placed 15,510 men

1. J.A.S. Report, 1925, pp. 9-16.

2. J.A.S. Report, 1925, pp. 13-15.

3. J.A.S. Report, pp. 1-2. (1926)

4. J.A.S. Report, 1926, p. 17.

in 32 different states. One-half of the men were experienced, being wither farm-school or university graduates, or having spent time on farms before. By 1925 there was already a predominantly native element in the men being placed, since many of the immigrant farmers' children were ready to go out on farmstowork.^{1.}

1926 was a year in which the work of the J.A.S. was curtailed from necessity. From 1900 to 1915 the Society had been the recipient of funds from the Jewish Colonization Association and the Baron de Hirsch Fund. Upon the outbreak of the World War the J.C.A. stopped its contributions to the Society. The previous purpose of the money which had been given the J.A.S. by the Jewish Colonization Association was to establish a revolving fund that was to be used particularly for lending purposes and for nothing more. During the course of years the fund was built up considerably but when contributions on the part of the Jewish Colonization Association ceased naturally loans could not be made in the same amount without decreasing the principal. Nevertheless 1926 was a year of great activity for the Society. Over 800 applications were made for loans during the year resulting in settlement loans of over \$50,000. The farms purchased by the farmers whom the Society had helped were fairly expensive, averaging about \$6,570 per farm. The average capitals of the families who settled was \$3,554, of which they made a downpayment on their farm of about \$2,400. Settlement was therefore being carried

1. J.A.S. Report, 1926, pp. 9-11.

on on a higher scale with the greater part of money being available on the part of the prospective settler. This enabled the Jewish Agricultural Society to aid more families and to settle more on the land. The change in farmers from poor to middle class people was significant for it showed that there were people who were going into agriculture who had been more successful in other professions than the average, and yet were changing their means of livelihood because they preferred farm life. None of them were encouraged by high-pressure societies to go on the land. Thus, a higher type of individual^{1.} began to enter farm work.

On the whole the new farmers found favorable conditions when they began to farm. Most of them were engaged in truck gardening and poultry raising. Some of the poultry farmers were able to raise feed for their flocks. Both they and the truck gardeners were successful in finding markets for their products. "One man in his first year is making \$70 to \$80 a week from his poultry farm's eggs."^{2.}

In 1927 the Baron de Hirsch Fund revised its budget to enable annual payments to be made to the Jewish Agricultural Society for the next three years. This was done in order to increase the loaning power of the J.A.S. The loaning power was increased about 30% by the change as well as by a rise in the interest rates charged by the Society from 5% to 6%. Loans continued to be the greatest part of the Society's

1. J.A.S. Report, 1926, pp. 6-9.
2. J.A.S. Report, 1926, p. 27.

function so far as the American Jewish farmer was concerned. That this function was important we may recognize from the following statement of the United States Government:

"...there is a growing need and demand for second mortgage credit which has not yet been adequately met. Farming is by nature a business that can absorb a constant inflow of funds. There is always an improvement, a new machine, a repair, an addition to stock, a replacement of worn out equipment to use up farmers' money. The most successful farmer may be the one who is shortest of ready cash. Thus the Society makes not only second mortgage loans, but loans on third, fourth, fifth, and even sixth mortgages, on chattel mortgages, and unsecured notes."

1927 was the most important year for loans in the history of the Jewish Agricultural Society far in that year more farmers were reached than ever before. In all, forty states were touched in some way by the money loaned out by the Society. Collections were also larger than in any previous year. 1927 was a successful year from the point of view of the Society.²

In addition to its loans during the year the J.A.S. examined farm and building contracts as well as the purchase of machinery in order to determine that the farmers were getting full value for what they were paying. The Society helped in the filling-out of applications to Federal Land Banks. They advised on all legal matters having to do with farms in any way. They made investigations and kept track of fire insurance policies for the farmers in whom they were interested

1. J.A.S. Report, 1927, pp. 10-17.

2. Ibid.

as well as carrying on a host of minor functions.^{1.}

One of the most perplexing problems that faced farmers during their lives on their farms was the difficulty they had in procuring fire insurance. Insurance was hard for them to get because of the absence of a fire code governing farming communities, and also because of inadequate fire-fighting apparatus. To remedy this deficiency the Jewish Agricultural Society aided in the formation of cooperative fire insurance companies. The first company was organized around 1912 in the mountain district of New York state. By 1927 there were five such companies carrying almost \$13,000,000 worth of outstanding insurance for farmers of the area. Thus the need was met privately and with less expense than there would have been had the private companies taken the insurance.^{2.}

In addition to the cooperative fire insurance companies fostered by the Jewish Agricultural Society, there were other cooperative organizations that met with great popularity and with good success. There were cooperative poultrymen's associations in Woodbine, New Jersey. There were cooperative buying and selling organizations in Toms River, New Jersey. These organizations also existed in New York, and were scattered throughout the other sections of the country.^{3.}

In 1927 the desire of farmers to locate near large cities became more marked. This increased the amount of money

1. J.A.S. Report, 1927, p. 17.

2. J.A.S. Report, 1927, p. 18.

3. J.A.S. Report, 1927, p. 20.

that was necessary for the purchase of a farm. On the other hand, farmers who lived near large cities always had markets for their produce and some of them were able to hold jobs in the city as well as to carry on a fairly large production on their farms.^{1.}

In 1927 farming was definitely on the upgrade. More fruits and cereals were being consumed than at any previous time. Eggs and milk had also reached peaks that were heretofore regarded as being unscalable. The year was one of the liveliest in the entire history of the Jewish Agricultural Society for the interest of the Jews had become more intense than in any year up to that time. In 1927 there were 30,000 people who were contacted by the Society in one way or another.^{2.}

1928 was also a boom year for the Society with conditions continuing much as they had in the previous year. We have nothing new to record for this year. All industry was progressing rapidly with expansion everywhere. In 1929 the Farm Employment Bureau had filled nearly 17,000 positions in 32 states. In that year there were 80,000 Jewish farmers as compared with 1,000 thirty years before. "From two or three eastern states the movement has spread to practically every state in the Union. The area under Jewish operation approximates 1,000,000 acres."^{3.}

1. J.A.S. Report, 1927, p. 20.

2. J.A.S. Report, 1927, p. 7.

3. J.A.S. Report, 1927, pp. 5-7.

But times had changed radically by 1930. No longer was the fever of expansion in the air. Business was at a very low point, unemployment was mounting, and the demand for farm products had slumped. In addition to the disasters that had already overtaken the farmers drought came in 1930 to last for several years and to curtail their earning power even more. Farm commodities slumped to the lowest points in fifteen years. The national farm income was the lowest since 1921. Suffering was rife in all sections of the country. There was no section of agriculture that was exempt from the decline in prices. Foreclosures increased, forced sales were many, bankruptcies stood at several times the prewar figure. The Jewish Agricultural Society's figure of being able to lower the amount of money advanced in loans was necessarily changed. A more liberal policy was adapted. Many of the Jewish farmers were forced to curtail their activities and some to leave farming altogether.^{1.}

1931 was not much better. The economic position of the American farmer did not improve. The need for the services of the Jewish Agricultural Society had increased and the organization gave of its capital generously. It was a time of emergency and of free spending. This was necessary if any attempt was to be made to save the farmer who had been on the soil but a relatively short time and needed help to maintain himself and his family.^{2.}

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1. J.A.S. Report, 1930, p. 5.
 2. J.A.S. Report, 1931, p. 5.

Gross farm income in 1932 had dropped to the lowest level in twenty years. Some farm crops hit new lows in prices that had never been recorded before. Farm values continued to be deflated and the number of farm mortgages resumed their climb which had started in October, 1929, with the resounding crash of the stock market. Farm tenancy, an alarming index to farm prosperity, increased. Foreclosures were more numerous than in any period in history. There was no section of the country that was immune to deplorable conditions and no branch of farming that was exempt from the haunting failures that plagued the farmer at this time. Nevertheless, despite the bad agricultural conditions, farm population in the United States was on the increase. In 1930, 1,392,000 people moved from cities to farms. An even larger number made the transfer in 1931 and 1932. Their number overbalanced the number who were moving from farm to city. Interest in agriculture was greatly stimulated during this period. Jews began to take an interest in farming all over again in the 1930's which they had not shown up to that time. The following statements from the Jewish Agricultural Society are rather significant in their implications: 2

"...we believe that there is room for more Jews on farms and that this is an opportunity to place them there. That requires money. Our own funds are limited and farmers already established must be given priority....The removal to the farm of large numbers of impoverished Jews is, for the time being, an impossible undertaking. There is little likelihood that the vast sums of money needed for mass transplantation can be raised at this time. For the present we must con-

tent ourselves with the settlement of individuals and small groups." 1.

During this period of enthusiasm on the part of the Jews for their return to the land there was a great deal of work done by the Jewish Agricultural Society in combatting fraud. The Society was constantly on the lookout for advertisements which might dupe or mislead people. Those who made false offers were exposed and newspapers were influenced not to accept their advertising copy. Yiddish papers were the main offenders and were the ones which were principally dealt with by the Society. One of the favorite means of swindling was to state the area of land in square feet instead of acres and so to arrive at a great figure of area of land which sounded huge but which really wasn't. People were impressed by the large figure and thought there was a large tract of land coming to them. 40,000 square feet sounds like a lot of land, but it is really less than an acre which is not very much to farm on. This was the sort of thing that the advertisements were doing and which was stopped by the J.A.S. insofar as they were able to do so. 2.

In 1932 additional farmers' cooperatives were formed in Connecticut and in Toms River, Perrineville, Hightstown, and Bound Brook in New Jersey. 3.

Ruppin, in his Jews in the Modern World, estimated that there were 15,000 families or 100,000 persons engaged in

1. J.A.S. Report, 1932, p. 11.

2. J.A.S. Report, 1932, p. 13.

3. J.A.S. Report, 1932, p. 18.

agriculture among the Jews in 1932.^{1.}

In 1933 agricultural developments took place which will forever mark that year as one of the most important in the history of American agriculture. Legislation was passed which was destined to have a far reaching effect on the condition of the American farmers and on the future of American agriculture. A new and disturbing farm philosophy was evolved which was bound to work tremendous changes in the economic and social structure of American life. We have not time to review the work of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Agricultural Adjustment Act, or the Farm Credit Administration in relation to the farmers of the United States. Indeed, insofar as Jewish farmers were concerned the new federal developments did not have much effect. Most of the Jewish farmers were not engaged in the planting of staple crops. Their crops were luxuries that were being underconsumed by the population of the United States because of their lack of money. The efforts of the Jewish Agricultural Society during 1933 were largely directed to keeping intact the Jewish farmers who were on their farms. It was important that the land which had been developed at such cost should not be lost. The Society was forced to practice rigid economy in its offices because of the loss of much money in outstanding loans. But the year 1933 was the first since 1929 that did not show a deficit at its close.^{2.}

1. The Jew in the Modern World, MacMillan Co., London, 1934., by Arthur Ruppin, pp. 172 ff.
2. J.A.S. Report, 1933, p. 7.

In 1934 an interesting study was made by the J.A.S. By covering a cross section of farmers in seventeen states it was discovered that although farm conditions were anything but favorable 90% of the farmers questioned preferred to remain on their farms rather than leave them for the cities even though they were living under unfavorable conditions. Despite the rigour which had afflicted the lives of the farmers during the years since 1929 there was no mass exodus from the farms at any time during that period. The Jews were determined to remain on the land and to keep their roots in the soil. Relatively fewer farms were abandoned by Jews than by non-Jews during the period of the depression because a large proportion of the Jewish farmers were located near the large cities and close to their potential markets. Another advantage in being located near cities was the possibility for work occasionally in the city when there was an off season on the farm.^{1.}

In 1935 things began to advance slightly over the whole American farm scene. Agricultural prices began to rise due to the efforts in that direction which were made by the federal government. The gross farm income of 1935, though much better than it had been for several years, was still far off from that of 1929. Nevertheless, the year brought a definite improvement to many American farmers.^{2.}

1. J.A.S. Report, 1934, p. 9.

2. J.A.S. Report, 1935, p. 5.

In 1936 the upward trend in agriculture continued with the highest gross income for farmers in six years being reached. This was despite a none too encouraging agricultural situation throughout the nation because of floods, drought, dust-storms, and other major and minor catastrophes which left their mark on the agriculture of many sections of the country. The Jewish farmers were not much troubled with such problems since they did not live in the areas which were generally in difficulties, and also because many of them were practicing a type of agriculture that was not affected by drought or flood. This was, of course, poultry farming. As we have mentioned previously there were few Jewish farmers located in the areas in the west where all the trouble took place. The Jews had never gotten a real foothold in the growth of staple crops, and, perhaps fortunately, were not concerned with them. The picture of the future of Jewish as well as non-Jewish agriculture in the United States seemed to grow brighter this

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year.

1937 passed much as 1936. The summer was not a good one so far as agricultural conditions were concerned. Nevertheless business in general improved during the year and naturally agriculture felt the effects of the improvement. The upward trend continued and became more apparent than ever before. Interest was reawakening in agriculture throughout the country among the Jewish populations, and people were beginning

to want to return to farms as they had in previous years. Anti-semitism also played an important part in the role of a persuader to force the Jews back into agriculture. The refugee problem which we shall discuss at length elsewhere also figured at this time.

During 1938 the work of the J.A.S. continued to go ahead. It emphasized during the year the importance of the return of the Jew to the land as a means of decentralizing the urban populations and thus decreasing the chances for anti-semitism. While we may not agree with the logic behind the beliefs of the J.A.S. it is noteworthy that 96% of all the Jews whom the Society placed on the land from 1932 to 1938 remained in the country. They did not all stay in agriculture, however. Some of them being not well-satisfied with the type of life that living on a farm entailed sold their holdings and went into business in the small town near which they had located their farms originally. This was true of the children of the farmers who in many cases were dissatisfied to remain on the farm land of their parents and who went into professions in the nearby small towns. The Society was gratified with this result, feeling that any means of keeping centralization away from the large areas of settlement was worth while.^{1.}

Loan work of the Society kept on. Loans were somewhat limited by the decline in capital because of the non-pay-

1. J.A.S. 1938, pp. 13-14, Report.

ment of loans outstanding for a long time which had to be classified as bad debts. One of the most pressing bits of work that the Society had to do was inconnection with the damage done by the hurricane on the Atlantic coast during the early fall of 1938. Much less attention has been given to the damage done by this storm than it merited for it occurs at the time that the Munich crisis was holding the attention of the readers of the newspapers. Crops were not the only items affected---the far more important ones being livestock and buildings which were almost completely destroyed in the immediate regional range of the hurricane.

The remainder of the Society's activities went on as usual. The Farm Sanitation department was quite successful in the exhibits it set up and in the general way it operated. The Farm Employment Bureau was also active. Farmers' Cooperatives were encouraged. Advice was freely given to many prospective farmers seeking information about favorable areas in which to settle. The year was a successful one for the Society, and one which pointed toward a better future in agriculture for the Jew because of openings which were being made all along the way.^{1.}

By 1938 the Jewish farmers in the United States had achieved a certain amount of prestige due to their effective participation in certain branches of farming which they had made particularly satisfactory for themselves. In 1938 the

1. J.A.S. Report, 1938, pp. 24-28.

"Hen of the Year" was a bird bred by Irving Kander, a Jewish poultry farmer. On President Roosevelt's Georgia farm a stand of Coesack alfalfa which he termed as "perfect" was grown from seed purchased from a Jewish seedsman. The President of the Massachusetts State Federation of Poultry Associations was a Jew. There were 100,000 Jewish farmers in the United States at the time.^{1.}

"Jewish farmers differ from others partly by way of religion. Although they engage in many forms of agriculture (but chiefly poultry and truck farming) they tend to live in groups; for Jewish dietary laws and ritual practices are hard to fulfill in isolation, and ten Jewish men are the smallest permissible group for public worship."^{2.}

We have seen so far only a very general picture of the history of the Jew in agriculture from 1914 to the present. We shall next take up the states where Jews are now living as farmers individually to examine their more recent history at closer range. After this examination we shall perhaps be able to make some summary of the present situation and position of the Jew in agriculture in the United States today.

NEW YORK

After the beginnings that were necessarily of an experimental nature and unsuccessful in many of the attempts, agricultural activity headed toward stabilization and security

1. Time, March 14, 1938, pp. 68-69.
2. Ibid.

so far as the Jewish farmers were concerned. When the first few years of trials and errors had been made, and the experience necessary for an intelligent conduct of agricultural affairs gained, the Jewish farmer was able to carry on his work with an attitude of savoir faire, replaving the naivete with which he entered into this new profession.

We have already noted trends in New York State toward and away from boarding house keeping and the running of summer resorts. We make such a seemingly mixed remark intentionally, for this was just the case. In years when boarders were a profitable investment and the season was long, Jewish farmers plunged into the work with enthusiasm despite the advice of the Jewish Agricultural Society and against the experience of other farmers who had been resort keepers in previous years. But after they had their fingers burned a few times with a bad season or two, the farmers realized that the only way in which they could be truly successful was to engage in a diversified agriculture with less accent on the boarding side of the venture. There were, however, some summers which were had for both farming and for the summer resort business. Such a summer was 1915.

In 1915 the wet, cool summer along with the industrial depression that characterized the year ruined both the boarding house business and the raising of crops. Because there were few people who had the money to come to summer resorts, which were dependent on the trade of the lower middle

class, there was no market for such farm produce as was able to get through the summer without damage. 1915 forced the Jewish farmers of New York to consider new methods of farming as well as new crops which would not be affected so seriously by the vagaries of the weather.^{1.}

As an answer to the problem of what farm products to concentrate on, the Jewish farmers began to go more heavily into the dairying business. In addition to the enlarged interest in dairying at this time, there also began to be noticeable intensification of the poultry business and in market gardening ventures which were becoming more profitable during the period.^{2.}

ULSTER AND SULLIVAN COUNTIES

At the same time that we take an attitude of disfavor toward the engagement of the Jew in the risky business of carrying on a summer resort business we must admit that certain parts of the country were more ideally suited for such activities than for any other. From an aesthetic viewpoint the district around Ulster and Sullivan, New York, was better fitted for summer resort keeping than for anything else. The landscape was beautiful. The climate was invigorating and healthful. Not being a very great distance from the great metropolitan center of New York with its millions all desirous of

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1915, p. 12.

2. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1916, p. 8.

of getting away from the hot city for the summer, the area in Sullivan and Ulster counties was naturally adapted to be the site for many summer resorts.

In converse , the area was not well-fitted for farming. We have already noted that the soil in many places was stony, the growing season was short, and precipitation unevenly distributed in the area. Since the towns and villages in the locality were small and markets were poor, the farmers were more or less forced into the boarding business, at least until transportation facilities could be improved enough to make the cities within easy access of their farms.^{1.}

Many a Jew came into the area with a genuine desire to become a farmer and with no intentions of going into any other activities to make a living. Coming with little capital he dissipated what little he had by overpaying for the land which he purchased. Too often unscrupulous salesmen would point out to him that land cost \$1,000 a foot in New York but only \$1,000 an acre in the area in which he was going to purchase. The salesmen neglected to state that the sidewalks of New York were just as likely to grow vegetables as some of the land which they sold to the Jewish farmers who came into the area knowing about agriculture the sum total of nothing and trusting to good fortune that they would make a success.

After the Jew came on the land he observed, after a while, that his small plot of ground was unprofitable, and that

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1920, pp. 40-42.

while his neighbor did not manage to grow much either, he at least made a fair living from the keeping of boarders in the beautiful district which had so impressed the Jew when he first saw the hills covered with leafy greenery. Since he needed some money to buy feed for the few cattle to which he sacrificed some of his small capital in purchasing and in care, in order to keep them through the winter, he imitated his Gentile neighbor and went into the resort business himself. Ignorant of the handling of cattle, and of the scientific method of agriculture, he soon possessed a few acres of deteriorated land that was worth only a fraction of what he had paid for it. The land was excess and waste since it was not^{1.} used at all for farming purposes.

One of the great differences between the Jewish farmers and the Gentile agriculturists in the neighbor of Ulster and Sullivan, and for that matter in the entire state of New York and in portions of Connecticut and Massachusetts, was the difference between the investor and the speculator. The Gentile farmers, interested in establishing a home for themselves and their children on the land, took better care of their holdings. The Gentile expected his children to continue on his land when he was no longer able to work it. The Jewish farmer, however, was sick of the drudgery he had been forced into in the city and saw in the farm a chance to escape from the life which he disliked so heartily. He also saw in the farm a good method of making money, for he knew that there were al-

1. Survey, December 25, 1920, p. 460.

ways others to whom he could sell his land if he tired of it. As for his children---less than 10% of the young men and women over eighteen remained on the farm.¹

Thus the Jewish farmer was not contributing to a permanent agriculture. As to cooperative farming carried on in New York by Jews:

"The lawyers and the authorities generally agree that there is practically no farm the ownership of which is entirely unencumbered. The cooperative ownership of farms has proven universally a failure. The projects start on a basis that is not financially sound; the farmers' moral deserts rather than his pecuniary position are considered."²

There were not many cooperative agricultural ventures carried on in this section since most of the Jewish farmers were working the land in a way that was strictly individual and would admit of no help.

Up to about 1923 the general condition of the Jews in Ulster and Sullivan counties, New York, was not bad and not good. They were getting along, with some outside help, but were not making any great strides in agricultural progress one way or the other. As we have noted in our history of their activities up to 1914 their land changed hands frequently and they were not stabilized in their efforts to engage in a practical agriculture. After the War, and the two or three years of disturbed industrial conditions, with their effect on the farmers, events began to shape themselves for the Jewish farmers

1. Survey, December 25, 1920, p. 460.

2. Ibid.

in more definite agricultural patterns than before.

Around 1923 greater agricultural activity began to be noticed in the mountains of Sullivan and Ulster counties. The farmers began to realize that they had to diversify their methods if they were to make any success in their ventures. They began to rebuild barns and poultry houses that had long been out of active use. Milk houses and silos were constructed by them to take care of their new agricultural ventures. The use of fertilizer was employed more widely than before and farmers were able to plow more land, for with fertilizer they were assured of a better and a more saleable crop. More and more seed was purchased for planting and more land was plowed. Expansion was taking place and the boarding house business^{1.} was slowly becoming less important.

One of the most important factors in the instituting of the change was the building of new and improved roads in the district which gave the farmers a chance to get their crops to markets available in the large cities but never utilized before, because of poor transportation facilities. New crops were experimented with and some of the experiments met with success. In 1925 potatoes were sown by the farmers in Ulster and Sullivan with good results. In that year cauliflower was made a profitable crop along with potatoes. In the following year (1926) field beans were experimented with^{2.} by the farmers and found to be effective as a cash crop.

1. J.A.S. Report, 1923, p. 44.
2. J.A.S. Report, 1926, p. 13.

In 1927 the Ulster and Sullivan district became crowded with Jewish farmers and new problems began to arise. Sanitary conditions were improved among the Jews. Extension courses were given by the Jewish Agricultural Society which was working in cooperation with the New York State College of Agriculture in an attempt to raise the agricultural standards in the state. Through the work of these two organizations there were definite improvements noticeable in the position of the Jewish farmers. Crop acreage became increased, livestock was becoming a more important activity with results apparent in the increased size of the herds of cattle. Larger herds were owned by the Jewish farmers in Ulster and Sullivan counties and many of the unproductive farms were turned into poultry plants which did not require good soil to be successful. In addition to the new crops which we have spoken of above, the Jewish farmers in the area began to grow mushrooms, to produce honey, keep sheep, and grow vegetables in more variety^{1.} than before.

In 1927 the Jewish farmers had taken the lead in the production of cauliflower on a large scale commercially. They also began to grow, in areas which were favorable to their culture, large acreages of sweet corn, lettuce, and other truck gardening crops. The farmers who kept dairy herds also began to grow their own forage and fodder. They instituted the growth of alfalfa on a small scale and otherwise tried to

1. J.A.S. Report, 1927, pp. 28-29.

become independent of the local feed dealers. The increase in truck gardening coming in 1927 was largely due to the improved methods of transportation which were open to the Jewish farmers at this time. They were able to get their crops into the cities themselves and to sell directly to the consumer in some instances by maintaining their own small stands. In other cases¹ they were able to sell to the large food terminals instead of having to rely on a commission merchant to do their selling for them. Some of them did their own trucking which also cut down their expenses.

Thus conditions had taken a turn from the unsatisfactory methods and practices of the Jewish farmers before this year. The Jews engaged in agriculture were, in 1927, rapidly coming to the fore as the leading exponents of the particular type of agriculture in which they were engaged. Jewish poultrymen began to receive prizes in state and local contests. Some of them had cockerels which were considered to be among the best in the state. Their entrance into cauliflower raising had met with great success and they were the leading producers of the crop in the state. Their dairy herds were being replaced with tuberculin tested cows and their milk supply was being readily accepted in the cities just as fast as they could produce it. In some cases the Jewish farmers began to go in for registered stock among their cattle which was the first time since they had gone into the area that they were concerned with anything more than simply rais-

1. J.A.S. Report, 1927, p. 19.

ing a crop. Conditions had changed greatly by 1927 and the future looked much brighter for the Jewish farmer than it had appeared up to that time.^{1.}

In the thirties, while the farmer had been affected to some degree by the depression, they went ahead with their progressive steps. Farmers' cooperatives became important and seeds and plants were being purchased by the farmers at prices below those which they paid at any other time. Their agriculture was on a sound basis at last in the counties of Sullivan and Ulster, and has continued to be so to the present time.^{2.}

Nevertheless the boarding house business is still carried on by the Jewish farmers (some of them) in Sullivan and Ulster. It is on a slightly different basis today for the farmers have learned the evils of not diversifying their crop. Most of them who are at the present time conducting summer boarding houses also have other activities which help them along in case their boarding house season is cut short for one reason or another. Thus, in Ulster and Sullivan counties we may note the success of the Jews in agriculture and their final emergence as fairly important figures in the production of certain crops in the area.^{3.}

Glennville, in Ulster county, is a good example of the type of progress made in agriculture in New York state

1. J.A.S. Report, 1927, p. 33.

2. J.A.S. Report, 1930, p. 18, also 1931, p. 21.

3. Ibid.

with reference to the types of farming which we have considered in our brief history of the Jew in this state. The first year of farming here we have already included in our general history of Sullivan and Ulster counties. Ellenville, and its neighboring towns with Jewish population of any great number---Briggs Street and Greenfield, organized a cooperative creamery association in 1916. The name of their organization was The Jewish Farmers' Cooperative Creamery Association of Ulster County, New York. In 1916 the organization purchased three acres of land and erected an ice house. Shortly afterwards they put up their own creamery. The Jews in the area purchased shares in the creamery for every cow that they owned. The creamery was organized through the efforts of the Federation of Jewish Farmers of America.^{1.}

"Jacob H. Schiff subscribed for \$1,000 worth of stock in the First Farmers Savings and Loan Association and presented this stock to the Federation of Jewish Farmers of America. The First Farmers Savings and Loan Association is the first and thus far the only savings association among farmers in New York State, which is organized under the Land Bank of the State of New York. It has a capital of its own of \$15,000 and also received \$5,000 from the Land Bank, and its money is invested in first mortgages on farms in Sullivan and Ulster counties."^{2.}

As we have mentioned in a general consideration of the farmers of Sullivan and Ulster we brought out the fact that in 1923 the Jewish farmers began to pay less attention to their boarding house businesses and to devote more time to actual farming. This was a direct result of the conditions of 1922

1. American Israelite, March 30, 1916.
2. Ibid.

which was one of the most critical in the history of Jewish farming in that area. Unfavorable weather reduced the boarding season to about two weeks which severely crippled the farmers' ability to get through the winter on their own resources. Neither could they carry on other farming activities which they had neglected for what they considered to be potentially the more profitable, because of their complete lack of capital. After that year the farmers realized that they must practice crop diversification in order to be successful. Therefore they began to put more emphasis on farming with the result which we have already seen.^{1.}

In 1928 the farms of Ellenville were described by Dr. Landman of the Jewish Agricultural Society in the following manner:

"I saw all kinds an descriptions of course. Some of the farmers do and will neglect their farms during the boarding season. Many employ help for the summer months. Most of them can-tinue their work in the fields while the women folk manage the boarding end of the business. I saw barns of which Kansas or Indiana farmers might well be proud. I saw herds of cattle tuberculosis tested, sleek, and big producers. I saw cow barns in which there were fewer flies than in New York tenement houses. I spoke to farmers happy that their boarding period enables them to stay in the country and pay off their mortgages. I saw workers of every description from the big city, happy that their families, within their means, can have a long vacation in the Catskills."^{2.}

Today Ellenville is the locale of the densest rural Jewish population in the United States. The activities of the

1. J.A.S. Report, 1922, p. 55.
2. J.A.S. Report, 1928, p. 31.

farmers along purely agricultural lines are screened somewhat by the activity of their boarding business. Nevertheless more and more farming is being carried on. The farmers in the area are constantly increasing their flocks, and are devoting more acreage to the production of garden truck. New equipment is being bought by them continually and they erect modern buildings to permit them to expand whenever they have the necessary funds or security to offer.^{1.}

RENSSELAER COUNTY

We must briefly mention the farming communities that were set up in Rensselaer county, and on Long Island. The first of these, which was located near Nassau has not been very successful. Nassau was first entered by Jewish farmers in about 1913. The farmers who came to this area were not so fortunate in their choice as those who went to the more mountainous sections of the state. The soil was not well suited for agricultural practices since it is a shale derivative, a clay. It often bakes to a brick-like hardness in the summer when there is not a great deal of rain. As a result farming was very difficult for the Jewish settlers in Renssealer. The only prospect for success that the farmers had was in keeping boarders which was never too certain a means of income. But here again the Rensselaer farmers were at a disadvantage. Their land was not so scenic or inviting as the more mountainous country and they did not have the opportunities for boarding

1. J.A.S. Report, 1935, p. 24.

that the farmers in other localities had. Only the poorer type of summer resort visitor would come into the area, and thus the returns of the farmers were limited.^{1.}

Nevertheless the Jewish farmers managed to exist in the neighborhood even though it was with difficulty. Some of the farmers through engagement in dairying have done well in the area and have fine homes and well-selected cattle. It took a long time for them to achieve their position and the newcomer in Rensselaer county was not met with much encouragement. A fairly permanent Jewish agriculture has been established around Nassau and is there today with an organized religious community and the other characteristics which mark the Jewish settlements as being distinct from the non-Jewish. The farmers in this area have been given considerable aid from the Jewish Agricultural Society and from the United Synagogues of America in establishing their religious activities.^{2.}

LONG ISLAND

Long Island became the site for Jewish duck farmers among who were/the most successful in the area. There were two or three such farms which were models for the district and which were constantly visited by prospective duck growers. The Jewish farmers have continued in this activity and are at present quite successful in their culture of ducks.^{3.}

1. Levine, op. cit., p. 95.

2. Ibid.

3. J.A.S. Report, 1927, p. 22.

SUMMARY OF NEW YORK STATE

New York promises much, for the Jewish farmers has proved his success. The only problem that remains is the keeping of the young men and women on the farm. The only thing that may be said concerning this matter is that education will have to point out to the young people that the farm offers them as good an opportunity to make a living as do the professions today, and, that starting with the background which has been given to them by their life on the farm they should be able to do better than their parents and make a real success of their lives in the country. We shall discuss the problem of youth in agriculture in another section of this paper.

Through our survey of agriculture in New York from the beginnings to the present time we have seen how a Jewish agricultural society became founded in this state from very modest beginnings which did not seem to speak for success at first. It is scarcely necessary for us to make any detailed summary since we have taken up the history of the Jewish farmers in New York chronologically and have seen how they finally developed from a speculating class of land buyers to men who were permanently settled on the land and who were doing well with their dairying and their truck gardening with boarding being carried on as a sideline instead of the most important aspect of their work. Of the future we have already spoken briefly. Upon the realization that there is a future in farming, and that a farmer's life today is not the hopeless drudgery

that it was twenty or thirty or forty years ago, more young people will go into the field and stay on as scientific farmers. Of the possibility of such development we may only speculate with hope.

CONNECTICUT

We have already noted in our initial study of the history of Jewish agriculture in this state that the main activity of the Jewish farmers in Connecticut was tobacco growing. At that activity many of the farmers had become quite successful before the War and some of them were owners of very fine farm houses and beautifully cultivated acres of land. The remainder of the Jewish farmers in Connecticut and in other New England states had not been able to do so well for the soil was not fitted for truck gardening without a great deal of cultivation and fertilization. In addition to this fact the farms were isolated since many of them were perched in well-nigh inaccessible places where even horses went with difficulty. Therefore one of the most needed improvements in Connecticut so far as the Jewish farmers were concerned were well-paved roads which would open up the district to tourists and also allow the farmers to get more of their small produce to market. The additional revenue would enable them to fertilize their soils and they would in this way be able to improve their crops.

Although the Jewish farmers in Connecticut had met with a great amount of success originally in their tobacco growing by 1915 they were faced with a great deal of difficulty in selling their product because of the outbreak of the War. There had been a great deal of expansion in the territory under cultivation as tobacco growing land which was one of the reasons the farmers were so badly off in 1915. In that year there were 400 acres of land under cultivation while only seven or eight years before there had been but 40 acres.^{1.}

Even after the War was over the situation of the tobacco growers did not improve materially. Although for a short time immediately after the War they were moderately successful, their good fortune did not hold. In 1921 the tobacco market became very hard hit and the farmers were extremely hard put to get rid of their crop. They frequently had large supplies of an old crop on hand which they should have been rid of long since besides having sold their fresh crop.^{2.}

The situation improved after 1921 and for a few years all was well with the farmers in the state. Then, in 1926, the situation took another turn for the worse. Crops again piled up in the farmers' storehouses. They men were without funds and were denied credit. They were in a precarious position since many of them had operated through large capital and upon a small margin of safety. At this time, in 1927, the Government, through its aids, conducted a careful survey into

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1915, p. 12.

2. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1921, p. 9.

the situation in the tobacco growing area in Connecticut. The Jewish farmers were not the only ones who had been affected by the loss of the tobacco market which seemed to be a general development. In the survey which the Government conducted the Jewish Agricultural Society participated as well as some local organizations. After the survey was complete, a tentative program was drawn up for the farmers to follow in an effort to stabilize the tobacco growing activities in the area. Less tobacco was planted by the farmers from this time on. They began to diversify their crops and paid less attention to tobacco, doing no more expanding or investing of money in the crop. Potatoes were introduced as a good cash crop. Many of the farmers also began to raise poultry and winter broilers became a favorite item among these men. The farmers of the area also began to raise cabbages, horseradish, and other crops in small quantities which were saleable at good prices. By this means an increase in the production of tobacco in order to recoup losses was avoided. An immediate cash return was given to the farmers for their investments in these new crops and what was most important, the men were given a living and practical demonstration of the values of crop diversification.

1.

