The B'nai Khaim in America

A STUDY OF CULTURAL CHANGE IN A JEWISH GROUP

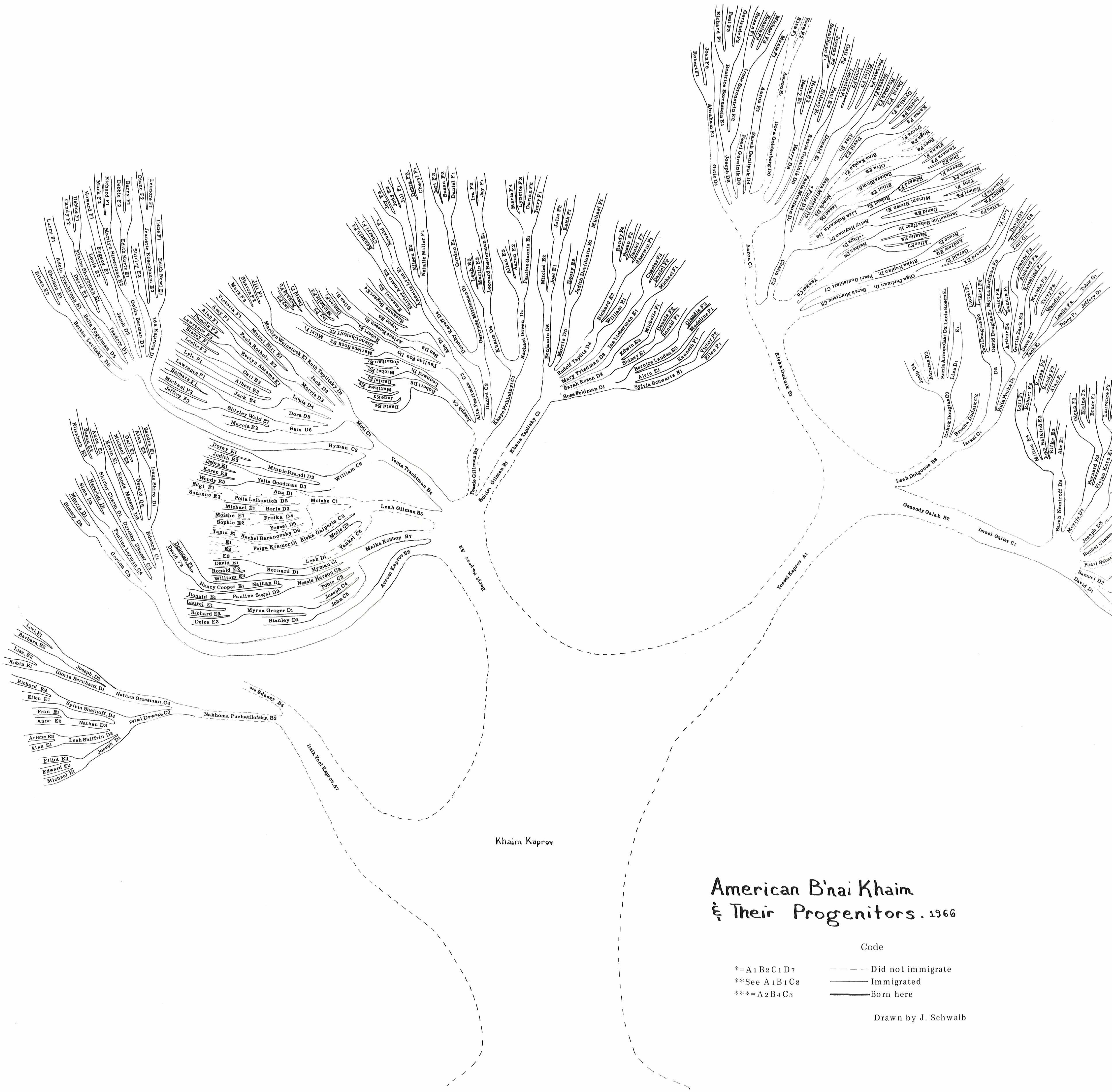
by
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in collaboration with
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American B'nai Khaim & Their Progenitors. 1966

Code

*=A1B2C1D7	– – – – Did not immigrate
**See A1B1C8	——— Immigrated
***=A2B4C3	━━━ Born here

Drawn by J. Schwalb

To
the B'nai Khaim
everywhere
this book is affectionately dedicated

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Foreword

This study concerns the adaptations to the American way of life of nearly 100 immigrant Jews, stemming from a common ancestor, and of their American-born offspring. Nearly all of these immigrants came here in the years 1903-1914 and 1921-1925.

The "common ancestor" was a candlemaker named Khaim Kaprov who lived in Yustingrad, a ghetto town in the Ukraine, *circa* 1800-1870. We call his descendants the *B'nai Khaim**; literally, the children of Khaim. For convenience, we shall use this collective term to designate any single Khaim Kaprov descendant, any segment of the *mishpokhah*, as well as the whole *mishpokhah.*** So, I am a B'nai Khaim, my children and grandchildren are B'nai Khaim, and the book treats of the B'nai Khaim—of the B'nai Khaim in America.

The criteria for evaluating the "adaptations" of the B'nai Khaim in America are the values and mores of the religious and cultural life in which our immigrants were nurtured in their native Ukraine. I treat of this background mostly in the first three chapters of the book. I then seek to evaluate the economic, sociological and cultural levels which they and their

* In writing Khaim with Kh I depart from the common way of rendering into English the sound of the Hebrew ח and כ and of the Russian X. The common practice of using ch as the equivalent of these letters is incorrect and leads to confusion. Ch in English is soft, except when it is given the sound of the letter k, as in mechanic. These other letters are guttural. You produce their sound orally as if clearing your throat in a dentist chair and you render it in writing by the letters kh. So, you write Kharkov, not Charkov as in charcoal; you write Chekhov, not Checkhov, and you write *kheder*, not *cheder* as in cheddar cheese. Hence, you pronounce Bach *Bakh*, not *Botch* or *Bock* as some do, and you write *Kh*aim, not *Ch*aim as if the name rhymed with chime: and so, B'nai *Kh*aim in America.

** A cluster of families stemming from a common ancestor.

American-born offspring have attained here over the past 60 years. In turn, all these achievements (and failures) are mirrored in the degree of adherence to and departure from the precepts and practices of traditional orthodox Judaism of 19th-century Ukrainian Jewry.

The chapters on the Ukrainian home culture are based in the main on my own recollections from childhood, reinforced and amplified over the years by family lore. The rest of the book, the major portion, in fact, is organized around information secured from the B'nai Khaim in the past several years through formal questionnaires, personal interviews and voluminous correspondence. This information they supplied me either directly or through my "lieutenants" living in various parts of the country, literally from Maine to California. All the information was given voluntarily, although not without occasional prodding.

In all these respects the study is intensely personal. On my part, I knew Yustingrad, where the study begins, and its people through closest association: I lived there until I was 14 years old and in nearby Uman for another four years. I knew the B'nai Khaim intimately, being one of them. I continued intimate contact with most of them over the years in America through frequent visits and correspondence. Through my "lieutenants" I extended this personal relationship to the many B'nai Khaim I could not meet individually. To do so would have been a physical impossibility in any case. Excluding children under age 16, but including spouses, our "statistical population" is now over 250. It would have required a "university team" to do the study on a personal interview basis. In no small way, however, the study was made possible by the confidence my kin had in me. Their willingness to cooperate reflects, in a measure, the extent to which the traditional cohesiveness of the Jewish family still operates in America a half-century beyond the ghetto life of old Russia.

On the other hand, while in most cases this personal touch was a positive asset in the pursuit of the inquiry, in several cases it proved a handicap. Some B'nai Khaim "who knew not Joseph" were reluctant to divulge their "vital statistics" to a

distant relative. In the end, however, replies to our questionnaires ran 85 to 95 per cent of potential respondents, depending on the "depth" of the questions. The "potential" is the entire American B'nai Khaim "family tree."

This study had been germinating in my mind for over 40 years, but it was not until 1946 that I took the first steps to give it concrete form. The immigrant generation was beginning to fade away; the second generation was maturing, and the third was pressing forward. Material was accumulating to give the study substance. That year I visited my uncle, the late Rabbi Avrom Kaprov, in Bangor, Maine, and obtained from him the basic information regarding our family origins back to *Zeide* (grandfather) Khaim. It was a fortunate visit for the future of the Project: *Fetter* Avrom died the next year, at age 80. There was no one else even then who knew of these early records.

I let another dozen years go by before I followed up that lead. In 1958 and 1959 I interested four more relatives in the study. These gathered preliminary statistics on B'nai Khaim of whom I had but limited information. Finally, in early 1962, I enlisted the interest of a number of younger B'nai Khaim who volunteered to gather the mass data I needed for the study. Working within a most closely related family group each volunteer, as my "lieutenant," collected the statistics for the "family tree" and drew up the family charts. My helpers distributed questionnaires relating to the location, education and occupation of the B'nai Khaim, to the usual vital statistics of age, nativity, marital status, etc., and to changes in family tradition. Often I called on them to coax recalcitrants into compliance and to carry the brunt of my impatience when returns did not come fast enough or were inadequate or inconsistent in content.

The book has three objectives. The first one, of course, is the chronicling for the present and future generations of B'nai Khaim of the story of their heritage. I wanted them to be able to say without apology, "My immigrant grandfather was an illiterate junk dealer," even as Carl Sandburg declared in an interview on his 86th birthday, recently, that his grandfather was an illiterate blacksmith who signed his name with an *X*.

Secondly, I think, the study might serve to stimulate similar studies of other American-Jewish families as well as families of non-Jewish ethnic groups of recent immigrant origins.

Thirdly, the findings should be useful in studies of cultural anthropology at a time when the question of the ethnic pluralism of our society is engaging the scholarly interest of academic sociologists as well as religious and political leaders.

Although this is a study of the social, economic and cultural experiences of a rather large family group of Yustingrad origin, it is not presented as a sample of the experience in America of all emigrants from Yustingrad and their American-born offspring. Nor, definitely, is it presented as the experience of American Jews of other immigrant origins. Ours is a study in cultural change of a single Jewish *mishpokhah*. And the changes I talk about are projected against the specific cultural background of this group.

Moreover, any generalizations that might seem to be warranted by our findings must be evaluated with due regard to the time limitations of the coverage. The American-born B'nai Khaim are hardly more than two generations removed from their immigrant progenitors and their age-old mores. The definitive story of "The B'nai Khaim in America" will have to wait another generation or more when another descendant of Khaim the candlemaker will resume where we leave off.

Collaborator's note

It is important to note that this study was virtually completed by the close of 1964. Our information was gathered at a time when there was a good deal of sympathetic support for the civil rights movement in this country, prior to the increasing racial tensions of the past few years. Also, our data antedate the six-day Arab-Israeli War of 1967 and the resultant wave of sympathy for Israel in the United States. Thus the data, obtained largely during the period 1963-64, reflect certain political and social attitudes of the B'nai Khaim which may have been modified by subsequent events both in this country and in Israel.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank my "lieutenants" and the other B'nai Khaim who supplied me with source material and otherwise helped with information and ideas.

I list my "lieutenants" alphabetically. While the burden did not fall equally among them, they share my gratitude in equal measure:

Bernhard, Gloria (Grossman)
Blum, Zahava (Dudnik)
Brandt, Minnie (Trachtman)
Dudwick, Harry A.
Douglas, David
Galler, Morris and Polia
Gilman, Boris
Goodman, Yetta (Trachtman)
Kareff, Dorothy (Gelman)
Korn, Vivian (Galler)
Matson, Rhoda (Kaprov)
Mittleman, Dr. Gordon (grandson of Daniel Gelman)
Newler, Edith (Kaprove)
Robboy, Dr. John
Rosen, Edwin
Rosenbaum, Jeannette (Kaprove)
Rossen, Arlene (Perlman)
Shiffren, Leah (Dratch)
Weinstock, Marilyn (Trachtman)

Then there were these:

Joseph and Isaak Dudnik (cousins) set up the first charts for the Dudnik Families. Zahava Dudnik (Blum), Ferne Mittleman, Leah Trachtman, and her son-in-law Professor Howard F. Hirt,

labored to reconstruct the street layout of Yustingrad. Dr. Hirt drew the map of the geographical location of Sokolievka-Yustingrad.

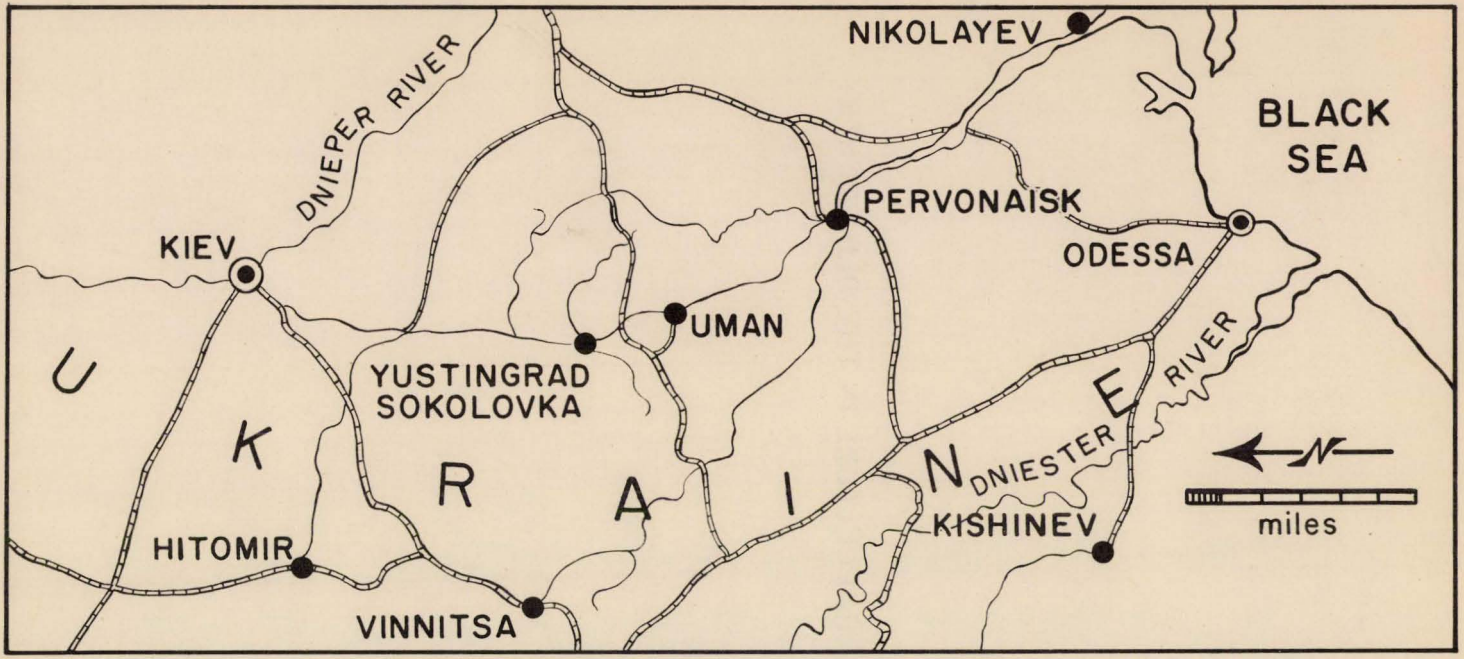
Leah Trachtman, my sister Alta and our niece Dorothy Kareff supplied information on the life of our people in Yustingrad in the years from 1902 through the Revolution, the Civil War and the pogroms. Harry Dudwick and Dr. John Robboy filled gaps in my memory regarding life in Knyazhe and Uman.

Marcia (Trachtman) Sheer assembled the numerous family "trees" into three master charts which served in the construction of the master tree: "The B'nai Khaim in America and Their Progenitors." Geraldine, Rabbi Gordon Kaprov's widow, translated from Yiddish into English some material which we used.

Here I must say a word about my wife's contribution to the making of this book. She worked with me at every stage of its construction, from the original planning to the final correction of the manuscript. She set up an inventory of the B'nai Khaim; she helped with the design of the family charts, with the formulation of the questionnaires, and with the tabulation and analysis of the myriads of responses. Her place is rightly on the title page.

Joseph M. Gillman
Hartsdale, N.Y.
March, 1968

A. LIFE AND CULTURE IN THE OLD COUNTRY



Geographical Location of Sokolievka – Yustingrad*

* The Russian pronunciation and spelling is *Sokolovka* (as on map). The Ukrainians pronounce and spell it *Sokolievka*. (See the town marker page 6.) To the people of our study the town is *Sokolievka.*

Chapter 1

Sokolievka–Yustingrad

In the early 1800's two dwellings stood on "this side" of a bridge which connected the Ukrainian village of Sokolovka south and east with open fields north and west. One of these dwellings was a hostelry; the other was occupied by the candlemaker family, Kaprov.[1] A son of this family was the progenitor of the B'nai Khaim of this book.

The bridge also connected two counties in the province of Kiev. Sokolovka lay in County Uman; the hostelry and the candlemaker's home lay in County Lipovetz. The city of Uman lies almost on a straight line, except for a slight dent westward, between Kiev, 120 miles to the north, and Odessa 163 miles to the south. Lipovetz lies some 60 miles due west, and Sokolovka, some 20 miles due north of Uman. (See map)

The bridge, if 60-year-old memories may be trusted,[2] was a quarter of a mile or so long. It was a brushwood, dirt-impacted dam built to form a lake from the flow of a stream that passed through the village of Popovka some two miles to the southwest. At the Sokolovka end of the bridge a sluice channeled the flow over the water-wheels of a flour mill. In the middle of the bridge a larger sluice, about 30 feet wide, cleared the overflow of the lake in a waterfall 20 feet or so high, a delight for summer bathers. The fall splashed onto a wooden platform some 30 feet square. From here it slithered down three or four feet into a treacherous ravine. A couple of hundred yards ahead of the platform the flow disappeared, between two rows of birch trees, into an old channel toward the village of Konella about three miles north. A few peasant huts hugged the northward stream and disappeared from view with it. The lake was a bowl, shaped in the form of an open oyster shell. It was narrowest at the bridge and widest on the east-west stretch a mile or so away. A small, tree-covered island at the southeast corner of the

lake was an enticing goal for "long-distance" swimmers. It lay about a thousand feet from the Jewish cemetery.

Except for the hostelry and the candlemaker's home, "this side" of the bridge was largely pasture land. Twisters and dust blasts were frequent there, even years later when the area had become inhabited. From the bridge level the land rose sharply for a distance of about 500 feet and then flattened out toward the horizon.

This is the way it was when Nicholas I became Tsar of all the Russias in 1825. At that time, in one of his early anti-Jewish edicts, a legend went, he declared that Jews who lived in villages but did not own or cultivate land must be expelled to live in towns of their own.[3] Most of the Jews, perhaps as many as 35 families, then living in Sokolovka were subject to that edict. They had been the local shopkeepers, traders and craftsmen and did not own or cultivate land. So, expelled they were, to "this side" of the bridge. Here they squatted in the Kaprov backyard until, during the ensuing months, they built themselves permanent habitations of a sort on the upland, west of the bridge. The land they acquired, by purchase or lease, had belonged to an absentee Polish landlord whose wife's name, it is said, was Justina. The town that these families built was accordingly named Yustingrad in Ukrainian, or Justingrad in Polish, as seen in the town marker below (Photo 1).

There it stood for a hundred years until, in the Civil War after the Bolshevik Revolution, it was razed in the course of several pogroms. It was in one of these pogroms, in August 1918, that White Guardists lined up and shot to death 138 Yustingrad Jews from 15 to 88 years of age. Older B'nai Khaim in America to this day hold a memorial service every year to mourn these tragic deaths.[4] The land on which Yustingrad stood is now part of the farm collective just noted.

All that is left of the town is the marker and four blackened huts perched on the bluff overlooking what once had been the lake. This is now a weedy pond, visibly 30 feet lower than the earlier water level (Photo 2). The "island" at the deep end has risen and stretches nearly across the horizon. The bridge, the



Photo 1. Yustingrad marker

The red-roofed structure in left background is a communal building of a farm collective.



Photo 2. The weedy pond

sluice, the flour mill are gone. The cemetery is gone. What once was the bridge is now a small stretch of the four-lane concrete Kiev-Odessa highway. The ravine of my day and the stream which then flowed toward Konella have been filled in. The white clapboard church that faced you as you crossed the bridge toward Sokolievka is gone. So is the well at the end of the bridge where you began ascent into Yustingrad.

The village Sokolovka can be traced back at least as far as the 17th century when it figured, along with Uman, in the peasant rebellions led by Bogdan Khmeimitzky and the Hetman, Gonta, against the oppressing Polish *shlyakhta*. Two hundred years later the Jews of Yustingrad still recalled with horror the slaugh-



Photo 3. The Sokolievka / Sokolovka marker

ter of Jews in those rebellions. (Sienkiewicz tells this gruesome story in *With Fire and Sword*.) An especially vicious person was called a "Gonta." In the 100 years of its existence Yustingrad

grew to have a population of over 3000. Yet so ingrained was this memory of their Sokolievka origins that they have always referred to themselves as "Sokolievker," the Ukrainian spelling of the name. Even in America Yustingrader worship in "Sokolievker" *shulen*, hold fraternal membership in "Sokolievker" associations and bury their dead in "Sokolievker" cemeteries. But of the village itself little is left today. It is a part of the collective with Yustingrad. When I visited there in May, 1965, I counted no more than two or three dozen scattered huts.

The contour of Yustingrad had the shape of a horseshoe. Peasant huts made up the rim; the Jews filled the interior. A broad avenue running east-west cut the town in half. Side streets made up the rest. There were, of course, no sidewalks in Yustingrad, and there were few trees in the interior of this horseshoe. You could see orchards where the peasants lived and, if you ventured behind their orchards, you could see their farms. The roads were mud tracks in summer, frozen ruts in winter, and bogs in the autumn and spring. Many a wagon got stuck in the mud on the way up from the bridge into Yustingrad after the autumn rains and the spring thaws.

The homes of both the Jews and the peasants were built of mud caked around matted straw and sun-dried into brick. The roofs were straw-thatched. Inside, the floors were crudely stained clay, cold in the winter and clammy in the rainy season. In autumn and spring the roofs leaked and the walls became sodden. In winter the interiors were heated by burning cow dung and horse manure in a hollow wall which partitioned off the living quarters. The dung and manure were gathered by the women with rake and besom after the weekly trading day. The kitchen was kept warm by a Dutch oven, on which people often slept. For the most part, the rooms were bare of furniture, except for a bed and one or two narrow wooden cots in the bedroom, and a table, benches and a bare sofa alongside the heated wall in the living room. Matted straw served to cushion the bed. A "perina"—a feather quilt—kept the bodies warm. Body lice and bedbugs were constant companions.

Cooking was done in unglazed earthen pots. At the table,

only Father used knife and fork. Soup was eaten with wooden spoons from a common wooden bowl. Chinaware was used only on special occasions. The table was always bare, except on Saturdays and holidays when it was covered with a cloth. On the Sabbath eve and on holidays Father blessed the Almighty over a *Kiddush* cup for having created "the fruit of the vine." Candlesticks with candles lit and blessed by Mother decorated the table.

Not until the end of the 19th century could Yustingrad boast one two-story house and one kiln-baked brick mansion, both of these slate-roofed. A few were now tin-roofed and three or four had board floorings. Illuminating gas was unknown and electricity a hearsay. The kerosene lamp had only recently replaced the tallow candle.

The home conditions of these "Sokolievker" were characteristic of their whole economic and cultural life—the cultural and economic life of all ghetto *shtetlakh*.[5] For the most part, everybody was poor, Jew and gentile alike. Culturally, they can be said to have been living in the 17th rather than the 19th century—illiterate, or semi-illiterate, superstitious, ignorant of their own biological and physiological processes—ignorant, for that matter of their anatomical structure; ignorant of geography; ignorant of history, even of their own history. What they knew of history was what they had learned in *kheder*, which took them back to the Creation, the Flood, the Exodus, the conquests of Canaan, the wars with their ancient enemies, the destruction of the Temple by the Romans—a world of miracles, of myths, of heroes and martyrs. The real world was the world of the God-ordained Tsar, the dreaded Cossacks, and the far-away towns where their sons served in the Tsar's armies. America was a land of strange people who changed their King every four years!

Yet, compared with the *goyim*, the ghetto Jews were enlightened people. For most of the *goyim* the world ended with the white-frame church in Sokolievka across the bridge. The peasantry was almost wholly illiterate, except for the *ouradnik* or peace officer, the village priest, the town clerk, and a few

church elders. On the other hand, all the Jewish menfolk could read the Hebrew prayers, and some even learned to read the Hebrew Bible. Few knew the full meaning of what they read. Hebrew, indeed, was the *Loshen Koidush*, the Holy Tongue that should not be used in daily conversation except as an aside remark to make a subtle point in an argument. Few could read even Yiddish, the mother tongue. This was especially true of the women.

Few could write Yiddish; a handful, Hebrew. Only Jewish boys attended *kheder*, from the age of four until *Bar Mitzvah*, or so long as they could absorb "learning," unless they were needed earlier as family breadwinners. Girls received their "education" from their elders at home. All adults could speak *goyish*, the Ukrainian jargon of the *muzhik*. But very few could either read or write Russian. Most everybody could "figure," mentally, but not many could write the figures down. In this respect Yustingrad was a small sampling of the Russia of the day. In the country as a whole, only 20 per cent of the people were literate as late as 1897, when the first all-Russian population census was taken. Of the Jews, however, 39 per cent were literate, nearly twice the national average. Yet only 13 per cent of the Jewish women could read or write, even Yiddish. The higher literacy among the Jews gave rise to the legend that every minister in the Tsar's cabinet had an *utchennyi yevrei*—a learned Jew—at his side to do his reading and writing for him.

At the outbreak of the First World War, we find *shtetl* Jews writing letters to soldier husbands and sons for peasant wives and parents. A B'nai Khaim who lived there at the time recalls that "being semi-illiterate . . . themselves, these Jewish 'writers' would not always follow the dictation *verbatim* but blandly proceeded to use the words and phrases they knew how to spell." They charged 10 to 15 kopeks a letter, including the address.[6]

At the beginning of the 20th century, few "Yustingraders" had seen a railroad train; still fewer had travelled on one. The telephone was a distant mystery; the telegraph was familiar by hearsay; the nearest post office was in Uman.

In the late 1890's an itinerant entertainer introduced the phonograph to Yustingrad. For five kopecks he would let you stick two rubber tubes into your ears through which you could hear words and music coming out of a contraption on the table in front of you. Few, however, were convinced that the whole thing was not a money-making fake. The very idea of a turning metal disk singing the *Kol Nidre*!

Photography was taboo. To permit yourself to be photographed would be to flout the First Commandment—Ye shall not fashion an image of God. We therefore have few photographs of early B'nai Khaim. Here is one taken of a B'nai Khaim and his wife in 1912.

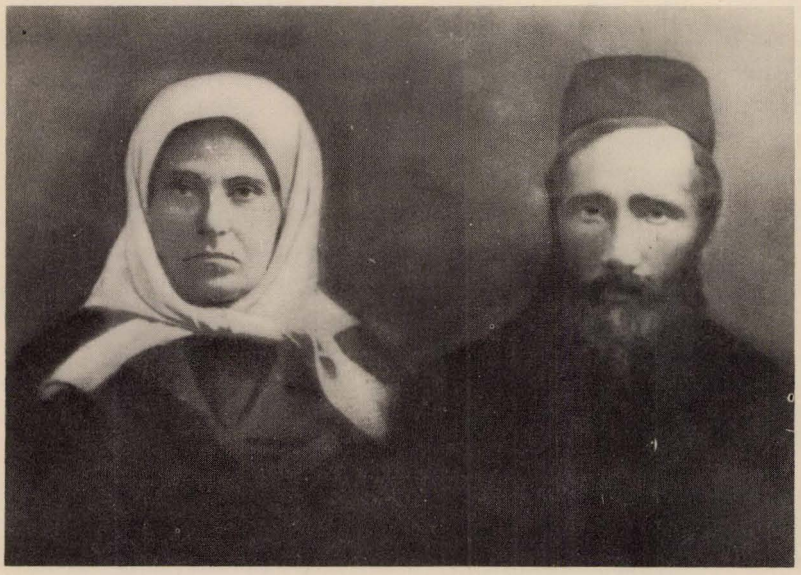


*Photo 4. B'nai Khaim that were (A_1 B_2 C_1 *)*

There was no permanently settled physician in Yustingrad, or in Sokolievka. A *feldsher*—a male nurse trained in an army hospital—gave enemas, "cupped" to reduce a fever, set a dislocated arm. Old women cast out the Evil Eye. A child seared with scarlet fever was given a new name to fool the Angel of Death.

*This is the family code. For its construction see Chapter 3, below.

To the minds of these people, a baby was conceived in its anatomical entirety. The nine-months gestation was simply a period in which it grew in size to be expelled "when the time came." Parent cells were unknown to them. A miscarriage was a blessing-in-disguise. It rid the woman of a potential monstrosity—as anyone could judge for herself from the appearance of the undeveloped fetal lump. A child born with teeth could not live. A newborn babe knew the Mystery of Mysteries—the day of the Coming of the Messiah. A child born with teeth could talk and might divulge The Day. God does not want His Children to know. A child born with teeth would not live.

Twice as many babies, teeth or no teeth, it seems, were born than survived infancy. In my own family nine were born, and four survived. My brother's mother-in-law bore 17 and buried 13. Midwives, with the assistance of neighbor-women, delivered the babies. Infants were swaddled until they were nine to ten months old. The children were breast-fed 24 months before they were "weaned."

In rare cases a doctor was fetched from Uman, or a patient was rushed there. This would happen, for instance, in the case of an attack of appendicitis. Later toward the end of the century, a medical student would be induced upon graduation to get his first practical experience in our town. Usually he stayed no more than a year or two, and then a doctorless hiatus for another year or so would ensue.

Public sanitation was non-existent in Yustingrad as late as 1902 when I left to seek learning in the "Big City"—Uman. Only two homes had outside privies. The rest of the people eased themselves in the open—back of their huts, or in the exposed communal latrine. The communal cesspool was an especial abomination. The bees and flies that infested it spread contagion. All communicable diseases were epidemic.

Water was supplied by water carriers from the well near the bridge at the bottom of the hill and stored in open vats in the kitchens. Standing in the darkest corner, the vats always emitted a musty smell. Only on Christmas Eve was special attention accorded them. Iron nails were driven in them to ward

off the evil spirits believed to be infesting the air that night. In the spring these vats, together with the barrels in which cucumbers, cabbage, and watermelon had been pickled for the winter, were soaked in the lake and sunned on the shore.

Once a week, on Friday afternoon, and also on the eve of a holiday, every Jew cleansed himself in the communal steam bath. The women had their monthly cleansing in a *mikvah* (ritual immersion).

Poverty was endemic, for the Jew and gentile alike. The latter was perhaps a little better off so far as basic food went, since he raised most of it on his farm. The Jew had no such resources, except for goat's milk and cheese–(every Jewish family, it seems, kept one or two goats; a few kept a cow). The Jews earned their livelihood as small shopkeepers and as artisans–blacksmiths, wainwrights, carpenters, tailors, shoemakers, etc. The remainder were teachers (*melamdim*), cantors and other employees of the synagogue–grave-diggers, Talmudists and the Rabbi's retainers. There were musicians and even two or three moneylenders, an egg and poultry dealer, and such casuals as day laborers, teamsters (*bal agalas*), etc.[7]

At all times most of these occupations afforded but a scant and precarious living, varying according to the means available to local peasants and the peasants of the surrounding villages. Most of the week's business was done on the one market day which, in Yustingrad, fell on Monday. On that day several thousand villagers would come to town to trade amongst themselves and buy home supplies from the local stores and open stands. For the Jewish youngsters the weekly market day was a gala occasion: an opportunity to mix among the peasants, open the vodka bottles for them and lend them glasses from which to drink. In payment, the peasants would give them a little glass of vodka which the youngsters would pour into a bottle carried for the occasion. In a couple of hours they would have a bottle full of vodka to take home for family use.

Black bread, herring, cabbage soups, occasionally fish or beef, and potatoes were the staple week-day diet. In the summer there would be the fresh fruits and vegetables; in the winter

some of these would be eaten pickled. On the Sabbath and holidays there was the *khalah*, the twisted loaf of white bread; *gefilte* fish; chicken soup and boiled chicken. Prunes boiled with raisins and diced beets made an especially succulent dessert. For the children, the Passover was the favorite holiday, with its special foods, its festive air, and the new spring outfits in which to "show off."

