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THE COVER:
New York City about the year 1839. When Abraham Kohn saw it for the first time in 1842, it looked much like this. This is the Havell view, taken from the North River. Courtesy of the New York Public Library.

JEWISH PIONEERING IN AMERICAN SOCIAL WELFARE

ABRAHAM CRONBACH 51

In a carefully documented presentation, the author demonstrates that some features of American social welfare have been of Jewish inception. Dr. Cronbach lists twenty-nine different forms of social activity in which Jews have pioneered, to a greater or lesser extent. Among these are: the community chest, the visiting housekeeper, the transportation rules, industrial efficiency studies, cooperative housing by trade unions, farm loans, agricultural fire insurance, the union health center, the protocol of industrial peace, farm credit cooperatives, workers' education under union auspices, etc.

A JEWISH PEDDLER'S DIARY,
1842 - 1843

ABRAM VOSSEN GOODMAN 81

Abraham Kohn (1819-1871) was born in Bavaria, and came to the United States in 1842. After trying unsuccessfully to secure a clerical position in New York City, he and his brothers turned to peddling in New England. This diary reflects the struggles of a peddler in the rural areas in the ante-bellum period. It shows the difficulties of travel on the road, the hazards of inclement weather, the hostility of some of the farmers, the continuous effort to make a bare living. Above all, it reflects the nostalgia for the mother country and the disillusionment of some of the Germans with America. A diary of this type is a healthy corrective for the stereotype of "from peddler's pack to department store."

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Among the many forms of American social welfare, a number have been of Jewish inception. One of the most conspicuous of these is the community chest. The first of the community chests, in the familiar sense of the term, was the Cleveland Federation for Charity and Philanthropy, which began its activities early in 1913.¹

The type of organization adopted at Cleveland was that which had, for almost a decade and a half, prevailed in the Jewish federations.² The discussions connected with the start of the Cleveland undertaking took definite cognizance of Jewish precedent;³ while the actual creator of the Cleveland Federation for Charity and Philan-

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thropy was a prominent Jewish executive, Mr. Martin A. Marks, a national figure in the B'nai B'rith and, for twenty-six years, president of the Cleveland Temple. Persons near to Mr. Marks testify that the Jewish federation served as his model.

A number of previous attempts at federated financing of benevolence had been launched in Liverpool, in Denver, in Elmira, N. Y., in Grand Rapids, Mich., and in San Antonio, Texas. All these exhibited glaring defects. Their chief inadequacies were lack of centralized budgeting, lack of competent, full-time staff, and lack of year-round functioning. The structure devised by Mr. Marks avoided all those shortcomings.

The community chest movement grew rapidly and extensively. An authoritative source places the number of chests, active in 1950, at approximately 1,500.

**Welfare Funds for Non-Local Needs**

Another instance of Jewish pioneering might be the Jewish Welfare Fund. The war chests, in the various communities, during both of the World Wars, conducted joint or federated solicitation for a list of regional, national, and overseas appeals, as contrasted with the strictly local character of the community chests. But the war chests operated only in war time. Jewish welfare funds operate in peace as well as in war time.

Something like them in general welfare has been broached, and something which approximates them has been achieved in the form of state non-local chests in Michigan and in Oregon. Reports, however, do not refer to Jewish models. There is no question of Jewish precedence. The only issue is that of Jewish influence.

**Charity Chest of the Fur Industry**

Also a Jewish invention was the Charity Chest of the Fur Industry of the City of New York. The fur industry may have held some non-Jews, but, in the prospectus of its Charity Chest, Jewish names dominate overwhelmingly.

The Fur Chest endeavored to correct certain drawbacks incident to solicitation by Jewish federations and by community chests. In the words of its executive director, "The federation has failed to protect the giver. The community chest has failed to protect the giver. It has remained for the giver to form his own chest to protect himself."

The Fur Chest aimed, accordingly, to immunize its members against the plethora of appeals. Members would contribute annually to a substantial fund from which their committee, watched and advised by the rank and file, made disbursements to various causes. In 1925, the Fur Chest raised $480,000. Later came a year in which 2,113
MARTIN A. MARKS, OF CLEVELAND, CREATOR OF THE COMMUNITY CHEST
members contributed $540,574.86. During the first five years, over two million dollars were allocated. The number of agencies aided was 874 in 1927 and 919 in 1928.19

The Charity Chest of the Fur Industry disbanded at the onset of the depression.20 Years later, the racing interests attempted something similar. It was reported in 1924 that the racing interests had, since 1942, contributed sixteen million dollars to various philanthropies.21 Otherwise the Fur Chest evinced neither longevity nor influence.

Solicitation for community chests and for Jewish welfare funds is often organized, in part, along occupational lines. But this resemblance to the Charity Chest of the Fur Industry is only fortuitous. The Fur Chest existed not to aid but to rival the prevalent modes of charity financing. Though abortive and devoid of any clear imitation, it was, nonetheless, a species of Jewish pioneering.

TRANSPORTATION RULES

4. Another device of Jewish contriving was the group of practices known as the Transportation Rules.22 Those rules sought to eliminate the irresponsible passing on of necessitous persons "from town to town." These regulations prescribed the granting of transportation not to "the next town," but all the way to the proposed destination, after inquiry of a reputable social agency at the proposed destination had established that residence at that place actually promised improvement in the client's circumstances.

The Transportation Rules were first formulated at the National Conference of Jewish Charities in 1900 at the urging of Mr. Max Senior, its president.23 Their spread into non-Jewish usage was rapid. A committee of the non-Jewish National Conference of Charities and Corrections fostered their adoption in 1902.24 "At least two leading members of the Jewish National Conference took part in the discussion." Max Senior himself was one of them.25

For an entire generation, social welfare agencies, both Jewish and non-Jewish, would pledge themselves to observe their Transportation Agreement. To supervise and enforce this agreement, an independent organization, the Committee on Transportation of Allied National Agencies, came into being.26 This committee functioned until 1934, when the practice of signing the Transportation Agreement was abandoned. The principles embodied in the Agreement have become so thoroughly ingrained in social welfare practice as to render those formalities superfluous.27 For all that, it was still felt, as late as 1948, "that it would be valuable to reaffirm in terms of present-day philosophy and practice the sound basic procedures which were embodied in the former Transportation Agreement."28

In 1933, the Transportation Agreement had 1,099 signatories.29
5. Another example of Jewish pioneering is the Visiting Housekeeper Service, also called Substitute Mother Service or Homemaker Service. This is a form of aid for families needing aid because the mother has to be hospitalized. It is a service which obviates removing the children from the home. Until the mother's recovery, the visiting housekeeper prepares the meals, maintains cleanliness and order, and looks after the children's health, attiring, schooling, and recreation. It has been reported that the higher standards of housekeeping introduced by the visiting housekeeper sometimes so impress the family as to secure the continuation of those standards after the mother's return.

The first venture at Visiting Housekeeper or Substitute Mother or Homemaker Service was inaugurated by the Jewish Welfare Society of Philadelphia in October, 1923, when it employed ten women to act in that capacity. This fact is noted in the Child Welfare League Bulletin of June, 1929. The Jewish Welfare Society of Philadelphia is specifically mentioned in this Bulletin, without allusion to any prior attempt. An account of the Philadelphia undertaking had appeared already in the Jewish Social Service Quarterly of May, 1925, which also speaks of the project as something entirely novel.

The Children's Bureau at Washington has published various monographs on this Homemaker Service, among them a Directory of Agencies Providing Homemaker Service, which tells that, in 1947, Homemaker Service was furnished by 52 agencies in 21 states of the Union and by nine agencies in Canada.

Integration of Birth Control with Family Welfare

6. "Family Welfare Through Family Planning" would be a suitable designation for some pioneering credited to the Jewish Social Service Bureau of Chicago. The Jewish Social Service Bureau, to meet a need besetting clients of a certain type, established facilities for counseling and instruction in the use of contraceptives. "This service," we are informed, "has been pioneering in a difficult field." The first client was referred to this service on September 20, 1922. In the early 1930s, after it had been rendered unnecessary by the rise of birth control clinics under other auspices, that service terminated.

Correctly or incorrectly, one gains the impression that this was the first of the clinics devoted to birth control exclusively. Obviously it was the first instance of integrating birth control with family welfare. Since that Jewish venture, referral, when necessary, to birth control clinics has featured much of non-Catholic family case work.
Religious Sanction of Birth Control

7. It was a Jewish religious body that pioneered at vesting birth control with religious sanction. Meeting at Detroit, the Central Conference of American Rabbis, on June 27, 1929, passed a resolution calling for "the recognition of the importance of the control of parenthood as one of the methods of coping with social problems." The next religious body to manifest a liberal attitude was the Universalist General Convention meeting in October of the same year. The third religious body to do so was the New York East Conference of the Methodist Church, which took action in April, 1930. That same year, a mildly concessive pronouncement on birth control was voiced by the Lambeth Conference in England. "That the careful and restrained use of contraceptives by married people is valid and moral" was proclaimed by the American Federal Council of Churches in 1931. All other church pronouncements on birth control have issued subsequently.

The Central Conference of American Rabbis was thus the first of the religious bodies to assume a progressive stand on voluntary parenthood. All the others expressed themselves later. As stated by a leader of the birth control movement, "The Central Conference of American Rabbis pioneered in the religious support of birth control, as it was the first, national or even large regional organization to do so."

The question arises: Did the Central Conference of American Rabbis influence those Christian groups, as Jewish welfare agencies influenced non-Jewish agencies? This question we shall have to leave unanswered; data on this point proved unobtainable. All we can affirm is that the Central Conference of American Rabbis spoke first.

Aid to Dependent Children

8. Aid to Dependent Children, formerly called Mothers' Pensions, is a uniquely American form of social security. Since its rise, forty years ago, it has grown apace. Under the New Deal, the federal government began matching funds with the states for that purpose. In 1949, forty-seven states, the District of Columbia, Alaska, and Hawaii were participants in the federal-state program. The sum of $352,600,000 was expended during 1948. The number of families aided was 392,000 in June, 1942.

Considerable evidence indicates that the movement, as we know it, began in 1911, when the Missouri Legislature authorized Kansas City (Jackson County) to expend $12,000 for the "partial support of poor women whose husbands are dead or convicts, when such women are mothers of children under the age of fourteen years."
The moving spirit in the Missouri proposal was Judge E. E. Porterfield, of the Kansas City Juvenile Court. Judge Porterfield was "familiar with the fact that certain pensions were being paid to widows of the United Jewish Charities of Kansas City. . . . These things influenced the judge to advocate a widows' pension law. He drew up a law which applied only to Jackson County, and this was passed by the Legislature in the winter of 1910-1911."54

The late Dr. Jacob Billikopf, who at that time headed the United Jewish Charities of Kansas City,55 claimed that it was he who broached the idea to Judge Porterfield when the two were together on vacation at Excelsior Springs, Missouri, in 1908.56 Will this entitle us to trace, to Jewish incentives, the movement known as Aid to Dependent Children?

RELIGIOUS ENDORSEMENT OF AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN

9. Little doubt exists as to Jewish priority in buttressing this benevolence with religious endorsement. It was on July 2, 1918, that the Central Conference of American Rabbis called for "The preservation and the integrity of the home by a system of mothers' pensions."57 The Presbyterian Church of Canada voiced that demand in 1919 and again in 1920.58 The Northern Baptist Convention followed suit in 1921.59

Here again all that can be imputed to the Jewish group is chronological precedence. The question of influence must remain undecided. Inquiry of the Baptist and the Presbyterian survivors failed to solve the problem.

SOCIAL SERVICE BAKE SHOP

10. Another Jewish innovation was the Bake Shop established in 1929 by the United Jewish Social Agencies of Cincinnati. The Bake Shop, serving attractive luncheons and selling high-grade pastry, also contrives protective employment, especially part-time employment, for women with families. Skills thus gained are said to have enabled some of those assisted to secure similar employment in regular industry and even to engage in the baking business.

That the Bake Shop was something novel is vouched for by the fact that persons closely associated with the Bake Shop fail to recall any precedent.60

An article on the Bake Shop, published in 1935, dwells upon visits of inquiry by social workers from other cities. New York City had already reproduced the enterprise, while Portland, Ore., St. Louis, and Santa Monica, Cal., had such a move in mind.61 Yet, in a letter dated August 14, 1950, the author of that same article names only New York and Pittsburgh as having followed the Cincinnati model, and then pro-
ceeds to state that both the New York project and the Pittsburgh project had ceased.

No data were available for determining whether those, in other cities, who adopted or contemplated adopting the plan were Jewish or non-Jewish.

**Elevation of Relief Standards**

11. Various studies, a number of years ago, demonstrated that the relief allowances of Jewish social agencies were, on the whole, ampler than those of non-Jewish agencies. It sometimes happened that, when Jewish agencies would join, in community chests, with non-Jewish agencies, the higher Jewish standards would provoke some tension. Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver urged Jewish social workers to strive for equalization by endeavoring to bring about an increase in the grants of the non-Jews—"a standardization upward, instead of a standardization downward." A number of years later, this actually occurred in Dr. Silver's own city. The leading figure here was Marc J. Grossman. Referring to a joint relief committee which raised money for distribution to several relief agencies during the depression, the Cleveland Plain Dealer observes: "Relief allowances of the Jewish Social Service Bureau were somewhat higher than those of the Associated Charities. The relief committee, pressed for funds, sought to bring the Jewish Social Service Bureau standards down to those of the Associated Charities. Grossman, as president of the Jewish Social Service Bureau, led a successful fight—of which the public was unaware at the time—to raise the Associated Charities standards, instead, to those of the Jewish Social Service Bureau." Later Grossman became the head of the New Deal governmental agency, the County Relief Committee, in which capacity he is reputed to have lifted the relief standards "from the lowest in the country to among the highest."

This was obviously an instance of Jewish pioneering on a local scale. Conditions were ripe for similar stirrings on a national scale, and this might have eventuated had not, as an outcome of the depression, the entire American system of relief become transformed.

**Social Case Work for a Fee**

12. Among recent trends in social welfare is that of case work for a fee. Persons able to pay, resort, upon payment of a fee, to social agencies in crises of family relationships and of child rearing, and perhaps other emergencies inviting a case worker's skills. The purpose of such fee-charging is not so much that of revenue as that of rendering an agency's services acceptable to persons who would
JACOB BILLIKOFF, PIONEER IN AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN
otherwise shrink from applying.\textsuperscript{69} Forty-five family welfare agencies throughout the country were proffering this type of service in December, 1947.\textsuperscript{70}

Jewish priority in this matter might be challenged on the basis of a publication which, speaking of case work for a fee, observes: "The earliest policy reported was established in 1941 by Philadelphia Family Service. New York Jewish Family Service established its fee charging in 1942."\textsuperscript{71} Notwithstanding this, the Jewish Family Service of New York did, apparently, in some sense, pioneer. The Social Work Year Book 1949 would otherwise not have regarded 1942 as the initial date. That Year Book recalls: "It was not until 1942 that a separate office for paying clients was established."\textsuperscript{72}

Insisting upon priority here, a letter from the Jewish Family Service of New York avers "that in 1942 the Jewish Family Service, on an organized basis, established a demonstration program in which it interpreted to the community at large that this service was available at its Consultation Center for those people who wished to and could afford to pay for the service."\textsuperscript{73}

The essence of the matter appears to be that fees for various kinds of social work had long prevailed and had eventually entered case work; but that a separate office, an avowed program, and a publicized policy were the special accomplishments of that New York Jewish body.