In Bridgeport, Connecticut, many of the farmers began to use spraying machines on their fruit trees. The expense of the machines, which would have been too much for the indi-

vidual farmers was lightened by cooperative purchase. Thus, better efficiency was practiced in the orchards of the area, and men who had very seldom realized any cash return from their orchards managed to clear minimums of \$300 for the first season they actively engaged in the culture of fruit.^{1.}

In 1927 there were Jewish farmers in every section of the state of Connecticut. One thousand Jewish families owned farm lands consisting of some 75,000 acres and valued at \$6,000,000. By 1927 there were scattered Jewish farmers engaged in nearly every type of agriculture that was practiced by non-Jews in the state. They raised vegetables, fruit, potatoes. They were dairymen and poultrymen. They still raised tobacco in the Connecticut River Valley which was one of the richest agricultural areas in the United States.^{2.}

By 1927 the tobacco area in Connecticut had been diversified and the rich soil was being planted in potatoes and other vegetable crops. The success of neighbors caused manymore farmers to plant diversified crops since the sound agricultural principle had been clearly shown to them^{3.}

Crop diversification in the state included the growing of crops other than potatoes consisting of cantaloupes, corn, white asparagus, cabbages, hay, grain to a small extent, and fruit trees. By the entrance of the Jew into these many varied activities his future in the agriculture of the state was assured; for as time went on more of the vegetable crops

1. J.A.S. Report, 1926, passim.
2. Jewish Tribune, September 2, 1927.
3. J.A.S. Report, 1927, p. 19.

which he was growing came to be consumed.^{1.}

One characterizing point about the development of the Jew in Connecticut agriculture after 1920 was the fact that only men with a fair amount of capital could afford to stay in the state. Land was high since it was fertile. This worked to the improvement of the type of man who engaged in farming in Connecticut for he invariably was of a higher type than those who had gone into farming elsewhere. He was able to get along more satisfactorily with his Gentile neighbors and seemed to be a superior type of farmer to those who had located elsewhere in the eastern states.^{2.}

Today in Connecticut the Jewish farmer lives not in settlements, but as an individual, on land that is neighboring to that of non-Jews. He is successful because of his practice of crop diversification. His main difficulty is the keeping of the second and third generation on the farm in order to keep the land going under Jewish ownership. The history of Connecticut has been that of a state more successful than many others. While in some sections the farmers were badly off, the ones who were fortunate enough to select land in the Connecticut valley managed to do well on it. The state's history was not marked with many exciting highlights for the farmers of the area were never very badly off, although their problems were serious when the tobacco crops began to remain unsold. Today there is no more room for any further agricul-

1. Jewish Tribune, September, 2, 1927.

2. Levine, op. cit., pp. 105-108.

tural expansion in the state since the land is crowded and much land has been taken over for city use. There will be little farther expansion on the part of farmers in the state because of the high price of land and the high taxes. Being near large cities higher taxes are required on the lands of the Connecticut farmers than had they been located in more isolated districts. The advantages in farming in the state were due to the proximity to large cities and markets besides the excellent farm land which is located in the Connecticut Valley.

NEW JERSEY

New Jersey has always been the scene of the major activity of the American Jew in agriculture. It was in this state that the first successful colonies of Russian refugees were founded and their descendants are living in the same area today. In the consideration of the recent growth and development of the New Jersey colonies and individual Jewish farmers for the sake of clarity we shall have to break down the state into its component parts and take it by counties or by definite areas. Since the colonies in certain parts of the State bore definite relationship to one another it is only proper that they be considered together and as a unit.

SOUTH JERSEY COLONIES

Throughout our history of the Jew in the State of New Jersey we have mentioned one particular group of colonies located in the Southern part of the State and have spoken of them as the South Jersey colonies. This name has been applied to the group by all who have had to do any considerable writing about them for the sake of convenience. The group is located in more than one county. Thus, to consider it by counties would only complicate matters. Thus, when we speak of the South Jersey colonies we refer specifically to those colonies in Gloucester, Salem, Cumberland, and Cape May counties.

By 1916 agriculture among the Jews in the South Jersey colonies was becoming fairly well stabilized. The season of 1916 was a good one with success being registered in the growing of strawberries, peas, and tomatoes. In addition to successes with these crops, dairying and poultry raising were also flourishing in the hands of the Jewish farmers settled in the region.

By 1917 the area was beginning to reflect the prosperity that all of the farmers of the country were feeling due to the increased demand for all kinds of food due to the War. Previous to this year the farmers in South Jersey had begun to diversify their agriculture slightly with new plantings of crops which they had not grown before. Chief among these was potatoes. In 1917 there was a greatly enlarged de-

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1916, p. 8.

mand for potatoes and prices correspondingly went up. Potatoes that had sold for \$2.75 a barrel in 1916 brought from \$3.50 to \$3.75 per barrel in 1917. Tomatoes also skyrocketed in value. In 1916 canners bought tomatoes from farmers for an average of \$10 a ton. In 1917 the price had almost trebled since tomatoes were sold to canneries during that year for as much as \$27.50 a ton. One farmer made \$1,100 out of six acres of tomatoes. The rise in the price of green peppers was even more spectacular. During 1916 peppers had sold for three cents a basket. In 1917 they sold anywhere from forty to fifty cents a basket. One Jewish farmer in Rosenhayn made \$1,400 from 5½ acres of peppers. Milk prices also rose during 1917 from 4½ cents to 7½ cents a quart. This gave the Jewish farmer an opportunity to enlarge his dairy herds and to build sides in which to hold and store fodder.^{1.}

The South Jersey farmers always had more diversity in their crops than did most of the other Jewish farmers scattered throughout the country. They grew strawberries, sweet potatoes, corn, tomatoes, peppers, peas, and beans in addition to their dairying and poultry raising activities.^{2.}

Not all of the farmers in the settlements which we have indicated on the map of South Jersey were actively engaged in agriculture as the sole method of making a living. In Garton Road each family residing there in 1919 owned and operated a farm but this was the only one of the small Jewish

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1917, pp. 8-9.

2. Goldstein, op. cit., pp. 36-40.

communities with a 100% rating. In Rosenhayn, in the same year, there were 44 farmers and 43 non-farmers. In Carmel there were 45 farmers and 23 who did not practice agriculture. Norma had 28 farmers and 47 non-farmers. Alliance and Brotmanville had 11 non-farmers and 29 farmers. Woodbine had the smallest percentage of farmers of the whole group with 26 farmers and 254 non-farmers. The average farm operated by the agriculturists of the area was about 30 acres. Some of the settlers in 1919 were quite modern in the upkeep of their farms while others did not pay much attention to new improvements but went ahead with their farming on the old methods.^{1.}

In 1920 the New Jersey southern colonies were the sole survivors of all of the mass of colony planting that had been engaged in during the eighties and nineties of the nineteenth century. Up to 1920 the hardships that were encountered by the New Jersey colonies were many and trying. In that year, however, things began to clear up and agriculture became stabilized for the first time since the War started. We state that there ~~were~~ hardships even during the seeming lush days of the War prosperity because of the crash that followed because of over-expansion. The crash did enough harm to counteract all of the good which had been accomplished before that time. New settlers who came to the colonies in South Jersey in the twenties faced an entirely different situation than did those who came at an earlier date. Encouragement instead of discouragement could be felt by these people when they saw the

1. Goldstein, op. cit., pp. 36-40.

fruits of the labors of their predecessors upon the land which they were taking up.^{1.}

Some summer boarding was done by the New Jersey farmers although not to the extent that the New York farmers engaged in this extra-agricultural enterprise. In New Jersey, when boarding was carried on, the farms of the settlers almost always suffered since there was too much for the farmers to do in connection with their boarding to keep their farms going as they should. The sandy soils and the numerous mosquitoes of the area did not help the farmer and were not particular inducement to the boarder. "While there are no rich Jews in the settlement there are none dependent on charity." This statement made in 1921 is significant for it shows the great work that was done by the Jewish Agricultural Society in keeping the settlers supplied with the necessities of life. In 1921 there were 34 organizations of social, literary, charitable, educational, and religious nature in the region. By that year also each settlement had its own community hall,^{2.} synagogue, playground, and library.

In 1922 the South Jersey colonies had a plentiful crop but prices were too low for the farmers to cash in on the produce that they had grown. From this year on, however, the crops of the South Jersey farmers met with better reception^{3.} in the markets and were sold for better prices.

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1920, p. 39.

2. Ibid.

3. J.A.S. Report, 1922, p. 53.

MONMOUTH COUNTY

FARMINGDALE

In 1927 the Jewish community at Farmingdale in Monmouth county began to attract the attention of the outside world. The farmers in this district were busily engaged in the production of eggs and the raising of poultry in which they were becoming professionally adept. In this same year other Jewish farming communities became busily interested in the production of poultry and eggs. Mays Landing, Vineland, and others of the South Jersey colonies began to spend more time and money on the poultry flocks which became recognized and regarded as the best money producers that the colonies had available. 1927 was a year of progress in many ways for the members of the South Jersey settlements. Farmers who had started on the proverbial shoestring some years before and had to be aided by the Jewish Agricultural Society at every turn were in that year emerging into independence for the first time in their history. They had long depended on the Jewish Agricultural Society for almost everything they received but the unfit members of the colonies had dropped by the way at last. Since these were the people who seemed to be slowing up progress more than any other single group of colonists the colonies were soon in a position to go ahead rapidly. One man who started with scarcely any money was the owner of a mortgage free farm worth \$15,000, excellently kept up, by

1.
1927.

Toms River entered into prominence as a poultry producing center in 1928. In that year it achieved national prominence as a poultry producing section of the state. In both Toms River and Farmingdale there were cooperative groups at work which made real achievements in their work at the improvement of farm conditions and also in their attempts to make the purchases of the farmers more effective for the money they were spending.

2.

In 1932 the farmers of the South Jersey colonies celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of their settlements with a gala celebration. The colonies which participated in the affair were Alliance, Norma, and Brotmanville, the first of the colonies which were founded in the southern part of New Jersey. There were a number of the original settlers of the colony present at the celebration whose comparison with the later comers to the region was marked. The later settlers had the benefit of the experience of those who had come before them and they were able to cope with the everyday events of agricultural life with more effectiveness than their predecessors had been able to muster. A third generation was beginning to take its place in the civic life of the settlements by 1932. This fact is illustrated by one of the colonists who was the grandson of one of the original settlers of Woodbine becoming mayor of that settlement.

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1. J.A.S. Report, 1927, p. 53.
 2. J.A.S. Report, 1928, p. 10.
 3. J.A.S. Report, 1932, p. 25.

WOODBINE

Before we conclude our account of the recent developments in agricultural activity among the Jews in South Jersey we must deal with the city of Woodbine whose growth has been the most marked of all of the early colonies in New Jersey.

As we have already indicated, Woodbine did not remain the purely agricultural type of settlement. Even during the early period of its growth the city was anything but completely engaged in agriculture. Today there is a fine city on the site of the first few houses with which the Jews made their first incursions into agriculture in the neighborhood. The city is not drab and ugly as many factory towns become, but is beautifully kept with all modern improvements.^{1.}

Since the introduction of automobiles and the subsequent improvement of roads, the farmer in Woodbine has been much more successful in his ability to commute with the city. When the Jewish farmers first came into the area it was an all night trip into Ocean city which was the market for their goods. The roads were bad, and the country-side was swarming with mosquitoes. Today it takes the farmer only an hour to take his produce to market.^{2.}

But despite the rapid growth of the city and the great amount of activity in Woodbine the Jews are not engaged

1. Joseph, op. cit., p. 113.

2. Ibid.

in agriculture to any considerable extent. There are relatively few Jewish farmers since most of the population is busily engaged in factory work which is considered to be more lucrative than farming, and also entailing less risk. In 1931 there were only 36 farmers in Woodbine, of whom 14 were engaged in the poultry business which had been introduced by the Baroné De Hirsch Fund into the area in the previous year. The rest of the farmers were truck farmers, which is also a successful enterprise in the town. We should distinguish the town of Woodbine from the remainder of the South Jersey colonies because it was founded and supported by the Baron de Hirsch Fund as the specific project of the Fund. We might make the comment that Baron de Hirsch wanted his money to be used for agricultural purposes which are certainly not the main activities of the citizens of Woodbine.^{1.}

The 36 farmers in the entire city represent the total amount of farming that is done by a town with a population considerably over 2,000.^{2.}

The following excerpt gives a fair picture of the outward physical picture of the South Jersey colonies at the present time:

"...The soil is favorable for the growing of vegetables and fruits, and the second and third generation of the original settlers are still farming. While few bearded elders with earlocks and long gaberdines remain, many of the old Talmudic laws and Biblical customs are retained, though they have been altered by the ac-

1. Joseph, op. cit., p. 144.

2. Ibid.

celerated pace of modern living and by the influx of other nationalities. A few modern homes stand out in sharp contrast with the small, weather-beaten, architecturally-diverse older homes. The synagogues are attractive, and well built as are the school-houses.¹

To summarize the South Jersey colonies briefly as to present condition and to future possibilities might well occupy considerable space. We shall consider the questions only briefly here since it is quite possible for the reader to draw his own conclusions after having read the evidence.

One of the salient facts concerning the South Jersey colonies is the importance of poultry raising and truck and market gardening. Upon this triad the success of the men and women of the locale depends. Boarding has always been of minor importance in the South Jersey colonies. The settlers have never depended to a great extent upon the keeping of boarders, and so did not suffer when they were not available. Of late an increasing amount of revenue has become available to the farmers from establishment of small roadside stands upon which the various products of the farm are offered for sale during the summer months. To many farmers, whose homes are located near the highways, this has been a very lucrative bit of business and has paid them many times over for the small amount of time the stands take to build and to operate. Since the business is mainly conducted on the weekends, no time is lost by the farmers from his work. In some cases the children

1. New Jersey Federal Writers' Project, W.P.A., op. cit., p. 660

of the household have been able to take over the management of the stands exclusively, freeing their parents from responsibility.

One of the most helpful factors to the farmers of the area has been the proximity to large centers of population and to urban centers which are not only markets for the farmers but sources of employment as well. The market availability to the farmers of South Jersey cannot be underestimated for were it not for the relatively swift transportation afforded to them to their markets much of their farm work would be in vain. On the other hand, the proximity of extra-agricultural labor has not always worked to the benefit of the farmer. He has frequently been tempted to leave his farm and to go to the cities where more lucrative work is to be found. Indeed, we find that the colony of Woodbine became almost totally an industrial colony. Were we to give one reason for the success of the colonies of South Jersey we should state that the urban appearance and characteristics played more of a part than any other factor in making the Jewish farmer happy to live in the locality and in enabling him to settle down happily. The Jew likes urban life. He does not care for isolation and loneliness. His very religion demands life of a social nature and for that reason he has always tried to be where there were other Jews. Because the colonies of South Jersey were large enough to provide this necessity he was satisfied to stay within them and to keep on going while the settlements were

being built up and the region becoming a success. By being near to large centers of population the Jewish farm settler was free at any time to abandon his farm and to move to the city where he could resume the life which he had left to become a farmer. This knowledge that there was always a place for him to go, and something for him to do was comforting and encouraged the Jewish farmer, It enabled him to keep going whereas he might have become discouraged otherwise.

The question as to the future of the South Jersey colonies cannot be answered for some time. It is true that the farmers in the area were and are not now carrying on a pure agriculture as we normally think of it. The farms are not large and there is an aura of commercialization that is not ordinarily found about farms. This is because of the entrance of the Jews into the commercial ends of agriculture more than any other people in the profession. The New Jersey Jew is interested in producing goods, just as though he were running a factory. Because of the nature of the product which he is producing he is able to command higher prices for his produce than are almost any other farmers in the country. Prices are usually high for eggs and chickens, and there is a pleasant profit in the business that one does not find in the growing of wheat or corn. As we have stated there are very few Jews in the United States who are engaged at the present time in the production of staple crops such as wheat, corn, barley, or any of the grain crops. The Jews in South Jersey

are the most successful Jewish farmers in the country and their activities have never been solely connected with farming insofar as farming is concerned with the plowing of the soil. They have gotten away from the laborious types of farming for which they were unsuited and today their activities center about a type of farming which is relatively easy without much risk. The only trouble is that the children of the Jewish farmers in South Jersey are not going in to their fathers' agricultural holdings as readily as they might. Few of them really want to be farmers. They do not like the modified farm life that they have to lead on the farms of their parents, which in the true sense of the word are not farms. Even though the city is close by, the Jewish farmers' children feel that they are out of things and that their lives on the farm do not offer them much promise. The two question marks in Jewish agriculture in South Jersey are over commercialization and lack of desire on the part of young people to become farmers. The problem will be answered only in time. We must turn now to the remaining colonies in New Jersey to complete their histories from 1915 to the present also.

OCEAN COUNTY

TOMS RIVER

As we have already mentioned, Toms River in Ocean county, has played an important part in the history of the Jews in agriculture in New Jersey. The settlement of Jewish

farmers in Toms River was started in 1908 by a single Jewish settler under the guidance of the Jewish Agricultural Society. The first farmer in the area started into his agricultural activities as a poultry raiser, the industry which from that date has been the outstanding enterprise in the area. As was true in many other Jewish settlements the friends of the first settlers were attracted to the district when they heard of his success with chickens which were not hard to handle and which were lucrative besides. There was not a great deal to be learned, and after the farmer began to understand the few diseases peculiar to chickens he was ready for future success. Thus Toms River was started under individual initiative and was given help by the J.A.S. when needed. In 1918 the J.A.S. placed six farmers on the land in the region of Toms River as an experiment to discover whether the market was able to absorb any more chickens than then were being produced by the original farmers. These farmers who were placed on the land in 1918 succeeded so well in their new occupation that the Society decided to make the area the site of a large settlement of Jewish farmers. Therefore, 16 farmers were settled in 1921 and 13 in the following year. In 1922 there were 43 farmers on the land of whom 33 had been placed there by the Jewish Agricultural Society. At that time the farmers owned 37,800 birds, averaging 880 per farmer which was a higher average than the general average for all the farmers of the district. The Jewish farmers were so successful and their

progress was so marked in the period up to and including 1922 that the attention of the non-Jewish farmers was repeatedly called to the success of their Jewish neighbors.^{1.}

The settlement of Jews in Toms River was not without its difficulties. There were times when the egg market was severely affected by economic conditions in the United States as a whole and the farmers were not able to sell their produce. Fortunately they had the support of the J.A.S. through their entire history and were able to rely on the organizations' assistance when the going became too difficult. One instance of the Society's assistance occurred in 1927. In that year egg prices dropped and feed prices rose. The farmers became discouraged and feared a depression in the poultry market as did the local business men who refused credit to the farmers. By the intervention of the J.A.S. the farmers were given the necessary credit to keep on feeding their flocks. The merchants were reassured and in the fall poultry had recovered and the business was even stronger than it had been before.^{1.a.}

By this time the products of the Jewish farmers began to acquire a certain amount of prestige in the local markets as well as nationally. Eggs marked "C.J.F." (Community of Jewish Farmers) commanded a premium in the New York markets.^{2.}

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1. J.A.S. Report, 1922, p. 15.
 - 1.a. J.A.S. Report, 1927, p. 21.
 2. J.A.S. Report, 1927, p. 29.

