Pioneers in Service

The History of the Associated Jewish Philanthropies of Boston

by

BARBARA MILLER SOLOMON

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Pioneers in Service

By Barbara Miller Solomon

ANCESTORS AND IMMIGRANTS

A Changing New England Tradition

To Boston's Jews

Past, Present, and Future

Foreword

When the Associated Jewish Philanthropies entered its fiftieth year in 1945, it was unable to commemorate this significant milestone appropriately. In 1945 our nation was still at war. Like all Americans, the Jews of Greater Boston were utilizing all their energies to help the war effort. Moreover, the Combined Jewish Appeal at that time was mobilizing its strength to rescue and rehabilitate the remnants of the Hitler holocaust.

Ten years have passed. It is now our sixtieth anniversary, one that could be observed with pomp and ceremony. Happily, this is not our way; nor is this the year, either, in view of the great crises facing Jews in North Africa, Europe, and Israel.

This book is our way of celebrating. The author, Dr. Barbara Miller Solomon, is a trained historian. After extensive research, she has interpreted the development of our organization within the context of American Jewish history, both accurately and perceptively. She has presented a record of which the community can feel proud.

This story, scholarly and interesting as it is, could not have been told without the devotion, vision, sacrifice, and effort of the men and women who have worked for and supported the Associated Jewish Philanthropies. Significantly, it is the oldest charitable federation in the United States. We here pay tribute to those of the age that is past and hope that their vision and achievement will inspire others, in the age that is before us, to greater service and achievement for the benefit of our entire Boston community.

BENJAMIN ULIN, *President*
Associated Jewish Philanthropies

March 1, 1956

Preface

THIS book commemorates the lives of men and women who built the Associated Jewish Philanthropies. Although the organization is sixty years old, its roots extend back to the first permanent Jewish settlement in Boston in the 1840's. In the course of more than a century, the Associated Jewish Philanthropies grew from the participation of many groups of people. Members today take just pride in recalling the contributions of their families, friends, and acquaintances. But this history records by name primarily the first officers of each participating society and group, and the pioneers in each phase of the federation's development. Inevitably, the names represent only a small portion of the individuals who have shared in the progress of the organization. In reality, the Associated Jewish Philanthropies is the monument of thousands of Boston's Jews, who created its services during these hundred years.

The Associated Jewish Philanthropies is a voluntary group association whose undertakings are a significant part of the democratic growth of the United States. As a type of voluntary association, the Associated Jewish Philanthropies has the distinction of being the first permanent charitable federation in America; it became, along with other Jewish federations, the model for the non-sectarian community chests of the twentieth century.

Not only in Boston but elsewhere in the late 1890's and

increasingly in the 1900's, similar groups of Jews federated their charities. In general the conditions of their migration and settlement in the United States made possible the successful federating of Jewish societies before non-sectarian ones. But in each case varying factors in the local environment — the state of social service, medicine, and education in the general milieu, the size of the Jewish settlement and the proportions of its national components, the impact of individual leaders, relations with non-Jewish groups, and other circumstances — affected the character of the specific federation and influenced its particular course.

This book analyzes the process by which the Boston federation came into being and went through successive stages before attaining its modern form. The first four chapters preserve in considerable detail even obscure charitable enterprises; the fifth chapter gives only a panoramic view of the later accomplishments without attempting historical evaluation. However small and outdated, the earlier undertakings not only had meaning to their founders but enriched the American tradition of voluntarism. From such acts of philanthropic association free men and women in the United States developed the services of the present federation. Equally important, the attitudes of Boston's Jews toward social welfare recorded the growth of this American community.

The idea of writing this history began and came to fruition with the interest and cooperation of Sidney S. Cohen, David Geller, Isaac Seligson, Benjamin Ulin, and Lewis H. Weinstein, of the Associated Jewish Philanthropies of Boston. Abraham S. Burack served as consultant on publication; Joanne Rubin efficiently facilitated the process. I am also appreciative of the valuable help of Dr. Jacob R. Marcus of the American Jewish Archives. Others who contributed to the research in one way or another are acknowledged on pages 171-175.

In addition, I am most indebted to Evelyn Rexford Bender for able and thorough work as research assistant. Katherine Gordon Beckwith also gave thoughtful aid. Finally, I wish to thank Peter H. Solomon and Peter H. Solomon, Jr. for generous assistance in the preparation of the manuscript.

Barbara Miller Solomon

Cambridge, Massachusetts
October 11, 1956

Contents

I *THE ROOTS OF THE FIRST FEDERATION 1840-1895* 1

II *THE FIRST FEDERATION 1895-1908* 35

III *THE FEDERATED JEWISH CHARITIES 1908-1916* 70

IV *GROWTH OF THE FEDERATED JEWISH CHARITIES 1916-1929* 93

V *THE ASSOCIATED JEWISH PHILANTHROPIES 1930-1955* 125

A NOTE ON SOURCES AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS 171

APPENDIXES 176

INDEX 187

Pioneers in Service

CHAPTER ONE

The Roots of the First Federation 1840-1895

In 1895 some foresighted Jews in Boston produced an original plan in charity organization which they named the Federation of Jewish Charities. It represented a voluntary cooperative design in fund-raising and charitable management in advance of any existing form in American philanthropy. Five philanthropic societies agreed to this radical innovation. On April 25 the delegates from the United Hebrew Benevolent Association, the Hebrew Women's Sewing Society, the Leopold Morse Home for Aged and Infirm Hebrews and Orphanage, the Free Employment Bureau, and the Charitable Burial Association accepted the constitution of their Federation of Jewish Charities. This name was changed officially, in 1908, to the Federated Jewish Charities and again, in 1930, to the Associated Jewish Philanthropies.

After sixty consecutive years the existence of the mature federation was taken for granted. How six generations who

migrated from Europe shaped that existence was half forgotten. Very slowly the federation became a central structure through which Boston's Jews served each other and their neighbors. Its growth, step by step, paralleled the making of a distinctive American Jewish community.

Fifteen or perhaps twenty thousand Jews were living in Boston when the federation was born in 1895. All were immigrants or children of immigrants in varying stages of being American. Clustering in groups according to the European country, town, or village from which they had come, they inhabited the South, North, and West Ends of the city. In fifteen known congregations they practiced their religion independently and dispensed charity separately. Among these diverse residents the decision to federate five secular organizations was the creative act of the oldest group, whose families had settled in Boston during the past forty years.

Jews had strayed in and out of the town since colonial days. Small numbers of Portuguese, who had even established a synagogue for a time in 1819, left no permanent mark. For two centuries there was no place for outsiders. Meanwhile the first settlers, English Puritans and their descendants, evolved a unique society, based economically on profitable foreign trade. Although these God-fearing New Englanders likened themselves to the chosen people of the Bible, the ancient Hebrews, modern Jews had little opportunity to join the community. Like other immigrants, they virtually ignored New England until the 1840's, when Yankee merchants turned from foreign trade in clipper ships to the development of railroads and manufacturing. As industrialization increased, Boston extended her promise to newcomers.

While masses of Irishmen became laborers in mills, factories, and railroads, Jews moved in as peddlers and small shopkeepers, filling places left empty by Yankees who went west or advanced at home. These immigrants were mobile and

though humble they progressed steadily. Some who failed moved north to Bangor or south to Baltimore and New Orleans or west to San Francisco. Keeping close to the members of their families who remained, many came back to Boston to have a second try. For twenty years a moderate stream of relatives and friends flowed from the villages of Bavaria, Westphalia, Posen (Polish Prussia) and other parts of what was then known as East Germany, as well as Poland and Holland. Classified by dialects they were "Polanders" (Polish), "Hollanders" (Dutch or West Germans), and "Deutschen" (Southern Germans). By the Civil War a solid core had roots in Boston. No one group formed a majority, but so-called German Jews, who looked down on the others, prospered first. They became the most influential.

Each segment was closely knit and established its own small congregation of brethren and *Landsleit* (countrymen). They prayed together under any conditions. A few months after arriving in Boston in 1842, eighteen men rented a room on Washington Street and the Congregation Ohabei Shalom began with forty members. Soon other newcomers started the "Polish Congregation Beth Israel . . . before *Rosh Hoshona* . . . in a hall over the market." Still another was "The Society of Brotherly Love." Every group looked back to the land of its nativity and determined to preserve the form of religious ritual used there. As soon as finances permitted, each clan built a synagogue: Congregation (later Temple) Ohabei Shalom was housed on Warrenton Street in 1852. After two years sixty "Deutschen" congregants seceded in a conflict over the use of "German" or "Polish" rituals and formed the Congregation (later Temple) Adath Israel. A similar controversy in 1856 caused another group of east Europeans to branch off from Ohabei Shalom and found *Die Israelitische Gemeinde Mishkan Israel,* the predecessor of Temple Mishkan Tefila. The different congregations went

their separate ways, neither interfering nor harmonizing with each other. All were orthodox and looked after their poor without consulting anyone outside the immediate congregation.

For twenty years, the two hundred settlers carried on the ancient tradition of Hebrew charity under the different synagogue roofs. The self-sustaining and the poor members of every congregation understood their roles as givers and recipients in a static system of mutual benefits. The poor were an accepted part of a pattern in which the more fortunate members performed their *mitzvah,* an act of piety, by the execution of charitable duties. By religious law and social habit, the pious were bound to give to the poor what they in turn had a right to expect. Both the rights of the poor and the obligations of the rich were implied in the Hebrew concept, *Zedakah.* It meant justice or charity: both were part of the same act in which giving and receiving made one entity. But acts of *Zedakah* were ethically enhanced by the manner in which they were performed, by the expression of *Gemilut Chasadim* or loving kindness. Rich and poor alike were to express this personal concern for their neighbors, whether Jewish or non-Jewish. Appropriately the term *Gemilut Chasadim* also came to apply specifically to "the granting of a loan without interest to help a man establish himself economically." Not unlike the spirit of modern preventive philanthropy, the humanitarianism of *Gemilut Chasadim* characterized the twelfth-century code of the Rabbi Moses Maimonides, who placed highest among donors the one who assisted a poor man to become self-supporting.

Century after century while these ideals — *Zedakah* and *Gemilut Chasadim* — were defined by rabbinical scholars, in actual practice seven recognized branches of charity had developed. Sanctified by immemorial custom, they met actual needs: feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, visiting the

sick, sheltering the homeless whether strangers or orphans or aged folk, burying the dead, redeeming the captives, and providing dowries for poor maidens. With some institutional variations these acts had satisfied the religious and social obligations of Jews for one another in European communities.

Each immigrant generation would depend upon the traditional modes of charity during the isolating, difficult years of American resettlement. But as life in the United States created different problems, the old practices would gradually fuse with new methods imposed by American experiences.

Boston, to which Jewish immigrants came well-trained in their own habits of charity, was in the process of evolving an ameliorative principle of philanthropy suitable to a growing urban society. Yankees also had inherited a binding tradition of charity. Their Puritan forefathers had established the Overseers of the Poor in 1691 and from that time public welfare had been a continuous duty handed on from the Bay Colony to the city of Boston. By 1800 it had at least five private charitable organizations. As immigration increased the numbers of impoverished newcomers in the next half century, special groups of New Englanders started many other voluntary, sectarian benevolent societies. Moreover, enlightened Bostonians increasingly regarded their duty to the poor in a new light.

By the 1840's their city was the Hub of the Universe to established native citizens and a progressive center for the entire nation. In the pursuit of business, culture, or reform, old Bostonians were creative and far-sighted; sure of their own destiny, they believed in the abilities of all mankind. Motivated by this faith, they started to convert their charitable organizations into instruments of social service. The desire to prevent chronic pauperism and to improve the morale of the poor culminated in the founding of the Provident Association in 1851. The new organization was "born out of pro-

test" under the impetus of reform-minded Unitarian ministers, who no longer considered poverty an inevitable part of God's plan for mankind. Serving all in need without qualification, the Provident Association regarded immigrants as "an accession to the country's wealth." Confident of improving the poor, this Association altered the basic principles and administrative methods of Yankee charity. For the first time, a social agency districted the city, investigated cases, made visits to the homes of the poor, kept records, and organized "visitors" to work in cooperation with the Overseers of the Poor. The leaders even suggested that the rapidly multiplying native benevolent societies might better serve the community in a joint organization. Although the Provident succeeded only partially in its revolutionary efforts, its path pointed to broader highways of social service in the future.

In this milieu of social reform, Jewish settlers of the last two decades made a break with their past by founding the United Hebrew Benevolent Association in 1864. Here, as in other American cities, the desire to create a representative secular organization for charity emerged as a new communal impulse when synagogue-directed charity no longer seemed fitting and practical. Equally significant, Boston's United Hebrew Benevolent Association would develop its functions within the perspective of the changing Yankee philanthropy.

Although there were four hundred Jewish families in the city, no special economic emergency prompted the twenty-six "financially responsible" men who gathered at the Pleasant Street synagogue of Adath Israel to organize the United Hebrew Benevolent Association. Predominantly they were the members of the Congregations Adath Israel and Ohabei Shalom who had benefited from the profits which the Civil War had brought to the entire community. Some of these immigrants now engaged in shoe and leather manufacturing and in wool brokerage, while others operated substantial dry-

goods stores. Prospering moderately, they became more aware of the great city which was their new home and of their place in it.

Continuously, the process of immigration was bringing other co-religionists to Boston. These were more Jews than any one little group of *Landsleit* had ever seen before. Often these newcomers were strangers, not kin folk of the established Jews. Beginning in the 1860's, more Polish, Russian, and some Dutch Jews shared in the expanding industries of New England. Each boatload brought others who gathered spontaneously in new congregations at first known only to those who participated. In contrast to their European communities, where rich and poor had worshipped in one synagogue and formed one society, in the New World later immigrants were cut off economically, ethnically, and religiously from the society of the earlier arrivals.

Paradoxically, while the gulf widened between the different immigrant generations, the oldest sensed that, to natives, Jews formed only one group. Partly in self-recognition of their place in the total community, the founders of the United Hebrew Benevolent Association aimed "to secure if possible the cooperation of the Jews of every nationality residing in or near Boston." At the same time a Progress Cultural Club also aspired "to create a better intellectual and social understanding among the Jewish groups in the community." All such attempts showed a self-consciousness among the local leaders of their new role as American Jews.

But equally important as the Benevolent's impulse to unify scattered little clans through charity-giving, this Association dedicated itself to the social-minded philanthropy which natives were establishing. The Benevolent stated its purpose "to dispense the charities of the Israelitish persuasion with a greater degree of system and effectiveness than has heretofore prevailed." Like their neighbors, these

Jews were moving slowly toward different fulfillments of their traditional charitable obligations which life in urban America instigated.

Yet at first the Benevolent did not realize either the goal of greater representativeness or that of more efficient philanthropy because the barriers between each group of Jews could not be immediately removed. By 1870 most looked only a little way beyond the horizon of their congregational life whether in lodges and social clubs like the Moses Mendelssohn and Naomi Lodges, the Elysium and Cleo Clubs, or the new Ladies North End Benevolent Association. Neither the older Jewish settlers nor the more recent immigrants were ready for the consequences of a wider community organization. Significantly, however, the founders of the Benevolent Association had accepted the purpose of unifying their coreligionists. But many intermediate steps occurred before a comprehensive association would represent the different segments of Jews in Boston.

The United Hebrew Benevolent Association remained from 1864 to 1876 virtually an exclusive charity project of the members of Adath Israel. Active in that congregation the first officers of the Benevolent included: President Nathan Strauss, Vice-president James Benari, Treasurer Joseph Shoninger, and Trustees Charles M. Strauss, J. Phillips, Samuel Strauss, and Ferdinand Nordenschild. The members, charged three dollars annual dues, had at the end of the first year paid out two hundred dollars and had another eight hundred dollars in the treasury. In 1868 the Association's finances became precarious until a newcomer, Abraham Einstein of Baltimore, "a man of means . . . well known for his liberality," saved the Association; with John H. Bendix and Charles Morse, he brought "order out of chaos."

The methods of providing relief were still casual and disorganized. Strangers passing through the city continued to

stop at the places of business of the officers and received cash gifts or loans as their traditional right. While the very poor received money orders for coal and groceries at the rate of two dollars a week, more immigrants borrowed money in order to buy merchandise or a horse and wagon to get started as peddlers. No records were yet kept to indicate who had been helped. But the demands were not excessive; the first Purim Ball at the Horticultural Hall netted two thousand dollars, apparently a huge sum, half of which was put aside for emergencies. The first picnic and the first banquet in 1870, like the Ball, became standard methods of raising money and important social events.

Jewish residents had multiplied to twenty-five hundred persons when the depression of 1873 ended the post-Civil War boom. While hard times made money tighter, needs increased. In 1875 a new organization rivaled the charitable activities of the Benevolent Association. At a meeting in the vestry of Ohabei Shalom some youths founded the first Young Men's Hebrew Association in Boston "for the moral and intellectual advancement of the Jewish population and for the relief of the deserving poor." The Association bore little resemblance to later Associations of that name. The mayor of the city furnished a suite of rooms to be used without charge where the Board of Directors were "in attendance daily from twelve to two o'clock for the purpose of receiving applications and assisting the deserving poor." Like the local Christian Association started in 1851, this Young Men's Hebrew Association opened an Employment Bureau and found "situations" for many jobless immigrants, issued peddler's licenses and stands, and supplied food. The Association also sought the release of Jewish men in prisons for slight offenses and offered comfort to others confined in hospitals. After a short-lived existence this promising society disappeared when

the United Hebrew Benevolent Association improved its methods and broadened its leadership.

The Benevolent soon ended indiscriminate charity because its sums no longer satisfied the needs of the growing population. Influenced by Jacob H. Hecht, the Association consciously sought more efficient and constructive ways of helping the poor in the pattern of the natives' Provident Association.

Jacob Hecht's life was a success story. Born in Heinstadt, Bavaria in 1834, he came to America in 1848 and peddled shoe laces and other notions. Eventually he made his way to California where, along with other Hechts, he prospered as a wholesale shoe jobber. The family also spread its business ties in Boston and Baltimore. In the latter city in 1867 he courted and married Lina Frank, the American-born daughter of prosperous Bavarian immigrants. An excellent businessman, the thirty-five year old Hecht although an immigrant had already seen more of the United States than many a native. With his bride he moved to Boston. There for the rest of their lives, Jacob and Lina Hecht, as leaders of their group, raised the level of Jewish welfare and education.

With the early years of settlement and hardship behind them, Hecht and other relatively young people were interested in other aspects of American life beyond that of earning a livelihood. In 1874 they welcomed to the pulpit of Adath Israel Rabbi Solomon Schindler. He not only introduced reform Judaism to his congregants but recommended further adoption of Yankee techniques in philanthropy. Participating in the study of urban poverty with native spokesmen of social reform, Rabbi Schindler transmitted to the Hecht coterie contemporary approaches to immigrants' problems.

In 1876 Jacob H. Hecht accepted the presidency of the United Hebrew Benevolent Association with the agreement that he would introduce improvements. Sharing the leader-

ship increasingly with members of Ohabei Shalom, Hecht accomplished three essential innovations. First, an office was established to which the needy applied three times a week at regular hours instead of wandering into Benevolent directors' places of business. In that office, records were kept as to who received what, for how long, and for what reasons; thus the rudiments of a social service file started. Second, Rabbi Schindler of Adath Israel and Rabbi Raphael Lasker of Ohabei Shalom investigated each applicant; in addition Schindler handled all the interviews in the office. Third, the city was divided into districts; the directors of the Benevolent Association rotated as volunteers to visit the cases in each district, often bringing fuel and rent money with them. Through these systematic methods, a Jewish family welfare society similar to that of the Provident Association slowly took shape.

During these progressive years the membership of the Benevolent Association increased to three hundred contributors. At various times the investigators, Schindler and Lasker, served on the Boston School Committee while two directors, Godfrey Morse (the brother of Leopold Morse, Massachusetts' first Jewish Congressman), and Isaac Rosnosky, the president of Ohabei Shalom, were members of the Common Council. Through its leaders the United Hebrew Benevolent Association was increasingly favored in the larger community as the most responsible Jewish organization.

At the same time, Mrs. Jacob H. Hecht, who had no children, revived the Hebrew Ladies' Sewing Circle which had existed for a short time in 1869 under Mrs. Abraham Einstein. Patterned after the Boston Sewing Circle, the Hebrew Ladies' Sewing Circle bought cloth for poorer women to sew, paid them for the work, and distributed the clothes throughout the city. Its first energy spent, the Circle had dwindled and limited itself to the traditional distribution of groceries to

the poor at Passover. But under the stimulus of Lina Hecht, the Hebrew Ladies' Sewing Society (the new name of the Circle) again flourished. Providing clothes and blankets to supplement the basic material aid of the Benevolent Association, the Sewing Society became a popular social club. Its *Chanukah* parties for the poor and Calico balls for the well-to-do combined duty and pleasure for one hundred and sixty members. Two generations of women accepted the Hecht leadership and in this intimate group looked to "Aunt Lina" for guidance in their communal pursuits.

Only a few years after the Hechts had stimulated the progress of the United Hebrew Benevolent Association and the Ladies' Sewing Society, an overwhelming crisis interrupted the slow development of Boston Jewish philanthropy. In 1881 the Russian government encouraged and directed anti-Jewish riots. These pogroms were followed by the Czar's edicts in 1882, excluding Jews from the villages within the Pale of Settlement. They had no recourse but to flee to Russia's overcrowded cities or to emigrate. All Americans were shocked by their plight. Diffident at first, the established Jews of the United States faced the problem of helping the refugees who sought America. Confusion accompanied the efforts to receive them.

Following the establishment of a Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society in New York in 1882, Boston's leading Jews were aroused to cooperate with a similar society at home. Led by Israel Cohen, the president of Ohabei Shalom, the local Society raised four thousand dollars. The first group of Russian arrivals were given temporary lodging and work. The second group of "old men, helpless women and children" were taken care of less easily. "Then came the bulk . . . several hundred refugees all at once" and the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society was unable to cope with them. Some of the victims returned to New York but many were left to face their

first winter in Boston under no supervision. While the Benevolent Association sustained a few, others learned of the native Provident Association and crowded its doors. Those the Provident could not help landed in the public institution at Tewksbury. It was "the first time . . . here that Israelites were inmates of a State's poor-house," Rabbi Schindler observed.

The lack of communication among Boston's charitable organizations had produced this embarrassing incident. It was not settled until Jacob Hecht interceded. Then the Hebrew Benevolent Association assumed full responsibility for the misguided refugees with the understanding that in the future all Jewish immigrants applying to the Provident were to be referred to the Benevolent. Thereafter, native charity workers regarded the Benevolent as "the only organized body competent to deal with the Russian Jews, their Visitors alone being able to understand the language." Equally impressed, many residents of the North End decided to join the United Hebrew Benevolent Association in preference to continuing the recently formed North End Benevolent Association.