Simkhas Torah, "Rejoicing in the Law," provided another gala occasion. After the morning prayers in *shule*, neighbors and relatives called in groups at one another's homes, chewed nuts, drank vodka, ate honey cake and special holiday pastries, sang songs and played at being tipsy.

"How goes it?" asked one Jew of another, an apocryphal story went the rounds. "Quite well," said the other. "If I didn't fast on Mondays and Thursdays, I'd starve on the Sabbath day." Health permitting, all Jews above age 13 observed the two major fast days, *Tishah B'av* (the 9th day of *Av*)—the Day of Lamentations over the destruction of the Temple by the Romans—and *Yom Kippur,* the Day of Atonement.

Few had more than one full shift of clothing besides the daily work clothes. For men there was the clean *kaftan* for the Sabbath; for the women a clean, solid-color dress and the colorful headkerchief or shawl. All the male Jews had beards; not a few wore *yarmulkas* even when asleep. Married Jewish women all wore *sheitels* (wigs)—their own hair having been shorn off on the wedding day. (The photo below, taken in 1910 or 1911, shows a B'nai Khaim wearing a *sheitel*). All girls had their ear lobes pierced when very young, and most wore "gold" earrings. Except for the wedding band and an occasional string of colored glass beads, women wore little jewelry. A few men sported pocket watches with chains across their middle. A few homes had clocks.

Besides holidays and the Sabbath, the occasional family *simkhas* or festivities compensated for the drabness of everyday life. Engagements, weddings, *Bar Mitzvahs*, circumcision rites were occasions to throw off daily cares. Even funerals brought moments of relief, giving the women an occasion for a good cry.



Photo 5. B'nai Khaim with a sheitel [Malka Roubboy (A_2 B_7)].

Once a year a fraternal organization, *Bikur Kholim* ("visitors of the sick"), would hold a banquet for the poor, and these were a goodly proportion of *shtetl* Jews. Late Saturday afternoons the youth of the town went *shpatzieren*, promenading on the main street, girls with girls and boys with boys. If there was any flirting I was too young to notice.

Most of the B'nai Khaim were tradespeople and poorer than the Jews who worked with their hands. Hand labor was for the people of a "lesser" breed than the B'nai Khaim!—although *Zeide* Khaim used his hands to make candles, and one of his brothers was a glazier. Even the artisans considered themselves at the bottom of the ghetto totem pole. The shoemaker, the tailor, the carpenter preferred to have himself inscribed in his passport or other legal documents as a *prostak*, literally a simpleton, a handyman, rather than be identified by his skill. The B'nai

Khaim were the "learned" people of Yustingrad. Not until the end of the century did hand labor intrude on the *mishpokhah*, when two of *Zeide* Khaim's grandsons had become rope-spinners, two blacksmiths,and one a carpenter. One of his granddaughters did sewing for a living. Several B'nai Khaim families earned most of their annual income selling dried, smoked and salted fish to the peasants in the winter months. The Greek Orthodox Church called for 14 meatless weeks before Christmas and six before Easter. The believers then ate fish. The B'nai Khaim helped supply the fish.

As endemic as illiteracy and disease was the general ignorance and superstition of Yustingrad Jews. Some even believed in the transmigration of the soul. There was the case, whispered about under bated breath, of Shloime the money lender and his faithful dog Dushenka ("little soul"). Dushenka appeared at Shloime's front door from nowhere, it seemed, and for a year would not let him out of her sight. At night she would snuggle up on the porch, with ears cocked. One night Shloime had a dream—a troubled dream. Shmeal-Aba, the *baal agala*, to whom he had lent money to buy a new horse when his old nag had died, stood before him pleading: "I paid you all your money back except the last interest installment before I died last year, but you still hold the note I gave you. Please, tear it up. I cannot rest in my grave until you do that. I have watched over you all this time. This should balance my account with you. Please, tear up the note so I can rest in peace." Shloime the usurer woke in a daze. Rummaging among his files he found the *baal agala*'s note. Taking the note with him, he walked out on the porch to relieve his bladder in the clear morning air, slowly tearing the note into small bits. As the last bit of paper fluttered to the ground, Dushenka came up to him, licked his bare feet, stretched out and lay dead!

To probably all Yustingrad Jews before the end of the century, the Earth was flat and the center of the Universe. The Moon, the Sun and the Stars were "up there" as God had put them all at the time of the Creation to serve His people on earth. The worthy Jew might even turn to God for special

favors. So a Khaim Kaprov granddaughter claimed, late in the century, that her father had been endowed by the Holy One with the power to create a *golem* to serve him on the Sabbath day. On that holy day the Jews were not allowed to perform any week-day labors, except to pray, eat and procreate—not even to make a fire to warm them in the winter or to light or blow out the lamps or candles. These menial chores were performed for them by gentile boys and girls for a few kopeks or a hunk of white bread per Sabbath. However, you were not allowed to give them instructions concerning their duties on the Sabbath day; these had to be given on a week day. The *golem* got his instructions before sunset on Fridays.

An apocryphal story circulating among the awakening younger generation illustrates this point: It seems that a gust of wind blew out the candles on a Friday evening in Yankel's home before he had done with all the reading he had assigned himself for that evening. Perplexed, he stepped out into the dark street, when his friend Ivan happened to be passing by. "Friend Ivan!" said Yankel, "I'd invite you for a glass of vodka if there were light in the house." "Why, thanks!" said Ivan, "that can be remedied." He walked into the darkened house, lit a candle and drank his glass of vodka. Then, after exchanging a few pleasantries with his friend Yankel, Ivan blew out the candle and walked out into the dark street.

The "Sokolievker" were God-fearing people. The men would tend to their daily prayers, if not in the *shule* with a *minyon* (the minimum of ten adults necessary to form a praying congregation), then at home. As far as I knew or have been able to ascertain since, no Jew of Yustingrad was ever guilty of a serious crime, although petty cheating in trade was a common practice. Drunkenness was a rarity. Venereal disease was unknown among them.

The women were virtuous homemakers—cooking, washing, knitting, sewing, mending, bearing and rearing children, and at the same time often also tending to the store or a market stall. It did happen that, in the 1890's, a pretty young wife underwent two abortions while her husband was away in the army in

a distant city. Also, a couple of Jewish girls came back "disgraced" from Uman where they had been hired out as housemaids. At the turn of the century a red-headed man from out-of-town set up a shop for cosmetics and sickroom supplies. Within a year, four women, including his wife, gave birth to four red-headed children. It wasn't long after, that he was sent packing to seek new pastures.

In 1901, when I was 13, I "took a census" of Yustingrad with the help of a chum a half-year older. The year before, I



(A_2 B_2 C_4)

Photo 6. The "census-takers" at age 16 (1904)

had learned to read Russian and came upon the concept "classification." Why not, then, "classify" our own people, first of all on the basis of "cultural levels"? Besides, the task was evidently simplicity itself! We "knew," or thought we knew, the members of every Jewish household in Yustingrad, by age, sex and education, and occupation. We also *knew* that the five synagogues in town each had a family membership of about 100. Every family, we figured, consisted of six persons, as our own two families did. Multiplying 5 by 100 by 6, we came up with a total population of Yustingrad Jews in 1901 of 3000. The first official Russian census of 1897, published in 1905, gave the town a total population of almost 3200. The difference, we figured, was accounted for in part by the spread of four years between the census dates, and in part by the *goyim* whose huts rimmed the Jewish settlement. It was from this "census" that the "sociological" data recounted earlier were derived, including the extent of the prevailing illiteracy.

My father was one of the very few Jews in Yustingrad who could speak Russian–he had been raised in a city (Gaicin, 60 miles due west of Uman), where Russian was more commonly spoken than *goyish*. It was for this reason that he was chosen to travel to university cities–Zhitomir, Kiev, Odessa–to find and induce medical graduates to begin their medical practice in Yustingrad. At the end of every two or three years, when the novice had decided he had enough of Yustingrad and left for a bigger city, the community once again raised fare money and sent my father to seek a new recruit.

In this way my father became a "man-of-the-world" in the eyes of his fellow-townsmen. Comparatively, he was also an "enlightened" man, a *maskel*, questioning the occult powers of the *tsadik*, the holy man. Once, on his return home from one of his "recruiting" trips to Kiev, when I had just learned to read Russian, he brought me a tattered copy of a Russian history book which must have been of interest to himself as well. He would sometimes take me along on his business trips to Uman and would delight in pointing out the Big Dipper, the North Star and the Constellations. One early morning when we had

returned from such a trip and had gone to bed, my father remarked to me: "Some people think that the world [earth] is round and the sun revolves around it. That is why, they say, the sun shines on different parts of the earth at different times of the day. So, for instance," he explained, "here it is 4 o'clock in the morning and still dark. In London [!] it is already light."

Despite all his groping for knowledge and his repeated hobnobbing with physicians, my father had but the vaguest ideas of man's physiological processes. When he was 64 I showed him the stages of development of the human fetus preserved in a series of jars in the biological laboratory at Western Reserve University, where I was a senior. He stood transfixed, his lips moving as if in silent prayer. His photograph, below, was taken in Cleveland when he was about 70 years old. He died there in 1923 at age 77.

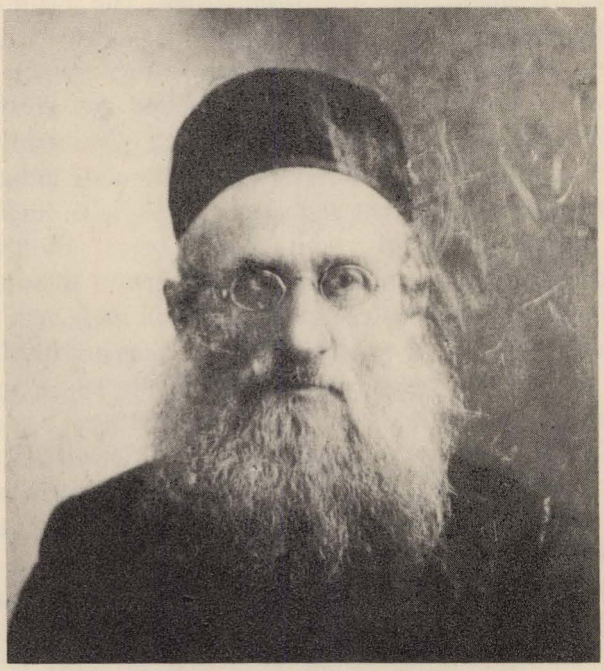


Photo 7. A "Sokolievker" Man-of-the-World [Moishe Gillman (= A_2 B_2)].

It should not be concluded, however, that the primitivism prevailing in Yustingrad at the end of the 19th century was an isolated phenomenon in Russia. Nor should it be thought of as a uniquely Jewish phenomenon, except that the Jews then labored under the handicap of repressive anti-Jewish laws of tsarist Russia. The ignorance was, first of all, Russia's. That country lagged 100 years behind Western Europe in enlightenment. Belief in the supernatural—in the supernatural power of the tsar, for example—was common. Why this was so can be learned from any good college textbook on "Modern European History." The fact is that Russia remained feudal generations after feudalism had been abolished in most of Western Europe. A revolution in St. Petersburg in December, 1825, staged by Russians of the highest rank in the military and nobility to bring their country in line with the enlightenment of, say, France and England, met with utter defeat. The revolutionaries were shot, strung up or exiled to hard labor in Siberia for life.[8] In the middle of the century, an active segment of the Russian intelligentsia, the Slavophils, fought against any Westernizing tendencies. They even opposed the building of railroads in their country, arguing that such a move would stimulate industrialization and create a proletariat and much unrest, as in England and France. There were others, of course—most of the great novelists and poets, and the publicists Herzen, Bakounin and Chernishevsky—who labored, at the risk of their very lives to bring modern civilization to Russia. But it was not until the last quarter of the 19th century that light finally began to stream into darkest Russia; and then it came with a bang. When Newton came to Russia he came arm-in-arm with Marx and Darwin. And these, as we know, brought with them precisely enlightenment, industrialization, a proletariat *and* the Revolution.

For the Jews in Yustingrad, the arrival of industrialization meant the beginning of the end of a petty-trade, handicraft economy. Furthermore, as an industrial-capitalist economy, Russia quickly contracted the capitalist disease known as the business cycle—the alternations between prosperity and depres-

sion. For reasons which need not be developed here, during the years 1899-1909 Russia was in an almost continuous depression.[9] For the handicraft industries and for small traders, both the rise of capitalist production and the effects of business depressions proved calamitous. The rise of capitalist production meant the progressive displacement of the handicraft means of livelihood for most people in small towns, such as the inhabitants of Yustingrad. It was a repetition of the experience in England and elsewhere centuries earlier in the advance from a feudal-agricultural to a capitalist-industrial society.[10]

Before long, factory-made goods began to compete with hand-made goods. Factory-made shoes undersold local hand-made products. Horseshoes made in an iron foundry miles away replaced the workmanship of the local blacksmith. Wheel spokes no longer needed to be planed and chiseled by the local wainwright—they were now shipped from a lumber mill; machine-made harness and reins replaced the hand-made products of Yustingrad ropespinners. Artificial flowers made of fabrics in a factory replaced the more perishable, home-made, paper variety; and so on and on. Even socks were now machine-made!

The continuing depression added to these woes. The unemployed factory worker ceased to be a customer for the output of the farmers; the impoverished farmers ceased to be customers of the local wagon maker and blacksmith and tailor. A *political revolutionary* unrest spread through Russia as the people found the Tsarist government unwilling or unable to relieve their distress. To divert the wrath of the people the governing powers unleashed the traditional pogrom tactics against Jews. At the turn of the century, the pogrom that let loose the emigration of Russian Jews in the 1880's recurred again and again with devastating regularity. "Shpola," "Kishiniev," "Mogilev" threw a pall on Jewish communities everywhere in Russia. On top of it all, on the eve of the Revolution of 1905, came the pogroms in Byalostock, St. Petersburg, Tomsk—a hundred pogroms. "Go to America" became the despairing refrain of the persecuted. The First World War, the Bolshevik Revolution, the Civil War that

followed it and the pogroms that came with the counter-revolution completed the process of devastation. That was when Yustingrad was destroyed and the remnants of its people dispersed.

Go to America!

Notes to Chapter 1

[1] The name Kaprov derives from the Czech word *kapr*, meaning karp (generically, fish). The Russian equivalents are Karpov and Karpovich. In the present case it may signify that Khaim Kaprov's family had originally come to Russia from Bohemia, now part of Czechoslovakia.

[2] A first draft of this and the next chapter was circulated among the "ancients" for correction and amendment. Both my Uncle Avrom, the Rabbi, and my sister Alta, five years my senior, were of particular help.

[3] Actually, expulsion edicts began as far back as 1795, under Katherine the Great, and for many other reasons than those stated in this legend. Various edicts to expel Jews from villages were issued under Alexander I in 1804, 1807, 1823, and 1825. The edict of Nicholas I, which specifically applied to Jews in the Grodno and Kiev Provinces, was issued in 1835. See Israel Friedlander: *The Jews of Russia and Poland*, G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, 1915. The expulsion from Sokolovka must have occurred at one of these later dates.

[4] In 1962, the Jews of Yustingrad origin from Buffalo, New York, erected a commemorative slab for them in the "Sokolievker" cemetery.

[5] *Shtetlakh* is the plural of *shtetl*, a small-town Jewish community. For *shetl* life in 19th century Eastern Europe, see Mark Zborowski and Elizabeth Herzog: *Life is With People*, International Universities Press, Inc., New York, 1952.

[6] As late as 1929-30, when education in Russia had become free and universal (it was not until 1930 that a fourth-year education could be made compulsory, as school equipment and teachers became available), 22 of the 125 candidates admitted to the Soviet Academy of Sciences were Jews–almost 18 per cent. (See *Vestnik* of the Communist Academy, Nos. 35-36, p. 384.) In the total population they accounted for scarcely three per cent. This preponderance of higher learning among Jews in Russia continues today. Jews now account for almost ten per cent of Soviet scientists and for 19 per cent of its Doctors of Science, the highest academic degree granted in the USSR. (Theodore Shabad, in the *New York Times*, August 5, 1962.) In the total population they account for a little over one per cent. I was reliably informed in Moscow that, in 1965, 20 per cent of the economists at the Academy of Science were Jews.

[7] The occupational distribution of the Jews in Russia, as revealed by the 1897 census, was:

38.7%	Trade
35.4	Industry; principally handicrafts
3.6	Agriculture
5.2	Government and professional
17.1	Miscellaneous, including 1.1% in the military
100.0%	

[8] *Record* of the trials, in Russian, at the Hoover Library in Palo Alto, California.

[9] Willard L. Throp: Business Annals, N.B.E.R. 1925, pp. 239-240; and Peter I. Lyashchenko: *History of the National Economy of Russia, to the 1917 Revolution*. Macmillan, 1949, pp. 528 ff.

[10] For an illuminating account of the effects of industrialization on the handicraft industries of Russia in the last decades of the 19th century, see V.I. Lenin: *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*. Collected Works, Moscow Publishing House, 1941-50. The book is a scholarly study by an eyewitness.

Chapter 2

Knyazhe–Uman–The Pogroms

Here, then, lie the origins of the B'nai Khaim–in backward 19th century Russia. We shall follow them to America where, in the first quarter of the 20th century, 93 of them, remnants of a Revolutionary upheaval, came to find a new home. Here they would found new families and strike roots in a new soil. But before we follow them into this new world we must make two additional observations about the old.

Now all the B'nai Khaim that came to America were born or raised in Yustingrad. A number of the "Sokolievker" B'nai Khaim had married into other towns and cities and reared their children there. In some, like Knyazhe, life was very much the same as in Yustingrad. In others, like Uman, they were exposed to an advanced culture compared with that of Yustingrad.

Then, too, my description of "the soil" in Chapter 1 virtually ended with the 19th century. In the next two decades, the people of Russia went through revolutionary convulsions which destroyed the remnants of Russian feudalism *and* a nascent capitalism all at once. Russia experienced a rapid rise in industry and commerce and a prolonged depression; humiliating defeats in two wars and a moral decadence between; three revolutions; devastating counterrevolutions; a bloody civil war; famine, pestilence and pogroms of increasing ferocity. The Jews of Tsarist Russia had known pogroms before. Repeatedly, over the years, Jews were made the scapegoats for the misery of the peasants, with more and more pogroms as the peasant grew more and more rebellious. Now a "White Army" organized pogroms as a tactic in a counterrevolution. If in the past, pogroms were sporadic, local looting raids, now there was planned, deliberate nation-wide torture, rape and murder–the White Terror. "Ours was the only block left of what once was Yustingrad," writes a B'nai Khaim from Brooklyn. "They had not burned it because

it stood too close to the peasants' haystacks. When the bandits came this time there were 12 of us living in that block. When they left, there were five of us. They did not complete the slaughter because they fled when their sentry shouted, 'The Reds are coming!' " The soil from which the B'nai Khaim were to set off on their trek to America was now soaked with their blood.

Most of the non-"Sokolievker" B'nai Khaim who migrated to America were born or raised in Knyazhe or Uman. Knyazhe, some 16 miles almost due west of Yustingrad, was a village of about 350 families, between 35 and 40 of whom were Jewish.[1] At one time it must have been the domain of a feudal lord of princely title: the official name, Knyazhe-Krenitsa, means *the Prince's Well*, or *Spring*. At the time of our story the village and the surrounding forests belonged to a *graf*—a count—who had it declared a town so that Jews would be permitted to live there. He needed them to supervise the business of his estate. At the turn of the century three of the Jewish families living in Knyazhe were B'nai Khaim, and the head of one of these served the *graf* as *arendar*—as the general manager of the estate. The *arendar*'s father managed the inn owned by the *graf*. The *arendar* was also the leaseholder of the pond, the flour mill and the pasture lands. As one of his daughters, now living in California, tells it: " . . . the river abounded with fish, the rights to which were Father's, and its waters operated the mill, the rights to which the *graf* also gave to Father." The town's beer cellar also belonged to him. He was the "rich Jew" of Knyazhe.

Other members of the innkeeper's family were the rent collectors, managers and bookkeepers of the *graf*'s and of other landlords' nearby forest and lumber businesses. These B'nai Khaim performed the services for the *graf* and neighboring landlords which Jews had so commonly performed for feudal lords throughout the centuries, thereby often incurring the hatred of the exploited peasants. The massacres in the Khmelnitzky insurrection, and many subsequent pogroms, were the cruel manifestations of this hatred against the sometime not unwilling tools of greedy landlords. Much of the anti-Semitism still lingering in

the Ukraine today is an echo of these earlier grievances.

There were several other "rich" Jews in Knyazhe besides the *arendar*: those were the owners of the general store and the hardware store, and three or four jobbers in farm produce. The *arendar* acted, however, with the authority of the *graf* and commanded privileges not granted to others in Knyazhe, Jews or gentiles. The communal bathhouse which was open for Jews on Fridays and for the peasants on Saturdays was heated especially for the *arendar*'s family on Thursdays. His was the power to



Photo 8. Taken in Uman in 1917. The arendar and his wife, both B'nai Khaim born ($A_1\ B_3\ C_2 - A_1\ B_1\ C_3$).

dispense favors and to arbitrate squabbles in the synagogue as well as in the market place. He was *the* influence in town.

His family was also the most "cultured"–his children learned to read and write Russian! The *arendar* was the first "Knyazher" to subscribe to a newspaper–a Jewish weekly from Poland, in 1907 or 1908. All this gave his family "airs" and a certain disdain toward others in town–the disdain which the affluent affect towards the poor, the literate toward the illiterate, and, in the case of ghetto Jews, of those who could speak Russian toward the ones who could speak only Yiddish or *goyish*–the latter, the language of the market place in the Ukraine. Some of his family later affected these airs in America. "What makes you think I am interested in the B'nai Khaim," a young second-generation offspring countered when I telephoned her to introduce myself and explain the project.

The third of the B'nai Khaim families of Knyazhe were poor working people. The father, who in his spare time was a glazier, earned three rubles a week working for the *arendar* as miller and as night-watchman to shoo off poachers. The mother, the direct B'nai Khaim, and their two teenage daughters worked at home as seamstresses.[2] Later the family also sold piecegoods on market days. All the rest of the "Knyazher" Jews were either handicraftsmen or shopless traders who bought from the peasants small quantities of grain, eggs, poultry which they sold to jobbers and wholesalers in Knyazhe or in nearby Lukoshovka and elsewhere.

Knazhe was as primitive a *shtetl* as was Yustingrad, if not more so, since here the peasantry still lived in semi-feudal state.[3] There was no doctor in town, not even a *feldsher*, until about 1910 when a young pharmacist came to town and served as *feldsher*, dentist and pharmacist, all-in-one, for about two years. He pulled teeth, made diagnoses, prescribed medicine and filled the prescriptions in his pharmacy.

There was no post office, telephone, or telegraph service in Knyazhe. The nearest railroad station was 12 miles away. Public sanitation was unknown. Infant mortality was high. The *arendar*'s wife bore 12 children and buried five in infancy. "The

town was unhygienic, filthy. Infectious disease was rampant," writes a Knyazher B'nai Khaim who left that town before World War I at age 17 and is now a practicing physician in Cleveland.

"The people had to wage a constant war against body lice, fleas, flies, bedbugs, and vermin," he goes on. "Roundworm was a common affliction. Drinking water was hauled from a well dug at the lowest level of the town. This well received excrement washed down by the rains. Tuberculosis, typhus, typhoid fever, diphtheria, smallpox, like all other contagious diseases were endemic.

"Food and clothing were of the meagerest, as was true of any *shtetl.* A garment was worn until it could not be patched anymore. Except on the Sabbath and holidays, the food was coarse bread, potatoes, cabbage soup, onions, garlic, salt herring, occasionally dried fish; rarely meat. In summer there would be fresh fruit and vegetables—in winter, pickled cucumbers and sauerkraut.

"Religious rituals were strictly observed as passed down from generation to generation. The women would make sure that upon emerging from the communal bathhouse where they had been declared *kosher* (cleansed) upon their ritual immersion in the *mikvah*, they would encounter a *kosher* being before coming upon a pig or a *goy* and thus become unclean again. As a precaution, one or two young Jewish lads would be stationed at the exit where they would be the first these women would encounter.

"Living quarters were generally confined to a one-room adobe hut 25 feet–30 feet long by 12 feet–15 feet wide. The Dutch oven would occupy about a quarter of the space, but you could sleep on it and on the protruding ledge. The remaining space served as the family living room, dining room and bedroom. On cold winter nights the young calf would share the warmth inside; in spring the newly-hatched chicks would live with us. Occasionally, there would be a guest sleeping in. The *melamed* (Hebrew teacher), often a stranger in town, would be accommodated during the two weeks per season required of each family whose children attended his *kheder.*"

Uman[4] was something else again. By any standard of the time, it was a center of culture. It had a population of about 45,000, a large proportion Jewish. It was the "Big City" in the area between Kiev and Odessa. It was a county seat and the trading center for towns and villages many miles around. Here Russian was spoken. Uman had a seven-year elementary public school with a capacity for 300 pupils; two gymnasia, one for boys and one for girls; a music conservatory; a theater for visiting troupes; a reading and lending library (you paid a small membership fee); a small park in which a brass band played on summer evenings; and a large wooded area, the *Sofievka*, for nature lovers. This park had a national reputation (it still has) for its natural as well as cultivated beauty. Most of the city was destroyed by the Nazis, but the *Sofievka* was miraculously spared. Below is a reproduction of a picture postcard of the lagoon section, which I bought at a kiosk in Uman in 1965.



Photo 9. The Sofievka in Uman

The streets of Uman were cobblestone. Many buildings were two to four stories high, built of brick, and slate or tin-roofed. The town had no sewer system but, for the most part, especially in the "New City," privies were private and enclosed. Most of the homes had running water. Several doctors and two or three hospitals served the town and surrounding villages. There were dentists and *feldshers* in Uman, trained midwives, and lawyers. Electricity illuminated the window displays of the bigger stores and was used for lighting in the homes of the affluent. Pipes for illuminating gas were being laid at the time (1905-06) when I was leaving to "go to America." The city had a police department and a fire department, a telegraph office, a telephone exchange, and a branch of the State Bank; a post office and even a stockbrokerage. Some three miles from town, a railroad station was served by a spur from a main line 20 miles away. Although essentially a trading center, Uman possessed considerable small industry—a couple of iron foundries, steam-driven flour mills, some woodworking shops, a garment-making establishment and smaller tailoring shops, several bakeries and soft-drink bottling factories.

There was no strictly Jewish ghetto in Uman at that time, although the orthodox and the poorer Jews congregated in the "Old City." Here were located the Jewish hospital, the Jewish cemetery, and the orthodox synagogues. The more affluent and the more "enlightened" Jews lived in the "New City." Here was located what we in America call the "conservative" synagogue where female worshippers sit together with their males, whereas in the strictly orthodox *shule* female worshippers are partitioned off in a separate chamber. A *Talmud Torah*, a free school maintained by the Jewish community for the instruction of Jewish boys (I don't remember about girls) gave courses in basic Hebrew and Russian and in both parochial and secular subjects. The home for the indigent as well as for itinerant poor was maintained next to the "Tolner" *shule* (orthodox) in the "Old City." An outdoor privy stood between the two buildings.

Most of the Uman Jews, the B'nai Khaim among them, were merchants, brokers, agents, go-betweens, "fixers," and big and

little shopkeepers. A Jew owned the big drygoods store; his son-in-law operated a fancy haberdashery catering to army officers and other elites of the city and surroundings.

Differences in wealth, of course, created an aristocracy among the Jews as among the gentiles. The Jewish aristocracy was distinguished from the rest of the Jews of Uman by the extent of the secular education of their children. A son and daughter of a Knyazhe-Uman B'nai Khaim attended gymnasia. One Uman B'nai Khaim daughter attended a "progymnasia" (a prep school). A son attended an agricultural institute. All of them received tutored instruction in school subjects at home—"home education," it was called.

Secular education in those years inevitably meant also the absorption of the new, radical social and political ideas that were then penetrating Russia. Many Uman Jews were "Kadety"—Social Democrats—and/or Zionists. Clandestinely, youth—Jews and gentiles—read Marx's *Das Kapital* and Lenin's journal, *Iskra*. (In the library one could read the reactionary and anti-Semitic *Novoe Vremya* and the staid *Kievlyanin*.) Throw-away leaflets and "manifestoes" told of a drive to organize labor into unions; of factory strikes and of peasant riots. Demands for a constitutional monarchy to replace the Tsarist autocracy were discussed openly; calls for a socialist revolution, in secret. Young men and women caught in—or even only suspected of engaging in—these "subversive activities" were imprisoned or sent off to Siberia. Youth was aglow with revolutionary fervor.

The upsurge in commerce and industry gave rise to a free-thinking Russian bourgeoisie, questioning and repudiating subservience to traditional political authority. An ebullient spirit like that of the bourgeoisie of the French Revolution pervaded the people. The brass band always ended its park concerts by playing the *Marseillaise* after the Russian *God Save the Tsar!* This was always received with applause. The people were caught up in a glow of expectation of historic change. Among the younger set and the affluent, this spirit spilled over into dissipation. Young ladies read salacious romances; young men talk-

ed of free love. They made the polka, the valse, the mazurka lascivious, and danced an especially orgiastic version of the minuet. One would not be surprised to hear of a housemaid in the home of a young couple giving birth to a child within a few days of her mistress so that the servant could wet-nurse her master's *legitimate* offspring. The servant's infant was placed in a foundling home.

Then came the war with Germany and the Bolshevik Revolution and spoiled the fun. At first, war with Germany stimulated great expectations of business prosperity. Speculation was rife. "Business was quite good," writes our Brooklyn B'nai Khaim, "when the war broke out. Everybody waited for the war to end so there would be a market in which to spend the money." But the war did not end that way. It ended in the Revolution which shattered the roseate dreams.

For our *arendar* the outbreak of the war meant a rent in his family fortunes. The "Knyazher" peasants blamed the war and especially war requisitions on the Jews in general and on the *arendar* in particular. Life for his family became unsafe in Knyazhe. In 1915 they moved to Uman where they lived until 1918. "Father was still wealthy," writes his California daughter, but it lasted only one year beyond the Revolution. "After the Revolution, Father lost everything he had possessed—the mill, real estate in various cities." Then came the pogroms, and the family managed to get away to Odessa. But "having been a capitalist, Father could not get a job." When the Bolsheviks abolished the *grafs* they had no need for *arendars*. "Starvation and sickness spread over the land, and our family was no exception."

For the "Sokolievker" peasants, the fall of the Tsar was an unmitigated calamity: How would they live without a Tsar-Protector? For the "Sokolievker" Jews, the Revolution was a bewildering mystery. "We were asked to carry flags and shout 'Hurrah for Liberty'!" writes our Brooklyn B'nai Khaim, "but few of us knew what the slogan meant . . . did not know that we had been slaves to the Tsar." Before they could fathom that mystery, the Counterrevolution had begun and the White Army was looting, raping and murdering Jews. "We ran and ran like a

squirrel in a wheel, and that lasted two years until we finally got over into Rumania." By then, however, nothing was left of Yustingrad, and only a few of its Jews remained alive.

In August, 1918, a counterrevolutionary band lined up 138 Jews, from age 15 up, including the 88-year-old "Sokolievker" Rabbi, on the road to Konella and shot them dead, all but one. Mortally wounded and left for dead, this boy crawled back two miles to tell of the horror before he, too, died.

"How could you! We paid all the ransom you asked for," the father of one of the slain boys began upbraiding a White Guardist. "How could you murder these innocent boys, you son of a bitch!" . . . . The Guardist thrust his bayonet into the man's groin. The man died on the way to Uman where they rushed him to get medical aid.

"Several days I hid in the chimney when I heard the bandits coming," my sister now living in Buffalo recalls with horror. "Didn't know where the children were. Stopped thinking of them . . . . "

"There I was, burning up with typhoid fever," one of my nieces recalls. "My husband goes out for fresh water; perhaps bring medicine. He does not come back. Don't know how many days. Our baby lies next to me. Dead. Unattended. No fire in the oven . . . . "

"You would not understand if I told you a thousand times," wept one of the reunited wives in Buffalo in the early 1920's. She had been separated from her husband ten years—ten years of hope, despair, pogroms . . . . "You cannot imagine the horrors," she continued. "One has to live through them to *feel* them. One of the pogroms took place on *Yom Kippur*. Everybody was in *shule* praying; fasting. Suddenly, the bandits fall upon the *shule* and proceed raping the women in front of their crazed husbands and horrified children. My father, 70 years old and pious as any man in Sokolievka,[5] ran about raving, screaming, 'If this can happen to us, here, on this Holiest of Holy Days, then there is no God in Heaven; then I don't believe in a God!' Threw his *talis* in the dust and himself on the bayonet of a beast."

