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THE HISTORY OF THE EAST EUROPEAN JEWS IN THE UNITED STATES

FROM 1881 TO 1890

Submitted in competition for the
Rosenberg-Schottenfels Memorial Prize

By

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Wir wandern durch Völker,
Wir wandern durch Zeiten---
-Stefan Zweig

To my parents

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I. INTRODUCTORY

1. The Term "East European Jew"

It is not hard to define what we understand by "East European Immigration" and accordingly by "East European Jew" in the years after 1881. Previous to that year individual immigration was prevailing. There were but rare cases of organized group migration to the United States. Aside from the numerous Germans immigrating between the forties and the seventies of the past century, there were individuals from German Poland, Austrian Poland, Russian Poland, from various Russian provinces, from Roumania, Hungary, Austria. All these could be included in the term "East European Jew" in its widest denotation. It was, however, only a small part of the immigrants from these countries who laid the foundation for the large sector in present day American Jewry which we call "East European". It was, as a rule, the immigrant group from Russian Poland and from Russia proper. There were but few Jews arriving from that part of Europe in the period previous to 1881. The flow of their immigration was hardly discernible in the stream of newcomers from across the sea. Among the many varying groups of American Jewry their small number often disappeared.

From the year 1881 on, the situation was reversed. The bulk of immigrants were those who built up the group of East European Jews in the United States. The Jews coming from the countries under the rule of the Czar formed the main stream of Jewish immigration, while those coming

from the rest of Europe were merely contributory streams. Furthermore the organization of American Jewry had developed far enough, and the number of Jews had become large enough, that in all communities of importance there was no longer any obscure attachment between groups originating from different countries east or south-east of Germany, which might be confusing to the historian.

From the year 1881 on, there was a clearly distinguishable immigrant group of East European Jews coming from Russian countries, mainly Russian Poland, Lithuania, Western Russia, and Southern Russia. This essay therefore is concerned only with this group. It does not include the Jews coming from the German part of Poland, from Galicia, Roumania, and Hungary. The term "Russian Jew" is thus rightly used synonimously with the term "East European Jew".

2. The Material

There is an abundance of material on the migration of the Russian Jews to the United States and on their settlement in this country during the period between 1881 and 1891. However, while on the one hand it is impossible for the writer of an essay like this to exhaust the mass of printed matter containing information on the subject, the material present at our libraries, on the other hand, does not convey a complete picture of the subject. There exists much literature on the migration of the Jews from Russia to America,

including the causes of the movement and the economic and cultural background of the immigrants as well as their number. There is sufficient general information about the sociological and economic problems of the group during and after their settlement in this country. There is, however, an obvious lack of source material for an exhaustive History of the East European Jews in the United States, i.e. information about their settlement in the various States and cities of this country, and about their local organizations. With the exception of a few, the histories of local Jewries in America - as far as they are present in the library of the Hebrew Union College - give little or no knowledge about the East European group. If the book deals with a reform congregation, it mostly restricts itself to the congregation and its members who, of course, are not of East European descent. Even if a writer promises to give the history of a Jewish community his descriptions are in many cases distorted by prejudice against the East European Jews. Their existence is but mentioned furtively, or it is overlooked altogether. Herman Eliassof's "The Jews of Illinois", for instance, introduces the chapter on the Russian Jews with the remark that the pressure of the publisher prevents the writer from devoting much time and space to this part of the community. The short sketch following this apology shows clearly the writer's dislike for the subject.

A study of contemporary newspapers and periodicals

cannot ballance the lack in the local histories. As a fact, the papers have the same fault. There are but a few short-lived Yiddish and Hebrew publications who are vitally interested in the affairs of the Russian Jewish group. The important part of the Jewish press of the period with which we are concerned is in the hands of Jews of German extraction. They are not interested in the problems of the Russian Jews for any internal reasons. They print news about the "other Jews" only if it is either sensational - such as persecution and mass immigration - or referring also to members of the German group - such as affairs of charity. The foundation of a Hevrah, the purchase of a new Shul by immigrants very seldom makes the news.

Therefore, according to this writer's opinion, a complete history of the East European Jews in the United States cannot be written on the basis of the printed material existing today. The writer of such a history will have to investigate in the archive of every Russian Jewish congregation and of every Jewish charitable organization of this country. He will have to search a large number of local papers, Jewish and non-Jewish, of the period concerned. He will have to make inquiries among old members of the Russian Jewish group whose memories reach back far enough to supply him with exact information. The necessity of this last source makes it imperative that such a history be composed soon, if it shall be written at all.

The present essay is based only on source material to be found in the libraries of the Hebrew Union College and of the University of Cincinnati, without, however, exhausting this material. It cannot aspire to give a complete picture of the East European immigrant group in the decade between 1881 and 1890. It can merely be a sketch, a tentative solution to the task set by the title of the essay.

II. CAUSES
FOR THE EMIGRATION OF JEWS
FROM EASTERN EUROPE

The Jew for ages has been attributed the word "wandering". His people has been termed restless, homeless, without connection with the soil. Still, it is a strange fact, that it takes a crushing force to make this people leave the place at which they once took root. The country may grant them hardly a bare living, and yet they cling to it as long as they live at all.

The history of the Russian Jews in the second half of the past century is a good illustration for this statement. The sufferings of the Jews in Russia did not start in 1881, the year of their great migration. Life for the Jew in Russia had never been one of ease and luxury. But the nineteenth century brought an ever increasing pressure on the Russian Jews which threatened to strangle him. Enforced military service, restriction of the pale of settlement, suppression of Jewish cultural autonomy made life more and more unbearable. The economic crisis of the late sixties increased the misery. More and more often anti-Jewish riots flared up creating nervousness and unrest among the Jews of Russia.

Still, comparatively few of them left the country. It was but the vanguard, a courageous minority, who driven by their spirit of adventure as much as by their need go before their people to seek a place for new settlement. It was good that the vanguard of the Russian Jews had left the country to find paths for emigration and to lay the foundation for new homesteads. For in the early eighties the suffering of Russian Jewry reached the degree where even the inertia of the more immobile part of the people

was overcome. The great migration began. (1)

On March 1, 1881 Czar Alexander II. was murdered. A Jewess, Hesia Helfman, played a minor rôle in the conspiracy. This was a welcome reason for the government to increase the persecution of the Jews. Immediately pogroms started which were if not instigated so at least tolerated by the government. Starting at Elizabethgrad and Kiev, the wave of terrorism, of destruction and robbery swept through entire Southern Russia. (2)

Under the government of the minister Ignatyev the new Czar's policy based itself on the theory that the Jews were the exploiters of the Russian nation, and that therefore the pogroms were but the result of the just wrath of the wronged people. Consequently the rioters were not penalized hard if at all. Often the judges turned against the Jews instead of against the accused. The Jews who turned to other cities to escape the persecution of the rabble were expelled. The government prohibitted assistance to the sufferers. Emigration was the only way left open to them. (3)

In July 1881 another wave of pogroms afflicted about one hundred communities. The consequence was not government protection of the Jews but an ukase appointing imperial commissions in sixteen provinces to put the Jews to trial and to decree new disabilities. (4)

In December 1881 Russian instigators spread the

terrorism even to tolerant Poland. With their well developed pogrom technique, they started a riot in Warsaw. (5)

Upon inquiry about the aims of his Jewish policy, Count Ignatyev pointed out that the Western frontier was open to the Jews. Furthermore it was given to understand that expulsion of the Jews from the villages of the Pale of Settlement might expedite the process of emigration and of limiting the territory of Jewish settlement. The protests of civilized countries against the outrage were ineffective. The pogrom of Balta, instigated by the government on Easter 1882 surpassed all the previous ones in cruelty.

Naturally the persecutions resulted in an increase of Jewish emigration. In all larger communities emigrant groups formed themselves. Yet a central organization was lacking, and the first attempt to form such a body was checked by a sudden decision of the slippery government. Ignatyev suddenly discovered that emigration was not pleasing to the rulers. The Jewish notables had to use all their power to protect the Jews against deportation to far-off places in Central Asia, and to defend them against new accusations of the government. (6)

In May 1882 the pogrom policy was replaced by a more effective instrument in the hands of the government. "Temporary Rules" - regulations passed outside of the regular legal procedure - prohibitted settlement and purchase of real estate and merchandise outside of the towns: the Jews were cut off

from nine tenth of the territory formerly allowed to them for settlement and trade. As the Jewish disabilities increased, as the Jews were expelled from both the villages and the central cities, as they were driven from government and military positions, emigration took the form of a panic. Masses of homeless people unaided by a planful organization moved toward the Western border. Left in misery, without any means of subsistence, they were cared for by committees from France and from Germany. In months of heroic work these committees transported the refugees to the countries of Western Europe and to America. At the same time a much smaller stream of emigration moved eastward. The members of the Bilu Society went to Palestine to start their pioneer work. (7)

In 1883 the Pahlen Commission was appointed with the task of finding a solution to the Jewish problem and of replacing the Temporary Rules by normal laws. While the commission was proceeding with the snail-pace of bureaucracy - as a matter of fact, they never completed their task - the provincial and local authorities interpreted the "May Laws" more and more unfavorably against the Jews. Their ordinances either evicted the rural settlers or actually made them serfs bound to the place on which they happened to live. Settlement outside of the Pale was cut down to a minimum. Education in both vocations and professions was restricted. Cruel military legislation required the service of every

young Jew, and in case of any one evading service retributive measures often ruined whole families. (8) In addition, new pogroms, more blody than those of 1881 and 1882, ruined flourishing Jewish communities in the following years. (9)

The second half of the decade brought no new rules against the Jews. Nor were there any pogroms which went down in history. But the old regulations were enforced with vigor causing a steady though ever growing stream of emigration both to the West and to the East.

At the same time the reactionary movement within the Russian government appearently even became stronger. The Czar's Jew hatred grew fiercer. The attitude of the official press in these years showed a development which foreshadowed the events which were to shock the civilized world in the following decade.(10)

III. IMMIGRATION

OF EAST EUROPEAN JEWS TO THE UNITED STATES

It is an interesting observation that the nineteenth century marks a turning point in the direction of Jewish migration. Previously the Jewish masses left economically progressive countries for countries with a lower economic level. It was a movement mainly from the West to the East. From the nineteenth century on, the trend was mainly eastward, from countries of low economic culture to more progressive domaines. The reason for this change of direction was that the open spaces east of the territory of Jewish settlement were waste land, virgin soil which had to be cultivated by hard farm work. Other peoples were fit for such colonization work. The Jews, however, were not attracted. Yet this dislike of farm work was to be tragic for them in the course of their migration. None of the Agricultural Colonies which were founded in short spells of enthusiasm was granted long life, with the exception of the Palestinian settlements.

The westward trend led the Jews to America and England; for they were the great industrial; capitalist nations which could absorb a large number of workers and small businessmen. In the twenty-seven years between 1881 and 1908, 18.47% , almost one fifth of all Jews migrated, and in this big migration Russia was the chief country of emigration, the United States of America - the chief country of immigration. (11)

The immigration of Russian Jews in the United States was not a new event. Between 30,000 and 50,000 refugees

arrived on these shores in the years prior to 1881. In the early seventies, several thousands came at once and even called to life special aid organizations to assist their settlement. But this first mass immigration was forgotten. The aid organizations had dissolved.

In spring 1881 the American public was alarmed by the reports about the cruel persecution of the Jews in Russia. The news came that many of the oppressed wanted to seek refuge in the United States. Immediately the leaders of American Jewry got ready to extend their help. Simon Wolf contacted the government in an interview with Secretary Blaine in Washington on May 26. (12) The Jewish press appealed to the sense of responsibility of their readers. The editorials of the American Hebrew excell by their zeal for the cause of the persecuted. "It is time that we exert ourselves to some purpose that we may lead these our brethren from their bondage and their danger of worse to come. This is not the time to... indulge in maudlin speculations ... The duty is fastened ... upon Israelites throughout the world ... of providing some spot on this great globe of ours whither downtrodden Jews may flee to, and find safety." (13)

Another appeal in the same paper is connected with a practical proposal. "To those who come here, the ready hand must proffer aid ... The United Hebrew Charities should keep a Bureau of Employment whose province it shall be to place immigrants in positions for which their knowledge or

specialty fits them." (14)

The problem of the Russian Jews and of their migration to the United States attracted the attention also of the non-Jewish press. "Puck", for instance, printed a cartoon, "the Modern Moses", showing Uncle Sam dividing the Atlantic with his staff "Liberty". The press welcomed the refugees in the Land of Freedom. (15) The New York "Herald" seems to have been a black sheep. For its editorial policy apologizing for the actions of the Czarist government attracted an attack from the pointed editorial pen of the American Israelite (16)

The Russian situation was even discussed in the Congress of the United States. On December 6, 1881, the President, Chester A.Arthur, mentioned in his message to the Congress that the policy of the Czar's government was a threat to American Jews on business in Russia. (17) In March 1882, Representative James B. Belford introduced a resolution in the house requesting that the President protest against the cruelty with which the Jews in Russia were treated. The matter was referred to the Commission on Foreign Affairs. On May 2, 1882, President Arthur reported to Congress on notes which had been exchanged on the question between the United States and Russia. (18)

The excitement of the public at large is clearly shown in the fact that a resolution of protest against the Russian persecution of the Jews was incorporated in the Republican platform of June 7, 1882, in Columbus, Ohio.(19)

The leaders of the Evangelical Church of the United States, at a convention on January 30, 1882, also passed a protest resolution.(20) The famous preacher Henry Ward Beecher devoted a sermon to the subject. (21)

In the synagogues throughout the country, the rabbis preached on the misery of the Jews in Russia and appealed for help. Meetings were held in order to express sympathy with the sufferers. Collections were started.