As Boston's representative Jewish welfare organization in 1883, the United Hebrew Benevolent Association accepted an invitation to occupy an office in the municipal Charity Building on the corner of Chardon and Hawkins Streets. There the city housed the Overseers of the Poor, the Provident, and other charitable societies. Already one officer of the Benevolent Association, Solomon Friedman, was serving on the Board of the Overseers of the Poor; another, Marcus Kallman now became the first Jewish Visitor for the Overseers, valued for his facility in Yiddish and German. The first refugee crisis had thrust new responsibilities upon the Benevolent Association from which it gained new status in the community.

Moreover, in this year of special stress, Rabbi Schindler confronted the Benevolent leaders with the need for still

greater resourcefulness and cooperation in helping ever-growing numbers of poor immigrants. As he related the current progress of Boston philanthropy, the Rabbi planted the first seeds of the idea of federation in the local Jewish community.

Only four years before in 1879, Schindler explained, another Yankee organization had begun—the Associated Charities. Based on the contemporary English science of charity, the Associated Charities stressed even more than the Provident the ways and means of preventing poverty and opposed haphazard grants of material relief. The Associated Charities formulated rules for volunteer and paid visitors which instituted the art of "friendly visiting": through personal relationships these social workers intended to develop self-reliance among the underprivileged. On the same basis, the Associated Charities promoted active cooperation among different charities to prevent duplication and to raise the standards of philanthropy.

Making a specific analogy with the work of the Associated Charities, Schindler urged greater coordination among the Jewish societies. As a result of their lack of system, were not impostors more often than not receiving the lion's share of the money expended instead of the deserving poor? The only "scientific" way to put them back on their feet was through intelligent planning among the various charities: "if all our charitable institutions could be persuaded to work hand in hand." Schindler suggested that delegates from the Jewish charitable organizations meet monthly to discuss common problems and report on cases "in which the united help of all is needed." In the manner of the Associated Charities, he hoped that between meetings the societies would send reports to one another about their cases.

But Schindler's vision extended still further, for he proposed to create an association of the major Jewish charities

at the annual meeting of the United Hebrew Benevolent Association on February 11, 1883. He knew how radical his proposal was. If not all the charitable institutions, then perhaps there would be "a union . . . of the United Hebrew Benevolent Association, the Ladies' Sewing Society, and the different lodges. . . . If their alliance gives satisfaction, we have not the least doubt that the other societies will also join in the course of time," Schindler predicted. But his plan did not involve "an amalgamation of all societies into one;" he would not "take one iota from the autonomy and sovereignty of any corporation." As yet, the Rabbi envisaged only a Jewish Associated Charities, but his proposals laid the groundwork for cooperation later in the federation.

At the same time, Schindler, an advocate of woman suffrage, still a radical cause in Boston, applied this principle to Jewish charity organizations. Despite an energetic record in many a synagogue *chevra* and in *Landsmannschaften*, women had no official representation in mixed organizations. Impressed with the ladies of the Sewing Society, Schindler claimed that "one or two lady directors would be a valuable addition to the board" of the United Hebrew Benevolent Association.

Schindler's plans for the coordination of these charities and for the recognition of feminine leadership were not accepted in 1883. Yet the Rabbi had some practical impact. In the same year he became the agent of the Hebrew Ladies' Sewing Society. Since he remained in charge of the Benevolent Association, he coordinated the work of these two societies, one composed of the husbands and the other of their wives. In practical relationships this supervision advanced one aspect of community organization. And ultimately Schindler's hopes for Jewish philanthropy were not fruitless, for the leaders of the Benevolent Association would extend their communal range in the next decade.

The wave of immigration of the 1880's, which was altering the role of the United Hebrew Benevolent Association in the community, intensified especially one problem which had long troubled the philanthropic leaders. Not all immigrants stayed together as families and each year increasing numbers of old people, chronically ill, abandoned children, and orphans were homeless. Yet, unlike other American Jewish communities, Boston had been backward in making institutional provisions. Schindler was again the gadfly who pricked the consciences of the well-settled families. "Less for the sake of the old and feeble" and more "for the sake of the young souls which . . . will be lost for Judaism," the Rabbi importuned that an institution for the orphaned and the aged was essential. The United Hebrew Benevolent Association and the Ladies' Sewing Society admitted the need and started a special fund with the intention of erecting soon a "place of refuge" for all who were destitute whether young or old. But year after year no action followed.

While the leaders of the Benevolent Association hesitated in uncertain times to begin a project of enormous expense, in June 1887 some impatient members formed, with a few outsiders, the Montefiore Home and Aid Society. Once this Society made public its intention to establish "a home for Aged and Infirm, Widows and Orphans and destitute Children of the Jewish faith," Congressman Leopold Morse offered a generous sum and restored control of the project to the affluent directors of the Benevolent Association. Through Isaac Rosnosky's negotiations, Morse bought a large mansion in Mattapan and presented it to a committee of his own choice. Promptly the Montefiore Association turned over to the Trustees of the new Home one half of its funds and presented the remainder to the United Hebrew Benevolent Association.

The well-to-do Jews completed the financing and opening of the Leopold Morse Home for Aged and Infirm Hebrews

and Orphanage. A picnic in the summer of 1888 and *Ein Deutsches Fest* run by the Ladies' Sewing Society produced funds to furnish the Home. Schindler wrote his *History of the Israelites in Boston,* a valuable literary by-product of the orphanage, and donated to the institution the modest profits of the book. After remodeling, the building was ready for sixty inmates. The Leopold Morse Home was dedicated on April 3, 1889, at a garden party attended by "hundreds of co-religionists . . . and . . . to its sponsors a gala day in the history of the Jews of Boston."

The activities of the United Hebrew Benevolent Association, the Ladies' Sewing Society, and the Leopold Morse Home for Aged and Infirm Hebrews and Orphanage in the 1880's measured the accomplishments in social welfare of the best known Jews of the city. Beyond the scope of their three organizations, other constructive enterprises revealed diverse sources of creativity in education, recreation, and benevolence among later comers.

The struggle to implant in the children and grandchildren of immigrants the traditional education of their fathers concerned each generation. How could they best transmit their heritage in the new surroundings? Moreover, the cost of maintaining this education was a basic consideration. For two decades before the Civil War congregational schools offered the main solution in Boston. From 1855 to 1863 Ohabei Shalom also operated a free day school where both English and Hebrew were taught to eighty pupils. Other schools opened and closed, among them a private school in 1850 with forty pupils run by Ben Sachs and another on Washington Street run by Ben Joseph Strauss. In the post-Civil War decades while some parents paid private tutors to teach their children, the Sabbath School of Ohabei Shalom provided instruction in Hebrew and English: in 1895 one hundred and twenty children attended. At the same time the

outstanding Sunday School of the community at Adath Israel had ninety-one pupils, including children of non-members.

But the east Europeans, who were inhabiting the North End in greater numbers by the 1880's, had more rigid standards of Jewish education. They especially feared that Christian missionaries would divert the children from their inherited religion. The *cheder* or private school so common in their former communities did not prove satisfactory. Another type, the *Talmud Torah,* which was communally supported, was tried often in this decade. Several failed because of finances before a successful one opened its doors on August 24, 1883, at 287½ Hanover Street under the presidency of H. M. Hillson. One hundred and ten people promised to pay four dollars a year to be members. Although this school was not at first a charitable institution, poor children were accepted. By arrangement, only members of the society were "entitled to the rate for one child $0.25; two children $0.40; three children $0.50 per week." The superintendent, Rabbi S. S. Cohn of Mishkan Israel, and three other teachers gave instruction in Hebrew, religion, and Biblical history. With eighty pupils in 1885, it struggled to maintain itself until 1893, helped from time to time by generous subscriptions of prospering North Enders. The trials of this school were typical of many small educational projects of the refugees in each successive year.

Outside the formal school rooms there were other efforts to stimulate the moral and intellectual development of Jewish youths on a communal basis. Rabbi S. S. Cohn of Mishkan Israel in 1881 urged the revival of the Young Men's Hebrew Association, but his congregation was too small to influence the more prominent citizens. When Rabbi Lasker of Ohabei Shalom took up the cause, the Boston Young Men's Hebrew Association was organized under the presidency of Edward S. Goulston. Other officers included Israel Cohen,

A. L. Fishel, Mark Stone, and Jacob Heller. They rented Minot Hall at the corner of Washington and West Springfield Streets in the South End and reduced expenses by subrenting the lower rooms to various Jewish societies. Most important, on the top floor there was a primitive gymnastic arrangement for the members, one hundred young men and adults between the ages of eighteen and forty-one. Again the organizers hoped to interest all segments of Boston Jewry in the "Y," but Goulston was disappointed in his effort "to raise it above that of a Lodge or a Club Room." Though the leading families gave financial support, the Young Men's Association was not a gathering spot for their sons. After one year Goulston resigned as president, commenting publicly that it was difficult to unite "all the elements of our people . . . and destroy . . . whatever antagonism or prejudice may exist in regard to nationality." His final injunction to the young men of the "Y" was that they should not expect community support but raise their own money, especially for the special goal of a real gymnasium.

Under the direction of L. B. Schwabe, the "Y's" Employment Bureau of 1875 reopened with greater success. Serving primarily to place youths in commercial houses upon their graduation from high school, it helped not only Jewish but Protestant and Catholic lads. The chairman also assisted strangers who were sick and tried to find employment for them. Until Schwabe died in 1889, the Bureau of the Young Men's Hebrew Association placed hundreds of people and filled a different need in the community from that of the United Hebrew Benevolent Association.

An intellectual center also, the Young Men's Hebrew Association invited rabbis and ministers to give lectures, like those of the Rev. Minot Savage on "The Changing Front of the Universe." Debating soon became the most popular means of combining education and pleasure. The young men

sharpened their wits with such topics as "Shall the Right of Suffrage be Granted to Women," "Is it Right for the United States to Prohibit Chinese Immigration," and "Orthodox and Reform Judaism." Other activities included classes in French, reading, and elocution, while chess-playing, theatricals, balls, and excursions were more recreational. In 1892, when card-playing, dances, and parties competed too markedly with the cultural purposes of which the "Y" was proud, Mark Stone as Chairman and A. K. Cohen as Secretary of the Literary and Class Committee tried to restore "much of the old-time enthusiasm by the revival of the debating section and formation of classes in elocution and literature."

Independent of the "Y" group, some recent immigrants offered to young people intellectual and social stimuli of a somewhat different character. David Blaustein, a Russian-born youth attending Harvard College in 1888, wanted to start a Hebrew reading room where young men could relax or study. When no one would help, he and his friends organized the B'nai Zion Educational Society in 1891. The members' interest in American topics and classes in civic affairs did not displace a deep concern with Hebraic lore and an ardent response to the Zionist dream. A similar program later presented by Blaustein in a New York settlement house on the East Side became better known. In Boston, the members of the B'nai Zion Society stood by the club in an exclusive way. When invited to consolidate with the Young Men's Hebrew Association, the B'nai Zion group declined to lose its identity.

Between the North Enders and the South Enders there seemed to be a solid wall of division; whether young or old they went their separate ways in synagogues, charities, and social clubs. Those who had come ten, twenty, or thirty years earlier did not choose to associate with the latest arrivals and already viewed their common religion in different ways. Yet

beneath this wall there was the common ground of kinship. All were Jews, and newcomers in a land of refuge. Whether they themselves or their parents had left Germany, Poland, Roumania, Galicia, or Russia in order to be free citizens, the memory was still painful. In the America which they shared, the different groups were becoming better acquainted, especially through the fulfillment of charitable obligations.

Even before the end of the 1880's, there was interaction among old and new settlers, visible signs of the Jewish community in the making. Like the earlier immigrants of the 1840's, North Enders in the 1870's spent their first savings for a synagogue building. From the initial three hundred dollars rose the Congregation Beth Israel's fifty thousand dollar synagogue in 1889, at once a center of social and religious life in the North End under Rabbi Morish Margoleis. Significantly, the leaders of this congregation permitted Lina Hecht to start a Sunday School for girls on its premises. A devout woman who observed the Sabbath as strictly as any orthodox newcomer, she had a great desire to extend religious education. While their brothers attended either a *cheder* or a *Talmud Torah,* Lina Hecht arranged for twenty young immigrant girls to learn Hebrew. It was novel for the daughters of orthodox families to have group religious study. From this kind of contact other promising relationships would develop among the different Jewish groups.

The refugees were also on the minds of native Bostonians, in a more questioning way. New England was changing. The growth of factories, railroads, and cities, as well as the presence of immigrants, had transformed the familiar landmarks of the earlier Yankee society. Moreover, natives were sensitive to unstable economic conditions and new immigrant influences in politics. The increase of urban social problems was therefore more troubling. Although prominent old

families still directed with vision Boston's social service in the familiar charity organizations and in new educational institutions, social settlements, and medical dispensaries, Yankee philanthropists observed immigrants with mixed feelings. More and more, thoughtful citizens asked what was happening to the America of their ancestors. The refugees from eastern Europe, it was noted, contrasted conspicuously in numbers, appearance, and experience with the small groups of Jews who had arrived earlier and were now Americanized, an accepted part of the population. Although the persecution of refugees aroused sympathy and protest, there was some doubt that these "Russians" could become worthy Americans. On the other hand, the good works of the United Hebrew Benevolent Association reassured others who worried only about additional financial burdens which the city might have to assume.

The knowledge that the new immigrants were on trial affected significantly the ways in which the settled Jews of the community helped the refugees in the decades ahead. Responding alertly to every phase of Yankee social service, these leaders were equally determined to Americanize the later Jewish arrivals.

A short time after Mrs. Hecht's Sunday School opened, she invited Golde Bamber to visit. The young elocution teacher, who was instructing at the Young Men's Hebrew Association, observed "the little children with sad, pinched faces" and their bodies so "wretchedly and inadequately clothed," and suggested that the youngsters learn to sew. Mrs. Hecht quickly agreed to finance a project if Golde Bamber would take charge. "On the following Tuesday afternoon in January, 1890, after school hours," the Hebrew Industrial School for girls began with twenty pupils in rooms on Hanover Street in the North End.

A movement to teach immigrants how to cook and sew in

the American way had originated in Boston at the end of the 1870's. To native reformers domestic arts and mechanical skills seemed lacking in most immigrant stocks. Vocational training, it was hoped, would not only give the foreign-born American tastes and techniques, but would also instill in the newcomers the rudiments of social decency and good citizenship. A private agency, the North Bennett Street Industrial School established in 1881, was the first to apply these notions. By the end of the decade the public schools did not yet offer such courses. Therefore Mrs. Hecht's Hebrew Industrial School for girls in 1890 was a distinct innovation utilizing the contemporary educational view with greater understanding of the immigrant pupils.

Looking back to the first years of the Hebrew Industrial School, the working director Golde Bamber recalled "quite a little opposition to the children's learning to sew and make their own garments; in fact opposition to all manual labor." Mental attainments alone were respected by the immigrant parents. Nonetheless, classes in hand and machine sewing, millinery making, and dress cutting were successful. Miss Carrie Levi taught the modern science of cooking which would presumably introduce "radical changes in the diet and housekeeping habits in the homes of her pupils."

Golde Bamber had high ideals for those who attended the School. A stiff Victorian daughter of one of the older Jewish families, she had graduated from the Boston University School of Oratory in 1879 at the age of seventeen. From that time of her own youth she dedicated her life to the young. She had been trained to teach the fine art of elocution, instilling not only the proper enunciation but, still more, the manners of ladies and gentlemen. But Miss Bamber's young charges at the Industrial School were not at leisure to learn how to vocalize and to stand properly. Instead she initiated them into a soap and water club. Yet, the severe dignity of

this genteel director was not unfriendly, the newcomers soon discovered. More than technical skills Golde Bamber emphasized a "loyalty to this country . . . self-reliance, cleanliness, and morality."

In a new location on Chambers Street in the West End the Industrial School also welcomed young boys in 1892. Many a youth who went to Hebrew School in the afternoons joined singing and modeling classes at the Jacob Hecht Club, open five evenings a week. There also they listened to talks on "Character Building," "Social Science," "Jewish History," "Personal Cleanliness," and "The Evils of Alcohol and Tobacco," which were earnestly presented by supporters of the School.

At the end of five years, the Industrial School had taught twelve hundred children to be "wage earners, breadwinners, and self-respecting intelligent citizens." In addition, it had stood by the motto, "a good Israelite will make a better citizen," by encouraging Jewish education and by respecting the hygienic and dietary laws of the orthodox members. The School's influence extended beyond the residents of the West End. Many girls and boys came from the North End, several regularly trudged up from the South End, and others even made their way from Chelsea and East Boston. Only the physical limitations of the building inhibited the director from welcoming all the enthusiastic young people who applied.

From the outset the Hebrew Industrial School interested many New Englanders. Annual subscriptions from Boston Appletons and Lowells, and from the importer S. S. Pierce, Professor Francis J. Child at Harvard College, and Dr. Marie E. Zakrzewska, founder of the New England Hospital for Women, solidified the School's value to the larger community. Although basically financed by the Hechts, the Hebrew Ladies' Sewing Society supplied materials for sewing

and other necessary equipment. In 1891 under the tireless Mrs. Nancy Spitz, the ladies of the Sewing Society introduced vacations for the pupils at the country town of Readville, Massachusetts. Until then Boston's Jews had given only occasional rural or shore day excursions to the poor.

The corps of teachers and helpers in the School came from the younger generation of old and new immigrant families alike. Students still in high school like "the Misses Ida and Linda Engel, Rachel Norton, Ida and Rose Benari, Blanche Liebman, Sadie Rosnosky and Fanny Slutsky," were eager to lend a hand in the multiple projects. While their influence on the little refugees produced immediate results, the impact upon the young Jewesses who taught was perhaps more far-reaching in the development of a social-minded Boston Jewish community.

For the natives, Golde Bamber gave a positive picture of the east European Jews. In Edward Everett Hale's magazine, *Lend A Hand*, she described their transformation. Pointing out the skilled tailors, carpenters, painters, plumbers, coppersmiths, shoemakers, cabinet-makers, and furriers, she observed how the long-suffering victims of oppression regained their self-respect in America. Hardy and temperate, they were well-nourished in their simple diet of home-made bread and meaty soups. Golde Bamber had no doubt that these folk would make good citizens. She communicated this faith to those who would listen. The Reverend Edward Everett Hale, a Unitarian minister and social reformer of Puritan antecedents, concluded that "the much-dreaded Russian Jew, so far as we are concerned in Boston and New England, because he has been welcomed with wisdom and kindness, proves to be . . . a model emigrant."

Among various Jewish organizations easing immigrant adjustment, Hale brought to public notice the work of the Benoth Israel Sheltering Home. North Enders who them-

selves had recently known the terrible confusion and loneliness which confronted strangers in the city opened the Home in 1891. Previously the founders had already followed their Old World tradition by extending temporary shelter in their own households to immigrants in search of relatives and friends. The move to raise funds for an institutional sheltering home originated with several North End mothers. Known as the Benoth Israel Association, these women had unobtrusively helped the needy for several years in the traditional way. Louis Mazur served as president and Mrs. Etta Shalit as treasurer and chairman of the ladies' Board of Directors. From the collection of annual dues, the Association gave the first $650 toward the purchase of a building which lodged forty persons. When the institution at 15 Cooper Street was dedicated as the Benoth Israel Sheltering Home on October 23, 1891, men had taken over the control under the presidency of Aaron Slutsky.

In three short months the Home had more than five hundred supporting members, but their small donations could not sustain it. In addition, Rabbi Schindler inspired many Yankees to contribute. In the established Jewish group affluent businessmen like Abraham Shuman and Jacob Hecht set the example of community support which younger men like Councilman A. C. Ratshesky followed. Young ladies of the newly formed Young Women's Hebrew Association sent money for *matzos* at Passover. The President of the New York Sheltering Home also added to the funds and, in response to an appeal in the *Jewish Chronicle,* gifts poured in from all over the country and even from London rabbis overseas. Moreover, immigrants once helped soon contributed: a man who borrowed two dollars "with which he began business and succeeded so well," two weeks later paid his dues and enrolled as a paying supporter.

The Sheltering Home not only gave temporary lodging

and food, but provided many personal services cherished by the orthodox. During the season of Passover, the poor and lonely newcomers were welcomed with a *seder*. Among refugees arriving in August, 1891, was "a male child . . . born on board the Cunard steamer." When the family arrived at the Sheltering Home, the *Brit Milah* (celebration of circumcision) of the new-born boy took place with proper ceremony. The Home was the pride of the recent immigrants; "this great charity was not established from above," observed Rabbi Lasker. With sympathy and understanding impossible to the older Jewish group or to Yankee social workers, the members of the Sheltering Home encouraged those who had come to America only ten or fifteen years later than themselves. Conferring with the directors of the United Hebrew Benevolent Association, the only Jewish organization yet to have official standing with the immigration authorities at the Port of Boston, the Benoth Israel leaders carefully explained their desire to facilitate the admission of "young men with small families, which they are perfectly capable of supporting."

By orthodox custom, the death of poor strangers imposed another special obligation upon all Jews. In Boston each synagogue had carried this responsibility for the needy folk of the congregation until a group similar to that sponsoring the Sheltering Home formed a secular Charitable Burial Association in 1891. This organization functioned communally in cooperation with all the synagogues to provide "burial for such dead of the Hebrew faith and parentage in the city of Boston whose relatives are without means of paying for burial and undertaking." Headed by Abraham Moss as president and Rabbi Morish Margoleis of the Baldwin Place Synagogue as treasurer, the Association allayed the fears of immigrants who were troubled lest they die in the new land without receiving proper religious burial.

After almost a decade of increasing migration, what had at first been a temporary emergency proved the start of greater emergencies. In 1891 and 1892 fresh outbreaks against Jews in eastern Europe culminated in intolerable persecution. Their more fortunate co-religionists in the Western world prepared to systematize help to the refugees. While in the 1880's Jewish charities had operated separately in the various cities of the United States without coordinating the insufficient funds of different groups, now national and international organizations consolidated the local efforts. For the world-wide resettlement of Jews, Baron de Hirsch, a wealthy Bavarian Jew, created the Baron de Hirsch Fund of New York in 1890 and the Jewish Colonization Association of Paris in 1891. Prompted by the trustees of the Baron de Hirsch Fund, a national conference of American Jewish organizations was held in 1891 and resulted in the establishment of the American Committee for Ameliorating the Condition of the Russian Refugees.