In Uman: "My mother lived through three pogroms," writes

a Los Angeles B'nai Khaim woman. "Hid in a dark attic; days with no food; 30 other adults and 17 children. Through darkness saw gleaming bayonets. When day comes see stores broken in; broken windows; puddles of blood; dead bodies; a wagonfull of corpses being carted away . . . . "

"My husband and I still scream in our sleep. I always seem to run; can't find no escape . . . . "

It took them from two to three years to escape, into Rumania mostly. There, many found shelter in refugee camps—in Kishinev, in Jassi, in Bucharest—set up by Jews of other lands: by the Alliance Francaise Israelites; the British Jewish Rescue Committee; the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. In anguish the B'nai Khaim, along with thousands of other homeless Jews, wait until word comes that husbands, fathers, sons, daughters, sisters, brothers, uncles, aunts, cousins had been located in New York, Cleveland, Buffalo, Chicago. These send money and steamship tickets to carry them to America. In America they will replant the B'nai Khaim Tree.

Notes to Chapter 2

[1] This is as I recall it from visits there as a teenager in 1903-05, and as I have recently gathered from personal interviews and correspondence with Knyazher B'nai Khaim in Cleveland, Buffalo, Washington, and Los Angeles.

[2] One of these girls and a younger brother used to pay the *arendar* three kopeks an issue for the copy of the newspaper after his family was through with it.

[3] For the life of the peasant in Russia at this time see, for example, M. Olgin: *The Soul of the Russian Revolution*; in particular, Chapter III. Henry Holt & Co., 1917.

[4] This is from my recollections as a student there from 1902 to 1906 (age 14 to 18) and from personal interviews and correspondence with relatives now in America.

[5] There is a poignancy in this remark, "my father . . . pious as any man in Sokolievka," which will be lost on the reader unless explained. This man was not a "Sokolievker" by birth and although his name was Kaprov, he was not a Kaprov-born. He had been a "Nickolayevsky soldat," a soldier in

the cantonment army of Tsar Nickolas I where he had served 25 years beginning at the age of eight. By the time he was discharged he had lost all trace of his family. Wandering in search of them he stumbled into Yustingrad. Here he was adopted by the community, named Kaprov, given a wife, a hut in which to raise a family and a shack in which to sell axle grease for a living. (*Zeide* Khaim's youngest son, who was of about the same age, also sold axle grease.) My sister knew all this. I remember the man only as selling axle grease and as wearing the peaked cap of a Nikolaevsky soldat. However, I knew his family intimately. My brother married one of his daughters, and his only son was a pal of mine.

B. THE B'NAI KHAIM AND THEIR PROGENITORS

Chapter 3

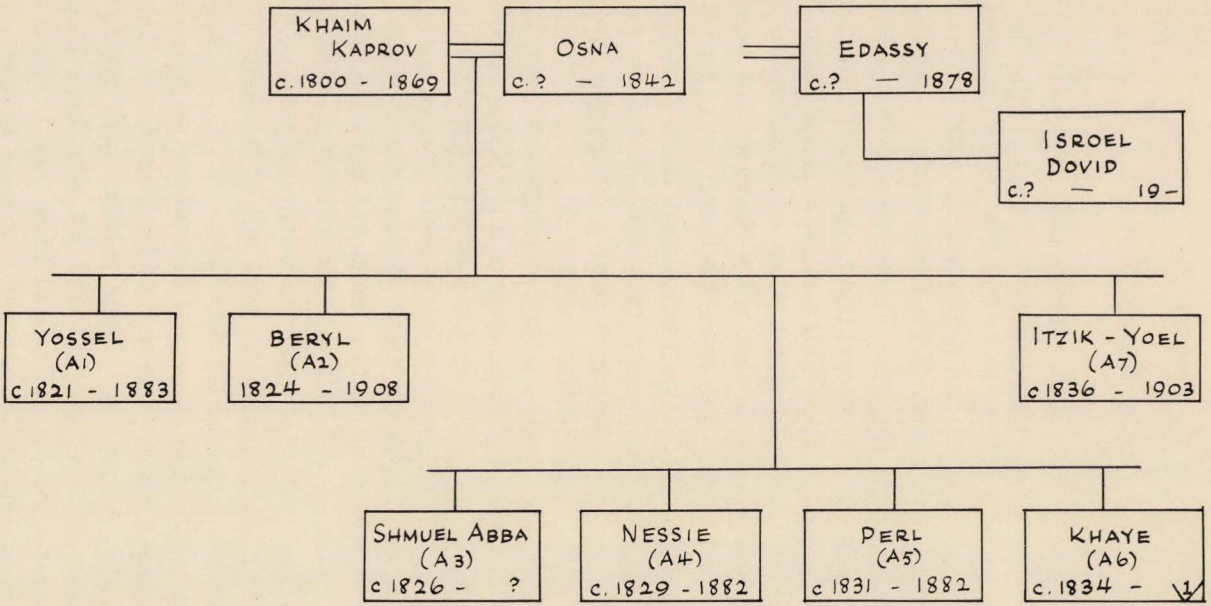
The Family Tree

At the turn of the 20th century only two of the candlemaker's seven children were known to be still living. They were Beryl, the second eldest, and Itzik-Yoel, the youngest. The first-born, a son Yossel, had died some 25 years earlier. These three were the progenitors of the B'nai Khaim in America. We know nothing about the other four, beyond their names, the names of the spouses of two of them, and their presumed order of birth. The eldest of these four was a son named Shmuel-Abba who came right next to Beryl. Then came three daughters–Nessie, Perl and Khaya–in that order. Shmuel-Abba married in the village of Kenelski and made his home there. Nessie made her home in Uman. Perl, too, married away from Yustingrad and is known to have had at least two sons, Naftali and Yankel. Khaya "died young." Nessie married a man named Gedaliah; Perl's husband's name was Shemariah.

This is all my uncle Avrom, youngest of Beryl's eight children, remembered of these original B'nai Khaim when I talked with him in 1946. Since he was then the oldest of the "ancients" in the *mishpokhah*, his death a year later precluded any further knowledge of them. Perhaps this book will find some of their offspring. Perhaps most of what was left of them after the pogroms of 1918-20, the Hitlerites obliterated in 1941-45. The fact is that after the Hitler slaughter only about half of the known B'nai Khaim were left to emigrate from the Ukraine and be accounted for elsewhere.

Our family tree thus shows the descendants of only three of the candlemaker's seven children–of his sons Yossel, Beryl and Itzik-Yoel. We know that *Zeide* Khaim had at least two brothers, "Simkha the glazier" and Eli who kept a tobacco shop. A number of descendants of these two brothers live in this country. *Zeide* Khaim also had a stepson, Isruel Dovid, son

CHART I: First Generation B'nai Khaim



1. Died Young

of his second wife Edassy, but we do not trace their geneologies here. This is strictly a "B'nai Khaim" story.

A word, however, about this Isruel Dovid. He was known in Yustingrad as "Isruel Khaim's." Family gossip has it that *Zeide* Khaim loved his Edassy so much that he left all his worldly goods, including his candlemaking establishment, to her son. This is one reason, it is explained, why Isruel Khaim's was never known to have worked for a living—he lived on his *yerisha*, his inheritance, though some say he was also a part-time *shokhet*. Others say he was never seen working because he tended to his caldrons at night to keep the candlemaking craft secret. More likely, paraffin candles and, before long, the kerosene lamp replaced the tallow candle and Isruel Khaim's caldrons.

Chart I shows *Zeide* Khaim's first line of descent, the "A" generation. The second line of descent will be designated as the "B" generation; the third line as "C," and so on. Names and years of birth and death are enclosed in rectangles. All B'nai Khaim who never came to America are enclosed in rectangles. Two horizontal bars connect *Zeide* Khaim with his first wife, Osna; two horizontal half-bars with his second wife, Edassy. In all cases the horizontal half-bars read "married to" other than first wife. Vertical lines connect progenitors with their immediate descendants, A's with B's, B's with C's, etc. Those letters with numerical subscripts form the "family codes."

In this first chart the upper-row descent shows the three progenitors of the American B'nai Khaim. The lower row shows the four "lost" A's. (All "lost" B'nai Khaim are shown in dropped lines.) In both rows the A's are listed in sequence of birth—A1, A2, . . . A7.

Establishing the life-spans of these early B'nai Khaim presented a problem. In only one case did we have recorded data. For the others I had to resort to various methods of interpolation to establish tolerable approximations. A *c* (*circa*) marks these approximations. The keys to these estimates were the known life-span of my grandfather Beryl (A2) and years of birth of namesakes.

My grandfather Beryl (A2), according to entries in a family

prayerbook, was born in 1824 and died in 1908. We know from contemporary evidence that, in the 19th century and even later, children among the B'nai Khaim were born two to three years apart. (Lactation up to two years may have had something to do with this interval of births.) My mother (A2-B2), for example, bore nine children within a period of 18-20 years. Assuming that this held true for the A's as for the B's and C's, *Zeide* Khaim's eldest child Yossel (A1) can be said to have been born *c.* 1821-22, two or three years before his next sibling. We know also that people in those years married at an early age, about 20 for males. Assuming that *Zeide* Khaim was no more than 21 when his first child Yossel was born, we can place *Zeide* Khaim's birth at *c.* 1800.

The first B'nai Khaim known to have been named after *Fetter* (uncle) Yossel was Yossel Trachtman (A2 B4 C5), born in 1884. Since naming after living persons is prohibited, *Fetter* Yossel must have died before Yossel Trachtman was born. *Fetter* Yossel, therefore, must have died not later than *c.* 1883, a year before his first namesake was born, and must have then been only about 62. The next namesake, Yossel Dudnik (A1 B1 C2 D2), was born in 1885. I also was named for him. But I was born in 1888, at least five years after the death of *Fetter* Yossel.

As for the patriarch himself, he seems to have lived until about 1869; that is, he was close to 70 when he died. The first child known to have been named for him, Khaim Dudnik (A1 B1 C3), was born in 1870. His mother Rifka (A1 B1), the old man's second grandchild, bore two sons before her son Khaim was born and would have named one of them for her grandfather had he been dead by then. Accordingly, we enter his life-span as *c.* 1800-1869.

Following the assumption of a two- to three-year spread between births of these early B'nai Khaim, we enter the birth years for all the A's alternately two and three years apart, down to Itzik-Yoel (A7), except for Beryl for whom we have the exact dates. For their years of death we have the first namesakes for Nessie (A4) and Perl (A5). The first of Nessie's name-

sakes (A2 B7 C2) was born in 1883. Accordingly, we say the original Nessie lived *c.* 1829-1882. The first namesake for Perl (A1 B3 C1 D1) was born in 1885. Therefore, we place the first Perl's life-span as *c.* 1831-1884. We have no way of making similar estimates either for A3 or A6.

I estimate the year of birth for Itzik-Yoel (A7) as 1838. The year of his death has been placed between 1903 and 1905. I remember *Fetter* Itzik-Yoel quite well. In fact, I remember seeing him just before I left Yustingrad for Uman in early 1902. He was a smallish man (most B'nai Khaim have been of small stature), begrimed with axle grease (birchwood tar[?]) which he sold to peasants from sticky barrels in his store shack. (He smelled of this axle grease even on the Sabbath despite his weekly steam bath the afternoon before.) His house stood right behind my grandfather Beryl's. Both stood on the grounds which had belonged to their candlemaker father. It is there that, early in the preceding century, "Sokolievker" Jews squatted the summer they were expelled from the village.

Fetter Yossel, of course, I do not remember: I was named after him! He was always held up to me by my mother as a model of a learned man to emulate, and was spoken of with utmost reverence. Many saintly virtues and arcane powers were attributed to him in the family lore.

It was this first of Khaim Kaprov's sons who was said to have possessed the power to create a *golem* to service him on the Sabbath day. Every Friday just before sunset, the legend went, *Fetter* Yossel would place the Holy Word on the nape of the neck of a clay figure which he had fashioned, infusing the breath of life into him and instructing him of the Sabbath chores he was to perform in the ensuing 24 hours. On Saturday evening, just after sunset, he would ask the *golem* to bend forward to perform the final Sabbath task by taking off his master's boots. Whereupon the worthy man would snip off the magic word and the *golem* would fall lifeless.

This, according to the legend, went on for years, until one Saturday evening *Fetter* Yossel removed the Word while the boot was not yet fully off his right foot. The figure of clay fell

lifeless, almost pulling the old man's leg with him. This was for *Fetter* Yossel the signal that he no longer commanded the confidence of Him Above, and he never again made a *golem*! This part of the legend was used to explain why *Fetter* Yossel limped in his old age.

In the course of time, this oft-repeated legend was received with increasing incredulity. In the end, it intrigued a B'nai Khaim boy of ten to make his own tests. A Jew was forbidden to touch a lamp or candlestick on Sabbath day if they had had light in them. To do so might bring on condign punishment. "If I touch this lamp or this candlestick," the child often mused with agitation, as he listened to the *golem* story, "the Almighty would strike me dead." But late one Sabbath afternoon, when no one was around, the boy did just that! He touched a candlestick which had had a lighted candle in it the night before. To his great surprise and excitement nothing at all happened to him. That night, however, he suffered an attack of diarrhea. This scared him. But it also made him think. The next day he went to *kheder* with an unaccustomed swagger. Five years later he became the first of the "Sokolievker" B'nai Khaim to shave, forbidden to Orthodox Jews.

I do not know what *Fetter* Yossel did for a living. He probably just kept to his sacred tomes while his wife Perl tended to whatever business sustained the family. That kind of living was true also of his brother Beryl, my grandfather. I do not remember ever seeing him work, except on Mondays, the market day. On that day he would putter around helping my grandmother in the store. During the other days of the week Grandmother tended the store alone, selling small grains—poppyseed, sunflower seed, millet, maize, lentils, dried peas and beans, and tallow candles and, in winter, salt herring. In the winter she wore a padded jacket and a long cotton-wool skirt, warming herself over an earthen pot of glowing charcoal.

Zeide Beryl was probably as well learned in the sacred lore of the Jewish people as was his elder brother, but was less revered. Perhaps he lived too long into senility to inspire continued awe. Perhaps the generation that lived after *Fetter* Yossel had be-

come *oifgeklert*, enlightened. At home we always found *Zeide* Beryl poring over a volume of the *Talmud* or other Biblical exegeses. On Sabbath afternoons he would be seen engrossed in the *Zohar*, a tome of mystic lore. When we, small fry, called on him those afternoons, he would give us each a fistful of sweet currants or, in winter, steamed "bub" (chickpeas).

Grandmother Dvossie had come from a wealthy family of Vosnosensk. Her large *naden*, or dowry, entitled her to marry into a "learned" family. Her father, family name Brodsky, was the proprietor of a beet-sugar refinery. One of his sons was an "advocat," a lawyer, the other a doctor. We had a photograph of the three of them, the sons' beards trimmed(!). For the son of a Jew to "become a doctor" in 19th century Russia was no mean achievement. It signified that the family had both affluence and influence, and that the son had graduated from the gymnasia with highest grades and a gold medal. Only three Jews in an enrollment of 100 students were then admitted to the University.

Pessie, my mother, was the second of *Zeide* Beryl's eight children. She was exceptional in that she was one of the few women in Yustingrad who could read. This made her the center of a circle of neighborhood women who would congregate around her in *shule* or at home to hear her. I well remember the eve of *Tishah B'av*, the ninth day of *Av*, when year after year women would foregather in our home at twilight and, in stocking feet (a symbol of mourning), would sit around her on the earthen floor to hear the story of the destruction of the Temple by the Romans. With dripping tallow candles in their hands to light the printed page, they would sway, weeping and wailing, as my mother recited the calamities that had befallen the Chosen People at the hands of the Roman tyrant Titus. It was my chore in the days that followed to scrape the tallow drippings from the yellowed pages.

It is a long time since my mother died in 1901, and although I was already 13 then, I do not remember her looks, except that she was a small woman, deeply wrinkled and gray-haired. When she was 20, her father married her off to a man she did not love.

She refused herself to him and got him to divorce her at the end of a month. Now that she was a "married woman" she was free of her father's authority and could select her own mate. Two years passed, until, one day, a fetching young man of 21, named Moishe Gillman[1] came to Yustingrad from the "big city" Gaicin to "look over" a prospective bride, my mother's elder sister. It so happened that when he got there it was my future mother he saw first. Within a month the two were married; they lived together 33 years until, at age 56, she died of pneumonia. The tragic irony for my father was that the town was then doctorless, and he was about to depart in search of a new recruit.

Father was a *seidener yingermonschik*, a "silk-gloved gentleman." For the first 20 or 25 years of his married life with Mother he eschewed soiling his hands in daily toil. Mother was the breadwinner. She tended the store, did all the housework, the cooking and baking, and bore nine children. It was not until they had gone bankrupt and had to sell their store that Father bestirred himself in the way of earning a living. Twice he worked summers as a laborer, "treading grapes" in vineyards near the Black Sea, saving money to buy a new store, which they did some three years later. Meanwhile, they eked out an existence by selling small grains and flour from an open stand in summer, and dried and smoked fish from a wagon and salt herring from a barrel in winter.

I remember well the occasion when we sold the old store. It was a drizzly autumn twilight. My sister Alta (A2 B2 C3) and I were sitting at the window looking into the growing darkness. Across the street a lamp was lit and I began to sing. My sister, five years wiser, turned to me. "Hush!" she warned. "Here we are losing our store and you are singing; always singing!" and began to sob.

During that winter, on one Sabbath we had to eat black bread instead of the traditional white *khalah*. This may have been due in part to a scarcity of wheat flour that year. One of the frequent Russian famines was then raging. Or it may have been due to our poverty. Whatever the cause, I still feel sad whenever I think of that Sabbath.

Before his second trip to the vineyards Father taught me to read and write Yiddish so that I could read his letters home and could write to him for the family. I was seven or eight years old then. None of my elder siblings could read or write Yiddish or any other language, for that matter, and my mother could read only print.

Winter nights, those last years of my mother's life, while waiting for Father to return from the market in a near-by town, Mother, my sister and I would sit on the hard sofa, backs to the heated wall, stripping feathers for pillows and *perinas*. Always we would intone sad songs. One of these, a lament over fleeting youth, my sister and I recalled, melody and all, when I visited her in Buffalo in the summer of 1963.

These, then, are the roots of present-day B'nai Khaim. Branches reach out into many lands but mostly into the United States of America. The next three charts show how these branches emerged from these roots. A fourth chart traces one of these branches to its most recent sprig. These charts were used by my "lieutenants" as samples for the construction of all family charts which served me in this study.

Chart II (Plates 1, 2 and 3) shows the second, the "B" generation B'nai Khaim descending respectively from A1, A2 and A7. The B's who immigrated to America are placed in squares. All B'nai Khaim who came to America and made their home here are placed in squares; those who did not are placed in rectangles. In the squares, besides the name and the family-code sequence, the year of arrival and the age at arrival are given. These are basic data for much of our later analyses. We also enter the year of death. The year of birth can be calculated from these data.

Plate 1 of Chart II shows the "B" generation descendant from A1. It shows that *Fetter* Yossel had six children, all female. It also shows that we can trace B'nai Khaim descent to only three of them, to B1, B2 and B3. The other three, B4, B5 and B6, are "lost" to us. None of the six came to America. Rivka (B1) and Genendi (B2) were the progenitors of B'nai Khaim who were raised in Knyazhe and Uman and surrounding

CHART II. PLATE 1. SECOND GENERATION B'NAI KHAIM: A1 DESCENT

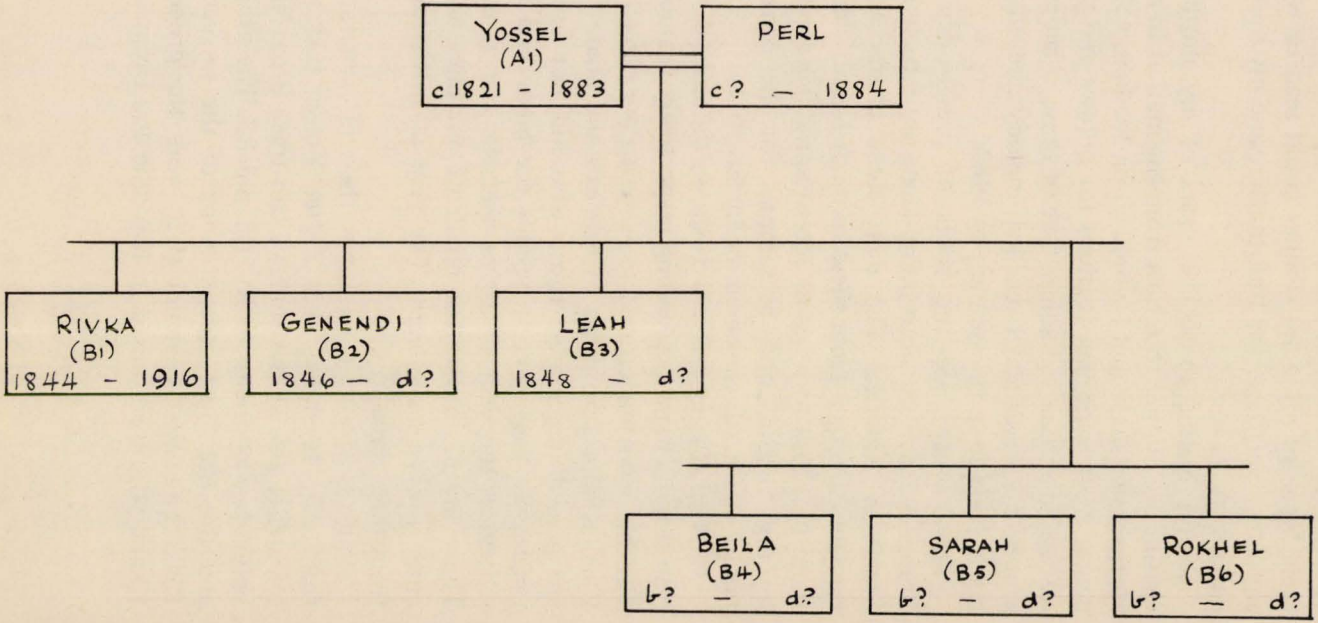
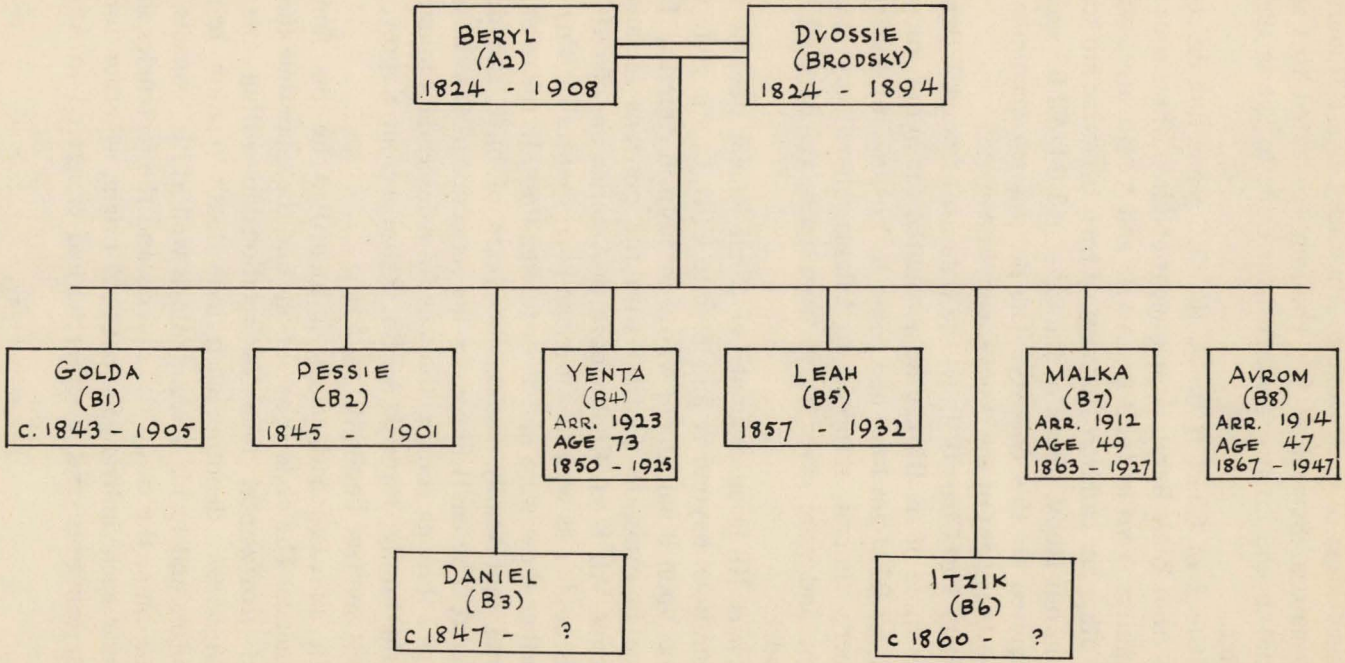


CHART II. PLATE 2. SECOND GENERATION B'NAI KHAIM: A2 DESCENT



villages. Most of these came to America. Leah (B3) married into Okhmatova. Several of her children emigrated to Canada. A grandson and his two children later came to live in the United States.

Plate 2 of Chart II shows the "B" generation descent from A2, from *Zeide* Beryl. He had eight children, three sons and five daughters. Two of the sons, A2 B3 and A2 B6, are "lost" to us. His other six children and most of their offspring are accounted for in our study. Three of the eight, A2 B4, A2 B7 and A2 B8, emigrated to this country. The A2 branch accounts for the largest segment of the B'nai Khaim in America.

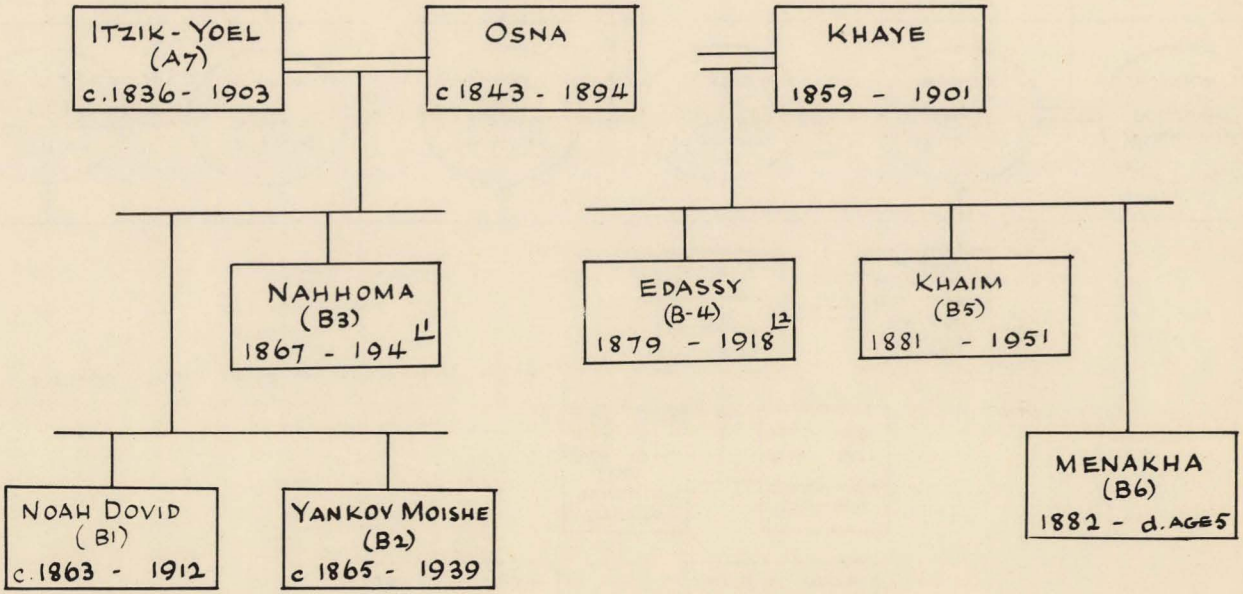
Plate 3 of Chart II shows the B descent from A7. Here, again, only three of six B's can be accounted for in our study. A7 B1 and A7 B2, I am told, had come to Yustingrad to attend their father's funeral, returned to Odessa where they made their home and were never heard from again. A7 B6 died in childhood.

Chart III is an example of B'nai Khaim descent into the generations beyond A and B—into C, D, E, etc. Here we soon come upon B'nai Khaim who were born in America. These we place in ovals, to contrast with the previous rectangles and squares. All B'nai Khaim born in America are placed in ovals. This applies as well to American-born spouses of B'nai Khaim, whether these were native- or foreign-born. In the ovals, besides names and family codes, the years of birth and death are entered. The chart illustrates the sequence of descent from rectangles through squares to ovals for a descendant in one branch of the family, through A2 B8, Rabbi Avrom Kaprov, and his eldest son (see Photo 10, pg. 53).

In all cases each entry is identified by the family-code sequence. The code shows at one and the same time the vertical and horizontal lines of relationship within the greater *mishpokhah*, denoting each individual's relation to his progenitors and to his descendants as well as his "cousins." At the same time, the ovals, the squares and the rectangles show at a glance each individual's national origin, whether foreign- or American-born and whether he had emigrated to America or

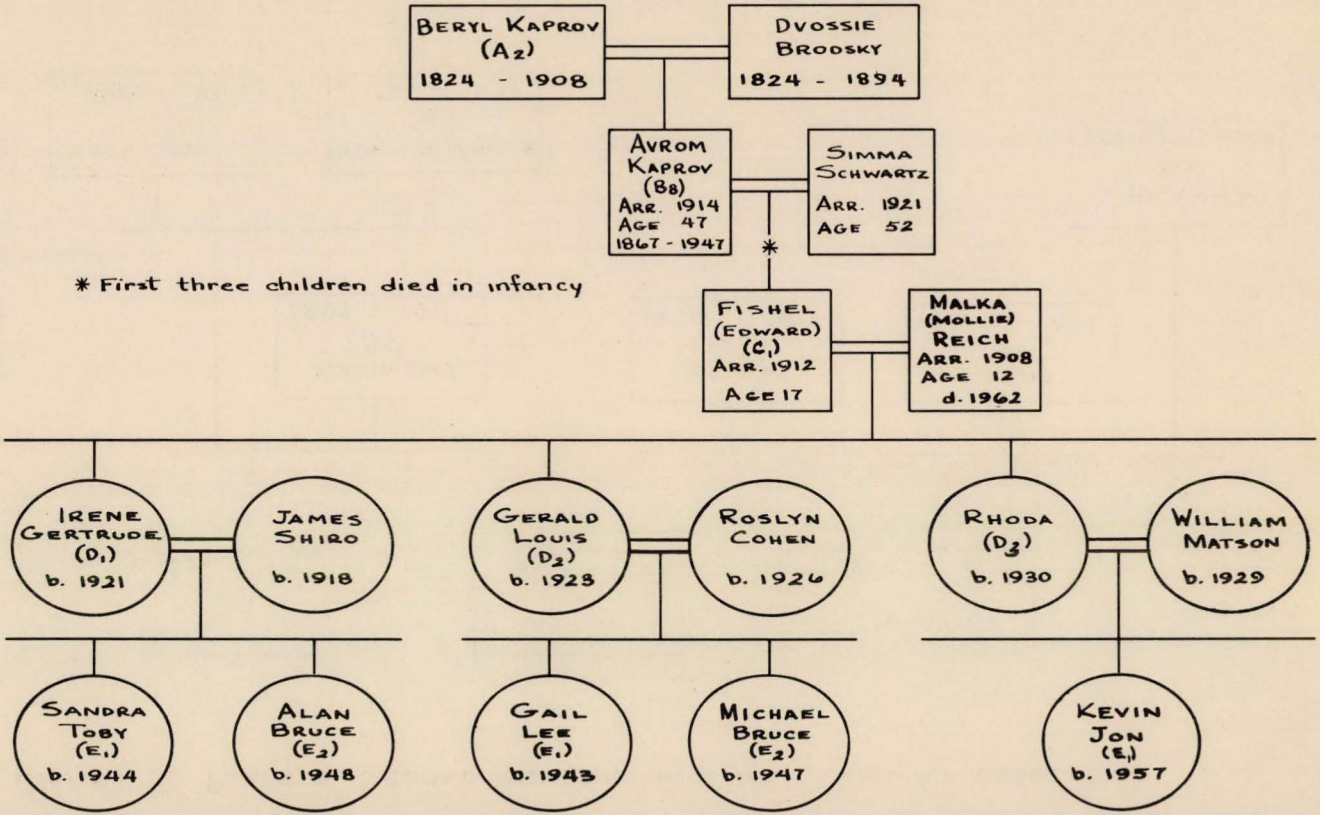
CHART II. PLATE 3. SECOND GENERATION B'NAI KHAIM: A7 DESCENT

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MELROSE PARK, PA.