It may be proper to add that, so far as is ascertainable, case work for a fee was first propounded by Bruno Lasker, a Jewish writer, closely identified with Jewish interests as well as with those of general social welfare.\textsuperscript{74}

\textbf{Industrial Removal Office}

13. Another example of Jewish pathfinding\textsuperscript{75} was the Industrial Removal Office established by the Jewish Agricultural Society in 1901\textsuperscript{76} and reorganized as an independent agency in 1907.\textsuperscript{77} For twenty-one years, the Industrial Removal Office procured, in the vast interior of America, remote from the Atlantic seaboard, employment and, correspondingly, new homes for Jewish newcomers.\textsuperscript{78}

This Jewish endeavor profoundly impressed officials of the federal government.\textsuperscript{79} The result was that the government brought, into its immigration service, a Division of Information which was to apprise "immigrants of the labor opportunities awaiting them throughout the country."\textsuperscript{80} But governmental auspices did not duplicate the success of Jewish auspices. Labor unions viewed the government's move with suspicion; financial support also remained inadequate.\textsuperscript{81}

The Industrial Removal Office was liquidated in 1922, when the need for that type of service had declined.\textsuperscript{82} Still, with the new influx of immigrants since the Nazi upsurge, and especially since the passage
of the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, attempts resembling the industrial removal work have been initiated by the Jewish United Service for New Americans and by its various non-Jewish counterparts, such as the Catholic Committee for Refugees and the Protestant Committee on Displaced Persons. The Displaced Persons Commission appointed by the federal government in 1948 also revived some of those earlier methods.

We must leave it to conjecture how far these later moves are offspring of those earlier ones. This, nonetheless, we can maintain with assurance: the Industrial Removal Office was a Jewish pioneering venture whose influence extended beyond the Jewish range.

**Protocol of Industrial Peace**

14. Next we consider the Protocol of Peace achieved by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in 1910 at the conclusion of a strike. This protocol provided, among other things, for a Joint Board of Sanitary Control representing employers and workers. It created a Board of Grievances in every shop and, as an ultimate level of appeal, a Board of Arbitration.

Because of various difficulties connected with its operation, the Protocol was, after a few years, discontinued. But its effects have persisted. Its conceptions underlie the National Labor Relations Board, the Railway Mediation Board, as well as the War Labor Boards of the First World War and of the Second World War. Its ideas permeated the New Deal. "The Protocol of Peace," says Benjamin Stolberg, "was one of the most important charters in American industrial relations." By it, according to Selig Perlman, "the clothing workers point the way to the rest of the labor movement."

The Protocol of Peace was indubitably an example of pioneering, and its devising by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union makes it decidedly a work of Jewish pioneering.

**Industrial Efficiency Studies**

15. Benjamin Stolberg writes: "In 1913 the New York waistmakers, Local 25, pioneered in industrial efficiency studies at a time when the manufacturer showed not the slightest interest in scientific management." The waistmakers were all but exclusively Jewish. Hence another piece of Jewish originality.

The movement has survived and borne abundant fruit. In today's industry, scientific management looms large.

**Workers' Education Under Union Auspices**

16. Much has been written about workers' education. The movement has grown to impressive proportions. While workers' education
comprises training in labor leadership and studies in the history, the plans, and the purposes of the labor movement, it sometimes embraces such subjects as literature, psychology, economics, American history and government.

Classes in workers' education are conducted largely under the auspices of organized labor. The first of the unions to take the step were those of predominantly Jewish membership and leadership, again the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, also the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The International Ladies' Garment Workers inaugurated their program in 1916, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in 1919.

The American Federation of Labor espoused workers' education in 1920 and 1921. Years later, the Works Progress Administration of the federal government expended, on workers' education, millions of dollars. Both the American Federation of Labor and the Works Progress Administration acknowledged Jewish models. The American Federation of Labor embarked on its project only after careful study and explicit endorsement of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' plan, while the basic pattern of the Works Progress Administration's procedure was, according to Benjamin Stolberg, "taken directly from the International, which," for a time, "was intimately involved in those government ventures."

**Cooperative Housing by Trade Unions**

17. In 1926, New York State promulgated a law aiming to encourage low-cost housing. An article published six years later mentions, apropos this law, no other projects than those of groups from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and from the Jewish National Workers' Alliance. The passage reads:

Members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, who have been building cooperative projects in the Bronx since 1927, have demonstrated the usefulness of the law for workers with incomes from $30 to $50 per week. . . . The Amalgamated Dwellings on Grand Street, built in 1930, show that equally fine apartments with almost equally beautiful gardens can be built on the lower East Side. The third cooperative group, the Farband, made up of members of the Jewish National Workers Alliance, was in 1928 the first to demonstrate that automatic elevators are an economic possibility in such houses of six stories high.

In 1947, the United States Department of Labor issued its Bulletin No. 896, *Nonprofit Housing Projects in the United States*. Listing various of such undertakings, this Bulletin notes that "The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America was the first of the labor unions
Cooperative Apartments in the Bronx of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
to take an active interest in providing better housing for wage earners at lower rentals through the cooperative method" (page 13). That these Jewish workers influenced others toward similar measures is the conviction of Abraham E. Kazan, head of the Amalgamated Housing Corporation, who writes, in Labor and Nation of September - October, 1949: "Others in New York City and elsewhere are following our example."

Identical is the view of the United States Department of Labor, whose Specialist in Cooperatives writes, under date of October 31, 1950, "that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers projects have been of considerable influence. Their success has . . . been a factor influencing some of the present-day developments." This letter then proceeds to mention the apartments under construction by the Meat Cutters and Butchers Workmen of America (AFL) in New York City, by the International Brotherhood of Electric Workers in Long Island City and in Washington, D. C., and by the United Packinghouse Workers of America (CIO) in Chicago.

**Trade Unions Exclusively for Women**

18. Although there are today no trade unions exclusively for women, such unions did exist until recently.110 Judge Jacob Panken maintains that the first of the women's unions was started by the United Hebrew Trades about the year 1900.111 Confronted by the fact that trade unions for women workers had been organized in Lynn, Massachusetts, as early as 1833, and in New York City as early as 1835,112 Judge Panken rejoins that those earlier moves were only attempts which "did not 'take.'"113

May we add trade unions for women to our catalogue of Jewish innovations? It is at least an open question.

**Unions of Social Workers**

19. Hardly debatable is the Jewish parentage of unions for social workers. The unionization of social workers began among those engaged by the New York Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies.114 This event was preceded and promoted by a series of discussions at the meetings of the National Conference of Jewish Social Service. "The reports of its Committee on Employment Practices and Relationships, discussed and finally adopted in 1934, constitute probably the first formal statement by social workers of standards covering wages, hours, leaves, economic security and so on."115 To these demands has been added the quest for ampler relief grants to clients.116

There is little reason to deny that these Jewish social workers were pathfinders. That new-born union promptly entered "the main stream
of the labor movement." \(^{117}\) Early in its career, the New York Association of Federation Workers obtained a charter from the American Federation of Labor. \(^{118}\) Later that Jewish association engendered the National Coordinating Committee of Social Service Employees Groups. \(^{116}\) That signifies not only subsequent imitation by others but also aggressive missionarization by the originators to win others to the cause.

*The Social Work Year Book 1949* records that about 70,000 professional employees of non-governmental agencies belonged, at that time, to the locals of the United Office and Professional Workers of America, an affiliate of the CIO. \(^{120}\) The twenty locals, approximately, of the Social Service Employees Union are among them.

**FARM LOANS**

20. Notwithstanding the Jew's dominantly urban habitat, considerable Jewish pioneering is to be found in the sphere of agriculture. The Jewish Agricultural Society originated our thriving systems of farm loans, \(^{121}\) of agricultural credit cooperatives, \(^{122}\) and of agricultural fire insurance cooperatives. \(^{123}\)

For almost thirty years before the federal government established its Farm Credit Administration, with its Land Bank Commissioner loans, the Jewish Agricultural Society had been extending loans of that type. \(^{124}\) Henry Morgenthau, Jr., one of the directors of the Jewish Agricultural Society and, for a time, its vice-president, "was named by President Roosevelt to organize and head the system" when the Farm Credit Administration was formed. \(^{125}\)

**FARM CREDIT COOPERATIVES**

21. As introducers of agricultural credit cooperatives, Jews are explicitly recognized by writers on the subject. \(^{126}\) These cooperatives are patterned after the Raiffeisen system which had previously operated in Germany. \(^{127}\) Jewish pioneering consisted, therefore, not in the invention of something new, but in the introduction of something of which American agriculture was in sore need. For this contribution, the Jews have received cordial non-Jewish praise. \(^{128}\)

**AGRICULTURAL FIRE INSURANCE**

22. In 1913, the Jewish Agricultural Society brought into practice Cooperative Agricultural Fire Insurance \(^{129}\) which, like the Farm Loan system and the Cooperative Credit system, has widely spread. \(^{130}\)

**SUBSISTENCE HOMESTEADS**

23. During the depression, the federal government fostered subsistence homesteads. The subsistence homestead has been described as:
“settlement on farms of small acreage within commuting distance of cities where a moderate but appreciable amount of farming can be carried on by the farm wife and the farm child while the wages of the head of the family continue to come in.”

Furthermore,

“the family head devotes his time to farming before and after working hours, week-ends, vacations and at slack periods.”

When the aspiration of the New Deal to generate subsistence homesteads was at its height, the Bureau of Jewish Social Research commented “that the Jewish Agricultural Society is to be credited with being the pioneer of experiments now carried out throughout the country.” The Jewish Agricultural Society had started such a project near New Brunswick, New Jersey, in 1928; but Jewish workers elsewhere had entered upon such attempts prior to 1928. At an early stage of the government’s program, one of its subsistence homesteads was definitely planted at the suggestion of some Jewish needleworkers and other interested Jewish persons.

While all the various federal projects have long ago been liquidated, the Jewish agro-industrial projects at Bound Brook and at Highland Park, New Jersey, are still functioning.

**Altro Work Shop**

24. Sheltered employment is not of Jewish inception, but a unique type of sheltered employment is of Jewish inception. Opened in 1915 by the Committee for the Care of the Jewish Tuberculous, the Altro Work Shops of New York City have been aiding tuberculous persons who have reached convalescence. Income at needlework is provided under conditions in which the prime consideration is the worker’s health. The chief members of the staff are the physician and the nurse who restrain the worker from overexertion and direct special periods of nutrition between meals. Recently the program was enlarged to accommodate cardias.

The endeavor has not been duplicated anywhere in the United States, although Dr. Louis I. Dublin of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company has taken the National Tuberculosis Association to task for its failure to advance similar undertakings.

**Child Guidance Home**

25. The Child Guidance Home at Cincinnati has been described as “a diagnostic institute conducted by the United Jewish Social Agencies in cooperation with the Jewish Hospital for the study and observation of subnormal, defective, psychopathic and behavioristic children from ages 4 to 14 years.”
Dr. Louis A. Lurie, the founder and, for many years, the director of the Child Guidance Home, maintains that, so far as he knows, this was the first residential diagnostic center to be started anywhere. Dr. Lurie further reports that, in the past fifteen years, similar homes have been contemplated or established in various parts of the country.

The Child Guidance Home of Cincinnati has, for financial reasons, ceased to be exclusively diagnostic and has now become a treatment center for emotionally disturbed children.

**Union Health Center**

26. The predominantly Jewish membership of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union justifies our crediting, to Jewish initiative, the Union Health Center established, at the instance of that union, by the late Dr. George M. Price, in 1913. To the 200,000 members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and their families, residing in New York City, the Union Health Center has reduced, to a minimum, the cost of medical care. "The average member of the Union is entitled to $30 worth of medical credit from his local." For services costing more than $30, there exists a moderate schedule of charges. As "the income derived at the scheduled fee rate does not cover the expenditures of operation," the difference is provided by the union's funds for health and welfare. Since 1945, these funds have been supplied by the employers. The attention and the equipment are of the very best that medical science has devised. During 1949, no fewer than 2,700 services were furnished daily. In the course of that year, the Center filled no fewer than 123,567 prescriptions. At present the Center is being served by 175 physicians. The project has definitely increased the working days, the working years, and, consequently, the earnings of those who have come under its provisions.

In "the fact that it was conceived and operated by a labor union" lies "the difference between the ladies' garment workers' health program and others."

The undertaking has been copied not only in such Jewish circles as that of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, but also by workers at Fall River, Mass., by the hotel trades of New York City, and by the Labor Health Institute of St. Louis.

**Hospital Home Care**

27. Under its present director, Dr. E. M. Bluestone, Montefiore Hospital, in New York City, has pioneered in the plan enabling patients to dispense with hospital sojourn by obtaining hospital care in their own homes. For suitable cases, especially of long-term illness,
the routines and the services of the hospital are, through a well regulated system of visitation, transferred to the patient's abode. This not only reduces the expense; it also enhances the patient's comfort and calm. At the same time, the plan releases hospital beds for such as can not be treated in any other way.\textsuperscript{156}

This Home Care program, initiated on January 1, 1947, is still in the experimental stage. Adoption by other organizations has not yet been reported.

**APARTMENTS FOR THE AGED**

28. The Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds categorically denies that the New York Home for Aged and Infirm Hebrews pioneered in the construction of apartments specially designed for the aged. The Council for Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds contends that such apartments, known as the Tompkins Square House, had at an earlier date been erected by the Community Service Society of New York City.\textsuperscript{157}

However, the New York Home for Aged and Infirm Hebrews does insist upon having pioneered, about the year 1939.\textsuperscript{158} An article written on the subject by a non-Jew and published in 1946 does not mention the Tompkins Square House, but does mention the apartment houses of the New York Home for Aged and Infirm Hebrews.\textsuperscript{159}

Here, also, our inquiry as to Jewish origin will have to remain inconclusive.

**RECREATION FOR THE AGED**

29. The Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds likewise denies that any Jewish group was the first to experiment in recreation for the aged. It ascribes precedence to the Hodson Community Center founded by the New York City Department of Welfare.\textsuperscript{160} The non-Jewish writer to whom we have just alluded also designates the Hodson Center, but refers, in the same breath, to "the National Council of Jewish Women's Club for Older People."\textsuperscript{161}

The National Council of Jewish Women does indeed assert some kind of priority. Its representative writes: "We are the first national membership organization to develop a program on a national scale. Also, insofar as we know, the New York Section's program was the first to be established by a volunteer organization on a planned basis."

Once more we confront uncertainty. Recreation for the aged may or may not have been, in some sense or other, a species of Jewish pioneering.\textsuperscript{162}

**SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

Our survey of Jewish pioneering in American social welfare has
covered twenty-nine different topics. These have, without announce-
ment, been grouped in six divisions and arranged in the following
sequence: 1) Fund Raising, 2) Family Welfare, 3) Labor Relations,
4) Agricultural Ventures, 5) Health Projects, 6) Projects in Behalf of
the Aged.