The Boston branch of the American Committee for Ameliorating the Condition of the Russian Refugees held a meeting early in 1892 with representatives of all the Jewish societies in the city "for the purpose of devising some means of raising money for the . . . refugees." After a handful of people raised forty-six hundred dollars, the Baron de Hirsch Fund allocated another three thousand dollars. With these funds, a Free Employment Bureau was opened in 1892 under the supervision of Jacob H. Hecht, A. C. Ratshesky, and Abraham P. Spitz.

In the first office of the Free Employment Bureau at 100 Chauncy Street, a "Long Distance Telephone" was installed to "receive orders for help from all parts of New England." Max Friedman and Aaron Slutsky, who were in charge of the office, kept records of the sixty-five hundred applicants handled from 1892 to 1895. Rabbi Schindler, whose experi-

ence was valuable, was also in daily attendance. Sensitive to the feeling prevalent at home and abroad that more Jews should settle outside the crowded cities and, if possible, become farmers, the Bureau offered free transportation to country villages throughout New England. Immigrants who were not interested in farming were boarded in outlying towns until jobs in local factories were available. In these ventures the Baron de Hirsch Fund consistently made supplementary allocations and, in addition, established bathing houses in the tenement districts of Boston where "all nationalities were welcome."

The functioning of the Free Employment Bureau enabled the local charities to meet their commitments more successfully. The small resources of the Hebrew Sheltering Home would have evaporated had not the Free Employment Bureau found jobs for the people lodged. The turnover of immigrants, constantly repeated at the Home, was possible only because the American Committee for Ameliorating the Condition of the Russian Refugees found employment for the strangers and in other ways assisted the Home in its work.

Likewise the intimate connection between leaders and personnel of the Free Employment Bureau and the Benevolent Association effectively prevented their duplicating each other's relief policies. By agreement, the Employment Bureau provided material relief to the immigrants during the first two years of their settlement. Afterwards the Benevolent assumed their responsibility when they were considered permanent residents of the city. By reciprocal arrangement, the applicants of the Benevolent received a "work test" at the Employment Bureau, like that required by the Overseers of the Poor. Dispensation of relief by the Benevolent Association in such cases then depended upon the immigrants' willingness to do any kind of work to earn the dole. These

first referrals of clients from one agency to another represented an advance in the administration of charity.

During the trying years of 1891 and 1892 the United Hebrew Benevolent Association became a more specialized welfare agency for families and children. Domestic desertion proved a common symptom of maladjusted immigrants. The agent of the organization early realized that material aid did not reach the core of the matter. But the problem defied easy solution, and the Benevolent Association, like other private relief agencies, was puzzled. As a concomitant, there was the related problem of abandoned children. The Leopold Morse Home was too small to absorb all the Jewish orphans. Through non-sectarian societies to which the Benevolent Association made contributions, some children were placed in Christian homes. But the directors of the United Hebrew Benevolent Association were uncomfortably aware that this arrangement did not fulfill their obligation to the Jewish community.

If the sheer weight of numbers of the needy was not enough to exhaust the Benevolent's capacity, the cold winter of 1892 further intensified the burdens which confronted it. The Association spent more of its money on coal for the poor than ever before. The Benevolent's funds were exhausted before the year was over. Only sixty-five faithful members responded to a special appeal for extra contributions.

Barely recovering from this bitter season, the Benevolent experienced still worse conditions by the fall of 1893. Terrible economic depression enveloped the country for the next few years. Many business enterprises failed completely while others were temporarily closed. Yet even while leading Jews suffered financial losses, masses of needy Russian refugees could not be ignored.

The Benevolent Association struggled to realize its commitments. Whereas it had expended three thousand dollars

in 1886 and 1887, disbursements rose to almost twelve thousand dollars in 1893 and 1894. The Boston *Jewish Chronicle* pleaded that even ten cents a week contributed regularly would help the empty treasury of the Benevolent Association. But concerted efforts to increase the membership were of no avail. Throughout the decade, the Association had only 540 members, though Boston Jewry had grown to almost twenty thousand people. Its poor had more than quadrupled.

Somewhat desperate, responsible spokesmen reviewed the social obligations they could not reject. Obviously a new approach to fund-raising was imperative. At last Schindler's pleas for the coordination of charities a decade ago made sense. But now the sponsors of these organizations were ready for a more extreme solution. They doubted that their charities could survive without joint assumption of financial responsibilities. They resolved "to change the financial system of all the Hebrew Charities of this city." In February, 1894, a special committee was appointed to confer with committees of the other organizations. Several meetings were held before they matured a plan for a federation.

By then, two existing experiments in cooperative fund-raising, one in Liverpool, England and another in Denver, Colorado had stimulated the interest of a few thoughtful observers. In England the Liverpool plan had demonstrated successfully since 1873 that donors could subscribe annually to charities listed on a common pledge sheet. In America in 1888, the Denver plan devised by representatives of Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish groups also used a method of joint collections and even attempted joint management but this cooperative organization, lacking professional direction, did not consolidate into an organic federation.

Moreover during the summer of 1893, a Harvard professor of religion and social ethics, the Reverend Francis G.

Peabody, appealed to his fellow citizens to use more business-like methods of financing their charities. At the International Congress of Charities, Correction and Philanthropy, held at Chicago during the World's Fair, Peabody observed that in Boston only a small fraction of those who could contributed to the native organizations. In the interest of gaining "a broader constituency," he publicized the Liverpool plan of collections. Although Peabody was influential as a philosopher and as a planner in Boston social service, its progressive native agencies ignored his plea for an American system of joint fund-raising.

By contrast, at the end of 1894 a few local Jewish organizations agreed upon rules by which to establish a federation of charities. A special committee—Godfrey Morse, Abraham Spitz, Rabbi Schindler, and his successor at Adath Israel, Rabbi Charles Fleischer—produced a constitution which was adopted by a full conference of delegates. In January, 1895, the three major participants, the United Hebrew Benevolent Association, the Hebrew Women's Sewing Society, and the Leopold Morse Home for Aged and Infirm Hebrews and Orphanage, celebrated the agreement to federate. Before the new relationship was official, a joint banquet was held where the claims of each society were presented to an enthusiastic audience. In a basic way, the federation was already functioning when these three organizations raised money together and informally initiated the first Jewish joint fund-raising campaign in America. Lina Hecht summed up their hopes. At the banquet she reminded the six hundred diners that they represented only three worthy charities. "We must be as one family, coming each from his separate society, as from the privacy of his own apartment to the general table where the family come together to talk over in a friendly fashion that which is of equal interest to all." The "charity banquet" raised "a goodly sum," the *American Israelite* in New York reported. Publicly

the success of their first joint fund-raising effort justified the contemplated act of union for "the dispensing of charity, making it more general and thorough, and *by the enlarged resources pouring into one treasury* the facilities for helping the needy will be greater."

When the societies accepted the constitution of the Federation of Jewish Charities in April, 1895, two more members, the Free Employment Bureau and the Charitable Free Burial Association, joined. The first society worked with the Benevolent Association and quite naturally belonged in the new unit. The last was the only constituent administered by orthodox members of the Boston community.

The campaign of January, 1895, determined the pattern of fund-raising to which the five constituents agreed. By plan, thereafter the federation would conduct campaigns from which each society received a proportionate share. In return, the societies would hold no separate benefits without the permission of the central organization. Although the federation permitted each constituent to collect membership dues and to receive personal gifts, from the outset the organization established a central fund from which it apportioned allocations to the constituent agencies.

Five societies had inaugurated the first federation of charities in the United States. Its officers were: Jacob H. Hecht, president; Godfrey Morse and Lehman Pickert, vice-presidents; Max Friedman, treasurer; Edward E. Norton, clerk; and Max E. Wyzanski, campaign treasurer. Significantly, three women, Mrs. Jacob H. Hecht, Mrs. Abraham P. Spitz, and Mrs. Charles Weil, were also included on the Board as representatives of the Hebrew Women's Sewing Society. As Schindler had urged twelve years earlier, women now received recognition with men in their joint philanthropies. This democratic innovation affirmed the growing prominence of American Jewish women as local leaders.

The Federation of Jewish Charities climaxed more than forty years of settlement in Boston. The new organization was the accomplishment of immigrants who by traditional methods of dispensing charity had helped first their close kin from the familiar old country and then their less intimate co-religionists from other parts of Europe. But in these four decades the swelling migration gradually created the need for a communal organization of charity beyond the separate congregations. In addition American experience added another dimension to the old sanctions for philanthropy. Along with other Bostonians, these Jews would thereafter strive to make charity a constructive instrument by which to help poor recipients to develop their independence.

The viewpoints of native social service had hardly been adopted in the United Hebrew Benevolent Association, the Hebrew Women's Sewing Society, and the Leopold Morse Home when the rapidly growing Jewish community was almost overwhelmed by the arrival of persecuted masses from Russia and Poland. The financial emergency had deepened each year until the depression in 1893 completed the impasse. Then the oldest societies devised a system of fund-raising and relief-giving even more coordinated than that which Solomon Schindler had urged ten years previously. Driven by practical necessity, the major charities agreed to the novel scheme of federating. Thus the group who had earlier formed the United Hebrew Benevolent Association advanced to a still more representative form of communal organization. The next step in their progress would depend upon the interest they roused in other societies brought into existence by the continuing stream of immigrants to Boston. What the original five societies had wrought by their act of federation would unfold in the decade ahead when the paths of old and new American Jews crossed still more.

CHAPTER II

The First Federation 1895-1908

THE Jews of Boston who formed the federation were part of a new era. American pioneering in social welfare of the late nineteenth century was the seed bed of progressive movements of the twentieth. Still more experiments in charity organization, public health, industrial education, and settlement work would flower in the 1900's among old and new Americans. The establishment of training schools for charity workers in New York and Boston in 1903 and 1904 registered the birth of modern professional social service. Innovation was in the air. And the Jews who sought to make their federation a broader field of philanthropy also contributed an experiment which grew in value.

When the federation began in 1895, depression still haunted the entire city and the flow of immigrants temporarily ebbed. In 1898 the Spanish-American War lifted the nation out of its economic difficulties. But even during the excitement of war and its accompanying prosperity the rumbles

of fresh attacks on Roumanian as well as Russian Jews echoed in America. In 1903 the terrible Kishineff massacres started and in all the synagogues of Boston there was mourning for the dead victims. Two years later, Americans of all faiths asserted their humanity in joint protest of new outrages. Immigration was far from over at the turn of the century and Jews more than others had cause to expect the burden of more refugees. What had preceded was only the beginning of the human exodus from southern and eastern Europe.

Thousands of those who found a haven in America made Boston their home. By 1902 the total number of Jewish residents had increased to forty thousand and by 1907 to sixty thousand persons. Of the new synagogues they supported, at least twenty-one were in their own buildings. In this sizable community several thousand beings needed shelter and help to become Americans.

In this decade, among the better-established, barely seven hundred had federated their charities for the benefit of the incoming masses. Outside that membership there were thirteen thousand newcomers in the North, West, and South Ends of the city. Of different immigrant generations, from varied sections of central and eastern Europe, they did not form a homogeneous group in their American home. "Russian" did not define those who considered themselves Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Polish, Latvian, Estonian, Roumanian, Hungarian, Bulgarian, Galician, or Russian. In Boston some were earning comfortable livings as real estate agents, dealers in jewelry, as master tailors, and shopkeepers, while others were just starting as factory workers, peddlers, and grocers. Like the Germans and Polanders of the earlier decades, these later east Europeans automatically repeated the pattern of familiar benevolent works in *Landsmannschaften* and the ladies' *chevrot,* according to inherited tradi-

tions of charity. In different stages of settlement, few of these later arrivals were yet ready to accept the federation.

Only the common interests and standards of four constituents had made possible the joint organization. The membership of the United Hebrew Benevolent Association, the Hebrew Women's Sewing Society, the Leopold Morse Home, and the Free Employment Bureau, was socially harmonious and the leaders interchangeable.

Fund-raising had been the unanimous purpose upon which all the constituents had agreed. But although financial pressure had pushed the federation into existence, there was also the sentiment even more than in earlier decades that Jews should have a communal organization to represent the various Boston groups. How to interest those outside the "German" dominated federation remained a long-range question.

The new organization operated in a loose framework which suited the needs of the five members. What the functions of the federation were had been only partially conceived. Since the constituents had equal authority, the political structure of the organization was democratic. As one ardent supporter explained, these charities were still entities like the states of the United States. Each constituent continued to solicit members and to raise a large portion of its income from membership dues. Each still had complete control of its special sources of income and determined its own expenditures. Equally important, no member society could solicit financial aid without the permission of the federation. In the future, the federation directed all fund-raising campaigns, supervised bazaars and balls, made general collections, and then pooled and distributed these funds as needed.

In return, each society contributed proportionately to the $1200 salary of the first superintendent, Rabbi Solomon Schindler, who had recently left the Adath Israel Congrega-

tion. Still the agent for the United Hebrew Benevolent Association and the Hebrew Women's Sewing Society, Schindler became the director of the entire Federation of Jewish Charities. The Rabbi had become a full-time social worker.

Schindler received the poor in the rooms of the Charity Building on Chardon Street and decided which agency should aid the applicants. Aware of the Confidential Exchange of native agencies (the forerunner of the Social Service Index in Boston), he devised a system of registering charity applicants as a similar exchange for Jewish benevolent societies. In addition, he organized and directed a group of volunteer visitors in order to integrate the "art of visiting" into the process of granting relief. The volunteer visitors were to "uplift the beneficiaries by counsel." Inevitably this process took time. The United Hebrew Benevolent Association stressed the policy of providing material help in such a way as to prevent further necessity for relief. Since essential financial aid was never denied, Yankee observers doubted that the Benevolent emphasized "personal influence" in its relations with the poor. Yet along with practical assistance, the art of visiting, a modern counterpart of *Gemilut Chasadim,* increasingly had a real function in the Benevolent's techniques.

The superintendent became the intermediary by which the federation sought to increase its importance. He attended all meetings of the Board of Trustees and of the officers of each constituent society. By plan, Schindler visited every agency twice a month to supervise its activities. Moreover, the superintendent's responsibilities were not limited to the affiliated societies. He also visited the Benoth Israel Sheltering Home and the Hebrew Industrial School. It was his aim to survey whatever places of charity that "may fall within the compass of the federation." From the outset the new

organization projected itself into a role of communal responsibility in relation to other Jewish relief societies.

An indefatigable worker, Schindler tried to make relief-giving a more coordinated activity even among societies whose independence he did not question. The Federation held two conferences in the spring of 1897 with delegates from the Benoth Israel Sheltering Home, the West End Ladies Society, the North End Ladies Society, the Young Women's Hebrew Association, the Roxbury Ladies' Aid and Fuel Society, the Austrian Aid Society, and the Lithuania Society. The purpose of these conferences was "to obtain a more satisfactory method of work by alliance or agreement with them." When Schindler proposed that these societies participate in the central registration of their cases, only the Roxbury Ladies Aid and the Young Women's Hebrew Association assented.

The profusion of ladies' societies reflected the vitality of immigrants voluntarily performing good works. Equally important the women's societies were small social clubs giving pleasure to the intimate members. As yet, few were acquainted with modern techniques of relief-giving. But for those who had established the new federation from such a succession of small charity groups, the re-enactment of this pattern among later immigrants was frustrating.

Until independent benevolent societies accepted the Federation's self-designed role, there was little hope of increasing its membership. Without more contributors the basic matter of fund-raising was still unresolved. The leaders were still plagued by the lack of financial resources. The method of joint collection for the five constituents was an improvement in 1895 but after the first campaign "a deficiency in the annual expenditures of the various societies" remained. In October the Federation solicited an additional twenty-five thousand dollars but raised only a scant seven thousand

dollars. At a meeting the following spring the city was divided into six districts and funds were sought from a list of fifteen hundred names prepared by Schindler. Among seven hundred enrolled contributors, only four hundred were in good standing. Although the Federation inaugurated the practice of publishing the list of annual donors, this social pressure did not yet affect the standards of charity-giving. The Federation did not secure a wider base of contributors. During the continuing hard times the directors hesitated to have even a benefit ball in 1896. Worse still were the gnawing deficits of the constituent societies. Yet although the Federation had not satisfied the expectations of the founders, surprisingly the new organization survived.

During Schindler's short administration the most rewarding projects were those of the United Hebrew Benevolent Association and the Hebrew Women's Sewing Society. In 1897 the Boston Provident Association commended the Benevolent for its "immense labor" in the city. Although the offices at the Charity Building were listed in the name of the Federation, the United Hebrew Benevolent Association remained the central relief-giving agency. As in the past, poor clients regarded it as their benefactor rather than the federation itself.

The directors of the Benevolent continued to rotate as active visitors in the different districts where the poor lived. Since Schindler's working staff consisted of only two assistants, Max Mitchell and Lena Mendelsohn, the volunteers were indispensable. The relief given by the Association was intended to be temporary but the same person was often helped intermittently over a period of many years. One such client was a blind man whom the Association had supervised since his arrival in 1888; by 1896 he had received over fourteen hundred dollars. Since his children had grown up, this middle-aged immigrant wrote that "he could make an

attempt to get along" without the aid of Benevolent. He asked the Association to discontinue the donations and expressed his family's "heartfelt thanks for the many kindnesses . . . shown . . . during the many years of . . . misfortune." This client encouraged the Benevolent's growing resolution to help poor immigrants without destroying their self-respect.

More often, however, the Benevolent Association received cases of family desertion more difficult to treat. Although Jews had shown a lower rate of desertion than some immigrant groups, it was one of the major problems confronting the Association. Uprooted from the villages where their lives had an order and structure based on familiar customs, laws, and traditions, the less hardy among the newcomers resorted to desertion as an escape from their burdens. Schindler recognized the complexity of the ailment. "Sometimes the men will go away seeking work, another time on account of family quarrels. Some men lack courage; they see their family in want, and, unable to find work, they go away, thinking that the charities will extend aid to their deserted families sooner than if they remained with them." How could one refuse these cases, Schindler asked. "If such cases are refused, the hardship is borne by the innocent." Desertion was a social malady affecting husbands, wives, and children; each required different help.

The Hebrew Women's Sewing Society entered other areas of family welfare. Its activities reflected the expanding interests of five hundred and fifty members. During the depression of the 1890's the Society opened a Diet Kitchen in the North End, the first one in the city supported by a Jewish organization. Although serving primarily "the poor and unemployed Hebrew" it was "in no sense sectarian"; all impoverished Bostonians were "welcome to the benefits when sent by the proper party." The Federation soon made a direct contribution to its support. Under the direction of Mrs. George

J. Spitz and Mrs. Abraham P. Spitz, and assistants from the Young Ladies Hebrew Society, the Diet Kitchen was open daily between twelve and two to dispense free soup and at other hours offered fresh milk and eggs to the sick and undernourished.

The Sewing Society also included three constructive departments which did not compete with the work of the United Hebrew Benevolent Association. The Employment Committee, under the direction of Mrs. George J. Spitz, found seasonal work for women on a part-time basis and maintained an emergency fund for special cases. The Country Week Committee sent three hundred poor mothers, children, and working girls to the shore, and still others to the country to improve their health. The work of this Committee was an extension of the earlier vacation program which in 1891 had been limited to the pupils of the Hebrew Industrial School. The Committee's summer holidays were known as "Country Week," the same name the Young Men's Christian Union had designated for similar vacation programs since the 1870's. Lastly, the Conference and Befriending Committee visited needy mothers in their homes every week. "Creating their own techniques over the years," Mrs. Joseph M. Herman and Mrs. Daniel Frank established personal relationships with a group of families and advised them on domestic affairs. These volunteer activities demonstrated the increasing aptitude of the Sewing Society women for the current forms of social service.

In 1899, the entire federation gained fresh stimulus with the appointment of Max Mitchell as the second superintendent of the Federation. Mitchell, who had come to Boston as a youngster from Roumania, grew up under the protection of Schindler and assisted him in the central office of the charities. Well-trained by his mentor, Mitchell was equipped to amplify the functions of the Federation.

Simultaneously in 1899, communal leaders in Cincinnati and New York with delegates from many organizations of other cities formed the National Conference of Jewish Charities, similar to the non-sectarian National Conference of Charities and Correction established in 1874. The new Conference brought together rabbis, professional workers, and volunteers who were assisting in the settlement of immigrant Jews all over the United States. Sharing common problems, philanthropic men and women compared their local experiences in helping their poorer kin. Since the founding of the Boston federation in 1895, federations had started in Cincinnati, Chicago, and Detroit, and others would appear elsewhere within a decade. The meetings of the National Conference became annual and helped to coordinate the work in the separate cities. The Conference constituted the first association of Jewish social workers. At first, the Boston group sent delegates only from the United Hebrew Benevolent Association. As a result, charitable organizations which represented larger, more affluent groups ignored the contribution of the Boston federation. Not until 1902, when Max Mitchell began to attend the meetings, was its progress made known.

At the first session of the National Conference of Jewish Charities, domestic desertion was the major theme. Like the Boston leaders, other civic and social workers were deeply troubled to find that the causes of desertion were not entirely economic. It was observed that immigrant men, arriving in America in advance of their families, sometimes made new ties and tried to avoid assuming responsibility for their wives and children who finally joined them. The Conference undertook to limit the problem of desertion by national cooperation. A system of communication thereafter coordinated knowledge of desertion cases throughout the country. Each charitable organization reported its cases to a central committee which circulated this information to other agencies and thus pre-

vented many deserters from permanently escaping their familial duties. The Federation of Jewish Charities in Boston profited from this clearing service which led to the establishment of the National Desertion Bureau in 1914.

With similar intent the Conference drew up Rules of Transportation to prevent immigrants without visible means of support from going from place to place. In Boston the United Hebrew Benevolent Association had earlier faced "the Transportation Evil . . . encountered by the charitable institutions of every city." With humanitarian intent this agency had, by 1894, discouraged applicants from trying other communities unless they were sure of a hospitable reception. The Rules of the National Conference of Jewish Charities were an important contribution to the total problem of transiency in 1900. Two years later, social workers from this Conference assisted in formulating similar Rules for the non-sectarian National Conference of Charities and Correction. The adoption of such uniform rules prevented applicants from becoming a burden to more than one charitable society. By the same token, relief agencies were not able to succumb to the practice of "passing on" dependent transients. In Boston, when the Rules proved too rigorous and operated against the reunion of families, Max Mitchell found ways to modify their harsh operation.

A more constructive means of reducing desertion, however, came through effective job placement of immigrant men. In 1901, the Baron de Hirsch Fund supplemented Boston's Free Employment Bureau with an Industrial Removal Office to extend the functions of the earlier agency. In an active period from 1902 to 1903, the Bureau found employment for four hundred and eighty-three persons at a cost of over twenty-three hundred dollars.