Toms River has continued to be successful up to the present. Families are still going to the district to become poultry farmers and the future of the settlement at Toms River is perhaps more favorable than that of the South Jersey settlements because of the desire of the farmers to stay in the poultry farming which they have entered. Very few farmers leave the area after once coming in and other small towns in New Jersey have become centers for poultry farming as well, because of the successful example which Toms River set.

HUNTERDON COUNTY

FLEMINGTON.

One of these settlements was Flemington which was founded not with the purpose of raising poultry at all, but with entirely different motives in view. Flemington was settled before Toms River, being founded in 1906 by 18 families of Russian refugee Jews. Most of the settlers came to the colony directly from Russia by way of New York. Some of them had spent a year at the Long Island Test Farm (Indian Head Farm) of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society.^{1.} They were all settled on farms around Flemington.

The general procedure of settlement was fairly simple. The first step was done by the Society which first acquired title to the land, then sold it to the Jewish settlers.

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 141-144.

They were given long term notes with liberal terms for repayment.^{1.}

The land on which the settlers were placed in the region about Flemington was not very favorable so far as agricultural practices were concerned. It was high ridged land, heavily wooded at the time that the Jewish settlers came upon it. The soil was a Pennsylvania loam which would have supported a good agriculture had it not been for the shallowness of the topsoil, which was only ten inches deep, on the average. This made farming very difficult to carry on where the land was flat in the area, and almost impossible where the land was hilly. Not only had the slopes been eroded, but they were too steep for general farming. Fruit growing was fairly profitable and some of the farmers engaged in this activity. In addition to the fruit growing which was carried on by the Jewish farmers, their activities in their early days on the land were centered about general farming where the land was flat enough, and dairying, and poultry raising.^{2.}

The Jewish farmers followed the farm practices of the non-Jews very closely in the Flemington area. During their early days on the land they met with fair success in their general farming and fruit growing. It soon became apparent that poultry raising was to become the item of most importance.^{3.}

The Jew was well-accepted in the Flemington district by the non-Jewish farmer. It should be understood that the farmers in and around Flemington were not mainly Jews for the
1, 2, and 3, -U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 141-144.

region had been farmed by native people for some time before the coming of the Jew upon the land. Despite the natural resentment towards intruders little anti-semitic feeling could be noted.^{1.}

As the years went by the Jewish farmer began to pay less attention to the general farming and fruit growing which he had commenced his agricultural activities by doing. With reference to fruit growing he was never very successful. Although his attention was gradually turning to the raising of poultry he continued farming to a small degree because he realized the importance of a diversified agriculture. Poultry farming seemed to be the one type of agricultural activity which was free from risk. When all other crops would be ruined because of bad weather, late frosts, lack of rain, or any one of the many evils that plague the farmer, chickens would still lay eggs and the market for broilers seemed to remain steady. By 1921 increasing attention was paid to the cultivation of poultry by the Jewish farmers.^{1.a.} In addition to the poultry raising of the district many of the farmers kept dairy herds. In this they were also successful because they were able to raise their own fodder since their farms were fairly large.^{2.}

In 1923 new poultry sections began to open up as the post-War depression lifted. Conditions became more favor-

1. U.S. Immigration Commission, op. cit., pp. 141-144.

1.a. J.A.S. Report, 1921, p. 51.

2. J.A.S. Report, 1922, p. 54.

able for the farmers in the area as the twenties went on, since food consumption was rapidly rising and prices were staying at high levels. The high prices induced more farmers than ever to go into poultry raising and dairying as two subsidiaries to farming which were always dependable as sources of income. In 1929 the Toms River farms were among the chief poultry centers in the east. New families continued to go into the area and to engage in farming practices which were^{1.} at once lucrative and pleasant.

Today, the farmers of Toms River are still mainly concerned with their poultry and their dairying activities. Under their influence the area about Flemington has been built up greatly, not only by Jewish farmers but by Gentiles as well. We should make it clear, however, that not all of the Jewish farmers were solely engaged in these two agricultural subdivisions but many of them practiced general farming as well.

Since 1930 the area about Flemington has been protected from the sharp dealings of commission men by the Flemington Egg, Poultry, and Livestock Auction. Through it fair prices are given for the products of the farmers in the region. The future of Jewish farming in Flemington is the same as in other sections of New Jersey. The same problems require solution and the same methods may be used to solve them. The region is important so far as Jewish farming is concerned because of the great activity which it has seen

1. J.A.S. Report, 1929, p. 12.

and also because of the success which the Jewish farmers in the area met with.

LAKE WOOD

The history of Lakewood, New Jersey, in the same general neighborhood as Toms River, runs parallel to the Toms River settlement and developed as an important Jewish colony well advanced in the scientific method of poultry raising.^{1.}

MONMOUTH COUNTY

Turning now from the Jewish farm settlements which were largely concerned with aspects of farming separate from general farming we pass to Monmouth county, New Jersey, to deal with the history of Mercer, Freehold and Perrineville after 1914.

MERCER

In Mercer, in the beginning of the more recent period of the history of the Jew in agriculture, we find that the Jewish farmers were engaged in general farming. The Jewish farmers in the area were mainly engaged in the planting of potatoes which were not to be counted on as a reliable crop for the section. When the potatoes, which were mainly sweet potatoes, did well, the farmers managed to derive a fair profit from their sale. But in the years that the po-

1. J.A.S. Report, 1926, p. 7.

tatoo crop was a failure the farmers in the Mercer section were in poor condition. Farming has kept on in the area but not in the shape of an active Jewish farm settlement. Where Jews still farm around Mercer they are scattered and their influence does not count for much. The problems in the district are today much the same as in other sparsely settled areas where the Jews settled as individuals. Markets are too often glutted and the temptation to plant only one crop because of the large profits to be made often result in an almost complete loss when conditions become adverse for the farmers in the area.^{1.}

FREEHOLD AND PERRINEVILLE

In Freehold and Perrineville, the other two sections where Jewish farmers have settled in Monmouth county, the farm situation was largely the result of the type of soils which were in the area. This analysis also applies to a degree to Mercer where potatoes were not really a suitable crop except in certain small sections of the area about the settlement. The soil in Monmouth is highly diversified. There are lands which are highly productive and lands which would support scarcely anything. The land use has to be adjusted to each farmer's particular need. The land is undulating with the predominant soils being sandy loams and sands many of which areas are poorly drained.^{2.}

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1915, pp. 9-10.

2. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

Despite the unfavorable situation the scattered farmers in Perrineville and Freehold carried on a fairly successful agriculture. As we have mentioned their activities were largely centered about the growing of sweet potatoes which were sometimes a very profitable crop. In 1916 there was one farmer in Perrineville who netted over \$10,000 from 50 acres of potatoes. This was a large amount of money for the time and also for the amount of labor connected with the growing of potatoes.^{1.}

Other crops such as sweet corn, small vegetables which were largely garden truck, and market gardens, were also among the items cultivated by the Jewish farmers in the area. The crops in Monmouth responded to the general agricultural situation throughout the state.

That the Jewish farmers in and around Perrineville were interested in modern agricultural practices was demonstrated by their activities in 1930. In that year experiments were carried on in the district with ethylene gas. The gas was used to ripen tomatoes and other vegetables which were being raised in the area by Jewish farmers and others. Finding the practice workable, the new technique was adopted and plays an important part today in the truck and market gardening which are the most important agricultural activities of the district.^{2.}

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1916, p. 8.

2. J.A.S. Report, 1930, p. 18.

NEW BRUNSWICK

In Monmouth county, near New Brunswick, in Piscataway township, the Jewish Agricultural Society was instrumental in carrying out a project involving a new theory in farm management. In 1930 several Jewish prospective farmers who had been chosen from a group of applicants were placed on land near New Brunswick by the Society. The theory behind the new settlement concerned the proximity of the land to the city which would make commuting possible for the farmer. By his ability to get into the city at will, the new man on the land would be able to carry on work in the city at the same time that he was farming on the land.^{1.}

The farm plots were small, being only five to seven and one-half acres in area. Houses were constructed of four or five rooms with a combination barn and garage. A poultry houses completed the unit. A road was built so that every farm had direct access to the main highway. Applicants chosen for the settlement had some capital of their own with which to go into business. The minimum acceptable amount was about \$3,000. During the first year of settlement there were only nine men chosen to go into the region to farm. They were to raise poultry.^{2.}

These farm units ranged in cost from \$4,000 for a parcel which contained old farm buildings to \$9,000 for a 7½

1. J.A.S. Report, 1930, p. 10.
2. Ibid.

acre parcel containing a chicken house in addition to the other buildings. Where more physical equipment in the way of buildings was necessary they were erected by the J.A.S. First mortgages of about \$4,000 were raised on the land parcels where it was necessary to do so. These mortgages were taken by the banks of the neighborhood who regarded the project as a good investment. The remaining money needs of the settlers were taken care of by the J.A.S. on second mortgages. Percy Strauss, a former president of the Jewish Agricultural Society, through his contributions made much of the work near New Brunswick possible. In addition an advance was obtained from the Baron de Hirsch Fund.^{1.}

Although the J.A.S. had wanted to settle more people near New Brunswick during the year following the initial settlement they were held up in their efforts by the depression. The families who had been placed on the land were doing well. The egg market was holding up and they had ready access to the city markets.^{2.}

Although one of the original intentions of the settlement was to supply the men with city labor while they were being oriented to the work to be done on the farm, the depression worked against that plan. Since labor in the large cities was greatly cut down during the depression's first years the men spent most of their time on their farms.

1. J.A.S. Report, 1930, p. 10.

2. J.A.S. Report, 1931. p. 11.

This theory of agricultural settlement was known as the "agro-industrial plan" and met with indorsement by many prominent men such as F.D. Roosevelt, Owan D. Young, and Henry Ford, who all regarded the plan as being sound.^{1.} Although the plan was interrupted during the early years of the depression conditions improved so that by 1937 men were able to find work in the city and on their farm holdings at the same time... Throughout their early years they had the advantage of living in security on their farms even though they were not making as much money as they had planned. The settlement is successful today with the major emphasis on poultry raising.

MIDDLESEX COUNTY

In Middlesex county, New Jersey, the Jewish farmers located on land that was somewhat the same as Monmouth county. The land varied in productivity in a like manner, but the soils were slightly different. In Middlesex there were some steep ridges almost totally composed of rock interspersed with gently rolling lands. The presence of marsh land and swampy land was a notable characteristic of the land in this area also. There was much land that was poorly drained and that required some form of artificial drainage in order that it might be successfully farmed.^{2.}

1. J.A.S. Report, 1932, p. 12.

2. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

METUCHEN

The small town of Metuchen and its environs is one of the center of Jewish population in the county of Monmouth. Settlement near this town did not begin on any large scale until the twenties, and even at that time there was no large movement to the land in the area. The Jews near Metuchen have been mainly concerned with the poultry business where they have been highly successful as have the Jewish farmers in other sections of New Jersey. An illustrative case of a young Jewish farmer who came into the area in 1921 went something like this.

A man who had no practical experience in farming before, but who had a desire to try some form of country life moved onto a farm that had been successful at one time but had been neglected by the owner. The Jewish farmers spent a considerable amount in purchasing the land and the equipment which the Gentile farmer had used. Going at once into poultry raising this Jew who had had no previous experience was almost immediately successful in his work. Today he has one of the model farms in the area and his eggs get premium prices^{1.} as they have since 1922.

The Jewish farmers in Metuchen have devoted themselves almost entirely to poultry farms and have met with success as have Jewish farmers in that line on other parts of

1. J.A.S. Report, 1922, p. 13.

the state.

SOMERSET COUNTY

BOUND BROOK

Somerset county, New Jersey, was the locale of a Jewish farm settlement in 1927. The colony, if it may be called such, was known as Bound Brook, and was settled by twelve Jewish families. Small farms were purchased in 1927 by these people with the acreage usually running from five to fifteen acres. The land was expensive because of the convenience of the settlement to New York City, and many of the men planned to work in the city part time while they were becoming^{1.} acquainted with farm technique.

By 1928 the settlement had grown. There were at that time 44 families who had purchased land in the area with the intention of farming on it in the near future. In 1928 there were 33 farmers actively at work in Bound Brook. In that year 20 new houses had been built in addition to 66,000 square feet of poultry houses with a 25,000 bird total capacity. In the same year there were over 32,000 baby chicks raised by the farmers who had settled in the area. The number of laying birds had been increased from 450 to 12,000 in one^{2.} year.

By 1929 some of the farmers were so firmly entrenched

1. J.A.S. Report, 1927, pp. 8-9.

2. J.A.S. Report, 1928, p. 9.

in their new holdings that they were able to give up their city work altogether and devote their entire time to their farms. Thus they were enabled to enlarge their poultry flocks and make higher profits. The settlement at Bound Brook was still growing in 1929 although not so fast as at first.^{1.}

During the depression the settlement had its difficulties as we have seen in the case of New Brunswick. Many of the farmers were forced to full time farming before they were really prepared for the work. City employment was scarce and although the families were frequently picked they were probably better off on their farms that they would have been in the cities.^{2.}

By 1935 the Federal Government had become interested in the part-time farmers who had heretofore not been regarded as farmers by the Farm Credit Administration and thus were not eligible for loans. In 1935 a Federal project was begun in Bound Brook to enable the chicken farmers in the colony to be eligible for loans. In addition, the Resettlement Administration was going to purchase land in the area upon which to place workers in the low income brackets. The site was particularly adapted for the project because of its proximity to New York and other large industrial centers.^{3.}

The project of the Government never came into prac-

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1. J.A.S. Report, 1929, p. 9.
 2. J.A.S. Report, 1931, p. 11.
 3. J.A.S. Report, 1935, p. 9.

tice since it was attacked on constitutional grounds and tied up in the courts.^{1.}

Nevertheless the Jewish farmers of the area have managed to get along successfully up to the present time. Their farms are producing poultry efficiently and since they are near to large markets they are enabled to sell what they have quickly and at good prices. Their activities have never centered about anything but poultry raising which has been their most lucrative source of income including the small part-time employment that some of them were able to procure in the large cities.

MERCER COUNTY

HIGHTSTOWN

In 1934 a project started in Mercer county which bore resemblance to the plan at Bound Brook. The main difference was that the land in Hightstown, where the project was located, was obtained through the government by means of homestead grants. In 1934 plans were made for the project, settlement to take place sometime in 1935.^{2.}

Since the soil properties in this area did not figure in much with the plans of the settlement a word is all that is necessary concerning the general characteristics of the soil. This was a region where the soil properties were

1. J.A.S. Report, 1936, p. 13.
2. J.A.S. Report, 1934, p. 12.

were not uniform and where the land was undulating, being composed mainly of sandy loams and sands, some being poorly drained.^{1.}

The project in Hightstown was initiated by the Division of Subsistence Homesteads and taken over by the Resettlement Administration. Total government grants were placed in the project amounting to \$850,000. The 200 homesteaders who were going to settle on the land put in another \$100,000. The settlement of families which was to take place in the summer of 1935 did not get under way until 1936. Although the project involved a farm and farm work by the members of the colony, who were not all Jewish, by any means, the settlement in Hightstown was mainly industrial. The success of the whole plan depended on the institution of a garment factory which was to be erected on the premises.^{2.}

In 1936 fifty families came onto the project and were at once given work in a factory manufacturing womens' wearing apparel which was started at the same time that they came on the land. The factory was organized on cooperative lines and in 1936 was running to capacity. The farm located in the settlement was also run cooperatively. It was supervised by a man who had earlier been connected with the Jewish Agricultural Society, and had been placed by their Farm Employment Bureau in order to learn practical farming. In 1936 the project was still progressing with additional houses

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

2. J.A.S. Report, 1935, p. 8.

going up for future occupancy.^{1.}

Although this settlement does not represent a solely Jewish attempt at colonization, we mention it here to show the difference in methods between early colonization efforts and present day methods. The reason so many of the early settlements failed was not because the people were inexperienced. That factor played a great part, to be sure. But the government also took people who knew nothing about farming and placed them on the land under capable direction where they began to farm successfully. The main difference was that the government supplied some alternative employment for the farmers until they were settled on the soil. The garment factory gave these men and women an opportunity to get a good start on their farms while they were earning the money necessary to support their families. They were not solely dependent on their agricultural success, and so if a bad year came, and the farmers were met with crop failures, it did not mean that the end of the settlement had arrived. The U.S. Government alternative employment scheme was a sound method of planting farmers. Its one difficulty was the tendency to wean people away from agriculture by offering them substitute occupations. The plan was not fitted for every section of the country, of course. It was necessary for participants in such a project to be located near large cities and to be satisfied to engage only in those types of agriculture which were suitable for

1. J.A.S. Report, 1936, p. 12.

small farms of five to ten acres. *Failure!*

MORRIS COUNTY

CHATHAM

Chatham, in Morris county, was another of the agro-industrial type of settlements. The people who settled around Chatham were mainly the owners of small businesses in New York City and were able to commute back and forth. The Jewish settlers in the area have not been as successful as in many other areas of the state, since they did not devote much time or effort to their farms

SUMMARY OF NEW JERSEY

The great majority of Jewish farmers in New Jersey are poultry farmers. Their success in this type of farming has been due to their favorable location with respect to markets and their superior abilities as business men, which faculty is important in the poultry business. Small truck farmers have also been successful but their success is not as certain as that of the poultry farmer who makes money no matter what type of weather he faces.

New Jersey is today the home of the most important Jewish agriculture in the United States and still presents opportunities for those men who may be interested in poultry farming. The main problem, which is keeping the young people on the farm, we feel will be met in time through education.