On February 1, 1882, a meeting was called at Chickering Hall, New York. Mayor William R. Grace presided. Among the speekers were Chief Justice Noah Davis and the Christian ministers Rev.Dr. Howard Crosby, Rev. Dr. John Hall, and Rev. Dr. J.P.Newman. (22)

At a meeting held in Philadlephia on March 4, 1882, the Governor of Pennsylvania was present, besides the Archbishop, five bishops, many clergymen, senators,and congressmen. Mayor Samuel King was chairman. A resolution was drawn up which requested that the President send a note of protest to the Czar. $ 25.000 were subscribed at the meeting. (23)

A similar meeting took place in New Orleans on March 26. Before this, an aid society had already been founded which planned agricultural settlement of the refugees. (24)

A committee was working in Cincinnati since February 1882. (25) St. Louis formed its "Exiled Russians' Aid Committee" in March 1882. (26) The Jewish communities at Houston, Texas and Nashville, Tennessee were among the first

ones to follow suit. (27)

In the summer of 1881 the first refugees arrived, in small groups in the beginning. The first larger group of 250 immigrants, mostly member of the Am Olam Society landed in New York on July 29. (28) The public was interested in these victims of Russian barbarianism. The New York "World", for instance, interviewed some of the early immigrants about the riots which they had witnessed. (29)

During the first mass immigration of East European Jews in 1870, the Board of Delegates of American Israelites had done the most efficient work in assisting the immigrants. They had taken upon themselves the task of providing food, lodging, employment, and education for the refugees. (30) In the meantime, the Board of Delegates had been fused with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Its work was taken over in this emergency by the Board of Delegates on Civil and Religious Rights of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. In August 1881, this board issued a circular which was also published in the Jewish press. The pamphlet said that the Alliance Israélite Universelle was sending Russian refugees to this country. It appealed to the Jewish public to contribute to a fund for the immigrants and to offer employment for them. J. Seligman of New York was appointed treasurer in charge of the collection. Committees cooperating with the Board were founded throughout the country. In July 1882, the following committees were working:

New York, New Orleans, Houston (Texas), St.Louis, Milwaukee, Rochester,N.Y., Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and Boston. (31) At this time, the functions of the Board in the immigration work were handed over to the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society. Only a fund for Agricultural Colonization was preserved by the Union of American Hebrew Congregation. The further development of the activities of this organization as it is reflected in the Proceedings of the Union is typical for this campaign of refugee help as it is for almost any such campaign. The Report for 1882 (July) gives a plan for farm settlement in cooperation with European aid societies. American Jews are appealed to for moral and financial support. One year later, it is reported that fewer refugees are arriving in this country, that committees are dissolving, that no immediate action is required. It is recommended, however, that connection be kept up with the Alliance Israélite Universelle. From 1884 on, no mention of the refugee problem is found in the Proceedings of the Union until the next decade. (32)

The main burden of work for the immigrants weighed upon the New York organizations. On August 18, 1881, the United Hebrew Charities issued their first appeal for help. The Committee meeting on September 14 was informed that 18 refugees had already been received by the organization, that 48 were on their way to New York, that 200 were expected to land in September, and 300 in October and Novem-

ber. $ 2.500 had been subscribed for the cause up to the day of the meeting. The plan was made to transport the immigrants South and West. The committee in Houston, Texas had already offered to take 50 families. (33)

Help for the immigrants was organized very efficiently in the beginning of the emergency. The European society dispatching the refugees to America informed the New York authorities in advance about the number of people in the transports and about their vocations. This information was published by the New York committee with the appeal: "Please notify us by telegraph whether you have places for any of these in your city." (34)

With the rising number of newcomers, the need increased, and the committee redoubled its efforts. A meeting was held in Temple Emanuel where a great number of Jewish notables discussed how to relieve the need. The Russian Refugee and Colonization fund was founded with Jacob H. Schiff as treasurer. An appeal for contributions was published on March 4, 1882, with the result that on the next day $ 27.175 were in the hands of Mr. Schiff. Altogether this fund collected $ 70.000. $ 57.000 of this sum was turned over to the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society which was called into existence in this year. Further contribution to the funds of the new organization came from the Alliance Israélite Universelle ($ 40.000), from the General Committee of Paris ($ 20.000), from the Berlin Com-

mittee ($ 35.000), and from the London Mansion House Committee ($40.000). The funds collected in 1882 amounted to $ 300.000. In the following year, $ 60.000 were gathered for immediate relief. (35)

When a group of immigrants arrived in New York they were met on the dock by an officer of the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society. Room and board was provided for them for one to three days. In some cases they were taken care of for seven days until work was found for them in New York or until the Society sent them farther into the country. The average costs per immigrant person were $ 7.00, later in the year $ 5.00. In order to cut down the expenses even more and to make help more efficient, temporary quarters were built on ground donated by the City of New York on Wards Island, and at Greenpoint, L.I. They were built to house 3,000 people, and still they proved to be too small for the tremendous mass of immigrants. (36)

The American Jews working for the refugees found their way blocked by difficulties which were almost insurmountable. The well planned organization of 1881 was soon rendered ineffective by the flood of immigrants. At a loss what to do, delegates from all big cities met in New York. They sent a complaint to the Alliance Israélite Universelle, that they did not send only strong and healthy people; for many of the newcomers were small businessmen unskilled for any labor, and unable to start in business because they did not speak

English. Even after being taught a light vocation, they did not like the work, and farming had proven too expensive for the Aid Society. The Alliance should therefore send only families who can take care of themselves, or the transport should be accompanies by a sufficient sum of money from the treasury. Preferrably they should send single men, and everybody should be informed about the hard work which would be required after their arrival in the United States. It was of little avail that after this report an international conference meeting in Vienna, in August 1882, resolved not to send any more refugees to the United States. The stream of immigration was no longer in their command. It continued to flow unchecked. (37)

By 1883, the Emigrant Aid Society was at the end of its financial means. To the new collection (see above p.18) the treasurer, Jacob H. Schiff himself contributed $ 10.000. By July 1883 there were about 3000 persons to be cared for by the Society. Most of them were women, children, and men who were unable to work. Difficulties arose even with those whom work was provided for. Many seemed to dislike the type of work which was given them. Part of them loathed both agricultural and industrial labor. The disappointment about the Promised Land caused dissatisfaction and excitability among the immigrants in the quarters of the Emigrant Aid Society in New York. The tension grew so high that fights started among the refugees when they were

moved into their new quarters. On October 14, even police had to be called in, and several rioters were arrested. (38)

The main reason for this tension seems to have been the tremendous social and cultural chasm between the immigrants and their benefactors. They could not understand each other - not only because they did not speak the same language, but because they lived in different worlds. The Russian Jews could not feel the good intention in the action of the American helpers. The ladies and gentlement of the aid committees in turn were unable to adapt their plans of assistance to the mentality of those entrusted to their care. This may explain the resistance which the immigrants often set against their protectors.

It explains also why a group of refugees, in 1881, feeling misunderstood and badly treated, turned to Michael Heilprin. Heilprin, though completely assimilated to American life, had not forgotten his East European origin. He was able to feel with the newcomers, and for the rest of his life he was a devoted worker in the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society. (39)

The branch committees had the same sad experiences, and many complaints came back to the Society in New York. The committee for Louisiana wrote that they did not have enough money to provide the new settlers with houses, food, seeds, tools, cattle, horses, etc. They threatened not to accept any settlers unless they were given $ 500 per

family. The committee at Syracuse, N.Y. informed the Society that if they would go on sending people who refuse to accept hard work and Sabbath labor, the refugees would be handed over to the authorities as vagabonds. The Chicago committee, too, complained that many whom they had given employment had left their positions and had become peddlers. (40) It is easily to be understood that the continuous disappointment affected the zeal of the workers. The Society no longer administered collective assistence but let the immigrants go individually, to industrial labor, to agricultural work, or to business, as they liked. Gradually they stopped their functions, and it was only in the years 1890 and 1891 that the new exodus from Russia awakened them to new activity. (41)

The second largest port of entry for the Russian refugees was Philadelphia. Philadelphia Jewry, too, built up an efficient aid organization, and since the smaller number of immigrants did not exhaust the resources of money and of human persistance as quickly as the influx in New York, the Philadelphia Emigrant Society kept up their work longer than the Soeiety in New York. Even before the protest meeting of March 4, 1881 (see above p.14) an organization meeting took place presided over by Mayor Samuel King. The banker Drexel was put in charge of the funds collected for the immigrants. Everything was prepared to receive the first group of refugees whose arrival

was signalled from Europe. The Pennsylvania Railroad put the depot in West Philadelphia, on thirty-second and Market streets at the disposal of the committee. It was furnished by the committee. Milk and meet kitchens were installed. Bathrooms, a dispensary, a sickroom, and even a barbershop were provided in the building. The committee opened its offices in 517 Arch Street. A good many clothes were donated. Physisians offered their services.

At the end of February 1882, the S.S. Illinois arrived from Liverpool carrying 325 Russian Jews. Among them, there were 86 women and 60 children. They were greeted by a big crowd on the pier. The cooperative English Pennsylvania Railroad Company had cars and an engine ready on the dock which brought the immigrants to their temporary domicile. The committee clothed and fed them there, until they could provide employment for them.

In 1884, a new home was opened for the refugees on 931 South Forth Street. During the first year of its existence, 948 persons were provided with meals and lodging. About 900 applications for employment were received, and in most cases a position could be found for the applicant. In October of the same year, the Association of Jewish Immigrants was chartered. They took care of the arriving refugees throughout the decade. Mr. Moses Klein met every boat arriving in Philadelphia as the officer of the Association. In 1884, 1076 persons were received; yet all

but 141 were sent on to other cities. Two years later , as many as 2310 refugees landed in Philadelphia. But even this number was more than doubled in 1891. (42)

There are no exact and complete statistics for the immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe to the United States for the decade from 1881 to 1890. Both the Jewish Encyclopedia and J.D.Eisenstein in his L'toldoth gole russia b'amerikah give statistics for every year of this period. Yet sources are quoted for only part of the figures - which, by the way, are different in both books - and later historians discovered that they are completely erroneous. The writer had taken the figures of the total immigration from Russia to the United States to indicate the Jewish immigration from that country. The fact that in 1899 - the first year when official statistics on both nationality and denomination were kept - only 40 % of the immigrants from Russia were Jews shows the discrepancy between the statistics of the Encyclopedia and the true number of Jewish immigrants. (43)

This criticism of the French writer L.Hersch was used as the basis for a reconstruction of correct statistics for the years previous to 1899 by Samuel Joseph. He collected his figures from the records kept by the Immigrant societies in the three principal ports, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. They dated from 1886, 1886, and 1891 respectively. The figures for the years

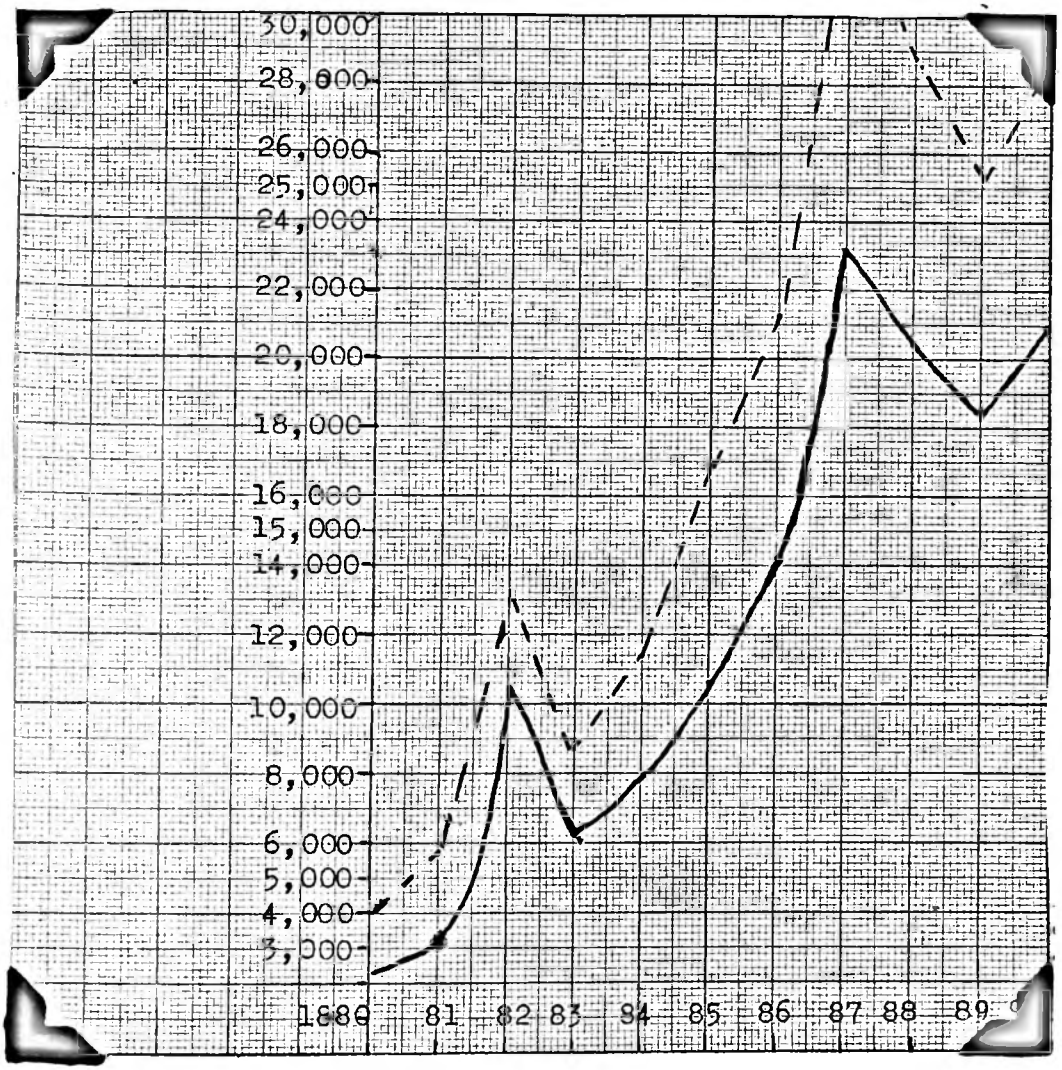
1881 - 1885 were computed mathematically. (44)

In the following, an excerpt from Samuel's statistics is given. The first column gives the number of Jewish immigrants, the second the total number of Jewish immigrants. The third column is the relation of the Russian-Jewish to the total Jewish immigration in percentiles. The fourth column indicates,how many Jews immigrated in percentiles of the total immigration. The fifth column indicates, how many Russian Jews immigrated in percentiles of the total Russian immigration between 1881 and 1910. The last column indicates the same percentile relation referring to the total Jewish immigration between 1881 and 1910. (45)

	Immigration from Russia	total Jewish	Russian Jewish % of Jewish	% of total	% of Russian 1881 - 1910	Jewish
1881	3125	5692	54.8	0.9	0.3	0.4
1882	10499	13202	79.5	1.7	0.9	0.8
1883	6144	8731	71.4	1.4	0.5	0.5
1884	7867	11445	68.7	2.2	0.7	0.7
1885	10648	16862	63.1	4.3	1.0	1.1
1886	14092	21173	66.6	6.3	1.3	1.3
1887	23103	33044	69.9	6.7	2.1	2.1
1888	20216	28881	70.0	5.3	1.8	1.8
1889	18338	25352	72.3	5.7	1.6	1.6
1890	20981	28639	73.7	6.3	1.9	1.8
total of decade:	135003	193021	69.9	- -	12.1	- -

An inofficial estimate says that 70 % of this number stopped in New York. (46)

Compared with the figure of total immigration from Russia, the figure of Jewish immigration is very high. The



This graph illustrates the flow of immigration to this country. The drawn out line represents the immigration of East European Jews. The broken line stands for the total Jewish immigration. The figures given on p. 24 are used as the basis of the graph.