But diversities in addition to these interpenetrate these. Of the
initial Jewish undertakings, some survive; others have disappeared.
Some have exerted an impact on non-Jews; others have been less
effective. The products of non-Jewish acceptance have, in some cases,
p proved enduring; in some cases, evanescent. With some, Jewish nas-
cency was unmistakable; with others, subject to query. Every new
thing in the world embodies material from older things, until it
sometimes becomes dubious where the new begins and the old ends.
In modern social welfare no less than in medieval Jewish theology,
creatio ex nihilo poses a problem. Now and then we paused to ask
whether a resembling activity of non-Jews fared forth in response to
some Jewish lead or burgeoned independently.163 Negative features
as well as positive features emerge. A grading would seem to be in-
dicated somewhat as follows:

1. Community Chest
2. Visiting Housekeeper
3. Transportation Rules
4. Industrial Efficiency Studies
5. Cooperative Housing by Trade Unions
6. Farm Loans
7. Agricultural Fire Insurance
8. Union Health Center
9. Protocol of Industrial Peace
10. Farm Credit Cooperatives
11. Workers' Education under Union Auspices
12. Unions of Social Workers
13. Industrial Removal Office
14. Subsistence Homesteads
15. Aid to Dependent Children
16. Religious Sanction of Birth Control
17. Integration of Birth Control with Family Welfare
18. Religious Endorsement of Aid to Dependent Children
19. Welfare Funds for Non-Local Needs
20. Altro Work Shop
21. Social Service Bake Shop
22. Hospital Home Care
23. Elevation of Relief Standards
24. Charity Chest of the Fur Industry
25. Child Guidance Home
26. Social Case Work for a Fee
27. Apartments for the Aged
28. Recreation for the Aged
29. Trade Unions Exclusively for Women

The topmost three are placed there not only because they have survived and because they have been widely copied, but also because of the extent to which they have come to be known. The five at the bottom stand there because their source is uncertain. Other rankings are induced not only by such factors as duration, fruitfulness, and notedness, but also by the consideration of greater warrant or lesser warrant for imputing Jewish origin.

It needs no telling that these assignments offer vast room for disagreement. That many would rate these items differently goes without saying. And yet, when all has been accounted for, does any doubt remain that the Jews have pioneered, and significantly pioneered, in American social welfare?

Notes

4Norton, op. cit., pp. 73, 77.
5Ibid., p. 69. Also Resolution of the Cleveland Federation of Charities passed at the time of the death of Mr. Marks and published in the Cleveland Social Work Year Book 1916. Likewise, William I. Ong, "Five Million Two Hundred Thousand Dollars for One Hundred and One Agencies Plus the United Service Organizations," in The Clevelander, a Monthly Journal Published by the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, October, 1948, p. 6.
6Letter of July 18, 1950, from Mr. Herman Moss, son-in-law of Martin A. Marks.
7Letter of July 14, 1950, from Henry L. Zucker, Executive Director of the Jewish Welfare Federation of Cleveland. Letter of July 24, 1950, from Herman Moss. In a letter of August 2, 1950, Mr. Zucker reports the impression of Samuel Goldhammer, who has been the Executive Director of the Jewish Federation of Cleveland for forty-three years, and whose incumbency must therefore have coincided with the beginnings of the Cleveland Federation for Charity and Philanthropy.
9Ibid., pp. 50, 52, 53, 62. In a letter of April 6, 1936, Allen T. Burns, Executive Vice-President of Community
Chests and Councils, writes: "We know nothing including community budget making earlier than the Cleveland attempt. All other efforts of which we know were more or less of the character of a united campaign, each agency putting in an uncensored amount and drawing out the results in proportion to its original request."

Maurice J. Karpf, Jewish Community Organization in the United States, New York, 1938, observes: "Community Chests... are the outcome of the Jewish Federations and were profoundly influenced by them" (p. 107), and that "The Jewish federation has stimulated the creation of the Community Chest" (p. 177).

Norton, op. cit., p. 89.

Minutes of the Welfare Federation of Cleveland, January 27, 1913, supplied by Edward D. Lynde, Executive Secretary, June 18, 1950. In the letter mentioned supra, note 10, Allen T. Burns declares: "The Jews really should have the credit of inventing Community Chest principles. They saw the advantage of a central budget as a basis of a united campaign. We think nothing can really be called a Chest that does not involve this principle. Cleveland was the first community of which we know to apply the principle to a community-wide effort. . . . The real proposer of the Cleveland ideas was Mr. Martin Marks. He was chairman of a special committee of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce to study the whole matter. He derived his ideas from Jewish Federations." It may be well once more to quote Norton, op. cit., pp. 68, 69: "Just as Darwin is not the originator of the theory of evolution, so is Cleveland not the originator of federation. But Darwin compiled the evidence on evolution and became its first great press agent. And Cleveland founded its federation on a wealth of evidence, planted it in extremely fertile soil and promptly announced it to the world. Its federation succeeded from the start: it prompted a dozen cities to do the same thing; and it deserves to be known as the originator of the modern movement."

Communication of July 19, 1950, from Lyman S. Ford, of Community Chests and Councils, 155 East 44th St., New York 17.

The first of the Jewish Welfare Funds was started in 1925 (Social Work Year Book 1949, p. 261). A Jewish Welfare Fund is a type of organization which, existing in numerous American Jewish communities, provides joint solicitation, once a year, for a large group of Jewish benevolences mostly non-local; that is to say, national agencies such as the National Jewish Hospital for Consumptives at Denver, and overseas agencies such as the Hebrew University at Jerusalem. A Jewish Welfare Fund sometimes includes a few local Jewish benevolences which, for one reason or another, do not qualify for admittance into the interdenominational community chest. In a recent year, the Jewish Welfare Fund of Cincinnati served 35 extra-local agencies and 13 local agencies.

A National Fund has been recommended outside of the Jewish sphere by Ray Johns, The Cooperative Process Among National Social Agencies, New York, 1946, pp. 243, 244, 256. This book could be criticized for overlooking the Jewish welfare funds, which are strikingly relevant to its subject. A national Health Fund has been recommended by Selskar M. Gunn and Philip S. Platt, in Voluntary Health Agencies, New York, 1915, p. 223. The organization known as Community Chests and Councils (155 East 44th St., New York 17) has been promoting "the idea of state chests for non-local appeals in peacetime" (Letter of October 25, 1950, from Community Chests and Councils; also their mimeographed publication, State Chests in Peacetime, January 10, 1950). Wayne McMillan, Community Organization for Social Welfare, Chicago, 1945, pp. 346, 440. Lyman S. Ford, in
an article, "Whither Federation?" in the Survey of September 15, 1948, urges (pp. 277, 278, 279) extending "the principle of federation to these so-called 'non-local' appeals." It is hard to explain how it happens that these writers, who should have known about the Jewish Welfare Funds, seem to be uninformed.

18 An Evil of the Fur Trade and How It Will Be Overcome, The Charity Chest of the Fur Industry of the City of New York, Michael Hollender, Chairman Campaign Committee, 224 W. 90th St., New York City. Issued by the Publicity Committee, Samuel N. Samuels, Chairman.


15 These statistics are from "Five Years of the Trade Chest" (supra, note 15).

14 Letter of February 23, 1937, from David Citron, Executive Director of the Chest and Foundation of the Fur Industry of the City of New York. By this time, the organization had ceased to make allocations to benevolence and had become a mutual aid body assisting none but its own members. According to a letter of October 16, 1950, from its secretary, that was still the nature of the organization.


12 A copy of these rules can be found on p. 33 of The Transportation Problem in American Social Work, Jeffrey R. Brackett, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1936.

11 Proceedings of the National Conference of Jewish Charities, 1900, p. 19.

10 Brackett, op. cit., pp. 11, 12.

9 Ibid., p. 13.
Lurie in *Hospital Social Service Magazine* (supra, note 35), p. 327.

Ibid., p. 330.

Letter of August 2, 1950, from Virginia C. Frank, Executive Director of Jewish Family and Community Service, Chicago. The service was still functioning in June, 1933, when Miss Frank spoke before the Round Table on Birth Control at the conference in Detroit.

Lurie in *Hospital Social Service Magazine* (supra, note 35), p. 367, note i.

Bailey B. Burritt, in the foreword to the Lurie article in the *Hospital Social Service Magazine*, mentions the existence of something similar in London, financed by Jewish philanthropists, though serving on a non-sectarian basis (p. 328). However, in the *Jewish Social Service Quarterly*, December, 1926, pp. 20, 21, as well as in a letter dated August 28, 1930, Mr. Lurie states that "the new feature developed in Chicago was the service extended both to the wife and to the husband." Virginia Frank also alludes to this feature, then unique, of enlisting the husband's participation. This could not, however, have been the only new feature because, in the same letter, Mr. Lurie writes: "The birth control counseling service was the first of its kind in the programs of family service and relief agencies," which is identical with his published statement of 1931, pp. 327, 330.

A sample of literature on the subject is *The Case Worker and Family Planning*, published in 1945, by the Planned Parenthood Federation of America (501 Madison Ave., New York 22).

This refers, of course, to modern sanctions in the modern world. This has nothing to do with the Jewish traditional attitudes expounded by Jacob Z. Lauterbach, "Talmudic-Rabbinic View on Birth Control," *Yearbook Central Conference of American Rabbis*, XXXVII (1927), 569-584.

This is quoted in the *Birth Control Review*, May 1930, p. 149, and by the Committee on Marriage and the Home of the Federal Council of Churches in *Moral Aspects of Birth Control, Some Recent Pronouncements of Religious Bodies*, 1938.


*Birth Control Review*, May, 1930, p. 149. In *Moral Aspects* (supra, note 43), the year is given as 1931.


*Birth Control Review*, April, 1931, p. 102. The Committee on Marriage and the Home consisted of twenty-eight persons. Twenty-two favored the statement, three opposed it, and three were neutral. According to the superscription, "Protestants Endorse Birth Control" (p. 101), the administrative committee of the Federal Council of Churches endorsed this conclusion.

One of the most recent is a publica- zation of April, 1949, by the National Clergymen's Advisory Council of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America (501 Madison Ave., New York 22). The pamphlet, *Moral Aspects* (supra, note 43), names nine different denominations as favoring latitude in the matter of birth control.

In a letter dated July 25, 1950, from David Loth, Director Public Information Department, Planned Parenthood Federation of America.

The last surviving member of the Universalist committee of 1929 is Mrs. Effie McCollum Jones, 1409 Wilson Ave., Webster City, Iowa. In a letter dated August 5, 1950, Mrs. Jones reports her inability to recall whether the Universalists were aware of or influenced by the earlier rabbinic pronouncement. The last surviving member of the Methodist committee of 1930 is the Rev. Mr. Lester Ward Auman, 60 Harvard Ave., Rockville Centre, New York. In a letter dated August 25, 1950, the Rev. Mr. Auman also reports his inability to recall whether or not the Methodists were
influenced by the rabbis' prior action. We are reminded of what C. C. Carstens (infra, note 52) says about Mothers' Pensions: "As is common in other forms of invention, the beginnings of this movement are discovered in a number of places almost simultaneously" (p. 7).


52 C. C. Carstens (Public Pensions to Widows With Children, Publication No. 91, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1913) mentions San Francisco as preceding Kansas City in granting tax-provided pensions to indigent widows with children (pp. 7, 8, 9, 11). Emma O. Lundberg (Public Aid to Mothers With Dependent Children, Children's Bureau Publication No. 162, Washington, 1926) mentions not only San Francisco but also the State of Oklahoma as preceding Kansas City in tax-provided aid for widows with children (p. 2). Nonetheless, a careful reading of these pages will disclose that what prevailed in California and in Oklahoma was distinctly different from that which obtained in Kansas City and thence swept the nation.

Under the California law, the state paid for the maintenance of children in private institutions. After the earthquake of 1906, these institutions became overcrowded and had to be supplemented by placement in private homes (Carstens, p. 8). Sometimes it happened that the private homes selected would be the homes of the necessitous children themselves. Sometimes such homes chanced to be fatherless by reason of death, desertion, or imprisonment. The Oklahoma law of 1908 "provided for 'school scholarships' to be paid by counties upon the recommendation of the school authorities to children whose widowed mothers needed their earnings" (Lundberg, p. 2). By way of adjustment to child labor legislation?

Carstens himself states that the California plan was "not based on a statute directly establishing widows' pensions" (p. 9). Emma O. Lundberg also affirms: "The first definite legal provisions of aid to mothers of dependent children were passed by the Missouri Legislature in 1911" (p. 2). A discussion of Mothers' Pensions before the National Conference of Charities and Corrections in 1914 (Proceedings, pp. 442 ff.) mentions Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts, but not California and not Oklahoma. One of the sentences reads: "Many of the states West of the Mississippi soon followed the example of Missouri and passed laws that in language and methods of enforcement were practically identical."


54 L. A. Halbert, "The Widows' Allowance Act in Kansas City," The Survey, XXXI (February 28, 1914), 675. Perhaps the role of Kansas City with relation to Mothers' Pensions was analogous to that of Cleveland with relation to the Community Chest as viewed by William J. Norton (supra, note 12).

55 Letter of August 17, 1950, from Washington University, St. Louis.

56 Letter of July 29, 1938, from Jacob Billikopf.

57 This is Article 13 in the Social Justice Platform of 1918 (Yearbook, XXVIII [1918], 102).

58 A Statement on Social Unrest adopted by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, June 12, 1919, and, by the same body, A Statement on Social and Industrial Problems, June 10, 1920.

59 Bulletin No. 29 of the Social Service Committee of the Northern Baptist Convention. A search for other Christian pronouncements on this theme has thus far proved unsuccessful.

60 Mrs. Sidney J. Eisman, "An Experi-

Mrs. Eisman, op. cit., p. 257.


Abba Hillel Silver, discussing the Hexter paper (supra, note 63). urged: "If there is a movement toward standardization within the group controlling the community fund, then it is the duty of the Federation not to leave that Board but to stay there and aggressively to assume leadership pointing the way toward a standardization upward, instead of a standardization downward."

The Cleveland Plain Dealer, March 15, 1936, p. 6, column 2. Grossman was not influenced by Silver. He was not aware of Silver's idea until it was brought to his attention by the present writer more than twenty-four years later. Grossman professes to have been prompted by his personal experiences as Chairman of the Cuyahoga County Relief Committee (Letter of October 11, 1950, from Marc J. Grossman).

The Cleveland Plain Dealer, March 15, 1936, p. 6, column 3.

For these accomplishments, Grossman received the Distinguished Service Award of the Cleveland Community Fund (Cleveland Plain Dealer, December 18, 1938).

In Cleveland itself, a reversion to the earlier niggardliness was threatened when, in 1936, the Ohio Legislature passed the Metzenbaum Bill. This led Grossman to resign in protest from the county relief committee (Cleveland Plain Dealer, March 15, 1936, p. 1).


Information Service, ibid.

Social Work Year Book 1949, p. 194.


Gabriel Davidson, Our Jewish Farmers, New York, 1943, p. 23.


Davidson, op. cit., p. 22.

Davidson, op. cit., p. 19.


Joseph, ibid.

Davidson, op. cit., p. 22.


Ibid., p. 197.

Social Work Year Book 1949, pp. 92, 597.

Ibid., p. 962.

Ibid., p. 562.

Benjamin Stolberg, Tailor's Progress,
Garden City, N. Y., 1944, p. 65.

Selig Perlman, *A History of Trade Unionism in the United States*, New York, 1922. According to Prof. Perlman, this Joint Board of Sanitary Control "wrought a revolution in the hygienic conditions in the shop" (p. 20).

Perlman, *ibid.*, p. 91.