When young men and women see the limitations in other professions they will be glad to turn to something upon which they may count definitely for a livelihood.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pennsylvania, although as suitable for the small farmer as New Jersey, never attracted so many Jewish farmers as did the neighboring state. This was due to the fact that the land in Pennsylvania was always more expensive than land in New Jersey and was therefore less attainable to the Jewish farmer than in the other state. The main activity of the Jews in agriculture in Pennsylvania in the recent period of their history has been in connection with the National Farm School at Doylestown, in Bucks county.

The Jewish farmers all located on approximately the same kind of soil in Pennsylvania. It was productive and could support a remunerative agriculture. In general, the land was rolling to hilly where the Jews settled, and was largely composed of silt loams and loams, well watered, and with suitable growing seasons.^{1.}

BUCKS COUNTY

ADDISON

In Bucks county there was only one small settlement

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

of Jewish farmers in addition to the Jewish students of the National Farm School. This was at Addison where the few Jews who engaged in agriculture met with fair success. There are still Jewish farmers in the area today. Some of them went into poultry raising, but others remained in truck and market gardening at which they met with fair success. Their shipping facilities were good, and they were located near large markets which offered ready consumption for their products.

MONTGOMERY COUNTY

Montgomery county, Pennsylvania, was also the site of two Jewish farming areas which were located near Norristown and Pottstown. Here the soil was the same as in Addison and the farmers engaged in the same activities, meeting with success. There were never more than ten or fifteen families engaged in farming in the area at one time.

The Jewish farming activities in Pennsylvania could scarcely be termed farm settlements but were mainly isolated Jewish farmers, who for one reason or another, mainly the proximity to Philadelphia, had located in the eastern part of the state.¹ Pennsylvania today does not support any extensive Jewish agriculture, nor is there any reason to suppose that the state will in the future.

ALABAMA

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1921, p. 51.

BALDWIN COUNTY

SEMINOLE

Leaving the eastern states for the south we find that a settlement of Jewish farmers was made in Alabama in 1915. In 1909 a man by the name of Louis Smith had gone to southern Alabama from the ghetto district in Pittsburgh. He settled on 160 acres of land at Seminole on the Perdido River, in Baldwin county.^{1.} The land upon which he settled was rolling land with fair natural productivity although it was mainly sandy. A large part of the area was still forested when Smith came onto it and some was only recently cut over.^{2.} The soils were mainly loams and sands.

Smith was so successful in his attempts at farming that he became impressed with the suitability of the land for a Jewish settlement project. He had experimented with general farming and with truck crops and found that everything grew well in the area, if given the proper attention.^{3.}

With these qualifications of the land in mind he applied to the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society of New York in 1911, for their endorsement, and for assistance in settling Jews in the area. He did not receive the approval of the Society for his project. This did not stop Smith for he went ahead without their help, receiving support

1. American Israelite, March 11, 1915.

2. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

3. American Israelite, March 11, 1915.

and encouragement from the people of Mobile, Alabama. The colony which he founded was about two miles north of Bay Minette. In 1915 the colony was in good running order with several¹ settlers successfully living off the land. Promise was made for about 100 more to come to the area in the spring and summer of 1915, but there is no record as to whether they came or not.

Some of the settlers were so successful during their first two years of settlement that they were able to purchase their land. They had been able to clear only a small portion at first, and after they were able to buy the land outright many were going ahead with their clearing and enlarging of the territory.² We have no record of this colony after 1915, but we may assume that the settlement did not go ahead as planned but remained fairly static after its excellent start.

MICHIGAN

As we have already noted, farming in Michigan was largely limited to fruit growing during the early stages of the development of the Jewish farmer in the state. But after the Jews became more accustomed to the methods of agriculture which were practicable in Michigan they began to branch out in their activities until they included general farming, truck gardening, and poultry raising in their farming enterprises.

1. American Israelite, March 11, 1915.

Naturally the work in these several different aspects of farming increased their chances for a more general success. We have already noted the evil effects of placing too much emphasis on one branch of farming activity. With the increase in variety of products the Jewish farmer was much more secure than he had been in his earlier development in the state.

In 1915 and 1916 the excellence of the diversified farming which they followed was demonstrated to the farmers of Michigan. Even though their diversification only meant that they grew garden truck along with their fruit the fact that they had two crops instead of one meant the difference between success and failure to them in those years. In 1915 the season was cool and their fruit was not very successful but prices were up because of generally bad conditions throughout the country. As for the markets for their truck gardening ---they were severely injured. The Jews sold much of their vegetable produce to the hotels and summer resorts, which did poorly during the summer because of the bad season. Thus the high prices that were paid for the fruit crop compensated the farmers for their losses in other crops.^{1.}

Again in 1917 the Jewish farmer met with difficulties so far as the season was concerned, but in that year the demand was so great and the prices so high as to obviate any

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1915, p. 12.; see also, J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1916, p. 9.

possible loss which they might have taken. 1.

This was the general course of events for the farmers of the state. They were almost always certain of one of their crops and usually they had success with all that they had planted. Crop diversification increased as the years went on until at the present time there is scarcely a farm on which more than one type of crop is not grown.

KALAMAZOO COUNTY

KALAMAZOO

Among the later settlements of Jews in Michigan was one near Kalamazoo in Kalamazoo county. This settlement of only a few families was made in 1920. It was a good selection of land for the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society to make. The country around the Jewish farmers was already largely in farms. The non-Jewish agriculturists had been quite successful in their efforts on the land, which was quite fertile, rolling with productive sandy loams and loams. The climate was warm and there was sufficient rain for almost anything that the farmers wished to plant. 2.

Although the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society was desirous of enlarging the settlement of the few Jewish families which had been placed on the land they did not have the opportunity to do so. The settlement was made shortly after the War and was followed quickly by the post-War

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1917, passim.

2. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

depression. All efforts had to be curtailed to develop the district farther and what few farmers were already settled were left on the land to do as well as they could. The small group of farmers in the area have always managed to get along fairly well.

VAN BUREN COUNTY

SOUTH HAVEN

In Van Buren county the settlement of Jewish farmers at South Haven was successful almost from its inception. We have already mentioned the favorable position of the locale for the growing of fruit, and since this was the chief activity of the Jewish farmers who settled in the locale they did well. A

After the first few years of settlement during which the farmers became accustomed to methods of fruit farming, they became well enough established in the district to begin to think about other things apart from their farming activities. Community life became an important factor in the lives of the farmers of the region. In 1921 the South Haven Jewish Farmers' Synagogue and Community Center was completed. The enterprise had been started in 1919 when the community of Jewish farmers in the region decided that they wanted a building to be used as a place of divine worship and for recreational activities as well. The Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society gave them a loan of \$1,000, and Julius Rosenwald contributed another \$1,000. The farmers raised about \$7,500 and a

\$9,000 building was erected with the remaining money being raised through a mortgage.^{1.}

In 1929 another community center was erected in the same district to which the Jewish Agricultural Society contributed \$2,000, the remainder being raised by the farmers. By this evidence we are able to see quite clearly the successful work that was done by the farmers on their fruit farms for they were not only able to satisfy their immediate and material wants but also had enough money to go in for the recreational side of life which is so important to those who live on farms.^{1.a.}

BERRIEN COUNTY

BENTON HARBOR

As South Haven had developed successfully so too had Benton Harbor whose history we have already dealt with in detail at an earlier section of this paper. The Jewish farmers around Benton Harbor are in good condition today. They are located in a favorable section of the country and have met with good success not only in the growing and cultivating of fruit, but in their marketing efforts as well.^{2.}

THE SUNRISE COOPERATIVE FARM COMMUNITY

In 1933 a new farm settlement was founded in Michigan which was short lived and ineffective. This was the Sun-

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1921, p. 49.
2. J.A.S. Report, 1934, p. 28.
1.a. J.A.S. Report, 1929, p. 27.

rise Cooperative Farm Community. In 1933 there were 81 families in the community comprising 260 people.^{1.} The community did not meet with very much success even at its beginnings. In the second year this colony was still in a formative state although the Jewish Agricultural Society was backing the group of farmers.^{2.} By 1935 the colony was in trouble. Economic pressure and internal strife besides other defects in organization darkened the colony's outlook. The farmers who settled here did not seem to be able to progress in their efforts to establish themselves on the soil permanently. By 1936 the colony had come to an end. In the fall of that year the Resettlement Administration bought the property which had been used by the farmers for a new project, some of the money which the original settlers had invested was able to be returned to them, and some of the debts of the colony were liquidated. The colony, which was supposed to be run on a collectivistic scheme, had completely failed. The Jewish Agricultural Society commented at the time concerning the failure as follows:

"It is too bad that this failure will be charged by the uninformed against Jewish agricultural endeavor instead of written down as due to the weakness inherent in collectivistic colonization."^{3.}

SUMMARY OF MICHIGAN

This last effort of colonization concludes our his-

1. J.A.S. Report, 1933, p. 11.
2. J.A.S. Report, 1934, p. 8.
3. J.A.S. Report, 1936, p. 12.

tory of Jewish agriculture in Michigan. On the whole, Jewish attempts at farming in this state were successful, as we have seen. The location of the Jewish farmer in Michigan proved to be one of the most important factors which worked for his benefit. In this state, as in few other locations, the Jew found suitable places for his farm and was also able to coordinate agricultural activity with land conditions. Today, Jewish agriculture in Michigan is not very extensive, but it is sound. The Jewish farmers in the state are progressive and modern in their farm practice. There is a noticeable tendency on the part of some of the farmers in the state to leave their farms and to go into other businesses with the money which they have made. This is particularly true of the younger farmers. However, this tendency has been minimized during the last few years since the farmer has seen that he is relatively secure where he is. The main problem, as in other localities, is the keeping of the young men and women of the farm communities interested in agriculture and determined to keep on in their parents' occupation.

WISCONSIN

In Wisconsin, Jewish farmers located mainly about Milwaukee in Milwaukee county. Here the land is gently rolling and productive. The soil is capable of supporting a remunerative agriculture being composed of the fertile loams and prairie soils in a mixture conducive to the growing of

1.
good crops.

Jewish farmers in Wisconsin were not located in settlements as in some of the other states. They were never taken in a body and placed in the state in the form of a farm settlement. But there seemed to be a gravitation of Jewish farmers to farms that were near large industrial and urban centers---chief of which was Milwaukee. Jewish farmers in this state were engaged in several activities. They practiced truck and market gardening, some dairying, raised somehay and oats and other grain crops, and some of them grew tobacco. There was also some corn and potatoes grown by Jewish farmers^{2.} in the state.

Naturally the farmers in the state met with considerable difficulties during the first few years of their settlement on the land. This was particularly true because there was no organized settlement of farmers in the state as there had been in other localities which made for a certain amount of strength through union. But the isolated Jewish farmers in Wisconsin survived and made good in their farming. In tobacco growing particularly some of them were successful even as their co-religionists were in Connecticut. Some of the farmers derived considerable income from their truck gardens which were planted extensively.^{3.}

In this state, however, the Jew did not like to remain in agriculture any longer than he had to. Today we have

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

2. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1915, p. 10; also 1917, p. 9.

3. J.A.S. Report, 1926, p. 26.

scarcely any records of sizeable Jewish settlements. Although there were no large settlements made by sponsoring organizations we have noted how Jews gravitated together and would expect to see more Jews in the vicinity of each other's farm holdings. Since this is not the case, and also since we know that the Jewish farmers settled near large cities in the state, we may assume that some good number of them left farming to go into small businesses or other enterprises that seemed to them to be more profitable in the city which they were located close to. It is perhaps significant that the Jews did not go into dairy farming in this state which is such a center for fine dairy herds and milk products. The Jew has left little if any imprint on the agriculture of Wisconsin, merely having dabbled in the state's agriculture.

OHIO

The history of the Jews in agriculture in Ohio is a relatively simple one since there were only two sections of the state where any number of Jews were engaged in agriculture. These two sections are the districts around Ashtabula and Geneva in the northeast part of the state, about 60 miles from Cleveland, on the lake shore. We might also mention the fact that a small settlement of Jewish farmers existed at one time close to Cincinnati. It was composed of only three or four families and was visited from time to time by Dr. Gotthard Deutsch of the Hebrew Union College.

The first mention of Jewish farmers in these parts of Ohio was made by Mr. Alfred Benesch, now a well-known attorney in Cleveland and a member of the school board, to the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society. In 1910, when he made the report, Benesch was the attorney for the Society in Cleveland. In his communication with the agricultural society he pointed out to them that there were about fifty Jewish farmers in northeastern Ohio who were engaged at that time in dairying. The people had come into the area entirely on their own initiative and with little or no outside encouragement. They were completely independent at the time^{1.} and were seemingly doing well in their dairying.

By 1912 the Jewish farmers in northeastern Ohio had changed their interests in agriculture and were engaged in viticulture. A soil report for the area shows the particular suitability of the land for the growing of grapes which the Jewish farmers are now engaged in. From the shores of Lake Erie running for one or two miles south of the lake, and in some places for a considerable distance more, there is a soil formation notable for its sandy quality. Yet while the soil is sandy it is not too sandy for general farming purposes since it absorbs water well, but does not allow all the water that is poured upon it to seep down into the lower portions of the soil. This land was well-fitted for grape culture. Not only because of the sandy nature of the soil did the grapes grow well in the area but because the growing season of the region is longer than it would be normally.

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1910, p. 39

Lake Erie acts as a protection against cold air currents coming down from the north. All during the summer months the lake is being warmed up slowly. In August or September, when the nights become colder, the lake still has a great deal of warmth left in it. It is on the September nights that frost might damage grapes, but the air is warmed by the lake and the grapes are left unharmed in the area. Thus the farmers had ideal natural conditions for grape growing, and they were also near to good markets.^{1.}

By 1912 there were farmers in the area who were already meeting with substantial success in their agricultural efforts. Several of them were making about \$200 an acre on the grapes which they had only begun to farm.^{2.}

From 1912 through the war years the grape industry in the sections about Ashtabula and Geneva improved. The farmers did not live in any organized settlements but were scattered among their Gentile neighbors. In 1917 the farmers of the area had the most successful year that they had ever had on the land. In that year grapes which had formerly sold at from \$30 to \$50 a ton went up to from \$65 to \$85 a ton. Some varieties sold for as much as \$100 a ton which was extremely high for grapes.^{3.}

The farmers in the area continued to make progress during the early twenties. Prohibition did not cut down

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1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, *op. cit.*
 2. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1912, p. 38.
 3. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1917, p. 9.

their production of Grapes but rather increased their business since the demand for soft drinks became greater. By 1923 there were several cases of men who had made a great deal of money in the grape business in a very short time. The outstanding example of this fact was a man who was known in 1923 as the "Grape King". He had started in business in 1912 with a capital of \$210. By 1923 his farm was over fifty acres in area and he was in that year erecting a home containing all city conveniences and costing \$15,000. His farm was valued at \$60,000 and carried but one mortgage, at \$10,000. This man had been helped by the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society during his earlier years on the land and ascribed much of his success to the council and guidance which^{1.} he was given by that organization.

The progress of the Jewish farmers in Geneva and Ashtabula continued in 1926. Many of them took hold of neglected farms with run down lands and buildings and converted them into successful vineyards with small expenditures of capital. Although the Jewish farmers were much in the minority they produced one-half of the total grapes grown in the^{2.} district in 1926.

In 1926, however, the Jewish farmers began to have difficulties with their grape crops. Despite the shelter afforded to them by the lake, frosts damaged their crops and they also began to feel the effects of prohibition which they

1. J.A.S. Report, 1923, p. 33.
2. J.A.S. Report, 1926, p. 26.

had not noticed immediately. Wholesale prices of grapes fell in 1927 and a conference was called by the United States Chamber of Commerce to deal with better methods of marketing and the introduction of new lines of production. Thus we see again the evils of the one-crop system.^{1.}

In 1927, despite their relatively poor financial conditions the farmers in the area began to think about religious education for their children. Arrangements were made in that year for a special Sunday afternoon session of religious school at The Temple in Cleveland for the farmers' children. Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver was active in assisting the farmers to carry out their plan.^{2.}

In 1928 the grape farmers of Geneva staged a big celebration on Labor Day at which Rabbi A.H. Silver and Mr. Alfred Benesch of Cleveland were the guests of honor. At that occasion the farmers were considering the possibility of erecting their own community house but had to proceed cautiously because of the uncertain nature of their crops.^{3.}

During the following year the Jewish Agricultural Society gave the farmers of Geneva support in their work to build their own community center and religious school.^{4.}

Thus there came to be quite a Jewish community around Geneva with the few scattered Jewish farmers around Ashtabula being included in these activities also. Despite

1. J.A.S. Report, 1927, pp. 22 and 31.

2. Ibid.

3. J.A.S. Report, 1928, p. 29.

4. J.A.S. Report, 1929, p. 27.

the activity of the farmers and their desire to stay on their farms as well as to participate in communal life, the grape business was still not stabilized. The grape merchants were able to control the grape market and purchase grapes at almost any price they desired from the farmers. This was possible because the farmers were not organized. The procedure was something like this: The wholesale buyers of grapes would wait until the grapes were almost ready to be picked, and they would then offer prices^{which} were not high enough to meet the necessary expenses of the farmer in growing and cultivation. Since grapes are an extremely perishable crop the farmers could not hold out as long as the wholesalers and frequently they were forced to accept lower prices than were fair. This was especially true when one or two farmers would give way and sell their grapes while the others were trying to hold out. Because of this non-cooperation the wholesalers were able to completely dominate the farmers.^{1.}

In the last few years, however, the problem has been solved by the conversion of many of the grapes into wine and by the cooperation of farmers in the district to prevent abuses emanating from the wholesalers. There are several Jewish farmers who have become interested in the wine business since the repeal of Prohibition. This demonstrates the natural desire upon the part of the Jew to get into business whenever possible. The problem of children leaving for the

1. J.A.S. Report, 1934, p. 29; see also 1936, p.27.

city has not been so great in this section although many of the young men and women do not care for the occupation of their parents. The farmers have never been isolated and easy contact is always made between the larger cities of Northern Ohio and Pennsylvania. The future promises to be satisfactory as the whole disturbed situation is now becoming settled. Viticulture is on a sound basis because of the natural location and there is every reason for continued success on the part of the farmers. The settlements have never been very large, and if there are thirty Jewish farmers in the district today it is a large number.