135,003 Jews from Russia form 63.3 % of the total Russian immigration of this decade. It is interesting to watch the rising of the percentage above average in critical year. While in no year of the decade discussed in this essay the percentage reaches the height of 1891 (91.6 %), the results of the strengthening of reaction in Russia may be seen in the high percentages of the years 1886 (79.2 %) and 1887 (75.1 %). (47) The fact that the absolute figures of the last two years of the decade also are comparatively high may be due to the millions donated by Baron de Hirsch for the settlement of Russian refugees. (48) The regularity of the stream of immigration from Russia is noticed by several experts. The figures show a steady rise on which the political events cause but slight irregularities. (49)

Very few additional statistical facts can be given for our period. It is true, Hersch offers general statistics for the Russian Jewish immigration. According to his tables 57 % of the East European Jewish immigrants were male, 43 % - female. 25 % were children under 14 years, 70 % were between 14 and 45 years, and 5 % above 35 years. 26 % were illiterate. 45 % of the men were without vocation. Of the rest, 1.3 % were professional men, 67 % skilled laborers, and about 32 % had miscellaneous vocations. These figures, however, should be accepted cautiously for our period. For they are abstracted from the official statistics of the years 1899 - 1910, and the composition of the immigrant

group varies in the different periods both as to sex and as to vocation.

In the beginning, Russian Jewish migration was a scout movement. Strong young men left their homes in order to find new places for settlement. The period previous to 1881 and the first years of our decade belong to this phase. The following years bear the character of a family movement in which the number of women and children is above average. Thus it was the policy of the Alliance Israélite to send first single men and to let their families follow after these men had established residence. As to vocational grouping, the development goes from the peddler and independent small businessman to the skilled and the industrial laborer. As mentioned above, these changes cannot be stated statistically, and probably the deviation from the figures quoted from Hersch is rather small. (50)

Only a negligible influence upon the rate of immigration was exerted by the various attempts of legally restricting immigration. The demands that the borders be closed for foreign laborers were opposed by liberals. The argument was forwarded that closing the doors would be false economics, that there is enough room in this country for valuable human material. It was said that the jealousy of the workers was unreasonable, for the "demand for labor or its reward grow rapidly in times of immigration." (51) It was stated that immigrants produced new values, that therefore not

immigration should be stopped, but that merely morally and physically inferior people should be kept outside of the country.

In February 1885, the Contract Labor Law was passed, which prohibitted anybody to make a contract with an American employer before entering the country. (52)

Before this, another law had been issued regarding immigration. A head tax of half a dollar was to be collected from every immigrant through the shipping companies, starting August 1882. (53)

In the same year the law that unwanted immigrants should be deported was applied more strictly than before. The United Hebrew Charities, New York, opposed the rigid measures. They started a test case appealing to the courts in behalf of the immigrants Aaron Slomowitz and companions who were subject to deportation. Before the trial, however, the unhappy immigrants were shipped back to Europe by the immigration officials. The United Hebrew Charities therefore requested from the government that immigrants be examined in Europe in order to save them from the sufferings of deportation. From then on, an agent of the organization boarded every boat landing in New York in order to take charge of the arriving refugees. (54)

IV. SETTLEMENT

OF EAST EUROPEAN JEWS IN THE UNITED STATES

1881 - 1890

1. The East European Jews in the Various States (53)

Illinois

C h i c a g o

Three congregations of East European Jews existed previous to 1881 in Chicago: Beth Hamidrash Hagodol Ubnai Jacob, founded 1867; Congregation Ohavai Sholom Mariampol, founded 1870;Congregation Anshe Kenesseth Israel, founded 1875. There are reports that in 1893 more than twenty chartered congregations existed, and in 1901, there were 37 congregations. It is therefore probable, that a good many Russian Jewish Congregations were founded in the period between 1881 and 1890. (54)

It is known that in the years 1881 and 1882 approximately two thousand Russian refugees reached Chicago. They were taken care of by the Russian Refugee Aid Committee. The Committee provided a home for the newcomers for about three weeks. Most of them were able to make their living after this time. The Chicago Women's Aid organization furnished a sewing shop for the immigrant women. (55)

The Russian Jews soon formed their own organizations. In 1886, Jewish workers were involved in the strike riot on Haymarket Square. One Jew was among those executed for throwing a bomb. After this event, a number of Jewish workers' unions were founded, mostly in the needle industry. The Jewish Workingmen's Educational Club had in its ranks

a good part of the Jewish working class. It posessed a library in its rooms on 450 Canal Street, and lecture were offered to its members. (56)

In 1889 a Hov've Zion group was founded which, in the beginning counted 50 and soon after - 70 members most of whom were young and middle age people. (57)

P e o r i a

The fact that in 1881 the Peoria Hebrew Relief Association was founded with the express purpose of assisting Russian refugees points to a numerous immigration of these people into the community. The mentioned English association succeeded in raising $ 1500 at its foundation. It attempted mainly to provide employment for the newcomers. (58)

R o c k I s l a n d

A congregation of East European Jews was founded in this town in 1881. The leader of the community was Mr. M. Morris from Slabody, Suwalk. He was "the dealer" of the town, and the other members of the congregation were "his" peddlers. The congregation provided an orthodox education for their children. (59)

Iowa

Iowa is the only state of the Union for whose Jewry an impartial and exhaustive history was obtainable. The facts about the Russian Jews in the various cities of the state shall be reproduced here, since they probably give

a typical picture of the settlement of East European Jews in a rural state. (60)

C e n t e r v i l l e

There were Jews, probably of East European origin, living at Centerville since 1881. Only in 1892 did they organize the Congregation B'nai Israel.

D a v e n p o r t

No orthodox congregation existed in Davenport in the eighties. The few Russian Jews who lived there had to go to Rock Island, Illinois, for services.

D e s M o i n e s

There was a strong separated East European settlement in Des Moines since the time after the Civil War. In the course of time the Russian Jews there organized the congregation B'nai Israel. They had a synagogue with regular services. They had a hazzan and a shohet. There was an active communal and social life.

The new decade brought a large number of new settlers, mainly from the province of Suwalk. A typical story of a successful immigrant is that of Mr. Falk Brody. He landed in New York in 1881. There he became a glazier. Soon, however, he joined his nephews in Des Moines. He started a "peddlers' supply" business which finally developed into a thriving wholesale house.

The difference between the older settlers from Eastern

Europe and their newly arrived compatriots became evident in the secession of a separate minyan from Congregation B'nai Israel. To the seceding members and to a number of immigrants even the orthodox B'nai Israel were not orthodox enough. Growing fast in the years of mass immigration the minyan soon became the Congregation Beth El Jacob.

The B'nai Israel also flourished. In 1885, they built a synagogue. Only once did they engage the services of a rabbi for a short time. As a rule a hazzan and shohet was the leader of the congregation.

Dubuque

In Dubuque, too, the East European immigration started in the eighties. But a congregation was only founded in 1894.

Muscatine

Russian Jews settled in Muscatine since 1882. In 1890, they organized the Congregation B'nai Moses.

Sioux City

A group of East European immigrants settled in Sioux City in 1888. While in the other towns of the state the Russian Jews, like the older settlers, played the same rôle as the Jews do, even today, in commercial centers of farm districts, the rôle of the businessman buying from and selling to the farmers, in this city the Jews from Russia formed a poor though industrious working class. They were employed in factories. A number of them were peddlers.

Kentucky

L o u i s v i l l e

Until 1881, the East European Jews in Louisville were affiliated with the conservative Congregation Beth Israel. In 1881, they were stroing enough to organize their own congregation - B'nai Jacob. By the end of the century there were five Russian Jewish congregations in Louisville, some of which may date back to the eighties. (61)

Maryland

B a l t i m o r e

After New York and Philadelphia, Baltimore was the most important port of immigration for the East European Jews. A strong Russian Jewish community therefore arose in this city. Before 1881, there were already the Bikur Cholim Congregation and the Russian Congregation Benai Israel. Soon the various Landsmannschaften organized themselves as congregations and minyanim. In 1889, there were the following congregations besides those of the German Jews:

Chizuk Emunah on Loyd st. near Lombard st.

Shearith Isfael on Greene and German Streets

Bikur Cholim on High Street near Fayette Street

Oheb Shalom on Hanover and Hill Streets

B'nai Israel on Exeter Street near Fayette Street

Ez Chayim in Exeter Hall

Mikra Kodesh, the socalled Prokoyer Shul, on S.High St.

Ahshe Chesed Bialystock on Forrest Street

B'nai Jacob in China Hall

B'nai Israel on South Bond Street.

Although there may be one or two Hungarian or Roumanian congregations among this list, it gives an idea of the decentralized organization of the Russian Jews.

The immigrants were assisted by the Hebrew Benevolent Society and other Charitable institutions. Soon, however, they formed their own social, charitable, and educational organizations which made them more and more independent from the help of the American Jews. Early in the eighties, a Hebrew school was organized. First, it met in a rented room, later - in its own building on High Street. Instruction took place in English. In 1889, the Hebrew Literary Society was established. With the assistance of Miss Henrietta Szold, night school classes were instituted for English, History, and for the preparation for citizenship. The Society also provided lectures by men like Rabbi Bettelheim and A.Harkavy. In the same year, a Hevrah Hov'ye Zion was founded. (62)

Massachusetts

Although, according to the Jewish Encyclopedia, East European Jews settled in most of the cities of the state during the eighties, and although most of Boston Jewry is of Russian origin, no information could be found about their congregational organization. We know that,in 1889,the United Hebrew Charities, New York, sent a group of Russian

settlers to N o r t h A d a m s, Massachusetts, and that, two years later, this group constituted a congregation and built a synagogue. Also in 1889, a Hov've Zion group was organized in B o s t o n. This gives reason to conclude that there was a large number of East European Jews already settled in this city. (63)

Missouri

East European Jews immigrated in large numbers in S t. L o u i s and in other cities of the state. In 1882, the Exiled Russians Aid Committee was organized. Later, the United Hebrew Relief Society took charge of the immigrants. No information could be secured about the congregations of the Russian Jews. (64)

Nebraska

O m a h a

The Congregation B'nai Adas Israel was organized by Russian Jews in this city in 1886. (65)

New Jersey

E l i z a b e t h

In 1889, the Holche Yosher Congregation was organized. This congregation counted 43 members, in 1904.

N e w a r k

Russian Jews lived in Newark in considerable numbers since the sixties. They made up part of the B'nai Abraham Congregation. In the time of mass immigration, however, several new East European congregations came into existence.

In 1889, the Plaut family erected the Plaut Memorial School for the religious instruction of the children of immigrants. (66)

New York

B u f f a l o

East European Jews immigrated in Buffalo as early as 1882, and it is more than probable that one or several of the five Russian congregations mentioned in the Jewish Encyclopedia were organized in the eighties. (67)

E l m i r a

Russian Jews settled here since 1881. Their first congregation, Shomre Hadath, was founded in 1883. In 1888, a second congregation followed, Chevra Talmud Torah. (68)

N e w Y o r k C i t y

New York is the big flood gate of immigration from Europe. In this tremendous sluice, the streams of population from across the Ocean gather. They stay for some time, before they spread slowly all over the Continent, and each of them leaves at least a sample in the huge basin. Thus the statistics of the population of New York City would be the most sensitive barometer for immigration from Europe - if only there were exact statistics available for the time with which we are concerned.

A considerable number of East European Jews lived in New York at the beginning of the eighties. They had

several large congregations and more than a score of Landsmannschaft organizations and minyanim. A real ghetto had developed on the Eastside - a basis for what was going to be the largest Jewish community of the world. For the influx of East European Jews in the eighties was to change completely the appearance of New York Jewry. The ballance began to shift more and more toward the side of the Russian immigrants, while the dominating class of German Jews became a minority. In 1890, an estimate placed the number of East European Jews equal with that of the German Jews - 50,000. The same estimate spoke of 25,000 Roumanian, of 25,000 Hungarian Jews, and of 50,000 Jews of different origin. (69)

Most of these East European Jews lived in the ghetto on lower Manhattan - East of the Bowery and South of Fourteenth Street. Under the bad living conditions of this tenement district, they led a struggle for life. Badly paid, laboring hard, mainly in the clothing trade, these Jews strove for a higher social and economic level, for independence. Even in this most densely populated spot of the United States, in an environment of filth and sickness, they still kept up the ideal of cleanliness. In the crowded holes which they called their homes they were proud of having blinking ranges and white sinks. They had a goodly number of Russian baths in the ghetto, and the religious institution of the Mikvah was an additional factor to further bodily cleanliness.

The dietary laws helped to provide good, fresh meet. The taste of the Russian Jew added another healthy factor to the diet of the inhabitants of the ghetto: fish, preferrably herring. However, they were reported to be moderate eaters. They were moderate also in the use of drugs: they consume little alcohol - therefore the small number of saloons in the ghetto; they do not like much coffee, but they drink much tea - therefore the large number of tearooms in the Jewish neighborhood; they take tobacco in the form of cigarettes and of snuff - this is the judgment of the sociologist. These circumstances explain why the Jewish population, despite the bad housing conditions, had the lowest death rate of all the groups in the temement district, Italians, Irish, Bohemians, etc. Of course, there still was a great deal of filth and sickness among the newcomers who were not yet adjusted to this environment. (70)

The organization in innumerable small and small and smallest congregations weekened Russian Jewry in New York, and New York orthodoxy in general. Close to two hundred places of worship were reported to exist in the city in 1880.(71) Another report, of 1887, speaks of 130 orthodox congregations and 110 minyanim and clauses.(72) A third report mentions 146 congregations and 112 hevroth, in 1890. 30 of these congregations are said to have their own synagogue buildings. (73) New congregations were perpetually growing on the East Side, and the older ones

gradually moved north, as the Jewish population moved north. In many cases the congregational organization was very loose, and the members met only for services on the high holidays.

The oldest among the congregations of East European congregations in New York was theBeth Hamedrash Hagodol. Started,in 1852, by a handful of men, it had grown to be a large and rich congregation. Through many secessions it had given rise to a goodly number of flourishing daughter congregations. At the beginning of the decade, the Congregation had services in the synagogue on Ludlow Street which they had built in 1872. Their leader was the able Rabbi Ash, who was assisted by the wellknown scholar Judah David Eisenstein. They had a cantor, Simha Samuelson, a shohet, and a bakery for matzoth. They had organized a Hevrah Mishnayot and a Hevrah Shas who met every morning and every evening after services.