Selig Perlman, *A History of Trade Unionism in the United States*, New York, 1922. According to Prof. Perlman, this Joint Board of Sanitary Control "wrought a revolution in the hygienic conditions in the shop" (p. 20).

Stolberg, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

Perlman, *op. cit.*, p. 78.


Stolberg, *op. cit.*, p. 91.


Perlman, *ibid.*, p. 220.


Stolberg, *op. cit.*, p. 293.


Marius Hansome, "The Development of Workers' Education," in Brameld, *op. cit. (supra, note 100), p. 57. Selig Perlman, "Workers' Education," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, XV, 485. The Workers' Education Bureau of the American Federation of Labor was founded in 1921 after the educational projects of the trade had gotten well under way. John D. Connors, the director of the Workers' Education Bureau, therefore errs when he says, in a prospectus of that Bureau, that "the modern American Workers' Education movement . . . really began in 1921 with the establishment of the Workers' Education Bureau of America." Connors claims that Workers' Education had its inception in 1828. These sporadic projects, however, initiated prior to 1916, were not of trade union inception and auspices like the Workers' Education undertakings of today. The present status of Workers' Education in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has elicited an enthusiastic article on the subject by Beulah Amidon in "Union Teacher," *the Survey*, December, 1950, p. 549.


Stolberg, *op. cit.*, p. 292. Although Stolberg (p. 290) reports that, for various reasons, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union had practically given up workers' education, the movement has nonetheless continued to be fostered in labor circles. The *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* reports that the ILGWU resumed workers' education upon the advent of the New Deal (XV, 485).


Letter of July 29, 1950, from Elisabeth Christman, former secretary-treasurer of the National Women's Trade Union League.

York, December, 1938, English Section, p. 50.


Letter of October 16, 1950, from Judge Panken.


*ibid.*, p. 233.


Maurice Taylor, *ibid*.

*ibid.*, p. 234.

*ibid*.

*Social Work Year Book 1949*, p. 518.


Joseph, *op. cit.*, pp. 143, 146. Davidson, *op. cit.*, pp. 45, 46. These credit unions began business on May 1, 1911, in the states of New York and Connecticut. "They were the first credit cooperatives on American soil" (p. 45). The Federal Security Agency issued, as of December 31, 1949, statistics of Federal Credit Unions operating among members of the National Grange. This, of course, does not include the agricultural credit unions outside of the federal program.


Davidson, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

*ibid.*, p. 117.


Joseph, *ibid*.


Davidson (*op. cit.*), pp. 157, 160, 161) mentions projects started, between 1929 and 1940, near Chatham, near Plainfield, and near Bound Brook, New Jersey; also one near Peekskill, New York.

This project was known as "Jersey Homestead, Inc." (Davidson, *op. cit.*, p. 160), but was better known as the Hightstown, New Jersey, project (Notes and News, December 31, 1933, p. 25. Jewish Daily Bulletin, March 23, 1934). The Hightstown project was sponsored by the Provisional Committee for Jewish Land Settlement in America. The Subsistence Homestead Division of the federal government's Department of the Interior agreed to grant a loan of $500,000. On December 31, 1933, this undertaking was in process of organization. At Hightstown, "among the structures will be a clothing factory," in conjunction with the farms (Jewish Daily Bulletin, March 23, 1934, p. 5).

Letters of January 27, 1948, and Au-
Edward Hochhauser, "Objectives of Sheltered Workshops," Jewish Social Service Quarterly, June, 1949, Vol. XXV, No. 4, p. 541. The Joint Tuberculosis Committee was formed in December, 1913, by Montefiore Hospital, the Social Service Department of the Free Synagogue, and the United Hebrew Charities (Life and a Living, Report of the Committee for the Care of the Jewish Tuberculous, 71 W. 47th St., New York City, 1936, p. 17).

The periodical literature on the Alto Workshops is copious. Samples are: By Edward Hochhauser, "Rehabilitating the Tuberculous—a Successful Experiment" (The Modern Hospital, XXXVI, No. 4, April, 1931); "A New Place in Industry for Sheltered Workshops" (Better Times, May 28, 1925, p. 14); "Industry's Practice in the Employment of Ex-Patients" (The American Review of Tuberculosis, Vol. XL, No. 4, October, 1929, pp. 437-444); "The Sheltered Workshop—its Place in the Rehabilitation of the Tuberculous" (Hospitals, July, 1942); "Are We Meeting Case Work Needs of the Tuberculous Patient and His Family?" (National Conference of Social Work, May 23, 1946). By Louis E. Siltzbach, "The Sheltered Workshop in the Rehabilitation of the Tuberculous" (Milbank Memorial Quarterly, Vol. XXI, No. 1, January, 1943, pp. 80-100); "Clinical Evaluation of the Rehabilitation of the Tuberculous" (National Tuberculosis Association, New York, 1944).

Edward Hochhauser, "A 'Recovery Act' for the Handicapped," in Occupational Therapy and Rehabilitation, Vol. XIII, No. 5, October, 1934. "Our wages have been maintained steadily at high levels" (Life and a Living, supra, note 138, p. 54).

Life and a Living, pp. 41, 42. "The doctor is boss" (Objectives of Sheltered Workshops, supra, note 138, p. 543).


Some duplication is reported to have occurred in England, in Switzerland, and in France (Edward Hochhauser, "Post-Sanatorium Care of the Tuberculous," Hospitals, November, 1936). These are not exact replicas, nor can there be any predication of influence (Letter of July 19, 1950, from the Committee for the Care of the Jewish Tuberculous). The parallel effort at Papsworth, England, is mentioned also in Alto Becomes of Age (Invitation to the Dedication of the New Alto Work Shops in New York City, December, 1924).

Louis I. Dublin, "Altro Fights for Rehabilitation," The Modern Hospital, June, 1944.

During the first ten years of its existence, the institution went by the name of the Psychopathic Institute. Some published references are the following by Louis A. Lurie: "Treatment of the Subnormal and Psychopathic Child," Journal of the American Medical Association, Vol. 67, May 21, 1921, pp. 1386-1389; The Mental Hygiene Program of the United Jewish Social Agencies, Cincinnati, February, 1923, p. 5; "The Subnormal and Psychopathic Child as Exemplified in Special Clinic," Journal of the...


Letter of July 22, 1950, from Dr. Louis A. Lurie.

Ibid. The Cincinnati Child Guidance Home was established in July, 1920, under the name of the "Psychopathic Institute." The priority of the Cincinnati Child Guidance Home might be questioned on the basis of a statement in the September, 1944, issue of the Quarterly Bulletin of the Managing Officers Association published by the Department of Public Welfare, State of Ohio, Columbus, Ohio, and referring to the Ohio State Bureau of Juvenile Research. This statement (p. 7) reads: "The Bureau has been located at 2280 West Broad St., Columbus 4, Ohio, since January, 1920. The present facilities enable the Bureau to have in residence about one hundred twenty children who remain for extensive and intensive observation and study." These sentences do not contradict the claim of Dr. Lurie. They do not assert that, as early as 1920, children would "remain for extensive and intensive observation and study." Dr. Lurie writes, on November 14, 1950: "The Child Guidance Home was the first inpatient facility for the study and treatment of behavior disorders of children and which employed the Orthopsychiatric team of psychiatrist, psychologist, and psychiatric social worker as its operating unit . . . to the best of my knowledge, it was the first of its kind in the world."

Interview with Dr. Lurie, October 21, 1950.

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Interview with Dr. Lurie, October 21, 1950.

Triennial Report, 1947-1949, the Union Health Center, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.


Letter of December 7, 1950, from Dr. Leo Price, director of the Union Health Center.

Leo Price, M.D., in "Union Plans," Archives of Industrial Hygiene and Occupational Medicine, September, 1950, p. 256. It is well known that the late Dr. Lee K. Frankel originated the health program of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.

Home Care, a collection of reprints and other articles issued by Montefiore Hospital, New York City, 1949, pp. 17, 22. E. M. Bluestone, "Social Medicine," in the Modern Hospital, August, 1950.

Letter of December 17, 1941, from Kurt G. Herz, Research Associate of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds.


John P. Dean, op. cit., footnote 6.

Letter of August 10, 1950, from Mrs. Ruth Solomon, Head of the Community Welfare Department, National Council of Jewish Women.

Duplication need not indicate influence or imitation. A memorable example was the resolution adopted by the Rabbinical Assembly of America on May 3, 1933, in which the passage occurs: "The world has risked so much for war. Let it risk as much for peace." On July 2, 1934, the British Society of Friends issued a "Call to Complete Disarmament" which contains the words: "We take risks in war—we can take risks for peace." Inquiry of the person who led in the formulation of the Quaker document brings the
reply that, to the British Quakers, the action of the American Conservative Rabbis was entirely unknown and that the parallel was, in all probability, a pure coincidence. A letter of August 18, 1950, from the London Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends reads: "It seems unlikely that anyone on our committee knew of your resolution."

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ABRAM VOSSEN GOODMAN

INTRODUCTION
Abraham Kohn represented the successful adaptation of a pre-1848 Jew to the stress and strain of American life in the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1842 Kohn was twenty-three years of age when he left the Bavarian village of Mönchstroth and sailed to seek his fortune in the new world. Less than two years later he was already located in Chicago as the proprietor of a store.

Kohn had a strong sense of Jewish loyalty which caused him to be one of the fourteen men who in 1847 were founders of Chicago's first congregation, the Kehilath Anshe Ma'ariv, now popularly known as K.A.M. Kohn became president in 1853, and, in the words of Hyman L. Meites, the historian of Chicago Jewry, he "placed the congregation on a firm foundation."1

Kohn took his American citizenship as seriously as his Jewish ties. Because he refused to accept a second-class status for the Jews, he was prominently identified in the campaign to obtain for Jewish American citizens the right to reside in Switzerland. He was elected city clerk of Chicago in 1860, and showed himself an enthusiastic Republican and ardent advocate of that party's presidential candidate, Abraham Lincoln of Springfield.

Kohn's admiration for the new president resulted in a gift that brought him some national attention. He sent Lincoln an American flag on whose red stripes he inscribed six of the verses from Joshua 1, including the stirring words: "I will not fail thee nor forsake thee. Be strong and of good courage." This was indeed a fit message for the leader embarking on a desperate war to preserve the Union.

Abraham Kohn died in 1871. Through his courage and leadership he had won for himself a good name within and without the Jewish community.

This brief summary of Abraham Kohn's career fails to touch on

1History of the Jews of Chicago, ed. by Hyman L. Meites, Chicago, 1924, p. 55.

Rabbi Abram Vossen Goodman, Ph.D., of Davenport, Iowa, is the author of American Overture, a study of Jewish rights in colonial times.
the struggles and hardships accompanying his Americanization. It would be unjust to the man and the age to suggest that the process was easy. There was an undeniable contrast between the Bavarian village with its medieval ways and the brash modernity of Chicago. The physical distance separating them was in itself disconcerting when one considers the long journey overland within Germany and the United States and the difficult voyage across the ocean in a small vessel. When an emigrant said farewell to his family and friends before setting out for America there was a certain grim finality. Added to this was the threat of poverty in a foreign land with strange speech and unfamiliar customs. No, the process of Americanization was difficult for Kohn, as for every newcomer.

Fortunately, the diary mirroring the heartaches and hardships that fell to his lot has been preserved. It is a valuable but hitherto unpublished document that furnishes insight into the life and emotions of a young man who set out to make his fortune overseas. It reveals clearly the sensibilities of the author. His fine Jewish background comes to the surface in a variety of Hebrew allusions used with the original German. There is a graphic picture of what it meant to cross Germany on foot from Bavaria to Bremen in the old days and what grim privations were endured on the Atlantic voyage.

The account of Kohn’s experiences as a peddler in rural New England gives real historical value to the diary. Mr. Lee M. Friedman has commented in a letter to the writer: “He came to New England just about the time the New England boy peddlers were going West, so that there was a scarcity of peddlers in New England.”

The diary, as it appears here in slightly abridged form, was translated from German. After breaking off the diary abruptly, Kohn wrote a series of letters to his mother summarizing his establishment in Chicago, but these lack the spontaneity of his journal.

Readers impressed by the attachment of the author for his mother will be interested to learn that she joined her son in Chicago, where she died in the cholera epidemic of 1849. She remained firm in her devotion to the dietary laws, and the story is told that her refusal to eat meat not properly slaughtered by a shohet was responsible for the founding of the K.A.M. congregation.

The original diary is owned by Abraham Kohn’s granddaughter, Mrs. Julius E. Weil of Chicago, whose other grandfather, the renowned rabbi of K.A.M., Liebman Adler, officiated at Kohn’s funeral.

The diary was to have been published under the editorship of Dr. David Philipson, but death had the final word.

* * * * *
Pizoro

b) Rzrn Studto,

Chicago

ABRAHAM KOHN

"ONE OF THE BLACKEST REPUBLICANS AND ABOLITIONISTS"

Photo by Rita Studio, Inc., Chicago
15. Yesterday morning, Wednesday, June 15, 1842, I began my journey to North America, together with my brother Moses. It was difficult for me to leave my dear brothers and sisters and, especially, my beloved mother—so difficult that I was exhausted when I arrived at 5 o'clock at Wittelshofen, accompanied by my devoted mother, who had held my hand in hers all the way....

Tears are a gift from God. I wept bitterly as I kissed my dear mother, for perhaps the last time, in Wittelshofen, pressing her hand and commending her to the protection of the Eternal, the Father of all widows and orphans.

My friend, E. Jordan, who is making the journey with us, could control his feelings better than we, but even he could not forget that this was the hour of parting. At Klein Ried, a village near Ansbach, we stopped for lunch, but as we relived in our minds the scene of farewell we could not eat for weeping.

With prayers to the heavenly Father for a happy journey and a safe arrival, we have left our beloved home. May all our hopes be fulfilled! Heavenly Father, I ask Thy blessing. Send to us, as to Jacob our father, Thy heavenly angel. In joy and health let us again see our beloved relatives and friends. Amen. Amen.

16. On Thursday, June 16, at 3 o'clock in the morning, we arose and proceeded on foot to Lehrberg, where, in another scene of sentiment, we once more bade farewell to other relatives.... It is truly very hard to part before so long a journey; one believes that one is seeing one's loved ones for the last time. Yet hope, the constant companion of every man, brings comfort to the wounded heart, and faith in the dear Father of all, gives courage. Happy is the man whose trust is in God, and whose trust the Lord is....

At noon we stopped in Markt Bürgeb and arrived by evening at Uffenheim, where we spent the night....

17. I felt well and refreshed on Friday morning. At night, to my joy, I received a letter from my dear friend Weinberg from Fürth; may God preserve him in good health! In the same enclosure I found some lines from Theilbrenner and, last but not least, a note from my dear mother, which I shall always cherish.... Friday evening my brother and I wrote home.... All day we laughed and sang and

*This appeared in Hebrew in the original text.*
slept, rejoicing in the knowledge that all goes well with God's help.
This is being written in Volkach on Friday evening at 5 o'clock.
I have just sent a letter for my mother by a Mr. Frank from Werhausen, near Volkach.

18. Friday night we were in Volkach, and on Saturday morning at 3 o'clock set out for Schweinfurt, where we arrived to refresh ourselves with some remarkable wine. At noon we stopped at Poppenhausen and arrived, in the evening, at Münnerstadt. For the first time in my life I desecrated the Sabbath\(^8\) in such a manner, but circumstances left me no choice. May God forgive me! Saturday night we had delicious wine.