TENNESSEE

There is record of only one Jewish farming colony in Tennessee. The facts concerning the colony are not very clear, and no record of the settlement exists after 1918. The settlement was located in Williamson county, Tennessee. The soil upon which the colony was placed was generally productive and capable of supporting a remunerative agriculture. The soil was composed of reddish brown loams and silt loams with a good number of limestone outcroppings. This last factor did not make the land difficult for farming purposes.^{1.}

In 1918 there were about thirty Jewish farming families in Williamson county who had come to Tennessee from Chi-

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, op. cit.

cago quite a few years before, probably about 1913. From the beginning of their settlement on the land the people engaged in farming. At the start they did not know anything about farming practices nor did they do well. But some of the men of the colony took courses at the University of Tennessee and they improved the agricultural methods of the settlement. They were able to take the short courses offered by the University in the winter time since they did not then interfere with their farming. After taking the courses they are said to have commenced producing profitable crops.^{1.} Jewish agriculture in Tennessee~~s~~ is relatively unimportant.

DELAWARE

In 1923 there were also a few Jewish farmers in Delaware. They had not been very successful in the state because of their distance from the farm markets. But in 1923 they began to go into poultry raising on small scales and their success became more noticeable. Jewish agriculture in Delaware is not important, being overshadowed by the greater activity in New Jersey.^{2.}

ILLINOIS

In Illinois there were no concerted efforts at plant-

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1. American Israelite, July 4, 1918.
 2. J.A.S. Report, 1923, p.43.

ing colonies and the Jewish farmers were not located in any one district. Nevertheless we must make note of them since there are a good number of Jewish farmers located in the state at the present time. Their agriculture is not very extensive although of few of them have large farms on which they grow staple crops. Their farms compare favorably with land owned by non-Jewish farmers in the state.^{1.}

THE FAR WEST

Turning to the far west we find that the agricultural condition of the Jewish farmer did not improve as time went on. Indeed, the Jewish farmer ceased to be of any great importance in the west after about 1920. One of the chief reasons for the failure of the Jew in this region was due to the fact that irrigation projects did not develop as planned and the Jews were not able to continue on their relatively small holdings without some form of irrigation. While the Jewish farmers were waiting for the water to be brought to their farms they had to turn to other activities. In their transition from a pure agriculture to other activities some of them remained in the new professions instead of returning to agriculture. This was particularly true in Wyoming where the Jewish farmer waited long and fruitless^{years} for irrigation to be put in for their convenience.^{2.}

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1917, p. 9.

2. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1916, p. 11.

The farmers that did keep their holdings and stayed in farming did fairly well. These men were the more hardy farmers and the ones who were more likely to succeed. However the Jewish farm situation in the west in 1917 was not encouraging. It was a time when prices were high and when *land was* farmers were making more money than they had ever made before. At this time the following was reported of Jewish farmers in North Dakota and Wyoming:

"The Jewish farmers in these sections are located on free government land. The number is declining rapidly. The older sections are being left by the older settlers and few are arriving. But many change merely their location and not their vocation. Thus, former homesteaders are now scattered among Jewish farming communities in eastern and middlewestern states where the climate is more hospitable and the surroundings more congenial." ¹.

This tendency on the part of Jewish farmers to leave the area of the first western settlement has continued and today there are scarcely any farmers in these areas who were placed there by the early Jewish agricultural societies. ².

CALIFORNIA

We have already mentioned that there was no widespread attempt made at Jewish colonization in California. This fact is rather surprising since California was certainly a desirable locale for farming purposes, until we realize that there was not much cheap land available for Jewish farm-

1. J.A.I.A.S. Report, 1917, p. 9.

2. Linfield, op. cit., pp. 99, 102, 105, 107.

ers in the area. We have already mentioned Sacramento county as one of the regions which was an early location of Jewish farmers. In 1917 there was a Jewish farmer located at Orangevale in Sacramento county where Deinard's Jewish farming colony had once failed. Another Jewish farmer in California at about the same time was a Mr. Goldstein who was located in Florin, in Sacramento county. Both of these farmers had good land on which to work.^{1.}

There were also a very few scattered Jewish farmers in some other sections of California, in Calaveras county, and in Tuolumne county. But there was no concentrated effort at colonization after the failure of Deinard. Today California offers opportunity to any man who has money enough to buy rich farm land and set up a farm on it. Few Jews are willing to take the necessary risks. In addition to that fact there are other professions and investments which perhaps yield a higher return than does farming. Therefore California has remained practically untouched by Jewish farmers with the exception of a few scattered land owners too insignificant to spend any amount of time on. The centralization of Jews in the cities in California with few Jews living in rural areas except when they live on estates.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE YEARS

1914-1940

1. Emanuel, June 8, 1917.

A few words of comment on the recent period of the history of the American Jew in agriculture are necessary at the present time. We intend to call attention only to the trends which are noticeable in the period which we have just completed. We shall attempt to simplify these trends as much as possible so that they will represent general movements to the reader.

The Jew has always been an urban dweller. On that factor lies more significance than appears at first glance. Because the Jew preferred to live in cities he did not particularly care to leave them for farms. When he did go to farms to take up his life he chose farms located close to larger cities. Of course the Russian refugee had no such chance for selection since his preferences were ignored. Many of the Russian refugee projects were out in the wildernesses where land was cheap and vast tracts of it could be had as homesteads.

Because of the predilection of the Jew for land which was close to cities, which manifested itself during later stages of the "back to the soil" movement, the Jewish farmers were forced to pay higher prices for their land than if they had gone farther out into the unsettled portions of the country. Because of the higher prices they had to buy smaller acreages. This in turn led to the necessity of producing crops which were relatively high in price. Due to these circumstances the Jew became engaged in the farming activity of poultry raising. Finding his land in many places

unsuitable for farming, and too small for dairying, the Jew turned to poultry as the answer to his problem. Profits were high and little space was needed. Skill was readily acquired and markets were usually available. Thus poultry raising became the most important farming activity of the Jewish farmers in their final stages of development.

We find that there were very few Jews who were engaged in the production of staple agricultural crops such as corn, wheat, cotton, or any of the other grain crops such as barley, rye, etc., etc. Jews did not generally engage in extensive cattle raising, partly because they did not have the capital to invest, and partly because of their distaste for the solitude of the prairies. Thus the Jewish farmer living in isolation is rare. Running as a corollary to that statement we find that the major activity on the part of Jews has been in the east where population centers are large and where there is a high concentration of Jews in the cities. There are, ofcourse, a few exceptions to this statement, for some Jewish farmers are located west of the Mississippi River. However, these are insignificant insofar as their effect on the agricultural development of the American Jew is concerned.

Another point of importance in summarizing the recent period is the decided trend among Jewish farmers away from agriculture and into business as soon as they have become fairly well established on the land. This trend is even more marked on the part of the children of the Jewish farmers.

We have noted the unwillingness of the Jewish young men and women to remain on the parental farm even though they could see that their parents were successful on the land. This tendency on the part of young men and women to leave the farm and to go to the larger cities where they either went into business or the professions is one of the major problems confronting the Jew in agriculture today. There must be a change in attitude on the part of young Jewish men and women in order to perpetuate what little there is of Jewish agriculture.

The general picture that we derive from a survey of the Jewish farmer is not a favorable one. He is not a vital force in American agriculture although he exists and in some cases prospers in the profession. On the other hand his position in agriculture is far less important than it should be in comparison to his position in other fields of work.

There is a future for the Jewish farmer if he will only take advantage of what is available to him. The Jew can farm if he will farm. Surely there are Jews who live the land, and the honest feeling of accomplishment and satisfaction that comes when one sees the fruit of one's handiwork. Surely there are some young men and women who will see that the important things in life are the true and vital things, and that life in constant contact with natural forces is in-

finitely superior to the humanity-scarred life of the cities. Education can open men's minds. Inspiration will be their spur. Some Jews will find their way to the land, their place on the land, as some already have, and wonder why their eyes were closed for so long a time.

AGRICULTURAL SCHOOLS

THE WOODBINE AGRICULTURAL SCHOOL.

In March, 1893, Col. John B. Weber, former Immigration Commissioner of the port of New York, was asked to explore the possibilities for the successful establishment of a school devoted to "industry and agriculture".^{1.} Steps had already been taken as early as that date to enable the farmers of Woodbine and their children to acquire information on agricultural topics. Stereopticon pictures and demonstrations in fields and orchards had been the limit of the efforts to educate the colonists in new and better methods of agriculture.^{2.}

Upon the favorable report of Col. Weber, the upper story of a large barn was converted into a class room and about forty acres of land was put aside to be used as a demonstration farm. A mechanical shop was put in on the first floor of the barn. It was to be used for instruction in blacksmithing, carpentry, plumbing, etc. The first students of the improvised school were the sons of Woodbine farmers. They paid for their instruction in English and arithmetic along with the other subjects specifically related to farm labor.^{3.}

In October, 1894, the first regular class was organized. It consisted of fifteen boys. The subjects of instruction at that time consisted of English, American history, arith-

1. Joseph, op. cit., p. 58.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

metic, mechanical drawing, and land measuring. Botany, chemistry, domestic animal care, and entomology in their relationship to agriculture were also studied. Greenhouses served as the locale for the practical work as well as a machine shop where the students were instructed in the handling of tools and in the principles of mechanics.^{1.}

In the fall of 1895, the second year of the school, there were 22 pupils enrolled, most of whom came from Woodbine. Anatomy and physiology were added to the curriculum of the school during 1895. At the end of the term of the year 1895 a class of twelve boys was graduated who had completed the course of the school.^{2.}

In 1896, the number of students enrolled in the school was about the same. During that year the graduating class consisted of 19 boys. The curriculum was enlarged during 1896 and some theoretical subjects were instituted. Before this time the subjects had all been of a practical nature. Up to this time the school had been in an experimental stage. It was supported by the Baron de Hirsch Fund and its nominal leader and head was professor Sabsovich. In 1896 he pointed with pride to the work that the school had done. He felt that the enterprise was a success and that it was time for the school to be expanded so that its work could be more effective. Sabsovich suggested that the orphans be admitted in addition to the children of farmers as pupils for the school.^{3.}

1. Joseph, op. cit.; p. 58.
2. Joseph, op. cit.; p. 59.

3. Ibid.

For assistance in enlarging the school Sabsovich and the Fund turned to the Jewish Colonization Association. This organization had had considerable experience abroad with educational matters and was in a position to know the best methods of handling such a project of enlargement. The changes included an increase in the land devoted to school purposes from 50 to 270 acres. A dormitory was to be built as well as a blacksmith's shop. Old structures were to be rebuilt and other improvements were to be made. Sabsovich felt that the increased operating expenses could be met through the additional revenue that would be derived from the cultivation of the lands of the school.^{1.}

After much deliberation and with some hesitation the Jewish Colonization Association granted \$23,850 for the proposed changes in the school and an allowance of \$12,000 to take care of the current expenses of the enterprise.^{2.}

Immediately after the money was received reorganization was started and the improvements were made as planned. In 1898 the school had a registration of fifty students and in a short time increased the number to sixty. The ages of the pupils ranged from 14 to 18. The attendance of students from the colony of Woodbine dropped and the majority of the pupils came from New York and Philadelphia. There were fourteen orphans enrolled in the school after the reorganization took place.^{3.}

1. Joseph, op. cit., p. 59.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

In addition to physical improvements the courses of the school were also broadened. The students were divided into three classes. More theoretical work was introduced as well as continuation of the more practical aspects of an agricultural education. In 1899 Sabsovich asked for a new building to take the place of the one that had been remodeled twice. The enrollment was expected to rise to a figure somewhere between 125 and 200 and the school had to expand. The Jewish Colonization Association made another contribution to the building fund that was being set up for the construction of the new building which was to cost about \$20,000.^{1.}

But things were not as smooth as they seemed in the conduct of the school. Despite the fact that improvements were being made and that the school was constantly becoming larger, there were forces at work which seemed to militate against the continuation of the school. The students were not satisfied. Mainly young boys, they had been put to work in the fields of the school at labor that would have been difficult for their fathers. When we remember that one of the chief incomes of the enterprise was from its produce we can see how important it was that the students perform their labor in the fields. In addition to their class work this work was too rigorous, giving them little time for recreation, and still less for any independent study. They soon expressed their discontent with the situation through a strike. The action on the part of the

1. Joseph, op. cit., p. 61.

students met with a great amount of publicity in the Jewish press and elsewhere, most of it unfavorable. The school was criticized and its director, Prof. Sabsovich, was severely taken to task. The upshot of the strike was the formation of a Board of Governors which was to supervise the conduct of the school, and to make sure that the instructors and instruction^{1.} were satisfactory.

At about the same time (1900-1910) there was additional trouble because of the curriculum and the high per capita expense of conducting the school. The per capita cost was about \$390 a pupil which was considered as being outrageously high. Sabsovich had promised that the cost would be only \$180 per pupil when the enrollment had reached 100, and at 120 it was still over twice the promised amount. Disputes raged over whether the curriculum should be mainly practical or theoretical. The question as to the length of time that the student should spend in the school before graduation was also discussed by the Jewish Colonization Association and Sabsovich, who remained the power behind the school. Again in 1900 the Jewish Colonization Association came through with a grant for the school, this time of \$30,000. In 1901 Sabsovich made a decided change in the curriculum. The original requirements were abandoned---those of a common school education. This necessitated the institution of a Primary Department for those who had not attended public school. A scientific department was also set up for those pu-

1. Joseph, op. cit., p. 69.

pils who were recognized as having special skills which should be developed. The length of stay of the student at the school was changed from three years to two years and two months.^{1.}

One of the main points that had been in constant dispute was the question of whether the school should be a theoretical training ground or a place where a practical knowledge of agriculture could be gained by the student. Sabsovich was in favor of training the students for work in the more specialized fields of agriculture. He wanted them to go into the science of agriculture in which he himself was recognized as an expert. The Jewish Colonization Association did not agree with Sabsovich on this subject and their main objection to the continuation of the school rested on that ground. Compromises were effected and the curriculum offered both the theoretical^{2.} and the practical to the student.

Despite the disputes and the constant trouble that the school had in soliciting money from sources other than the Baron de Hirsch Fund, it managed to continue and to graduate classes of about twenty students a year. In 1904 the problem of the school started all over again. Almost the entire staff of the school resigned because they were unsatisfied with the conditions under which they had to work. They complained of poor salaries, too much work, and too much responsibility. The turnover in instructors, paternalism, and lack of strict discipline brought about another student strike in April on 1904

1. Joseph, op. cit., pp. 70-71.

2. Ibid.,

which was met with flaming editorials in the Yiddish papers in New York and in other large cities with a high Jewish population.^{1.}

An investigating committee was appointed to make a report as to the amount of success that the school had met with. They blamed the Woodbine Agricultural School's bad position onto several factors. The committee stated that the aims of the school were not clear, and that they were constantly changing, thus prohibiting any crystallization in the minds of the students and faculty^{of} what the school stood for. Poor administrative management and control was a feature of the school since its inception and Sabsovich was blamed by the committee as being the man responsible for this condition. Along with the shifting aims of the school, the curriculum also shifted so that there was no definite curriculum. The course of study was too often over²scientific. We have pointed out how Sabsovich's interests were largely scientific since he was a soil chemist. It was only natural that he should project his interests into the program of the school. The committee also complained that the per capita cost was too high. They stated that the students exploited ~~that~~^{the} school since many of them took advantage of the free education and board for a means of acquiring an education without charge. The teaching staff was a constant source of difficulty since it was neither stable nor adequate. The teachers received poor salaries and did not care to teach in an exclusively Jewish school. Since the majority of the teachers

1. Joseph, op. cit., p. 71.

were non-Jews they did not feel at home among the students of the school and wanted to be with their own people. This did not make for efficient instruction or a good student-faculty relationship. The committee concluded its report with the point of the poor discipline of the boys who attended the school. The boys did practically as they wished. There was no regular attendance at classes and the knowledge that was gained by the students in the haphazard methods of instruction did not conform to the standards of the day. Equipment was inadequate, even though a great deal of money had been spent on it, and the buildings of the school were also not sufficient.^{1.}

All during the existence of the school the Baron de Hirsch Fund had been spending from \$35,000 to \$40,000 a year on it. This money was in addition to the funds which the school received from other sources such as the Jewish Colonization Association and private donations. After the report of the investigating committee which showed what things were specifically wrong with the institution there was an attempt to remedy the defects before the whole plan would go to pieces.^{2.}

It was felt by some of the members of the Board of Trustees of the Fund that in order to make the school worth while there should be a graduating class of from fifty to seventy five each year. The curriculum was to be reorganized again with the following improvements: The Primary Department was to be eliminated as well as those students who came to the

1. Joseph, op. cit., p. 72.

2. Ibid., p. 73.

school merely for the purpose of learning English. A two year course was to be instituted in 1904. During the summer the work of the students was to consist of work in the field. In the winter the practical sides of farming would¹ be taken up in the class rooms. During the last summer at the school the pupils were to be sent to a farm for practical instruction in the problems that they would face on a farm. When it came time for the boy's graduation from the school jobs were to be found for them by agents of the Fund, specially employed for that purpose. If any of the graduating students wished to settle on a farm they were to be assisted in their search for a suitable location by the Jewish Agricultural Society.¹

In 1906 questions began to be raised as to the reasons for the continuation of the school. The point was made that after an expenditure of between \$400,000 to \$500,000, only 120 young men had been graduated from the school. This was considered to be an out and out failure by many of those men actively interested in the institution. The new curriculum and alterations did not seem to make much difference in the quality of work that was being done in the school or in the type of young man that was being turned out onto farms. The Jewish Colonization Association also was dissatisfied with the work of the school and only grudgingly continued its support which was to consist of \$20,000 yearly for three years thereafter. (1906-1909)².