The development of the early eighties somewhat foreshadowed a deplorable situation which has not yet been quite remedied among orthodox congregations in this country. There was strong competition between the Beth Hamedrash Hagodol and other Russian congregations, and each congregation sought to make their services more attractive by employing famous cantors. Cantor Samuelson drew a salary of $ 700 in 1880. In 1885, the salary was increased to $ 1,000. In this year, the famous Hayyim Weinschel was called to the Congregation in order to compete with the Kalwarier

Congregation who had Cantor Kupfer. Of course, these famous artists received high salaries. In 1886, Cantor Michailovski was paid $ 4,500. Kehal Adath Yeshurun even paid $ 5,000 to Cantor P. Minkowsky and his choir. (74)

In 1885, the Congregation moved to Norfolk Street, where they had bought a Methodist church. They were thriving. They were able to extend their philanthropic activities, to send contributions to the Orphan's Home in Jerusalem and to the Hospital in Hebron. The high rating of the Congregation Beth Hamedrash Hagodol is shown by the fact that Dr. De Sola Mendes and Rabbi Pereira Mendes examined their religious school. In 1886, the Congregation had 190 members. From that time on, a downward development began. People moved away to "better neighborhoods", and the membership of the Congregation decreased, not so much in quantity as in quality. (75)

The Congregation, despite progressive elements, was strictly orthodox. Rabbi Ash was of uncompromising strictness. He opposed vehemently the preaching of Reform Rabbis in orthodox synagogues, and he published a pamphlet against this practice. At the same time, he was a pioneer of the idea of a union of orthodox congregations; for he had recognized the destructive effect of the disorganization of orthodoxy. (76)

Other important Russian congregations in the eighties were the Allen Street Beth Hamidrash under the leadership

of Rabbi Alperstein, and the Suwalker Congregation under Rabbi M.Weinschell. This latter Congregation bought a building on Forsyth and Grand Streets which, besides a room for services, contained mikvoth and offices for the Congregation. (77)

Early in the eighties, the territory of settlement for the East European Jews was extended from Manhattan to Brooklyn. In 1882, the Williamsburg district was opened; in 1886, Brownsville followed. Soon, congregations came into existence even on that side of the East River. In 1887, the Brooklyn Beth Hamedrash Hagodol was founded. Shabsi Rosenberg was its rabbi. Two years later, this congregation opened its own School for Biblical Instruction. In 1888, the Chevra Sfard Anshei Leibowitz was incorporated, and in 1890 - the Congregation Ahawath Sholom Beth Aron. (78)

It was an irony of history that the favorite plan of Rabbi Ash, the organization of the New York orthodox congregations, should be realized but a few months after his death. Since 1879, Ash strove to bring about some kind of union among the congregations. He recognized the need of such an organization; for the independence with which the leaders of congregations and hevroth operated brought about a chaos. The number of "rabbis" who, whether authorized or not, issued kidushin and gitin, added to the disorder and to the controversies. Rabbi Ash did his best in order to secure the peace among the

rabbis and the congregations. At the same time he worked in order to bring about the necessary organization.

A chief rabbi was to stand at the head of the New York orthodox community. Following an appeal which was sent to all congregations in 1879, they elected Rabbi Malbim; but he refused to come. The next Chief-Rabbi-elect was Rabbi Hillel Lipshitz in Suwalk; he, too, declined the office. The election of Rabbi Zvi Hirsch, the son of Rabbi Yizchak Elchanan of Kovno, did not lead to a practical result either, Another election in December 1886 was in favor of Jacob Joseph of Vilno who accepted the invitation to become the chief rabbi of New York orthodox Jewry.

Before Rabbi Joseph arrived in this country, the organization of the orthodox congregations was constituted. In May 1887, the month of Rabbi Ash's death, the first meeting of representatives of the congregations took place. The participating congregations pledged a sum of 2,500 dollars, and in December, the Association of American Hebrew Congregations was chartered with Mr. Jonah Jones as its head.

In 1888, a committee of thirty under the leadership of Judah David Eisenstein drafted a constitution for the organization. The preamble of this constitution stated that the purpose of the Association was "to strengthen the faith of Israel", and that the Association was founded on the principle of "torah, avodah, ug'miluth hasadim". In the constitution, the chief rabbi stood merely as a figure head. Unable to give s'mikhah, he acted merely as an arbi-

trator in cases which were not brought before public courts. An interesting paragraph in the constitution deals with the get. It states that the religious divorce is only of importance for the religious sphere, and that there is no connection with or infringement upon state rights.

The very author of the constitution, however, J.D. Eisenstein, was not too optimistic about the organization. He did not believe that people took seriously both the union and its laws. Controversies over the most unimportant points endangered the union from its beginning.

Finally, in August 1888, Chief Rabbi Jacob Joseph landed in New York. Three thousand people listened to his first d'rashah. But already opposition against him started. Some American rabbis felt slighted. They scorned any infringement upon their authority. The congregations refused to contribute to the chief rabbi's salary. He therefore had to make his living from the tax which was levied on the kosher meat. This tax, in turn, was hated by the community at large, and it even led to consumers' strikes in later years. Thus the Association of American Hebrew Congregations, upon its very birth, bore the marks of decay, and, indeed, it was not granted a long existence. (79)

The large Jewish population with its great number of children, and with its tremendous thirst for learning was in need of schools all the time. The charitable "Uptown Jews" were always ready to assist the poorer popu-

lation in erecting institutions for both secular and religious education. In 1880, the Hebrew Technical School for Girls was founded, and in 1883, the Hebrew Technical Institute for Boys followed. These schools mainly taught the tailoring trade. They also helped their graduates find employment. The Hebrew Free School which was also supported by the German Jews was frequented by 2500 pupils. The Louis Down Town Sabbath and Daily School on 267 Henry Street had 300 girl pupils on Saturdays who were provided with a lunch. This school also gave vocational education along with the regular curriculum, and it assisted its graduates in finding employment. The Machzikay Talmud Torah, founded in 1883, gave a traditional religions education to boys in a four year course. In 1890, it was frequented by 1400 pupils, and it had a teaching staff of twelve. This school was run by Russian Jews, but it, too, was dependent on financial support from wealthy Jews. Yeshibath Ez Hayim was devoted to the study of Mishna and Talmud. There were Talmud Tora schools in different parts of the city, and every larger congregation had its owh religious school. The good intellectual background of the Talmud-trained Russian Jews made them advance quickly in all fields of learning. The rabbinical field naturally opened the best prospects for them. Thus the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, since its foundation in 1887, recruited its students mainly from among East European Jewry. (80)

An interesting institution was the Aguilar Free Library, 206 E Broadway. It was founded by members of the Young Men's Hebrew Association and of the Hebrew Free School Association. Jacob H.Schiff made the foundation possible by a donation of $ 10,000. For the management of the library, the Aguilar Free Library Society was organized by the founders. This library which,located though in the poorest Jewish district, had a circulation of 2,600 volumes per month was also a place where "green" immigrants could get information and where the sick could receive medical advice from good physicians. (81)

The charitable activity of New York Jewry for the Russian immigrants has been mentioned already in connection with immigration. This activity extended further, however, than the New York docks. Throughout the decade, the East European Jews were one of the main factors in the accounts of the United Hebrew Charities of New York. It was only for one year, 1882, that the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society took over the main work for the newcomers.

Founded in 1874, when several charitable organizations merged into one, the United Hebrew Charities were devoted to regular benevolent activities. They were unprepared for the emergency of the mass immigration. In 1881, the basement of 15 State Street was acquired as a shelter. After a short stay there, the immigrants would be sent to find their own dwelling places in the poorer districts.

In cooperation with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, offices were established on 58 St. Mark's Place. The task of these offices was to distribute charity to and to find employment for a tremendous number of people. The year 1882-83 brought a 53 % increase of applications compared to the previous year. Expenditures of the United Hebrew Charities rose from $ 55,000 to $ 90,000 - regardless of the $ 250,000 spent by the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society. Relief was given by the United Charities in form of cash, clothing, medical, and maternal help. The most constructive work was done by the employment bureau of the organization. It is the needle trade which has the highest number in its statistics. The bureau worked hard to find employment outside of New York, in order to relieve the great pressure of the growing population from this city. The project of industrial settlements failed in 1887. In 1889, under the management of Arthur Reichow, the bureau succeeded in sending squads of workers to Marlborough, Conn., Glenville, Conn., Marathon, N.Y. Cumberland, Md., Binghampton, N.Y., North Adams, Mass., even as far as Indianapolis, Ind., and Denver, Col. The United Charities paid the passage to these people, and often they provided them with tools. To what extent the services of the organization were claimed by the East European Jews is shown by the fact that among the 3,833 applicants who were given employment in the year 1889-90, 2804 were of Russian extraction. The German Jews were contributing

generously to the funds of the organization. In 1882 alone, $ 300,000 were collected. From 1890 on, the Baron De Hirsch Fund helped to carry on the work. (82)

The Young Men's Hebrew Association took upon themselves a different but hardly less important phase of the charitable work for the underprivileged immigrant population. They gave a series of affairs in the downtown district which were both entertaining and interesting. Men like Dr. Huebsch and Rabbi Mendes were the speakers. (83)

The more safely the East European Jews were settled, the more extensive and the more self-sufficient grew their own charitable institutions. There was a great number of hevroth for various good purposes, and relief societies were connected with some of the congregations. The Beth Hamedrash Hagodol, for instance, organized a Passover Relief distribution in 1888. They achieved an annual average of $ 800 which were given away in form of cash, matzoth, and free meals. Some of the organizations shall be mentioned by name. There was the Kalisher Benefit Society. There was the Hachnasath Orchim Association, on 210 Madison Street, which provided food and shelter for transients. There was the Chevra Malbush Arumim, founded in 1885, who from the 5 ¢ weekly dues from their members gave clothes to the children of the Talmud Tora, and who constructed free baths in the Jewish district. In 1890, Russian Jews erected the Beth Israel Hospital with very little help from the outside.(84)

In the later eighties, groups of Hov've Zion, the early Zionists, began their activities among the East European Jews. In 1889, they had several organized groups in both Manhattan and Brooklyn. (85)

R o c h e s t e r

The influx of East European Jews caused a fusion of all Jewish charitable organizations of Rochester, in 1882, into the United Jewish Charities. After 1883, the Russian Jews founded their own congregations. (86)

S y r a c u s e

The congregations Adath Israel (organized 1882) and Poiley Zedek (1888) probably were of Russian origin. (87) The uncompromising attitude of the committee in charge of the immigrants at Syracuse has been mentioned already (above p. 21)

Y o n k e r s

The existence of an active group of Hov've Zion permits the conclusion that there was a numerous settlement of East European Jews at Yonkers in 1889. (88)

Ohio

C i n c i n n a t i

A considerable number of East European Jews, mainly Lithuanians, settled in Cincinnati in the two decades previous to 1880. They constituted the congregations Beth Tefillah (established 1869) and Beth Hamidrash Hagodol (1877).

From 1882 on, the settlement of immigrants from Russia was assisted by an active committee inspired by Isaac M. Wise, headed by Mr. Loth. Up to March 1882, 162 refugees arrived for whom $ 3,143.20 was expended by the committee. In May, the number of refugees had reached 200. (89)

The Russian congregations grew and had to move into larger quarters. Congregation Beth Tefilah bought a Baptist church on Carlisle Avenue. For some time, this church was used by the Jews on Saturday and by the Baptists on Sunday. Beth Hamidrash Hagodol moved to Fifth Street, between Plum Street and Central Avenue in 1886. A new congregation, Ohave Sholem, was founded in 1882 with twenty members. They met in a room on Broadway, moved to Sycamore Street in 1883. In 1886, they had twenty-five members. They changed to a different location, on Fourth Street. In 1889, this room also had become too small, and they moved to George Street.

In 1887, the Jewish Shelter Home, on George Street, was established by the Russian Jews. (90)

C l e v e l a n d

Previous to 1881, two Russian congregations had been organized in Cleveland, Anshe Emeth (1867) and Beth Hamidrash Hagodol (1868). The latter developed to be the foremost among the numerous East European congregations which came to existence during the years of mass immigration. (91) In 1882, the Congregation Ohave Emuno was founded. They worshipped on Central Avenue and East Ninth Street, and

in the following year, they built a synagogue on Hill Street. (92

Oregon

P o r t l a n d

In 1889, Russian immigrants founded the Congregation Neveh Zedeck. (93)

Pennsylvania

P h i l a d e l p h i a

Three congregations made up partly or fully of East European Jews existed in Philadelphia previous to 1881. The Congregation Cracower - Beth Elohim was founded in 1876. In 1879, it merged with the Cracower Hebrah. In 1877, the Hevrah B'nai Israel was organized. This congregation was the first one on the East Side, the part of Philadelphia which as early as the late seventies developed into a ghetto just as dirty and unsanitary as that of New York. This district extended between Front and Tenth Streets and from Pine Street to Washington Avenue. The decade of mass immigration poured about 15,000 new settlers into the ghetto. (This number includes Hungarian and Roumanian Jews.)

The immigrants felt the need of an own cemetery, since the German Jews were hesitant to allow burials on their cemeteries. Consequently a hevrah was organized which, besides taking care of the dead, assembled its members for daily prayer. The name of the society was Hevra B'nai Abraham Anshe Russia. It was founded in 1882 by 17 men who met for

services in a private home. Later, they rented a room on 514 Pine Street, and on the high holidays they used Liberty Hall. In 1885, they bought a church on Lombard Street for $ 7,500. At that time, the Congregation had about 200 members. The first rabbi of the Congregation was Israel Moses Sachs who immigrated from Neustadt in 1886. After his death, in 1889, Rabbi Eleazar Kleinberg occupied the office.

The Congregation B'nai Jacob was organized in 1883 by 13 men. They met at 725 Lombard Street until, in 1888, they purchased a synagogue with a beth hamidrash for $ 9,000. An additional $ 5,000 were invested in changing the building into a synagogue. This congregation was the first to bring a famous cantor, Mr. Weintraub with his choir, from Odessa. Since the majority of the Congregation were Hasidim, their first rabbi was a Maggid, Hayim Brodsky, of Bialistock. In later years, the Misnagdim become more numerous, and controversies arose.

The Hevrah B'nai R'uben Anshe Sfarad is a fine example for the type of private congregation which was not unfrequent among the East European Jews. The Congregation was founded in 1883 by Ruben Kanewski, a Hasid who knew little about the Jewish law but who had a good Jewish heart. Every Friday, he would bring presents to the poor. He possessed a Sefer Torah which he put at the disposal of "his" congregation. The Congregation moved from Pessionk Avenue to Monroe Street, and from there to their first

synagogue on Monister Street. In 1888, it was chartered as a congregation and benefit organization.