In addition, Max Mitchell worked with the Removal Office to encourage immigrants to leave the city slums for rural

resettlement. Forty families became permanent residents of Millis and Medway, twenty-five miles outside Boston. Some supplied poultry and produce for the Jewish markets of the nearby city, while others sold milk to contractors. Most of the farmers supplemented their income with summer boarders. The Federation regarded this unplanned business enterprise as a "blessing." Here the "sun-starved" from the congested areas of the city could vacation inexpensively in attractive country places where fellow Jews provided "the necessary Kosher diet." By 1911 Mitchell was also instrumental in fostering self-help among the farmers through the establishment of one of the early credit unions in the state.

Yet since relatively few moved out to the country towns, major efforts concentrated upon city dwellers. The most compelling and poignant problem was still that of the young. Either orphaned or temporarily destitute, children were the main victims in the cases of desertion, illness, and death among the immigrant folk. Within the Federation of Jewish Charities, the United Hebrew Benevolent Association dealt with child welfare.

The Benevolent's first choice was to send children to the Leopold Morse Home. Since few old people sought its refuge, this institution, which had also been intended for the aged and infirm, was more useful as an orphanage. In 1892, there were only five adults but twenty-three children at this Home. When Schindler became the second superintendent in 1899, the youngsters in his charge benefited. The town of Milton allowed them to attend public schools without paying, although the Home was actually in Mattapan. Soon a young doctor, Clarence A. Cheever, gave excellent medical supervision. But the Leopold Morse Home remained a small orphanage, not comparable in size to such Jewish institutions in other cities.

Its very limited capacity enabled it, Schindler believed,

"to develop a child in a natural way." Progressive in his time toward education and recreation for the young, the Rabbi stressed manual training. A gadgeteer, the versatile Schindler placed a microphone with a loud speaker in the dormitories and could pick up his receiver to check on the children. For play, he took them out for rides with a horse and wagon through the neighboring Blue Hills. His favorite undertaking was the band he organized with Emil Posselt (the father of the concert violinist Ruth Posselt) as instructor in music. Finally, religious instruction received proper emphasis: every Saturday and every holiday the Rabbi conducted services in the Home's little chapel; the children pursued Biblical studies and in accordance with Schindler's views both boys and girls were confirmed. Boys, upon graduation from the Home, were placed in jobs and remained under the supervision of its Committee on Education.

On Sunday mornings in the spring and fall, the Federation trustees often rode out on horseback or by carriage over the lovely countryside from Commonwealth Avenue to Mattapan to visit their favorite charity, the Leopold Morse Home. At Passover, they participated in a *seder,* the most joyous occasion of the year for the old folks and the children at the Home. And at the solemn season of *Rosh Hashanah* and *Yom Kippur,* all the inmates, even the children, recalled the deceased benefactors (who had given five hundred dollars or more) by saying *Kaddish,* the memorial prayer for the dead.

However successful, the Leopold Morse Home was too small to care for all the homeless Jewish children in Boston. Requiring three years' residence in the city for admission, the Home did not accommodate refugee children on emergency notice. In 1895 Schindler pointed out the need for another orphanage to receive children on a more temporary basis. The Federation considered the matter but its pre-

carious finances removed the possibility of adding a second institution for children.

Another alternative was the system of child-placing, still only a partially accepted development in social work. In 1869, the Massachusetts State Board of Charities had originated a means of placing dependent children in private families at public expense. Within a decade, agencies like the Children's Aid Association of Boston and the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children also furthered the development of temporary foster homes. Interestingly, child-placing also had its counterpart in Jewish tradition. The Bible and the Talmud upheld the same kind of protection for orphans and foundlings; the blessed Hebrew was he who brought up an orphaned boy or girl until marriage gave "another home." If close relatives were lacking, childless couples were enjoined to accept the fatherless and motherless youngsters in their own families. Yet despite the ancient religious sanction, the modern practice was not easy to apply. Families were broken up in the New World; sometimes even infants were abandoned. The numbers of children who needed homes became enormous. Moreover, the *First Annual Report* of the Boston federation recorded that "the cases are rare when Jews will adopt children." In the early stages of settlement these immigrants preferred congregate institutions where they could control the care of children more easily.

Of necessity, the United Hebrew Benevolent Association had turned to the Overseers of the Poor and to non-sectarian Children's Societies to board in private families the wards whom the Leopold Morse Home could not take. In return, the Benevolent made financial contributions to the agencies which accepted the children. But most Federation leaders were not happy about settling the young refugees in this way without the guarantee that they would grow up in a Jewish family circle.

After haphazard and sporadic efforts in the 1890's, Max Mitchell in 1902 made the first systematic attempt in child placement under any federation auspices. On Sundays, the superintendent went by street car on a twenty-five mile circuit to canvass for satisfactory homes. There were very few. Advertising in Jewish newspapers, he agreed to pay foster parents two dollars and a half a week and to supply clothes and medical care in exchange for the children's board and supervision. Foster parents were required to produce references from rabbis and businessmen. In general, Mitchell declined offers from residents in Boston in the belief that children should grow up in the presumably healthier environment of the country.

This experiment in child placement was well handled within the limited range of facilities. In the first year the superintendent placed thirty-two children out of fifty-four applicants. According to Mitchell, the entire expenditure was $940.06 covering only half of the cost of maintaining them. "The balance was paid by the parents, who after placing their children were in a position to go to work. Soon after they established themselves they contributed part and later the whole amount of the board . . . In this way, not only have the children been cared for, but the ties of responsibility of the parents have not been severed." The parents visited their offspring but were not allowed to "interfere with the bringing up of the child." When difficulties arose on this level, the children saw the parents at the Federation's office "in the presence of our visitors." The foster parents were supervised only to a minor extent by a State visitor who upheld the legal requirements of Massachusetts.

Mitchell's report at the Conference of Jewish Charities in 1902 stimulated nation-wide interest in child-placing. It would take years "to establish a sufficient number of good families in which to place children," he observed, but in his

experience a federation could gradually build up a nucleus of "proper homes for children of different temperaments." At home, Mitchell's program educated the leaders of the Benevolent Association to accept the validity of foster homes. Under Simon Vorenberg's lead in 1907, the directors again considered "the subject . . . and gave the Superintendent instructions to place all children if possible where he can in Jewish homes." The difficulty continued to lie in the scarcity of such homes. In the next years, the Benevolent and the public welfare agencies worked out a cooperative method of support and supervision for Jewish wards without complete success.

Since the Federation's child-placing experiments and the facilities of the Leopold Morse Home served only small numbers, neither alternative could suffice to shelter stranded children. Moreover, outside the Federation, others were early dissatisfied with the public and private non-Jewish agencies. Gathering at the Beth Israel Synagogue at Baldwin Place "with men and women of all walks of life," a group of North End women, recent immigrants themselves, discussed plans for another congregate institution in 1897. The organizers announced the intention of raising money for a temporary home which would receive children not eligible under the existing admission rules of the Leopold Morse Home. Like other women of their generation, these sought official status for their organization through men. Samuel Borofsky, already a member of the Common Council, became the first president of the new-born Helping Hand Temporary Home for Destitute Jewish Children. Soon the women started the Ladies Helping Hand Auxiliary under the presidency of Mrs. Sarah Kurinsky and a small group of ardent supporters. In a short time they gained twelve hundred members, who through outings and picnics contributed one thousand dollars to the Temporary Home.

In the beginning, the Home's care of children was temporary, while either father or mother became self-supporting. At a building on Beech Glen Street and Fort Hill Avenue in Roxbury there were sixty-five boys and girls. The superintendent "Papa" Louis Cohen gave special instruction in Hebrew and prepared the boys for their *Bar Mitzvah.* He also took pride in celebrating every holiday "Jewish and non-Jewish" in order to teach "patriotism as well as Judaism." By 1906 more children were residents at the Temporary Home than at the Leopold Morse Home.

In addition to the two congregate institutions and the foster home program for children there was communal support of group activities for poor boys and girls who lived at home with their own parents. Although at first the Federation did not directly finance such undertakings for young people, at different times during the next decades it absorbed these educational and recreational programs.

The Hebrew Industrial School was not yet a constituent, but the Federation members actually sustained it through other channels. Still a pet charity of the Hechts, the School received additional support from its own new auxiliary and from the Hebrew Women's Sewing Society and its juniors; in addition, the Baron de Hirsch Fund financed English classes as late as 1918. The Federation sent children and young women of its dependent families to learn a means of livelihood at the Industrial School. Usually mastering more than one skill, the pupils received diplomas for each completed course. The classes in millinery, hand sewing, power sewing, and pattern cutting were rewarding. The confidence of the trainees and their ability to hold good jobs impressed philanthropic leaders and textile manufacturers who visited the School. Moreover, many a graduate set up her own little business in millinery or dressmaking.

But for Golde Bamber, still the director of the School,

"trade proficiency" was only a means to "the ultimate end that home betterment and finer womanhood be attained." The graduates of the Industrial School would, she hoped, handle their jobs and their home life intelligently. Growing more inventive in each decade of her service, she studied vocational guidance under Frederick Allen at Harvard College, attended the social work conferences of "Ward Eight" of the Associated Charities, and took courses at the Simmons College School of Social Work. In recognition of her ability Governor Guild later appointed Miss Bamber a trustee of the Lyman School for Boys. Under her influence, the Hebrew Industrial School, even while a trade school for immigrant girls, included programs similar to those of the local settlement houses, which had grown in popularity since the 1890's. Like them, the Hebrew Industrial School also served the neighborhood by encouraging clubs for girls, boys, and their mothers in the West End. The small children who tagged along after their sisters were too young for instruction but by the summer of 1899 were enjoying their own Vacation School. The mothers were relieved of worry while they earned money to keep their families together. In addition younger working women were invited to special evening classes.

To the thriving Hebrew Industrial School one day Edward Everett Hale introduced a young immigrant whom he had first met at Hale House, his own university settlement in the South End. Mary Antin already showed literary promise. Forthright, the young girl announced that she was not going to sew aprons and dresses. She would write books. The sponsors of the Industrial School encouraged her ambition; her first saga, written in Yiddish when she was eleven years old, described her family's trek from Russia to Boston. At thirteen she translated the story into English with the aid of Solomon Schindler. The Hechts arranged for the publication

of the book, *From Plotzk to Boston.* An expanded sequel, *The Promised Land,* brought her a measure of fame.

Like the neighboring social settlements, the Industrial School accepted the central principle of the English settlement movement by stressing the intellectual and social values which educated citizens could impart by direct contact with the foreign-born. Although there were no university residents living at the Industrial School, students from Harvard College and Harvard Law School volunteered their services evenings and teen-age American-born daughters of the local families also helped. The first guide of the Jacob Hecht Club for boys was Meyer Bloomfield; Mrs. Quincy Shaw was so impressed with his work that she invited him to head her new Civic Service House, which became a flourishing West End settlement. Philip Rubenstein, later a Special Justice of the Juvenile Court, met once a week to advise boys who had been dismissed from the Parental School; this experience contributed to his interest in juvenile delinquency. Two young women who taught in Mrs. Hecht's Sunday School, Isabel Hyams, a graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1888, and Frances Stern, who was attending the Garland Kindergarten School, were encouraged to start their own settlement. In the poorer district of the South End they began experiments in domestic science for girls at the Louisa Alcott Club, the embryo of the later nationally known food clinic of the Boston Dispensary. And in addition to those whose careers were in the making, other young helpers at the Industrial School became educated men and women responsive to social innovations.

Upon Jacob H. Hecht's death in 1902, continuation of the Industrial School was questioned because of the other pressing burdens of the community. Louis D. Brandeis who was just beginning his battles as "the people's lawyer" was consulted. He urged the School to "keep on." His judgment

prevailed; the Federation preserved the Hebrew Industrial School which in a later day became Hecht House.

While the Industrial School offered varied opportunities mainly to young women and girls, the Young Men's Hebrew Association provided a broader social center for youths paying annual dues. Although they no longer maintained an Employment Bureau, they engaged in charitable activities, organized clubs for younger boys, and in 1900 instituted a Sabbath School. Without executive direction, a few years later the "Y" stopped functioning until Godfrey Hyams revived it. Hyams, who had worked on a milk truck to earn his way through Harvard College in 1881, had become a wealthy mining engineer. Always mindful of poor youths in the city, Hyams in 1905 asked Lee M. Friedman to supervise the reopening of the "Y." Anonymously Hyams bought an old home at 39 East Concord Street in the South End, financed its renovation and furnishing, and paid the salary of its professional director, Dr. J. H. Landau. In a makeshift gymnasium, baseball and basketball became popular. On a cultural level, orchestral and choral groups, German and French classes, Rabbis' nights, Biblical courses, the celebration of Jewish holidays, and special honoring of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Jewish settlement in America, strengthened the roots of the Young Men's Hebrew Association.

The second superintendent, Jacob De Haas, who had been secretary to the great Zionist Theodor Herzl, emphasized the values of communal participation. For the first time, the younger members were given a voice in the management of the institution. In its heyday during the next few years prominent local reformers, like the civic-minded merchant E. A. Filene and the settlement director Robert A. Woods of South End House, spoke at the "Y" forums. Although the intellectual De Haas appeared less interested in the recreational program, it

developed substantially after his arrival. He introduced walking clubs, junior basketball, other clubs for smaller boys, and a summer camp on Cape Cod.

Despite the activities for boys at the Industrial School and at the Young Men's Hebrew Association, city streets were still the main playground for many active youngsters. Elsewhere the Federation's superintendent Max Mitchell encouraged the sponsorship of boys' clubs. A Jewish settlement, the West End Educational Union, organized in 1903 by young men and women of the neighborhood claimed his special attention. For a time Max Mitchell supervised the Union's clubs, promoting with enthusiasm the Industrial League for newsboys.

Simultaneously, both reform and orthodox leaders explored new ways to make Jewish education more meaningful in the lives of young people. In the process they recognized the needs of the different groups in varying stages of American settlement.

The Boston Council of Jewish Women, established independently of the National Council in 1897 by a few prominent women under the presidency of Mrs. Ezekiel Van Noorden, made the preservation of Jewish education one of its first objectives. At the turn of the century, the Council established neighborhood Bible study groups for poor children and soon took over Lina Hecht's Sunday School. By 1907, the Council conducted formal religious schools wherever other facilities were lacking; among them the Maimonides School in the South End and the Grace Agular School in the West End were the most successful.

More important for the later development of Jewish education, two young Hebrew scholars, Israel and Meyer Abrams, migrated to Boston during the Kishineff massacres and introduced the *Ivrio* technique, the Palestinian conversational method of teaching Hebrew. The brothers started the

first local *Ivrith B'ivrith* class in 1904 with the support of Henry H. Levenson. Although it did not attract much interest, a few years later a second attempt sponsored by the Jewish People's Institute in the West End took more solid hold. This institution, which began with twenty pupils under the tutelage of Morris Kaplan, admitted both boys and girls. Presenting a rounded program of Hebrew literature, Jewish history, and extra-curricular courses, the school became the model for others in Roxbury and Dorchester. Still the standards and techniques for Jewish education fell short of full realization. Jacob De Haas, editor of the *Advocate* in 1906, voiced the opinion of scholars and teachers that a Hebrew high school was needed. On March 10, 1907, Rabbi Louis A. Alexander and Samuel Carver organized perhaps the first Hebrew high school in the country in which both qualified adults and children were welcome. Although the directors agreed that Boston needed a more systematic educational program, the time was not ripe to attract wider support of community leaders.

The local philanthropists divided their obligations among the many aspects of social welfare which were burgeoning through the Federation and other Jewish organizations. Family and child welfare, industrial training, Jewish education, and recreation were not the only responsibilities which they undertook. Beginning in the 1890's, the Federation's family society and other closely related units pioneered with new health services for the poor.

Although Boston offered a wide range of medical institutions to which the foreign-born had access, some immigrants were not happy in strange impersonal hospitals where only English was spoken. The barrier of language prevented sympathetic communication among doctors, nurses, and patients. Especially upsetting to the pious was the fear of being misunderstood and thus of being forced to break their

dietary laws with *trefa* food. While thousands did avail themselves of the public services in the city's hospitals, Jews, like other immigrants, also arranged for medical treatments to some extent through *Landsmannschaften* and fraternal lodges. By mutual support such groups paid the medical and burial expenses of the members; often these societies hired immigrant doctors who for an annual fee served an associated number of families. The standards of the doctors varied considerably from the excellence of those trained in European universities to the mediocrity of others who had no official standing and were known as "barber doctors." Moreover, not all physicians had easy access to hospitals for their patients. Therefore, in the 1890's a few doctors approached the leading Jews of the city to undertake the establishment of a medical institution. But although Jewish hospitals already existed in Chicago, New York, Cincinnati, and Philadelphia, skepticism greeted the proposal in Boston. Here instead new solutions to community health problems would first evolve in outpatient dispensaries. From these, the idea of a Jewish hospital would gain more strength and credence.

The United Hebrew Benevolent Association had taken an important step to improve the standards of health among the poor in 1892 by sponsoring the first Jewish Dispensary for Women and Children in Boston. Located through the courtesy of the Benoth Israel Sheltering Home at 15 Cooper Street in the North End, it provided free medical attention and treatment. At first, patients received free medicines though eventually a nominal fee of five cents was made for prescriptions to those who could afford it. The clinic was under the direction of two immigrant women who had just graduated from the Medical College of the University of Berne in Switzerland. Of high intellectual caliber, the two young ladies, Dr. Fannie Dembo and Dr. Anna Aronovitch, became accredited

members of the Massachusetts State Medical Society. In 1897 Dr. Cecilia L. Shereshefsky, the wife of Rabbi Abraham Shereshefsky of Congregation Anshe Poland in the South End, took charge of the pediatric service just after she had graduated from Tufts Medical School. For a few years these able women treated thousands of cases for the Federation without remuneration. Likewise Dr. Gustav Liebmann, Dr. Henry Ehrlich, and Dr. Isaac Louis rendered helpful service as consultants. But in 1899 the Dispensary for Women and Children at the Sheltering Home closed, for the lady doctors in charge had departed for New York.

During the same period the separate Baron de Hirsch Dispensary cared for men at 16 Cooper Street where Dr. Kallman M. Davidson, Dr. Victor Bychower, Dr. Jacob Gyocre Green, and Dr. George M. Palmer were the physicians in charge. The first three were immigrants, educated in German universities. In 1897 they formed the Boston Medical Society under the leadership of Dr. Samuel Goodman to advance "the promotion of science and art of Medicine and Surgery by discussions, investigations and research."

When in 1900 the Federation no longer operated its maternity and pediatric clinics, physicians themselves took the next initiative. For a few years Dr. Cecilia Shereshefsky ran her own dispensary on Cooper Street. In 1901 the Metropolitan Dispensary of Boston opened at 23 Compton Street under the leadership of Dr. Maurice Gerstein, Dr. Philip S. Sumner, and Dr. W. J. Johnstone.

A year later, other doctors in this group started a third larger joint enterprise. The professional men who organized the Mt. Sinai Hospital Association on August 5, 1902 lacked adequate hospital affiliations for effective practice. From halfway measures in modest dispensaries, the physicians expected the fulfillment of their real desire, a full-fledged Jewish hospital. In their view, only then would doctors and

patients gain understanding on both sides and ensure higher standards of medical diagnosis and care for immigrant Jews. Significantly, however, from the outset the Mt. Sinai's doctors insisted that their institution was for all the poor of Boston who cared to use it, "strictly non-sectarian in all its dealings, as the hospital will be when opened."

With a staff of thirty-six accredited physicians, the Mt. Sinai Hospital Association opened two outpatient departments: the fully equipped unit on Compton Street, which had been presented as a gift from its founding doctors, and a new unit on Chambers Street. One clinic was easily accessible for residents of the North and West Ends and the other for those living in the South End and Roxbury. Both departments served not only ambulatory patients but those confined at home. The larger of the two, the Chambers Street Dispensary, which was converted from a store, was divided into seven sections to accommodate the various services: medical, apothecary, surgical (though not opened then), women's, eye and ear, and a large waiting room. No charges were made of any kind, not even for medicine.

The doctors also produced and distributed pamphlets which were written in Yiddish and English. With common sense they emphasized the care of infants—"their feeding and natural care during warm weather especially"—and rules for the prevention of tubercular infection prescribing exercises for the lungs. Medical directions on the bottles were also printed in Yiddish as well as English "to prevent any accident . . . on account of the ignorance of the patients of all other languages but their own." The doctors, who had learned from the trials of the several previous experiments, succeeded in this attempt to maintain an outpatient medical service. In the spring of 1903 the United Hebrew Benevolent Association acknowledged the Mt. Sinai's "splendid assistance . . . in the relief of the sick." By the end of the first year more

than ten thousand patients treated at the two units had unmistakably demonstrated the communal function of a Jewish dispensary.

Although many charitable organizations made small financial contributions, the main support came from the doctors and a small group of laymen. The physicians not only volunteered their professional services, but even bought instruments and other necessities at their own expense. Among the officers of the Association were Charles Jacobs, president; Richard Pinksohn, treasurer; and Edward Bromberg, secretary. Joseph L. Bergman, the vice-president, most successfully publicized the work of the Mt. Sinai by interesting influential, wealthier members of the community.

In the fall of 1903 the move to the Staniford Street building marked the expansion of the Mt. Sinai. At the dedication ceremonies, the speeches of Louis D. Brandeis and Rabbi Charles Fleischer of Adath Israel affirmed the importance of the Dispensary. Joseph L. Bergman, a local Republican leader, prominent in the Dorchester and Roxbury Improvement Associations, now assumed the presidency of the Mt. Sinai. Through his efforts the Federation leaders increasingly participated in the development of the institution. As soon as it became more fashionable, a ladies auxiliary became active. Lehman Pickert, the president of the Federation in 1904, headed the Mt. Sinai Association in 1905. With wider support it progressed in its growing contributions to the community.

One health problem more than any other stimulated rapport between the Federation and the Mt. Sinai: both had entered the medical war on tuberculosis. At the turn of the century doctors and welfare workers observed that one of the major threats to the immigrants' adjustment derived from their susceptibility to tuberculosis, the dread scourge of the era. Living in crowded quarters, often without proper air ventilation, the foreign-born were easy victims. Although Jews

showed a low rate of mortality from tuberculosis, their philanthropic societies observed with alarm that increasing numbers of their poor succumbed each year.