1. KILLED IN THE NAZI INVASION.
2. KILLED IN A POGROM.

CHART III A_2 B_8 C_1 DESCENT



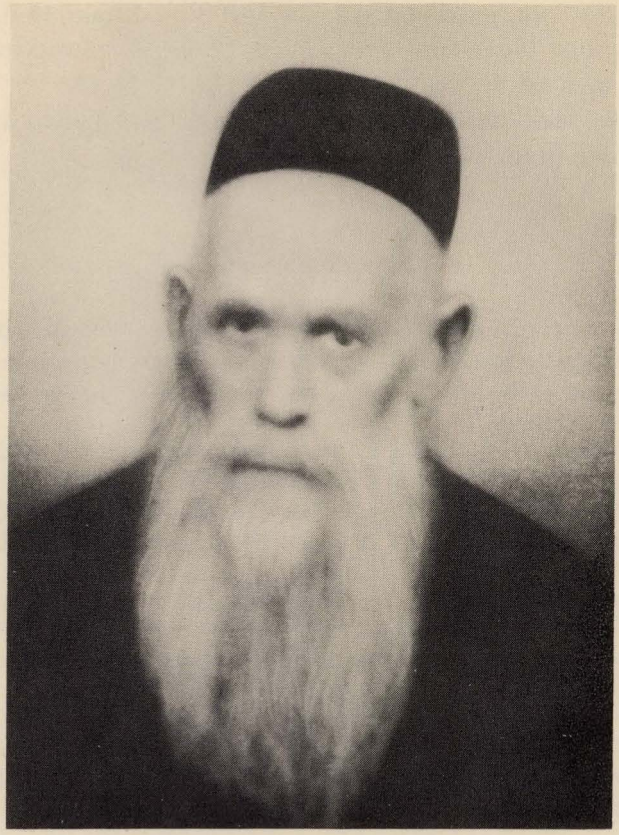


Photo 10. Rabbi Avrom Kaprov (A_2 B_8).

remained in the home country. They also show the sex and age of individual B'nai Khaim and spouses. All these "vital statistics" are basic to our later analysis of the cultural changes of the B'nai Khaim classified by country of birth, by sex, by marital status, and by date of arrival in the United States.[2]

The data given in these charts made possible our primary counts. They show that, by early 1964, 93 B'nai Khaim had come to America and made their home here. Thirty-two came before World War I; 55 came between the two World Wars; and six came since the end of World War II. They show that 289

were born here, making a total of 382 B'nai Khaim in America. In addition, the charts show 81 spouses of immigrant B'nai Khaim and 88 spouses of the native-born. In the rest of the book we seek to learn what "America" has meant to these people. We begin with the 93 immigrants.

Notes to Chapter 3

[1] Two other of Beryl's daughters each married a "Gilman" apparently of no immediate relation to this Gillman, although they may have been related in an earlier generation. Our own name goes only as far back as my father's grandfather.

As my father told it to me, his grandfather's name when a child of eight years was Shestunov. As one in a family of four boys he was subject to conscription for 25 years into a military "cantonement" under the "military colony" regime of Tsar Nicholas I. The boy would evidently be lost to Jewry.

As a way out, the family bribed the town clerk to record the death of a boy named Gillman as that of the Shestunov boy. The Shestunov boy thereupon became a Gillman, and so his only son and his son's only son, my father.

[2] This is the form which my "lieutenants" filled out for every B'nai Khaim family. These numerous charts are not reproduced here: they would take up too much space. Instead, we constructed one B'nai Khaim tree (see fold-out).

C. ROOTS IN AMERICA

Chapter 4

Education and Occupations of the Immigrant B'nai Khaim

They came here, 93 of them; for the most part without money, without skills and without friends in America. To make a living they had to start at the bottom among strangers in a strange land speaking a strange tongue.

In this chapter we observe how these 93 immigrant B'nai Khaim fitted themselves into the American environment. We compare their education and occupation in the old country and the new. We do not follow through their vicissitudes, triumphs and failures: that would require another book. We do note a few cases, however.

The material for the chapter came, in the main, from answers to a questionnaire I circulated (May 1963) among the then still-living first-generation American B'nai Khaim and, in cases of the no-longer living, among their immediate descendants. In only a few cases did we (my "lieutenants," that is) have to resort to more distant sources. By these means we obtained information for 85 of the 93. The eight we missed were among the several who would not participate at any stage of the study, or for whom no one could speak reliably.

As was the case with most immigrants of the time, the B'nai Khaim who came here before World War I were mostly unmarried males or married males without their families. There were seven such married males, and 14 of the 19 unmarried B'nai Khaim, eight years old and over, were males. After that war all married males came with their spouses, and about as many unmarried females (17) came as unmarried males (19). The rest were married females who came with children to join husbands and fathers. The few that came after World War II, except one male, came as families.

Seventy of the 93 immigrant B'nai Khaim were born in the Yustingrad-Knyazhe-Uman triangle; 13 were born in towns and

villages within a day's journey by horse cart from this triangle, in Bershad, Okhmatova, Korsun, Oukhrimova. Eight were born in the Kishinev-Odessa area, and two young children were born in Israel, to which their parents had migrated after World War I.

In age, our immigrants ranged from two to 73 years. With very few conspicuous exceptions, they all possessed about the same degree of semi-illiteracy. By occupation, again with a few exceptions, they fell within a narrow range of petty tradesmen and small shopkeepers, including one saloonkeeper. Among the exceptions in this instance were two blacksmiths, two rope-spinners, a cabinetmaker, a Rabbi and a young Hebrew teacher.

The first B'nai Khaim to settle permanently in America was *Zeide* Beryl's eldest granddaughter (A2 B1 C1). She came here with her four children in 1903, two years after her husband, and made her home in Brooklyn, N.Y. Two more children were born to them here. However, since this family had been living in a city approximately 140 miles from the Yustingrad center of the *mishpokhah* and had had little contact with it, their emigration to America had no influence on later emigrations of the B'nai Khaim. Members of this family were among the least cooperative on the project. "I want to forget my miserable childhood," one of them declared, in refusing to participate.

The next B'nai Khaim to emigrate was my cousin Zalman (A2 B4 C2), who came to Chelsea, Massachusetts, in 1905, but stayed scarcely two years. Everything in America seems to have offended his religious, social and moral sensibilities. Jews in America, he wrote home, trimmed their beards, like *goyim*, and were not scrupulous in observing the dietary laws. They worked on the Sabbath day and tended to disregard the lesser of the Jewish holidays.

Besides, he found home-life in America quite indecent. For instance, he wrote, husband and wife sleep in the same bed even during her "period." Women did not go to the *mikvah*– "unsanitary!" they said. Yet in their home, he observed, the w.c. was right off the kitchen where you cooked, ate and entertained! Not at all like in Sokolievka, where you eased yourself squatting in the backyard without proclaiming your bodily

needs to your guests! So, after two years of distress under these and similar indignities, he returned home to his wife and children, his beard untrimmed. There he remained until 1921 when, with other victims of the pogroms, he and his family made their way to Palestine. His children and grandchildren are now prosperous burghers in Israel. Their menfolk are clean-shaven; they do not observe the dietary laws, and they work on the Sabbath day.

The next B'nai Khaim to come here on a permanent basis was myself (A2 B2 C4). By the time I was 17 I had become convinced that I would never gain entrance to a gymnasia in Tsarist Russia and decided to emigrate to America in search of an education. In America, I day-dreamed, I'd "work eight hours, sleep eight hours, and study eight hours a day." But the letters cousin Zalman wrote home from America stood in the way. The family would not give me the money to take me to America. Aunt Yenta (A2 B4), Zalman's mother, wept at family councils: "He would only become a *goy* there."

In the end, early in January, 1906, I said goodbye and, with four and one-half rubles in my pocket and a pillow to pawn, I set off, bumming my way the next two months as far as Grodek, a county capital in Galicia, Austria-Hungary. There I had to stop. My shoes had given out and my tattered overcoat offered little protection against the raw winds blowing from the Bukowina mountains. I had given my pillow to the agent who had arranged for me to "steal-the-border," and sold my phylacteries to buy food. I had to earn some money now and to think through the next steps. I obtained a job as a sales-clerk in a hardware store for which I was given room, board and a *gulden* a week, and settled down to await financial help from home to enable me to continue my journey. I figured that once I had traveled so far the family would realize I was in earnest and see me through. This they finally did. After four months of correspondence my father arrived in Grodek with fare money to carry us both to America. We landed at Ellis Island July 21, 1906, six weeks after my 18th birthday.

Our first destination was Chelsea, where Zalman lived, but we

did not plan to remain there long. Somewhere in America my father had a younger sister, Sarah Feldman, who had emigrated to America some 30 years earlier and whose children were all born here. They would help us to a start in the new world, we speculated, and especially help me to get the education denied me in Russia. My father, however, did not know her address, but only that she had once written him from a city that sounded like *Boofollo* and that her first-born was a son named Kalman. Upon the advice of seasoned immigrants, my father inserted an ad in a national Jewish daily, listing these identifications and expressing the hope that his sister would write him. In a very short time came a letter from a *kosher* butcher in Buffalo. He knew my aunt and her family, and he knew Kalman and his wife. But Aunt Sarah, now a widow, was living in Cleveland near one of her married daughters. He would get her address and send it to us. He did so, and my father at once wrote to his sister.

Meanwhile, in Chelsea, Father and I went to live in a rooming house and started to work in a rag shop alongside cousin Zalman. Father and I had arrived in Ellis Island with 65 kopeks between us. (What little money he had left after paying for the steamship tickets was stolen from him in Hamburg, our embarkation point.) A representative of the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society, predecessor of H.I.A.S., who was stationed at Ellis Island, wired my cousin of our plight and he promptly wired back $5.00 to pay our way on a freighter to Fall River and from there by rail to Chelsea. We arrived at Chelsea on a Thursday; blinked at America Friday, Saturday and Sunday, and on Monday started to earn our keep sorting and picking rags. I had been hinting that I wished for a job that would leave me time to resume my education. "In America," my cousin made clear, "one must first learn to *work* for a living."

My wage at the ragshop was 75 cents a day. After a week I moved on to a cleaner job in a shoe factory, buffing soles for $6.00 a week, a padrone regularly deducting $1.00 for getting me the job and, presumably, for teaching it to me. After three weeks I rebelled against this system and found a job in a soda-

pop bottling factory at a full $6.00 a week, washing bottles and delivering them in a crate to a bottling cage. But here, too, I lasted only about three weeks. One late afternoon, as I delivered a crate at the cage, a bottle burst under soda-gas pressure and flying glass hit me. It turned out to be a minor accident—the glass splinters missed my jugular vein by several millimeters. A company doctor removed the chips, sewed up the gash and sent me home, telling me not to worry. But I had had my scare and moved to a safer job in a tanning factory. Here I tacked pickled hides on a drying frame one day and removed them when dry the next day or the day after, and day-dreamed of the great opportunities awaiting me in Cleveland among my American cousins.

By this time, Father had received a railroad ticket from his sister and went off to Cleveland, Aunt Sarah, it turned out, was too poor to send tickets for both Father and me. In fact, the money for Father's ticket was advanced by her son-in-law, a small manufacturer of workmen's shirts and overalls. (Later I worked for him at $4.00 a week, 11 hours weekdays and 8 hours on Saturdays.) So I worked on in the tanning factory, saving for railroad fare to take me to Cleveland. I got there October 1, 1906.

Already in his letters to me, however, my father hinted at the meager prospects for my ambitions amidst my aunt's family. He found them extremely narrow in their educational outlook. None of them had gone to high school. "Not a single doctor, not even an *advocat* among them," he wrote me in obvious disappointment. When, two years later, George Bellamy of the Hiram House, together with a retired high school teacher who tutored me free in high-school subjects, arranged for me to enter Hiram College, Aunt Sarah solicitously wanted to know if "college" would teach me "at least to become a bookkeeper."

After two years at Hiram I transferred to Western Reserve University in Cleveland, from which I graduated in 1913. In Cleveland I earned my keep by teaching "English to foreigners" in the evening public schools. The first year at Hiram I pumped the Chapel organ for my tuition and earned my meals by wash-

ing dishes and scrubbing floors in a dormitory. A grant by the Jewish Education League of Cleveland helped me through the second year at Hiram and paid my tuition at Western Reserve.

This is how Cleveland became my home town in America and the first home for most B'nai Khaim who followed me before World War I. Before long some of these "Cleveland B'nai Khaim" moved to Buffalo, Chicago and Philadelphia, and new immigrants joined them in those cities. After the war, Buffalo, Cleveland and Chicago received most of the new immigrants. Today the B'nai Khaim, foreign-born and American-born can be found in 26 towns and cities, stretching, literally, from Maine to California, to Florida and Texas. If mobility is a characteristic of the dynamism of Americans, then the B'nai Khaim achieved this habit at a very early stage of their Americanization.

The education of most B'nai Khaim upon arrival in the United States was minimal. The few who had lived in the big cities and, therefore, were more literate constituted a conspicuous exception. All males above the age of four had attended *kheder* where laboriously they learned to read, although not necessarily to understand, prayerbook Hebrew. Some had gone beyond this elementary level and learned to translate from the Hebrew of the *Torah*. A very few had gone beyond that to learn to read the *Talmud* (in Hebrew and Aramaic). The *kheder* did not teach writing, not even Yiddish, the mother tongue, nor any secular subjects such as arithmetic, for instance, until well into the first decade of this century. It was not until then, also, that girls were first admitted to *kheder*. Everybody above *kheder* age learned to speak *goyish*, the peasant jargon of the Ukraine. Virtually none could speak, read or write Russian except the few who had lived in the big cities. Now the oncoming war and the Revolution brought big-city knowledge into the *shtetl*. The generals spoke Russian and so did the revolutionists.

Until that time, as a matter of fact, Russian and secular learning were virtually taboo in the *shtetl*; at any rate it was so in my town in my day. At about the turn of the century itinerant teachers would come to town for a season to give private lessons in Russian, arithmetic and geography for 50 kopeks a week per

pupil. I was 11 or 12 when I began these lessons, and that became the immediate cause of my break with *kheder*. One day I brought my Russian primer to *kheder*. The *melamed* was outraged at this desecration of his sacred precincts. He pronounced the book *trefposle*–a profanation–threw it out of the window, dipped the tips of his "soiled" fingers in the glass of water at his side to decontaminate them and cuffed me. Smarting from hurt and humiliation–no *melamed* had ever cuffed me before–I walked out of the room, picked up the book and went home. I never again entered a *kheder*. I was about fed up with *kheder*, anyway. The endless repetition of trivia was becoming intolerably boring.

In contrast to *shtetl* Jews, city Jews had a greater tolerance for secular learning and even encouraged it, although they had all begun their education in a *kheder*. Nearly all B'nai Khaim reared in Uman, Kishinev or Odessa spoke Russian and were conversant with secular subjects. They developed appreciation of cultural values beyond the constrictions of the *kheder*. We shall find echoes of this awareness later in their American home.

The fact is that of the 24 B'nai Khaim who came here before World War I at the age of eight or over, only four claimed to be able to read Russian "well" and only three to speak it well. They were even less proficient in their knowledge of Hebrew. Of the 17 males, only three claimed to be able to write Hebrew; these included the Rabbi and his Hebrew teacher son. Only one claimed to be able to speak Hebrew. Of the seven females, only one claimed to be able to read Hebrew, and only "fairly" well. All 24 could speak Yiddish, of course, but only 15 or 16 could read their mother-tongue. Taking all these scores together, it can be said that most of the B'nai Khaim who came here before World War I were semi-illiterate.

On the *average*, this can be said also of those who came after the war, despite the fact that several of them had come with "big-city" learning. The large contingent of virtually illiterate females who had come to join their pre-war emigrant husbands diluted the group's level of literacy. During the years of anguished waiting, there could have been little zest to acquire literacy;

foremost for these women was the problem of survival.

The first measure of adjustment of non-English-speaking immigrants to the American environment is the command they achieve over the English language–speaking, reading, writing. The extent to which they achieve these facilities in large part determines their economic achievement potentials and, always, the degree of intelligent participation in and identification with the new culture. Obviously, the extent of command over the English language, and the rapidity with which it is acquired, is greatly affected by prior educational levels, by age at arrival and by the content of the old home cultural values.

With regard to the age factor, we find it logical to treat separately those who came here before the age of eight (there were 12 of them) and, in several other subgroups, those who came here after that age. Clearly, with respect to their educational and occupation potentials the 12 immigrants must be treated apart and placed alongside native-born children, with due regard to differing influences of immigrant and American home cultures and family economic capability.

Two of the 12 were girls. Both of them subsequently graduated from high school; one went on to become a schoolteacher and the other a bookkeeper. Of the ten boys, five achieved high professional status: one became a psychiatrist and psychoanalyst, one an anaesthesiologist, and two became lawyers. One of the lawyers (see Photo 11) earned such high esteem in his community (Cleveland) that, upon his untimely death in March 1963 at age 58, the courts closed for a half-day to permit judges and lawyers to pay homage at his funeral.

The fifth of this group was, at the time of this inquiry, a student of architecture and civil engineering. He has since (1965) graduated with distinction. This B'nai Khaim was born in Israel and brought here after World War II at the age of four.

Of the other five boys, one became a pharmacist, one a chiropractor, one an office manager, and one a salesman. I have been unable to ascertain what became of the tenth boy.

Of special interest in this recital is perhaps the fact that four of the five who achieved high professional status came from

families whom we earlier marked as of comparatively high educational achievement in the old country, three of the four being grandsons of the *arendar*.



Photo 11. Abe Dudnik: The Cleveland Lawyer (A_1 B_1 C_1 D_1 E_1).

Understandably, we do not come upon another such concentration of professional achievement until we reach the American-born B'nai Khaim. The higher the age at arrival the less possible becomes the formal education required for professional attainment. Only three immigrant B'nai Khaim, above the age of eight on arrival achieved professions. One, who came here in 1910 at age 17, became a physician. Another, who came here in 1906 at age 18, earned a master's degree in sociology and a Ph.D. in economics, became a college professor, served as economist in the federal government, has published two books since retirement and, at the moment, is writing this one. The

third came here in 1925 at age 21. This means he was ten years old when the war broke out in 1914, and his schoolboy education could only have been sporadic. Yet, he came with a wide knowledge of the Russian language and Russian classics and, at the age of 21, set out to formalize his education in English. He completed high school and two years of college (evenings), while earning his keep doing "odd jobs, mostly menial," and became a professional translator. Later he served as translator for the State Department in Washington for 16 years. Now, retired, he does free-lance translating and is also a consultant in foreign language training in the public schools of a Washington suburb.

The formal education of B'nai Khaim who came here at ages 8 to 15, was dictated by the requirements of compulsory school attendance laws. Beyond that, the principal concern for most of them became how to earn a living, either for oneself or to contribute to the family income. Of the six males in this age group, four completed only from six to eight years of elementary school, one went through two years of college, and one graduated from Yeshiva and became a Rabbi. Two of the six are junk dealers; one runs a hand laundry, one is in the fur business, and one owns and operates a parking lot.

Of the seven females in this age group, four had six to eight years of elementary-grade schooling, one had two years of high school education, and one attended business school for two years. The seventh, who was born in Israel and came here after World War II at the age of nine, is presently working for a Ph.D. in sociology while raising a family.

With the group who came to this country at ages 16 to 20 the extent of formal education of the B'nai Khaim immigrants declines markedly. Earning a living now becomes the paramount objective in life. Besides the M.D. and the Ph.D. mentioned earlier, only one of the eight males in this age group attained as much as the equivalent of a high-school education. All had attended evening classes in "English for foreigners" for various lengths of time; one attended an elementary day school. Of the six beside the economist and the physician, one is in the in-

stallment sales business; one is a candy and tobacco wholesaler; two own scrap-iron yards; one is an operator in a dress factory; one became a housepainter and paperhanger. Only two of these B'nai Khaim, then, had become handicraftsmen. The frequent recurrence of the scrap-iron business among immigrant B'nai Khaim reflects their early concentration in the heartland of the American iron and steel industry. In New York, they might have become cloakmakers, as indeed many of them in this area did.

In respect to formal education the females in this age group (16 to 20) fared better than the males. All but one of the seven girls had gone to night school to learn English. Five attended grammar school, three of whom completed eight grades and went on to high school, one of them for four years. All seven are now housewives, but one also models in a women's specialty shop; one owns and runs a gift shop at an airport, and a third is a seamstress.

From here on formal education of immigrant B'nai Khaim rapidly recedes to the vanishing point. Only about one third in the group who came here at ages 21 to 30 attended night classes in "English for foreigners." One female went through seven and another eight elementary-school grades; none of the males went beyond the night classes. None of them went to high school except our translator, who happens to fall in this age group.

In this age group we have the two B'nai Khaim who came here (in 1926) with the most formal education among the 93. One, a male, had graduated from an agricultural institute; the other, his wife (and cousin) had graduated from a gymnasia. In America, while taking college extension courses, the man was engaged in the furniture installment business. Now he is a realtor.

All of the 16 women in this age group (21-30), are housewives, but several of them engage in other work besides: one of them runs a pastry shop; another is a seamstress, and a third runs a grocery store. Five are garment workers; one clerks in a shoe store, one in a drug store, and a third teaches Hebrew and singing.

Among the ten males in this age group (21 to 30) we find, besides the translator and realtor, three scrap-iron dealers, two storekeepers, one installment merchant and two handicraftsmen–a glazier and a garment cutter. With the last two we have accounted for the five handicraftsmen to be found among the 93 first-generation B'nai Khaim. Two males and nine females reported themselves as working in factories.

In America, as in the old country, the B'nai Khaim engaged mostly in trade and the services rather than in hand labor. It is noteworthy also that none of the B'nai Khaim studied thus far has been found engaged in industrial pursuits–in the production of goods–except for the few who worked as employees in the needle trades.

Finally, we have the 19 B'nai Khaim who came here at age 31 or over–seven females and 12 males. Strictly speaking, all of the seven women have been "housewives," in the sense that they have kept house for their families, but four of them engaged in outside work at the same time. One of them until past the age of 80 tended a fruit and vegetable stall in the produce market. One clerked in a drug store; two took in sewing on the side. Three of the seven came to this country as housewives; three started in the produce market, and one as a seamstress. Two of the three who started in the produce market are now the wives of two wealthy real estate men–the wealthiest in the *mishpokhah*, it is claimed. At least five of the seven speak English quite well.

Of the 12 males in this top age group, only two have a good command of the language. One was born in Canada and learned his English there. (He came here in 1946 at age 35.) The other, who came here in 1959 at age 47, possesses command of several European languages and got a start in English in the years he lived in Israel, his last home before coming to America. Previously he had lived in Russia and/or Rumania, as the Province of Bessarabia in which he was born was shifted between these two countries with the fortunes of the two World Wars. This B'nai Khaim has the distinction of having been a

prisoner of war and of having survived a year in a Nazi concentration camp. He is a graduate in political economy from a European university and is now a practicing accountant in California.

In the spring of 1964 he brought his younger brother and sister-in-law here from Rumania where the brother was a textile engineer, and his wife was an architectural engineer. Both promptly found suitable employment in California. Our count of the immigrant B'nai Khaim ends with these two members.

Of the rest of the 12 males in this top age group, two were scrap-iron dealers; four sold market produce; one runs a laundromat; our Canadian-born B'nai Khaim is a realtor; one was the late Rabbi Avrom Kaprov. The tenth is our *arendar*. When he and his wife came (to Buffalo) in 1923 their two daughters who had preceded them by two years opened a fruit store for them in a Polish neighborhood (the *arendar* spoke Polish). Some years later they moved to Chicago where they opened a grocery store, "working hard (especially Mother)," writes their California daughter. "Father still could not get used to this kind of work," she explained.

These, then, were the 93 who planted the B'nai Khaim Tree in America. Our treatment of them of necessity had to be rather statistical. But there is a story behind each of these statistics "that would fill a book," which we cannot pursue here—hardships and successes, triumphs and failures, and tragedies. We must turn now to our next task, to treat of the fruit on that B'nai Khaim Tree—the second-generation American B'nai Khaim. However, before we do that we have two more observations to make about the old.

In the preceding chapter I noted that the descendants of Khaim the candlemaker tended to be of short stature. (This was true of most *shtetl* Jews, for that matter.) While short in stature, however, they seem to be long of life. Once they survived infancy, they seem to go on into real old age. Thirty-five of the immigrant B'nai Khaim died by mid-1965. More than half of these had lived past the biblically allotted three-score-

and-ten, and five lived beyond four-score. Here are the statistics:

B'nai Khaim, Age at Death	Male	Female
Under 60	8	5
60 to 70	2	3
70 to 75	4	1
75 to 80	4	3
80+	4	1
Total	22	13

At this writing one female B'nai Khaim is nearing 85, and one male B'nai Khaim is on his way to 80.

Finally, a word about what might be termed "transition to Americanization." This is the proclivity of immigrant B'nai Khaim males to marry native-born spouses. Of the 33 male immigrant B'nai Khaim who married in America, 12 (over 36 per cent) married native women. As would be expected, nine of these 12 were of our under-8 age group. The economist and the translator also married native-born women. Of the female immigrant B'nai Khaim who married here, less than 14 per cent married native-born men. Of the two females in the under-8 group one married a foreign-born and one a native-born spouse. Altogether, ten of our 12 under-8 age group married native-born spouses; one married a foreign-born, and one is still single. In fairness it should be added that our female candidate for a Ph.D. in sociology who came to America from Israel at the age of nine also married a native.

Chapter 5

Education and Occupations of Native-born B'nai Khaim

The high prestige which learning held among the B'nai Khaim in Yustingrad they carried over into the United States. Here they found the educational opportunities and likely possibilities for professional advancement denied them in Tsarist Russia. Most of them, however, came here too late in life to benefit directly. Theirs was the necessity to earn a living and establish family roots. By the time wives and children came to join husbands and fathers after the First World War, the junk peddler had become a scrap-yard dealer; the market stall had expanded into a grocery store; and the cloak presser had opened an independent hand laundry. By the time their children reached high-school age, these families had moved out of the immigrant slum areas and into open-air neighborhoods now being abandoned by the affluent descendants of immigrants of an earlier vintage.

The B'nai Khaim who came here after the war experienced less of the trying beginnings of their forerunners. Established relatives and *landsmen* helped them to a quicker and less grueling start. Before long, both the pre- and post-war immigrants established a more or less secure livelihood for themselves, began to "take on American ways" and sent their children to college. The age-old esteem for learning, only a frustrating dream in the old country, took on reality in the new, if not for themselves, then for their American-born children.

In the winter of 1963-64 we "took a census" by means of a questionnaire of the education and occupations of these American-born B'nai Khaim, 16 years of age and over, male and female, of their spouses wherever born and of the 12 who came here before age eight. Returns came from 227—approximately 90 per cent of the potential respondents. Following is the dis-

tribution of these 227, by sex and marital status:

Married males		38
Their wives		34
Married females		44
Their husbands		43
Unmarrieds, age 16+		46
Males, 25		
Females, 21		
B'nai Khaim who came here before age 8		9
Native-born spouses of foreign-born B'nai Khaim		13
Total		227
Sub totals:		
B'nai Khaim	137	
Spouses	90	
Total	227	

The native-born married B'nai Khaim constitute our second-generation Americans. In 1963-64 they fell within the age range 25-45.

From the responses to our questionnaire we learn that all but two of the 38 married B'nai Khaim males had graduated from high school, and that 25, or 66 per cent, were college graduates. In addition, seven had attended college one to two years. Furthermore, five of the six married B'nai Khaim males who had come here before the age of eight and whom in this regard we treat as native-born, also had graduated from college. This makes for a total of 68 per cent college graduates for the B'nai Khaim males. These are exceedingly high percentages, in view of the much smaller figures obtained in various sampling studies of Jewish communities throughout the country. The B'nai Khaim percentages are six times as high as for the urban native-born whites of native parentage in the country as a whole.[1]

Most intriguing is the fact that the husbands of B'nai Khaim females scored about the same levels of education as the male B'nai Khaim. All but one of the 43 husbands are high-school

graduates; 27, or 63 per cent, had completed four years of college. In addition, six had attended college for one to two years, paralleling the record of the B'nai Khaim males. Only one other group of Jews is known to have reached similar levels of education. This finding comes from a study which two young sociologists conducted in the second half of the 1950's in the Jewish community of "North City"—a town in the Midwest.[2] Two samples were used in that study, one each of 84 males of the second and third generations. For the second generation the sample yielded 14.5 per cent college graduates; for the third generation, 63 per cent. The much lower figure for these second-generation Jews than for the third and for our own second generation may be explained by the inclusion in the "North City" sample of 16 per cent foreign-born who came here up to age 18. We know from our previous chapter that immigrants who come here much after age eight do not—in fact, cannot—share in the educational opportunities available to native-born children as do those who come here before age eight.

It should be noted, furthermore, that these two samples are not strictly comparable with ours. The "North City" samples were drawn from groups with a built-in upward bias with reference to educational attainments. Both the second- and the third-generation samples were drawn from club memberships, and the third-generation sample, in addition, was drawn from "organizations and synagogues known to recruit younger members of the community." These, therefore, were selected from a predetermined favorable environment. Ours was a random sample, except that the B'nai Khaim portion came from a common immigrant stock. They were all free of the possible influence of a single community environment; the "North City" samples were not. The B'nai Khaim and their spouses were born in a dozen different cities and were raised in a score or more. Clearly, however, the B'nai Khaim are not the only Jews to have attained high levels of education! The American Jewish Year Book of 1964 reports that in 1963 more than 75 per cent of college-age Jews were enrolled in colleges.

High educational attainments mean high professional preferment. In the case of the Jews this has taken the form of concentration in white-collar occupations and in the professions. Community studies have shown that about 70 per cent of American Jews are engaged in white-collar employment, including the professions.[3] In the general white population in 1964, white-collar workers constituted 47 per cent of the total, and professional and technical personnel, 13 per cent.[4] In our case we find that 38 of the 44 second-generation B'nai Khaim, or 66 per cent, engaged in white-collar work and 24, or 54 per cent, in the professions:[5] doctors, lawyers, dentists, engineers, mathematicians. One B'nai Khaim is a Professor of Civil Engineering in Illinois; one is a Professor of Regional Planning and another is a Professor in Computer Control in Michigan. A fourth is Professor and head of a Department of Mathematics in New York State. Two of the M.D.'s, one in California and one in the District of Columbia, are psychoanalysts. Another is an anesthesiologist in Texas. Only four of the 44 engaged in manual work, and three in industrial production. Of the three, one, a graduate in engineering from M.I.T., has taken over his father's jewelry manufacturing business; one, with an M.S. in chemistry, manufactures a vitamin for poultry (which he has isolated); the third is production manager in a men's clothing factory. These three are the first of the B'nai Khaim to depart from stereotype service occupations and professions.

Among the other white-collar workers there is a stockbroker, a credit manager, a "business executive" and a jewelry auctioneer in a Florida resort town. The B'nai Khaim have not yet produced a Jonas Salk or a David Sarnoff. One of them, however, is in *Who's Who in America* as "mathematician, educator."[6]

Of the 27 college-graduate husbands of native-born B'nai Khaim women, 19, or nearly 70 per cent, went on to earn post-graduate and professional degrees. Five of them became college professors: one in agricultural engineering, one in political science, one in geography, one in education, and one in bio-medical engineering. The husband of the Israeli-born B'nai

Khaim who came here at the age of nine is a Professor of Physics.

We do not expect the same high ratio of college graduates for our B'nai Khaim women as we do for B'nai Khaim males. Women in America do not get the same ratio of higher education men do: about 30 per cent fewer are college graduates. The same, in general, is true of the B'nai Khaim. While all of the native-born married B'nai Khaim women have graduated from high school, only 20 of the 44, or 45 per cent graduated from a four-year college—in contrast with 66 per cent for the males. However, eight of these women who had not graduated from college had attended college from one to three years, and one was still attending at the time of our inquiry. At least ten of the 20 women college graduates went on to do graduate work, mostly preparing to teach or do social work. One studied architecture and is practicing that craft. One is a registered nurse; one teaches art in a junior high school, and one teaches mathematics in a senior high school. One studied interior design. A B'nai Khaim mother, with three small children, and another, with three children in high school, are doing post-graduate work. Four others, with growing children, teach.

Of the 34 wives of our native-born B'nai Khaim, 94 per cent graduated from high school and 35 per cent from college. Six others attended college one to two years. Nearly all of them are "housewives" and mothers and, as one of them wrote, "typical suburban." Several are school teachers; one teaches ballet, and one is a portrait painter.

The 13 native-born spouses of foreign-born B'nai Khaim consisted of four males and nine females. Of the four males one is the Professor of Physics cited previously, and one is a lawyer. Of the other two, one runs a furniture store and one a scrap-iron yard. The furniture dealer has had two years of high school; the scrap-iron dealer, none.