19. We left Münnerstadt on Sunday morning at 4 o'clock. We passed the last villages of Bavaria-Neustadt on the Saale, Mellrichstadt, and Essenhausen—and, three-quarters of an hour away from the last of them, at the top of a mountain, we inscribed our three names on the Saxon boundary post.

20. In the evening we came to Meiningen, a beautiful Saxon town in a romantic and lovely region. Here we spent the night and proceeded in the morning at 4 o'clock to Eisenach. At noon we stopped for some very bad beer at a village called Waldfisch. Our night's lodging at Eisenach was good, but too expensive.

21. On the morning of the 21st we wrote home the good news that brother Moses would get his visa in Bremen, tidings which made him very happy indeed. Travelling soon becomes monotonous. Although the country along the Werra is truly beautiful, lodging in this region tends to be very expensive. We spent the night in Albing, a mere post office, nine hours from Göttingen. . . .

22. Witzenhausen, the last Hessian village, is attractive and lively, and Grossenschneen, where we stopped at noon, is entirely Hanoverian. In the evening we arrived at a country tavern near Göttingen and, before we continued, I took a walk to Göttingen with Mr. Mark from Würzburg, one of our companions. It is really a very nice city, and we particularly liked the clear German pronunciation of the Göttingen citizens.

23. In the morning we continued on our way. After stopping at noon at Hohenheim, we arrived in the evening at Amenhausen, and

\(^8\)Orthodox Jews are forbidden to initiate a long journey on the Sabbath.
there we enjoyed one of the best lodgings of our entire trip. It put us in fine spirits, and I shall remember it for a long time. We accepted an invitation to join the dancing at a peasant wedding. . . . Although we danced in a barn, the admirable dancing partners and the good music provided us with some unforgettable hours. Although people here are peasants, they are well educated and distinguished in their speech and their behavior. My brother's tobacco pipe disappeared in the barn, but I cannot say where it went.

24. At 4 o'clock in the morning we resumed our journey and stopped at noon at Elze, a small village, six hours from Hannover. It was a monotonous day, and we passed most of the time in sleep, occasionally amusing ourselves with conversation and singing. Just an hour away from Hannover we stopped for the night and had the poorest lodging of our entire trip—bad food, hard and expensive beds, and such unfriendly people that we were glad to leave them in the early morning. There are different kinds of men in the world, but one doesn't find the friendly welcome and inexpensive service of our dear Fatherland here in the North German states. O Lord, Thou art a righteous judge with full knowledge both of good men and of evildoers.

25. Saturday morning we continued on our way to Bremen, coming in the evening to Krug-Meinigheim, an inn situated in the midst of a forest; good lodgings, although expensive.

26. On Sunday morning it was raining, and we were still fifteen hours from Bremen. We therefore proceeded in a coach—Jordan, Mark, my brother Moses, and I—to Bremen, where we arrived at 8 o'clock on Sunday evening.

God be praised, our journey by land is finished, and with His continued help we will safely continue our voyage by sea.

In the evening I crossed the two bridges and ventured into the old section of the city. The buildings are beautiful, but the streets were quiet with a true Sunday stillness. It had grown very late, so I returned home and to bed, where, for the first time, I slept quite well.

27. On Monday we explored Bremen, truly a wonderful city. From the great Weser Bridge we had a lovely view and saw several steamers and many small craft. In the streets the traffic was heavy with wagons carrying every kind of commodity. There are more beautiful girls here than in any city I have ever seen except Munich. . . .

4On this Saturday he makes no apology for traveling!
28. On Tuesday we visited various places, buying necessary things for our ocean voyage.

29. At 5 o'clock on Wednesday morning Mr. Oettinger, Mr. Lehrberg, and I embarked in a steamboat for Bremerhaven, where we arrived at 10 o'clock. . . . The Weser is very wide here. The extraordinary number of big merchant ships at dock, the colorful bustle of dock-hands and sailors loading and unloading the vessels, all the busy movement of the harbor presented a magnificent spectacle.

We wanted to see the ship on which we had engaged our passage and we found it, well-built and friendly-looking, promising a successful voyage. Only a few days ago it returned here from New York in twenty-eight days.

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon we took the steamboat back to Bremen, where we arrived at 9 o'clock.

30. In the morning we called upon people who had been recommended to us, among them Mr. H. Rueppel and Mr. Albrecht. The latter had been very well spoken of to Jordan by his brother-in-law. He welcomed us warmly and we talked of many things, chiefly of the tragic condition of our coreligionists in Bavaria. He displayed so much interest in this topic that it occurred to me that he, too, may have been a Jew in earlier times.

In this connection I remembered the story of a Jew who was converted, but in his sphere of activity was respected and honored by all. He was believed to be very wealthy and continued to acquire riches, but lived withal in a very modest way. He died at a great age and was survived by many friends who anticipated considerable gain through his bequests. When his will was read it was found to bequeath substantial property to his servant, to the poor of the city, and to his good friends. In addition, he left a great iron chest in the basement. When this was opened there was found inside a painting of a cat and a mouse, beneath which was the inscription:

“As this cat is too large for a mouse to eat,
So Christian from Jew’s an impossible feat.”

We visited Mr. Oettinger and his wife, as we have several times. Following this we purchased a few luxury articles, and I bought a few watches with which I hope to do something in the future.

July 1. On Friday we went for a walk and inspected the environs of Bremen, which we found very pleasant. In the afternoon there arrived a letter from home which I opened with some misgivings but which,
happily, informed me that all was well. My mother dwelt at great
length on her sorrow at our absence, a sentiment I can understand,
for my thoughts have been constantly of my dear mother.

2. On this Saturday we paid visits to the American consul, Hirshman
Ansbach, and Mr. Oettinger.

3. Our stay in Bremen becomes expensive, for it is difficult to be
forced to stay in a big city — or anywhere else for that matter — with-
out a chance to earn one's living. We spend money whenever we go
out; on the other hand, one cannot always stay at home. On Sunday
evening, as a matter of fact, we were very convivial and drank so
much good wine that I finally became quite tipsy.

4. We made further preparations for embarkation. Heinecke is a
rogue.

5. Heinecke's transgressions grow; he is unfit for companionship.

6. On Wednesday morning at 11 o'clock we departed from Bremen
for Bremerhaven where, in the afternoon, we boarded our ship, the
Atlanta. We inspected the interior of the ship, the night quarters.

7. We spent this Thursday morning aboard ship and after lunch
walked along the harbor.

8. On Friday, at five o'clock, there was a solar eclipse, invisible
to us.

9. Saturday was spent in visits, billiards, and dinner.

10. Sunday dullness on board the ship.

11. More of the same on Monday.

The Voyage

12. On Tuesday we departed from Bremerhaven. Temperature, 67
degrees, winds very good, but for too short a time. Farewell! The
last glimpse of land, the German soil, brought mixed feelings.

July 13, 14, 15, and 16. A strong north wind on the Weser, but
impatience, boredom, and bad sleeping aboard. Thirty-four more
passengers joined us...
17. Sunday and a holiday, so much sleeping. A north wind in the afternoon, but anchor at evening.

18. On Monday the ship came by tacking to the mouth of the Weser.

19. We are at the entrance of the North Sea with an excellent wind. With such a wind the Captain thinks we will be in New York within two weeks. Can I believe it?

20. On Wednesday terrible west winds. We tacked the entire day. Seasickness has seized most of the passengers; out of 101 only 11 are well. Fortunately, my brother and I are among them, but Jordan is sick.

21. At 4 o'clock today the wind became so strong that the ship rose and fell violently and many things fell over. From time to time I could hear the cries of the ladies aboard. . . . I went on deck to smoke a cigar but found a terrible storm and a hideous raging of the waves. Sometimes the sea seemed to embrace the ship as an unusually big wave visited the deck. But the storm kept growing in its severity, and four or five of us sought company seated together.

Suddenly there was a great crashing and cracking sound, so that we sprang to our feet to look overboard. What a terrifying sight! The powerful wind had struck the upper sails with such force that it had torn off the entire topgallant mast with all yards, sails, and rigging. This was the fate of both foremasts and, as they fell, they took with them parts of the back mast. Fear seized us. The sailors ran about the deck, at a loss as to what to do first. At that moment the captain appeared, on his face astonishment, but courage as well. He gave commands to pull in certain sails, all in a German dialect I could not understand. And then he turned a cheerful face to us, giving us new confidence.

The accident would not have happened had not the captain, just at that moment, been busy making observations with some instrument, and consequently unable to pay attention to the ship. Now, however, we rejoiced that the worst was over, although the wind blew with full strength and the boat creaked and rocked to and fro like a ball shuttling between two players in a game. I remembered the story of Robinson Crusoe, although our calamity was certainly not as great as his.

I remained on deck as the ship rocked in a terrifying way, lifted high at one moment only to drop an equal distance the next. Those on deck were forced to hold fast with both hands to avoid being washed overboard when they stood upright. The sailors were very
busy now, attempting to bring down the broken tops of the masts and climbing aloft with remarkable courage as the boat lay nearly on her side. . . . Meanwhile in the steerage our companions were tossed about most unpleasantly.

Every once in a while we "are visited by Mr. Ulrich" (an expression the captain uses to describe seasickness). I seek the deck, where I feel best. . . .

After tea I remained on deck for some time. We were not more than ten or twelve miles from the English Channel; the sea had grown calmer but the north wind continued to blow fiercely. The captain, although lamenting our accident, feels sure that the course of our voyage will not be disturbed. We have lumber in stock, and he hopes to restore the three masts in three days.

22. By Friday morning all was fine and the English coast was in view, with its magnificent cliffs thrusting their stony faces out to sea. With the captain's telescope I glimpsed a lovely city along the coast, several towns upon the heights, and beautiful foliage, all of which brought great joy to me and made an indescribable impression. The sight of firm land is so heartening to the seafarer that he longs in sheer joy to fly over sea to the dry land. What a pity that we have no wings, and that even our limbs are really not fit for swimming such a distance! The weather is splendid, with a fair wind. Even now the men resume their carpentry upon the tops of the masts.

In the afternoon all passengers came on deck. Most of them are perfectly well again and rejoice at the sea's being far calmer than it was yesterday. We chat about a thousand different topics in order to drive away boredom.

23. On Saturday calm is restored and all is well. At 9 o'clock the Bremen freighter Elard passed us, a feat which would not have been possible had our masts been undamaged. Our captain, however, hopes to overtake it again. Later we saw the Isle of Wight appearing in the Channel off the English coast, and at noon we could catch sight of Portsmouth through the telescope.

Work on the foremasts is finished, and by evening the middle and strongest mast was also repaired. The calm, which continues to hold, brings joy to the captain, for in such weather all can be put to right. In the evening my pipe tasted very fine, and my brother and I enjoyed the best of health. Jordan is also recovered.

24. No wind on Sunday morning. Although the work on the masts continued, we got on very slowly. In the evening, however, a good wind arose, becoming increasingly stronger.
25. A wonderful east wind on Monday morning. The masts will be ready by noon, and we should proceed very quickly.

26, 27, 28, and 29. During all this time we have had wonderful weather and have made from eight to ten miles every four hours. We are now in the Atlantic Ocean but so far have seen nothing remarkable except occasional ocean fish swimming about our vessel. . . . Generally the days are very dull.

30. There was no wind at all on Saturday, and we grew impatient. Life on board ship is extremely tedious, particularly when we recall our varied amusements in the past. Alas, here things remain the same continually; nothing happens, and, in addition, even the wind has died down. The indifferent food and uncomfortable beds are depressing, and only hope and the constant companionship of our fellow men keep up our spirits.

We welcome the coming of night—not because of sleep, which we never enjoy as we do on land—but because it marks, to our joy, the passing of another day. And we long for morning, too, with its fresh air and light. Accept our prayers, O Lord, lead us through Thy angels safely into the new world where, with songs of thanksgiving, we can praise Thy mercy. Amen.

31. After a Sunday morning with no wind, there arose in the afternoon a favorable breeze that lasted through Monday, August 1st. It persisted through Tuesday, the 2nd, and the weather was fine, but on Wednesday, August 3rd, at 3 o'clock, the weather became worse and we had a very strong north wind.

August 4. There is a bad gale this Thursday, with a raging sea that lifts the boat violently up and down and makes many people sick. The heavy rain keeps every one off the deck.

5. A somewhat calmer sea on Friday, but the fierce wind continues. Each day we hope that the weather will change on the morrow, but it never seems to.

6. Throughout Saturday the bad wind persists, turning towards evening into a rainy half-storm. Throughout the night it is impossible to sleep. Everything seems to depend on a good wind.

7. A calmer sea on Sunday, although the wind is never quite to our taste. Last night my brother became sick, but is well again today. After supper, an unpleasant evening.
8. Things grow worse rather than better, for as we have a complete calm the boredom is hardly to be tolerated. Yet we must have patience until we are once again liberated.

9, 10, 11, and 12. Throughout Friday a bad wind and continuous washing by the waves.

13. Finally on Saturday things became better with a wind from the northeast and the ship moving splendidly. Pleasant weather also arrived so that several of the passengers went on deck, rejoicing and thanking God. No one, I am sure, thanked Him more heartily than I.

14. On Sunday a splendid east wind blew with full force and all sails were unfurled. This day we made the greatest progress of any day on our entire trip. It grew a little calmer at night.

15. Monday morning found us off the banks of Newfoundland. We enjoyed the sight of some huge fish which are called “North Capers” and are very interesting creatures. They are from twenty to forty feet in length and have the appearance, in back, of a large horse. They can be observed from quite a great distance, since they spout water to a height of ten feet from their nostrils. I have often wondered about the sea monsters of Scripture; now I have seen them.

We were to see yet another remarkable phenomenon of nature. At 3 o’clock in the afternoon the steersman observed an iceberg in the distance, and the call of “iceberg” brought all the passengers hurrying to the deck. Even the sick folk managed to get up the stairs for the spectacle. To avoid colliding with the tremendous body of ice, we sailed somewhat to the right, allowing it to pass at our left a mere hundred yards away. These ice blocks are an astonishing sight. They rise above the level of the ocean as high as a house and, so we were told by the sailors, extend beneath the surface for more than twice that distance. Within the iceberg area the weather grew much colder and the thermometer reached the freezing point. Icebergs are rarely seen in summer in this latitude. Indeed, our captain, a veteran skipper, had never met one until now in any of his trips to America.

At night a favorable northeast wind arose, but shortly the entire atmosphere was filled with a very dense fog which became still thicker during the night. We could, in fact, hardly distinguish sea from sky.

Well, this was a remarkable day! My brother derived great fun from the iceberg, asking all the passengers again and again, “Did you see the iceberg?” Owing to the favorable winds we found ourselves at night on the banks of Newfoundland, where our captain took soundings...
16. Very calm on Tuesday morning. Today our captain wanted to catch some fish and cast two large baited lines; unfortunately, not a fish bit. The wind was not very favorable today. Heavy fog again in the afternoon.

17. Although Wednesday morning brought wonderful weather, it was, unfortunately, too calm. There were many fish on the surface, and at noon we enjoyed seeing more than ten of the "North Capers," some of them of tremendous length. In the afternoon came a dense fog and a better southeast wind. There was fishing again, but with no luck. Supper was distinguished by a fine rice pudding, produced by our beloved Fanny.