In 1887, the Congregation Rodfe Zedek Anshe Sagar was founded which merged with Congregation B'nai Jacob in 1894. Also in the late eighties, the Hevrah B'nai David was started on Lombard Street. The Congregation Ahabat Achim Anshe Nazin was founded in 1889 on Bainbridge Street. The Congregation Beth T'hillim, founded in 1883, worshipped on Tulip and Auburn Streets. (94)

It has been mentioned above, how efficiently the German Jews and also the non-Jewish inhabitants of Philadelphia assisted the East European immigrants. (pp. 21 ff) Even after their settlement in Philadelphia, the immigrants were taken care of by the local Jewish charity organizations. The United Hebrew Charities had a rising budget from 1882 on. Since the same year, the Jewish Foster Home was filled up to 75 % with children of Russian extraction. Patients in the Jewish hospital were distributed similarly: 34 % of them were East Europeans while before 1882 only 11.5 % had been of Russian descent. In 1886, young Jews organized an employment bureau for the inhabitants of the ghetto which placed an average of six hundred people every year.

The earlier settlers of East European origin were not inactive in assisting the newcomers. One of them, Jacob Judelson, was one of the originators of the Association for the Protection of Jewish Immigrants. Judelson had immigrated to Philadelphia in 1879,at the age of fourteen, from Mariam-

pol. Not even twenty years old, he agitated in both the Jewish and the general press of Philadelphia for the foundation of a special organization for the support of the immigrants. Having achieved his purpose in Philadelphia, he moved to New York where he had a hand in the organization of help extended to the immigrants. He died there in 1891. (95)

The adjustment of the immigrants of the eighties proceeded more slowly than that of earlier settlers. Since there was less opportunity for quick advancment, and since they arrived in larger masses, they did not become self - sufficient as quickly as their predecessors. It was only late in the eighties that the East European Jews in Philadelphia founded organizations of their own. In May 1889, B'rith Achim was organized as a lodge for mutual support of its members. The society fostered a liberal spirit, and from moderate beginnings, it grew quickly in both membership and financial means. In 1890, the Michael Heilprin Lodge, I.O.B.B. was founded. It consisted mostly of East European Jews. In the same year, the Society Hachnasath Orchim, the Wayfarer's Lodge, was organized. Its purpose was to distribute food and clothing among the poor, and to give shelter to immigrants, and to old people. The first home of the society was on Lombard Street. In the second year of its existence - 1891-92 - the report of the society told of 1,510 immigrants who had been taken from the boat, given board and room, sometimes clothes. 1,110

of them had been sent on from Philadelphia; 400 had been assisted in their settlement in the city. (96)

The great cultural interest taken by men in the lowest economic strata is typical for this period of Russian immigration. In 1885, a group of 13 people, shirt- and cigar-makers, founded what they called first the Russian American Association, and later the Hebrew Literature Society. Their program was to learn English, to hear lectures, to read and discuss books together. The first property of the organization consisted of a few books which were donated by the members, and which were kept in the apartment of a member on Margaret Street. The number of members increased. By 1887, when they moved into a room on Pine Street, they had a library of 3,000 volumes in Hebrew, Yiddish, Russian, German, and English. The location of the library had been moved several times before this date. Dues of $ 3 annually had been introduced, and a masquerade ball had been given in order to procure money for books. In order to carry out their program more fully, the Society turned to several Jewish institutions asking for lecturers. A strange answer was received from M. Sulzberger, the leader of the Y.M.H.A. Mr. Sulzberger wrote that the East European Jews should learn about American civilization by looking at the window displays on Chestnut Street. After becoming Americans, they may come and listen to the lectures of the American Jews gratis. Nevertheless, the Hebrew Literature Society instituted its

lectures, with speakers such as Rabbi Jastrow, Professor M. Jastrow, Rabbi Morais, etc. In 1887, the Society organized a bazar which was to show the progress of the immigrants in business, and in civilization.

Schools for the East European Jews also were organized relatively late in Philadelphia. In 1886, the Youn Men's Hebrew Association opened a night school; and it was not before 1892, that a Talmud Torah was founded.

There was a tendency among the Russian Jews in Philadelphia to get independent of the New York community in cultural activities, especially in regard to the press. In 1888, the plan was formed to issue a Yiddish paper in Philadelphia with Professor G. Selikowitz as editor. A stock company was founded with shares, $ 5 a piece. But the New York"Volksadvokat""kidnapped" Professor Selikowitz, and the plan failed. Only upon the fourth attempt, in 1892, the "Yiddishe Presse" was founded.

Like in other cities, the Lovers of Zion started their activities among the East European Jewsoof Philadelphia. In 1889, there was a Hov've Zion group with 200 members. (97)

Toward the end of the decade, Jewish workers began to organize themselves. A typical story is told by a worker, L. Zahn, of the shirt factory of Blum Brothers. The men there worked for a maximum wage of $ 7 a week. When they showed themselves unsatisfied, the owners of the factory gave them a banquet. Mr. Blum, in his banquet speech, told his workers

to help each other. They took up the suggestion and formed a union. They sent a committee to the Brothers Blum asking them for higher wages. Mr Blum addressed them with the words: "Herren Glaubensgenossen! Bedenken Sie was Sie tun! Der Herrgott wird Sie für Ihre Taten strafen!" - upon which the workers went on strike. On the third day, however, the strikers broke down and went back to work. Mr. Blum asked them to swear an oath upon the Bible that they would never strike again, and the workers complied. (98)

This was in 1889. The year 1890 brought the first general cloakmakers' strike in Philadelphia. From May 16 until August 15, 800 workers in 35 shops, 700 of them women, were on strike. (About 1500 people were working in this trade at that time.) These people were organized in the Philadelphia Cloakmaker Union No.1, and they struck for a closed shop (!). The strikers, however, had no money, and their suffering was terrible. Rabbi Morais tried to bring about peace, and he helped to ease the suffering. Finally the strikers lost, partly because of treason, partly because of police intervention.

At that time, there was already a Jewish Federation of Labor in Philadelphia, which included tailors, cloakmakers, bakers, etc. Their headquarters was on S.Fourth Street. Naturally, the workers' movement did not better the relations between the East European Jews and their more wealthy co-religionists. Religion here did not bridge the gap between

employer and employed, and the understanding attitude of Rabbi Morais was an exception. (99)

A more positive attempt of settling the problems of the laborers was the foundation of cooperative stores by Hyman Weinberg, a cigarmaker, in 1888. After organizing the first union of Jewish bakers who suffered under bad working conditions he started several cooperative stores: a shoe store on South Street near Fifth, a clothes shop on South Street near Broad Street, and a second shoe store on Second and Fitzwater Streets. In 1889, a cooperative department store was opened on South Street between Fifth and Sixth by H.Margolin. In the nineties, however, the cooperatives failed because of the indifference of the workers and their wives. (100)

P i t t s b u r g h

There must have been a numerous settlement of East European Jews in this city, for in 1889, an open letter was addressed to their rabbi, M.S.Sivitz, telling him that there was need for a Talmud Torah, since Jewish children were loafing. In the same year, there existed an active group of Hov've Zion. (101)

Tenessee

A committee, to assist Russian immigrants was founded in N a s h v i l l e, in October 1881. (102)

Texas

Immigrants were received by the Jewish community of

D a l l a s, thirty of them in March 1882. Most of them were placed on rented farms. (103) In H o u s t o n, a committee was formed in September 1881, which offered to take care of fifty immigrant families. (104) Also S a n A n t o n i o had East European immigrants. Up to January 1882, fourteen arrived there. (105)

Virginia

R i c h m o n d

Russian Jews began to immigrate in considerable numbers in 1883. At first, like their compatriots who had arrived before the eighties, thei affiliated with the orthodox Polish congregation, Kenesseth Israel. In 1886, they founded their own congregation, the Moses Montefiore Congregation on Main Street, between fifteenth and seventeenth streets. (106)

Agricultural Colonies

It has been mentioned already that the Board of Deputies for Civil and Religious Rights of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations early recognized the settlement of the immigrants as farmers as the ideal solution of the problem of the East European Jews. However, hardly anything was done by the Union to realize the plan, and it was severely criticised in the press for its delatoriness. The "American Hebrew" in several editorials reproached the Union. The editors even attacked the project as such. "Even if its (the Union's)

proposed colony were established ... we doubt if the Russian refugees would be found ready for it." They said that the immigrants were neither willing nor predisposed for farming, and they prophesied that the Jews' aspiration for commerce would soon break up the farm settlements. History verified the forecast of the journalists. (107)

Difficulties arose already when the first group landed in New York who were sent by the Alliance Israélite Universelle. Herman Rosenthal - who was later to become the leader of the first agricultural colony - had secured the means to settle fifty families. But when he presented his plan to the refugees who landed in July 1881, he was not well received. They rather turned to peddling or factory work.(108)

In some cases the reason for the failure of the colony was lack of preparation. Some Russian Jews, for instance, sold all their belongings in Philadelphia because they were to settle in California. Arriving there, they found that no preparations for a colony had been made. They were sent back to Philadelphia.(109)

The main fault, however, lay with the immigrants themselves, as the editors of the American Hebrew had seen it. They were unwilling and unfit for farm labor. In 1889, the "Sulamith" cleverly described the vicious circle to which this disposition subjected the East European Jews. The Jew wants to colonize in order to avoid the disadvantages of

onesided city settlement. He does not have the love and the skill necessary for farming. The American method of farming does its rest to destroy the small farmer. He loses his livelihood, and he moves back to the city enlarging the proletariate, increasing his own suffering, and playing into the hands of the anti-Semites. (110)

After a careful study of the sources, it became evident that the article Agricultural Colonies in the United States in the Jewish Encyclopedia is as concise and as exhaustive a presentation of the material as can be given here. Substantial passages from the article shall therefore be quoted, occasionally supplemented by a few statements from the available sources.

"The first agricultural colony of Russian Jews in the United States settled on S i c i l y I s l a n d, Catahoula parish, near Bayou Louis, Louisiana, in the eastern part of the state, not far from the Mississippi river. It comprised 35 families from Kiev and 25 families from Elizabethgrad, and had been partially organized in Russia. When the colonists arrived in America in October, 1881, they found that negotiations for the establishment of the colony in Louisiana had been completed by H. Rosenthal. A New York committee ... acting as representatives of the Alliance Israélite Universelle of Paris, France, advanced the colonists the sum of $ 2,800, nominally as a loan; and they posessed about $ 2,800 of their own. A tract of land comprising

about 5,000 acres, was purchased at $ 8 an acre. On their arrival at their future home, the colonists were lodged temporarily in three old houses that still stood on the property, which before the Civil War had been a plantation, and since than had remained uncultivated. Lumber (for the erection of small houses), horses, farm implements, cattle, poultry, etc., were forwarded to the settlement from New Orleans by a local committee of the Alliance, which, under the chairmanship of Julius Weiss, had taken charge of the affairs ofthe colony.

"The colonists, who numbered 173, were divided into three groups, so as to work most effectively on the land that had been purchased in three tracts. The ground was tilled, and corn, cotton, and vegetables were planted. The colonists worked with energy, building fences and g enerally improving the land, when, early in the spring of 1882, the entire region was flooded owing to an overflow of the Mississippi river - houses, cattle, implements, and crops being all swept away, and an expenditure estimated at ov er $ 20,000 was renedred nugatory. Some of the colonists removed to San Antonio, Texas, and St. Louis, Mo., while others purchased isolated farmes in Kansas and Missouri, where they are now successfully engaged in agriculture." (The description of the colony,issued by the Alliance in 1881, spoke of the tract as being outside the flood zone.(111))

The constitution of this colony is quite interesting.

The colony was directed by seven members who were elected for one year. The seven directors formed the first court to which all members had to appeal in law cases. Any support from the outside was given to the colony as a whole, and it was distributed evenly among the members. All produce of the soil was sold through the organization. No business could be carried on without the consent of two thirds of the members. Unruly members were subject to expulsion. No member was allowed to sell liquor in the colony. Also of interest is the list which tells the original vocations of the 50 men who were among the first settlers. There were 11 farmers, 20 businessmen, 3 teachers, 1 lawyer, 13 laborers, 1 student, 1 professor. (112)

"In July, 1882, Herman Rosenthal, a Russian from Kiev, president of the Louisiana colony, headed a group of 20 Russian families who settled on farms in the southeastern part of what is now South Dakota,and formed a colony which they called C r é m i e u x. It was situated in Davison county, fourteen miles from Mt.Vernon, the nearest railroad station, and twenty-six miles from Mitchell, the county seat. Most of the colonists had quarter-section farms of 160 acres each, while some of the farms covered as much as a square mile. (640 acres), Among the settlers were several families who had joined the ill-fated settlement in Louisiana. The colonists at Crémieux had means of their own, and the first year met with a fair measure of success. Oats, wheat,

rye, and barley were sown, andyielded good crops, while especial attentionwas paid to the raising of flax. In the secon year wheat was more extensively cultivated; but the wheat-bug made its appearance, and a large part of the crop was destroyed. In addition to this, a prolonged period of drought caused the death of many cattle. In the third year thunderstorms were so destructive to the standing crops that the colonists were compelled to mortgage their farms; but the rate of interest demanded on loans was so high that most of the settlers sold out and moved away. A few remained a year or two longer; but excessuve interest on their mortgages and a scarcity of water proved a combination too powerful for them, and in the latter part of 1885 they also left the settlement. The failure may likewise be attributed to the distance of the colony from the railroad and the county seat.

"Another attempt at Jewish colonization in South Dakota was made soon after, under the auspices of the Alliance Israélite Universelle. Twenty-five unmarried young men settled ... at a place which they called B e t h l e h e m - Y e h u d a h. They carried on their work upon a communistic basis; but, notwithstanding outside support, the experiment proved unsuccessful...

"An attempt to establish a Jewish agricultural colony in Colorado met with no better success. On May 9, 1882, 12 families were sent to C o t o p a x i in the state of

Colorado, with means furnished by the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society of New York. The colonists were settled on government land, 160 acres being alotted to each family; but of 1,780 acres 100 only were fit for cultivation. ... After many hardships the settlere were compelled to leave the colony. ...

"In the summer of 1882 a Jewish agricultural colony of socialists was established in the southwestern portion of Oregon, near the California line, by a party of Jews from southwestern Russia, who called themselves "Sons of the Free", and named their settlement N e w O d e s s a. ... Originally there were 40 persons in this settlement, most of them unmarried, and many of the would-be social reformers. A grave mistake was made in the selection of the land, bu one-fourth of it being capable of cultivation. Some of the settlers lost courage before the first harvest and went away. In March, 1884, 10 new settlers bought 760 acres for $ 4,800; of which about 100 acres were planted in oats, wheat, barley, and potatoes. A few of the colonists tried to support themselves by cutting ties and firewood for the railroad, but to little purpose. This colony, too, proved a failure, and was abandoned in 1888.