1. Joseph, op. cit., p. 73.

2. Ibid, p. 76.

In 1911 A. L. Schalit, an authorized representative of the Jewish Colonization Association stated that the school was a "sort of agricultural factory taking as raw material city children with no ideas of farming and devoid of any natural inclination for the life of a farmer".^{1.} The fact was brought out that only ten students a year became farmers at a cost of \$4,000 each for their education up to the time that they were prepared to leave the school. Schalit showed that the short term courses of the universities were much more suited to the needs of the Jew in agriculture than was the continuation of such a school. The conclusion of Schalit was contrary to the position of the Baron de Hirsch Fund in supporting the school. He stated that "there is absolutely no reason for keeping up an agricultural school in the United States".^{2.} Despite the antagonism of the Jewish Colonization Association, that organization renewed its grants to the school of \$20,00 a year for 1910, 1911, 1912.^{3.}

In 1912 another student strike caused reorganization of the school once again. This time a marked improvement in the type of administration set up in the school became noticeable. The students were given an opportunity to govern themselves and the spirit of the school became better than it had been since it began. In that year also a system was worked out making the instruction more effective through the distribution

1. Joseph, op. cit., p. 77.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p. 78.

of lecture sheets. Up to this time it had been impossible for the school to procure the necessary books for the students in simple, non-technical language. The lecture sheets, which were worked out by the instructors, told the students all they had to know non-technically and were an invaluable supplement to the class-room and laboratory instruction. These sheets were retained by the students after graduation.^{1.}

During 1912 there were⁶⁶⁴/applications for entrance into the school of which only 59 could be handled due to the limited dormitory space. A problem at this time was the enlargement of the school to handle more students. The per capita cost was about \$700 per student which was considered to be much too high. This cost was seen as being able to be lowered through an increase in the size of the student body which would reduce the per capita cost and also give the school a larger group of students to work with. That a demand existed for agricultural training was shown by 745 app inquiries and 385 applications for admission between March, 1915, and January, 1916.^{2.}

In 1915 the position of the Jewish Colonization Association was affected by the War and the subventions which it was able to give to the Woodbine Agricultural School were necessarily cut.^{3.} At this time a suggestion was made that \$50,000 be used for a much needed renovation of the school. The proposition immediately called to the minds of the Trustees of the school all the thought that had been placed on the problem

1. Joseph, op. cit., p. 79.

2. Ibid., p. 82.

3. Ibid., p. 85.

of removal during the years from 1912 on. During that time the main reasons for removal of the school from the neighborhood of Woodbine was largely that the fertility of the soil was not as high as it might have been. Many of the proponents of removal thought that a new location would enable the students to learn more since they would be working in a better medium. The argument was also advanced that it was not a wise thing to keep on putting money into an antedated plant. It was brought out that if an entirely new school was built with the plan in mind of housing a larger number of students the inefficiency of the older school and its high per capita cost would be eliminated.¹

Therefore, when a joint offer was received from Messrs. Schiff and Rosenwald in September, 1916, of \$300,000 as a joint gift for the purchase of land to be used as a new location for an agricultural school, the final bit of encouragement had been received and plans were made to go ahead with the removal.²

After careful consideration and the employment of experts to select the land for the new site, which was one of the conditions of the gift, a tract of land was purchased at Peekskill, New York. In the meantime classes were continuing at the old school in Woodbine. The citizens of Woodbine were quite displeased at the action of the Board in deciding to remove the school from that town. They held that the school had always

1. Joseph, op. cit., p. 86.

2. Ibid.

been one of the chief attractions of the city and was the cause of many people coming there to live who would otherwise have located elsewhere.^{1.}

Plans were made for the building of a new school at Peekskill and the lands were improved for the cultivation of crops. It was necessary, however, to defer the completion of plans for the establishment of the school until after the War. This was necessary because of the high price of labor and materials during the War and also because of the large number of students who were away, either overseas or in training camps. In 1919 plans were resumed. It was estimated that a million dollars would be needed to complete the school. The Jewish Agricultural Society and the Baron de Hirsch Fund were looked to as the most ready organizations to supply the money unattainable through public donations.^{2.}

However, there became noticeable among the Trustees of the school at this time a different feeling regarding the proceeding with construction. It was felt that since immigration was slowing up the necessity for a school no longer existed to the degree that it did before. Also, the Americanization of foreign-born students could be accomplished in the regular schools of the country. The agricultural schools of the universities could be utilized since they provided better educational opportunities than did any agricultural school of a sectarian nature. Since the Jewish Colonization Association

1. Joseph, op. cit., p. 86.

2. Ibid., p. 87.

could not give any help it was found necessary to abandon plans for the Peekskill school and to sell the property. The money was returned to the Messrs. Schiff and Rosenwald. This was done in 1919 during which year also the buildings of the old school of Woodbine were given to the state of New Jersey to be used as a home for the feeble-minded.^{1.}

So passed the initial attempt on the part of a Jewish society to establish an agricultural school which would serve the Jewish people as a producer of a trained group of farmers capable of taking their places in society as competent agriculturists. Although the Woodbine Agricultural School was a failure another school running contemporaneously with it for almost all of the time it lasted was a success. This school, from a slow start, has come to a respected and well thought of position today. We speak, of course, of the National Farm School, near Doylestown, in Bucks county, Pennsylvania.

THE NATIONAL FARM SCHOOL

The National Farm School is today the only potent educational factor dealing with agriculture in which Jews are vitally interested. Beginning later than the Woodbine Agricultural School, it has risen to heights unachieved by that organization. Despite the fact that this school's founder was a Jew and a rabbi, the institution has not devoted itself exclusively to Jews. Today it is a non-sectarian organization with

1. Joseph, op. cit., p. 88.

a faculty composed of non-Jews for the most part.

The National Farm School, located near Doylestown, Bucks county, Pennsylvania, is largely the result of the work of one man---Dr. Joseph Krauskopf. When Dr. Krauskopf visited Odessa, Russia, in the summer of 1894, he was greatly impressed and inspired by a Model Farm which he saw in operation in that city. It had been set up in 1891 and in the course of three years' time had expanded to cover 100 acres of ground in addition to the necessary houses and shops. It drew upon the orphan asylums of the country for the great number of its pupils who were given well-rounded agricultural educations by the school. Farming, stock-raising, dairying, and gardening, were among the main subjects of instruction.^{1.}

Dr. Krauskopf was so inspired by the sight of the boys and girls at work in the fields that he determined to do all in his power to found a similar organization in the United States. From the earliest time that he did any thinking on the subject he wished to give worthy boys a chance regardless of their race or creed. Not only did he foresee a happy and prosperous life on the farm for the students of his school, but he visualized the young men as filling the need for agricultural superintendents who would be needed to take over the many colonial efforts that were being made in the United States as a result of the Russian Immigration.^{2.}

Krauskopf had an original and practical method for

1. American Israelite, May 30, 1895.

2. Ibid.

the raising of the necessary funds for the project which he was advocating. Popular as a lecturer, he made himself available for lectures all over the country. His fee was \$100 a lecture. The entire amount was turned over by him to the school in which he was so deeply interested. In addition to this he asked for donations of funds from all interested persons of which there were many in the country, both among Jews and non-Jews.^{1.}

Dr. Krauskopf's method of raising money proved to be effective. Not only did he himself through his lectures contribute to the funds of the prospective school, but by appearing in many cities he was able to induce many people to contribute who would not otherwise have been interested in the project. By Sept., 1895, he had earned \$4,000 from his lecture tour alone, and a tract of land was purchased for the school's location.^{2.}

This original tract of land consisted of 120 acres, and was situated near Philadelphia in Bucks county. At the time of the purchase of the land plans were formulated for the erection of buildings and for other necessary improvements. "All that whining about sensationalism is absurd, when a great work is to be done, to accomplish which adequate means and measurements must be employed, let them look sensational if they are only not mean or disreputable."^{3.}

By the spring of 1896 a fund of about \$16,000 had been

1. American Israelite, May 30, 1895.

2. American Israelite, September 26, 1895.

3. Ibid.

acquired by Dr. Krauskopf/ Implements and materials for the farm and school had been offered by many individuals who were convinced of the value of the work that was being done. In Atlanta the National Council of Jewish Women promised to furnish the dairy of the Model Farm. Large tracts of land in Texas were given to the school to serve as farms for its graduates.^{1.}

The school was to be run cooperatively from its inception. Students were to be supplied with board, lodging, clothing and instruction. At the same time they were to be paid for the work that they did in the fields from the first of April to the first of October. For this work they were to be given credit on the books also. A sufficient amount of work and money was to be assured them so that there would be a balance in their favor at the end of the year.

In contrast to the Woodbine Agricultural School, the National Farm School was located on land that was suitable for agricultural pursuits without the use of a great deal of fertilizer or other artificial methods of soil preparation. Perhaps it is because of the favorable location of the school that there were so few difficulties in its administration from its beginnings up to the present time.

April 10, 1896 was the date of the granting of the charter of the National Farm School. Building and organization work went on until the following year, upon the completion of the students' dormitory the school was opened. The first en-

1. American Israelite, April 2, 1896.

2. Ibid.

rollment of the school consisted of 15 students which we may recall as being larger than the first class of the Woodbine Agricultural School.^{1.}

By 1898 the success of the institution seemed to be assured. At the end of that year the school had increased its investment in grounds and buildings, live-stock and equipment, to above \$40,000. It had an income of \$5,000 a year from its subscribers, and \$2,000 a year from the crops which were grown by the students. The students were receiving instructions^{2.} both in theoretical and practical farming.

In 1899 a rather unpleasant incident occurred in connection with the natural rivalry that existed between the National Farm School and the Woodbine Agricultural School. Although the latter was heavily endowed by the Baron de Hirsch Fund and the Jewish Colonization Association, the school was not the almost immediate success that the National Farm School had become. One of the patrons of the Woodbine school, Mr. Jacob Schiff of New York, had also been a patron of the National Farm School when it was first organized. But when he saw that one school was progressing with few difficulties while the other was having many problems, he regretted that he had given his support to the National Farm School, which was established later than the school at Woodbine. He felt strongly in the subject at the time, being a member of the Board of Trustees of the Woodbine Agricultural School, and he did not want to see that

1. National Farm School Catalogue, 1940-41, p. 5.
2. American Israelite, February 10, 1898.

institution destroyed by its younger rival. He, and other prominent people of the time refused to continue their support of the National Farm School on the grounds that one Jewish agricultural school was sufficient and that to divert their energies was to render work inefficient. Despite their refusal of support the school continued successfully since many others of its patrons refused to change their allegiance.^{1.}

On December 27, 1900, James Wilson, Secretary of Agriculture in the United States Cabinet, visited the National Farm School. The Secretary, who was supposed to be well-informed as to the status of every agricultural school in the country stated that the National Farm School, young as it was at the time "approaches more nearly to the necessities of the subject than any college in any state of the Union....its men are well-versed in soils, physics, and animal pathology".^{2.}

In 1901 seven students had completed the four-year course of the college and were graduated. They were placed on farms in the neighborhood of the school---namely, in the small villages of Morristown, Pottstown, and Addison.^{3.} In later years the students of the school scattered far from their original region of instruction. We have seen how some of them fared in our accounts of some of the Russian refugee colonies with Farm School graduates as their superintendents.

From the time of the opening of the National Farm

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1. American Israelite, January 11, 1900.
 2. American Israelite, August 10, 1899.
 3. American Israelite, April 2, 1908.

School its growth has been one of steady improvement. Vast building programs were made possible by the increase in communal interest. Today the campus of the school is one of the finest of the agricultural schools in the country. The students of the school, who now number close to 200, are housed in modern dormitories. Botanical and chemical laboratories, as well as green houses have been erected. Model dairies, barns, and poultry houses have been built. A well-equipped library, artesian wells, macadam roads, and modern heating systems have all been added to the school's physical set-up. The farm land in use by the students has been increased from the initial plot of 127 acres to 1,200 acres of land under cultivation.^{1.}

Dr. Krauskopf had always been insistent that academic subjects as well as practical agricultural training be given to the city-bred boys who attended the school. Because of this belief the curriculum of the school has constantly expanded to fit the needs of modern times. English and English literature are taught; farm law, applied hygiene, botany, chemistry, entomology, horticulture, animal husbandry, general agriculture, and mechanics are all completely dealt with in the school's three-year course of instruction. The environment of the school tends to make the students farm-minded and farm-conscious and at the same time serves their intellectual needs.^{2.}

The students of the school work on an alternating sys-

1. Jewish Times, March 1, 1935.

2. Ibid.

tem. By dividing the boys into two groups this system was made possible and worked to good advantage. For a six or eight week period one group takes class work, the other taking industrial work in the fields. At the end of the period the groups alternate. In this manner the students get a maximum of practical experience and theoretical training.^{1.}

Dr. Krauskopf served as the president of the National Farm School until his death in 1923. His work was entirely a labor of love and an indication of his deep belief in the position of the Jew in American agriculture. Upon his death his place was taken by Herbert D. Allman who was succeeded in 1939 by Dr. Harold B. Allen.^{2.}

Modern methods are employed by the National Farm School not only in class room instruction but also in the institution's contacts with the outside world. An interesting booklet is put out by the school and sent to those upon whom the institution depends for help. The booklet shows with actual costs and figures just how much certain items which are needed badly would cost. These items are listed from \$1.00, the cost of feeding a student four meals, up to \$75,000, the cost of a new dormitory. In between the items vary from such things as corn planters, tractors, and combines, to microscopes, moving picture machines, and an organ. This effective way of presenting the needs of the school has brought good results.

The following requirements are included as necessary

1. Jewish Times, March 1, 1935.

2. National Farm School Catalogue, 1940-41, p. 12.

for admission to the school:

"1. The candidate should be a high-school graduate.

"2. The high school record should show grades that are not merely passing.

"3. The candidate should give evidence of having a deep and sincere interest in rural life.

"4. The candidate's high school record of his course of study should have included considerable science---Botany, Biology, Chemistry, Physics, and General Science.

"5. The candidate should have some community interests and leadership qualities.

"6. Candidates for admission should, as far as possible, have pleasing personalities.

"7. The candidate and his parents or sponsors should give evidence of willingness to make some sacrifice in attending the school."

The National Farm School is a success and a vital force in American and Jewish agriculture today. The progress of the school has been gratifying to its sponsors and to all those who have taken an active interest in it. The dream of Rabbi Krauskopf has reached its fulfillment and his creation has become all that he hoped it would be. Today there are graduates of the National Farm School all over the United States. Although many of them are no longer engaged in agricultural activities as such, many of them have been able to turn their interests to allied interests industries and work with a great amount of success. The training of the school not only has prepared men

1. Letter from H.B. Allen, President of the National Farm School to Cooperating agencies, the National Board of State Directors, Members of the Alumni Association, Welfare Organizations, Principals of his schools, and friends of the institution. January 8, 1940.

for work as farmers but has given many men the necessary background for advanced work in agriculture. Of these a good number are employed today by the Government as technicians, as well as by private organizations. We must keep in mind that the National Farm School has maintained its non-secular character throughout its existence. Today the school looks ahead to many more years of service in training young men for work as farmers or as successful and efficient agricultural experts.

AGRICULTURE AND THE GERMAN-JEWISH REFUGEE

Almost exactly fifty years after the passage of the notorious May Laws in Russia, the motivating factor for pogroms and subsequent mass emigration of Jews from Russia, forces went to work in Germany which were to compel the Jews to leave that country in rapidly increasing numbers. During the first few months of the then Chancellor Hitler's power, the emigration from Germany to the United States trickled in with no appreciable increase in number. We are aware that certain Jews did not fear Hitler and had no inkling of their ultimate position under his rule. But soon the numbers advanced from a trickle to a mighty flood. In 1933 there were only 72 German-Jewish refugees as compared to 30,096 who entered the United States in 1939. During the intervening years the number constantly rose.^{1.}

But the character and nature of the German refugee who came to the United States differs from that of the Russian refugee of the preceding century. Background, temperament, and former life all are markedly dissimilar to those characteristics of the Russian Jew. In our account of the German Jewish refugee in this country and his relationship to agriculture, we must bear in mind these differences which show in the selection of profession and modes of life which the German Jew was interested in following.

1. U.S. Department of Labor, Immigration and Naturalization Service; specially compiled statistics prepared by Edward J. Shaughnessy, February 26, 1940.

We may recall that the emigrant Russian was frequently uneducated, illiterate, and poorly prepared for life in his new home. In contrast to this condition that existed in the eighties and nineties the German Jews have come to these shores frequently the possessors of fine technical training, some with wealthy backgrounds, many highly educated. With no desire to criticize the Russian emigrant we must state that the German Jew who has come into the country has been much better equipped to enter into his new life than was his eastern European brother. Almost 80% of the German Jews who have recently come into this country (1939) were either professional men, commercial workers, or skilled technical workers. Laborers and servants, as well as those engaged in unskilled professions have always been low in number throughout the migration period from 1933-1939.

Perhaps this is the reason that there was no great flurry of excitement of what to do for the German refugee when he came to this country. No fantastic schemes were advocated by Jews to place the newcomers on the land and to allow them to do the best they could under the circumstances. We may state with a reasonable amount of assurance that there have been few, if any schemes, that compare in impracticability with some of the early colonization fiascos which took place on the free government land of the middle west and west. The German refugee has come into this country better equipped than the Russian and in a far better position to cope with the many problems of his new life than his predecessor.

Perhaps for the reasons which we have enumerated above

the natural inclination toward work which he had been familiar with in the country of his birth, technical training, and better education, the German refugee has been able to turn to other occupations than farming in the United States. At the outset we must make the point clear that the German Jew has not yet come into any position of importance in agriculture in the United States. We have seen how necessary experience is for success in agriculture. It is impossible for an untrained person to take up farming and to make a success in his new profession from the start and with no previous training. Physical fitness, confidence, patience, as well as the economic training all play a very important part in the success of a new farmer on the land.^{1.}

Although plans for farm settlements in the United States for German Jewish refugees have been lacking there have been many suggestions as to other places into which they might be sent to take up life as farmers and colonists in undeveloped portions of land in many parts of the world. Alaska, British Guiana, Madagascar, South Africa, Brazil, and many other places, have been proposed as ideal sites for Jewish settlements. However, there has not been sufficient interest in those places as agricultural settlements of German Jewish refugees to lay a foundation for such a colony and to carry it through successfully.