18. There was a poor wind on Thursday and we had to furl the sails. At 2:00 A.M. a baby boy was born aboard ship. The father was Heinrich Koch of Mölle, near Osnabrück.

19. The winds were still light on Friday, improving somewhat at night. We continue to think wistfully of home, and while those we have left behind are enjoying a good meal as contrasted with our supper of tea, they, too, must be thinking of us with tears.

20. A calm Saturday morning, with a good wind in the afternoon, dying down in the evening and increasing again around midnight.

21. Sunday the same.

22. A good wind in the morning, followed by a calm at noon....

23. Early on Tuesday morning there arose an excellent northeast wind which, thank God, lasted the whole of the day. At half-past eleven this morning we saw from afar a strange black patch on the sea. No one knew its meaning, but as we approached it we beheld, to our surprise, the whole lower part of a wrecked ship floating on the ocean. God alone knows how long it has been there. It seemed to have been a schooner of from eighty to ninety tons. Mast and rigging were still there.

   How many, O Lord, have found their lonely grave in the waves! And yet, seen from land or considered in some inland port, the idea of a wrecked ship seems to arouse even more horror than does the actual sight at sea....

   At night we beheld a magnificent sunset which seemed to lend a magic purple light to the entire surface of the sea. An inspiring sight for all of us!
24. Wonderful weather on Wednesday morning, but deplorably calm. How long, we wonder, must we remain at sea, waiting in vain to enter the calm harbor of New York? We grow ill and weary in addition with the terrible hot weather; even the temperature of the water is 78 degrees. And we long, too, for relief from a monotony which grows unbearable.

25. Still calm and very hot on Thursday, but the evening is pleasanter and all the passengers come on deck to pass the time with songs and jokes and laughter.

26. Calm again on Friday.

27. Saturday brings the same weather. We are now at the 60th degree and will remain here until we have favorable winds. This terrible heat will soon become real torture, and the boredom has grown unbearable. How vivid now are the memories of home! I have never spent this kind of Saturday in all my life, and our sad mood is increased by the possibility of our spending the New Year holidays on shipboard. Depressed by these sad feelings, I sought my bed in tears. . . . At noon I felt better, for, thank God, we had some wind, though from the southwest only. We made a little progress by tacking, however, and felt that we might see land in a few days.

28. A very strong southeast wind on Sunday morning allowed us to proceed seven to seven and a half miles, which we had not done for a long time, although our progress is not precisely in the right direction. The vigorous rocking of the ship made several of our companions sick. O God, bring us favorable winds so that within the week we may set our feet on the soil of America. The sea is now somewhat calmer, but the wind is still good. We sighted five ships today, three bound in our direction and two sailing the opposite way. We soon left them behind. A good wind from the southeast on Sunday night. . . .

29. On Monday morning we heard a commotion on deck, and went up to see the sailors drawing in most of the sails because of the persistent northwest wind. The sky was heavy with storm clouds, and there was much lightning and thunder. The women aboard were terrified, but the wind soon blew the clouds away, and we enjoyed the strong breeze from the north. Beautiful weather yielded at night to dense fog and cold, and at 8 o’clock a very heavy northwest wind. The upper sails were taken in. God be thanked for the night’s heavy wind.
30. We have had the same wind today, praised be our Lord. In four hours we proceeded seven to eight miles and are now on the St. George bank. The day was very cold and rough.

31. A marvelous wind on Wednesday morning, with a speed of eight miles. We wait hopefully for news, thus far in vain. Moving in a southerly direction, we saw but one passing ship. The good east wind became weaker at night, but still satisfactory. With two more days of favorable wind we shall be through.

September 1, 1842. On Thursday morning at 5 o'clock I went on deck, but no land was in sight. I saw only the sun, rising from the ocean and presenting a marvelous sight. The southeast wind could have been stronger.

In the afternoon we sighted land, still very far away, but with mountains and rocks rising from the sea to the delight of every one on board. All of us were making preparations for landing. At night we saw some lighthouses and went to sleep full of joy with the hope that next morning we should at last greet the shores for which we have longed these many days.

2. On Friday morning there was a splendid wind, but the continent still lay far off. The arrival at noon of a pilot from New York caused much joy. At 6:00 P. M. we saw a great number of small boats, very close to our ship, a most cheerful sight. My brother and I counted 31 of them. We had to tack from 3 to 6 this afternoon, but in three or four days, with God's help, we hope to land in New York. We are now about due east of Boston.

3. At 8 o'clock on Saturday morning we saw the American coast. The rich green colors, the trees we have missed for so long, the beautiful buildings along the shore, the many busy freighters and boats and coastal steamers which passed us—all of these impressed us in a way which I cannot describe.

**Arrival in New York**

At nine we saw from afar the city of New York, and at eleven we anchored some two hours' distance from the city, where we were kept in quarantine. I was allowed to go by boat to the islands which extend in front of New York, but only after I had been examined by a doctor and found well. From there we took a steamboat to the city itself. I enjoyed my first sight of the city immensely, but, as I proceeded through the crowded streets on my way to see my brother, I felt somewhat uncomfortable. The frantic hurry of the people,
the hundreds of cabs, wagons, and carts—the noise is indescribable. Even one who has seen Germany’s largest cities can hardly believe his eyes and ears. Feeling quite dizzy, I passed through Grand Street where, to my great joy, I met my old friend Friedmann, who has changed greatly since he left Fürth. He was taking a walk with his sister and guided me immediately to my brother’s residence. The latter was out looking for me, having heard of the arrival of our ship. He soon returned home to embrace me, and at that moment I wished only that my mother could have been present. It is impossible to describe our feelings. It is enough to say that, with the Lord’s help, we were together and happy.

Brother Moses was still on board ship, planning to enter the city on Monday night.

4. Sunday, New Year’s Day. On the eve of the New Year I found myself with a new career before me. What kind of career? “I don’t know”—the American’s customary reply to every difficult question.

At night, in the Attorney St. Synagogue, I prayed to the Almighty, thanking Him for the voyage happily finished and asking good and abiding health for my dear mother and brothers and sisters. I prayed then for my own good health and asked for all of us good fortune.

May the Almighty hear my prayer! May He bless and bestow upon us His infinite mercy and charity! Amen.

5 and 6. These were the two New Year’s holidays. I spent the morning in the synagogue, and in the afternoon I walked around a bit. However, both Moses—who had now joined me—and I felt so tired after this little exercise that we went to bed immediately. The long voyage and lack of exercise had left us weak.

7-29. During this period I was in New York, trying in vain to find a job as clerk in a store. But business was too slow, and I had to do as all the others; with a bundle on my back I had to go out into the country, peddling various articles. This, then, is the vaunted luck of the immigrants from Bavaria! O misguided fools, led astray by avarice and cupidity! You have left your friends and acquaintances, your relatives and your parents, your home and your fatherland, your language and your customs, your faith and your religion—only to sell your wares in the wild places of America, in isolated farmhouses and tiny hamlets.

*Original in English.

6This was probably the Shaarey Hashamayim Synagogue at 122 Attorney St. It is now the Central Synagogue.
ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN 1861
WHEN KOHN SENT HIM A PAINTING OF THE AMERICAN FLAG
WITH A HEBREW INSCRIPTION
Only rarely do you succeed, and then only in the smallest way. Is this fate worth the losses you have suffered, the dangers you have met on land and sea? Is this an equal exchange for the parents and kinsmen you have given up? Is this the celebrated freedom of America's soil? Is it liberty of thought and action when, in order to do business in a single state, one has to buy a license for a hundred dollars? When one must profane the holy Sabbath, observing Sunday instead? In such matters are life and thought more or less confined than in the fatherland? True, one does hear the name "Jew," but only because one does not utter it. Can a man, in fact, be said to be "living" as he plods through the vast, remote country, uncertain even as to which farmer will provide him shelter for the coming night?

In such an existence the single man gets along far better than the father of a family. Such fools as are married not only suffer themselves, but bring suffering to their women. How must an educated woman feel when, after a brief stay at home, her supporter and shelterer leaves with his pack on his back, not knowing where he will find lodging on the next night or the night after? On how many winter evenings must such a woman sit forlornly with her children at the fireplace, like a widow, wondering where this night finds the head of her family, which homestead in the forests of Ohio will offer him a poor night's shelter? O, that I had never seen this land, but had remained in Germany, apprenticed to a humble country craftsman! Though oppressed by taxes and discriminated against as a Jew, I should still be happier than in the great capital of America, free from royal taxes and every man's religious equal though I am!...

There is woe—threefold woe—in this fortune which appears so glamorous to those in Europe. Dreaming of such a fortune leads a man to depart from his home. But when he awakens from his dreams, he finds himself in the cold and icy night, treading his lonely way in America.

"Hear, 0 Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One. Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy might. And these words which I command thee this day shall be upon thy heart. Thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt speak of them when thou sittest down in thy house, when thou walkest by the way, when thou liest down and when thou risest up. Thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thy hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes. Thou shalt write them upon the doorposts of thy house and upon thy gates."8

7 This type of regulation was widely invoked to limit the number of peddlers and reduce competition for the storekeepers.

8 This is a quotation from Deuteronomy 6:4-9.
A JEWISH PEDDLER'S DIARY

No, son of Israel, despair not; thy God liveth. He is the one Eternal Being. He it was who led thine ancestors from the land of Egypt into Canaan. . . . Let us, therefore, look upon this wonderful land of America as a new Canaan. And lacking a leader such as Moses or Joshua, may we still look to Him, the Eternal, as our Guide, as the Guardian of our Destiny!

But to follow God sincerely we must observe His holy Scriptures, the sacred law given from Mount Sinai.

But leading such a life, none of us is able to observe the smallest commandment. Thousands of peddlers wander about America; young, strong men, they waste their strength by carrying heavy loads in the summer's heat; they lose their health in the icy cold of winter. And thus they forget completely their Creator. They no longer put on the phylacteries; they pray neither on working day nor on the Sabbath. In truth, they have given up their religion for the pack which is on their backs. Is such a life not slavery rather than liberty? Is this condition not misery rather than happiness?

"Hear me, brethren," our rabbis used to say: "Never forget what you are and to what you owe allegiance. Read your morning prayer and your evening prayer, but whenever you worship, conduct yourselves with fervor and with devotion to the Creator of the universe. No one of you is wise enough to live without prayer; for wisdom begins with the fear of God."9

So long as one lives as we do here his thoughts cannot be with his Creator, his religion cannot be observed, his life cannot be virtuous or even happy. Yet it is not indolence or weakness which pushes one to this way of life. Each of us works and pursues his calling, but only ten out of a thousand find any true happiness.

It is the inherent instinct for trade which leads one to this way of living. Could not this instinct be suppressed and our strength employed in other and better ways? Could not each of us, instead of carrying a burden on his back, cultivate the soil of Mother Nature? Would not such labor be more profitable? Why would it not be possible to form a society, based on the good will of its members, which would purchase a large tract of land for tillage and for the foundation of a Jewish colony? Here is a worthy project for honest German men of the Jewish faith. Here thousands and thousands of people could enjoy in happiness the profits of the soil they tilled themselves. Among us there are many craftsmen who could employ their skills in such a venture instead of carrying burdens on their backs. Such a truly great project could be carried out in a few years if the young

9This paragraph is not a direct quotation from rabbinical literature but a series of paraphrases from various sources.
among us could found such a society, supported by an annual contribution of a few dollars from everyone. With a few thousand dollars a large area of ground could be purchased in some well situated state. And, in a short time, there would be laid out a fine town, a new Jerusalem. To such a place thousands of our countrymen would come from Germany with bright prospects, to be welcomed by us. . . .

These were my thoughts on the first Sunday I spent in Dorchester, a village near Boston. These were the doubts I felt, O dear, good mother, feelings you cannot share with your son, who wanders through America with his bundle on his back. . . .

PEDDLING IN NEW ENGLAND

Last week in the vicinity of Plymouth I met two peddlers, Lehman and Marx. Marx knew me from Fürth, and that night we stayed together at a farmer's house. After supper we started singing, and I sat at the fireplace, thinking of all my past and of my family. . . .

Today, Sunday, October 16th, we are here in North Bridgewater, and I am not so downcast as I was two weeks ago. The devil has settled 20,000 shoemakers here, who do not have a cent of money. Suppose, after all, I were a soldier in Bavaria; that would have been a bad lot. I will accept three years in America instead. But I could not stand it any longer.

As far as the language is concerned, I am getting along pretty well. But I don't like to be alone. The Americans are funny people. Although they sit together by the dozen in taverns, they turn their backs to each other, and no one talks to anybody else. Is this supposed to be the custom of a republic? I don't like it. Is this supposed to be the fashion of the nineteenth century? I don't like it either. "Wait a little! There will be more things you won't like." Thus I can hear my brother talking.

The week from the 16th to the 22nd of October found me feeling pretty cheerful, for I expected to meet my brother. Ah, it is wonderful to have a brother in this land of hypocrisy, guile, and fraud! How glad I was to meet my two brothers in Boston on Saturday, the 22nd! Now I was not alone in this strange country.

How much more could I write about this queer land! It likes comfort extremely. The German, by comparison, hardly knows the meaning of the word. The wife of an American farmer can consider herself more important than the wife of a Bavarian judge. For hours she can sit in her rocking chair shaking back and forth as she thinks of nothing but beautiful clothes and fine hairdo. The farmer, himself, unlike the German farmer who works every minute, is able to sit down for a few hours every day, reading his paper and smoking his cigar.
This week I went, together with my brother Juda, from Boston to Worcester. We were both delighted, for the trip was a welcome change from our daily heavy work. Together we sat in the grass for hours, recalling the wonderful years of our youth. And in bed, too, we spent many hours in talking.

Today, the 30th of October, we are here in Northborough, and I feel happier than I have for a fortnight. Moses is in New York, and we will meet him, God willing, at Worcester on Tuesday. The sky is clear and cloudless, and nature is so lovely and romantic, the air so fresh and wholesome, that I praise God, who has created this beautiful country.

Yet, at the same time, I regret that the people here are so cold and that their watchword seems to be "Help yourself; that's the best help."10 I cannot believe that a man who adapts himself to the language, customs, and character of America can ever quite forget his home in the European countries. Having been here so short a time, I should be very arrogant if I were to set down at this time my judgments on America. The whole country, however, with its extensive domestic and foreign trade, its railroads, canals and factories, looks to me like an adolescent youth. He is a part of society, talking like a man and pretending to be a man. Yet he is truly only a boy. That is America! Although she appears to know everything, her knowledge of religion, history, and human nature is, in truth, very elementary. . . . American history is composed of Independence and Washington; that is all! On Sunday the American dresses up and goes to church, but he thinks of God no more than does the horse that carries him there.

It seems impossible that this nation can remain a republic for many years. Millions and millions of dollars go each year to Europe, but only for the purchase of luxuries. Athens and Rome fell at the very moment of their flowering, for though commerce, art, and science had reached their highest level, luxury—vases of gold and silver, garments of purple and silk—caused their downfall. The merchant who seeks to expand too rapidly in his first years, whose expenses are not balanced by his income, is bound to become a bankrupt. America consumes too much, produces too little. Her inhabitants are lazy and too much accustomed to providing for their own comforts to create a land which will provide for their real and their spiritual needs. Hamburg, half destroyed by fire, got millions from Europe by paying 3½ percent interest; America, though she pays double the interest, gets not one cent.