"An attempt was made to found a colony of Russo Jewish farmers in what is now North Dakota. This colony, known as P a i n t e d W o o d s, was located, in 1882, near the town of Bismarck. .... Owing to prairie fires and

sever drought during the winter of 1884-85, their losses were so heavy that there was much distress among the colonists. Before this period of misfortune began the population of the colony consisted of 71 men and 52 women and nearly 90 children. By the spring of 1885 only 40 colonists were left. ... About $ 20,000 had been spent upon the colony by the beginning of 1886. In that year the crops failed. .. In 1887 the colonists ... were obliged to give up."

The colony S i r M o s e s M o n t e f i o r e, established in 1884 in southern Kansas was of short duration. Its successor, a nine squaremile tract established by the Montefiore Agricultural Aid Society of New York near L a s k e r, Kansas, throve for some years, but in the end was also unsuccessful.

"Through the efforts of the Jewish community of Cincinnati another attempt at colonizing in Kansas had been made in 1882. This settlement, which was called B e e r - S h e b a, was located in Hodgeman county.... Owing to disputes between the colonists and the managers of the settlement the latter sold all the animals and implements, thus subjecting the former to many hardships. In order to earn a livelihood the farmers sought employment in Dodge City, Garden City, and other places, where they worked at trades while their families remained on the farms. They continued to struggle on, and in a few cases succeeded in making their farms moderately profitable; but as a colony the attempt

was not a success." All other settlements established in Kansas during the eighties - H e b r o n, G i l e a d, T o u r o, L e e s e r - met with the same fate.

A colony of 12 families settled by the Chicago banker Lazarus Silberman on the shores of Carp lake, Michigan, failed soon after its foundation in 1882. No better was the success of the colonies W a s h i n g t o n (1883) and W a t e r v i e w (1882) in Virginia.

The colonies of New Jersey were the only ones which were successful. The reasons for the success probably were their site close to New York an Philadelphia whose Jewries were ready to support the colonies, and the fact that the farmers supplemented the income from their soil by industrial work.

The colony A l l i a n c e - named after the Alliance Israélite Universelle, which provided funds for the establishment - was situated 43 miles southeast of Philadelphia, 4 miles from Vineland, the nearest market-town. In May 1882, 25 families settled, mostly from southern Russia. Soon their number increased to 67 families. They spent the first winter in three large wooden buildings, temporary shelters. They fed on common kitchens, their means of existence provided in part by the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society of New York. In spring, the colony of 800 acres was parceled into tracts of 15 acres each. Wooden shanties were built consisting of two rooms and a cellar. 150 acres were devoted to public

buildings, burial grounds, etc. The contracts with the farmers provided for payment within ten years of $ 350 for a 15 acre farm including a house. Each family received a monthly sum of $ 8 to $ 12 for nine months, and $ 100 worth of seed for planting. Some furniture, cooking utensils, and small farm implements were also given to the settlers. Very little of the farm land had yet been tilled. The Jewish settlers made their living partly as berry pickers, partly working for the neighboring Christian farmers. Upon the initiative of Mr.Moses W.Mendel, of New York, a cigar factory was erected in the colony which provided employment for the winter. After a year, the cigar manufacturing was discontinued, and the brick factory building was used as a shirt factory. Sweat work was from now on the supplementary source of income of the settlers. Individual families contracted work for the winter from New York and Philadelphia. A donation of $ 1,000 made possible the reestablishment of the cigar factory for some time. Nevertheless, and although more and more of the land was cultivated, the colony was not yet independent from the charitable gifts of New York and Philadelphia Jewries.

After a committee of notables had inspected the colony, the Mansion House Fund of London contributed $ 10,000 with which the Alliance Land Trust was founded. $ 7000 were necessary to pay off pressing mortgages. The remainder was spent on horses, cattle, and farm implements. Now the

farmers really felt that they possessed the land. More land was tilled, with the help of paid Christian laborers. Mainly grapes and berries were planted, and the following crops were good, producing values of $ 200 to $ 400. A further improvement was the erection of a model farm and of a canning house by Mr. Fels, of Philadelphia. After this, the settlers were no longer compelled to ship their products to New York and Philadelphia. The news of the success spread, and new settlers increased the population of the colony. Another financial crisis, in 1890, was overcome with the help of the Baron de Hirsch Fund.

For the year 1889, the statistics of the colony give the following figures: population 529, male 282, female 247. 123 persons above 40 years of age, 406 - below 40. Deaths 13 (9 of which children), 142 births, 32 marriages. 1400 acres were owned by Jews, 889 acres were cultivated. 28 Christian farmers owned 1573 acres on the territory. 16 Jewish families did not own land. Jews owned 92 houses, 63 barns, 39 wagons, 32 horses and mules, 59 cows.

In July 1888, the first synagogue of the colony, Eben Ha'Ezer, was dedicated, and at the same time the deed for the land were issued to the settlers. Two years later, a second synagogue, Tiphereth Israel, was erected, probably because of a split in convictions; for the colonists originated from various camps within Judaism, ranging from the uncompromising orthodox to the radical Am Olomnik.

The love for education among the colonists was great. Their various interests are best illustrated by the account of one of the first settlers, Sidney Bailey: "Mr. Stavitsky brought with him a Sefer Torah, Mr. Krossenstein the Talmud, and we (my wife and I) the works of Schiller and Goethe." Sure enough, all these elements were kept alive in the Sabbath school which was organized early in the eighties: "My wife read poems in Yiddish, from Rosenfeld and others, and also in German from Schiller and Goethe, and I spoke on Jewish current events and Jewish post biblical history and on Jewish ethics generally from the Scriptures and the Talmud"(113) The Board of Education built a public school in the colony. Some of the children went to high school at Vineland, and some even were sent to college. For the adults, the Alliance Land Trust instituted night classes. There were Friday night classes at the synagogues, and in the Eben Ha'Ezer synagogue, a library was kept. In the basement of this building even a stage was installed, on which a Philadelphia company gave occasional performances.(114)

Other colonies were founded in New Jersey, partly in the immediate neighborhood of Alliance. C a r m e l was founded in 1882 by 17 farmers who were assisted by Michael Heilprin. In 1889, the colony contained 286 persons of whom 150 were men and boys and 136 women and girls, living in 30 houses. 82 of the children attended the public school. The farms comprised 864 acres of which the Jewish

colonists occupies 848 acres although only 123 were under cultivation. During the winter the farmers supported themselves by tailoring. In the latter part of 1889, owing to a gift of $ 5,000 by Baron Maurice de Hirsch, 1,500 additional acres of land were purchased, and 36 new houses erected.

Rosenhayn was settled by 6 families sent by the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society from New York in 1883. Because of hard working conditions, the colony was soon abandoned until it was resettled in 1887. The same system as in the other Jersey colonies prevailed, small farming connected with tailoring, and by the end of 1889, Jewish settlers owned 1,912 acres at Rosenhayn, of which, however, only 261 acres were under cultivation. "There were 67 families, living in 23 houses, 6 of which were built by local Jewish carpenters. The population... amounted to 294, comprising 149 males and 145 females. Sixty of the children attended the public school."

Norma and Brotmanville, in the immediate vicinity of Alliance cooperating with this colony were chiefly settled by factory workers. Garton Road was a settlement started in 1888 by a single immigrant who was soon joined by other families. Estelleville and Montefiore were abandoned soon after their foundation.

From 1891, the Baron de Hirsch Fund was to help the colonies over their many difficulties. (115)

V. LIFE

OF THE EAST EUROPEAN JEWS IN THE UNITED STATES

1881 - 1890

The life of a group of population is not static. It grows. But it does not develop in a straight ascending line. It rather fluctuates. Tendencies appear and disappear at irregular intervals. What seems to be the start of a strong movement may ebb down only to rise again after a long time or even never to reappear. An element which is likely to be overlooked in its start because of its smallness may rise steadily until it acquires extreme importance in the group.

This statement is especially true for the East European Jewish immigrant group in this country during the last century. They were new in the country and yet unadjusted. Continuous influx of newcomers continually changed both the number and the social and economic structure of the group. It is therefore hard to estimate the import of a phenomenon upon the life and the history of this group; and it is difficult to trace and to evaluate movements and developments over as short a period as a decade. The limitation enforced by the topic of this essay hence is a handicap to the full representation of the life of the East European Jews in the United States. Instead, an objective account of phenomena is called for.

This part of the essay therefore is necessarily a topical arrangements of facts, part of which have been mentioned already in the foregoing chapters. Generalizations shall be made with utmost caution.

Charity

The philanthropic activities in connection with the East European Jews must be regarded under two different headings: charity of the earlier Jewish settlers toward the Russian immigrants and organization of mutual aid among the East European Jews.

In connection with immigration and with the settlement of Russian Jews in the various cities, the sacrificing work of American Jewry for the unhappy immigrants has been mentioned already. Side by side with gigantic donations like those of Baron de Hirsch - not an American Jew, but filling the American funds - there were collections of small and smallest gifts. Sabbath school children in Trinidad, Colorado, for instance organized a Refugee Aid Society to which each member paid five cents a week. (116) Even the children in the Clevelan Orphan Asylum made a collection of dimes. (117) The benefit of entertainments was dedicated to the immigrants. Instances are a picknick given in New York in June 1882, and the Hebrew Educational Fair in New York in 1889. (118) East European Jews had the advantage of institutions founded by American Jews for Jewry at large or especially for the immigrant population. The Montefiore Home in New York which was founded in 1884 for incurable patients who were not admitted to the Mount Sinai Hospital housed a great number of East European Jews. The Hebrew Sheltering and Guard Society grown from the former Deborah

Nursery in New York, in 1890, took care of 564 children, mostly of Russian extraction. In this year, there were four free schools in New York besides the industrial schools founded with a donation of Baron de Hirsch. (119)

Despite the grand helpfulness of the American Jews there was no harmony between them and the immigrant group. The tension even grew partly from the contact of the groups through caritative activities. Its reason was mutual misunderstanding. The Russian Jews often failed to see the good intention of those who took care of them. They often expected to be helped in a better or different way. Many disliked being placed on farms or on factory work. Others felt that charity which provided room and board in mass quarters was lowering and insulting. Many American Jews, on the other hand, did not approach their brethren from Russia with the right understanding. They believed that they had done their duty when they had taken them into their establishments. They expected gratitude even though they had their "protégés" work for them under miserable working conditions and for lowest salaries. Neither did they appreciate the difference in background. But they looked down upon the newcomers with contempt, and they expected from them immediate and complete assimilation. The remark of M. Sulzberger has been mentioned already. (above p.53.) Even a man as broadminded as Isaac M. Wise, understanding though the reasons of the immigrants' handicaps, made as

radical a statement as this: If they go on building that "demi-Asiatic Hassidism and medieval orthodoxy --- they will become a cancer on the body of Judaism." (120)

There were, however, people who thought and felt with the immigrants and thus formed a link between the two contrasted groups of Jewish population. There was, for instance, Michael Heilprin, who though of Russian extraction had become closely affiliated with the German Jewish group. (See above p.20) Remarkable for her deep understanding of the Russian Jews was the poet Emma Lazarus. Born in 1849, in New York, she was of Sephardic stock. Her family did not participate in the activities of the Synagogue or of the Jewish community. She was interested in things Jewish, yet "what was needed to make her a post of the people... was a great theme, the establishment of instant communication between some stirring reality and her still-hidden and irresolute subjectivity. Such a theme was provided by the immigration of Russian Jews to America.... Contact with the unfortunates ... led her to study the Bible, the Hebrew language,... and Jewish history. Besides, she suggested, and in part saw executed, plans for the welfare of the immigrants." The contact with the immigrants inspired some of her best poetry: "The Crowing of the Red Cock", "The Banner of the Jew", "The Choice", "The New Ezekiel", and "The Dance to Death".(121)

The charitable activities among the East European Jews were not planned on as wide a scope as those of the German

Jews. The welfare organizations, the Hebroth, were small, numerous, particularistic as to congregations and Landsmannschaften. The system of self-help was virtually the same as that which had been found most efficient by the early Jewish settlers in the States. The close connection with religious activities, on the one hand, and the direct and personal way in which relief was given, on the other hand, made the system of the Russian Jews comparatively efficient. Much was accomplished with small contributions. The small dues were used in the mutual benefit organizations for members who had come into distress. Charity to strangers, newcomers, or poor members of the community was often provided in the form of meals given directly by the contributors. The economic progress and social adjustment of the immigrants after 1881 was much slower than that of their Landsleute who had come prior to that date. Hence they formed special charitable organizations comparatively late. In the latter part of the decade they turned their attention mainly to the newly arrived refugees. The Hevrah Hakhnassath Orhim, in New York, founded by Mr. Brodsky in 1890, provided meals for the immigrants. On the High Holidays, they organized a free synagogue. Late in 1890, the Jewish Alliance was founded, mostly by East European Jews. This organization was to be kept in action during the years of increased immigration in the nineties. The feeling of responsibility of the Russian

Jews for their country of refuge is beautifully illustrated by the fact that the New York Hevrah Mishkan Israel Anshe Suwalker contributed $ 75 to the Johnstown flood relief, in 1889. (122)

Economic Life

The majority of the immigrants from Russia were small business people. Few were trained in vocations. Even fewer were farmers and laborers. Part of those whose passport identified them as farmers had never seen the soil. Their parents had been evicted from the villages, but they still had to register under the old vocation. (123)

Arrived in the United States the East European Jews were distributed in three field of employment: commerce, industrial labor, and agriculture. Commerce for the newly arrived Jew meant - peddling. The immigrant converted his property into salable goods at a peddler's supply store. There were many of these stores in the cities in the East, a good deal of them owned by East European Jews who had mad a little fortune peddling. They even gave goods on credit to their less fortunate compatriots. Peddling was connected with great hardships. They had difficulties in finding decent food - especially if they insisted on kosher food - and decent rooms. They were with their families almost only for Sabbath. Language difficulties and the antagonism of the customers had to be overcome. As soon as his profits enabled him to do so, the peddler

made up a store and settled down permanently. Many Jewish communities, especially in the rural centers in the Middle West grew in this fashion.

The more the country lost its colonial character the worse became the prospects for the Russian Jews nomadic vocation. Gradually, first in the East and in the larger cities, the wandering salesman had to cede the field to the stationery business house. In our decade, the East European Jews prospered as peddlers only in the rural districts.