We have mentioned in passing the necessary training

1. Refugees, Anarchy or Organization, Random House, New York, 1938.

required for participation in agriculture today. It has been clear to us throughout this paper that it is impossible for a person to engage in agriculture before he has completed a certain minimum instruction in the elements of his new profession. And yet, when these opportunities are offered to German refugee students, when they are given the chance to obtain an agricultural education if they so desire, the vast majority of them turn down their opportunity in favor of other professions which they feel are more suited to their personalities. The choice of study by German refugee students in the United States is very illuminating, to say the least. We shall show how very few young German students have any interest at all in agriculture or in allied professions. Their interests are still centered, as they were in Germany, about Law and Medicine, with business coming into the preferred group of occupations also.

The following record of 166 German Jewish refugees students shows clearly their desire to take up other occupations than agriculture as their means of livelihood:

Agriculture.....	3	Languages.....	7
Art.....	1	Law.....	23
Astronomy.....	1	Librarian.....	5
Bacteriology.....	2	Literature.....	1
Business Administration.....	2	Mathematics.....	3
Chemistry.....	9	Medicine.....	24
Chiropody.....	3	Music.....	3
Cooperative Economics.....	2	Oculist.....	2
Dentistry.....	15	Pharmacy.....	1
Dietetics.....	2	Philology.....	1
Economics.....	5	Philosophy.....	7
Engineering.....	7	Physics.....	7
General.....	20	Psychology.....	3
History.....	5	Sociology.....	2

The preference on the part of the young German refugees, both men and women, to engage in the work regarded in their fatherland as being of a more elevating nature than that of tilling the soil has resulted in very few German Jewish refugees being interested in going into agriculture as their profession.

But aside from the indifference on the part of the German Jews to enter agriculture, other forces have been at work which have excluded them from this occupation.

Selective immigration is made almost impossible by the present quota regulations which govern immigration to the United States. Agricultural immigrants are not given preference in immigration although the regulations specify that "in case of any nationality, the quota for which is 300 or more, skilled agriculturists, their wives and dependents under eighteen, may have a preference up to 50% of the respective quota". Despite this seeming preference not much good may be derived from it because it is necessary to have an affidavit, preferably one from a relative, for immigration to the United States. Thus, it is in effect, the relatives who make the selection, and they do not necessarily select agriculturists as the beneficiaries of their affidavits.

Another hindrance to the placement of refugee Jews in agriculture is offered by the United States Consulates. They are in charge of immigration matters and are given the responsibility of interpreting and deciding who is and who is not a skilled agriculturist. They have consistently interpreted

"skilled agriculturists" in the strictest sense of the term. Because of their strictness they do not give preference to anyone who has engaged in agricultural work in connection with some other work. They want real peasants of long standing or people who have had some great degree of training in agricultural schools which have been recognized by the Government. Therefore, the preference in the quota regulations does not help special agricultural immigrants. While this does not apply only to Jews the American consulates are especially strict in the case of Jews who are not generally regarded as farmers. Statistics of the Immigration Department show that the immigration of farmers from Germany to the United States has been very slight; in the years after the War about 85% or more of the people who entered under the quota regulations were non-agriculturists.

Nevertheless, despite the handicaps which are in the way, there have been some fair number of German refugees who have been sufficiently farm-minded to enter agriculture as a career. We shall deal with these individuals in connection with the organizations which have assisted them to take their place on the land. On the whole, people who are suitable for settlement, and who are refugees from Germany or the countries under her domination are selected for colonization enterprises outside of the United States because of the difficulty existing under the present quota regulations to bring these people into the United States.

In the course of our investigation to find out what

specific organizations were doing to aid the German Jewish refugee to enter the field of agriculture we wrote to several bodies to find their specific activities. Among these were the American Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the Jewish Agricultural Society, the Refugee Economic Corporation, the National Refugee Service, the National Council of Jewish Women, and the American Jewish Committee. These organizations were all questioned by us through letters as to the work that they were doing and their opinion as to the future of the refugee in agriculture in this country. Most of them referred us to the Jewish Agricultural Society with whom we have been in constant correspondence throughout the writing of this paper. Only two or three organizations cared to give an opinion as to the future of the Jew in agriculture. When they did give an opinion it was usually one based on exaggeration of materials at hand in order to create a falsely optimistic impression.

Naturally the Jewish Agricultural Society had done more work with the German Jewish refugee in agriculture than any other organization. We shall deal with this organization's work separately and at length after we have finished our survey of the accomplishments of other groups.

The work of the National Refugee Service may be seen by quoting from a letter written to us by Samuel Axelroth, Agricultural Consultant of that organization. According to Mr. Axelroth, the National Refugee Service "is now formulating plans which we hope will enlist the efforts of the Jewish community

at large in settling refugees on the land in ever greater numbers. As to where the saturation point lies of land settlement for refugees, I cannot undertake to answer this question at this time. My feeling, however, is that we are still a long way from reaching that point."¹

The activities of the National Council of Jewish Women are explained in a letter from Emma Schreiber, Director of Service to the Foreign Born, of March 1, 1940:

"Our office comes into contact with this problem (agriculture as an avenue of adjustment for Refugees in this country since 1933) only indirectly. We have assisted, with affidavits, such immigrants who apply for an agricultural visa. Also, we have granted a small number of agricultural scholarships to refugees who are completing agricultural training in this country."

The Refugee Economic Corporation has been responsible for a small settlement of ten families in North Carolina and explains its activities as follows, in a letter written by the assistant secretary of the organization, Emery Komlos, on February 27, 1940: "With one exception---that of the refugee farm settlement in North Carolina---all of our efforts to place refugees in agriculture in the United States have been made through this society." (referring to the Jewish Agricultural Society)

The remainder of the organizations dealing with the refugee problem in this country referred us to the Jewish Agricultural Society. As we have seen throughout this paper the Society has been the most potent single force so far as the

1. Personal correspondence, dated February 29, 1940. All other letters quoted have been the result of our correspondence also.

Jew in agriculture has been concerned. Today this organization is doing all of the important work in the field of the settlement of the Jew. The remainder of the work is of small importance and not of any great significance.

We shall consider the work of the Jewish Agricultural Society chronologically, since the history of the German refugee may best be dealt with through a chronological treatment of his activities in the United States in agriculture.

It was not until 1935 that the first of the refugees came to the J.A.S. for assistance in information as to the opportunities for them in farming. The Society stated that there were no great number of German Jews who had agricultural experience, background, or training. The most serious handicap which they faced was their lack of funds which came about through their inability to withdraw money from Germany. In 1935 the J.A.S. could see no way open for them to help the refugees in entering agricultural occupations on a large scale. The Society was extremely wary over the hasty formation of agricultural societies since it had seen what had happened ~~when~~^{1.} at the beginning of the century in its work with the New Jersey colonies and in the eighties and nineties in the work of other agricultural societies, with Jewish colonists.

It was not until 1936 that emigration from Germany began to stream into this country. At that time there were a few men who had been farmers in their former home. They had

1. J.A.S. Report, 1935, P. 7.

been cattle raisers for the most part. The restrictions against the export of the mark from Germany seriously handicapped any efforts of the Society toward the settlement of these former Jewish farmers on farms in this country. The Society tried to bring about the purchase of farms for reichsmarks payable in Germany. Exchanges of property in America and Germany were also attempted. This latter method can only be accomplished when the man in America is an Aryan who intends to return to the fatherland. This situation greatly restricts the field of choice, quite naturally. Exchange rates are also involved as a serious problem. We quote as an example of the difficulties involved the following instance:

"In August, (1936) a cattleman worth 300,000 reichsmark came to the office with a passport permitting only a limited stay, and with a small allotment of funds. He was taken to farms in New York and New Jersey. To acquire the farm, the buyer would also have to take city property because the owner wanted to liquidate his affairs completely before returning to Germany."¹.

Another example:

"Upon a cabled request from two brothers, wine merchants, we examined a fruit farm near Hudson, New York, owned by an intending re-emigrant, and dispatched a full report. One of the brothers came later and examined this farm and others, eventually deciding on it. We had to arrange with local attorneys for the drawing of the contract, and to prepare, at the request of the attorneys, a memorandum of the provisions to be incorporated, covering such points as the obtaining of visas for admission to the United States, the procurement of German approval for the contract, conditions of payment of the money in Germany, and for the care of the farm in the interim between the sellers' departure for Germany, and the buyer's arrival here. Although the brothers were men of wealth we

1. J.A.S. Report, 1936, p. 10.

had to stand ready to lend the money needed for legal expenses."¹

In 1936 there were six families in New York state who were living as farm families on rented farms. The people were satisfied with an extremely moderate living and only wanted to raise their children in a free atmosphere. These families were doing as well as could be expected at the time.²

The Jewish Agricultural Society was still comparatively inexperienced in its dealings with refugees in 1936 and realized the great amount of work necessary before they would have the ~~see~~ plan set up and running smoothly and efficiently.

In 1937, 111 refugees called at the office for help and advice in the selection of farms. This was in addition to a heavy correspondence which was being carried on with those refugees interested in farming who were still in Europe. By 1937 23 refugee families had settled as farmers in Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey. The problem was still great during the year and much remained to be solved concerning it.³ The refugees were almost invariably forced to settle on rented farms. They did not have the means to buy farms and also they wished to serve a probationary period in which they could find whether they were suited for the work or not. Farming on rented farms is not a desirable farm economy and tenure on these farms is always uncertain. The time when these renters would have to buy their farms would inevitably come and diffi-

1. J.A.S. Report, 1936, p. 10.

2. Ibid., p. 11.

3. J.A.S. Report, 1937, p. 8.

culties would be met then which would be dealt with on&nt through a good amount of ready cash. Since the German refugees had no American farming experience to point to, they were not able to turn to the federal lending agencies. Because they were strangers it was hard for them to borrow money through other channels. Therefore the J.A.S. was almost the only source to which they could turn for help.^{1.}

In 1938, 651 cases of German refugees' contact with the Society were recorded. Despite the emotional turmoil which these people found themselves in, and the uncertainty of every-ⁱⁿthing for them in the new country/which they now had to take up life, the Society was able to place 28 families during the year. In almost every instance the new refugee who had been settled made his farm the haven for others from Europe. A refugee who was settled by the J.A.S. in 1937 in New Jersey, became the nucleus of a group of 20 persons living on four farms with more relatives still to come. Nineteen members of five related families are now located on three farms in Dutchess county, New York. With the longest tenure on the land amounting to only about three years any ventures as to whether the refugee farmer will take root or not can only be guesses at best. "But from personal observation and from the refugees own account, we can say that these families are ap-^{2.}parently making progress and gradually becoming oriented."

The work that the Jewish Agricultural Society has

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1. J.A.S. Report, 1937, p. 8.
 2. J.A.S. Report, 1938, pp. 9-10.

done in guiding refugees in the selection of farms is not considered to be sufficient by the members of the Society. Jobs were also found for the refugees through personal solicitation, appeals, (in the Jewish Farmer), at Jewish farm meetings, and in the Yiddish press. In addition to this work the J.A.S. has also printed leaflets in German for distribution telling of the work of the organization for those in Germany who do not know^{1.} of the services it offers.

The report for the year 1938 closes with the following significant statement:

"Though we cannot envisage impressive numbers, the value of turning to the land as many refugees as possible needs no argument. In the city, where competition is already keen and where jobs are scarce, every new storekeeper, every new professional, every new worker, adds to the pressure. No such condition exists on the farm. In that sense a movement farmward is bound to have a salutary effect not only on the refugee but on the Jewish position in general."^{1.a.}

In 1939, 988 European emigrants came to the offices of the Jewish Agricultural Society. Ninety-six families were established on farms during the year in Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Missouri. The majority of the refugee settlements have been made on poultry farms. Although the J.A.S. would prefer to see more diversified farming, poultry has proved the best suited to the newcomer in agriculture. It is not taxing physically, as is dairying, for instance. The poultry set-up

1. J.A.S. Report, 1938, p. 11.
1.a. J.A.S. Report, 1938, p. 12.

requires less money and can be run, in most instances, by members of the family without the necessity of hired help. The refugees who have been located on poultry farms in the locale of metropolitan centers have been able to devote their time to the developing of successful egg routes.^{1.}

As we have mentioned, the refugee farmers bring other farmers onto the land with them. Relatives have been interested in farming by the successful work of other members of their family, and so have been able to enter into the field with less doubts as to their future than they would have had if they had not witnessed the happiness of their cousins, aunts, uncles, sisters, and brothers.^{2.}

In 1938 a course of lectures for refugee farmers was introduced and was continued in 1939. In 1940 a refugee training farm near Bound Brook, New Jersey, is to be opened under the direction of the Jewish Agricultural Society. Through it a short intensive course of training is to be given to acquaint the refugee with the rudiments of farming and to give them a glimpse into farm life. "The training farm will provide a good testing field, heartening those who feel themselves fit, and preventing the others from going into something for which they are not fit."^{3/}

We give here a few examples of German Jewish refugees who have settled on farms through the help and encouragement of the Jewish Agricultural Society:

1. J.A.S. Report, 1939, pp. 2-4.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p. 5.

"The real estate manager of a Cologne bank, who was robbed of part of his possessions after he had left Germany, and who became so discouraged while he was drifting about New York that he saw in suicide the only way out, was settled on a general farm in New Jersey which in a little more than a year was made to support eight people in comfort."¹.

"A former cattle dealer from South Germany, now a dairy farmer in Catskill, New York, was within a short four years able to wipe out 50% of his original mortgaged indebtedness."

"In South Jersey, a young refugee and his wife are making their way on a farm for which they paid as little as \$1,000, only \$100 in cash. They came to the farm with a suitcase, a violin, and a few hundred dollars as their sole possessions. We made a loan to them to get started. Last September, in announcing to us the arrival of their first born, the man added 'everybody, including the chickens, are (sic.) doing well.'"².

We could go on citing other instances of refugees who have made a happy success of their new profession. At the present time the J.A.S. feels that the refugee situation looks good, and has practically no defects in it. The organizations are careful to make no prognostications for it realizes the many hazards involved in farming and the uncertainty of the profession. Their attitude is expressed in the following statement: "We have faith that, by and large, refugees possess the intelligence, the industry, and the perseverance to make the grade."⁴.

The following conclusion is reached by the J.A.S. in their most recent report on the refugee problem:

1. J.A.S. Report, 1939, p. 5.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., p. 7.

"When all is said and done, there are some refugees who will be better off on the farm than anywhere else. Yet we must be realistic enough to understand that they cannot be flung onto a farm with regard only to speed and to numbers. We conceive our duty to lie in striving to provide not a temporary makeshift, but a permanent shelter. No effort, however, should be spared to settle those who possess the qualifications which give fair promise of success. For them, the step may prove both prophylactic and constructive. There is too, a broader significance. In placing refugees in productive occupation without adding to the competitive strain of city economy we are constrained to believe that we are contributing a meed of service to the general welfare."¹

The future looks bright for the refugees. Their position seems to be secure at the present, and with any sort of revival in prosperity on the farm they should be capable of much advancement in the future. In the interim we must be patient with the refugees and allow them to find themselves before we try to place them in anything definite. They should not be forced to go into professions of which they are not desirous to enter. Agriculture is not the only profession which is uncrowded so far as Jews are concerned. Mechanics, tool and die makers, carpenters, plumbers, and many other skilled small businesses have never been entered by Jews on a large scale. All of these may be viewed by the refugee before he is forced to make up his mind. We believe that we have shown the proper attitude in the words of the Jewish Agricultural Society so far as the German refugee and agriculture is concerned. This organization is satisfied to place some Jews on the land but does not see the necessity for a grand movement back to the

1. J.A.S. Report, 1939, p. 7.

soil. We have learned our lessons already. It should not be necessary to repeat them.

AGRICULTURE AS A SOLUTION TO ANTISEMITISM

In the short space left for a discussion of this problem we can do little more than speculate as to the effectiveness of agriculture as a solution for the problem of anti-semitism. From surface appearance it does not appear that agriculture can alone solve the problem in the United States. There are some effects which it might have if followed as a profession by a sufficient number of Jews, which we may review briefly now.

Essentially the Jew is an urban dweller. He likes to live in large centers of population, in the city. There he can have his social life with all of its pleasant ramifications. The tendency of the Jew to settle in large urban groups has not been helpful in the combating of anti-semitism. Almost anyone who theorizes on the solution of this problem will say that decentralization of Jewish population must be accomplished before there can be any successful answer to the problem. Agriculture, if turned to on a large scale by Jews, would deplete populations in the city and would answer the problem of decentralization to a considerable extent.

Another of the accusations hurled against the Jew by his so-called saviours from antisemitism is that of the necessity for his turning from commerce, business, and the profes-

sions to occupations which are not so crowded. Agriculture is one of these.

There are some who believe that assimilation is the only way in which the antisemitic problem can be answered. Life on the farm is of such a nature that a certain amount of assimilation is inevitable. Therefore the proponents of assimilations would be answered favorably by the large scale engagement of the Jew in agricultural pursuits.

But the question of anti-semitism cannot be met through agriculture if the Jew will not turn to farming. The real problem is how to interest Jewish young men and women in farming as a career instead of allowing them to go into already crowded professions. Education, therefore, is the solution to the problem of antisemitism so far as agriculture is concerned. We must make certain points clear to the Jewish youth which is entering high schools and colleges. They must be made to see that certain professions, long favorites with the Jews, are hopelessly overcrowded. They must realize that their future cannot be successful in these professions which do not allow them to exert their full capabilities at any time. They must discard their idea that Jews are not meant for agriculture or similar professions and must enter into agricultural schools and colleges in ever increasing numbers. This they will do when they realize that the incomes of successful farmers are as high as they could make in professions that had selected for themselves previous to their realization of the weaknesses of law, medicine, and business for Jews.

Agriculture will work as a force against antisemitism only if we Jews allow it to do so. It can never be anything more than a profession of minor importance if our young Jewish men and women instead of flocking to the farm go away from it in ever larger numbers.

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