On Monday night, October 31st, we came to Worcester in order

10Original quotation in English.
to meet Moses. However, he was prevented from leaving New York. On Wednesday night we received a letter from him, asking that I come to New York to get my case out of the customs house. I therefore took a steamboat for New York, arriving there on Thursday, November 3rd, and returning to Worcester on Saturday. On Wednesday, November 9th, Moses and I went to Holden, where we stayed until Sunday with Mr. How. On Monday we went on, arriving on Tuesday at Rutland. In the morning our packs seemed very heavy, and we had to rest every half-mile. In the afternoon a buggy was offered to us and, thank Heaven, it was within our means. We took off our bundles and anticipated thriving business. Wednesday we proceeded to Barre by horse and carriage, and on Thursday went to Worcester to meet Juda. Here we stayed together until Friday, November 25th, when we left for West Boylston, staying for the night at Mr. Stuart's, two miles from Sterling. We stayed on Saturday night and over Sunday at the home of Mr. Blaube where I met the most beautiful girl I have ever seen. Her name is Helena Brown and she is from Boston. But despite this girl, I do not yet like America as well as I might wish. But if Heaven causes us to prosper we may yet be entirely satisfied.

Last Thursday was Thanksgiving Day, a general holiday, fixed by the governor for the inhabitants of Massachusetts. Yet it seems to be merely a formal observance, coldly carried through with nothing genuine about it. To the American one day is like another, and even Sunday, their only holiday, is a mere form. They often go to church here, but only to show the neighbor's wife a new veil or dress.

Winter has come... We were at Sterling and Leominster on Monday, November 28th, and went from there to Lunenburg.

Not far from here we were forced to stop on Wednesday because of the heavy snow. We sought to spend the night with a cooper, a Mr. Spaulding, but his wife did not wish to take us in. She was afraid of strangers, she might not sleep well; we should go our way. And outside there raged the worst blizzard I have ever seen. O God, I thought, is this the land of liberty and hospitality and tolerance? Why have I been led here? After we had talked to this woman for half an hour, after repeatedly pointing out that to turn us forth into the blizzard would be sinful, we were allowed to stay. She became friendlier, indeed, after a few hours, and at night she even joined us in singing. But how often I remembered during that evening how my poor mother treated strangers at all times. Every poor man, every traveler who entered the house, was welcomed hospitably and given the best at our table. Her motto, even for strangers, was, "Who throws stones at me shall be, in turn, pelted by me with bread." Now her own children beg for shelter in a foreign land...
Thursday was a day of inactivity owing to twelve inches of snow. On Friday and Saturday business was very poor, and we did not take in two dollars during the two days.

On Sunday we stayed with Mr. Brown, a blacksmith, two miles from Lunenburg. Both of us were in a bitter mood, for during the whole week of driving about in the bitter cold we had earned no money. I long for the beautiful days in my beloved homeland. Will they ever return? Yes, a secret voice tells me that all of us will again find happiness and, although there are many obstacles to be overcome, the old maxim will guide me!

“When you go the way of duty
God is ever at your side.
Even though new dangers threaten
Courage in your heart shall bide.”

On Monday morning, December 5th, we set out for Groton in a sleigh and at night stayed with an old farmer, about two miles from that place. It was a very satisfactory business day, and we took in about fifteen dollars. On Tuesday we continued through much snow, via Pepperell, to Hollis, in New Hampshire. Towards evening the good Moses managed to overthrow the sleigh, and me along with it, into the snow. I am sure that, should I ever come this way in future years, I shall always be able to recognize the spot where I lay in a snowdrift.

On Monday the 12th to Lyndeborough; Tuesday to Wilton; Wednesday to Mason Village; Thursday, New Ipswich; Friday, Ashburnham. On Saturday we came to Westminster, where we stayed over Sunday, the 18th of December. It was extremely cold this week, and there was more snow than we had ever seen in our lives. At some places the snow was three to four feet deep, and we could hardly get through with the sleigh. How often we thanked God that we did not have to carry our wares on our backs in this cold. To tramp
with a heavy pack from house to house in this weather would be terrible.

O youth of Bavaria, if you long for freedom, if you dream of life here, beware, for you shall rue the hour you embarked for a country and a life far different from what you dream of. This land — and particularly this calling — offers harsh, cold air, great masses of snow, and people who are credulous, filled with silly pride, cold toward foreigners and toward all who do not speak the language perfectly. And, though “money is beauty, scarce everywhere,” yet there is still plenty of it in the country. The Whig government, the new bankruptcy law, the high tariff bill — all combine to create a scarcity of ready cash the like of which I have never seen nor the oldest inhabitants of the land ever experienced.

There is, in addition, the abominable Dr. Miller, who preaches to the people the imminent end of the world. The majority believe him. What is supposed to occur? On April 20, 1843, the world is supposed to be consumed by fire, according to a prophecy of the prophet Daniel. I should like to see this Dr. Miller in Germany, preaching such nonsense. He would not last long; the boys in the streets would drive him away by stoning. I have never seen a spectacle like him in all my life.

So goes it with the masses of a people which governs itself. These things can happen only in a country where each man is allowed to talk and write about anything whatsoever. It reminds one of the French Republic and of Rousseau, who wanted to restore the world to a state of nature, remote from art, science, and civilization. An abundance of pamphlets, most of them available without charge, all preach the coming end of the world, as Jonah once did in Nineveh. Well, we shall see whether Dr. Miller has the true prophetic spirit.

On Monday, December 19th, to Barre from Westminster; Tuesday to Rutland; Wednesday to Holden, where we were forced to stay until Saturday because of the heavy rain. On Saturday the 24th we left for Worcester, arriving — all three together — on Sunday.

On Monday we separated, Moses going west and Juda and I going north, agreeing to meet here again in four weeks. We went that day to New Braintree; Tuesday to Hardwick; Wednesday, Petersham; Thursday, the 29th, to Templeton. Here a heavy blizzard kept us until Saturday, the 31st, when we proceeded to Gardner and there spent Sunday, January 1, 1843.

The night before I recalled the gay New Year’s Eve which I spent in Fürth on December 31, 1841. O God, I little thought at the

11 William Miller, the founder of the Adventist faith, preached that the final coming of Christ was imminent.
time that a year later I should be spending the night at a lonesome Massachusetts farmhouse. And God alone knows where I shall be a year from today.

Monday, January 2nd, we went to Holden Factory; Tuesday, Hubbardston; Wednesday, Templeton; Thursday, Winchester; Friday, Rindge; Saturday, Jaffrey; Sunday, Peterborough; Monday, Hancock; Tuesday, Antrim; and, on Wednesday, the 11th, Nelson.

The weather is very bad, and the sleigh sinks two feet into the snow. Money is scarce, but, God be thanked, sleeping quarters have been good. There is much work for little profit, yet God in heaven may send better times that all our drudgery will not have been in vain. And my brother Juda, God be praised, seems to be growing stronger. . . .

Dear, good mother, how often I recall your letters, your advice against going to America: "Stay at home; you can win success as well in Germany." But I would not listen; I had to come to America. I was drawn by fate and here I am, living a life that is wandering and uncertain. . . .

How will we find our beloved Moses, who must stamp through the snow with his pack on his back, without a brother, without a companion with whom to exchange a word? What he feels must be new to him. I know what it is like to wander alone and am anxious to hear what he has to say on the subject.

We long to send a letter home which will bring joy and happiness, but, dear God, shall we lie like the Bavarians? This I should not like, yet they at home would be upset by the truth. It seems wisest to let them continue with golden hopes, and, for the time being, not to write at all. You alone, dear mother, may judge, should you read this journal at some future time, whether we have done right or wrong.

Today, January 11th, I was made very angry when Juda left his pocketbook at a house and we had to drive back nine miles to retrieve it. The road was so poor that driving was difficult under any circumstances. But patience, hope, confidence in the Father of all give us strength and help us to accept whatever happens with gratitude.

Dear friends of Fürth, what are you doing now? Do you think of me as often as I do of you? Although I cannot know, I find myself hoping that my comrade Weinberg and my friend Marie sometimes speak of me. If only I could spend an hour in talk with them! God bring us such a time!

Everywhere there is chaos over the end of the world. To hell with this Miller! Gullible people, these Americans! News from Europe is very scarce here, England and her colonies being the most im-
important to Americans. The newspapers are more attractive, fuller, and more freely written than those of Germany. We like them very much.

In Hillsborough, New Hampshire, they have dismissed the schoolmaster. Since the world is to end in three months, the children need no education.

Thursday, January 12th, was one of the hardest days of my entire life. I shall never forget it. In the morning we drove to a solitary house, three miles from Hancock in the direction of Nelson. The sleigh went on fairly well. After we had driven five or six miles there was, suddenly, no more snow to be seen. It was 3 o'clock in the afternoon and we were among the high hills. No snow appeared before us, not a single white patch behind us, great hills surrounded us; there was no prospect of trade or of a night's shelter. Where could we go? In such a situation the intellect is powerless; faith in God alone can help. And the situation was not improved by my brother Juda, who had been in depressed spirits all day. Well, "Forward," said Napoleon, and forward it went. I proceeded ahead two miles, Juda slowly following with the sleigh as best he could. At the home of some very poor people — such a home as I had not yet seen in America — I found lodging for the night. My worries, however, kept me from sleeping that night.

On Friday morning we drove slowly back to Hancock, making difficult progress. We spent the night in the same house we had visited on Sunday and set out for Brookline on Monday, the 16th. On Tuesday, in low spirits, we went to Hollis, on Wednesday to Groton, and on Thursday to Lunenburg, where we exchanged the sleigh for the wagon. After spending Friday, the 20th, at West Boylston, we came on Saturday to Worcester once more, arriving only an hour before Moses. We thanked God at finding him in good health, although he did not appear quite as hearty as he had four weeks before. He had been sleeping poorly, poor devil, and I knew how he felt, for I have had these experiences too.

We spent Saturday, Sunday, and Monday in Worcester. The joy of being together for a few days always costs money, but we are so pleased to see each other again that it is very hard to leave. Dear mother, how I wish you too could join our reunions! God will aid us and lead us back again to you.

On Tuesday morning at ten I left Worcester, it being my turn to travel alone for seven weeks. A thousand thanks to God, I felt far stronger than when I first left my brothers in Boston. Now I have become more accustomed to the language, the business, and the American way of life.

I came on Tuesday afternoon to Hubbardston by stagecoach and
I spent the night there. On Wednesday night I stayed three miles from Templeton and proceeded on Thursday to Phillipston. On Friday I found myself still a mile away from Phillipston.

I am satisfied with business, thank God. I hope it continues this way. I enjoy my meals and my slumber and pray twice each day. Thus, trusting in God's help, I quietly go my way.

On Sunday I attended the meeting house in Phillipston—a poor preacher but a beautiful choir. The sermon dealt mostly with love of the Redeemer and displayed false and cloudy ideas throughout. It was not worth comparison with the godly and moral sermons of Dr. Loewe in Fürth. The behavior in church, the solemn silence and reverence for the service are admirable. More than fifty sleighs and buggies belonging to farmers of the region were outside the meeting house. Here even those with no more than half a mile to travel go by buggy. In the evening I read three different newspapers; such things could not be found in a German farmhouse. In a young people's paper, The Youth's Companion, I found this little stanza:

Behold how good a thing it is
And how becoming well,
Together such as brethren are
In unity to dwell (Ps. 133:1).

On Monday, January 30th, I went from Phillipston to Athol, satisfied at night with my day's work. Tuesday was so very stormy that I could not travel, and on Wednesday, February 1st, there was likewise much rain and snow. I had to stop often. I did little on Thursday, and came to South Orange in a storm on Friday. At night I stayed with Mr. Wheelock, four miles from town. There I had to stay over Sunday and Monday. For two days there was so much snow that I had to trudge through one and a half feet of it on my way to Warwick.

It is hard, very hard indeed, to make a living this way. Sweat runs down my body in great drops and my back seems to be breaking, but I cannot stop; I must go on and on, however far my way lies.

On Wednesday, the 7th, I returned from Warwick to South Orange to get letters from my brother. But this trip was in vain; there were none. On again towards New Salem with bitter cold and much snow in the afternoon. Friday, the 9th, was a bit better, but on Saturday a heavy rainfall forced me to stop four miles from Prescott. And on Tuesday and Wednesday a very heavy blizzard made me stop again for the two days. My quarters are good, but poor business makes me

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12Dr. Isaac Loewe (more commonly Löwi) was the first modern rabbi in Fürth.
feel bad. Depressed in spirit and with sad memories of home, I sit gloomily at the fireplace. The farmer's wife, a former schoolmistress, realized my state of mind and admonished me. She warned me not to let poor trade put me into a bad humor. No, I must have courage and faith in God. I have my health and what I want to eat and drink; good shelter protects me from wind and weather. Why must I worry? No, gold shall not drive me to misery. May the devil have the banknotes and let me have a book to read that I may be of good cheer! And you, brothers, will also have found shelter somewhere. I shall be cheerful in the knowledge that God will help me.

On Thursday I went on to Enfield and then continued so as to arrive at Amherst on Saturday, the 18th. Here I spent Sunday. I expected mail from my brothers, but there was none. Monday, the 20th, to Hadley; Tuesday, Hatfield; Wednesday, Northampton; Thursday, Williamsburg; Friday, Goshen. On Saturday, the 25th, I came to Cummington, where I stayed on Sunday. I am sometimes depressed by poor trade and bad weather, yet God leads me always to good lodging and at night, sitting by the fireplace, I thank Him that I have finished another day of servitude.

Here in the land of the free, where every child, every human being, preaches and enjoys liberty, it is I who am compelled to follow such a trade, to devote myself to so heavy and difficult a life. Each day I must ask and importune some farmer's wife to buy my wares, a few pennies' worth. Accursed desire for money, it is you that have driven the Bavarian immigrants to this wretched kind of trade! No, I must stop this business, the sooner the better.

The great Lord will help me that I come in a fortnight to Worcester & I hope to meet there my two brothers healthy & after that good-bye peddling.13

I could write this journal entirely in English, but, since I enjoy the German tongue and the German script, I prefer writing in German. My mother has often told me how, during her stay in Italy, she missed the German language. How much she would have given to listen to the speech of her countrymen! And, though I never realized how such a small thing could give great pleasure, I realize it now.

Times are bad; everywhere there is no money. This increases the hardship of life so that I am sometimes tempted to return to New York and to start all over again. However, I must have patience. God will help. On Sunday every farmer urges me to attend church, and this week in Williamsburg, at each house where I tried to sell my wares, I was told to go to church.

God in Heaven, Father of our ancestors, Thou who hast protected

13This was written in English.
the little band of Jews unto this day, Thou knowest my thoughts. Thou alone knowest of my grief when, on the Sabbath's eve, I must retire to my lodging and on Saturday morning carry my pack on my back, profaning the holy day, God's gift to His people, Israel. I can't live as a Jew. How should I go to church and pray to the "hanged" Jesus? Better that I be baptized at once, forswear the God of Israel, and go to Hell. . . . By the God of Israel I swear that if I can't make my living in any other way in this blessed land of freedom and equality, I will return to my mother, brothers, and sisters, and God will help me and give me His aid and blessing in all my ways.