Within the Federation, since 1892 the Diet Kitchen of the Hebrew Women's Sewing Society had given preference to tubercular patients. At the same time a special committee of the United Hebrew Benevolent Association gave consideration to their care. When the Boston Association for the Relief and Control of Tuberculosis was organized in 1904 for the dual purpose of educating the public and of gaining effective municipal control through clinics, the Association expressed its admiration for the work of three agencies; the Federation of Jewish Charities along with the Associated Charities and the Provident Association was "worthy of special mention" for its "cordial cooperation."

The Federation's Tuberculosis Committee was efficient and foresighted under the lay chairmanship of William Bloom and the medical supervision of Dr. Charles Rosenthal. Since the organization was unable to care for all its consumptives in their own homes, some were sent to the State Sanitorium at Rutland or to the National Jewish Hospital for consumptives at Denver, and still others to California. For those who were supported and treated in their Boston dwellings, Dr. Rosenthal instituted excellent modern care. At the time Dr. Joseph H. Pratt publicly advocated "the home sanitorium method" at the Massachusetts General Hospital and revolutionized the treatment of tuberculosis, Dr. Rosenthal urged Jewish patients to live outdoors on the roofs of their tenements. Respected for his work, Dr. Rosenthal represented the Federation at the International Tubercular Congress meetings, which planned in 1906 a world-wide preventive campaign.

Outside the Federation, in the beginning the Mt. Sinai Dispensary was not well equipped to apply the new medical

view that tubercular patients often benefited by staying in their own environment, if properly treated. However, as early as 1906, the Dispensary referred eight adults to the new day camp of the Boston Association for the Relief and Control of Tuberculosis. With increased funds the Mt. Sinai became more receptive to the "home" method.

In the same year two young Harvard Medical School graduates, Dr. Harry Linenthal and Dr. Louis Mendelsohn, reorganized the Mt. Sinai tuberculosis clinic with a full time nurse to supervise the treatment of patients in their homes. The first Jewish member of the outpatient staff of the Massachusetts General Hospital and a medical inspector in clothing factories and tenement house shop rooms, Linenthal became an instructor in pulmonary diseases at Tufts Medical School in 1907. His students were a welcome addition to the staff of the Mt. Sinai. As a result of his reports, many tubercular patients were brought to the Massachusetts General Hospital where he held conferences in its recently organized social service department, the very first in any American hospital. Thereafter Linenthal introduced the latest developments in the prevention and cure of tuberculosis at the clinic of the Mt. Sinai.

In the same period a group of serious young women formed a small club under the leadership of Mary Lurie, who had graduated from the School of Nursing of the Mt. Lebanon Hospital of New York. While others gave money to the needy, they conducted, in crowded tenements, educational campaigns for immigrants afflicted with consumption. When one of the members of this society, the Jewish Anti-Tuberculosis Association, married Dr. Harry Linenthal, he became their guiding spirit. This corps of helpers solidly supported the tuberculosis clinic of the Mt. Sinai until it closed and then established fresh roots of service. When the same

girls became wives and grandmothers, they still led a cohesive organization alerted to community health problems.

Dr. Linenthal's influence on the staff brought his distinguished mentor, Dr. Richard C. Cabot, into the medical orbit of the Mt. Sinai. He was one of the brilliant group of physicians then transforming the Harvard Medical School. There he encouraged promising Jewish students. Moreover, Cabot was responsible for the early growth of medical social service in Boston. In an era when dispensaries were mushrooming in all the large cities, he conceived these clinics not only as media to care for the poor and to provide experience for doctors but still more as agencies by which to advance public health. In this connection, he demonstrated the necessity of training social workers to give individual personal attention to patients. Medical social workers would make sure patients followed the treatment recommended for them, while doctors, thus freed, would pursue their research into human problems. Cabot's point of view deeply impressed the younger American-trained doctors serving at the Mt. Sinai.

As the honorary president of the medical staff, Richard Cabot became a symbol of the increasingly high standards of the Dispensary. Other members of the staff included Dr. Albert Ehrenfried, Dr. Hyman Morrison, Dr. Louis Freedman, Dr. Isidor Coriat, Dr. Leon S. Medalia; non-Jewish doctors included Dr. Henry J. Perry, Dr. M. P. Smithwick, and Dr. Alonzo K. Paine. Cabot made himself more than a symbol. He advised actively on the organization of the tuberculosis clinic. Conferences at his home were memorable experiences for members of the Mt. Sinai staff.

The supporters of the Dispensary were aware of the need to coordinate medical treatment with helpful supervision and education either by volunteers or, when possible, by trained personnel. The Auxiliary early announced its intention of appointing committees "for the purpose of doing settlement

work in connection with the work of the outpatient department." The first achievement developed from an experiment in district nursing. In 1905, the Mt. Sinai hired a nurse to attend two schools in the West End twice a week. The principal of each school gave the nurse a report listing the children in need of medical care not provided by their parents. The nurse then took the children to the Dispensary for proper treatment. This was one of the first experiments in school nursing in the Boston public schools. The arrangement lasted until Judge Philip Rubenstein, an early supporter of the Mt. Sinai, was instrumental in convincing the School Committee to sponsor a wider program of school nurses in 1907.

In the absence of a Jewish inpatient hospital, the Mt. Sinai Dispensary despite its limitations became a popular medical center. In 1906 ten departments represented its services: apothecary, medical, surgical, women's, nose, throat and ear, eye, skin, orthopedic diseases, oral diseases, and diseases of the nervous system. Here Yiddish-speaking newcomers were received in a friendly environment where they could be understood and where their mannerisms were accepted without indifference or hostility. So great was their response to Mt. Sinai's medical program that by 1908 over eleven thousand treatments were given in one year.

Those who worked for the Mt. Sinai never lost the desire to convert it into a general hospital. Among the most ardent supporters was a *Boston Globe* reporter, Leo Lyons. Nephew of Godfrey Morse the third president of the Federation, Lyons was in unusual accord with the views of the more recent members of the community. Their goal of a Jewish hospital became his life-long concern. From 1902 to 1905 when the Mt. Sinai first opened, Lyons edited the *Mt. Sinai Monthly* to spread good will for the Dispensary. When some of the Federation's leaders became active in the Mt. Sinai, optimism

soared that "next year" the hospital would become more than a dream.

And to thoughtful citizens active in many organizations simultaneously, the image of the future hospital was only one part of a total vision. They expected the Federation to take the lead in realizing this vision, but again finances handicapped action. By 1904, the number of contributors to the Federation had increased only slightly and distribution to the separate agencies still represented only one-third of their budgets. Although boxes were installed all over the city to collect the nickels and dimes of the poor, the number of small subscribers did not multiply significantly. In the same year, however, fund-raisers aimed to stimulate larger direct donations to the Federation by making any person who contributed "the sum of fifty dollars or more" automatically a member of all the constituent societies without paying further dues. Through this significant step the philanthropists hoped to expand the Federation's central fund.

Nonetheless in 1905 there were only seven hundred individuals supporting the joint organization. Moreover, the collections on the Day of Atonement at the twelve leading synagogues succeeded mainly in tapping again the regular subscribers to the Federation, the members of Adath Israel and Ohabei Shalom. Yet each year the demands upon the agencies mounted; in 1906 they spent fifty thousand dollars, only half of which was derived from the campaign of the Federation. The sum spent was scant measured by the needs. Lehman Pickert, Max Mitchell, Leo Lyons, and others decided it was time to campaign for a larger federation. The community was ready for it.

Although immigration still determined the structure of Jewish charities in Boston and still produced overlapping layers of communal growth, yet immigration was also operating as a unifying force upon those who became Americans.

The arrival of successive groups was altering the relationships between the so-called German and Russian charities. As those who had once been the latest immigrants became older members of the community, they too were cut off to some extent from still more recent arrivals.

As in the 1880's and 1890's each group of newcomers started its own benevolent societies and performed the first acts of welcome and protection for those who came after them. During the Kishineff persecutions a group of friends, who gathered at Congregation Shaary Jerusalem in the North End, began the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society. Although the United Hebrew Benevolent Association, the Free Employment Bureau, the Industrial Removal Office, and the Benoth Israel Sheltering Home already executed various services for immigrants, the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society also set out to protect the immigrants from "unscrupulous persons." A number of intimately related families, the members and their wives and children, rushed down to the docks to meet every incoming boat. Their funds were so slight that the Mayor of Boston permitted the mothers and children to pick and sell bouquets of wild flowers one day a year. Yet during a period of three months in 1905, the small society helped seven hundred and fourteen refugees. Its popular agent, Abraham Alpert, gave illustrated lectures in Yiddish to prepare them for citizenship.

This group soon had an official representative at the Immigration Station to facilitate the legal admissions of many immigrants. But before long the Society almost lost this privilege at the Station until the Federation intervened. As the United Hebrew Benevolent Association had smoothed out misunderstandings with public authorities for the earlier Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society in 1883, the Federation protected the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society in 1907. In emergencies the Federation was the recognized central

organization upon which other private societies depended even when they were not members. Even though the procreation of special independent organizations remained strong, Boston's Jews thus began to acknowledge the usefulness of the Federation.

And while each immigrant generation inevitably complicated and often duplicated communal organization for philanthropy, perhaps more than the participants realized they were moving in the same direction. Attending American schools and colleges, more and more the young people shared common standards of culture and achievement. By 1905, though uncommon, marriages between German and older Russian and Polish families were taking place. Increasingly, bright young newcomers who were college graduates worked as volunteers in the charity organizations and rose to prominence in the community. In the Federation a growing professional corps who were either foreign-born or the sons and daughters of immigrants became a liaison group between those who gave money for charity and those who were helped. Side by side at institutions like the Mt. Sinai Dispensary and the Hebrew Industrial School, doctors, teachers, social workers, and lay workers of the different groups demonstrated their abilities. Prejudices did not die easily but new acquaintances and friendships were counteracting the original divisions. Philanthropy was the meeting ground on which these Jews created their community as Americans.

New thinking about immigration in the world outside also drew the different groups closer. Jews like most Americans took for granted that the United States would remain a refuge for those who were persecuted in Europe. But in the 1890's, almost coincident with the birth of the oldest federation, the first organized movement for immigration restriction had also started in Boston. By no means attracting popular support, a small group of New Englanders started a legislative cam-

paign to restrict immigration under the sponsorship of the Massachusetts Senator Henry Cabot Lodge. Although the Senator's bill requiring a literacy test for the admission of immigrants failed to become a law in 1896, in 1902, in 1903, and in 1904, Jews in Boston objected to the bill and to the arguments in favor of it. A leader among the restrictionists, Prescott Hall lectured on Jewish platforms that Jews of all people should understand the desirability of preserving the racial purity of America. Social-minded citizens like Max Mitchell and Philip Davis repudiated the implications of this argument in vigorous speeches at the Young Men's Hebrew Association, at the Council of Jewish Women, and at other forums. In the new *Boston Advocate,* the forerunner of the *Jewish Advocate,* Leo Lyons and Jacob De Haas defended positively the character and usefulness of immigrants in American society. Finally in 1907, the Federation of Jewish Charities sent to Congress a resolution of protest when the Gardner bill again proposed the literacy test as the means of restricting immigration. Whatever problems the newcomers imposed, Boston's Jewish leaders now re-asserted their obligation to them. In this context the meaning of immigration was still another bond cementing the different generations of the Boston Jewish community.

The same men who actively resisted the first attempts to restrict immigration were simultaneously the architects of a bigger federation of charities among their co-religionists. A different type of central society, the Federation of Jewish Organizations of Massachusetts, formed in 1906, became an important vehicle through which the campaign to enlarge the Federation of Jewish Charities began. Including many fraternal lodges, congregations, and Young Men's Hebrew Associations, this shortlived Federation of Jewish Organizations, somewhat like a later day community relations council, envisaged itself as an advisory body representing reli-

gious, social, and charitable groups taking stands on their behalf in the community at large. Max Mitchell was the president of this organization through which the idea of a greater federation reached a wider public.

In the columns of the *Advocate,* Lyons in 1905 and in joint editorship with Jacob De Haas after 1906, repeated again and again that, as members of the Federation, all the charitable societies would better coordinate their contributions to fellow Jews. At the moment, the Benoth Israel Sheltering Home and the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society performed similar functions for the arriving immigrants; and both almost duplicated services of the federation itself. Likewise the community was supporting two orphanages, the Leopold Morse Home and the Helping Hand Temporary Home for Destitute Jewish Children. These societies would surely benefit in joint association, loyal advocates of the Federation of Jewish Charities claimed.

Another two years of exhortation and discussion bore fruit in the fall of 1907 when several organizations agreed to join a Greater Federation. By January 8, 1908, nine societies accepted the constitution adopted in a convention attended by sixty delegates. These nine members of the Greater Federation—the United Hebrew Benevolent Association, the Hebrew Women's Sewing Society, the Leopold Morse Home, the Helping Hand Temporary Home for Destitute Jewish Children, the Charitable Burial Association, the Mt. Sinai Dispensary, the Free Employment Bureau, and the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society—were incorporated under the new name of the Federated Jewish Charities.

Until then, the first federation had depended upon the cohesiveness of the oldest segment of Boston's Jews. As a result, their finances had limited the usefulness of the joint charities. Yet after a decade of federation, the constituent societies had progressed visibly. Pioneering in their own

group, they joined contemporary Yankee social workers in advancing family and child welfare and health services. The influence of the first two superintendents—Solomon Schindler and Max Mitchell—was pervasive, although there was no clearly defined executive planning and budgeting. Moreover, outside the federation, both old and new groups had independently taken further initiative in the spheres of family and child welfare, industrial training, recreation, Jewish education, immigration service, and medical care. These contributions to the community indicated the fertility of Jewish leadership in social welfare and the willingness to try new solutions. The second federation would gain from the energies of the new groups, and, as it extended horizontally across the community in the next years, it would slowly accommodate the diverse interests of Boston's Jews.

CHAPTER THREE

The Federated Jewish Charities 1908-1916

Among sixty thousand Jews who had formed thirty-seven religious congregations in Boston, the lines of division were beginning to dissolve in 1908. More groups were willing to participate in the joint organization for charity. Only thirteen years after its founding, the federation included several of the societies which later east European immigrants had established. Their representatives and those of eight major religious congregations now mingled on the Board of Directors of the Federated Jewish Charities with the prominent leaders of the old "German" set. As yet, the officers—Lehman Pickert, president; A. C. Ratshesky, first vice-president; Mrs. Jacob H. Hecht, second vice-president; Max Friedman, treasurer; and Edward E. Norton, clerk—did not represent the newcomers. Yet their membership in the Federated Jewish Charities would encourage harmony in the growing Boston Jewish community. Within the organization the different generations of settlers would still approach

philanthropy with varied perspectives, but, at the end of the next years of adjustment, there would be greater readiness to find common standards of social welfare.

Before the Federated Jewish Charities could meet the challenges of its role, an unexpected crisis postponed its internal development. A terrible fire swept through the tenements of Chelsea on Sunday morning, April 12, 1908. It burned 360 acres of land, demolished buildings amounting to a financial loss of $12,000,000, and left 15,000 people homeless. Among them 5000 were orthodox Jews about to celebrate their week of Passover festivities.

While all Jewish groups helped the sufferers, the Federated produced the major funds and material aid and coordinated the work of various societies. A. C. Ratshesky and Lehman Pickert of the Federated, who were on the Governor's Committee of philanthropists and social workers to direct the relief, took full charge. Immediately they sponsored breakfasts at a Chelsea police station for thousands "irrespective of creed."

For the Jewish victims observance of Passover doubly complicated the provision of meals. Under the auspices of the Federated many a *seder* took place in succession at the Chelsea Young Men's Hebrew Association and at the Irvington Street Armory in Boston. Jacob De Haas and Joseph L. Bergman supervised the distribution of new utensils, thousands of pounds of *matzos,* sacks of onions, and bags of Passover sugar, with the assistance of young women sent by the Federated and young men of the Boston Young Men's Hebrew Association. In addition, at the South Armory, the ladies of the Federated worked under the supervision of Mrs. Ferdinand Strauss and Miss Lina Frankenstein to find homes and employment, and to supply furniture and household goods for the homeless. Most of the refugees stayed in Chelsea but four hundred were housed in Boston at the Baldwin

Place Synagogue, the North End Hebrew Free School, and the Benoth Israel Sheltering Home.

One Chelsea high school senior, young Casper Grosberg, who worked at the local headquarters under Max Mitchell's supervision, was sent as a messenger to get money from the Federated's treasurer in Boston. As Simon Vorenberg checked the youth's credentials most carefully "to make sure it was safe to entrust the money," he little realized that in another era the young man would also serve the federation as treasurer for fifteen years. In view of the Federated's shaky finances in 1908 Vorenberg's caution was understandable, but it was more than matched by the Federated's generosity to Chelsea neighbors. Significantly, in an hour of disaster the organization had departed from its rigid principle of providing charity only within the city limits of Boston and thus laid a precedent for the later policy of extending its services to the whole Metropolitan area.

Outside Jewish circles, other Bostonians were impressed with the élan of the Federated's workers carrying on days and nights without sleep for a week. Joseph Lee, a noted leader in Yankee philanthropy and social service, wondered that "Max Mitchell, Meyer Bloomfield and the rest" were not dead from fatigue and added "they are not, and others are alive in consequence." The Federated Jewish Charities had thus renewed the popular belief that "the world over . . . the Hebrews take care of their poor and unfortunate."

After the fire, the Federated faced the complex work of improving its services to the community. Once more the knotty task of harmonizing the varied constituents absorbed the leaders. Although there were no preconceived plans for the immediate future, the need to establish a more solid basis of operations was evident. The new federation was a looser organization than its predecessor because the nine constituents epitomized the transitional character of the Boston Jewish

community. While some of the member societies partially accepted the emerging professional aspect of social work, others were barely aware of its functions. The immediate years ahead were formative while all the constituents learned to make the federation a more effective instrument of communal welfare.

After the Chelsea fire, the Federated's meager financial resources were depleted. The slight depression of 1907 and 1908 added to the let-down. Wealthy donors were still very few. The *Advocate* pointed out that the enlarged federation needed a minimum of seventy-five thousand dollars and required one hundred thousand dollars to function more constructively. Even the minimum sum was not collected.

Commonly the prominent Jewish charities in the United States, like those of other Americans, then depended upon the generosity of wealthy individuals. The support the Boston Federated received was small compared with that of organized philanthropy in cities of analogous size like Cleveland, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, where the first Jewish settlers had been more numerous and produced a more affluent group. Moreover, although in 1910 Boston was the fifth largest city in the United States in terms of Jewish population, the federation rated tenth in the volume of dollars contributed to its treasury and eleventh in the number of individual contributors. Patently the Federated in its work with refugees had had little access to new sources of income from the rising groups among the newcomers.

So disheartening and hopeless had the financial struggle become that, in 1909, there was serious discussion as to the advisability of continuing the federation. With a deficit of fifteen thousand dollars the trustees taxed themselves as individuals to prevent the Federated from dying altogether. Despite the hopeless outlook, they voted not to disband. A new president, Abraham C. Ratshesky, led the battle for

funds with renewed determination. A Ways and Means Committee under Joseph M. Herman and Ferdinand Strauss applied more thorough social pressure on the older contributors to increase their donations. Max Mitchell districted the city for fund-raising and organized for the first time a committee to cover the community by trades and professions. But these fresh strategies did not immediately improve the difficult financial condition.

In effect, the Federated's empty treasury delayed expansion of its philanthropic programs. Max Mitchell visualized new buildings for the Mt. Sinai Dispensary, the Industrial School, the Immigrant Aid Society, the Home for Jewish Children, and even an entire Jewish Charity Building. Yet it was impossible to undertake all these measures. To a great extent, therefore, Boston's Jews in the next few years carved out new stakes in communal philanthropy outside the federation. Older and more recent members of the community alike worked in other channels, both traditional and innovative, which would in time become part of the Federated Jewish Charities.

Within the federation itself child care, family welfare, and medical social service received priority. The most urgent problem revolved around the continuing controversy as to the most suitable method of supervising children who were either orphaned or temporarily destitute. For three years a special Federated committee reviewed the available provisions for the homeless. In 1908, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the Parker Memorial Society, and the Children's Mission still placed children for whom the Jewish leaders wished they had been able to provide. Yet there was basic agreement that the Jewish communal organization must prevent children from being raised in public institutions or in private homes of non-Jews. Moreover, within the Greater Federation there were now two institutions for child care: the Leopold Morse

Home and the Helping Hand Temporary Home for Destitute Jewish Children. Was it not pointless for the Federated to maintain two institutions for the same purpose of sheltering needy children? Finally, despite this logic, the validity of institutional care was quietly debated.

In harmony with contemporary thinking, many supporters and workers of the Federated favored child-placing. In 1909, Max Mitchell attended the first White House Conference on Dependent Children, which became a milestone for social workers. There among interested delegates—ministers, rabbis, priests, philanthropists, and social workers—the President of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt, championed the principle of foster home care. Two years later in Boston, social workers at the National Conference of Jewish Charities unanimously supported the President's view in favor of well-supervised placing programs rather than old-fashioned orphanages. But despite the Boston federation's early advocacy of foster homes, the Federated Jewish Charities did not expand its program. In 1911 harmony within the federation depended upon constructive relations with the most important of the recent constituents, the Home for Jewish Children, the new name of the Helping Hand Temporary Home for Destitute Children.

The directors of this Home and its Helping Hand Auxiliary showed increasing financial and charitable enterprise in the community. In the spring of 1907 before the Home became a member of the federation, the directors had voted to purchase land upon which to build an orphanage specially designed for that purpose. The quarters on Fort Hill Avenue had long been overcrowded. Although the Federated's lack of sympathy with the project soon became clear, by 1908 the Home leaders had purchased property on Canterbury Street, Dorchester. When three years later the building neared completion, both the Home's sponsors and the Federated's leaders

recognized that the amalgamation of the new Home and the old Leopold Morse orphanage was most practical.

While tentative conferences were being held, the Canterbury St. building opened on November 3, 1911. In it centered the good will of generous men and women committed to the belief that dependent children could best be supervised under one institutional roof. The sixty-three charges from the old Temporary Home moved in. Forty-nine others still remained in the Leopold Morse Home. On November 19, 1911, the agreement to merge the two homes was announced. The directors of the new Home recorded with evident relief that its financial support was thus "assured." Equally important, they believed the act of amalgamation would remove "the prejudices that have existed between Federation members and our members." Yet because of this judicious act of amalgamation the Federated's child-placing program would for another two decades remain a minor experiment.

The pattern of institutional care in this Home did not differ from that of its two predecessors. The Board of Directors, primarily men, voted on the admission of each applicant and controlled all policies, including those of the Ladies Auxiliary. Active supporters of the old Leopold Morse Home added their counsel.