Of the nine females, eight completed high school and one attended for two years, but only two of the nine graduated from college. One of these holds an M.A. degree and is a clinical psychologist; the other is a schoolteacher. Three others had had

one to two years of college. The remaining four had no college training at all. It should be observed that six of the foreign-born B'nai Khaim who married native-born spouses were in our select group of nine who came here before age 8.

We count as our third generation the unmarried B'nai Khaim who in 1963-64 were 16 years of age and over. Forty-six of these, 25 boys and 21 girls, answered the questionnaire on education and occupation. As would be expected, all of the 46 were attending or had already completed high school; 28 were attending or had already completed college, and four were planning to go there. This makes for a college potential of 70 per cent. The other 30 per cent were still undecided about their future, except for one who planned to enter the family business. Seven of the girls and 16 of the boys planned professional careers: as a physician, dentist, teacher, librarian, or rabbi. Four of the boys who have since graduated from college are now doing post-graduate work: one is a Ph.D. candidate in mathematics; one, an M.D., is in residency in pathology; another has a fellowship in architectural engineering, and the fourth has a fellowship in playwriting. Also, several have since joined the married group.

Our findings for this chapter are presented here in the form of a percentage summary (opposite page).

In addition to the facts on secular education we solicited information also on the religious education and training the native-born B'nai Khaim and their spouses received in their childhood. We know the religious education and training their immigrant fathers and grandfathers came with—Jewish orthodox which they imbibed with their mothers' milk. From the answers we learned that of the 38 American-born married B'nai Khaim males, only 20, or a little more than one-half, had received training in Judaism, apparently in preparation for *Bar Mitzvah*, although only three of them said so specifically. The amount of training ranges from "some" in a Sunday School to eight years in a Hebrew School and to a formal education in a "Hebrew College." The remaining 18 said "none" or put a dash (—) for an answer. An even smaller percentage of their spouses

Percentage of B'nai Khaim High School and College Graduates

Group	(No.)	Per Cent	
		High School	College
Native-born married B'nai Khaim males	(44)*	95	68
Their wives	(34)	94	35
Native-born wives of foreign-born B'nai Khaim	(9)	90	22
Native-born married B'nai Khaim Females	(44)	100	45
Their husbands	(43)	97	63
Native-born husbands of foreign-born B'nai Khaim	(4)	50	50
Total married	(178)	94	52
Married males	(91)	93	65
Married females	(87)	95	40
Unmarried group	(46)	100	70**

*Includes six foreign-born who came here before age 8.
**Potential.

claimed such training. As many as 20 of the 34 wives, or 59 per cent, reported not having had any Jewish education at all.

The B'nai Khaim females and their husbands reported slightly higher percentages. Over 50 per cent of the females and nearly 60 per cent of their husbands claimed to have had religious instruction, four of the females as much as eight to ten years. Fourteen of the husbands reported having been *Bar Mitzvah* after considerable training—*kheder* in one case, ten years of Sunday School in another, and eight grades in a *Yeshiva* in still another. One female, who put a dash (–) for an answer, added: "I strongly identify with traditional Judaism, but remain an atheist."

Later, in our discussion of the younger generation we note that all but eight of the 22 males over age 16, or 64 per cent, had attended a Jewish Sunday School or a Jewish secular

school. This relatively high percentage may reflect the post-Hitlerian upsurge of Jewish consciousness and identification among American Jews. Seven of the 22 had been *Bar Mitzvah*—a much larger ratio than for their fathers.

The returns for the 17 third-generation females were almost the same as for the second-generation females. Eleven, or 52 per cent, had had from one to two years of Sunday School or Hebrew School. The rest had no religious training at all or answered "very little."

In sum, not much more than half of the second- and third-generation B'nai Khaim, and B'nai Khaim spouses, had been introduced to the *teachings* of Judaism. In the succeeding chapters we investigate their *practices*.

Notes to Chapter 5

[1] To a great extent the differences are due to differences in demographic compositions of the samples. Many differ from one another in their college-age components; in average family size; in occupational distribution and in the size of the community. The large cities, for example, offer greater educational opportunities than the small towns. The B'nai Khaim "sample" comes from the big cities, was of the most favorable college age, raised in a more or less economically and culturally homogeneous family environment which by tradition is conducive to the pursuit of higher learning.

[2] *Children of the Gilded Ghetto*, by Judith Kramer and Seymour Leventman. Yale University Press, 1961.

[3] Dr. Joseph Fauman in *The Jews: Social Patterns of an American Group*, a collection of community studies edited by Dr. Marshall Sklare of the American Jewish Committee. The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., Second Printing, 1960, p. 119.

[4] *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1965 ed., p. 227, Table No. 312. Watch out, however, for the comparability of the samples! (See footnote 1 above.)

[5] In the spring of 1966, 55 per cent of college seniors in a nationwide sample said they would prefer professional careers if they were free to choose. Newsweek, May 2, 1966, p. 86.

[6] One B'nai Khaim male who has never filled out our questionnaires is known to have been in and out of jail several times for burglary and larceny.

D. THE CHANGING FAMILY TRADITION

Chapter 6

Kashroth

Wherever and whenever Jewish leaders meet to consider the state of Judaism in America, the concern is voiced that American Jews are increasingly abandoning traditional Jewish rites, rituals and observances, from *kashroth* to intra-faith marriage. As Professor Nathan Glazer, ten years ago, summed up the conditions underlying this concern:[1]

> There are American Jews who have been given a good traditional education and who, following the pattern of the twenties and the thirties, have broken with all religious observances. They do not attend the synagogue, they do not observe the dietary laws, they do not mark the Jewish holidays, and they do not believe in the existence of God.

In the fall of 1965, the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America established a special commission to "cope" with the "alarming proportion" of intermarriage of Jewish with non-Jewish college students. "If the trend is not reversed," the President of the Union declared, "the whole fabric of the Jewish communal structure in the United States will suffer irreparable harm and damage." The problem, he said, "constitutes a grave challenge to the continuity of the Jewish community and a serious menace to the very survival of traditional Judaism."[2]

In this and the following chapters we trace some of these tendencies as they have manifested themselves in the past 60 years within one group of Jewish families, the B'nai Khaim. We obtained relevant data by means of a questionnaire which we addressed to 251 persons over age 16:

47 immigrant B'nai Khaim, male and female, 50 per cent of the original 93 still living and willing to participate in the study.
63 native-born married B'nai Khaim—the second generation.
39 native-born unmarried B'nai Khaim, age 16+—the

third generation; and
102 spouses of both foreign- and native-born B'nai Khaim.

Total 251

The data we gathered make possible an evaluation of the changes in the religious, social and cultural patterns of the B'nai Khaim and of the nature of their acculturation to the American way of life.

In the matter of the changing religious patterns we must bear in mind that Jews are enjoined to observe 613 commandments—365 "don'ts" and 248 "do's." Here we consider the most common and distinctive of them, beginning with the observance of the dietary laws. Next to the rite of circumcision, observing *kashroth* is probably the most sacred tenet of Jewish orthodoxy. We asked, first, these two overall questions:

1. To what extent do you observe the Jewish dietary laws? (a) strictly; (b) in part; (c) not at all.

2. To what extent did your mother observe them? (a); (b); or (c).

Here are the responses of B'nai Khaim males:

Respondents	Observed			
	Strictly	In Part	Not At All	Total
Foreign-born married B'nai Khaim males	5	7	8	20
Their mothers*	9	3	0	12
Native-born married B'nai Khaim males	2	6	21	29
Their mothers*	7	8	8	23
Unmarried B'nai Khaim males, age 16+	2	8	12	22

*As reported by their offspring. The number of mothers is less than the number of offspring, since in many cases more than one offspring reported the same mother. To count a "mother" for each of several siblings would involve a duplication error.

Only five of the 20 foreign-born married B'nai Khaim males still observed the dietary laws strictly in 1964, while nine out of

the 12 mothers were strict observers. At the same time eight of the 20, or 40 per cent, observed these laws no longer, while none of their mothers observed "not at all." The five strict observers were married to foreign-born women, two of them gentiles, while four of the eight non-observers were married to native-born women. Six of the eight non-observers were in professional occupations. Two of these six, both university graduates abroad, came from Rumania after World War II where, as in Russia and in all other communist countries, Jews, with the rest of the population, were abandoning all aspects of religion.

The trend away from the observance of *kashroth* becomes pronounced with the returns for the native-born married B'nai Khaim males. Here, out of a total of 29, only two were found to be strict observers, and one of the two is a grandson of Rabbi Avrom Kaprov. At the same time, 21 of the 29, or 72 per cent of the total, no longer observed at all. Three of these 21 were married to gentiles, two were of mixed parentage. None of the mothers of the foreign-born did not observe at all, while eight of the mothers of the native-born were non-observers.

B'nai Khaim females appear to be less "radical" than their male relatives. Here are their responses to the questions on *kashroth*.

Respondents	Observed			
	Strictly	In Part	Not At All	Total
Foreign-born married B'nai Khaim females	10	11	6	27*
Their mothers	13	5	0	18
Native-born married B'nai Khaim females	0	16	18	34
Their mothers	12	9	5	26
Unmarried B'nai Khaim females age 16+	2	6	9	17

*Includes one who died unmarried in 1965 at age 80.

Thirty-seven per cent of the foreign-born married B'nai Khaim females were strict observers of the dietary laws, compared with 25 per cent for their male counterparts, and only 22 per cent were non-observers, against 40 per cent for the foreign-born males. On the other hand, while none of the 34

native-born females observed strictly, 18, a little over 50 per cent observed not at all, and two of these were married to gentiles. Among the native-born married males, 72 per cent were non-observers.

In sum:

25 per cent of the foreign born-married B'nai Khaim males observed the dietary laws strictly;
40 per cent observed not at all.
75 per cent of their mothers had observed the laws strictly; none of them had been non-observers.

7 per cent of the native-born married B'nai Khaim males observed these laws strictly;
72 per cent did not observe at all.
30 per cent of their mothers observed strictly;
35 per cent did not observe at all.

37 per cent of the foreign-born married B'nai Khaim females observed the dietary laws strictly;
22 per cent did not observe at all.
72 per cent of their mothers had observed strictly; none of their mothers had been non-observers.

No native-born married B'nai Khaim females observed the dietary laws strictly;
53 per cent observed not at all.
46 per cent of their mothers observed strictly;
20 per cent observed not at all.

Our B'nai Khaim women, both foreign- and native-born, were found to be more conservative than the men.

For B'nai Khaim spouses, we have the following data:

Respondents	Observed			
	Strictly	In Part	Not At All	Total*
Wives of foreign-born B'nai Khaim males	3	9	10	22
Wives of native-born B'nai Khaim males	0	11	17	28
Husbands of foreign-born B'nai Khaim females	6	12	3	21
Husbands of native-born B'nai Khaim females	1	12	18	31

*The number of spouses in the table is not always the same as the number of their B'nai Khaim mates because of the different number of widows and widowers in each group. In one case, a gentile spouse submitted no return.

The wives of the native-born B'nai Khaim males, of whom two were gentiles and one of mixed parentage, were all native-born and were less observing of *kashroth* than were the wives of the foreign-born males. None of the 28 wives of the native-born males observed this commandment strictly, and 17 out of the 28, or 60 per cent, observed not at all. Of the 22 wives of foreign-born B'nai Khaim, of whom two were gentiles, three observed strictly, and ten of the 22, or 45 per cent, did not observe at all.

In general, this was true also of the husbands of B'nai Khaim females. Only one of the husbands of the 31 native-born B'nai Khaim females was a strict observer, against six of the 21 husbands of the foreign-born females. Nearly 60 per cent of the 31 did not observe at all, but only a little over 14 per cent of the 21 did not observe at all. The one gentile husband among them made no return.

It is reasonable to expect that husbands and wives would tend to give the same answers to the same questions relating to their religious observances. However, enough differences were found in their responses to the questions on *kashroth* to reflect a considerable degree of independent attitudes. B'nai Khaim and their spouses were furthest apart in the matter of strict observance and were closest to one another in homes where *kashroth* was observed least. This held true for both the foreign- and the native-born groups. Thus:

25 per cent of the *foreign*-born B'nai Khaim males observed *kashroth* strictly;
14 per cent of their wives observed *kashroth* strictly. On the other hand,
40 per cent of these B'nai Khaim did not observe at all, and
45 per cent of their wives did not observe at all.

For the *native*-born B'nai Khaim males and their wives we have these figures:

7 per cent of the B'nai Khaim observed strictly;
none of their wives observed strictly. But:
72 per cent of the B'nai Khaim observed not at all, and
60 per cent of their wives observed not at all.

In all cases, female B'nai Khaim observance of *kashroth* was closer to that of their husbands than was male B'nai Khaim observance to that of their wives.

For the *foreign*-born B'nai Khaim females and their husbands we have the following figures:

37 per cent of the B'nai Khaim females observed strictly;
30 per cent of their husbands observed strictly.
22 per cent of the B'nai Khaim females did not observe at all;
30 per cent of their husbands did not observe at all.

Of the *native*-born B'nai Khaim females and their spouses:

None of the B'nai Khaim females observed strictly, and only 3 per cent of their husbands observed strictly.
53 per cent of the B'nai Khaim females did not observe at all;
58 per cent of their husbands did not observe at all.

Mothers of B'nai Khaim spouses were more "advanced" than B'nai Khaim mothers. Twenty-three per cent of mothers of spouses did not observe at all, while only 16 per cent of B'nai Khaim mothers did not observe at all. The suprising thing in these figures is the extent to which mothers, that is, the older generation in both groups, were abandoning observance of the dietary laws. Still, this too, might have been expected. The drift away from ritualistic Judaism is not entirely an American phenomenon. We are accustomed to think of the "older" generation as *shtetl* Jews, vintage 1900. But already at the turn of the century secular enlightenment and socialist thought had begun to penetrate the *shtetl*. Most Socialists rejected all religion, and socialist influence began to affect Russian youth of all persuasion. The Revolution of 1905 broke through the crust of *shtetl* isolation. The images which Jews now saw of themselves in the mirrors held up to them by Perez and Sholem Aleichem and the Bundists shook many of them out of their centuries-old habits of thought and religious behavior. Their growing self-awareness as a stagnant people was brought to a climax in the Bolshevik Revolution. If some B'nai Khaim who came here before World War I still wore untrimmed beards, others already had their beards trimmed, and those who came after the October Revolution, especially from the cities, had pretty well abandoned those outer symbols of Jewishness as well as more

intimate family practices, such as the dietary laws. In America this process would be accelerated. The exigencies of having to earn a living among *goyim* were new compelling factors. The remarkable thing about our findings is not that so many of the B'nai Khaim and their spouses had abandoned strict observance of *kashroth*, but that so many still adhered to much of it as late as 1964, some of them after living in America for 60 years.

It should be added that among the immigrants who came here before age 18 a larger proportion dropped *kashroth* altogether than among those who came after age 18. Also, among both the foreign-born and the native-born those in professional occupations were the least observing. The degree of observance seems to bear no relation to the descent along the patriarchal lines A1, A2, A7 (except for the branch A2 B8, the Rabbi's family), nor to the neighborhood in which our people live. In 1964, most B'nai Khaim lived in "mixed" neighborhoods. Of the 111 B'nai Khaim homes, 73 were located in "mixed" areas, 16 in areas "mostly Jewish," and 22 in areas "mostly gentile." Of the 13 homes in which there was strict observance, two were in Jewish, two were in gentile, and nine were in "mixed" areas. Of the 41 non-observing families, nine were in Jewish, 11 in gentile, and 21 in "mixed" neighborhoods.

So far, we calculated the drift of the B'nai Khaim away from *kashroth* in the general terms of departure from the "dietary laws." We now tested our findings in terms of observance of specific commandments. We asked these specific questions of all married B'nai Khaim and their spouses:

1. Do you eat *kosher* meat only?
2. Do you eat (a) pork, (b) ham, (c) bacon?
3. Do you eat shellfish?

The responses confirm our earlier findings as well as supply evidence for the "in part" observance of the dietary laws in general. They also throw light on the degree of independence of B'nai Khaim and their spouses in their respective responses to our questions.

Here are the answers to these three questions:

Table 1. On Eating Trefe: Married B'nai Khaim and Their Spouses

Group	Total	Eat Kosher Meat Only		Eat						Eat Shellfish	
				Pork		Ham		Bacon			
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Foreign-born B'nai Khaim males	20	5	15	6	14	9	11	12	8	7	13
Their wives	22	4	18	8	14	8	14	13	9	11	11
Native-born B'nai Khaim males	29	2	27	23	6	26	3	27	2	23	6
Their wives	28	0	28	20	8	23	5	27	1	23	5
Foreign-born B'nai Khaim females	26	14	12*	5	21	7	19	11	15	8	18
Their husbands	21	8	13	5	16	6	15	9	12	5	6
Native-born B'nai Khaim females	34	0	34	20	14	21	13	28	6	28	6
Their husbands	31	1	30	18	13	23	8	25	6	26	5
Total	211**	34	177	105	106	123	88	152	59	131	80

*The one unmarried foreign-born B'nai Khaim female who died in 1965 at age 80 had answered "no."

**Note that the unmarried are not included here. They are treated separately later.

The first thing that strikes the eye in this table is the relatively small number of respondents that said yes to the question "do you eat kosher meat only"—34 against the 177 who said no. (Bottom totals.) The one exception was the foreign-born females of B'nai Khaim who split about 50-50 between yes and no.

The second thing to note is that so far as the native-born, both male and female, and their spouses are concerned, the traditional "kosher butcher" may just as well close up shop. Together, these numbered 122, but only three of them still ate *kosher* meat only.

Our questions about eating pork, ham, bacon and shellfish brought answers which are not only discriminating, but also throw light on the "in part" observance of the dietary laws in general. Fewer of our people (50 per cent) eat pork than eat ham (60 per cent) or bacon (72 per cent), or even shellfish (62 per cent). Our B'nai Khaim seem to have a more definite built-in aversion to eating pork than to eating any of those other *trefe* foods. Proportionately, between two and one-half and three times as many native-born as foreign-born eat pork, ham and shellfish. The difference is not so great in the case of eating bacon; here the percentages are 88 and 62, respectively. Bacon is becoming a staple in the B'nai Khaim kitchen.

As an overall check on the discriminating practices within the Jewish dietary laws, we asked this question:

> Do you ever eat non-*kosher* food (a) at home; (b) in restaurants; (c) when traveling; (d) at homes of non-observing Jews; (e) at homes of gentile friends?

The answers show that two-thirds eat non-*kosher* food at home, evidently our bacon-eaters. But not much more than 43 per cent of the foreign-born do so. The percentage for the native-born was nearly twice as high. A greater proportion, as would be expected, ate non-*kosher* food away from home than at home; again, the native-born in larger proportions than the foreign-born. And all of them indulged about equally in restaurants, when traveling, at homes of non-observing Jews, and at homes of gentile friends.

Unaccountably, a greater proportion of the wives of our foreign-born B'nai Khaim males eat non-*kosher* food away from home than their husbands do. One would expect the opposite to be the case, as men presumably have more occasion to eat non-*kosher* food in restaurants when at work or when traveling.

"Do you eat *khometz* on Passover?" we asked next. Sixty per cent said yes—50 per cent of the foreign-born and their spouses; 70 per cent of the native-born and their spouses. Again, the remarkable thing is not that 70 per cent of the native-born and their spouses ate *khometz* on Passover, but that fully one-half of the foreign-born and their spouses did. One native-born male and one native-born female answered, "No, whatever that is"!

Next we asked two questions specifically addressed to men and two specifically to women. The questions to the women were:

1. Do you use separate sets of dishes for meat and dairy products?
2. Do you use separate sets of dishes for *khometz* and Passover?

The answers are the same for both questions: 76, "no"; 35, "yes". The B'nai Khaim who do not keep separate sets of milk and meat dishes do not keep separate sets of *khometz* and Passover dishes either. The degree of this practice, however, differs as between the foreign-born and the native-born. For the foreign-born the ratio is 3 "no" to 2 "yes." For the native-born the ratio is 3 "no" to 1 "yes".

The two questions for the men were:

1. Do you say *hamotze lekhem*?
2. Do you cover your head when eating?

Here, too, the answers are practically the same to both questions: 93 "no" to 8 "yes" for the first, and 95 "no" to 6 "yes" for the second. And here, too, the degree of observance differs as between the foreign-born and the native-born. For the foreign-born the ratio is 7 "no" to 1 "yes". For the native-born the ratio is 59 "no" to 1 "yes". For the native-born, saying *hamotze lekhem* and covering the head when eating have almost completely vanished as an exercise of

Jewishness. It is dying out rapidly among the foreign-born.

Notes to Chapter 6

[1] *American Judaism,* Chicago University Press, 1957, pp. 140-41.

[2] As reported in the *New York Times,* October 28, 1965.

[3] We did not define these terms. We thought that a prescribed definition might inhibit a free response. Instead, we followed up with several supporting questions of a specific nature.

Chapter 7

The Vanishing Beard; The Sabbath; Holidays

The Bible says:

> Ye shall not cut round the corners of the hair of your beard, neither shall thou destroy the corners of thy beard.
>
> Leviticus XIX:27

> Six days may work be done; but on the seventh day is the Sabbath of rest . . . ; no kind of work shall ye do thereon.
>
> Leviticus XXIII:3

The untrimmed beard and observance of the Sabbath (and holidays) were the most conspicuous symbols of Judaism in the *shtetl*. The untrimmed beard has long since all but vanished as a symbol of Judaism, both here and abroad. Observance of the Sabbath and the Jewish holidays continues in various degrees.

Curiously, when American Rabbis and lay leaders deplore the growing tendency among Jews to abandon their religious observances, they seldom, if ever, mention the disappearing beard. When a Jew wears a beard today, it is for looks, not out of piety; the exception is the small Khasidic sect. Even orthodox rabbis, let alone lay leaders of the Jewish community, go beardless today. They rationalize this lapse from the Mosaic Law by arguing that the law prohibited cutting the beard with scissors or a razor, but not the use of depilatories, or clippers, or the electric razor! And so the "bearded Jew" is now a rarity.

I know of only one B'nai Khaim and two B'nai Khaim-in-laws who died here with their beards untrimmed: my father and my uncle Rabbi Avrom Kaprov (see pg. 53), and my uncle Shmuel Robboy. He is shown below sounding the *shofar* on *Rosh Hashannah*, in Cleveland in the early 1930's.

1. *The Vanishing Beard–*

Except for these three, the *arendar* (pg. 26, above) and cousin Moti Trachtman, all the immigrant B'nai Khaim



Photo 12. Shmuel Robboy (= A_2 B_7)

died smooth-shaven (except for an occasional mustache). The disappearance of the beard, however, was gradual, in stages, as was the case with my brother.

When Daniel, A2 B2 C2, came to Cleveland in 1912, at age 35, he had a full beard (Photo 13). With the financial aid of relatives he bought a horse and wagon and went out huckstering, peddling fruits and vegetables. By the end of the year he tired of "croaking" his wares and left Cleveland for Buffalo. There were more "Sokolievker" there, and all were doing better than he.

The very first year in Buffalo he made three changes in his

life: he gave up huckstering and became a junk peddler; he changed his name to Gelman–"Gillman," his Buffalo friends told him, was "too *goyish*"; and he had his beard trimmed to a goatee. (Photo 14) My niece tells me that when a copy of this photograph reached his family in Sokolievka, her mother hid it to cover up the disgrace. (The family was not reunited until 1921.)

As his business in Buffalo prospered, Daniel took still another step towards "becoming an American": he had his goatee re-



Photo 13
Daniel in 1913



Photo 14
Daniel in 1914

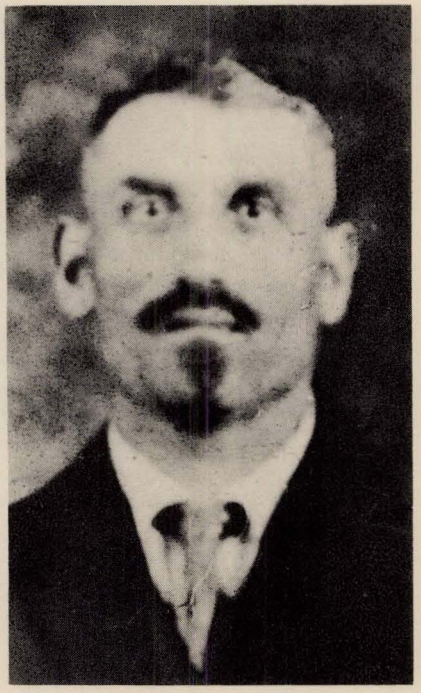


Photo 15
Daniel in 1915

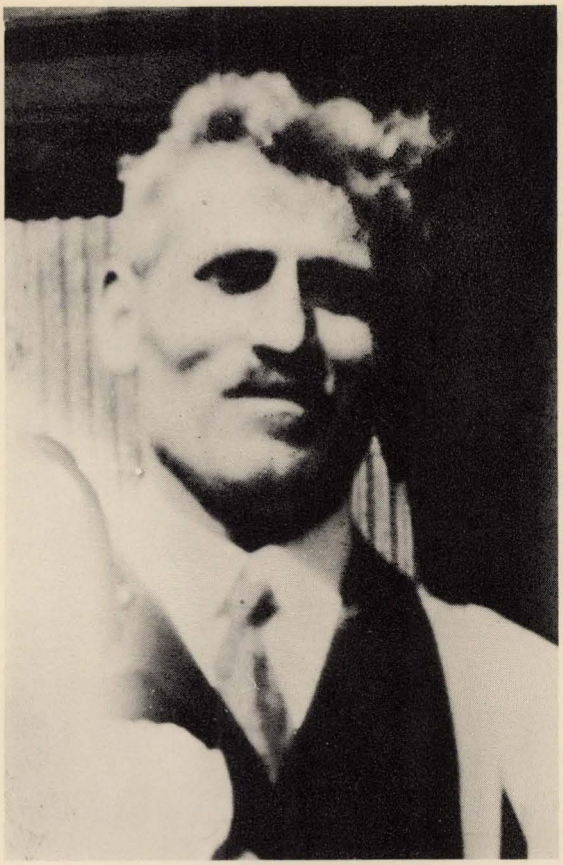


Photo 16
Daniel in 1929

duced to a "Charlie Chan." (Photo 15) That was in 1915. In the next 15 years he acquired a scrap-iron yard, an "income property," and became President of the "Sokolievker" *shule* which he helped establish. In the spring of 1929 he shaved off his "Charlie Chan," leaving only a mustache to adorn his face. (Photo 16).

Finally, in about 1939, on vacation in Miami Beach, he cut off his mustache. Daniel Gelman, minus his mustache, died in 1956 at age 80.

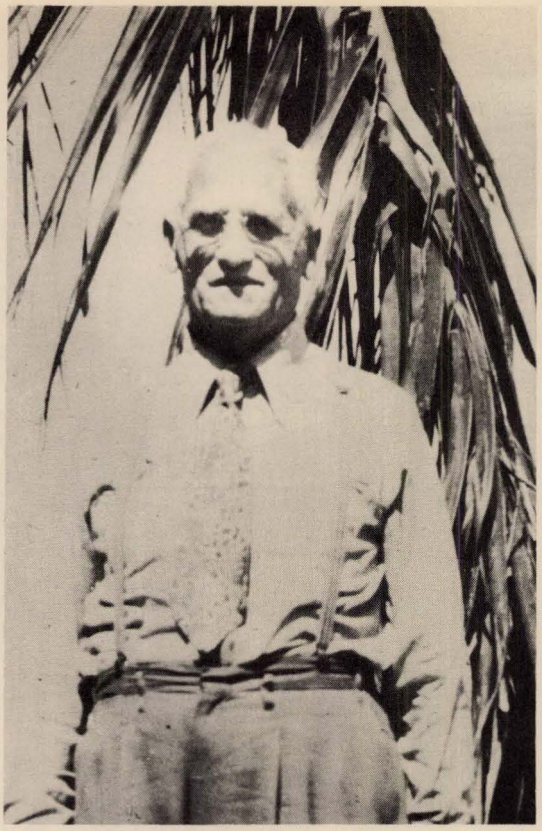


Photo 17
Daniel in 1947

2. *Observing the Sabbath–*

Lack of work skills was one reason so few immigrant B'nai Khaim were found working in factories. (See Chapter 4). Lack of physical stamina was another. Like most *shtetl* Jews, the B'nai Khaim were short, small-boned men. They were not fashioned for sustained, heavy factory work. Only a handful had engaged in heavy labor in the old country. The weak physique of the immigrant Jew was the culmination of 2000 years of persecution, discrimination, poverty and the ghetto life of an ancient people of sturdy peasant stock. And so, like most other

immigrant Jews, the B'nai Khaim drifted into shopkeeping, peddling, go-between occupations of all sorts–occupations in which they had been raised in Sokolievka–Yustingrad–Knyazhe–Uman, and in which, as a by-the-way, they could advance their material wellbeing independent of the will of a "boss."

Above all, it was the sanctity of the Sabbath that kept many from seeking work as factory wage-earners. When the B'nai Khaim came to America, in 1903-1923, the six-day work-week ruled in the business world, which meant that to work in a factory one had to work on Saturdays. But working on Saturday would be as mortal a sin as failure to observe *kashroth*.[1] Observing God's commandments had been the cohesive power that held the Jews together as a people over the thousands of years since Abraham committed himself to the covenant of circumcision. Abandoning the commandments would mean the dissolution of these ties. We will recall how cousin Zalman gave up America and returned to Sokolievka rather than sacrifice his Jewish commitments (see Chapter 3 above). Jews would not engage in occupations which deprived them of the millennial community identity. Observing the Sabbath gave them a visible sense of belonging. Next to *Yom Kippur*, the Sabbath is the holiest of Jewish holidays. It is one of the Ten Commandments. *Yom Kippur* alone supersedes the prerogatives of the Sabbath. You may fast on the Sabbath if *Yom Kippur* falls on a Saturday. Otherwise, the Sabbath is a day of joyful prayer, rest, and good food.

With the legal abolition of the six-day work week in the mid-1930's, Jews of America got Saturday as a free gift for their traditional rest day. What have the B'nai Khaim made of this free gift? Do they abstain from work on Saturdays? Do they go to *shule* on the Sabbath day? We asked these questions of the married males of our group:

1. Do you work on *Shabbos*?
2. If you don't, is it (a) for religious reasons; or (b) because of the five-day work week?
3. Do you go to *shule* (or temple) then?
4. Do you "say *Kiddush*" (blessings over the wine cup)?

Here are the answers:

Table 2. Sabbath Observance: Married B'nai Khaim Males and Husbands of B'nai Khaim Females

Group	Total*	Work on Shabbos		Go to Shule on Shabbos		Say Kiddush		If No Work, Is It Because of:	
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	a	b
B'nai Khaim Males:	49	45	4	14	33	9	40	1	3
Foreign-born**	20	17	3	5	13	6†	14	1	2
Native-born**	29	28	1	9‡	20	3	26	—	1
Husbands of:	52	42	10	28	23	15	35	4	2
Foreign-born B'nai Khaim females	21	15	6	15	16	11	10	3	2
Native-born B'nai Khaim females	31	27	4	13	17	4	25	1	–
Total	101*	87	14	42	56	24	75	5	5

* Details do not always equal totals because of missing or uncertain returns.

**"Foreign-born" will be used interchangeably with "first-generation." "Native-born" will be used interchangeably with "second-generation." "Native-born" of native parentage will be treated as "third-generation."

† Three said "sometimes."

‡ Four go only "occasionally."

Eighty-seven, or over 86 per cent, of the 101 married males who answered our questionnaire said they worked on Saturdays, and only five of the 14 who did not work on Saturdays said it was for religious reasons. The details also show the growing alienation from ancestral mores as we move from the first to the second generation of observers. Much larger proportions of the native-born populations than of the foreign-born work on Saturday. Furthermore, when they do not go to work they do not necessarily go to *shule*.

Our people fall away radically also from the traditional ritual of "saying *Kiddush*:" only 24 of the 101 male respondents "say *Kiddush*," in decreasing proportions as we move from the first to the second generation. In the olden days *Kiddush* set the joyful tone of this weekly holiday. Now less than a quarter of

our people "say *Kiddush*"—30 per cent of the foreign-born and 10 per cent of the native-born, counting B'nai Khaim males and husbands of B'nai Khaim females.

For our women folk we set up two tests of orthodoxy: lighting *Shabbos* candles and cooking on the Sabbath day. The distinguishing mark of female piety has always been the ritual lighting of *Shabbos* candles. Blessing the candles on the eve of the Sabbath is one of the three commandments specifically enjoined on the Jewish wife.[2] The blessing of the candles ushers in the sacredness of the Sabbath. The *Shekhinah* herself, the radiance of the Divine Presence, hallows the moment.