The open field is my temple where I pray. Our Father in heaven will hear me there. "In every place where thou shalt mention My name I shall come to thee and bless thee." This comforts me and lends me strength and courage and endurance for my sufferings. And in only two more weeks I shall find something different.

Millerism seems to be somewhat on the decline, and I don't hear as much of it as formerly. Mormonism is another superstition which, in this progressive and enlightened nation, seems to make strides. A certain Joe Smith, now living and preaching to the people in the western states, claims to be the true, prophet of God, a priest of Melchizedek. He purports to have found the true Bible and rejects Jesus, Moses, and Mohammed alike. He proclaims a new religion to the credulous people and, absurd as it seems to me, it is reported to have more than thirty thousand disciples! Terrible!

For more than three months I have not been in the mood to continue my diary or to write anything at all: In the middle of March I had hoped to get rid of my peddler's existence. But I was forced to take up my pack again, and from February 26th to March 11th, I journeyed towards Worcester, where I was to meet my dear brothers. On March 1st, I came to Worthington, where I met a peddler named Marx, from Albany, married, and an immigrant from Frankenthal in Württemberg. Wretched business! This unfortunate man has been driving himself in this miserable trade for three years to furnish a bare living for himself and his family. O God, our Father, consider Thy little band of the house of Israel. Behold how they are compelled to profane Thy holy Torah in pursuit of their daily bread. In three years this poor fellow could observe the Sabbath less than ten times. And he is a member of the Jewish congregation in Albany. This is religious liberty in America.

On March 11th, in Worcester, I happily met my dear brothers again, and we spent Sunday together in Paxton. From there I went to Boston and New York, Moses and Juda remaining for four more
weeks in the country. From March 19th to April 27th, I remained in New York, where my business was quite good, and where, for four or five weeks, I lived again like a human being. I had thoughts of staying in New York permanently, but my fate was decided otherwise. My brother Juda came to New York without Moses, but in good health. After two days Juda became sick and for reasons which the dear Lord can understand. Poor business, unwelcome news from our dear mother and family; this all affected his health unfavorably. But with God's help he was much better after a week.

For reasons known only to my brothers and myself, I was forced, on April 27th, to have my beloved bundle put on board the steamboat again. On Friday, the 28th, I came to Worcester, where I stayed with Moses until Monday. We then separated, to meet again at Worcester on June 21st. My journey took me to Hubbardston, Templeton, Phillipston, Athol, Royalston, Orange, Erving, Northfield, Gill and Greenfield. In Gill I met Bendel from Fürth, carrying ninety pounds on his back and mere skin and bones. In Greenfield I received letters from Juda and Moses and thanked God for their health. From there I went to Shelburne and Colrain, and on Saturday afternoon, May 20th, I saw a peddler passing by. "Hello, sir," I hailed him. "How are you?" It turned out to be Samuel Zirndorfer from Fürth. Alas, how the poor devil looked! Thus one man from Fürth with 80 pounds on his back meets another with 50 pounds on his back some 4,000 miles away from their native town. If I had known of this sort of thing a year ago, how different things might be now! We stayed together for a week. He is still the same old Samuel, a good fellow but, banished from his home, an unhappy one.

On Monday, May 29th, we separated, I to go to Stockbridge, he to New York. Tuesday I went to Great Barrington, Wednesday, 31 miles further, and, on Thursday, June 1st, I came to Tyringham.

A year ago today I left Fürth. Thou, God, guidest our destinies. I cannot say whether America has misled me or whether I misled myself. How quickly this year has passed! But how many sad and bitter hours has it brought me! In Fürth ten years did not bring the worries and troubles that a single year has brought me in this land. Yet Thou, Father of all, who hast brought me across the ocean and directed my steps up till today, wilt grant me Thy further aid. With confidence in Thy Fatherly goodness I continue my way of life. Thou alone knowest my goal. May I find contentment and a life of peace, united in well-being with my dear mother and with my brothers and sisters!

I came on Friday, June 2nd, to Otis, and on Saturday went three miles farther. Here I stayed over Saturday and over our holy day, Shavuus [Pentecost]. In the morning, in a mood of depression, I re-
lieved my heart by prayer to our heavenly Father. I found some beautiful prayers in the English Bible, yet I pledged that I would not spend another sacred holiday in this manner.

Monday, June 5th, was the second day of Shavuos, and on Tuesday I set out in the direction of Blandford with hills and woodland in every direction. Wednesday I went beyond Blandford and approached Westfield on Thursday. Friday I went to Springfield and Saturday to Wilbrook Depot, where I stayed over Sunday. Monday I travelled to Ludlow and on Tuesday returned to Springfield in order to meet dear Juda. He spent Shavuos in New York, and Moses was in Boston. I had hoped to meet both of them, but Moses is still journeying elsewhere. At any rate, thank God, the two of us met again in good health and proceeded from Springfield to Ludlow, South Hadley, Belchertown and Enfield, where we spent Sunday, June 18th. We spent our time in talk about our home, our youth, politics, religion, morality, and a thousand other topics.

On Monday, June 19th, we went to Greenwich, and on Tuesday to Ware and East Brookfield. On Wednesday we met brother Moses at the railroad, and the three of us rode together to Worcester, where we stayed all day. Good health makes us cheerful, but again our lot is to be separated. On Thursday Juda and I stayed together, while Moses went on alone. We took the train to Natick and walked from there to Weston, Wayland, Lincoln, Concord, Carlisle, Wilmington, Reading, Middleton, and Topsfield, where we had a hard time finding a night's lodging. We next went on to Hamilton, Essex, Rockport, and Gloucester. Here we had a magnificent view of the Atlantic coast and of the sea, filled with fishermen, schooners, and small boats. In the morning we went sailing in a boat and out into the open sea for fishing. But we did not enjoy it very much and soon sought the land again.

What else is there in life besides constant fishing? One man fishes this way, the other that way; this one fishes the small streams, that one the ocean. And when they tire of fishing, Death, the great Fisherman, comes to all of them alike and they, like the fish themselves, are caught. O tragic fishery!

How many experiences do you give, O America, to the young man who carries on his life of fishing! How many stones are caught in the nets which are set for fish! How often is an empty net pulled from the dark, unfathomable depths when a full net is expected!

Yet the fisherman says, "Patience." Patience, dear God—send me an abundance of it! Although there is still no sign of it, the net should, at some time, be full.

(Here the diary breaks off.—Ed.)

This latest history by Roth deals with the first German rite (Ashkenazic) congregation in England. It covers the period from the founding of the congregation — about the year 1690 — until 1940.

Using the congregation as the core of the German Jewish world in London, the author has written a very readable and appealing Kulturgeschichte of Ashkenazic Jewry in that city. No doubt the limitations of space, and the demands of reader appeal, impelled Dr. Roth to touch only lightly on the details of congregational organization and administration. The Great Synagogue has a series of constitutions and laws (takkanot) which, under other circumstances, might well have merited detailed analysis. Because it was the mother synagogue, influencing other communities throughout England and its colonies, a knowledge of the nature of its constitutional and administrative procedure might have proved instructive, at least to the historian.

This is a beautiful work, well written, well printed, and adorned with seventy-five plates. It is a book to be read and enjoyed.

The purpose of this review, however, is not to assess the value of this book for the student of English Jewish history. The American Jewish Archives intends to stick to its last. It will concern itself only with books that shed light on the history of the American Jew. This The Great Synagogue does.

American Jewry today is a body of almost five million persons. It is difficult to realize that in the seventeenth century there may have been but one or two hundred Jews in the colonies, and that in the following century the Jewish "nation" numbered a thousand at the most. American Jewry was a relatively insignificant community. England was "home," England was important, because it was the hub of a great colonial empire. It is true that English Jewry — almost exclusively London Jewry — was also small; nevertheless, it was much more important than any of its Jewish colonial outposts.

Many, if not the majority, of the Jews on the British North American mainland came from England or through England. And when they left London for these shores they brought with them an Anglicized form of their Jewish names: Mears, Phillips, Marks, Jacobs, Lyon, Hart, Hendricks, Polock, and the like.
In spite of the fact that the majority of eighteenth-century American Jewish colonists stemmed from Central and Eastern Europe, they were, nevertheless, profoundly influenced by Anglo-Jewish institutions. This impact of English Jewry on America was demonstrated as late as 1825, when B'nai Jeshurun, the first Ashkenazic synagogue in New York City, was established. Its founders adapted the service and the administrative structure of The Great Synagogue to their own needs. This was only natural when we recall that among the leaders of B'nai Jeshurun were men with such English-sounding names as Jackson, Hart, Davies, and Collins.

The contacts between English and American Jewry, of course, began early. As a matter of fact, the real founder of The Great Synagogue had American financial interests. This man was Benjamin Levy, son of a Moses Levy. Benjamin, a wealthy merchant, broker, and speculator, was an important shareholder in the East India Company and in the Royal African Company. It is not surprising, therefore, that he appears as one of the thirty-two proprietors of East Jersey (1702).

One of American Jewry's earliest merchant-shippers was Moses Levy. It is by no means improbable that this businessman Levy was somehow or other related to the English magnate, Benjamin Levy. The names Moses and Benjamin occur also in the American Levy family.

The American Moses Levy may have been sent over to the colonies by the wealthier members of the Levy clan of London. This is only a surmise. There can be but little doubt, however, that Moses Levy's son-in-law, Jacob Franks, was dispatched to this country by his wealthy brothers. The Rothschilds were by no means the first Jewish family to realize the importance of stationing members of the family at strategic commercial spots.

The first Franks came to England from Germany in the late seventeenth century; Jacob—tradition would have it—was already doing business in New York in the first decade of the next century. He built up the American branch of the family business, which was closely co-ordinated with the financial interests of some, if not all, of the brothers in London. The American Frankses were army purveyors on a large scale, particularly during the French and Indian War. (Incidentally, it should be noted in passing that it was the need for sutlers and civilian quartermasters which brought quite a number of Jews into the country at that time. The New York Jewish community began to grow during that war; the Canadian Jewish community was a direct outgrowth of it.)

The Frankses, both in England and in North America, had Gentile business partners capable of exerting political influence. In
both lands the wealth that this Jewish family acquired—and the
culture which followed in the wake of that wealth—made its mem-
bers socially acceptable in a world which still refused to grant Jews
political equality.

Roth describes in some detail the part played by the Frankeses
in the life of Ashkenazic Jewry in eighteenth-century London. They
were one of the two or three families that dominated this major
segment of English Jewry. And the English pattern found its counter-
part here in America. Jacob Franks soon became one of the leaders,
if not the prime leader, in the New York synagogue, even though
it adhered to the Spanish-Portuguese rite. It was this German English
immigrant who, as president, built the Mill Street Synagogue (1730),
the first in British North America.

The money to build this modest structure came from the handful
of Jewish settlers and from philanthropic Jews and institutions in
South America, the West Indies, and England. Among the contributors
listed—in a laconic half-dozen words—was a Benjamin Mendes Da-
Costa. This donor begins to assume some significance when he appears
also as a benefactor of The Great Synagogue. He is to be identified,
in all probability, with the Benjamin DaCosta who subscribed a
sum of money (1735) to help the (Gentile) settlers of Georgia. The
Jacob Mendes DaCosta, Sr., who also contributed to the Georgia fund,
was, of course, the same generous Londoner who built the New York
Jewish school (Minhat Areb) in 1731. As early as 1711, seven Jewish
merchants in New York had contributed to the building of the steeple
of Trinity Church. Under the influence of a tolerant Christian com-

munity, a new type of philanthropist began to emerge in Jewish life
in the eighteenth century: the man who was ready to bestow his
benefactions on both Gentiles and Jews. The Jew who was accepted
as a member of the larger community documented his loyalty to it
by generous giving.

Two sons of Jacob Franks were sent back to live in England.
We may assume that they went to London to serve as resident buyers
and to protect their father's interests vis-a-vis the government (army
supply) and their uncles. From the vantage point of American Jewish
history, the two sons, Naphtali and Moses, were just "boys" who
went abroad and who appear fleetingly in the records. As late as
1743 Abigail Franks wrote to Naphtali as "Dear Heartsey." He was
still his mother's boy. The two brothers, one might well assume,
were not important.

This picture of the relative unimportance of the American-born
sons of Jacob Franks will have to be modified. People on this side of
the ocean turned to these two men in matters of business, religion, and
philanthropy because they were very influential. Both married wealthy
Franks cousins and engaged in large-scale commercial operations. Now we understand why Oliver DeLancey, brother of the lieutenant-governor and chief justice of the province of New York, had no hesitation in eloping with Phila Franks. Her father Jacob was one of New York's great merchants; her uncles were reputed to be fabulously wealthy. For Oliver it was a good match; he could well afford to forget that Phila was a Jewess.

By 1749, "Dear Heartsey" was president of The Great Synagogue; in 1766 the younger Moses succeeded to the office. They were rapidly becoming leaders of Ashkenazic English Jewry. By 1753 Naphtali was already referred to in a contemporary English source as the "great rich Jew." The names Naphtali and Moses Franks began to appear in the records of the Philadelphia-Lancaster group of Jewish land entrepreneurs who sought to establish large colonies in Trans-Appalachia.

With the death of the second generation of Frankses in England, the family disappeared as a force in the Anglo-Jewish religious community. The compact, relatively large community could keep its rich Jews Jewish, at least for a generation or two. Over here, on the American side, their brother David—with no wealthy and socially acceptable Jews to afford him an acceptable milieu—had already reared a family of Gentiles. Assimilation here on the "frontier" moved at a more rapid pace than in London.

The appearance of Frankses here, as scions of the larger and more important English stock, was typical of the branching out of eighteenth-century English Jewry. Roth makes it clear that some of the most notable London families sent members here: the Mearses, the Waggs, and the Adolphuses. None of these branches in the male line took root and prospered.

The ubiquitous mohel or circumciser of middle-eighteenth century New York Jewry was Abraham Isaac Abrahams. His signature on the marriage contract of Haym Salomon, the patriotic American bill broker, identifies Abraham as a son of Isaac Brisker (Brest-Litovsk). An Isaac Brisker, Roth shows, was one of the founders of the burial society in London in 1696. Abrahams, a son of Isaac Brisker, was thus not only America's first Litvak (!), but also a native Englishman. His business and personal correspondence evidences a better than average English schooling.

Naphtali Hart Myers is another Anglo-American Jew who begins to take on flesh and blood as the result of the publication of The Great Synagogue. Our sources know him as a successful, generous, and cultured American merchant whose presence is documented in New York and in Rhode Island from at least 1746 to 1760. In 1755-1756 he was president of Shearith Israel in New York. After 1760, in all
probability, he returned home to England, and in 1765 became a co-president of The Great Synagogue. He was no “small potato.”

There are a number of other references which show the relation between the two Jewries. The more we know about English Jewry—and American Jewry, too—the clearer the picture and the relationship will emerge. No one has yet made a comparative study of the constitutions of Bevis Marks (Sephardic) and The Great Synagogue (Ashkenazic) in England and the eighteenth-century congregations here. The results of such a comparison might well prove interesting.

Roth, in The Great Synagogue, did not set out to illumine American Jewish history. That was not the purpose of his valuable work. But by writing a history of this notable synagogue-community he has indirectly thrown much light on eighteenth-century American Jewry. His book has served to correct our pro-American squint. He has, unintentionally of course, put American Jewry “in its place.” It was a small, relatively obscure segment of English Jewry.

JACOB R. MARCUS

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