The devoted backers were indefatigable in providing Hebrew studies, manual training, sewing classes, and other traditional activities of a Jewish orphanage. The Ladies Helping Hand Auxiliary freely dispensed its swelling funds for special tutoring of slow pupils, forensic instruction of talented youngsters, and for *Bar Mitzvah* celebrations. The ladies supervised the quality of food, provided fresh fruit as they did for their own children, and on Dr. Linenthal's advice added a medical dispensary, an infirmary, and sleeping porches in 1914. Committees of the Auxiliary also checked

on the children's progress in the public schools and followed up their discharge from the Home. For the next two decades this institution was the cornerstone upon which child welfare rested in the Boston Jewish community.

Just before the Home opened, Max Mitchell retired in 1911. He left the Federated Jewish Charities in a better developed state than he had found it in 1900. The Greater Federation was largely the culmination of his efforts. Beyond his duties as superintendent of the Federated, he had served as treasurer of the National Conference of Jewish Charities and been an active participant in the National Conference of Charities and Correction. An immigrant himself, Mitchell had fought to preserve the privilege for others to come to America and worked for the improvement of living conditions in the slums of the city.

His successor was a woman, Martha Michaels Silverman. She had worked as a young novice in 1903 first for the Baron de Hirsch Committee and later as Mitchell's assistant. Mrs. Silverman had continued her job with the Federated after her marriage to Robert Silverman, an early crusader among the local Zionists. For a time in charge of the Federated's Country Week Program at Bryantville, she developed as a social worker. Although hired for only six months as temporary superintendent, Mrs. Silverman kept the job for the next five years and surprised those who had resisted the idea of a woman executive.

Like Schindler and Mitchell before her, Martha Silverman was the joint superintendent of the Federated and the United Hebrew Benevolent Association. In the family agency she stressed the intelligent use of visitors to attain "close and sympathetic relations" with clients, and spared them "the humiliation . . . of coming to the office for their weekly aid." Broadly, her view of the clients of the Benevolent Association took into account the intimate relation between family and

child welfare. Discriminating carefully between permanent and temporary cases, she referred chronic ones to the Overseers of the Poor.

More than her predecessors, Martha Silverman consistently followed the accepted principle of the Benevolent in providing temporary relief only to those who would thereby become self-sustaining. For husbands and fathers such rehabilitation often depended upon their economic well-being; in this connection, Mrs. Silverman thought more adequate loans to start people in business should be available. She was not impressed with the petty weekly cash allowance (three to five dollars) which had partially replaced the earlier, more demoralizing method of providing the poor with specific groceries. In accord with growing social service practice, she continually discouraged the disbursement of supplies and favored presenting cash in such a way that clients had an opportunity to make decisions in the planning of family expenditures. During Mrs. Silverman's years of service from 1912 to 1917, she defined more clearly the function of the Benevolent Association as the main agency of the Federated to rehabilitate family life.

In 1914, Mrs. Silverman applied these techniques to a group of families who lost their homes and their businesses during a fire in Salem, Massachusetts. The General Relief Committee of the State had been at a loss to help these Salem residents who were dazed by their experiences and reluctant to accept charity. Mrs. Silverman headed the local committee with the assistance of Mrs. Julius Andrews, the president of the Council of Jewish Women, to advise in the disposition of the individual Jewish cases. Mrs. Silverman's guidance facilitated the work of rehabilitation of these families. And the Federated's action, as in the earlier Chelsea fire, laid a second precedent for the extension of its family service to Metropolitan areas.

Above all, Mrs. Silverman considered the needs of the children, for "parents by custom and habit, are beyond us, but we can do much for their children that is truly constructive," she observed. When the Mother's Aid Law was passed in Massachusetts in 1913, making provision for poor mothers with dependent children, the staff of the United Hebrew Benevolent Association investigated its pertinent cases; and while tiding them over with temporary help, Mrs. Silverman referred all who were eligible to the public welfare. When the State finally granted aid, Mrs. Silverman's staff of visitors shared the supervision of these cases with the public welfare agency.

Economic and social problems of immigrant women still inspired volunteers to service in other agencies of the Federated. A group of the Sewing Society ladies organized and financed, under the direction of Mrs. Louis Strauss, a workroom where dependent women received instruction in the operation of sewing machines. Through this project many of the Federated's clients became self-supporting, no longer receiving an allotment of one hundred and fifty dollars a year. When unemployment increased sharply in 1915, the Hebrew Industrial School introduced electric power machines in cooperation with a training program of the National Civic Federation of Women. As a result, thirty young women, who had been unskilled workers, were able to move into trades when places could be found for them.

In addition, the ladies of the Hebrew Industrial School and the Sewing Society helped to fill recreational needs of underprivileged women and children. The Hebrew Industrial School held a summer kindergarten, at first on the roof of the Washington School and later on the banks of the Charles River. For the fifty West End youngsters who attended, in the charge of the Misses Sophie Friedman and Zippora Spitz, outings at a farm in Jamaica Plain were an added treat.

In 1911 the mothers of the children also enjoyed a few hours of relaxation, scheduled by the Mothers' Committee of the Sewing Society on two Saturday afternoons a month. While underprivileged women listened, with the help of Yiddish interpreters, to talks on health, homemaking, and education, or enjoyed musical programs in an atmosphere of sociability, their children were supervised by a paid kindergarten teacher. At the request of this responsive audience evening classes were also arranged at one of the public schools. By encouraging "the adjustment to American life and a broader sympathy between mother and child, and, consequently, a more influential home," the Mothers' Committee of the Sewing Society evinced increasing understanding of the contemporary problems of women and children.

Likewise the dominant currents of social work reached a high water mark in the new Social Service Department of the Mt. Sinai Dispensary in 1910. Working closely with the medical staff, this pioneer department quickly became "the unifying element" in the patients' relations to the sixteen different clinics of the Mt. Sinai. Under Ida Goldberg and her part-time assistant in the Children's clinic, Eva Helman, the Social Service Department received clients from other agencies including great numbers from the United Hebrew Benevolent Association; and, in addition, aided non-Jewish agencies who requested assistance with Yiddish-speaking patients. Although the Mt. Sinai social workers did not interfere with care already in progress, cooperative relations with an interested agency sometimes produced beneficial changes in treatment. In the case of an asthma patient known to the Benevolent Association for many years, the Mt. Sinai doctor and the social worker demonstrated that the patient was depending upon his wife and the Benevolent Association to shoulder his responsibilities. Once aware that the condition

of asthma was being exploited to induce chronic laziness, the Benevolent adopted a different course with the client.

Ironically, the Mt. Sinai's accomplishments in medical as well as social services gravely handicapped the proper use of its facilities. In 1913, the Dispensary served more than twenty-four thousand individuals of whom more than five thousand were free patients. Overcrowded to the point of danger, the city would before long condemn its building. Meanwhile alert medical and lay directors pleaded for a new dispensary building and continued to lay plans for a Jewish hospital. Mt. Sinai doctors waited and hoped.

To many members of the community it seemed that the federation was at a standstill, for in all its branches it fulfilled old obligations but undertook no new ones. However sympathetically the Federated viewed progressive techniques in social service for young delinquents, working mothers, and immigrant girls, the organization was too poor to take further initiative. Meanwhile small groups of Boston's Jews, both old and new, forged independent contributions which in a later era became part of the Federated's work.

More often than not, women first tried new paths in community welfare. For the well-established, the Boston Council of Jewish Women stimulated projects which did not duplicate those of the Sewing Society or of the Industrial School. After 1907 the immigrant aid department of the Boston Council in conjunction with the national organization helped unattached women in transit from Europe to America. With the permission of the United States Government, leaflets written in Yiddish, English, and German were distributed at all ports of embarkation. These brochures prepared solitary female travelers for their arrival in America. Warning them against deceptive strangers, the Council explained that its representatives were always on hand to assist immigrant girls and women in the new country.

In the 1900's the leaders in the Boston Council contributed imaginatively to community service. Its department for the welfare of local women and girls helped unmarried mothers, maltreated children, and feeble-minded girls. From 1902 to 1906 the Council paid for a probation officer to supervise all cases of Jewish children then tried in adult courts. Assuming case work responsibilities entirely ignored by the Federated in this period, the Council joined the Massachusetts Prison Association in attacking the problem of juvenile delinquency. The Council was also instrumental with non-Jewish organizations in establishing the Boston Juvenile Court in 1906.

The related problem of adult prisoners deeply interested the Council of Jewish Women. When in 1908 Chaplain Stebbins of the Massachusetts State Prison requested the Federated to supply an approved list of rabbis to address Jewish prisoners, important philanthropic leaders with the Council of Jewish Women, the congregations of the city, the Zionist Council, and other representatives of the community at large formed the Central Jewish Organization to do mission work among the inmates of prisons and other public institutions. In 1909 through the intervention of this Central Jewish Organization, Governor Foss became aware of the need for Jewish chaplains in public institutions and appointed Rabbi Louis A. Alexander to be the first in Massachusetts. Rabbi Alexander and his assistants regularly held Sabbath and holiday services.

Mrs. Edward S. Goulston, then president of the Council of Jewish Women, became chairman of the Central Jewish Organization's prison aid committee. She directed work among inmates of the public institutions and aided prisoners' families who were ineligible for relief from other sources. Under her influence the prisoners' aid committee added another component to local Jewish social service. Theresa Hirshfield Goulston became a well-known figure in the courts

of Massachusetts "pleading with judges in behalf of the criminal and unfortunate." From this committee grew the separate Jewish Prisoners' Aid Society by 1913.

Women descended from the earliest immigrant group served the community in the Hebrew Women's Sewing Society, the Hebrew Industrial School, and the Council of Jewish Women, while a well-established group of later arrivals was devoted to the Home for Jewish Children. But there were others who expressed the same zeal for charitable work in a variety of different projects. Some immigrant mothers continued the pattern of earlier generations with their *chevrot*, free loan, and visiting societies for the sick and the aged. Among these, the Roxbury Ladies Bickur Cholim Association, which gave financial aid to poor sick Jews, emerged in two decades as the federation's Greater Boston Bickur Cholim Hospital, and still later as the Jewish Memorial Hospital.

Other women started the Hebrew Ladies Moshav Zekainim Association which, under the able leadership of Albert Titelbaum, opened a Home for the Aged in Dorchester in 1905. When the Leopold Morse Home closed in 1911, the Federated no longer supported institutional care for the aged, and thereafter gave only occasional pensions to old folk in need. The Home for the Aged which women in modest circumstances had sponsored then became indispensable. Enlarged in 1907, it accommodated one hundred aged Hebrews and rendered unique services to the community in the next half century.

Moreover, in response to new opportunities for education, immigrant women from central and eastern Europe expressed respect for learning often more intense than that of the groups of Jews who had preceded them in Boston. The desire to send their daughters to American colleges brought the Women's Scholarship Association into being in 1907 under the leader-

ship of Bertha I. Kagan, the wife of a teacher at the Roxbury High School.

The determination of other foreign-born women produced a decisive grass roots movement for a medical institution hardly noticed by more influential citizens. The seeds for the Jewish hospital were planted by those who would not be kept waiting. Outside the supporters of the Mt. Sinai Dispensary, small orthodox circles upheld the traditional obligation to help the sick and added a strong link in the chain of popular sentiment for a hospital. A group of mothers in the poorer section of the South End and the adjoining section of Roxbury, gathering spontaneously in the Three and Nine Cent store of Hyman Danzig, discussed the need while they purchased pots and pans. Late in 1909 their committee, through a novel fund-raising scheme, sold miniature bricks at fifty cents a piece to pay for the building of an entire hospital. Undiscouraged by the vastness of their undertaking, they made the most of nickels, dimes, and quarters. By September, 1911, the little group of women had grown into a fund-raising society known as the Beth Israel Hospital Association.

Meanwhile another group, the North End Bickur Cholim Society, had also been raising money for a Jewish hospital. In 1912, this society joined the Beth Israel Association. Together they numbered over four thousand women. In 1913, new financial support came from doctors and lay leaders of the Mt. Sinai Dispensary, who campaigned in the growing movement for an inpatient hospital. From the consolidation of these interested forces the Beth Israel Hospital Association progressed to the point of incorporating in December, 1915, with Hyman Danzig as president and Oscar Grosberg as treasurer.

When the women had collected eight thousand dollars in pledges, the Association purchased the old Dennison estate on Townsend Street in Roxbury, which fifteen months later

became the site of the first Beth Israel Hospital. The hard-earned eight thousand dollars defrayed only half the cost; an eight thousand dollar mortgage provided the remainder. Enthusiasm reached a new peak among hospital supporters. They launched concerts, dances, and other benefits before undertaking the necessary renovations. Those who could afford it added hundred dollar bills to the nickels, dimes, quarters, and dollars of the earlier drives. On March 25, 1916, the climax of the drive came when the mortgage was finally burned piece by piece as it was sold by auction. At the close of the occasion, the treasurer reported a surplus of more than six thousand dollars. The alterations of the buildings then started under the direction of Dr. Kallman Davidson, Dr. Albert Ehrenfried, and Myer Dana. Fifteen years of struggle for a Jewish hospital were over and the goal was in sight.

Although the distaff side had initiated the most ambitious projects in this period, three communal ventures which attracted the interest of men's groups would become constituent societies of the Federated Jewish Charities in a later day.

On March 26, 1908, the founding of the Moeth Chitim Association or Passover Aid Committee stemmed from the desire of one group to unify the scattered efforts to make the traditional celebration of Passover a gracious occasion for all Jews, however poor. Customarily, synagogues, charitable societies, and individuals provided the needy with essential foods and financial help at Passover. Services were also conducted for homeless newcomers at the Sheltering Home and for prisoners and other inmates of public institutions. All congregations and interested organizations were invited to participate in the establishment of an organized Moeth Chitim which would avoid duplication. Levi Herman became the first chairman and Rabbi Nathan Blechman of Mishkan Tefila, the first rabbinical representative of the

United Moeth Chitim, which took the entire responsibility for the distribution of Passover food and money. The United Hebrew Benevolent Association and the Hebrew Women's Sewing Society were among the contributors; and, in return, families for whom the Federated cared were among those supplied by the Moeth Chitim.

Another group of men created the Hebrew Free Loan Society of Boston, a charitable institution also based on immemorial custom. While many small loan societies were run by members of congregations and of *Landsmannschaften,* and even by single individuals, the most prominent one was that of the prospering members of the Blue Hill Avenue Synagogue. Before the turn of the century only a few of the early successful merchants had moved to the highlands of Roxbury but in 1907 the establishment of the Congregation Adath Jeshurun, more commonly known as the Blue Hill Avenue Synagogue, was the signpost of a growing neighborhood of more recent immigrants. Increasingly Roxbury would be the milieu of Jews who had outgrown their first humble residences in the North, South, and West Ends of the city.

In 1912, Nathan Pinanski, Albert A. Ginzberg, Oscar Grosberg, Lassor Agoos, and others gave twenty-five hundred dollars out of their own pockets to organize the Hebrew Free Loan Society of Boston. That year the Society made one hundred and ninety-three loans amounting to over fifteen thousand dollars. Taking the Biblical text for its guide, "If thou lend money to the poor thou shalt not lay upon him usury," the Society loaned money to the worthy who applied irrespective of "race, color, or creed" in sums varying from twenty-five dollars to three hundred dollars, which were repaid in small periodic installments free of interest or other charges.

In the same period a younger generation of this flourishing group took over the original name and charter of

the Boston Young Men's Hebrew Association. As the neighborhood of the South End had declined, the "Y" on East Concord Street faded. By 1909 it was non-existent. A year later there was talk of starting the old "Y" in the West End, but the idea was rejected, although in 1914 under different auspices a West End "Y" was established. But at the end of 1911, the Roxbury youths finally reconstituted the original "Y" using the contents of the East Concord Street building in the Hetty Green mansion at the corner of Warren and Howland Streets in Roxbury. The score of bright young men who marshaled this "Y" were college graduates and often young lawyers. Over the next decade and a half, they developed an *esprit de corps* which made the Boston Young Men's Hebrew Association a local center. Without community support and without a paid director, young men under the first presidency of Dr. Nathaniel A. Finkelstein managed the "Y" themselves. The active participants soon included Dr. Samuel A. Levine, Samuel Magid, Albert Hurwitz, Jacob L. Wiseman, Lewis Goldberg, Nathan A. Heller, and David M. Watchmaker, most of whom later appeared on the roll of federation leaders in the 1930's and 1940's.

In April, 1912, a group of young ladies, sisters and friends of the young men, organized a Young Women's Hebrew Association and offered a program akin to that of the Young Men's. Sadie Lipner, later Judge Sadie Lipner Shulman of the Dorchester Court, was the first president.

In 1911, the Boston "Y" played an important part in the founding of the Associated Y.M.H.A.'s of New England of which Albert Hurwitz became president in 1914. Through another director, David Ellis, a School Committeeman since 1903, the Boston group took an active part in the formation of the Council of Y.M.H.A.'s and Kindred Associations in New York in 1912, the predecessor of the National Jewish Welfare Board. Fostered by distinguished national leaders,

the Council of Y.M.H.A.'s and Kindred Associations aimed to coordinate education and social service among young people. One important spokesman, Louis Marshall, publicly declared in 1908 "the need of a distinctly Jewish tendency in the conduct of Jewish educational institutions." The Council of Y.M.H.A.'s and Kindred Associations took the responsibility of spreading the "positive Judaism" Marshall proposed by making religious education available at Young Men's Hebrew Associations all over the United States.

The Boston "Y" contributed greatly to the success of this progressive movement. A pamphlet on the religious curriculum of "Y" Sunday Schools written by Albert Hurwitz and another on club work by Coleman Silbert advanced the field of Jewish education through recreational techniques. In the Sunday School curriculum and in the outlines for club work, intelligent reading and discussion designed for each level from kindergarten to adolescence emphasized the ethical content of the Jewish heritage. By 1916 there were twenty-six such schools meeting at the Young Men's Hebrew Associations on Sunday mornings throughout New England, providing religious education for more than four thousand children. Over three hundred young men and women volunteered their services to teach children whose parents were not members of synagogues and who otherwise would not have had any Jewish education.

In addition, the Central Jewish Organization, though mainly concerned with prisoners' aid, was also interested in establishing religious schools, standardizing curricula, and improving the training of teachers. In cooperation with the Central Jewish Organization in 1914, the Boston Young Men's Hebrew Association held free public services for the High Holy Days primarily to serve young adults who had not yet joined any congregation.

Paradoxically, while the Federated suffered from mone-

tary famine and could not take the lead in the social and educational progress of the community, as in the past important paths of the future were being plotted outside the Federated. Yet, its leaders knew that to succeed as a representative communal organization the federation would have to accept the challenges offered by Boston's maturing Jews.

The Federated's financial difficulties were still inextricably related to its social relationships. The negotiations preceding the amalgamation of the old Leopold Morse Home and the new Home for Jewish Children had revealed the strains in the community taking shape. Even though there were now a few newcomers on the Federated's Board, it kept the reputation of being a clique run by the "Elysium Club crowd." Moreover, the groups and individuals outside the Federated often preferred to organize their own projects without interference. In 1911 the Federated tried to bury the old differences. At a good will meeting Rabbi Eichler of Ohabei Shalom joked thinly that it did not matter how far away from Berlin a Jew happened to be born. Yet the social relations of the membership constituted only one aspect of the Federated's problem.

The banker, A. C. Ratshesky, who had headed the federation since 1909, recognized that its regeneration would depend upon a thorough re-evaluation of its purposes and its accomplishments. A younger generation within the old guard agreed that only a basic shake-up would give the organization fresh confidence in itself. Ratshesky appointed a Welfare Committee in 1914 to study the Federated's needs and to recommend the means by which to achieve them. At that time social surveys of federations, based upon comparative study and research, were rare. In New York, in 1914 the Bureau of Jewish Statistics and Research had just opened, and in 1916 the Bureau of Philanthropic Research would follow. The Federated's Welfare Committee initiated on its

own responsibility significant techniques for planning in the Boston federation.

The members of the Welfare Committee were, with one exception, locally identified with the philanthropic services they surveyed. Able men and women, they were in the full vigor of their careers: A. K. Cohen, a judge of the Boston Municipal Court; Dr. Milton J. Rosenau, the professor of preventive medicine at Harvard Medical School; Max E. Wyzanski, a prominent businessman in real estate; Isabel Hyams and Frances Stern, two social workers of recognized stature. All had been volunteer workers for the federation since the 1890's, with the exception of Dr. Rosenau who brought a scientific perspective from across the Charles. The judgments of the five surveyors not only had weight with older Federated officers, but more important, they awakened a response among younger directors who were just emerging to the front as leaders.

Since Frances Stern and Isabel Hyams did most of the investigating, their attitudes toward social service permeated the final Report of the Welfare Committee. Frances Stern, whose mother Caroline Stern had founded the Naomi Lodge of *Treue Schwestern* in the 1870's, and Isabel Hyams, the sister of Godfrey Hyams, the early benefactor of the Young Men's Hebrew Association, had been intimate friends from the early days at the Hebrew Industrial School and at the Louisa Alcott settlement. Working under Professor Ellen A. Richards at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the two friends had already applied the study of modern dietetics to family welfare in non-sectarian agencies. They were among the first social workers to relate food and diet to psychological habits and ethnic patterns of experience. From 1901 to 1902, Isabel Hyams had given unique domestic service instruction to poor housewives in a course for the Women's Educational and Industrial Union. A few years later Frances Stern experi-

mented with a new "visiting housekeeping" program for the Boston Association for the Relief and Control of Tuberculosis under the sponsorship of Miss Hyams. In 1912 the Boston Provident Association engaged Miss Stern to inaugurate its first visiting housekeeper program. The skill and originality with which Isabel Hyams and Frances Stern had pioneered new programs elsewhere in the community was now applied to the agencies of the Federated Jewish Charities.

After ten months of study and discussion, the Welfare Committee was ready to present conclusions which would shatter the present somnolent state of the Federated. The Report reviewed the functioning of the various constituent societies in critical detail. Admittedly, the first three superintendents had done fruitful work within the conservative, slowly altering pattern which limited financial resources and limited communal power of their federation had permitted. The core of the Report stated, however, that the Federated should further develop "social, preventive and charitable work" along "progressive, constructive and modern lines." The survey insisted that "the future welfare of the community" guide the federation's policies.