The dwindling of business, and the signs of anti-Semitism frequently connected with it caused tragedies among the East European Jews, especially among those who were not yet adjusted to the new country. One case is told, where a man though cigar maker by vocation took to peddling. His wife had to help in the upkeep of the family by hard work. In a domestic quarrel, supposedly because of jealousy, the man shot his wife and then committed suicide. Five children were left by the couple. (124) During an epidemic of smallpox in Meridan, Connecticut, in 1889, Jewish peddlers were kept from working there while non-Jews were not bothered.(125) Even the police sometimes partially turned against the Jewish peddlers. (126)

Mainly on account of this antagonism against the outlandish salesmen, and on account of the unballanced economic structure of the East European group, the United Hebrew Charities favored a shift toward the vocations. For this pur-

pose the New York vocational schools were organized. (See above p.43) (127)

There was a group among the Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe who were against the engagement of the Jews exclusively in commerce. They were the members of the Am Olam movement. Numerically insignificant in the vast mass of immigrants from Russia, they were still important - the leaven of the group. They were mostly young people, intellectuals, students from the Russian universities and gymnasia, affiliated with the revolutionary movement in Russia. Their dream was the creation of a Jewish working class which would put an end to the suffering and the insecurity of the Luftmenschentum. This ideal would be realized in work on the soil or in the factory. The language of this well educated group was Russian. They were irreligious.

Members of the Am Olam movement were among the 250 immigrants who arrived on July 29, 1881. Another group of more than a hundred landed in May, 1882. Seventy of these immigrants were from Kiev under the leadership of N. Alainikow; the others came from Wilno. Their leader was M. Caspe. These two Landsmannschaften met during the trip, united pooling their belongings. But soon trouble arose, and the union broke up. Their plan was to found cooperative farm colonies. They actually took part in the upbuilding of the agricultural settlements in the United States, but they were no more or even less successful than those immigrants

to whom farm labor did not mean an ideal but merely a livelihood. Arriving in New York, the Am Olam group marched to the immigrants' home in Castle Garden in a parade. They had looked forward to a joyous welcome ceremony, and their disappointment was great when they found out that the band whom they met on the street was not sent in their honor. When they were not sent immediately to farm settlements, they became impatient. Finally they had to look for employment in New York. Being unacquainted with American life, they let themselves be hired as strikebreakers in the New York dock strike. When they found out, however, why they had been employed they walked out. Since the farm colonies proved to be failures, many of the Am Olam became intellectuals in America as they had been intellectuals in Russia. Many went into the professions. The medical profession was preferred. Others became sweatshop workers like the majority of the refugees. They were the union organizers in later years, and they thus realized their ideal of a Jewish working class. Despite the close connection with the Jewish working masses, the Am Olam Socialists still stood apart. They were outlawed by the orthodox Jews on account of their hostile attitude toward religion. They distinguished themselves from the majority of the East European Jews by speaking Russian. In later years, they also accepted the Yiddish language. They adopted it, however, with the phonetic method of spelling which makes

it impossible to recognize Hebrew expressions. The Am Olam members were organized in the Idish Russisher Arbeiter Farein and later in the Fareinigter Idisher Arbeiter Farein where they were united with Galician and Hungarian Socialists. (128)

The immigrants went to work wherever they found employment. They mostly worked for Jewish employers. Many of the older settlers meant to do z'dakah and to get cheap labor at the same time. For the "greenhorns" worked for $ 2 - $ 3 a week in cigar factories, iron works, laundries, restaurants, on the docks, as wood carriers.

Their main field of employment, however, was the sweatshop, the small clothing factory. The clothing trade, a trade with high profits, was largely in Jewish hands. In 1885, 70 % of the men's clothing dealers and 95 % of the women's clothing dealers in the United States were Jews. In 1888, of 241 clothing manufacturers in New York City 234 were Jews. Most of the larger establishments, however, would not take untrained newcomers. Therefore they had to start out in the smallest shops. They were hired by contractors who themselves were East European Jews in most of the cases. The trade was not unattractive to the immigrant. It was learned easily. No capital was needed. The sewing machine was either owned by the contractor or loaned by him to be bought in installments. Even the wages appeared good to the newcomers; for they still counted in Russian money, and they did not know what $ 7 a week could buy at the

American standard of living. The rates in the beginning of the decade amounted to $ 3 - $ 6 for women, $ 4 - $ 10 for men. Piece rates were 84 ¢ for a dozen of trousers, 8 ¢ for a round coat, 10 ¢ for a frock coat. The sweaters worked 84 hours a week. The working room usually was the one room apartment of the sweater or of the contractor. The narrow hole, badly lighted, badly ventilated, was at the same time the living and sleeping room for the large family. The bundles of textiles often served as mattresses for the short hours of sleep.

An Irishman is supposed to have said: "A Jew would father earn $ 5 a week doing business for himself than $ 10 a week working for some one else." (129) This striving for independence was obvious even in this lowliest of occupations. As soon as the sweater could, he would open a small shop for himself, or he would become a contractor. Hence the large number of East European Jews who were "bosses", and who hired their "green" compatriots as soon as they stepped off the pier. Although the Russian Jews did neither import nor invent the sweatshop system, it was developed to its most fatal perfection during the time of their immigration. The new small bosses, dependent on the big establishments, had to pay just as miserable wages and had to require just as much speed, even if they desired to treat their workers like human beings. While in early years a good worker could easily advance from the position

of a worker to that of a shop owner or of a contracter, advancement was not so easy after the beginning of the mass immigration. When the individual could no longer rise above the lowest working class, the rise of the working class had to be aspired English. Thus the Jewish labor movement came to existence. (130)

The labor movement was influenced from England where a Jewish workers' movement existed since 1876. Unions were formed temporarily for the purpose of demanding higher wages and, if necessary, of organizing strikes. As soon as the unions became regular organizations, demands for closed shops were voiced.

The first Jewish tailors' union was founded in New York in 1877. It was of short existence. Others cropped up in the early eighties. Unions became stronger and more permanent after the unsuccessful general strike of several vocations for the eight hour day, in 1886. Both in New York and Chicago, Jews struck together with their gentile fellow workers. Dissatisfaction after the failure of the strike strengthened the Anarchist workers' organization Knights of Freedom who aspired armed revolution. Socialist propaganda was carried on by the Idishe Arbeiter Farein which was organized in the Socialist Labor Party as its eighth branch. Jewish workers of both the Anarchist and the Socialist camps formed the Russian American National League. One of the actions of this organization was to ask President

Cleveland to stop negociations with Russia about a treaty providing the exchange of political refugees.

The year 1888 brought a central organization of Jewish unions, the United Hebrew Trades (Fareinikte Idishe Gewerkshaften). The organization was built up according to the pattern of those of the German Socialists in this country. The program included mutual support of the unions, foundation of new unions, and the spreading of Socialist ideas among the working class. In the same year, the Workers' Educational Society was founded in Chicago, and a year later, the Jewish Federation of Labor came to existence in Philadelphia. (See above p. 28 and p.55.)

The New York organization included, besides tailor and cloakmaker unions, a hatmakers' union and a bakers' union. The latter two were organized by J.Barsky. This "Am Olomnik" was a tailor, and at the same time a dramatist, an actor, and a public speaker. He was the one to found the Tailors' Organization of America, in 1891.

The year 1889 was a prosperous one for the clothing trade. Still the workers suffered under the low wages and hard shop rules. The unions grew stronger. In this year already, there was a strike of the shirtmakers. The first big clash between employers and employed happened in the following year.

There was a parade of all Jewish unions on May 1, 1890. The victory in January of a strike of 3000 workers

of the United Hebrew Trades for union recognition had given courage to the unions.

During the month of May strikes of cloakmakers and cutters started. They were joined by contractors who also suffered from the tyranny of the "big bosses". The manufacturers,who also had an organization of their own, answered by lockouts. By June, several thousand workers - the sources give 4,000, 7,000, and 15, 000 respectively - were on strike. Only one of the larger establishments, Popkin & Marx, who employed 600 workers, gave in by the end of June shortening working hours,raising the wages 30 %, and pledging to hire only union members. The majority of the employers, however, held out through the month of July. The suffering of the strikers was great, for the financial means of the unions were restricted. Other unions, for instance a union of Italian workers offered their support. By the end of July, the last cloak manufacturer signed a contract recognizing the union and paying the money lost during the strike. The piece rates which had been brought to a weekly wage average of $ 12 - $ 15 during the skirmishes in the middle of the decade were raised still higher. During the busy season a worker would now make $ 25 - $ 30 a week. Furthermore workers had no longer to supply their own sewing machines. There were similar developments in Chicago, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston; but there, strikes were not as effective as in

New York during this decade.

By 1890, the Jewish labor movement included 33 organizations. The workers had their own newspapers. The first one was "Das Polishe Idl", edited by Wintshewsky in 1884. In the same year, Wintshewsky issued the pamphlet "Y'hi Or". In 1885, the paper "Arbeiter Freind" was issued by an association of the same name. N.M.Schaikewitz' "Menshenfreind", also showing socialist tendencies, appeared since 1889. In 1890, the leading papers were the Socialist "Arbeiterzeitung" and the Anarchist "Freie Arbeiter Stimme". (131)

Cultural Life

According to their cultural background, the Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe may be divided into two distinct groups. The vast majority lacked any secular education. They were educated in the Russian heder. Only a privileged group was able to go to the gymnasia and to the universities. Besides, the schools of the Maskilim were considered trefa by the orthodox Jews, who were afraid of seeing their children assimilated. Thus many of the immigrants were unable to read or write Latin script. The story goes that this inability gave rise to the name "Kike" which is applied to the East European Jews in this country in a derogatory sense. The immigrant making out his papers at the port of entrance could not write his name in Latin script; nor was he allowed to make the usual three crosses of the

illiterate - for how could a good Jew make a zelem. Thus he signed with a little circle, in his language a "keikele", hence the name. Instead of secular knowledge, these people had a good Jewish background. They could read the Hebrew prayers, many knew the Bible and the Talmud thoroughly. The average Jew could read and write Yiddish. The percentage of illiterates was very low compared to other immigrant groups of the same economic level.

The other part, numerically smaller, consisted of the intellectuals. They came from the universities and the gymnasia, or from the Jewish schools of higher learning, which were instituted by the Maskilim in the transitory period of enlightenment. They had a good training in secular subjects. They were assimilated in various degrees. Influenced by Socialism, many of them were irreligious. The majority, however, kept in touch with Judaism, at least culturally.

Both groups were equal in their quest for knowledge, and the children of the orthodox sweatshop worker were to be found in the American high schools as well as those of the irreligious intellectual. In American life, the clear distinction between the two groups soon gave way to a grouping in all shades between the two extremes.

The children of the immigrants were conspicuous by their good work in the public schools. Both the number of pupils and the quality of their work decreased, however, in the higher grades because of child labor. The East

European Jews in the colleges entered either directly upon their arrival from Russia - they came because theRussian universities were closed to them, and the schools in other European countries were too expensive - or they rose from the ranks of the Jewish pupils in the ghetto grammar schools. Besides the public schools, there were the Hebrew Free Schools in New York, which gave an education to t he Jewish children of the poorer classes both in secular fields and in Hebrew and Bible. These schools were founded as early as 1864 with the purpose of keeping the Jewish children from the streets and of protecting them from Christan missionaries. By 1890, there were in New York four schools with 31 teachers and 2700 pupils. These schools took the children from the Kindergarten grade on. Religious education was provided for by the individual congregations each of which had its own heder or Sabbath school. Many melam'dim from Russia made a living by teaching private classes and individual pupils. After the first years of mass immigration, Talmud Torah schools came into existence in all large East European Jewish communities. They provided daily classes in Jewish subjects. (132)

An outstanding example for the types of education among the immigrants is David Blaustein, in whom both the elements of the orthodox and of the enlightened background are combined. Born in 1866, near Wilno, he went through heder and yeshivah. He later studied rabbinical subjects both

in Russia and in Germany. In 1886, he immigrated in the United States and founded a private school in Boston. He later studied at Harvard, became a rabbi in Providence,R.I, and, at the same time a lecturer at Brown University. Finally he filled the office of superintendent of the Jewish Educational Alliance in New York. (133)

The renaissance of the Hebrew language which had begun already under the Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe previous to 1881 became stronger in the first decade of mass immigration. Creations in all fields of literature arose in this language. Isaac Rabbinowitz, born at Kowno in 1846, wrote his poetry in classical Hebrew. His Z'miroth Israel, and his N'ginoth Bath Y'hudah are melancholic, full of the grief of Jewish history. Names of other poets who came to this country at the end of the decade are Gershon Rosenzweig, Hayim Weinschell, Abraham Luria (Lewis).

Philosophical writers in Hebrew were Shalom Joseph Silberstein and Jehiel Judah Levinson. Silberstein, born at Kowno in 1846, immigrated in New York in 1881. He was a radical, rationalist philosopher. He used Spinoza's method. He published a work on religion and law - Hadath v'hatorah - in 1887, and The Universe and its Existence in 1891. Levinson was both a preacher and a philosopher. In 1885, his Or Haye Halvavoth - named in analogy with Hoboth Halvavoth - was published.

Halachic writings were, of course, the most numerous

among the many orthodox rabbis and scholars of the orthodox group. The outstanding writers were Aaron Spekter Spivak, from Omsk, Shalom Elhanan Jaffe, Zevi Hirsch Grodzinski, Abraham Moses Shershevsky. As the vehicle of apologetic literature, the Hebrew language entered the controversy between Orthodoxy and Reform. In 1888, Mayer Rabinowitz, a representative of enlightened Orthodoxy, published Hama hanaim. Wolf Shur, another writer, immigrated in 1887.

Moses Weinberger, interested in history, published a satirical description of orthodox Jewry in New York - Hay'hudim v'hayahaduth b'new york - in 1887.

Judah David Eisenstein, born in Meseritz in 1854, one of the most prolific Hebrew writers in the fields of history and rabbinics, lived in New York since 1872. He was one of the leading members of the Congregation Beth Hamidrash Hagodol. Interested though mainly in Jewish literature, Eisenstein made his living as a shirt manufacturer from 1880 until late in the nineties.