We asked our married women:

1. Do you light *Shabbos* candles?
2. Do you cook on the Sabbath day?
3. Do you go to *shule* on Saturdays?

We did not question them on *mikvah* or on *khalah*. The first

Table 3. Sabbath Observance: Married B'nai Khaim Females and Wives of B'nai Khaim Males

Group	Total*	Light Candles		Cook on Sabbath		Go to Shule	
		Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No
B'nai Khaim Females:	60	38	19	21	39	34	25
Foreign-born females	26	17	8	14	12	20	6
Native-born females	34	21	11	7	27	14	19
Wives of:	50	20	29	8	42	13	37
Foreign-born B'nai Khaim males	22	9	13**	7‡	15	6	16§
Native-born B'nai Khaim males	28	11	16†	1	27	7	21§
Total*	110	58	48	29	81	47	62

*Details do not always equal totals because of missing or uncertain returns.

**Includes two gentiles. One said "no," and one who had adopted Judaism said "not anymore."

†Includes two gentiles and one of mixed parentage.

‡One of the two gentiles wrote, "I have changed cooking habits to please my Jewish husband."

§Includes the two gentile wives, and the one of mixed parentage.

is impertinent in sanitary America. The second is inapplicable. Few women, in the cities at any rate, bake their own bread. They knead no dough from which they might pinch off a chunk for the fire.

The answers to our questions are given in Table 3.

Lighting *Shabbos* candles appears to have retained the highest loyalty of our women among their religious observances, particularly of B'nai Khaim women, both foreign- and native-born. In the case of *kashroth*, as we saw, only ten of the 26 foreign-born women were strict observers, and none of the native-born. Here we find 17 of the 26 foreign-born and 21 of the 34 native-born women light *Shabbos* candles. Only three wives of the foreign-born B'nai Khaim males observed Kashroth strictly, and none of the wives of native-born B'nai Khaim; however, 40 per cent of both these groups light *Shabbos* candles. Still, only a little over 30 per cent of the foreign-born B'nai Khaim women and close to 60 per cent of female spouses do not light *Shabbos* candles.

Similar results were obtained regarding cooking on the Sabbath day. Nearly 54 per cent of the foreign-born and 20 per cent of the native-born female B'nai Khaim do not cook on the Sabbath. This means that 46 per cent of the foreign-born and 80 per cent of the native-born B'nai Khaim women *do* cook on the Sabbath. Even more striking is the fact that 70 per cent of the wives of foreign-born B'nai Khaim males and over 96 per cent of the wives of native-born B'nai Khaim males cook on the Sabbath. We selected cooking on the Sabbath as the work criterion for our married women, since the majority of them may not be holding jobs outside their homes. Probably this difference between B'nai Khaim females and wives of B'nai Khaim males in the matter of cooking on the Sabbath reflects the fact that a large proportion of our foreign-born males marry native-born women and, in part, the inclusion of gentile wives.

A surprisingly large proportion of B'nai Khaim women, both foreign- and native-born, regularly go to *shule* on the Sabbath, nearly twice the proportion of males. This is so, perhaps, because men are away at work, or at their weekly sport. This tendency is paralleled by the larger proportion of *shule* mem-

bership among foreign-born women (80 per cent) than among foreign-born B'nai Khaim males (60 per cent), as shown in Table 4. For the native-born the proportion is 60 per cent for both sexes.

Table 4. Shule Membership of the B'nai Khaim and Their Spouses

Group	Total	Denomination			
		Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	None
B'nai Khaim:					
Foreign-born males	20	6	6		8
Native-born males	29	1	8	8	12
Foreign-born females	26	9	9	3	5
Native-born females	34	5	11	5	13
Wives of:					
Foreign-born males	22	6	7	1	8
Native-born males	28	1	8	9	10
Husbands of:					
Foreign-born females	21	9	5	2	5
Native-born females	31	4	12	3	12
Total	211	41	66	31	73
Per Cent of Total	100.0	20.0	30.0	15.0	35.0

Approximately 60 per cent of B'nai Khaim males, both foreign- and native-born, belonged to a house of worship. Eighty per cent of the foreign-born females and 60 per cent of the native-born were *shule* members. More significant, however, than the large *shule* membership of the foreign-born females is the shift in the spectrum of *shule* affiliation between first and second generation from Orthodox to Conversative and Reform Temples, and from there to "none." Only one of the 29 native-born B'nai Khaim males was affiliated with an orthodox *shule*. Of the 28 remaining, eight belonged to Conservative and eight

to Reform "Temples." Twelve had no affiliation. The foreign-born divided equally, six orthodox and six conservative, with none in the Reform Temple and with eight (!) unaffiliated.

Of the foreign- and native-born males, taken together, 40 per cent had no *shule* affiliation. Of the females, 30 per cent were unaffiliated. This again shows the more conservative character of our women. Of all the 211 B'nai Khaim and their spouses, 73, or 35 per cent, did not belong to any *shule*–Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform.

It will be noted also that *shule* membership is largely a family affair–husband and wife belong or do not belong to a *shule* together. For example, the foreign-born male B'nai Khaim and their wives are represented about equally in the Orthodox and Conservative synagogues and equally in non-membership. The native-born B'nai Khaim males and their wives each have one member in the Orthodox *shule*, are almost equally represented in the Conservative and Reform *shulen* and also in the no-*shule* affiliation. The native-born and their spouses have the least representation in the Orthodox *shule* and the greatest representation in the no-*shule* category. In Buffalo, I am told, only the old now attend the Orthodox *shule*. It reminds one of reports from Russia.

3. *The Holidays*–

The Jewish calendar lists ten religious holidays which Jews observe in greater or lesser degree. Three of these ten, *Rosh Hashanah* (New Year's), *Yom Kippur* (Day of Atonement), and *Pesakh* (the Passover) are the major holidays. *Rosh Hashanah* and *Yom Kippur* are called the High Holydays. The ten days beginning with *Rosh Hashanah* and ending with *Yom Kippur* are the "Days of Awe"–the time when the Jew confronts his God with prayer to forgive and erase from his record the sins he had committed during the past year and to start the New Year with a clear slate. The awesomeness of these days is symbolized by the mournful sound of the *shofar*.[3]

Khotosi!, I have sinned (*mea culpa!*), they beat their breast. But it has not all been sin, they plead. We have also done good deeds, and we are punishing ourselves by fasting a full 24 hours

on *Yom Kippur*. Oh, God, be merciful!

There is only one other day in the calendar, *Tishah B'av*, which calls for 24-hour fasting. *Tishah B'av* is the Day of Lamentation, commemorating the fall of Jerusalem and the slaughter and captivity of its heroic defenders. How far do our people in America observe these major holidays and the two major fast days? In Sokolievka, all the holidays and at least the two major fast days were sedulously observed. We asked:

1. On which holidays do you stay away from work?
2. On which do you go to *shule*?
3. Do you fast on *Yom Kippur*?
4. Do you fast on *Tishah B'av*?
5. Do you conduct the *seder* on *Pesakh*? If you do, is it (a) the traditional service; or (b) merely a family dinner?
6. Do you eat only matzos during the Passover week?

The answers are given in Table 5 and they tell us that the B'nai Khaim in America, and their spouses, are High Holyday Jews: they observe mostly *Rosh Hashanah* and *Yom Kippur* and taper off to the near-complete neglect of the others. Only 35 of 211 in our list observed "all" holidays, and as many observed none. Two-thirds observed the High Holydays by staying away from work—male and female, foreign- and native-born, B'nai Khaim and spouses. Go to *shule*? Fewer attend *shule* than stay away from work—a common experience throughout all Jewish communitites in America.

How did they square with their God? Between 65 and 68 per cent of the B'nai Khaim fasted on *Yom Kippur*, except for the native-born males, only 41 per cent of whom reported fasting. Little more than 2 per cent fasted on *Tishah B'av* to mourn the loss of the Jerusalem Temple. But most of them still celebrate the emancipation of their ancestors from bondage in ancient Egypt by observing Passover. Only 34 of our 211 respondents, or 16 per cent, said they did not celebrate the Passover in any way, religious or secular. But 122, or 58 per cent, celebrated it by conducting the traditional *seder*, and 55, or 26 per cent, by entertaining or being entertained at a family dinner.

Table 5. Observance of the Major Holidays and Fast Days

Married Groups	Total	Stay Away From Work			Go To Shule			Fast On		Seder			Matzos Only
		H.H.*	Also Other	None	H.H.	Also Other	None	Tishah B'av	Yom Kippur	Family	Traditional	None	
Foreign-born B'nai Khaim males	20	13	3	4	9	3	8	0	13	7	9	4	9
Their wives	22	14	5	3	12	1	9	1	12	6	10	6	11
Native-born B'nai Khaim males	29	20	2	7	18	0	11	0	12	7	11	11	10
Their wives	28	20	0	8	13	2	13	1	13	8	13	7	13
Foreign-born B'nai Khaim females	26	16	9**	1	18	7	1	1	17	7	18	1	19
Their husbands	21	15	5	1	14	5	2	1	11	5	16	0	13
Native-born B'nai Khaim females	34	23	7†	4	21	6	7	1	23	6	24	4	21
Their husbands	31	22	4	5	20	5	6	0	18	9	21	1	17
Total	211	141	35	35	125	29	57	5	119	55	122	34	113
Per Cent	100	67	16.5	16.5	59	14	27	2.3	56.4	26	58	16	53

* High Holydays.
** Five not working.
† Two not working.

The 122 who celebrate *seder* are on par with the 125 who go to *shule* on the High Holydays and the 119 who fast on *Yom Kippur*. They are the hard-core B'nai Khaim who hold on to the most sacred of our family customs. Outside this core, beyond observance of the major holidays, our people are rapidly departing from family religious tradition.

Notes to Chapter 7

[1] There are no hierarchical priorities among the several hundred original Biblical injunctions, nor did the scores of thousands of expostulates in the Talmud and other commentaries set up any. Yet, not all commandments are equally binding. Many of them, valid for the times in which they were promulgated, have long since lost their relevancy with historical changes in social cultures.

[2] The other two are *mikvah*, the monthly purification through immersions, and *khalah*, throwing into the oven a lump of dough to burn up as a substitute, evidently, for the donation of bread or grain to the temple enjoined on the ancient Hebrews.

[3] For the blowing of the *shofar* see Photo 12 pg. 94, above.

Chapter 8

Circumcision, Shivoh and Other Jewish Rites and Rituals

Among the most ancient and hallowed commandments which Jews are called upon to observe are the rite of circumcision and the injunction against marrying a non-Jew.

> This is my covenant (the Lord said to Abraham) which ye shall keep, between me and between you, and between thy seed after thee . . . Every man-child among you shall be circumcized . . . at eight days old. (Genesis, XVII: 10-12.)

A man is a Jew because he was circimcized as an infant in accordance with established ritual.[1] Part of this ritual is the requirement that the circumcisor himself has been circumcized, is a Jew, traditionally called a *mohel.*[2] In recent years it has become common for the attending physician to circumcize infants of all faiths in the hospital. To be valid for Jewish infants, obviously, the physician must be a Jew, and the rite, health permitting, must be performed on the eighth day of the child's birth and, traditionally, in the presence of a *minyon.*[3]

Related to the observance of the rite of circumcision is the injuction against marrying out of the Jewish faith. If a gentile wishes to marry a Jewess he must first undergo circumcision;[4] a female gentile must convert to Judaism if she wishes to marry a Jew. Else, the seed of Abraham will be rendered impure.

With respect to circumcision, we asked this question:

> Did you (or would you) have your sons circumcised by (a) a *mohel*; (b) a physician without the attending rituals; (c) a physician, with the rituals? The answers are given in Table 6.

Two things stand out in these answers.

1. As many as 127 of the 211 B'nai Khaim and spouses, or 60 per cent, did or would use a *mohel* to circumcise their sons.
2. The drift away from the *mohel* among the native-born. Eighty-one of our 211, or nearly 40 per cent, did or

Table 6. On Circumcision

Group	Total	Sons Circumcised by			
		Mohel	Physician		
			Without ritual	With ritual	Total
B'nai Khaim males	49*	27	17	4	21
Foreign-born	20*	12	5	2	7
Native-born	29**	15	12	2	14
B'nai Khaim females	60†	37	18	4	22
Foreign-born	26†	19	5	1	6
Native-born	34	18	13	3	16
Husbands of	52†	33	11	7	18
Foreign-born B'nai Khaim females	21†	17	2	1	3
Native-born B'nai Khaim females	31	16	9	6	15
Wives of	50	30	17	3	20
Foreign-born B'nai Khaim males	22	13	7	2	9
Native-born B'nai Khaim males	28	17	10	1	11
Total	211‡	127	63	18	81

* One said "none circumcised."

** One family had a *mohel* for their first son and a physician without the ritual for the second son, and one family had a *mohel* for their first two sons and a physician without the ritual for their third son.

† Two did not answer the question.

‡ Exceeds column details by 3, because of the two "no" answers and the one who answered "none."

would have a physician perform the circumcision: 28 per cent of the foreign-born, 48 per cent of the native-born. The second generation tends to relegate the *mohel* to history. Furthermore, three-and-one-half times as many of them would have the physician perform the rite *without* the traditional ritual as with it. In two cases a family shifted from a *mohel* to a physician. One foreign-born B'nai Khaim male said that he would not have his son circumcised at all. Here, then, is another instance of the gradual erosion of Jewish religious tradition as we move from the first to the second generation.

Percentage of those who would use a physician:

Foreign-born males	35
Native-born males	50
Foreign-born females	23
Native-born females	47

As in previous tests, we also note here that B'nai Khaim females are more scrupulous in following family tradition than the males. Of the 49 B'nai Khaim males listed in the table, foreign- and native-born, 21, or nearly 43 percent, inclined toward using a physician, but less than 37 per cent of the females were so inclined.

We inquired next into the observance by the B'nai Khaim of several other common rituals:

1. Do you have a *mezuzah*[5] in your home?
2. Do you sit *shivoh*?[6]
3. Did you (or would you) have
   a. *Bar Mitzvah* for your sons?
   b. *Bat Mitzvah* for your daughters?
   c. "Confirmation" for either, instead?

And of the males only, we asked:

1. Do you pray daily with *talis* and *tefilim?*
2. Do you light *Khanukah* candles?
3. Do you "say *Kaddish?*"

Table 7 lists the answers.

Table 7. Selected Rites and Rituals

Group	Total	Mezuzah		Sit Shivoh		Pray Daily		Light Khanukah Candles		Say Kaddish		Consecration for Sons and Daughters		
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Bar Mitzvah	Bat Mitzvah	Confir-mation
B'nai Khaim Males	49	25	23	24	24	2	47	30	18	20	29	34	14	16
Foreign-born	20	12	8	10	9	1	19	10	10	10	10	15	5	3
Native-born	29	13	15	14	15	1	28	20	8	10	19	19	9	13
B'nai Khaim Females	60	45	15	49	9	–	–	–	–	–	–	44	25	19
Foreign-born	26	22	4	23	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	22	11	6
Native-born	34*	23	11	26	6	–	–	–	–	–	–	22	14	13
Husbands of	52	–	–	33	12	6	46	38	14	29	18	44	22	20
Foreign-born B'nai Khaim Females	21	–	–	15	4	4	17	13	8	16	4	19	8	8
Native-born B'nai Khaim Females	31**	–	–	18†	8	2	29	25	6	13	14	25	14	12
Wives of	50	–	–	26	21	–	–	–	–	–	–	35	14	16
Foreign-born B'nai Khaim Males	22	–	–	13	9	–	–	–	–	–	–	14	6	14
Native-born B'nai Khaim Males	28	–	–	13	12	–	–	–	–	–	–	21	8	2
Total	211‡	70	38	132	66	8	93	68	32	49	47	157	75	71

*Two were married to gentiles.
**The two gentiles are included here.
†Five failed to answer.
‡Only for reference; not as a sum of the detailed columns.

From our earlier findings we had come to expect that the religious observances of our people tended to weaken, and those, you recall, applied to the major commandments. Here we find that, in the case of apparently minor commandments, the rate of observance is fairly high. Despite the clearly superstitious character of the *mezuzah,* a form of primitive magic, nearly two-thirds of our people report having one in their homes, with, as would be expected, smaller percentages (58) for the native-born than for the foreign-born (73). Again, the females showed themselves to be more tradition-minded than the males. The males split 50-50 on having a *mezuzah;* the females split 75 per cent "yes" to 25 per cent "no." One native-born B'nai Khaim male who answered "no" to the question added "my wife has one."

In general, "sitting *shivoh*" shows about the same degree of observance as having a *mezuzah.* Here the relatively greater proportion of "yes" responses from the females is probably due mainly to the fact that the men-folk are reluctant to take time off from work seven consecutive days to mourn at home. The women-folk need only adjust their housework to fit the occasion. And, as we already know, our women are more "religious-minded" than our men. The shift away, however, of the rate of observance between the foreign-born and the native-born persists here as in previous cases, although not to the same extent.

Bar Mitzvah holds an especially favorable place in the hearts of the B'nai Khaim. Originally a simple service at the synagogue at which a Jewish boy on his 13th birthday takes on the religious obligations of a man by invoking God's blessings while reading a passage in the Torah, it has become in affluent America largely a festive occasion in which relatives and neighbors and even gentile friends join. Nearly three-fourths of our respondents reported *Bar Mitzvahs* for their sons, but we know that not much more than about 50 per cent could have received the preparation required for a formal *Bar Mitzvah.* (See Chapter 5.)

Seventy-five *Bat Mitzvahs* and 71 "confirmations" were reported in this connection. "Confirmation" is a practice borrowed from the Reform Temple and may or may not involve formal *Bar Mitzvah. Bat Mitzvah* is a family celebration of the 14th birthday of a daughter. Sokolievka did not know "confirmation," let alone *Bat Mitzvah.*

Sixty-eight of our 101 B'nai Khaim males and husbands of B'nai Khaim females light *Khanukah* candles. Remarkably, a larger proportion of native-born (76 per cent) than of foreign-born (56 per cent) light *Khanukah* candles. This is a reversal of the tendencies toward lesser observances by the native-born in all the other cases we have analyzed thus far. The present experience may signify an attempt by the "American" B'nai Khaim families to counteract the impact on their children of their neighbors' Christmas trees and Christmas presents. We treat of this question again later.

About half of our men "say *Kaddish*" (prayer for the dead). But less than ten per cent attend to daily prayers with *talis* and *tefilim*. Daily prayer is going the way of the beard.

As observing Jews, then, the B'nai Khaim and their spouses can be divided into three different classes. There is the relatively small and contracting core of strict observers. There is the somewhat larger and expanding core of non-observers. And there is a main core of semi-observers, half-clinging to the past, half-inclining in new directions away from the past. The speed of diversion between these two tendencies should, perhaps, be made clearer in our study in the next chapter of the B'nai Khaim attitude toward intermarriage.

Notes to Chapter 8

[1] Prior to obedience to all specific commandments is the acceptance of Jehova as the one and only God, Creator of the Universe: "Sh'ma Israel" . . . Hear O Israel, the Lord is thy God–the Lord is One.

[2] In an emergency a Jewish female may perform the rite.

[3] The minimal praying congregation consisting of ten adult Jewish

males; by "adult" is meant any Jewish male over 13 years of age.

[4]Not required by Reform Judaism.

[5]A piece of parchment bearing a Biblical inscription sealed in a metal casing which is nailed to the door posts as an amulet to ward off evil spirits.

[6]Seven days of mourning for a deceased member of a family. The mourners abstain from work and all pleasurable activities and those over 13 years of age may not leave the house. The mourners may not sleep in bed nor sit on chairs; customarily wear no shoes, sit and get about in stocking feet. Only the poor may engage in trade, and that only after the first three days. A *minyan* assembles 3 times a day for prayer and for the sons to say *Kaddish*. (See Rabbi Gordon Kaprow: *Customs and Ceremonies in Israel*, pp. 132-33).

Chapter 9

Intermarriage

> And Rebecca said to Isaak, I am weary of my life because of the daughters of Heth; if Jacob take a wife from the daughters of Heth, such as these . . . What good will life do me? (Genesis XXVII:46).

"Don't put that man in your book," tearfully pleaded an old immigrant mother, whose immigrant son had divorced his Jewish wife to marry an American gentile. "He is not a B'nai Khaim. He stopped being a B'nai Khaim when he married that *shiksa.*"

The first of the *mishpokkah* to marry a gentile was a young woman who came here in 1912 to marry a Greek Orthodox Russian youth with whom she was in love and who preceded her to America by a year. For some years they lived in Canada. Since they died before our study began we have no further information about them, except that their son lives in the United States, is married to a Jewess and is bringing up his children in "no religion."

The 109 married B'nai Khaim, whose observance and non-observance of Jewish rites and rituals have been detailed in the preceding chapters, reported ten gentile spouses among them. In this total of eleven interfaith marriages, including the case cited above, eight were males and three females. Three of the males were first-generation, and five were second-generation B'nai Khaim. Of the three females, one was first-generation, and two were second-generation B'nai Khaim. The ratio of approximately three males to one female who marry outside their Jewish faith seems to be in line with the national norm. Of 285 intermarriages in Iowa in 1959, we are told, 76 per cent involved Jewish men, and 24 per cent Jewish women.[1] Apparently, Jewish males are more aggressive than their sisters in seeking gentile mates. Or, perhaps, gentile girls are more prone

to seek out Jewish men as mates than gentile boys to seek out Jewish maidens for their mates. Or Jewish females are more resistant to marrying *goyim*. Or, again, the males are more broadly exposed to association with gentile girls, in offices, in factories, than Jewish girls with gentile young men. Or all of these things in various combinations.

Of the three foreign-born B'nai Khaim males who married gentiles, two did so after divorcing Jewish wives.[2] In the case of one of these second marriages no children were involved. In the case of the other, three children were born of the second marriage, and all three have been raised as Christians. This B'nai Khaim had three children by his first, the Jewish, wife. Two of these, a son and a daughter, married Catholics. The daughter had two children who are being brought up in the Unitarian Church which their parents joined in a compromise "to give the children a religion."

The third of our foreign-born males who married gentiles is one of our "12" who came here before age 8. The girl he married is a Lutheran by birth and upbringing. She adopted Judaism and is raising her children as Jews. In one other case the gentile wife adopted Judaism, but is raising her children in "humanism." In a third case the Catholic wife did not convert to Judaism, but is raising her children as Jews.

The remaining three, two males and one female, are all second-generation B'nai Khaim, and are rearing their children in "no religion." In sum:

Of the nine couples of mixed marriages, where raising children was involved:

2	raised them as Jews
2	as Christians
1	in "humanism"
4	in "no religion"

A familiar fact which emerges from even this small sample should be noted: namely, the tendency of the rate of intermarriage to rise as we move from the first to the second, and as we will shortly see, to the third generation. The four foreign-born B'nai Khaim who married gentiles constituted 4.3 per cent

of the 93 that came here. The seven native-born constituted 11.3 per cent of the 62 second-generation B'nai Khaim.[3]

The ten per cent rate of intermarriage reported for the B'nai Khaim is apparently the norm for second-generation Jews in America. The rate runs higher in small towns and in rural areas than in the larger cities.[4] In the small towns and in the rural areas the diverse ethnic groups live in closer association with one another than in the big cities where different ethnic groups tend to congregate in separate sections, at least through much of the second generation.

There were no third-generation married B'nai Khaim when we conducted our survey. But we have indirect evidence that seems to show that our third generation will follow a trend in rate of intermarriage similar to that of the Washington third-generation Jews. This indirect evidence is the religion in which they were being raised. We asked their parents:

In what, if any, religion are you or will you be bringing up your children? The answers from all married B'nai Khaim, foreign- and native-born, and including the ten of mixed marriages, follow (Table 8):

Table 8. Actual or Planned Religious Upbringing of B'nai Khaim Children

	Religion of Children						
The Parents	Total	Orthodox*	Conservative	Reform	Not Religious**	None	Non-Jewish
B'nai Khaim males	49	33	3	2	3	8	–
Foreign-born	20	14	1	–	2	3	–
Native-born	29	19	2	2	1	5	–
B'nai Khaim females	56	43	3	1	5	3	1
Foreign-born	23	20	2	1	–	–	–
Native-born	33	23	1	–	5	3	1
Total	105†	76	6	3	8	11	1

*"Orthodox," "Jewish," "Hebrew."

**"Secular," "cultural," "non-observing."

† Differs from master total of 109 because of no answer in some cases. In one case the answer was "don't know."

Are the B'nai Khaim disappearing as Jews? Of the 105 families who responded to the question of the religious training of their children, as many as 85 said they did or would bring them up in one or another Jewish denomination–Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform. Eight families would give their children only peripheral training in Jewishness–"secular," "cultural," "non-observing"; eleven would give them no religious training of any kind, and one family is raising its children as Unitarians. Thus, 20 of the 105, or nearly 20 percent, are placing their children outside traditional Judaism.

Out of these 20, as many as 15 are second-generation B'nai Khaim, and the religious training they project is for *their* children; that is, for the third-generation B'nai Khaim. We do not know how many third-generation children of these 20, or even the 15, will marry gentiles. But we do know they are not getting the training in Jewishness that should precondition them to staying within the fold. We come back to this point again in Chapter 13.

We addressed ourselves to 210 parents in our population and asked these direct questions:

1. Would you object if (a) your son; (b) you daughter wished to marry a non-Jew? Why?
2. If the answer is yes, would you still object if the intended in-law were to adopt Judaism? Why?

The "yes" and "no" answers are listed in Table 9 below. The "Why's" are analyzed later.

What strikes us first in Table 9 is the fact that as many as 60 of the 210 parents, nearly 30 per cent, would not object to their children marrying non-Jews. These 60 include foreign-born as well as "native" B'nai Khaim, expectedly, in smaller proportion for the foreign-born. Nearly 40 per cent of those who objected in the first place would withdraw their objections if the intended gentile in-law were to adopt Judaism. Note also that parents do and do not object equally to intermarriage of sons and daughters. Popularly, it is believed that Jews are more likely to object to a daughter's proposal to marry

Table 9. Parents' Attitude Toward Intermarriage by Children

Parents	Total	Object generally in case of Son		Object generally in case of Daughter		Object even to a convert	
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
B'nai Khaim males	49	31	18	31	18	17	5**
Foreign-born	20	15	5	15	5	11	3
Native-born	29	16	13	16	13	6	2**
B'nai Khaim females	59*	44	14	44	14	27	14
Foreign-born	25	19	5	19	5	10	9
Native-born	34	25	9	25	9	17	5
Husbands of:	52	36	14	36	14	20	16
Foreign-born B'nai Khaim females	21	13	6	13	6	7	6
Native-born B'nai Khaim females	31	23	8	23	8	13	10
Wives of:	50	34	15**	33	15**	23	11
Foreign-born B'nai Khaim males	22	16	6	15	6	13	3
Native-born B'nai Khaim males	28	18	9**	18	9**	10	8
Total	210	144	60	144	60	87	46

* In several cases the master total exceeds details because of failure to answer.

** One was "uncertain."

a *goy* than to a son's intention to marry a *shiksa*.

The phenomenon of the shift away from orthodoxy as we move from the first- to second-generation Jews, rules here as it does in the other religious observances. Of the first-generation B'nai Khaim males 25 per cent said they would not object to their children's marrying *goyim*. Of the second generation 45 per cent said they would not object. Consistent with their conservative bent in the matter of observing Jewish religious customs, B'nai Khaim females were more strongly opposed to the intermarriage of their children than were the males, as the following summary shows.

Of the first-generation males:	75 per cent would object 25 per cent would not object
Of the second-generation males:	55 per cent would object 45 per cent would not object
Of the first-generation females:	80 per cent would object 20 per cent would not object
Of the second-generation females:	74 per cent would object 26 per cent would not object

Twenty-six per cent of second-generation female B'nai Khaim would not object to intermarriage of their children, against 45 per cent for the second-generation males. Stated the other way around, 55 per cent of native-born males would object to the intermarriage of their children; of the native-born females 74 per cent would object.

It should be noted that this shift in attitude toward marrying non-Jews between the older and younger generation of B'nai Khaim has a parallel in the shift over time in the attitude of white Christians in the general population toward marrying Jews. In 1950, a sampling study showed 57 per cent of white Christians said "I should definitely not marry a Jew." In 1962 a similar sampling study recorded only 37 per cent as giving this answer. Again, in 1950 22 per cent had said "it would make no difference to me." By 1962 the percentage had risen to 30.[5] These liberalized attitudes of the two populations are

undoubtedly also mutually liberalizing.

For the third generation, 22 boys and 17 girls, we have the following information. We asked them:

Would You Marry a Non-Jew?

The answers:

Boys:	6 "yes;" 1 "maybe;" 1 "possibly yes"	=	8
	11 "no;" 2 "probably no"	=	13
	1 "not decided"	=	1
			22
Girls:	3 "yes"	=	3
	13 "no"	=	13
	1 "uncertain"	=	1
			17

The eight "yesses" for the boys amount to 37 per cent of their total; the six "yesses" amount to not quite 30 per cent. The three sure "yesses" for the girls amount to scarcely 18 per cent of their total. Once more we see the diverse trends between male and female B'nai Khaim in the degree of their adherence to Jewish custom.

We tested the reasonableness of these projections by a case-to-case correlation. The parents of the eight boys who would marry non-Jews had said they would not object to such marriage. The parents of the one boy who was not decided had said they would object. The parents of two of the three girls who would marry non-Jews had said they would not object. The parents of the third girl said they would object. It should be added that the parents of only two of the boys and of only one of the girls had themselves married gentiles. One who said he objected to intermarriage is married to a Catholic who did not convert to Judaism but is raising her children as Jews.

All this would seem to challenge the notion of popular psychology that children frequently marry outside their parental mores in rebellion against their parents. An unmarried B'nai Khaim social worker explained that she would not marry a non-Jew because "I have no need to hurt my parents."

In our case the children were clearly not in opposition to their parents. All but one of them came from homes where there was no objection to such marriages. A native-born wife of a foreign-born B'nai Khaim whose son married a gentile girl wrote: "Although we are non-observers I would have preferred our son marry a Jewish girl. But since we brought him up without religious bias and since we approved of the girl as a fine individual I could not object to her as a gentile."

The reasons which B'nai Khaim parents gave for objecting to their children's marrying non-Jews clustered around three broad considerations. One was grounded in the religious taboo against intermarriage; the second was based on the alleged difficulties in marital adjustment; the third, on the barrier to social adjustment, especially for the children. "My religion forbids" sums up the religious objections. "It won't work—it never works out" characterizes the second set of reasons. It is hard enough for couples both raised in the same religion to adjust to a common life in marriage, many of the respondents argued; how much more difficult to adjust when partners are of different religions. Too many such marriages seem to fail; "could only end in grief," one rationalized. And finally: "Difficult for children of mixed marriages to adjust socially." They may find themselves rejected by both church and synagogue playmates.

The objections were more realistic when based on the religious taboo. "I want my grandchildren to be raised as Jews." "Marrying a gentile means the children will be lost to Judaism." "Too few of us left," one of the gentile-born spouses who adopted Judaism gave as her reason against intermarriage.

Some of those who would object even if the prospective gentile mate were to adopt Judaism did so on the ground that the convert may not be sincere in the conversion. The gentiles convert in order to get Jewish mates, and not out of genuine feeling for Judaism. Besides, they argued, "once a *goy*, always a *goy*." "Religion comes from the heart. You have to be born with it. You cannot adopt it." "In the end the Jewish race will lose out."

On the other hand, there were the few who would no longer

object if the gentile converted. "Many converts make fine Jews." The only condition, one counseled, was that the convert should not be anti-Semitic. The marriage is now uninhibited, "free of religious conflict" and the children can be raised within the fold. "No fault if born a gentile." Furthermore, "if Judaism accepts conversion, I also do."

Then there were the B'nai Khaim who would not object in any case. "Why should I?" said one. "It is the children's life, not ours"; "they should know their minds"; "only character counts"; "probably would not like it, but would not object because not heeded anyway." Still others: "I would object to a convert," not the marriage. "Would not want my child to adopt Catholicism or orthodox Judaism." In any case, "What they do as adults is their business." "It is a personal matter, assuming compatibility."

In the end: "What right have I to object?"

Notes to Chapter 9

[1] See note 1, Chapter 5, pg. 78.

[2] I know of only four more divorces among the 148 B'nai Khaim families. This amounts to a rate of four per cent. In the country-at-large the divorce rate is close to 25 per cent.