A. K. Cohen gave the Report of the Committee to an amazed Board of Directors at the Elysium Club. A sober pause interrupted the enthusiasm of his listeners when the money-raisers discovered that a minimum of $150,000 was necessary to carry out the recommendations of the Welfare Committee. But one director, Louis E. Kirstein, who had been on the Federated Board for only a few years, was not shocked. A native of Rochester, New York, Kirstein, one of the original contributors to the Federation, had been in and out of Boston since 1895 when he had started as a salesman for Lloyd's optical firm. He returned in 1911 as vice-president of William Filene's and Sons. Like Jacob H. Hecht in an earlier time, Kirstein brought a larger vision to the Report's recommenda-

tions than those who had lived longer in the community. The capable merchant grasped the full meaning of the survey. Volunteering to raise the necessary money in the next campaign, Kirstein at forty-nine thus became a new leader among Boston's Jews.

On March 22, 1916, the Federated Jewish Charities acted swiftly on the three basic recommendations of the Welfare Committee. The Board voted, first, to reorganize under a new constitution and by-laws which would centralize the administrative authority; second, to employ an experienced, competent specialist in charity organization to be the executive director; and third, to establish a social service department composed of trained social workers to supervise the cases of the different constituent societies. In addition, although the committee carefully refrained from making categorical recommendations, its analysis of the individual agencies pointed the way to other radical changes which were in store for the Federated.

A necessary period of transition and compromise thus ended. During it the old and new groups had become better adjusted to each other's views of communal welfare. Now the time had arrived to equate higher standards among all the agencies of the federation. In good measure, the social perspective of the first survey would shape the Federated Jewish Charities in the 1920's. Moreover, it would then encompass more of the promising independent organizations which had appeared in these previous years and come nearer the original goal of representing the entire Jewish community.

CHAPTER FOUR

Growth of the Federated Jewish Charities 1916-1929

In the spring of 1916 the members of the Federated Jewish Charities viewed its reconstruction with excitement. Inspired by the Welfare Report, the federation accelerated its course, intent on utilizing more fully emerging specialized fields of social service. Although war in Europe already cast tragic shadows, they did not yet eclipse local interests of Americans, still at peace. Ultimately, of course, the first World War and its aftermath would impinge upon this private philanthropic organization. More important in that pre-war spring, the federation reached a visible point of maturation because Boston's Jews were coalescing as one group of Americans within the city.

They, like Jews elsewhere in the United States, were beginning to consolidate their philanthropic organizations more effectively. One of the bonds among the groups diverse in roots and settlement had been the mutual obligation they felt for those who remained impoverished or persecuted in the Old

World. For many decades they had helped their co-religionists in eastern and central Europe through personal and semi-organized means. But coincident with new relationships among American Jews in the 1910's, the nationalizing of fund-raising became an additional cohesive force.

After 1914, the American Joint Distribution Committee unified the contributions of various groups — reform, conservative, orthodox, and labor — to relieve war-stricken European communities. In Boston, the directors of the federation were active supporters of this Committee. In 1917 the Balfour Declaration favoring the establishment of a Jewish State stimulated more systematic fund-raising for Palestine, whether through the earlier established Jewish National Fund or the new Keren Hayesod. Although old timers in the federation were predominantly either passive or opposed to this movement, Boston itself became a Zionist center. Yet even within the federation there were professional workers, contributors, and even a few leaders attracted to the cause. Although the Jewish State was still an ideal, as a symbol it already cut across the local community and indirectly affected the development of the federation.

The Federated Jewish Charities was more conscious than ever before of the great needs it served. Now eighty-five thousand Jews resided in the city; eighty-five congregations were publicly listed in Greater Boston. Although the descendants of the original federation families were declining in numbers and some were less interested in Jewish affiliations, the old leadership was still strong. More recent groups increasingly showed their enterprise. In 1916, the unification of their joint charities proceeded more democratically in the re-organized federation of which A. C. Ratshesky was the first president.

The third constitution and by-laws of the federation introduced radical administrative changes. Most important, a powerful executive committee superseded the large un-



Jacob H. Hecht



Louis E. Kirstein



Israel Friedlander



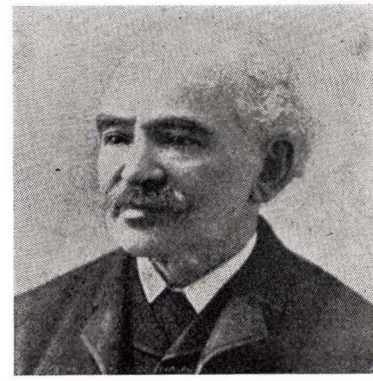
Lina Frank Hecht



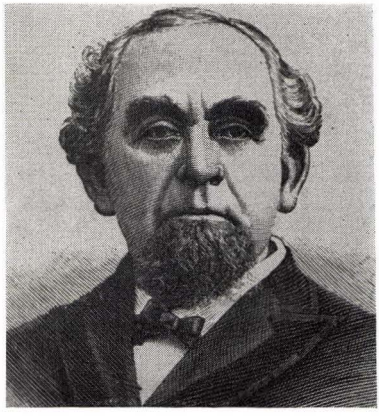
The first Hebrew Industrial School
Chambers Street, Boston



Abraham Einstein



L. B. Schwabe



Leopold Morse



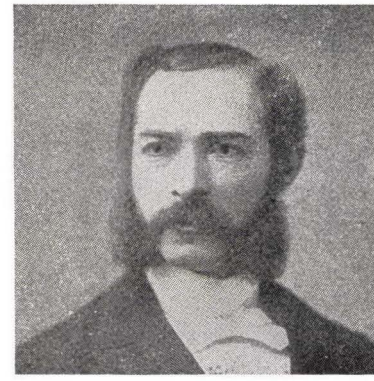
Isaac Rosnosky



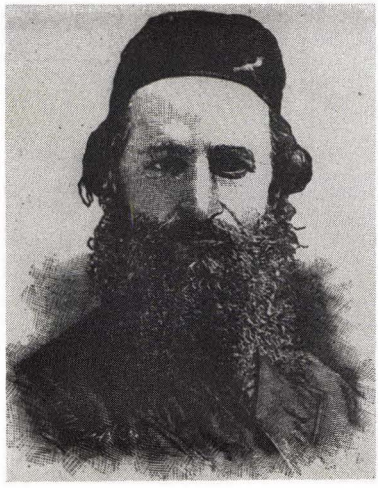
Leopold Morse Home
for Aged and Infirm Hebrews and Orphanage
in Mattapan



Solomon Schindler



Raphael Lasker



Morish Z. Margoleis



Israel Cohen



Benoth Israel Sheltering Home
Cooper Street, Boston



Jewish Family and Children's Service
North Russell Street, Boston
Originally built for
Benoth Israel Sheltering Home



The first Mt. Sinai Dispensary
Chambers Street, Boston



Staff of the Mt. Sinai Dispensary



(Courtesy of *Boston Globe*)

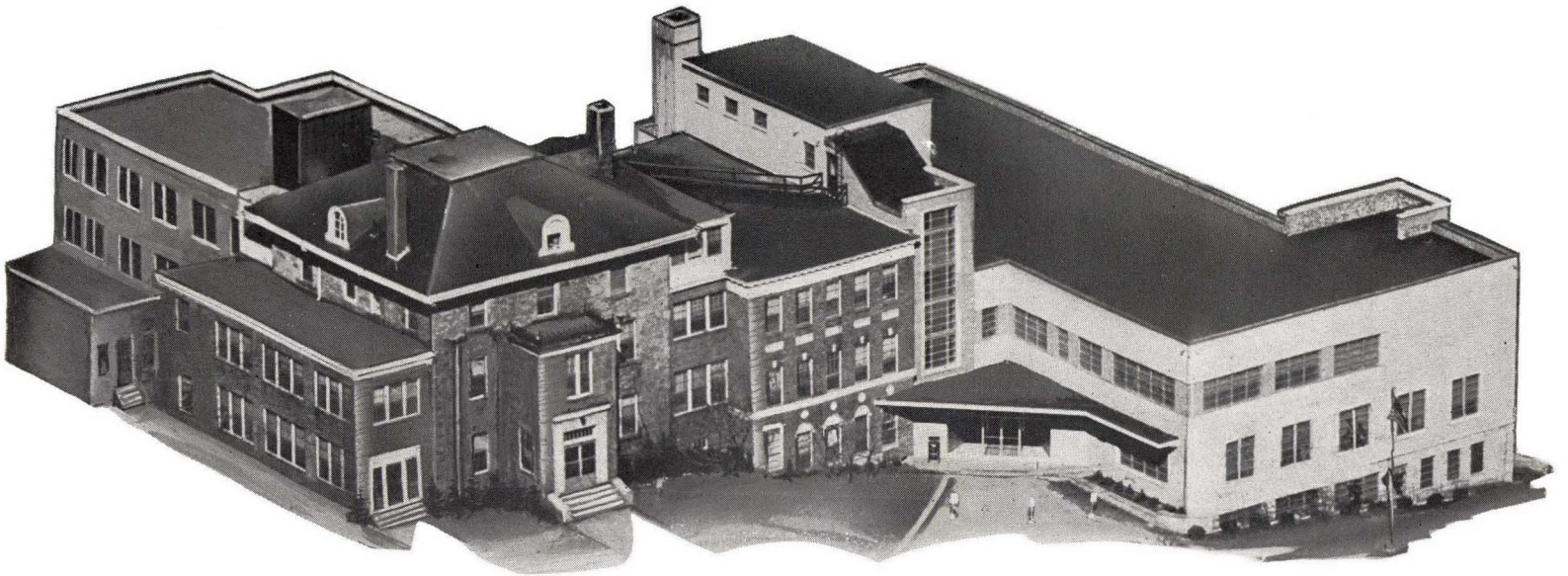
Chelsea Fire 1908



The first Beth Israel Hospital
Later Jewish Memorial Hospital
Townsend Street, Roxbury



Beth Israel Hospital — Brookline Avenue, Boston



Jewish Memorial Hospital — Townsend Street, Roxbury



Hecht House
Formerly Home for Jewish Children
Canterbury Street, Dorchester



Boston Young Men's Hebrew Association
Seaver Street, Roxbury



Hebrew Teachers College — Hawes Street, Brookline



Brookline-Brighton-Newton Jewish Community Center — Sutherland Road, Brighton

wieldy Board of Directors. The old Board of one hundred and fifty persons now became an advisory body of Trustees receiving reports periodically. Thirty-three of the Trustees represented the community at large. They formed the majority of the new Board of Governors, which also included delegates from the constituent agencies. Final responsibility for the federation rested with the Governors, but for the first time the Executive Committee became the central instrument through which the Federated functioned.

The first Executive Committee included the main officers of the Federated and selected representatives of the agencies. Budget, planning, standards, volunteers, and other committees were sub-departments of the Executive Committee.

Before an executive director was appointed, the Federated embarked on its first modern fund-raising campaign, under the direction of Louis E. Kirstein. At the start in March, 1917, the Federated had twelve hundred members and an annual income of less than seventy thousand dollars. Two short months later the campaign reaped a richer harvest than the leaders had dared to expect. Over eight thousand persons contributed the unprecedented sum of more than a quarter of a million dollars.

Many groups outside the Federated responded to Louis E. Kirstein's breadth as a public figure. Soon known as New England's most successful fund-raiser, he gained supporters for every important cause whether American or Jewish. Moved by the example of Louis D. Brandeis, Kirstein claimed that a man could be both "American and Zionist"; by participating in Jewish causes other than that of the federation — as toastmaster of the Zionist Association of Greater Boston, as chairman of the Greater Boston Jewish Congress Committee in 1917, and as leader of the campaign of the Palestine Restoration Fund a year later — Kirstein appealed to many who had never contributed to the Federated Jewish Charities.

His drive and energy set the pace for systematic units of campaigners. Under his lieutenant, Leon Strauss, and a hierarchy of new committees, the city was well districted and catalogued. For the first time, wives and daughters of Federated leaders organized a separate women's division under the chairmanship of Mrs. Harry Liebman. No resources were left untapped. Congregational and fraternal societies, Young Men's Hebrew Associations, Young Women's Hebrew Associations, other women's groups, and trade unions rallied to the slogan "A United Israel for Charity," a constant refrain in English, Hebrew, and Yiddish. Men and women, old and young, who had not known each other, worked together and celebrated at a triumphant dinner the new solidarity among Boston's Jews.

In its administrative operations and in its first popular fund-raising campaign, the Federated had begun to make good the claim of being the community's representative Jewish charitable organization. Changes in the structure of its social services, proposed by the new executive director, Morris Waldman, would still further enhance the democratic goals of the federation.

Before arriving in Boston in February, 1917, Waldman had been the managing director of the United Hebrew Charities of New York. Born in Hungary, he grew up on the East Side and as a child had known the native social settlements from personal experience. After studying at the Jewish Theological Seminary and Columbia University, Waldman found his own niche among adventurous workers in New York social service. For more than two decades Waldman had adapted the modern science of charity to the needs of Jewish immigrants.

In Boston, he found leaders eager to make their federation a more responsive organization of communal welfare. They encouraged him to explore new approaches to local problems.

Board members of the Federated were in an amenable mood for changes. Their own self-scrutiny in the Welfare Report of 1916 had revealed plainly the defects of the organization. It was Waldman's job to find the best means of realizing the pointed suggestions in the Welfare Report. The Boston federation became a laboratory for Jewish social service.

The leaders agreed to Waldman's plan of District Service as one way of preserving the community's new interest. The Welfare Report had already delineated the weaknesses in the existing non-institutional agencies for family and child welfare. In recent years relief-giving techniques of the United Hebrew Benevolent Association and of the Hebrew Women's Sewing Society had suffered from lack of funds to pay trained workers and from lack of coordination in handling applicants. Instead of eliminating the deficiencies in these two agencies, the new structure of District Service circumscribed the older societies. Under this program five welfare centers served the several distinctly Jewish sections — Roxbury, Dorchester, East Boston, West End, and South End— each administered by an experienced social worker in charge of relief-giving and recreational activity for the district. Aided by local volunteers and professional personnel, the district worker cooperated with unaffiliated societies of the locale and like a family friend was available to help in all neighborhood projects. The five units were thus designed to be community centers for the families in their districts.

Described as "Federation from the Bottom Up," District Service fostered local autonomy to neighborhood volunteers and invited even the humblest members of the community to participate. The decentralized units pyramided, however, at the top of the structure where one professional executive coordinated the activities of the separate units. Anna Bercowitz, the first District Service supervisor of the local workers, reported to the District Service General Board, which

included among its interested volunteers the representatives of the displaced United Hebrew Benevolent Association and the Hebrew Women's Sewing Society. This General Board allocated the funds for the operation of District Service and thereby controlled its policies.

In the same years of reconstruction the influence of the Welfare Report caused other alterations. The surveyors had hoped through more generous subsidies to make the Mt. Sinai Dispensary a preventive health center. But when the city authorities condemned the Dispensary's building in 1916, the federation was forced to quick action and reluctantly closed the Mt. Sinai. In its last year one of the most popular services had been the maternity department. To replace it, the ladies of the Mt. Sinai Auxiliary formed the Jewish Maternity Clinic Association as a constituent society of the Federated; like the earlier clinic, it was under the direction of Dr. Alonzo K. Paine of Tufts Medical School. Continuing to use Dr. Paine's students, the new Association provided pre-natal care at the District Service centers and obstetrical services in the homes of the poor.

The observations of the Welfare Report also stimulated a new foster home program. In 1918 the Federated organized a Children's Bureau primarily for child-placing. Two new constituents, Country Week and the Jewish Children's Aid Society, became useful adjuncts to it. The A. C. Ratsheskys' gift of an estate in Montserrat on the North Shore made possible a more extensive Country Week program. Becoming a separate incorporated organization and a full-fledged constituent in 1918, Country Week accepted about one hundred and fifty children recommended by private physicians, by the Hebrew Industrial School, and by other Federated agencies. The Association hired its first social worker to supervise the camp in 1920.

While Country Week was an old project of the federation,

the Jewish Children's Aid Society was a new one. Formerly called the Destitute Children's Aid Society, it had been founded by Mrs. Kallman M. Davidson in 1907 to provide musical instruction and medical aid to the children of the first Temporary Home on Fort Hill Avenue, Roxbury. By 1918, the group had shifted its program to vocational and material assistance for non-institutionalized children. Like Country Week, the Children's Aid Society cooperated with the federation in its plans for the Children's Bureau.

While these developments in family and child welfare unfolded in the 1920's, another innovation permanently affected the future of Jewish education. In a disorganized way, Boston's Jews had attempted to transmit the cultural tradition of their forebears. These efforts had not progressed beyond specific experiments of special groups in each decade. Among reform, conservative, and orthodox congregants alike, individuals and organizations had encouraged Jewish education. There was already an association of Sunday schools, known as the Bureau of Jewish Religious Schools, under the presidency of Rabbi Herman H. Rubenovitz of Temple Mishkan Tefila. Although a Hebrew Teachers Association had started in 1909, the Hebrew schools were still uncoordinated in standards and curricula.

From 1914 to 1919 the first World War stopped the flow of immigrants and, increasingly, half-taught young men substituted for scholars in the Hebrew schools. The problem of educating American-born children grew even more acute. Members of the Jewish Education Society started by Rabbi Herman H. Rubenovitz in 1913 and of a similar group, the Joint Jewish Education Committee, stated the need for more effective communal promotion. In 1917, Boston found an unexpected solution through the federation's support.

The executive director Waldman had, as an associate of Sampson Benderly at the School for Jewish Communal

Workers, been close to the recent community movement for Jewish education in New York. There Jacob Schiff, Felix Warburg, and Louis Marshall had encouraged, despite the assimilationist spirit of their own social group, the study of Hebrew letters in the United States. With the backing of these philanthropists the first Bureau of Jewish Education had been organized in New York in 1910, soon followed by the first Teacher's Institute. After Waldman's arrival in Boston, he invited a student from the School for Jewish Communal Workers to survey the community. The young man, Louis Hurwich, quickly perceived that this town had fertile soil upon which the ancient learning could take stronger root.

When Waldman asked the Federated Jewish Charities to assume financial obligation for Jewish education in 1917, no other federation had yet accepted this responsibility. The older leaders were not remotely sympathetic. Moreover, the proposal to strengthen the resources for Jewish education with Federated money seemed even stranger to orthodox educators. Yet Waldman and Hurwich believed that only a partnership between these two extremes of the community would give Jewish education its deserved status. In the end the resistant philanthropists assented, hoping the federation would thereby gain new members.

It was hardest to convince superintendents of Hebrew Schools. Some of the teachers had the impression that they were to be converted from their orthodoxy. Patiently Louis Hurwich explained the idea of Federated support to suspicious puzzled groups. At many a synagogue and at the *Chevra Shas*, a society of Talmudic scholars, he repeated that whatever financial aid the Federated gave, it would have no part in formulating the academic program of the Hebrew schools.

Cooperation began on October 20, 1917, when the Associated Hebrew Schools of Boston held its first meeting under the

guidance of Rabbi Phineas Israeli of the Blue Hill Avenue Synagogue in Roxbury. Through the efforts of enlightened orthodox leaders like Nathan Pinanski and Herman Loewenberg a rapprochement between the organizations of Sunday schools and Hebrew schools followed. Finally in January, 1918, the Federated allocated twenty thousand dollars to the Hebrew schools and ten thousand dollars to the Sunday schools. All these events were preliminary steps toward the creation of a modern communal program.

A period of constructive growth began for the Hebrew schools and the Sunday schools. Rabbi Hyman Solomon, of the Bureau of Jewish Religious Schools, organized a school for Sunday school teachers, and Louis Hurwich, superintendent of the Associated Hebrew Schools, embarked on a plan designed to counteract the loss of immigrant teachers in these years. On April 21, 1918, a *Beth Midrash L'morim*, a Hebrew Teachers Training School, was organized to provide refresher courses on week-ends for established instructors. The oldest federation in the country thus initiated an experiment which sanctioned communal sponsorship for Jewish education.

After a leave of absence to help the Red Cross, in the spring of 1919 Waldman resigned to head the United Hebrew Charities in New York. With Boston leaders he had charted the course of its federation for the rest of the decade in channels consistent with the recommendations of the Welfare Report. His successor inherited a hopeful philanthropic pattern and tested its efficacy.

Maurice Hexter was a young intellectual attracted to the Boston federation because of its enormous challenges. He had worked in Cincinnati under Boris Bogen, one of the great founders of Jewish social work, and had succeeded him as director. Compared to Cincinnati, Boston's federation was, for Hexter, "vast, and complicated, and interesting."

His stay from 1919 to 1929 spanned an amazing decade

during which paradoxes continually affected the Federated. During the post-war prosperity its well-off members became extremely rich and contributed to the first real boom of the federation. But in 1921 depression abruptly interrupted the optimistic start. The Federated's income contracted just when thousands of immigrants, rushing to the United States before the new restrictive quotas went into effect, were detoured from the Port of New York to the Port of Boston. Yet fantastic prosperity soon returned, and Jews like other Americans expanded the scope of their communal projects beyond the capacity of their pocketbooks. The competition for the available funds to build and support synagogues, temples, schools, and hospitals, in addition to the Federated's agencies, drained the community almost irreparably. By 1929, the high expectation with which many a Federated plan had begun was not fulfilled.

Hexter was also keenly aware of Boston as a center for the study of social relations. Enrolled as a student in Harvard's Department of Social Ethics, he received his Ph.D. there in 1922. He soon gave a course in statistics at the Simmons College School of Social Work. While in charge of the Federated, Hexter was assisted by Maurice Taylor, who became the second District Service supervisor in 1919. Boston-bred, the latter came from his position as executive director of the Federated Jewish Charities at Columbus, Ohio. A Harvard graduate, Taylor, while working for the Federated, also completed his doctorate in 1931 in the Social Ethics Department. Both men regarded District Service as a scientific experiment. To be nearer its operations, Taylor resided in the West End near the Blossom Street center and Hexter moved into the South End near the Florence Street center. With the curiosity of social scientists they used the records of the federation for research. From time to time they made contributions to contemporary sociology and also encouraged

co-workers to write interpretive accounts of their experiences in different agencies. In the summer of 1920, Hexter hoped that a Federated sponsored extension course in social service would be the start of a Jewish school of social work in Boston.

By the same token, Hexter showed equal interest in the development of Jewish education. Several months after his arrival the Bureau of Jewish Religious Schools and the Associated Hebrew Schools were amalgamated as the Bureau of Jewish Education. On January 12, 1921, at a meeting of delegates from thirty-eight organizations including the affiliated schools, the ten largest synagogues, the Federated Jewish Charities, and other interested organizations, the Bureau was formally organized under the superintendent, Louis Hurwich. The first officers, who had long been concerned with the problems of Jewish education, were: Dr. Leon S. Medalia, Nathan Pinanski, Abraham S. Hirshberg, and Meyer J. Sawyer.