Hebrew language societies came into existence as early as 1881. The first one was Shoh're s'fath eber organized by a group of Maskilim, in New York. In the same year, they published the first number of the Ham'assef b'eretz hahadashah. But this Hebrew periodical was as little successful as its predecessors in the late seventies. The first number was also the last one. Other periodical publications most of which were shortlived

followed this attempt. In 1889, the Hebrew Literature Society in Chicago published the Keren Or. It appeared irregularly. Hal'ami, a weekly, edited by Ephraim Deinard, appeared in 1888 and 1889. Hapisgah was published by William Schur from 1889 till 1899. Has'nigor, a biweekly paper, appeared from September to December, 1890. Hakol, a paper which was previously published in Europe, was transplanted to New York in 1889, and it appeared weekly until 1893. Despite all interest, it seems that the Hebrew reading public had not yet grown large or wealthy enough to support a lasting periodical. Although the Hebrew literary activities in the eighties did not equal the activities in Eastern Europe, they were the beginning of a Hebrew renaissance which was to develop fully in the twentieth century. (134)

Literature in the popular language of the East European Jews, in Yiddish, also developed in the eighties after small beginnings in the previous years. Yiddish poetry increased more in quantity than in quality. The Russian Jew , perhaps because of his assimilation to the American proletariat, wanted amusement, and the manufactured poetry answering this demand was necessarily cheap. Many Yiddish poems of this time are patriotically American, and they reveal the gratitude of the Russian Jew to his country of refuge. For many writers, especially for the intellectuals among the early immigrants, the Yiddish language was merely a vehicle for ideas which they wanted to propa-

gate. Such writers were the Anarchist David Edelstadt and the Socialist Morris Winchevsky.

There was poetry, however, which rose from the soul of the people. There was Sharkansky, a lyric poet, and there was, before all, Morris Rosenfeld. Rosenfeld was not the pessimist which he seems to be. He was a realist; but since he reproduced the pictures of his own life, the gloomy ones of the sweatshop had to be more numerous than bright songs of spring. Rosenfeld was a master of the Yiddish language. His works are counted among universal literature.

Yiddish prose writers did not include a genius like Rosenfeld. The publishing of good books proved not to be profitable. The manufacturing of cheap sensational novels was harmful to the language, filling it with many Americanisms. One of the few good prose writers was Abner Tannenbaum who immigrated in 1889.

The Yiddish press was hardly more successful than the Hebrew press. It was only through the labor movement that newspaper publications were made to last. The only paper of the decade outside of the labor movement was the New York Illustrated Gazette a shortlived publication by Goldfaden. The Socialist and Anarchist papers were numerous. (See above p. 84) The editor of the outstanding Socialist publication, Die Arbeiterzeitung, Abraham Cahan, immigrated from Wilno, in 1882. He wrote in a good literary style.

In his writings he strove to enlighten and to uplift the Jewish masses.

The Yiddish theatre in the United States originated when the Jewish theatres were closed in Russia, in 1883. The first performance took place in the Fourth Street Turners' Hall, in New York, against the protest of the Reform Jews. The group of players established the Oriental Theatre in Bowery Gardens. In 1886, the second Jewish theatre was opened in New York on the Bowery. The same elements which caused the degeneration of Yiddish literature were felt in the theatre. The public expecting amusement, excitement, sensation preferred writers with bad taste to those of good taste. Worthless productions therefore were in the majority. (135

Religious and Social Life

It was not without reason that religious and social life were put together into one heading. In the Pale, and also among the orthodox immigrants in America, the Jewish religion was all pervasive in its power. It gave its contents to the civilization of the group, and it shaped the system of charitable institutions. Its influence upon social life was even stronger. The hevrah formed a close social unity. The meeting place of its members was the shul, the reason for the daily or weekly gatherings - religious worship. Even social events, festivities, banquets, dances, were at the same time religious occurances. They took place on holidays, such as Simhath Torah and

Purim, or on family events such as a Brith Milah or Bar Mitzwah.

On the other hand, social needs were not without influence upon the institutions of religion. Not only did the services and religious celebrations bear the stamp of social events - they do in every religion, though not in the same degree - but the very organization of the Landsmannschaften was a consequence of social habits. Insignificant differences in rituals would not have necessarily caused separation of the immigrants from the various towns and districts. However, the feeling of belonging together, of being used to each other, of sharing the same language, the same customs, and the same memories united the townsmen. It was this social particularism which led immigrants from one town to leave a congregation at the slightest occasion and to make up a minyan of their own.

The religious life of the Russian Jews was not developed in the same form all over the country. The social and religious organization was different in the big cities from that in the country towns and villages.

In the large cities - New York, Philadelphia, Chicago in first place - the East European Jews were able to build a world of their own. As though they had never left Mariampol or Litvinova or Suwalk, they lived like English in a village community, close together. concerned only about their own little affairs. They met in the synagogues at the regular

times for services, if not every day, then at least every Sabbath. They were able to obtain kosher food, and they could refrain from working on the Day of Rest. In short, it was possible for them to live as gute Iden, without neglecting even the most insignificant part of the Law.

The situation was completely different for those who lived in the country as peddlers. Their fields of working were wide stretches of farmland. They had no means of getting kosher food. They had to stay on the road all week, in some cases even over Sabbath. The fewer Jews were living in these small communities, the greater was the danger that they would lose the feeling for the orthodox way of living.

It was America itself, the size and the organization of the country which exerted its influence upon the country dwellers among the East European Jews. But religious and social life everywhere was influenced by the American spirit. The typical life of the orthodox Russian Jew was fully lived only by the old generation and the conservative part of the young generation. Many of the younger people, mainly the intellectuals, turned away from religion already while living in Russia. Going to the opposite extreme, they were even anti-religious. They antagonized the orthodox Jews wherever they could. Those who were born in this country or who immigrated as young children were weaned away from their parents, for they assimilated more easily than the old generation. The labor movement with its socialist

ideology bred indifference toward the religion which meant everything to the older immigrants. The American technique of amusement attracted the young people who felt the need of relaxation after their hard work, and it detracted from the traditional Jewish ways of celebrating.. The secular education of the children in the American public schools, their adopting the English language which remained foreign to the older generation created a complex problem between parents and children which can only be alluded to in this essay.

While on the one hand the religious and social life of the East European Jews was influenced by the American spirit, the development of Jewish religion in America, on the other hand, was changed by the sudden influx of a strong new element. There was a renaissance of Jewish learning. A warlike orthodoxy arose which braced itself against any change in the ritual, and which slowed up the advance of the Reform movement. A monument for this reaction against Reform is the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York which was established after, by eating t'refa, the first graduating class of the Hebrew Union College had crushed the hope that the College would turn out rabbis even for the orthodox synagogues.

Against the assimilationism prevalent among the German and Sephardic groups, the East European Jews imported a strong love for the Land of the Fathers. Toward the end

of the decade Hov've Zion groups were organized all over the country. They were active raising money for Palestine, from the moderate membership dues, by synagogue collections, or by selling Ethrogim from Palestine. By 1889, the Hov've Zion claimed eight organizations with 2,500 members most of whom were young or middle age people. This group of East European Hov've Zion was the foundation on which political Zionism built the organization which, in the twentieth century, was to become one of the strongest and most influential elements in American Judaism.(136)

NOTES

1. Dubnow, History of the Jews in Russia and Poland, vol.ii. pp. 1 - 205.
2. ibid. pp. 244 - 258
3. ibid. pp. 259 - 264
4. ibid. pp. 265 - 280
5. ibid. pp. 280 - 283
6. ibid. pp. 284 - 308
7. ibid. pp. 309 - 323
   cf. also Friedländer, Fünf Wochen in Brody
8. Dubnow, op.cit. pp.336 - 357
9. ibid. pp. 358 - 362
10. ibid. pp. 373f
11. Kaplun-Kogan, Die Wanderbewegungen der Juden, pp.145ff,114
12. American Hebrew, May 28, 1881
13. ib. May 13, 1881
14. ibid. June 24, 1881
    also September 2, 1881
15. Eisenstein, Letoldot gole russia beamerika, pp.43ff
16. American Israelite, February 3, 1882
17. Eisenstein, op.cit. pp.45ff
18. American Israelite, March 10, March 31, May 5, May 12, and May 26, 1882.
19. Eisenstein, op.cit. pp.143f
20. ibid.p.64.
21. ibid. p. 124
22. ibid. pp. 64f, 68ff, 111f
    Jewish Encyclopedia, United States, vol.xii, p.368
    American Israelite, February 10, 1882
    cf. American Hebrew, September 23, 1881

23. Eisenstein, op.cit. pp. 123f

24. ibid. p.124, p.112
Am.Isr. March 24, 1882
Am.Hebr. Sept. 23, 1881

25. Eisenstein, op.cit. p.112
Am.Isr. Feb. 24, 1882 and following numbers

26. ibid. March 17, 1882

27. Am.Hebr. Sept. 23, 1881, Oct. 6, 1881

28. Jew.Enc., United States
Eisenstein, op.cit. p,21

29. New York World, Sept. 13, 1881, reprint, Am.Heb.Sept.16.

30. Bernheimer, The Russian Jew, p.366
Wirth, The Ghetto, p.146
Leroy-Beaulieu, Les Immigrants Juifs, p.5, note 1
Allgem. Ztg.d.Jdt. vol.33: "Die Auswanderung von Juden aus den wetrussischer Provinzen","Die Juden in Russland", "Wie ist den nothleidenden Juden in Westrussland zu helfen?"
Archives Israélites vol.31 pp.262f and 360, vol.35,p.477

31. Proceedings of the U.A.H.C. vol.ii. p.1149
Am.Hebr. Sept. 2. and Sept. 9, 1881

32. Proceedings vol.ii; pp. 1149,948,1143, 1154, 1400,1419, 1073, 1275,1417,1446, 1453, 1526f.

33. Eisenstein, op.cit. pp.22f
Am.Heb. Sept. 16, 1881

34. ibid. Sept. 23, 1881

35. Eisenstein, op.cit. pp. 112f, 123
Jew.Enc., United States, vol.xii, p.368
Am.Heb. Oct. 27, 1881.

36. Eisenstein, op.cit. p.174
Jew.Enc., United States, vol. xii, p. 368

37. Eisenstein, op. cit. pp. 144ff, 173ff

38. ibid. p.174

39. ibid. p.21
Freeman, Fufzig Yohr Geshichte, p. 61
Jew. Enc. Heilprin, Michael, vol. vi.,p.325

40. Eisenstein, op.cit. p.173

41. ibid. p.174

42. ibid. pp.123f
Sulzberger, The Beginnings of Russo-Jewish Immigration, pp.137ff
Bernheimer, op.cit. pp. 77, 80
Freeman, op.cit. pp. 20, 28
Jew.Enc. United States, vol.xii.,p.368
ibid. Philadelphia, vol.ix, p.676
The day of arrival of the S.S.Illinois is given by Freeman as February 23, by Eisenstein as March 3.
The number of immigrants in Philadelphia according to Freeman is 1076, according to Bernheimer 1500.
Joseph, Jewish Immigration to the United States, has, probably more correctly than the Jew.Enc. "Association for the Protection of Jewish Immigrants" (p.87)

43. Hersch, Le Juif Errant D'Aujourdhui, pp.17-22

44. Joseph, Jewish Immigration, pp. 87-92

45. ibid. p.95; p.93,tab.vi; p.162,tab.xi; p.173,tab.xxix; p.174, tab.xxxi

46. Wheatley, the Jews in New York, p.323

47. Joseph, op.cit. pp. 101f; p.164, tab.xii.

48. cf. Menshenfreind, p.409

49. Kaplun-Kogan, Wanderbewegungen der Juden, p.118
same author, Die jüdischen Wanderbewegungen, pp.20ff
Joseph, op.cit.

50. Hersch, op.cit.
Joseph, op.cit. p.152
Leroy-Beaulieu, op.cit.p.5, note 1
cf. Hal'umi, No.I,p.6

51. Henry C.Carey, in Levy, the Russian Jewish Refugees,p.554.

52. Eisenstein, op.cit. p.229

53. ibid.

54. Fifty Years of Social Service, p.33

53. No information could be obtained for the states and cities which are not mentioned in this chapter. For

reasons given in the introductory chapter, this list cannot be expected to be exhaustive. It is to be noted that out of the some seventy articles about American states and cities in the Jewish Encyclopedia, only fifteen give specific information about the East European Jews in these places.
Inconsistency in the spelling and transliteration of names of congregations and other proper names is to be explained from the fact that they are copied without changes from the respective sources.

54. Eliassof, The Jews of Illinois, p. 366
Felsenthal, On the Hist. of the Jews of Chicago, p.26.

55. Bernheimer, op.cit. pp. 87ff
Eisenstein, op.cit. p.173
cf. Am.Heb. Oct. 21, 1881

56, Bregstone, Chicago and its Jews, pp. 10-14,59f

57. Sulamith, voli. No.4.p.2, vol.ii.p.3.

58. Eliassof, op.cit. p.373

59. Glazer, The Jews of Iowa, p.285f

60. The sole source is Glazer, op.cit.

61. Johnston, Memorial History of Louisville, vol.ii,p.276.
Jew.Enc. Kentucky, vol.vii, p.467f

62. Blum, The Jews of Baltimore, pp.28-31
Jewish Exponent, January 11, 1889
Sulamith, vol.i.,No.22, p.3

63. Fifty Years of Social Service, p.41
Sulamith, vol.i.,No.14, p.3, No.15, p.3

64. Am.Isr. March 17, 1882
Jew. Enc. Missouri, vol.viii.,p.619

65. Jew. Enc. Nebraska.,vol.x.,p.200

66. Unterman, Newarker Iden
Jew Enc. Newark, vol.ix.,p.293
New Jersey, vol.ix.,p.241

67.
Jew. Enc. Buffalo, vol.iii.,p.423
Am.Isr. Feb.10, 1882

68. Jew. Enc. Elmira.,vol.v., p.141

69. Wheatley, op.cit. p.323

70. Fishberg, Health and Sanitation, pp. 8-22
Bernheimer, op.cit. pp.35.f.
Ben Penn in Am.Heb.Aug.12, 1881

71. Goldstein, A Century of Judaism in New York, p.193

72. Weinberger, Hay'hudim v'hayahaduth, p.2

73. Wheatley, op.cit. p.341

74. Eisenstein, Beth Hamidrash Hagadol, pp.29 f
same, The Hist. of the First Russian Am.Jew.Congreg.pp.73f

75. Eisenstein, Beth Ham. pp.28ff
same, The Hist.of.... p.72
Am.Heb. June 25, 1886

76. Jew.Enc. Ash, A.J. vol.ii., pp.176f

77. Am.Heb. Aug. 5, Aug. 12, Aug. 26, 1881

78. Jew.Enc. New York, vol.ix. p.290
Abelow, Hist. of Brooklyn Jewry, pp.50ff, 104

79. Eisenstein, Beth Ham.30
same, The Hist.of... p.74
same, Tol'doth Agudath Hak'hiloth,
Goldstein, op.cit. p. 195
Jew. Enc. Joseph, J. vol.vii, p.264

80. Weinberger, op.cit. pp. 20f
Goldstein, op.cit. p.193
Wheatley, op.cit. pp.519-524
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