[3] In the Washington, D.C. count, the rates were:

1st generation	1.7 per cent
2nd generation	10.5 per cent
3rd generation	20.6 per cent

[4] See American Jewish Year Book 1963, p. 16 ff. for a Washington, D.C. study of 1956 on this subject. For New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia and Chicago the rate is given as 11.7 per cent. For the State of Iowa (study in 1960) rates in the period 1953-59 are shown to have run from three to five times as high.

[5] Charles Herbert Stember and others: *Jews in the Mind of America*. Basic Books, Inc., 1966, pp. 104-06.

Chapter 10

Jewish Identity

To what extent has the widening gap between the religious observances of the B'nai Khaim and ancestral custom affected their ethnic consciousness? Their attitude toward intermarriage which we just discussed is one of the possible criteria. It is not that their rate of intermarriage runs up to about 10 per cent—we do not know what the tolerable limit may be. It is the *trend* of their attitude that may have significance. Of the first-generation male B'nai Khaim, as we saw, 25 per cent said they would not object to their children marrying gentiles. Of the second generation 45 per cent said they would not object. And as we noted, third-generation B'nai Khaim indicated an attitude that would lead to a rate of intermarriage two to three times that of their parents.

In this chapter we examine three other indicators of the levels of Jewish consciousness among the B'nai Khaim: (1) their own evaluation of their Jewishness; (2) their attitude toward the State of Israel; (3) their participation in Jewish community affairs. We asked first:

1. Do you consider yourself (a) an American Jew; (b) an American of Jewish extraction; or (c) a plain American? These results are shown in Table 10.

Of the 212 B'nai Khaim and their spouses to whom we addressed ourselves, 207 returned statistically valid answers. Of these 207, 16 classified themselves as "plain Americans." Since five of these 16 were gentile spouses, we can count only 11, or not quite 5.5 per cent of the 202 non-gentile B'nai Khaim[1] as divesting themselves of direct Jewish identity.

On the other hand, 144,[2] more than 71 per cent, declared themselves "American Jew" and 47, or over 23 per cent, "American of Jewish extraction." In other words, nearly 95 per cent of the B'nai Khaim and their spouses avowed identity as Jews (Table 10).

Table 10. Tests of Jewish Identity

Group	Total Pop.	Do You Consider Yourself*					Feeling Towards Israel			
		a	b	c	Total	Invalid Return	Same As	Not the Same	Total	Invalid Return
Male B'nai Khaim	49	33	10	5	48	1	11	38	49	–
Foreign-born	20	14	4	1	19	1	2	18	20	–
Native-born	29	19	6	4	29	–	9	20	29	–
Female B'nai Khaim	60	46	10	3	59	1	2	53	55	5
Foreign-born	26	21	4	1	26	–	2	22	24	2
Native-born	34	25	6	2	33	1	–	31	31	3
Husbands of:	53	32	16	4	52	1	6	44	50	3
Foreign-born B'nai Khaim females	21	17	2	2	21	–	4	14	18	3
Native-born B'nai Khaim females	32	15	14	2	31	1	2	30	32	–
Wives of:	50	33	11	4	48	2	11	36	47	3
Foreign-born B'nai Khaim males	22	14	5	1	20	2	–	19	19	3
Native-born B'nai Khaim males	28	19	6	3	28	–	11	17	28	–
Total	212	144	47	16	207	5	30	171	201	11

*a. American Jew
b. American of Jewish extraction
c. Plain American

A larger proportion of female (78 per cent) than of male (69 per cent) B'nai Khaim claimed to be an "American Jew." Similarly, relatively more female spouses (70 per cent) than male spouses (61 per cent) declared themselves "American Jew." Once more we have the phenomenon that the females in our population stand out as more Jewish than the males, and, of course, the foreign-born are more Jewish than the native-born, for both male and female. Here are the comparative figures:

Foreign-born males:	14 out of 19, or 74 per cent, are "American Jews"
Native-born males:	19 out of 29, or 65 per cent, are "American Jews"
Foreign-born females:	21 out of 26, or 81 per cent, are "American Jews"
Native-born females:	25 out of 33, or 76 per cent, are "American Jews"

Our second test of Jewish identity is the attitude towards the State of Israel. We asked this question:

1. Are your feelings towards the State of Israel the same or not the same as to any other foreign country? Explain.

We are aware that this question can be asked of gentiles as well as Jews. And we are aware also that certain orthodox Jews are by tradition antagonistic to Zionism and, therefore, to the State of Israel. They think and teach that the Jews can be redeemed only through the intercession of a mystical *Meshiakh* (Messiah). There are also Jews in America who argue that a friendly attitude towards Israel impugns their American patriotism. But we can say in advance, that there are very few of the first kind and none at all of the second kind of Jew among the B'nai Khaim. Yet again, to some the State of Israel is like a precocious child, to be cherished and be given special protection.

The answers to this test reveal the fact that only 15 per cent of the 201 respondents held no special feelings toward the State of Israel. Their attitude was that Israel is the same to them

as is any other foreign country. But this means that as much as 85 per cent of the B'nai Khaim and their spouses felt an affinity toward Israel.

Here, too, we find response differences between foreign-born and native-born and between males and females. A larger percentage (96) of the females avowed affinity towards Israel than did the B'nai Khaim males (77 per cent), and a larger percentage (100!) of the *native*-born females than of the foreign-born females (91 per cent). On the other hand, 90 per cent of the foreign-born males asserted a close affinity, against 69 per cent of the native-born males, as seen below:

Percentage of B'nai Khaim with Affinity Toward Israel:

Foreign-born males	90 per cent
Native-born males	69 per cent
Foreign-born females	91 per cent
Native-born females	100 per cent

For the B'nai Khaim spouses we have the following percentages:

Husbands of foreign-born B'nai Khaim	78 per cent
Husbands of native-born B'nai Khaim	94 per cent
Wives of foreign-born B'nai Khaim	100 per cent
Wives of native-born B'nai Khaim	60 per cent

On the whole, a greater proportion of our females have warm feelings toward Israel than do our males.

Most of the reasons our people gave for their warmth towards Israel can be summed up in the phrase: "I am for Israel because I am a Jew." Some went so far as identifying with it: "It is not a foreign country, it is my country," said one. But others hastened to qualify their feelings: "Closer ties, but America is my country" or, "great sentimental feelings, no political attachment"; "wish it well if it avoids becoming a theocracy or an aggressive nation."

A case of Jewish identity through feelings toward Israel is

the following from a totally non-observing native-born wife of a foreign-born B'nai Khaim:

"I must admit to specially warm feelings toward Israel, although I abhor theocracy. I am often critical. Because of my heritage and my knowledge of the persecution of the Jews I want to see Israel achieve greatly, but in cultural terms, not in aggrandizement. It would wound me deeply to have Israel attacked."[3]

One gentile husband wrote: "Having lived there 14 months, I like it and follow its development with interest," and one gentile wife expressed "friendly feelings (and) desire for country to succeed." "Feeling not the same as for other foreign countries," wrote an American-born wife of a native-born B'nai Khaim but "hard to describe; feeling of belonging." Only two of the B'nai Khaim who married gentile women and only two of the gentile wives expressed no special feeling toward Israel. "But," one of these two women added, "I would like to visit for benefit of our children." A Catholic before marriage, she is raising her children as Jews, although she has not formally adopted Judaism.

The relatively few who denied having any special feelings toward Israel, for the most part stated simply: "America is my country; Israel is a foreign country; I have equal feelings for all foreign countries."

Our third test of Jewish identity is the degree of participation in Jewish community affairs. Of the males we wanted to know (1) what Jewish community activities they engaged in; (2) membership in the B'nai B'rith; (3) membership in Jewish men's clubs.

The women we asked (1) about their Jewish community activities and (2) membership in Hadassah.

Obviously we have no standard by which to judge the degree of participation in any of these activities. We cannot expect *every* adult Jew to be a member of the B'nai B'rith, nor every adult Jewish woman to be a member of Hadassah. Most Jews, as a matter of fact, are nót Zionists. That does not preclude their identification as Jews. The returns to our questionnaire seem to

show that in the matter of participation in Jewish community affairs the B'nai Khaim stand quite high. We learn from their answers that more than half of them participated in one or more Jewish community activities when they filled out the questionnaires, not all groups, of course, to the same extent. A greater percentage (62) of female than of male B'nai Khaim (45) engaged in these community activites, and a greater percentage of the foreign-born females (69) than the native-born B'nai Khaim females (56). But a greater percentage (50) of the native-born male B'nai Khaim were so engaged than the foreign-born (40).

The reasons for these differences need not detain us here long. The relatively greater activity of females than males may simply mean that wives have more time than husbands to give to community affairs. It may also mean that, as among the foreign-born, the men leave it to their wives "to carry on the good work." Age also may be a factor. Most of our foreign-born are now quite advanced in age and if they still tend to the family business they cannot also attend to community business.

Community affairs in which the B'nai Khaim engage include, for men, Temple, *shule* and Center committee work, B'nai B'rith, men's clubs. The women engage in fund raising for United Jewish Appeal and United Jewish Fund; in Sisterhoods, in Hadassah, in Jewish Centers. Quite a number are members of Hadassah and several are in B'nai B'rith.

In short, our evidence seems to show that the B'nai Khaim are found to retain a much greater sense of Jewish identity than their wide deviations from traditional rites and rituals would lead one to expect. Evidently, eating *khazar*, or not fasting on *Yom Kippur* is one thing; giving up your Jewish identity quite another. The first may be a matter of social convenience or even of a secularization of one's religious philosophy. The second would mean giving up the security of belonging. This, the vast majority of the B'nai Khaim, it seems, are not yet ready to do despite the high level of their "Americanization."

But this is also true. The five per cent who eschew Jewish identification by proclaiming themselves as "plain American"

constitute a hard core of a movement away from cultural identification with Judaism. How much this core is likely to grow and how fast, we cannot now know. We have been observing its formation in a people scarcely one generation removed from their *shtetl* origins. Shortly we shall see how far the third generation has traveled away from *their* home culture. This may give us more precise clues.

Notes to Chapter 10

[1]This included one converted female spouse who marked herself "an American Jew."

[2]Including the above converted spouse.

[3]It should be remembered that the comments here cited were made in 1964, three years before the Israel-Arab war of June, 1967.

Chapter 11

Acculturation

When the B'nai Khaim began coming to America, immigration to the United States was at its historic peak. In the ten years before the outbreak of World War I, ten million "foreigners" came here, nearly a quarter of all that came in the years since 1820 when official statistics begin. This inpouring seemed to many sociologists as too big a lump to be absorbed in the American "Melting Pot." To professional patriots this massive immigration looked not only as socially indigestible but even as a threat to the health of established institutions. Its newer elements–Jews, Italians and, in particular, Slavs–were deemed inherently backward people, "descendants of those who always stayed behind," as a leading Professor of Sociology summed it all up. Or as a eugenicist for a Congressional committee "proved it" statistically, they were "more susceptible to the social inadequacies–to pauperism, insanity, epilepsy, etc. than the older immigrant stock and the natives." In a word, he declared, "The people from Southern and Eastern Europe possess mental capacities basically inferior to those of other nationality groups living in the United States."[1] Their inflow, therefore, should be sharply reduced, the arguments went, and those already here thoroughly "Americanized." As a wit put it at the time, every foreigner should sport an American-made fountain pen in his breast pocket.

A B'nai Khaim would begin this process of Americanization by attending an evening school to learn English. His American cousin would caution him not to speak his own tongue–Yiddish, Russian–on the street: "You don't want to sound like a greenhorn." If you go for a walk, wear a necktie, and if a lady is with you walk like an American, on the curb-side. In a streetcar give your seat to a lady who is standing. Say "excuse me" and "thank you," and knock before you enter. In the store

stand in line for your "next," and don't haggle over the price.

Gradually, you establish yourself in your job or in your business. You get married. Your name has long since been changed from Moishe to Morris, and now people call you Murray. Your wife's name had been changed from Sarah to Sadie; now her friends call her Sally. Before long you have children whom you name in accordance with family tradition, after deceased relatives, but you do it in the American fashion. You name your daughter Marcia, after Aunt Malka, not Molly as your cousin had named your sister when she came here. And you name your son Seymour after Uncle Simkha.



You have long ago given up reading the Yiddish papers. You read the local dailies. You also read *Time* and *Life*, and occasionally the *Wall Street Journal.* You become as excited about the World Series as your "American" neighbors–remnants of older immigrant stocks, Irish, German, German Jews. You have moved "uptown" and live in a "mixed" neighborhood. Your son is graduating from high school and is escorting a gentile classmate to the Senior Prom.

The old generation is passing and so also are its religious customs and civil mores. The new has gone through college and the girls have become school teachers, social workers. Their brothers are rapidly moving up the ladder of the professions: pharmacy, accountancy, dentistry, law, medicine, mathematics, the sciences. They are moving from "uptown" to the suburbs. Some now think of themselves as "Americans of Jewish extraction" or as "plain American." They have become "acculturated" as their parents had been "Americanized."

Acculturation in America has meant the gradual adaptation of the cultures of diverse immigrant minority groups to the culture of the settled majority. For the Jews, taking the experience of the B'nai Khaim as an example, this meant the gradual submersion of a traditional religious culture into a secular culture that has been built up over three centuries through the confluence of the diverse cultures of the many immigrant minorities. National patterns were thus fashioned in economic and political philosophies, in business and social relations, in morals and manners, in modes of recreation and sports, in prejudices and sanctions. To belong and not to be excluded, you fit your daily life into the common mold. The daily newspapers, the weekly and monthly journals, and–in recent years–radio and television supply the guidelines. Macy's tells you what to wear; the "A & P" what to eat; the TV commercials how to retain your schoolgirl complexion and how to avoid "B.O." *Time, Life* and *U.S. News and World Report* direct you to the consensus on the nation's war policy, on "fighting Communism," on the Negro question.

The war in Vietnam was still only a small black patch of clouds on the distant horizon when our inquiry got underway,

and we did not raise the question with the B'nai Khaim of how they felt about it. Negro integration was the question which agitated the public at the time. So we asked:

1. Are you in favor of Negro integration (a) in the schools; (b) in housing; (c) socially (dancing parties, for example)?
2. Give reasons for your answers.

The "yes" and "no" answers are listed in Table 11 below.

Looking at the bottom line of the Table, we see that 85 per cent of our people said "yes" to the question on school integration. But only 56 per cent favored integration in housing, and a still smaller percentage (41) favored social integration for the Negro. That the answers had been carefully thought through and were not haphazard may be judged from the growing unsureness on how to reply. In the "doubt" column (blank) this unsureness rose from less than 2 per cent in the case of the generally acceptable school integration (after all, this had been made mandatory by the U.S. Supreme Court Decision of 1954), to 8 per cent in housing and 12 per cent in the case of social equality. In the case of housing and social integration, the historically ingrained prejudices of white Americans engulfed the attitudes even of such traditionally compassionate people as the Jews, if the responses of the B'nai Khaim may be taken as a representative sample. A native-born B'nai Khaim female writes from Buffalo:

"Our closest friends overseas were a lovely Negro couple—wife was a teacher, husband a lawyer. We ate at each other's home, went to parties together. Somehow this same relationship could probably have never taken place here because of our mode of living. Our friends would taboo this relationship in America."

In the attitude towards the Negro question a cruel irony must plague a Jewish conscience. It is only a generation or so since Jews were discriminated against in employment and as neighbors. Some of us will remember "TO LET" signs carrying the warning "for gentiles only," and employment ads, openly or

Table 11. The B'nai Khaim on Negro Integration

Group	Total	School			Housing			Social		
		Yes	No	Blank*	Yes	No	Blank*	Yes	No	Blank*
B'nai Khaim males	49	42	6	1	31	16	2	22	22	5
Foreign-born	20	17	2	1	13	6	1	8	8	4
Native-born	29	25	4	–	18	10	1	14	14	1
B'nai Khaim females	60	50	10	–	27	25	8	20	27	13
Foreign-born	26	23	3	–	11	10	5	6	11	9
Native-born	34	27	7	–	16	15	3	14	16	4
Husbands of:	53	43	9	1	29	20	4	23	23	7
Foreign-born B'nai Khaim females	21	18	3	–	10	9	2	7	10	4
Native-born B'nai Khaim females	32	25	6	1	19	11	2	16	13	3
Wives of:	50	45	4	1	31	16	3	21	27	2
Foreign-born B'nai Khaim males	22	20	2	–	14	8	–	6	16	–
Native-born B'nai Khaim males	28	25	2	1	17	8	3	15	11	2
Total	212	180	29	3	118	77	17	86	99	27
Per Cent	100	85.0	13.3	1.7	56.0	36.0	8.0	41.0	47.0	12.0

* We took these blanks to mean "unsure."

tacitly telling applicants "no Jews need apply." An elderly B'nai Khaim from Buffalo tells me that when Negroes began moving in on the "refined" neighborhood into which she had moved from an immigrant slum some 10-12 years earlier she expressed concern to her neighbor, Mrs. Schmidt, a left-over from an older generation, that "they" were going to spoil the neighborhood. Mrs. Schmidt matter-of-factly said, "This is the way we felt when you people began coming here."

Few studies of the nature presented here are available for comparison between the attitudes of the B'nai Khaim and those of other segments of our population toward Negro integration. Sampling surveys through personal interviews of 1200 to 1500 adult whites in the population-at-large brought out the information that at the end of 1963 school integration for the Negro was favored by 75 per cent in the North and by 30 per cent in the South. For housing the corresponding percentages were 70 and 51.[3]

But comparisons of this sort are seldom strictly valid. Differences in demographic composition of the samples must yield contradictory results. Differences in age, sex distribution, education, religious backgrounds, nativity, family income, occupation and location of respondents effect different results. From similar samplings in 1951 it was found that in the North 92 per cent of Jews favored Negro school integration; 60 per cent of white Protestants and 73 per cent of White Catholics. In none of these samplings, however, was the attitude toward social integration probed.

Response differences among the B'nai Khaim bear on this question of sampling comparison. In our case, these differences arise not so much between male and female, between native- and foreign-born, as between B'nai Khaim of different levels of education and between B'nai Khaim of different degrees of religious orthodoxy. The higher the educational level (college graduates) of the respondents, we find, the more favorable is their attitude toward Negro integration. At the same time, the more religiously conscious (affiliation with a congregation) the less favorable is their attitude. There were 17 B'nai Khaim, male

and female, first and second generation, who answered "no" to every one of the three forms of integration. Of these 17, only two (native-born males) had gone through college; 14 were members of a *shule*, as follows:

6 Orthodox
5 Conservative
2 Reform
1 Unitarian

14

Then there were 42 respondents, 22 males and 20 females, who answered "yes" to all three forms of integration. Eight of the 22 males were foreign-born and 14 native-born. All but two of the eight foreign-born and all but one of the 14 native-born had graduated from college. Only nine of the 22 were affiliated with a synagogue:

1 Orthodox
4 Conservative
4 Reform

9

Of the 20 "3-yes" females, five were foreign-born and 15 native-born. Of the five foreign-born, one is a college graduate and one is still in college. Of the 15 "3-yes" native-born females all but one had gone through college. Only nine of the 20 belonged to a congregation:

2 Orthodox
5 Conservative
2 Reform

9

In short, the 42 "3-yes" B'nai Khaim were almost all college graduates; less than half were *shule* members. Of the 17 "3-no" B'nai Khaim only two were college graduates and 14 were *shule* members. Recently, a finding was reported that anti-Semitism is greatest among the most orthodox of church-goers, among

those committed "to a literal interpretation of traditional Christian dogma."[4]

In the matter of school integration, there is practical unanimity among all segments of the B'nai Khaim. The unanimity breaks down when we come to the housing question. Here the B'nai Khaim females are less favorably inclined than the B'nai Khaim males. Two-thirds of the males approve neighborhood integration. Only 45 per cent of the females approve. In extenuation, it should be known that nearly 15 per cent of the females failed to answer yes or no—remained in doubt—against only 4 per cent of the males who remained unsure.

Similar differences obtain in the attitudes of males and females regarding social integration. Of the males, 45 per cent were in favor; of the females 33 per cent. Of the males, 10 per cent remained in doubt; but 22 per cent of the females could not make up their minds one way or another.

The reasons which most of our people gave for their "no" answers were the stereotypes Americans traditionally have given for their antipathy to "foreigners." As recently as one generation ago white Christian Americans objected to Jews as neighbors because, they claimed, Jews are "aggressive, noisy, dirty, clannish, greedy, loud."[5] In disapproving Negro integration one female B'nai Khaim explained, "they make too much noise and trouble." Other B'nai Khaim females who disapproved argued that the majority of Negroes were "inferior"; "they were made inferior"; "integration can only lead to trouble." Several were more forthright. One said, "I don't believe in it," and another confessed, "pure selfishness." A third explained, "Sad school experience as a child," and a foreign-born male spouse disapproved because of "fear of deterioration of the neighborhood."

Other disapproving males claimed the "Negroes are not ready;" "the country is not ready"; Negroes are "not equal socially and culturally"; they are "morally and intellectually inferior."

B'nai Khaim who reacted favorably reasoned things out, for the most part. One foreign-born male said, "accept the inevitable." Others argued, "they are human beings"; "they are

people." One said, "Why not?" And another: "White and black will never love each other until they embrace each other." From one of the Rabbi's granddaughters: "I don't feel that a person should be discriminated against because his skin is darker than mine, or that because some might be undesirable, that all of them are undesirable." One "3-yes" female: "Can think of no reason not to." And another "3-yes" female, Israel born: "Is anything else as consistent with Judaism and humanitarianism?" Denial of Negro integration, her American-born husband declared, "is socially evil and morally wrong, and makes a mockery of all our professed ideals." One female thought that "acceptance of the Negro could be real beginning of peace"; and another felt: "It's time."

The B'nai Khaim are not politically motivated. Nowhere in their comments on the Negro question did they refer to political factors or political implications in the revolt of the Negro for his Civil Rights. Their politics begins and ends with the exercise of the ballot, mostly on the Democratic side. We have found that of the 206 B'nai Khaim who voted in 1962 in the Presidential election preceding our inquiry, only a few were active party members—five foreign-born and four native-born; three males and six females. But over 90 per cent of them voted, 82 per cent Democrat. Less than 7 per cent voted Republican. Two per cent voted "other" parties, and another 2 per cent entered a dash for an answer. (See Table 12.) The rest, less than 7 per cent, did not vote.

To the question how they expected to vote in the "next" (1964) presidential election, the Democrats outnumbered Republicans 151 to 9, with 36 uncertain. One native-born male B'nai Khaim wrote: "depends upon who is running," and a foreign-born females spouse declared, "I don't know; that's my business." Voting to her is a sacred secret. In 1962 she had voted Democrat.

Five of the 14 who voted Republican in 1962 lived in Cleveland. The other nine cast their Republican ballots in Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Buffalo, Bangor. The political spectrum of the B'nai Khaim is not geographically confined.

Table 12. B'nai Khaim Voting Record

Group	Total	Non-citizen	Voted in 1962					Intend to Vote in 1964						Party Member	
			a*	b	c	d	Blank	a	b	c	d	U	Blank	Yes	No
Male B'nai Khaim	49	1	1	43	1	2	1	2	38	0	0	8	0	3	45
Foreign-born	20	1	0	18	0	1	0	1	15	0	0	3	0	1	18
Native-born	29	–	1	25	1	1	1	1	23	0	0	5	0	2	27
Female B'nai Khaim	60	1	4	49	1	4	1	4	42	1	1	10	1	4	55
Foreign-born	26	1	0	22	1	1**	1	0	20	1	1	2	1	1	24
Native-born	34	–	4	27	0	3	–	4	22	0	0	8	0	3	31
Husbands of B'nai Khaim Females	53	2	5	38	2	5	1	2	34	1	0	11	3	1	50
Foreign-born	21	1	1	17	1	1	0	1	15	1	0	2	1	0	20
Native-born	32	1	4	21	1	4	1	1	19	0	0	9	2	1	30
Wives of B'nai Khaim Males	50	2	4	40	0	2	2	1	37	0	1	7	2	1	47
Foreign-born	22	1	1	20	0	0	0	1	16	0	1	2	1	1	20
Native-born	28	1	3	20	0	2	2	0	21	0	0	5	1	0	27
Total	212	6	14	170	4	13	5	9	151	2	2	36	6	9	197
Per cent	206=100	–	7.0	82	2	7	2	4	73	1	1	18	3	4	96

* a. Republican – b. Democrat – c. Other – d. None – U. Uncertain

** Never voted

The degree of acculturation of the B'nai Khaim may best be judged from their reading habits and from the radio and television programs which give them cultural sustenance. We were not able to evaluate their air-wave programs; we did not study their preferences. But we did obtain a listing of their readings. We asked what daily papers they read, what weeklies and what monthly and quarterly journals not pertaining to their business or professions, and what books. This is what we learned:

All but one of our foreign-born male B'nai Khaim read their local English-language dailies; and all but four of the foreign-born females; all 29 native-born males, and all 34 native-born females, as shown below in Table 13:

Table 13. Dailies The B'nai Khaim Read

	The Papers They Read			
The B'nai Khaim	English	Yiddish	Yiddish Only	Blank
20 foreign-born males	19	7	-	1
26 foreign-born females	22	5	2	2
29 native-born males	29	0	0	0
34 native-born females	34	0	0	0
109 (Total)	104	12	2	3

Twelve of the 46 foreign-born B'nai Khaim, seven males and five females, read Yiddish papers, two of the females reading Yiddish papers only.

None of the 63 native-born B'nai Khaim read any Yiddish newspapers. All these read English papers only.

The kind of papers they read may be judged from the following examples. In New York, they read the *Post* (8), the *Times* (7). Only one read the *Daily News*; two read the *World Telegram and Sun*. Elsewhere, too, they read the more sober, more liberal papers—the *Sun-Times* in Chicago, the *Times* in Los Angeles, the *Courier Express* in Buffalo, the *Plain Dealer* in Cleveland. Several out-of-towners read, in addition to their local papers, the *New York Times*, The new York *Post*, the *Wall*

Street Journal. Two read the *Daily Worker* (New York) and one read the *People's World* (San Francisco).

The B'nai Khaim newspaper readership, then, is strictly in the liberal vein, with a squint to the left, and on the Democratic side of the political spectrum.

Of special significance for our study is the complete disappearance of Yiddish papers from the readership list of the native-born B'nai Khaim, both male and female. We asked our females, as representing the family, if they spoke Yiddish at home. Only 41 per cent of the native-born B'nai Khaim females and 25 per cent of the wives of native-born B'nai Khaim males said *yes.* (Table 14). But many added the revealing information that they spoke Yiddish only "occasionally," "sometimes," "a little," "for telling jokes," or, "to say things we do not want the children to understand."

Table 14. Number and Percentage of B'nai Khaim Who Speak Yiddish

Group	Total	Number	Per Cent
Female B'nai Khaim	59	33	56
Foreign-born	25	19	76
Native-born	34	14	41
Wives of Male B'nai Khaim	50	22	44
Of Foreign-born males	22	15	69
Of Native-born males	28	7	25
Total	109	55	50

Seventy-six, or nearly 70 per cent, of the 109 female respondents, read a weekly journal; sixty-two, or nearly 60 per cent, read one or more of the national weeklies (*Time, Life,* etc.); 25 read Jewish weeklies,[6] and 14 of these read Jewish weeklies only. None read a Yiddish weekly. Male and female share in this readership about equally. Proportionately, however, more females than males read Jewish weeklies, and many

more females read Jewish weeklies only (Table 15):

Table 15. Weeklies The B'nai Khaim Read

B'nai Khaim	One or More	None	National Weeklies	Jewish Weeklies Total	Jewish Weeklies Only	Yiddish Weeklies
20 Foreign-born males	14	6	11	7	3	0
29 Native-born males	19	10	18	2	1	0
26 Foreign-born females	17	9	13	5	4	0
34 Native-born females	26	8	20	11	6	0
109 (Total)	76	33	62	25	14	0

The greater readership of Jewish weeklies by the women, mostly native-born, is obviously due to the fact that these journals carry the social gossip of the Jewish community of special interest to the ladies.

Among the Jewish weeklies which our respondents read, the *Buffalo Jewish Review and Observer* leads with 11 readers. This reflects the fact that Buffalo was the early concentration point of the B'nai Khaim immigrants and still has the largest number (30) of the B'nai Khaim families[7] in America (see p. 62, above). Next to the *Review*, with three readers each, come the *Jewish Independent* of Cleveland and the *Jewish Exponent* of Philadelphia.

A curious phenomenon, not unexpected, to be sure, is the concentration of the B'nai Khaim, male and female, on the safe and sound weeklies. *Life* appears on the list 26 times; *Time*, 22 times; *Newsweek*, 20 times; *Look*, 14 times. For high-brow reading, we find the *Saturday Review* with eight readers and the *New Yorker* with seven. For "radical" reading we have *National Guardian*, three times; the *Nation*, twice and the *New Republic* and *I.F. Stone's Weekly* each with one reader. For the most part, solid American bourgeois.

The dailies and the weeklies may be thought of as family papers. Father, Mother and the children all read the daily paper that comes to the house, although each may favor different

sections: Father, the stockmarket quotations; Mother and daughter, the store bargains; son, the sports. By and large, Father and Mother also read the same weeklies. We therefore made no separate run of these papers for spouses, which would have involved us in a duplication of the count.

Not so with monthly and quarterly magazines. Here husband and wife may have different interests: The wife may find intellectual nourishment in *McCalls*; the husband in *Popular Science*.

Altogether, 75 out of a total of 109 B'nai Khaim reported reading 42 different magazines of general circulation in 1963, besides 13 Jewish monthlies and one Yiddish monthly. Five of the 75 read only Jewish magazines and one only the Yiddish. The native-born women read the largest variety (26) and the native-born males the next largest (17). Understandably, the foreign-born B'nai Khaim read from a greatly restricted list. The foreign-born males read nine different magazines and the foreign-born females, seven.

Proportionately, more females (65 per cent) than males (60 per cent) read monthly magazines. The proportion was greatest for native-born females (73 per cent). For the native-born males it was 55 per cent. Among the foreign-born the percentage was higher for the males (70) than for the females (54). The immigrant males, you will recall from Chapter 4, had a greater literacy rate than the females when they came here, and more learned to read English.

Of immediate interest is the fact that seven of the 13 B'nai Khaim who read the Jewish monthly magazines were native-born females, while *none* of the native-born males read any. The remaining six were accounted for equally by the foreign-born males and females (Table 16). Of the five who read Jewish magazines only three were native-born females.

Among the monthly periodicals with national circulation which our people read, the *Reader's Digest* led with 23 readers, of whom 14 were foreign-born. This suggests that the B'nai Khaim who, for the most part, missed out on formal education either in the old country or the new are reaching out for learning, even if only in capsulated form.

Table 16. Monthly Periodicals The B'nai Khaim Read

The B'nai Khaim	General Circulation	Jewish	Yiddish Only	Jewish Only
20 Foreign-born males	14	3	0	1
26 Foreign-born females	14	3	1	1
29 Native-born males	16	0	0	0
34 Native-born females	25	7	0	3
109 B'nai Khaim (Total)	69	13	1	6

Next in readership come *Better Homes and Gardens* (9 readers), *Harper's* (6), *Consumer Reports* (4), *Commentary* (3), and so on down to *Mad* (!) and 22 others with one reader each, including the staid *Atlantic Monthly* and the leftist *Monthly Review* and *Science and Society* (a quarterly).

Seventeen additional magazines were read by spouses only, among them *The Kiplinger Letter, U.S. News and World Report, Partisan Review, New York Review of Books*, and the *Yiddish Zukunft*.

The dailies, weeklies and monthlies our people read establish them as "Americans." They read them in the same proportions, it would seem, as does the public in general. *Reader's Digest, Life* and *Look* lead the country's readership as they do the B'nai Khaim's readership.[8] The B'nai Khaim thereby cease to be outsiders looking in; they *are* in. They have become "acculturated." The values promulgated in these periodicals have become their values. Few of our people read periodicals of a critical stance. Fewer read radical journals. Fewer, still, read intellectual periodicals. For "quality magazines" we have six reading *Harper's*, but only three read *Commentary*, one *Partisan Review*, one the *New York Review of Books*, and one the *Atlantic Monthly*.

The quantity and quality of books the B'nai Khaim and their spouses read, outside their professions, confer upon them the status of middle- to upper middle-class Americans.

In 1963, 119 B'nai Khaim and their spouses, 57 per cent of the total, read a *minimum* of 386 listed books. In actuality

many more than this number of books were read. Some of our readers did not list the books they read, but lumped them in groups, such as "fiction," "plays," or said simply "too many to list." We counted nearly 40 of what we call such book "clusters": "too many to list," "plays by Pinter, O'Neil and Beckett," "Spy books by Fleming and Helen MacInnes," "Biography," "one book every two to three weeks," "Pearl Buck's books," "fiction," "read a great deal" (an invalid), the "Great Books Series," "art books," etc.

Most of the listed books were in the field of fiction, and many of these from the current "Best Seller" lists. But many were non-fiction, such as history and biography, poetry and plays; several were well-known classics, from Shakespeare to Churchill.

The native-born read proportionately more books than the foreign-born, and females read proportionately more than the males, except for the foreign-born females and the spouses of foreign-born females, as shown in Table 17. That Table also shows that only 11 out of the 20 foreign-born males read books, and only eight of the 25 foreign-born females. The relatively larger number of books shown for the males than for the females resulted, in part, from the coincidental fact that three of the 11 reading males read 26 of the 42 books accredited to all of the 11.

Many foreign-born females, as already noted, lack the education to read books. The big readers in our survey are the native-born women. In line with accepted tradition, the females are the bearers of a people's culture. This holds true in our case.

The cultural level attained by the B'nai Khaim does not, however, rest on their reading habits alone. Many of them, more than 50 per cent, in fact, broaden their cultural interests by attending concerts, and 60 per cent by going to the theater. Table 18 gives a rundown of these activities of the B'nai Khaim. Extenuating circumstances prevented many others from engaging in these events.

We have no information by which to judge whether the B'nai Khaim patronage of the performing arts is high or low, or aver-

Table 17. Books the B'nai Khaim Read

B'nai Khaim	Total	How many read	How many books	Read 5 or more books
Foreign-born males	20	11	42	3
Foreign-born females	25	8	20	1
Native-born males	29	17	52	6
Native-born females	33	27	98	9
Total B'nai Khaim	107	63	212	19
Husbands of:	52	23	68	4
Foreign-born B'nai Khaim females	21	6	19	1
Native-born B'nai Khaim females	31	17	49	3
Wives of:	51	33	106	12
Foreign-born B'nai Khaim males	22	13	32	3
Native-born B'nai Khaim males	29	20	74	9
Total	210	119	386	35

Table 18. Cultural Events the B'nai Khaim Attended in 1963

The B'nai Khaim	Attended Concerts	Specifically Symphonies	Plays	None
20 Foreign-born B'nai Khaim males	12	8	9	
22 Spouses	10	6	13	
26 Foreign-born B'nai Khaim females	11	9	13	
21 Spouses	9	5	8	
29 Native-born B'nai Khaim males	16	12	19	
29 Spouses	18	13	21	
33 Native-born B'nai Khaim females	18	6	22	
31 Spouses	14	4	21	
211 B'nai Khaim and Spouses (Total)	108	63	126	62

age, compared with other ethnic groups or with the population-at-large. It does seem that the large percentage of attendance at symphony concerts places our people at a high level of music appreciation. It should be borne in mind that not every city has a symphony orchestra or a repertory theater of its own. In most cases would-be patrons of music and drama depend on visits of artists from other cities.

As many as 62 of our respondents said they had not attended a concert or play in 1963. They did not tell us why. In several cases, we know, special circumstances prevented their attendance. In one instance a family of seven was in mourning that year. In another, illness of an invalid wife and mother immobilized the family. Among the foreign-born many are too old to venture out to enjoy public entertainment.

In general, males and females attended these cultural events in about equal numbers. In the case of symphonies, attendance by the native-born and their spouses was conspicuously lower than their attendance of concerts, and even more so compared with plays. Why this was so we do not know.

Most of our people identified the orchestras and plays and soloists ("concerts") by name: The New York Philharmonic, and the Philadelphia, the Boston, the Cleveland and the Leningrad orchestras, as well as several lesser ones. For chamber music some listed the Budapest String Quartet among others. For operas they listed *Rigoletto, La Traviata.* For soloists they listed Heifetz, Piatigorsky, Oistrach, Serkin, Rubinstein, Fleisher. One listed Judy Garland and Victor Borge. The one who mentioned Heifetz added, "it was terrible!"

The plays our people saw were the familiar Broadway and off-Broadway shows: *The Miracle Worker; The Deputy; Brecht on Brecht; The Three-Penny Opera; Uncle Vanya; King Lear; Man of All Seasons; Raisin in the Sun; After the Fall; Rhinoceros; Pajama Game,* etc.

It should be borne in mind that the listings of books read, and of plays and concerts attended are for the year 1963. If they did not list *Hamlet*, they may have seen it an earlier time. If they did not list *Anna Karenina*, it may be they had read it

the previous year. As the listings stand, they remind one of the fact that we are dealing here with people of whom nearly 70 per cent (of the native-born) are college graduates and, in any case, with a people who by family and ethnic tradition have always valued knowledge, loved music and cherished the theater.

Notes to Chapter 11

[1]This attempt of the older immigrant stock to denigrate the qualities of the newer stocks goes back to Colonial days. See, for example, the citations in the present writer's "Statistics and the Immigration Problem," in the *American Journal of Sociology*, July 1924, and in his "Statistics and the Race Hypothesis" in *Social Forces*, June 1926. Also, "The Race Hypothesis of the United States Immigration Commission," in *Jewish Social Service Quarterly*, September 1927, by the same author.

[2]In the Family Tree (fold-out) you may see all of the Americanized names of the B'nai Khaim.

[3]Reported in *Scientific American*, July 1964, by Herbert H. Hyman and Paul B. Sheatsley, in "Attitudes Toward Segregation," pp. 16ff.

[4]See *Information Service*, National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America, Vol. XLV, No. 13: "Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism."

[5]*Jews on the Mind of America*, by Charles Stember and others. Basic Books, 1966, p. 98, Table 34.

[6]Published in English, but covering events chiefly of interest to the local Jewish community.

[7]The cities next in order are Los Angeles (18), Cleveland (17), Chicago (15), Brooklyn (12), Philadelphia (9), Queens (8), Bangor (5), 114 of the 148 B'nai Khaim families in this country. The remaining 34 live in 18 towns with fewer than five B'nai Khaim families in each.

[8]The readership of American periodicals is frequently published by *Politz Media Service*. See, for example, *Advertising Age*, April 25, 1966.

Chapter 12

The B'nai Khaim at Home and in the Community

What musical instruments do members of your family play? (Who?)
Anybody in your family (a) sings; (b) paints? (Who?)
What special talents in your family?

We asked these questions of all our married females as representing the family.

In 22 of 34 households of our native-born females one or both parents and/or growing children played a musical instrument—piano, violin, cello, trumpet, guitar, the saxophone. In only three of the 22 homes did children alone play musical instruments.

In 20 of the 28 households of native-born males (as reported by their wives) one or both parents and/or growing children played musical instruments and, again, in only three of the 20 homes did children alone perform.

Altogether, instrumental music was played in over two-thirds of the second-generation B'nai Khaim households. (In many cases, of course, children were still too young to take music lessons.) In foreign-born homes the percentage was lower—56 in homes of foreign-born females and 54 per cent in homes of foreign-born males.

Several families were especially musical. The report from one of these reads: "Mother plays the piano, one son plays the clarinet and sax, one son plays the flute and piccolo; one, the drums. From another: "Husband and daughter play the piano and husband also the bass viol."

Recently a native-born B'nai Khaim mother wrote me: "All three girls take piano lessons, dancing lessons and attend Sunday School." The oldest is beginning to play the guitar and the younger two "enjoy strumming away at the autoharp." This mother is an accomplished guitarist.

The wife of a native-born B'nai Khaim reported one son playing the bass viol, one son the cello, one the piano and the harp. This mother is a professional singer and plays the piano and the organ.

In another family, the father is an accomplished violinist, although a mathematician by profession. His wife and son play the piano.

Two native-born male B'nai Khaim, one a mathematician and one a psychoanalyst, have held graduate fellowships in piano at the Juilliard School of Music. Both these pianists engage in playing non-professional chamber music, as does also the mathematician violinist.

Painting is an avocation for 36 per cent of the families. In two or three cases the avocation borders on the professional. Less than half as many, however, claim singing as an avocation. A very few—16 out of the 111 families—lay claim to possession of special talents, in dancing, sculpture, "athletic sports," photography. One foreign-born female reports writing "short stories and poetry for my own amusement." One mother reports, "my son writes poetry," and another claims "a passionate love of music" in her children.[1]

The B'nai Khaim not only read, paint and play music but, like other Americans, also play games, and enjoy sports and many hobbies. They join lodges and clubs, and engage in community affairs in which they relate to their gentile neighbors and fellow-workers. The next table lists some of the sports, hobbies and games in which the B'nai Khaim and their spouses engage. (See table 19.)

Nearly 90 per cent of our native-born groups and 55 per cent of the foreign-born engage in these activities, varying from card playing and bowling to Mah Jong and chess. The listing covers only activities in which four or more individuals participated.

Bowling is equally popular with men and women. More men than women swim and play golf, while more women play cards. The surprising finding is that more women than men play tennis.

The foreign-born and the native-born differ in the choice of activities even more than men and women do, reflecting

probably chiefly difference in age. The figures are given in Table 20.

Table 19. Games, Sports and Hobbies of B'nai Khaim and their Spouses

Activity	Males	Females	Total
Cards (bridge and poker)	25	37	62
Bowling	26	26	52
Swimming	19	11	30
Sewing, Knitting, Weaving	–	24	24
Golf	15	5	20
Art	2	13	15
Tennis	4	7	11
Mah Jong	–	8	8
Baseball	6	–	6
Chess	4	–	4

The foreign-born lead in card-playing and three of our four chess players are foreign-born. However, they fall behind the native-born almost entirely in sports requiring physical effort such as swimming, bowling, tennis. Probably they are getting too old for that. It is the younger, the second generation, that engages in physical sports, including baseball, ice skating, skiing –the women along with the men, except in baseball.

In addition to the above listings, the B'nai Khaim, or their spouses, variously engage in nearly 40 other sports, games and hobbies: fishing, hiking, photography, horseback riding, camping–acculturation in the raw. Other Americans may engage in these activites in different proportions than do the B'nai Khaim, but this is likely to be due mainly to differing environment.

Table 20. Games, Sports and Hobbies–Foreign and Native-born B'nai Khaim

Activity	Foreign-born		Native-born		Total Nativity		Sex Total		Grand Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Foreign-born	Native-born	Male	Female	
Cards	5	13	6	9	18	15	11	22	33
Bowling	4	3	7	10	7	17	11	13	24
Swimming	2	1	6	6	3	12	8	7	15
Sewing,etc.	-	3	-	9	3	9	-	12	12
Golf	-	2	7	3	2	10	7	5	12
Art	-	1	2	5	1	7	2	6	8
Tennis	-	-	4	4	-	8	4	4	8
Mah Jong	-	2	-	5	2	5	-	7	7
Baseball	-	-	6	-	-	6	6	-	6
Gardening	-	-	3	2	-	5	3	2	5
Ice Skating	-	-	1	4	-	5	1	4	5
Skiing	-	-	3	1	-	4	3	1	4
Chess	3	-	1	-	3	1	4	-	4

Americans who live in the country are likely to do more fishing than those who live in the city.

Like most middle-class Americans, the B'nai Khaim seek social stimulation and community identification through associating with others in religious brotherhoods, in lodges and in secular clubs. Nearly 80 per cent of our people said they belonged to one or another of such organizations, generally to more than one.

As would be expected, the organizations are largely Jewish-oriented or Israel-oriented: Temple clubs, Jewish community centers, B'nai B'rith, American Jewish Congress; Hadassah and other Zionist groups. Many, however, are non-sectarian, such as Masonic lodges and the charitable and philanthropic groups.

Very few of the secular "clubs" to which our people say they belong are of the usual restrictive variety. Mostly they are

business clubs, such as "The Exchange Club," investment clubs, Lion's Club, realtor's clubs, etc. Only six may possibly be classed as restrictive social "country clubs," and all but two of these six, it seems, are non-sectarian. The two are exclusively Jewish, so "exclusive" indeed that only the very rich Jews in town are eligible for membership. Several B'nai Khaim, in addition, belong to University clubs.

Individually and as members of one or another of these clubs, lodges, and religious and secular associations, the B'nai Khaim and their spouses engage in voluntary activities of service to the general community. More than half of our 211 married B'nai Khaim and spouses participate in such activities, serving as hospital volunteers, collecting for various health drives, in the Red Cross.

As would be expected, our native-born and, in particular, the women, are most active in these services. One woman reported serving in more than five of these causes: United Fund, mental health drives, collecting for multiple sclerosis funds, the Red Cross, the City of Hope medical ship. Community Fund and P.T.A. record the most participants. Altogether, 109 B'nai Khaim and spouses gave free services to over 40 causes of benefit to the general community. When we recall how the B'nai Khaim were similarly active in service to the Jewish community (Chapter 10), we may conclude that our people are possessed of a high degree of civic conscience.

In clubs, in lodges, and in their volunteer community activities the B'nai Khaim rub shoulders with their gentile neighbors. We learned in Chapter 6 that 94, or nearly 90 per cent, of our families live in mixed or gentile neighborhoods. How personally intimate do they become with one another as a result?

"Do you have any close gentile friends?" we asked. "As close as your Jewish friends? Close enough to visit each others homes freely? Eat at each other's homes?" Table 21 gives the answers to these and related questions.

Respondents from as many as 80 of the 108 B'nai Khaim families who answered the questionnaire said they had close gentile friends, but only 55 claimed them to be as close as their

Table 21. Gentile Friends of the B'nai Khaim and Gentile Influence

Social Relations	B'nai Khaim Males				B'nai Khaim Females				Total*	
	Foreign-born		Native-born		Foreign-born		Native-born			
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Close gentile friends?	10	9	25	4	19	5	26	8	80	26
As close as Jewish?	7	10	20	6	10	13	18	15	55	44
Visit homes freely?	8	9	23	3	14	8	25	7	70	27
Eat at each other's homes?	7	10	23	3	12	11	24	8	66	32
Children close friends?	3	11	5	4	8	10	6	7	22	32
Exchange Christmas cards?	17	3	24	4	4	21	5	27	89	18
Exchange Christmas presents?	8	12	17	9	7	18	12	20	44	59
Exchange Christmas cards, presents with Jews?	–	–	–	–	2	22	4	29	6	51
Christmas tree?	–	–	–	–	0	25	5	31	5	56
Christmas presents for children?	–	–	–	–	3	23	13	31	16	54
Khanukah presents?	–	–	–	–	25	1	34	0	59	1
Jewish New Year cards?	–	–	–	–	26	0	32	2	58	2

* Not all 108 respondents answered all the questions. The last five questions were asked of women only.

Jewish friends. As many as 70 visited each other's homes freely, and 66 said they ate at each other's homes. Eighty-nine exchanged Christmas cards with their gentile friends,[2] but only half as many exchanged Christmas presents.

From here on all gentile influence tends to disappear. Only six of our people exchange Christmas presents with other Jews and only five have a Christmas tree in their homes. Only 16 give Christmas presents to their children, but 59 give them *Khanukah* presents. Of the five Christmas trees, three were in homes with gentile spouses, one in the home of a half-gentile spouse, and only one in a home in which both parents were Jews. In no case was the tree a religious symbol. In one mixed family the children topped the decorations with the Star of David. One child of mixed marriage, visiting an orthodox Jewish friend at *Khanukah* and learning that he will be getting a daily present eight days in a row, said to his friend's mother, "I am half-Jewish and get only Christmas presents. When I grow up I'll be all Jewish!"

Notes to Chapter 12

[1]That so few as 16 mothers claimed special talent for their children testifies not so much to a lack of such talent as, I would judge, to the essential credibility of their responses.

[2]In contrast, only 58 exchanged Jewish New Years cards with their fellow-Jews.

Chapter 13

The "Third" Generation

In the preceding chapters we studied the changes which have taken place in the culture of the first and second generations of the American B'nai Khaim. We traced these changes from the religious culture of old Russia into the secular culture of modern America. We saw the B'nai Khaim abandoning old religious modes of living and adopting the modes of a sophisticated age.

Many Jewish leaders see in such trends a threat to the very survival of Judaism in this country. They point especially to the tendency of the upcoming generation to forsake ancestral tradition as leading to the loss of Jewish identity, in particular through intermarriage. The uniqueness of our study is the fact that we can follow these trends over three consecutive generations and thus are able to evaluate more concretely their significance to the future of Judaism in America.

However, we must caution our readers that our "third" generation is still too limited in numbers to provide a broad enough base upon which to establish firm trends. Our native-born B'nai Khaim women have not been very prolific. They have been raising an average of no more than 2.2 children per family, just enough to produce a stationary population. Besides, their offspring are of but recent vintage. Of the 39 young people we study in this chapter—22 boys and 17 girls, all unmarried—17 were between 16 and 18 years old and 18 between 19 and 22. Four were 23 years old and over; the eldest, a psychiatric social worker, was 30; in all, 35 of the 39 were still either in high school or in college. We begin with age 16 because we deemed that age as the minimum to respond to our questions with fairly reasoned judgment.

It should be noted, further, that only 23 of our 39 young people were strictly third-generation B'nai Khaim, in the sense

of being native-born of native parentage. Seven were of "mixed" parentage; that is, only one parent was native-born. Eight were second-generation, and one, who came here from Israel at the age of four, was foreign-born. These 15, with the exception of the one foreign-born, were qualified for our group by being native-born, at least 16 years old, and unmarried.

What we wanted to know of these young people was not only the degree of their observance or non-observance of Jewish traditions, as we did for their parents, but also, and in particular, their own conception of the culture they were building for themselves as Jews and as Americans.

The first question we asked of them related to their attitude toward intermarriage, the most sensitive index of the maintenance of Jewish identity. In part we covered that question in a previous connection (Chapter 9, p. 121), where we studied the rate of intermarriage among all the B'nai Khaim. We learned there that 30 per cent of the boys and 18 per cent of the girls 16 years of age and over indicated that they "would marry a non-Jew." For the boys that included only the straight "yesses." One of them also had said "maybe" and one "possibly yes." With these included, the total is raised from six to eight, and the percentage is raised to over 36. For their parents the intermarriage rate ran up to about 10 per cent. The trend, if the figures for the third generation materialize, is unmistakable.

We asked our young people:

1. Do you associate freely with non-Jews?
2. Do you date non-Jews?
3. Would you marry a non-Jew?
4. If not, why not?

Nearly all the boys (20 out of 22) and nearly 80 per cent of the girls (13 out of the 17) said they associated freely with non-Jews. This is to be expected in an age of commingling of young people of diverse creeds, nationalities and increasingly of races in our public schools from nursery to the university.

When it came to dating non-Jews, no more than one-half of the boys and only one-third of the girls said "yes," they dated non-Jews. But as one college girl explained: "I do date non-

Jewish men occasionally, but try not to prolong our friendship for more than a few dates." As to marrying a non-Jew, as we have already noted, the rates go down to 36 per cent for the boys and to 18 per cent for the girls.

The gradual drawing away from intermarriage possibilities is strikingly documented when we place the above figures side-by-side:

		Associate Freely		Date Non-Jews		Marry Non-Jews	
Sex	Total	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Boys	22	20	2	11	11	8	14
Girls	17	13	4	6	10	3	14
Total	39	33	6	17	21	11	28

Only two of the boys said they did not freely associate with non-Jews, but 11 said "no" on dating and 14 said "no" to marrying non-Jews.

Of the 17 girls four said "no" to freely associating with non-Jews, 10 said "no" to dating them, and 14 said "no" to marrying them.

Similarly informative are the diversities in attitudes when the respondents are compared by age groups. Taking only the question of marriage, we find the following differences:

Would You Marry a Non-Jew?

	Boys			Girls		
Age Group	Total	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No
High School, 16-18	9	4	5	7	1	6
College, 19-22	9	3	6	5	2	3
College Graduates, 23+	4	1	3	4	-	4
Total	22	8	14	16*	3	13

*One of the 17 responses was "not sure."

The first thing that strikes the eye in this table is that the eldest group, the college graduates, seem least enchanted with the prospect of intermarriage. Of the four boys aged 23 and over, only one said "yes" to our question. None of the girls of this age group said "yes." The high-school age group gave the highest proportion of "yesses" for the boys. The second large proportion, 40 per cent, was recorded for the college girls. It should be noted, however, that the numbers for our analysis are very small, and we should not claim that the conclusions based on them are definitive. At most they can be taken as only suggestive.

The religious taboo was given as the main reason against intermarriage. As one of the Rabbi's grandsons summed it up: "Completely contrary to all laws of Judaism." Some, especially the girls, were mindful of their parents' feelings. One 18-year-old wrote, "My parents would probably have heart attacks (literally)." Both boys and girls mentioned possible increase in strain of marital adjustment for eschewing intermarriage. "Too many personal complications," one 19-year-old boy explained his negative position.

5. If you did marry a gentile would you require your spouse to adopt Judaism?

6. Would you adopt the religion of your spouse?

Four of the eight boys and one of the three girls who said they would marry gentiles said they would require them to adopt Judaism. *None* of them said they would adopt the religion of their gentile mates. Almost all of the 39 boys and girls said they would raise their children as Jews. The exceptions were two boys and three girls who said they would raise their children in no religion. One young man said he was "not sure."

7. In any event, we asked, would you have (a) a religious marriage?; or (b) a civil ceremony?

Of the boys who answered this question, 17 would have a religious marriage and one a civil ceremony. The others were in doubt. Of the girls, 12 favored a religious marriage, two a civil ceremony.

The freer association in our schools of children of diverse

races, creeds and national origin may also help explain the much more liberal attitude of the younger generation than their fathers' toward Negro integration. We put to them the same question we had put to their elders:

1. Are you in favor of Negro integration (a) in schools; (b) in housing; (c) socially?.

In this case we added the question:

2. Would you date a Negro?

One-hundred per cent of the boys were in favor of school integration and 90 per cent in favor of integrated housing and social integration. The girls were less enthusiastic than the boys, but still were ahead of their parents: 88 per cent favoring school integration, 70 per cent favoring integrated housing, and 50 per cent favoring social integration. The attitude of their elders (Chapter 11, p. 134) was 85 per cent in favor of school integration, 56 per cent in favor of integrated housing and 41 per cent in favor of social integration. In this respect, the girls follow the sentiments of their mothers whose percentages for integration were: 80, school; 50, housing; 40, social.

The boys proceeded from the premise that "Negroes are people" and should have the same rights and privileges as the rest of us. The girls temporized: "Can't explain," said one who favored school and housing integration, but gagged on social integration. From one 17-year-old on the question of dating Negroes: "This is a very hard question to answer. . . . Maybe I am just against it." Of the boys, seven would date Negroes, 14 would not. Of the girls, three would date, 13 would not.

Negroes should be treated as individuals, not on the basis of color, was the general feeling. One 18-year-old boy from California favors "interracial social relations not resulting in marriage and do not damage and only benefit those involved." Another 18-year-old Californian wrote: "I have been fortunate to attain many colored boys as friends in the past. Their realistic equality in society is inevitable, and there shouldn't be any reason to prevent it from happening today." Our Rabbinical student asserted: "Integration is a moral commitment to our fellowmen." He would not marry a Negro, he said, unless she was a "Jewish

Negro." A Canadian-born 18-year-old boy argued: "If the Negro cannot be accepted socially, how can he be accepted in any other way?"

The dilemma for these young people is real and they each try separately to resolve it. Perhaps the following soul-searching of a 17-year-old girl raised in the South and now entering college in California is a poignant example. She writes:

a. There is no reason to deny them the same type of schooling we have. However, in most cases, unfortunately, equal schooling does the Negro little or no good since he cannot apply his knowledge to the type of job which it warrants.

b. I think it would be fine to have integration in housing and I would like to have my kids play with Negro kids, but I really don't think this is possible. You know the story—as soon as a Negro moves into a neighborhood, the whole neighborhood turns colored and, consequently, the price of property goes down. To be perfectly honest, I would probably be one of the first to sell my home. (Did you see "A Raisin in the Sun"?)

c. Socially. Here again I contradict myself in theory and in practice. It depends, first of all, on what you mean socially. I have some Negro girl friends and though I know some very fine Negro boys and wouldn't mind dating them, my parents were mad enough at my dating *shaigitses* (!) (gentile boys) and said I had to draw the line. I never realized they were prejudiced until this question came up and they told me they'd be ashamed if I was dating a Negro. Frankly, I don't think they would have said this had they lived out here (the Coast) or perhaps up North. The South atmosphere has been rubbing off too much on them. (They had lived in Chicago.) My two best friends are rather violently anti-Negro and one was horrified when I told her that I had spoken to a Negro boy. Both these girls are Jewish, yet they resent the association of Jews and Negroes as minority groups. . . .

d. As to marrying a Negro: Since most Negroes are gentiles I am against this to begin with. However, I generally would not marry a Negro, nor want my children to, for the same reason as I wouldn't marry a gentile. The offspring of intermarriage are generally outcasts, or, at the very least, have a difficult time adjusting to society. In a mixed racial marriage, besides,

the couple itself can have a hard time adjusting except in special cases, such as out here (the university town in California), where it is a common practice. On the other hand, once I am married, I hope that my husband and I will have some Negro couples as friends.

In the attitude of the young generation towards the Negro we have a nearly complete departure from the attitude of their parents. They stay closer to their parents in the matter of observing Jewish rites and rituals, to an extent even leaning to the conservative side of their elders. Where their parents tended to break away from *their* parents, the younger generation appears to be retracing the steps back to the family traditions. So we find, for example, that whereas of second-generation males 7 per cent observed *kashroth* fully and 72 per cent not at all, of the third-generation males 9 per cent observe *Kashroth* fully and 55 per cent not at all.

Of the females, none of the second generation observed the Jewish dietary laws fully and 53 per cent observed not at all; of the third-generation females 12 observed fully and 53 per cent not at all. In tabulated form:

	Observance of Kashroth	
	Per Cent Fully	**Per Cent Not At All**
2nd generation		
male	7	72
female	0	53
3rd generation		
male	9	55
female	12	53

How long the conservative trend of the younger generation will last, we cannot of course tell. The four third-generation strict observers are descendants of Rabbi Kaprov. A 20-year-old great-granddaughter writes from Bangor:

As new generations appear, it is obvious that Jewish customs and beliefs are not being followed.

I know of many Jewish families that call themselves Jews, but do nothing to show it except giving their sons fancy Bar Mitzvah parties.

In our family many Jewish customs have been given to me and I would not deprive my children of any of them. I wish more girls my age felt this way and I feel very sorry for any Jewish child who has never had the opportunity to see how wonderful family traditions and customs are. I am truly a lucky girl.

Said a 17-year-old high-school boy in California:

I feel that man has evolved randomly, with no purpose as controlling force. It is foolish to deny ourselves pleasure; sensual, intellectual, or otherwise. Yet life should not be one big orgy, either. We should pay some attention to the betterment of ourselves and others, materially and intellectually.

I used to pray every day (writes our Texas B'nai Khaim girl), but lately I have come to question my religion and rather than be hypocritical, I generally don't pray. I feel that when I finally do decide, and if I do believe in God, that He will forgive me for not praying during the interval.

As a rule it was not until they began leaving home upon marriage that second-generation B'nai Khaim began breaking away from the Kashroth observed by their immigrant parents. It should be noted that none of our 23+ of third-generation B'nai Khaim were strict observers.

A surprisingly large proportion of the young people said they fasted on *Yom Kippur*: 50 per cent of the boys and 70 (!) per cent of the girls. This is clearly the influence of Mother. Only 41 per cent of the fathers, but 70 per cent of the mothers, said they fasted on *Yom Kippur*. The fasting among the new generation was concentrated in the younger age groups—in high school and college for the boys; in high school for the girls.

Seventeen of the 22 boys were *Bar Mitzvah* and 6 of the 17 girls were *Bat Mitzvah*. *Bat MItzvah* is a rather recently adopted ritual among the B'nai Khaim, and so is "confirmation." One of our boys and 3 of our girls were confirmed. One of the boys had a "secular" *Bar Mitzvah*, which really means a *Bar Mitzvah* festivity without the ritual.

Sixteen of the 17 boys who were *Bar Mitzvah* expect their sons to be *Bar Mitzvah* and 8 would expect their daughters to be *Bat Mitzvah*. Three would possibly go for "confirmation." Nine of our 17 girls expect their sons to be *Bar Mitzvah*. Seven of the 17 would favor "confirmation" for their children.

Nearly all of third-generation B'nai Khaim, then, accept the idea of *Bar Mitzvah, Bat Mitzvah* or "confirmation" for their children. This was not true of their parents. Of the new generation 70 per cent expected their sons to be *Bar Mitzvah*; of the second-generation males, 60 per cent planned *Bar Mitzvah* for their sons. Thirty-six per cent of our boys plan *Bat Mitzvah* for their daughters. Significantly, between 45 and 50 per cent of the parents went all out for "confirmation" for their children, a new respectability for Jews with rising espectations.

Sixty per cent of the young generation express warm feelings toward Israel, but with qualifications. Nearly 70 per cent of their fathers and fully 100 per cent of their mothers entertained such feelings, mostly without reservations. The third generation were 20 years removed from the times of the Nazi atrocities.

There was considerable diversity of views among our young people regarding the state of Israel. One 16-year-old grandson of the Rabbi said: "I have absolutely nothing to do with the people of Israel," while another of his grandsons said Israel was the "only country I have; America is still Exile."

One 18-year old thought "Israel is a great thing for Jews of Europe—nothing for American Jews."

One young B'nai Khaim is "sympathetic" to Israel "not as the Promised Land, but as a country with vitality."

Another sympathizes with a "young country developing in midst of adversity."

But a 16-year-old Brooklyn girl says, "No. Part sympathy and respect but definitely not based on its Judaism. In fact, its religious militancy is what I don't like."

To another, however, Israel is a "seat of Jewish history and ancestry. Yes, spiritual ties."

A college senior, son of the half-Jewish mother and completely non-observing, sympathizes "a little with a vague feeling of nationalism tempered in many ways, e.g., by the senseless

and arbitrary division of the Near East, and by suspicion of the capitalist-supported state, a potential force of reaction. I feel the Jews did not need all Israel, but once there, the best should be made of it." (This, we remember, was written early in 1964, three years before the Israel-Arab War of June, 1967.)

From some of the girls:

"Yes, exciting to think of Jews having a land." An 18-year-old writes from Texas: "Yes. I don't really believe in Zion or the Messiah or any of that stuff. I feel emotionally attached only because Israel is largely Jewish and I generally feel a closeness to the Jewish people." From a 17-year-old granddaughter of the Rabbi: "Israel—a symbol of all Jewish struggles—gives me a *wonderful feeling* of security."

Our third generation retains a strong sense of Jewish identity. Eighteen of our 22 boys and 12 of our 17 girls consider themselves Jews, or American Jews; four of the boys and five of the girls consider themselves "American of Jewish extraction." None of the boys and only one of the girls claims to be "plain American." The proportion, in general, is in line with those of the second generation.

On the whole, then, the third-generation B'nai Khaim is not seriously departing from the Jewishness of their parents. A major difference between the two generations may be the indicated rise in the intermarriage rate. Even at that, there are no signs of a trend toward assimilation. The B'nai Khaim, old or new generations, are not giving up their Jewish identity to merge with the Christian world amidst which they live.

An interesting departure from the second generation is discernible on the secular front. Jews, the B'nai Khaim among them, engage predominately in white-collar occupations and, to a growing extent, in the professions—pharmacists, dentists, lawyers, physicians. We saw in Chapters 4 and 5 that several of them had become mathematicians, psychoanalysts, and college professors. The new generation goes in for most of these conventional professions, but is also moving into new territories. They are beginning to enter the arts. One of them is studying architectural engineering; another aspires to become a painter;

one writes poetry and is doing graduate work in playwriting; a fourth, an M.D., will not follow his father's footsteps by practicing medicine, but is going into medical research, specializing in pathology.

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In the course of the first quarter of this century 87 Jews of a common ancestor, B'nai Khaim, settled in America. They came here from the ghettos of the Ukraine, most of them semi-illiterate, penniless, imbued with the historic veneration of learning denied them in Tsarist Russia. Six more came here since the end of World War II, making a total of 93. By 1964, their descendants, and those of the original 93 who were still living, numbered about 350 and lived in 26 different towns and cities throughout the United States.

Here they struck new roots, raised families and in various ways adapted to the American way of life. None of them became rich, but most of them managed to finance their children to high levels of education. A number of their children and grandchildren have achieved successful careers in the learned professions.

Most of them have abandoned strict observance of the commandments governing the daily life of Jews for centuries, and a number have abandoned Jewish religious customs entirely. They have become broadly acculturated to the modes and manners of middle- to upper middle-class Americans. Several have married outside their ancestral Faith, and a tendency is that direction is becoming manifest in attitudes expressed among the younger generation. There is as yet no visible trend toward assimilation. All of them continue to retain a strong sense of Jewish identity.

Note on the authors

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Etta C. Gillman did graduate work in psychology at Columbia University and, for a number of years, served as school psychologist in New York City.

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