The Bureau respected the differing attitudes of the community through separate programs for Sunday schools and Hebrew schools. Though creating no new Sunday schools, it maintained the program at the Boston Young Men's Hebrew Association. While the earlier Training School for Sunday Schools was continued, Temple schools, although not affiliated with the Bureau, gained teachers through it.

But wherever possible the Bureau aimed to nurture Jewish youth with a more solid fare. By 1923, there were several twice-a-week schools at the Federated's Welfare Centers in the South End and in the West End; and in the thickly populated neighborhood of Mattapan, where there were as yet few Hebrew schools, the Bureau daily operated twice-a-week sessions to a steady stream of children. By 1929, the Bureau had succeeded in coordinating the standards of accomplishment in the local schools through uniform examinations, first given only for the prospective graduates at each Talmud

Torah, and later for pupils in the second, third, fourth, and fifth years of instruction. In addition, Louis Hurwich introduced new techniques through club work, arts and crafts, fine arts, choral music, and Jewish Education Week. Guided by Hurwich's resourcefulness until his retirement after thirty years of service, the Bureau utilized the tools of modern pedagogy to instill Jewish culture.

Born early in the decade, the Bureau's prize offspring was the Hebrew Teachers College. The first training school, the *Beth Midrash L'Morim,* had shown that week-end improvement courses would not create an American generation of Hebraists. The logic of starting an institution of higher learning became compelling to a few educators and sympathizers. Already in 1917 a college had started in New York (later to be a part of the Yeshiva University) under the guidance of Rabbi Meyer Berlin, the leader of the *Mizrachi* movement. Boston produced the second authentic college of Hebrew studies in the United States in 1920. The support of the Federated Jewish Charities made the Hebrew Teachers College a reality.

In its first home at 14 Crawford Street, Roxbury, the College opened on November 27, 1921, with Nisson Touroff, a Palestinian scholar, as dean and Dr. Leon S. Medalia as president. The Federated guaranteed tuition for many needy students, and individuals like Nathan Pinanski, Samuel Agoos, Simon Cabelinsky, and Morris Feinberg provided other scholarships. From the outset the college aimed not only to train teachers but to advance the study of Hebrew culture and scholarship. In nine years the first student body of thirteen grew twelvefold and the faculty of three increased to eight members.

The regular curriculum conducted entirely in Hebrew was an intensive course of study originally completed in four years. The establishment of a prerequisite two-year high

school course in 1923, lengthened to four years in 1927, stiffened the admission requirements to the College. In addition, practicing junior and senior teachers returned periodically for supplementary courses. When the curriculum reached these mature dimensions, the trustees, headed by Nathan Isaacs, a Harvard Professor of Business Law and a learned Hebrew scholar, petitioned the Massachusetts Legislature for a charter. Recognizing the caliber of the institution, in 1927 the Commonwealth granted the Hebrew Teachers College the right to confer degrees of Bachelor of Arts, Master of Arts, and Doctor of Philosophy in Hebrew Literature, Hebrew Laws, and Jewish Education.

Throughout the decade the vocational purposes for which the College was founded took precedence. Five classes graduating from 1925 to 1929 included thirty-three men and twenty-two women, half of whom taught in Boston while many of the others served the outlying communities. Moreover, its Hebrew high school became a valuable medium through which to encourage studies for adolescents beyond the stage of *Bar Mitzvah.* A unique institution of higher learning in New England, one of the first in the United States, the Hebrew Teachers College restored the dignity of Jewish scholarship in the local community.

While sponsoring these forms of education in the 1920's, the federation also nurtured professional services in family and child welfare and recreation. Through Louis Kirstein's influence, the members of the Federated Jewish Charities increasingly understood the meaning of social work as a profession. Kirstein, who became president of the Federated from 1922 to 1925, and soon headed the Training School for Jewish Social Work in New York, favored planned, conscious development of community life. Believing that Jews could contribute to American life as participants of their group, Kirstein stressed the role of volunteers in the federation. In

1925, he boasted that the Federated was no longer "operated by a club or a clique," and that "all strata and all beliefs were united." In no small measure he himself had attracted the young people of different groups who made the federation a vital center in this decade.

The graduates of local colleges and professional schools from 1910 to 1920 became fresh recruits in the volunteer activities of the federation. Some were the sons and daughters of its older philanthropic leaders accepting obligations of their parents, while others had first participated in the Young Men's Hebrew Associations in Boston, Roxbury, Chelsea, or the West End; still others were not only new to Federated circles but even strangers in Boston. These young people discussed social problems at the Union Park Forum in the South End and at other gathering places. As an earlier generation had often turned to "Aunt Lina" Hecht, many of these apprentices in community leadership were guided by "Aunt Frances" Stern, who in 1917 headed the Food Clinic at the Boston Dispensary and thereafter taught at the Simmons College School of Social Work. Taking places on the boards of the various agencies, young people like Selma Cohen Bernkopf, Herbert B. Ehrmann, Jacob J. Kaplan, Pauline and Lyman Lehrburger, Samuel Markell, Dorothy Conrad Silberman, F. Frank Vorenberg, Jacob L. Wiseman, and many others deepened the Federated's channels of family and child welfare and recreation in the 1920's.

Especially on the General District Service Board, maturing social-minded volunteers shared the direction with older federation leaders and professional social workers. Special committees on unemployment, loans, tuberculosis, legal aid, publicity, and legislation used the talents of the new generation. From time to time the Board took up relevant public issues. In 1922 the Overseers of the Public Welfare reruled on cases involving Mothers' Aid with the intent of counting

the supplementary aid given by private agencies like the Federated as part of the income of poor applicants. Jacob J. Kaplan led many conferences between members of the General District Service Board and the Overseers of the Public Welfare in an attempt to have the Overseers accept a standardized budget for dependent families as adopted by several private agencies.

In addition, the General Board offered special courses for workers; one by Frances Stern concerned dietetics and social work and another by three lawyers — Max Bernkopf, Herbert B. Ehrmann, and Samuel Markell — treated legal aspects of current social problems. From time to time professional workers of District Service also produced evaluative studies which affected the policies of District Service. One of the most consequential for the entire community was Maurice Taylor's investigation of "The Social Cost of Industrial Life Insurance." Appearing before the Insurance Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature, the director of the federation's family welfare program proposed that industrial life insurance policies include a cash value to protect the poor, who paid weekly premiums without any recourse to the sizable sums that accrued when they could not afford to continue payments. Later the Massachusetts Insurance Commission legally enforced Taylor's recommendation for benefits in industrial life insurance policies similar to those in regular life policies.

District Service also regulated the "utilization of volunteers" in a newly created Federated agency, the Jewish Big Brother Association. At the close of World War I rising juvenile delinquency confronted the community. The Federated was already financing a corrective program for delinquent girls under a new beneficiary society, the Department for the Care of Girls of the Council of Jewish Women, which cooperated with District Service and the Children's Bureau.

Prior to the war, the Boston Young Men's Hebrew Association had started a program for boys among the New England "Y's," following the lead of the Big Brother movement in New York during the previous ten years. Since the Young Men's Hebrew Associations' experiment was not resumed in 1919, at the Federated's suggestion a group of professional men, mainly lawyers and judges, initiated the first Big Brother Association in the city. Philip Slepian, a young Harvard graduate, who had majored in social ethics, became the executive director of this agency, and in 1955 Slepian would observe thirty-five years with the Association. He played an important part in the founding of the parallel non-sectarian Big Brother Association of Boston in 1948.

Although the Big Brothers formed a separate organization, family case workers of District Service supervised the participation of these volunteers. Selected young adults of twenty-one and over were eligible to "pledge" a portion of their time "to assist a Jewish little brother." In addition to the active Big Brothers, other professional men gave occasional advice while businessmen secured employment for the boys. Once enrolled, the volunteer Big Brother learned his duties from the Big Brother executive, while the case remained under the direction of District Service. In this use of volunteers, a unique balance was sought between the function of the lay helpers and that of the trained workers.

District Service also worked with the remaining traditional benevolent societies in different sections of the city with varying success. In time the contact between older charitable women and professional workers helped each group to understand the different type of help the other rendered. While District Service accepted the continuing role of small local societies, its modern family welfare program gradually absorbed and transformed some traditional

organizations, namely, the United Moeth Chitim, the Benoth Israel Sheltering Home, and the Hebrew Free Loan Society. In 1918, the United Moeth Chitim, which had distributed Passover foods since 1908, was the first of these three societies to join the Federated Jewish Charities. District Service soon altered the distribution of *matzos*. "Instead of giving actual supplies," it provided cash wherever possible "so that people receiving this relief could be saved the humiliation of having their neighbors know."

Within a few years District Service demonstrated to the members of the Benoth Israel Sheltering Home and the Hebrew Free Loan Society a modern approach to the changing problems of transients and struggling businessmen. In its long service to immigrants the Benoth Israel Sheltering Home had often cooperated with the Federated. When the war had brought immigration to a sudden stop in 1914, the Sheltering Home lost its function. Two years later the directors sold the Cooper Street building in the North End, which had continuously served homeless immigrant Jews since 1891. Thereafter a Sheltering Committee supervised the few remaining clients by issuing certificates exchangeable for food and lodging at restaurants and boarding houses throughout the city. But still attached to the Association during the rising tide of immigration after the war, the directors bought land in the West End to erect a new building. Still in the center of a large Jewish population, the spot selected on North Russell Street was "accessible for the immigrant and traveler." But the community did not appreciate the Benoth Israel's campaign to "provide some place for the immigrants flocking to our shores." District Service handled the greater portion of the new transients. In the midst of the 1921 recession, potential donors were not responsive. Yet, despite the financial difficulties, an attractive Sheltering Home of colonial design was dedicated in 1923.

Even to the directors, however, it was apparent that the traditional functions of the Sheltering Home were outmoded. Before the end of 1921, the government had already placed temporary restrictions on immigration; permanent legislation to exclude newcomers would soon be enacted. Applying for membership in the federation in 1923, they acknowledged that the Federated was better able "to connect other activities" with the Sheltering Home and resolved to "work hand in hand for the betterment of charitable organizations of this city." Although transients were welcomed at North Russell Street for a few months, the building shortly housed the offices of the General District Service and the local West End center.

For several years the Federated had also worked harmoniously with the Hebrew Free Loan Society. In 1917 District Service had begun the policy of endorsing its clients' applications to the Loan Society. These clients generally needed business loans or were seasonally unemployed. Since they were reluctant to apply for charity, at the suggestion of District Service, the Hebrew Free Loan Society set up a Self-Support Fund in 1924 for independent individuals who needed help in special crises. In the same years many sons of the original founders became active in the Loan Society. Under the influence of the second generation directors, who were often Federated leaders as well, the Hebrew Free Loan Society consummated the years of cooperation by becoming a constituent member of the Federated Jewish Charities in 1929.

In one way or another the activities of its volunteers, workers, and clients often converged in District Service. Those who applied at the neighborhood units received direction for their particular need even when other agencies were called upon to help. By no means limited to the recognized aspects of family welfare—material relief or case work—these

welfare houses of District Service were community centers for all interested families. Located in different sections of the city, these centers varied in the development of their programs.

Among the original five, the East Boston center was financially supported almost entirely by local residents. By 1926 there were few Jews in East Boston and this center served other members of the neighborhood for the most part. The opening of a new center in the Mattapan section of Dorchester, where Jews were rapidly settling, seemed more appropriate to the District Service planners. At the Florence Street Welfare Center the course was slower because the leaders wanted to avoid duplicating the activities of the settlement houses in the South End. Although the Jewish population had steadily declined in this district by the mid-1920's, the center remained a model unit "housing groups only devoted to Jewish things." Carried out with the cooperation of settlement houses in the neighborhood, this program rejuvenated the center for a time. But by 1930 both the East Boston and South End units had outlived their usefulness and their buildings were closed.

The West End center was also in a section where many settlement houses already offered a wide range of activities. And since the Federated's Hecht Neighborhood House (formerly the Hebrew Industrial School) served young people, the Welfare Center confined its program mainly to adults. One of the special attractions of the early years was the program of nutrition and visiting housekeeping, an educational form of social service which was extended to the other centers after 1925. In addition, the art classes and a civic forum contributed a cultural flavor.

The Roxbury center best approximated Maurice Taylor's conception of a broad Jewish community center offering abundant services to the families of the local district. At 6

Intervale Street, this center was situated in a district in which about ten thousand Jews now lived. Converted from a private dwelling, the building looked like any other house in the neighborhood. There Taylor mapped out an ambitious program of family case work and communal activities under education, health, civic, recreation, and family rehabilitation committees. The completeness of the center's schedule paralled the needs of all members of the family; classes in citizenship, English and nutrition, a Yiddish forum, a school center, a maternity clinic, health talks for parents, a woman's club for neighborhood improvement, folk dancing, Boy Scouts, social and athletic clubs, a community orchestra, and singing. Taylor expected the recreational program indirectly to contribute to the success of the family case work by providing clients with constructive diversion from their private problems.

The Dorchester center at Bradshaw Street worked closely with the Home for Jewish Children and the Ladies Helping Hand Auxiliary in the after-care of the children discharged from the Home. This center also had its art classes, Zionist clubs, and public safety instruction. In addition, a music club was formed: the children of the district took lessons and used the piano at the center for a very small charge. An orchestra developed under the direction of Arthur Fiedler.

At the peak of District Service there were one hundred and twenty-five small groups in literary, social, and athletic clubs at the five centers. The Boston federation thus independently attempted an integrated plan for Jewish centers in the same years as the National Jewish Welfare Board redefined the scope of traditional Young Men's Hebrew Associations for the purpose of making them broader sectarian community centers.

The Federated's District Service also cultivated physical

and mental health programs in each neighborhood. In addition to the maternity clinics held at the centers, a Health Committee under the supervision of Dr. Hyman Morrison placed physicians on call for the poor within each district. At Forsyth Dental Infirmary, Jewish dentists also treated clients sent by the centers. In 1928 a Mental Hygiene Department was organized to introduce psychiatric techniques of casework previously ignored in District Service. The department was directed by Maida Herman Solomon, a pioneer in psychiatric social work at the Boston Psychopathic Hospital, where this branch of social service had been formally recognized since 1913. Thus oriented, the new District Service program provided a psychiatrist and a trained psychiatric social worker as consultants to the case workers at the welfare houses. In addition, this team of Dr. Jacob J. Kasanin and Martha Gorovitz gave enlightening talks on mental health not only to professional workers but also to neighborhood groups.

In total perspective, although the scope of District Service was heterogeneous, three main aspects stood out. A multiple agency combining recreational activities with family welfare, it related these services to the work of other agencies. Yet it was also an associational ladder, each rung of which included volunteers from every part of Jewish life. Significantly, the ultimate effectiveness of District Service depended on the cooperation of its professional and volunteer workers. Even though it became a separate incorporated constituent in 1925, District Service remained an experiment. Later the community would evaluate its success.

Like District Service, which was both a family agency and a clearing house for other concerned organizations, the Children's Bureau also had a dual role. Though its primary function was child-placing, the Bureau was also a link for all the agencies dealing with child welfare. Its Board mem-

bers and professional workers decided jointly whether a child should be placed in a private home, sent to the Home for Jewish Children, be adopted, or helped by a Big Brother or Big Sister. Although social workers presented cases and offered advice, final authority still rested with the volunteer directors who represented the involved agencies and the community at large.

Still child-placing was the Bureau's major concern. One of the campaign slogans of 1917 had been "A Jewish Home for Every Jewish Child." Although the Bureau did not entirely succeed, the number of youngsters placed from 1920 to 1929 was enormous in proportion to the local Jewish population. In all but one year the Bureau handled more children than did the Home for Jewish Children in its in-care program. Although case work techniques developed slowly, the understaffed Children's Bureau assumed the responsibility for "nearly eighty-seven per cent" of the "total care problems" in the Boston Jewish community. The women volunteers on the Board of the Children's Bureau organized a friendly visitors' program, while its Children's Aid Society placed scholarships and music lessons at the Bureau's disposal.

In addition, the Children's Bureau took the responsibility for other varied services. Since 1919 it had arranged medical clinics, where children who were to be placed in foster homes had physical examinations. By 1924 the Bureau's physician, Dr. Harry A. Savitz, examined all children under the Bureau's supervision including those at the Home for Jewish Children. Under his medical direction in 1926, the Council of Jewish Juniors opened a non-sectarian Home for Convalescent Children, which assisted the Bureau in the care of cardiac, pre-tubercular, anemic, undernourished, and asthmatic cases. Summer vacation care was also under the jurisdiction of the Bureau, which operated Camp Maple-

wood for boys in New Hampshire and placed girls at Country Week. Increasingly, since the accommodations were limited, the Bureau gave preference to children with health problems.

The Home for Jewish Children continued with the support of its Ladies Auxiliary, whose faith in institutional care did not waver. But the President of the Home, Judge David A. Lourie, shared the interest of other Federated leaders in seeking to transform the orphanage into a modern decentralized plant of cottage units. This plan evaporated because of cost and maintenance of buildings. At times, however, the Ladies Auxiliary found summer placements for the Home children, where they might at least briefly have the experience of private family life.

When Saul Drucker became the director of the Home in 1920, he arranged for the admittance of a group of problem children for special observation and case work. In the process of rehabilitation, he utilized the recent Alumni Association of "Home graduates." Likewise he encouraged a Big Sister group to work with those about to be discharged from the Home. Ultimately Drucker collaborated with Maurice Hexter in *Children Astray*. Significantly, they concluded from the study of the Home cases that, for the wayward and maladjusted, institutional supervision was more desirable than care in private homes.

Like the Federated's child welfare agencies, the old Hebrew Industrial School under a new name, Hecht Neighborhood House, offered a greater range of activities in 1922. For the next thirteen years, the old institution attracted young people in the West End to the lovely Bulfinch house on Bowdoin Street purchased with the bequest of Lina Frank Hecht. The original use of the Hebrew Industrial School, to provide technical training for immigrant girls, had disappeared. Increasingly, its club program expanded with greater emphasis on boys, directed by a Scout leader and former mem-

ber of the House, Edward Sidman, and an interested businessman, Richard L. Lehrburger. The Bulfinch Place Church graciously lent the use of its gymnasium. Dramatics for all ages from kindergarten to the mothers' group also became popular. Although from the 1890's club work and Americanization classes had introduced elements of a settlement house program, only in the 1920's did Hecht Neighborhood House become exclusively a non-sectarian, recreational agency. Golde Bamber, still director, noted with pride that a "leaven of Poles and Italians" made the House a genuine neighborhood center.

And, as earlier, Miss Bamber followed another tenet of the settlement movement that, it should, in Justice Brandeis' words, "point the way." After a visit to London, she startled her followers with the plan of starting a nursery school for children who ranged from two to four years of age. Few Americans were yet ready to understand this educational project for the very young and their mothers. The Ruggles Street Nursery School, which had just opened in Boston, was then the only one of its kind in the United States. The Federated was reluctant to donate funds for the nursery school experiment, which hardly seemed a necessity to the community. Individual members of the Ladies Auxiliary therefore agreed to back a nursery school at Hecht Neighborhood House for two years; in 1925, twenty-five children of pre-school age enjoyed group play under the careful supervision of teachers trained by Abigail Eliot, the founder of the movement in America. After two years the Federated approved and financed the nursery school.

Within the federation the sectarian District Welfare Centers and the non-sectarian Hecht Neighborhood House represented two extremes of organized group activities. In the rest of the United States the tide turned in the 1920's in favor of Jewish community centers. Still outside the

Federated, the Boston Young Men's Hebrew Association also exhibited the potential role of such centers.

For fifteen years the leaders of this Young Men's Hebrew Association in Roxbury took full responsibility for its existence. Yet ever since the Federated's first modern campaign in 1917, "Y" members had been active fund raisers and increasingly valuable participants in the work of the entire federation. In addition, "Y" directors served on the executive committee of the Jewish Welfare Board in New York. In the post-war years almost two thousand people attended their busy center, located in its own building, the old Goldsmith mansion at the corner of Seaver Street and Humboldt Avenue. A campaign for a gymnasium absorbed the best efforts of the leaders during a four-year drive, which netted one hundred and fifteen thousand dollars. In the fall of 1925, the gymnasium's activities began under Samuel O. Smith, who would be the "Y's" loyal athletic director for the next twenty-six years. Complete with handball courts, bowling alleys, billiard tables, basketball courts, and steam and massage rooms, this gymnasium impressively climaxed the efforts of countless young Jews in each generation since the 1880's to attain adequate athletic facilities.

Although physical exercise became the most popular diversion, a current events forum, a choral society for the study of Jewish music, and innumerable clubs for young people reflected other spontaneous interests of the neighborhood. Occasionally there was a program director to coordinate these youth activities. In addition, the Young Men's Hebrew Association still accommodated a Sunday school and permitted religious services on the High Holy Days which the "Y" no longer directed. But as more prosperous members increasingly moved out of the district to Brookline, Brighton, and Newton, the spirit which the original group had imparted also vanished in the mid-1920's.

No longer in sound financial condition the "Y" turned to the Federated for help and direction. The federation accepted the Young Men's Hebrew Association as a constituent in 1928 and ensured its future success.

By the end of the decade, two medical institutions also enriched the scope of the Federated Jewish Charities. After several years of trial the Beth Israel Hospital had gained the confidence of the entire community and entered the federation; and several months later, the Greater Boston Bickur Cholim, a fledgling institution for chronically ill patients, came into being as a constituent member of the Federated.

But on February 4, 1917, when the Beth Israel Hospital received its first patients in "the little house on the hill," at Townsend Street in Roxbury, the future was by no means certain. The modest building accommodated forty-five patients all of whom were charity cases. Although the hospital served kosher food, like the earlier Mt. Sinai Dispensary the Beth Israel announced that it was non-sectarian. The same doctors who had created the Dispensary directed the first Jewish inpatient hospital of the city. The same women provided linen and financed other needs as they emerged. Hyman Danzig, the energetic worker who had earlier galvanized the women's movement for the hospital, became the first superintendent. Upon his death in February, 1918, the medical board of directors consisting of Dr. Kallman Davidson, Dr. Harry Linenthal, Dr. Louis Freedman, and Dr. Albert E. Ehrenfried appointed Dr. I. D. Bronfin of New York the next superintendent. During his short stay the Board started to make the Beth Israel a hospital of accredited standing. Dr. Bronfin established its first research laboratory. Dr. Ehrenfried became the chief of the surgical department and introduced excellent consultants and assistants. A free clinic

for nose and throat diseases became the first branch of a projected outpatient department.

In the fall of 1918 the small hospital was overcrowded with victims of the Spanish influenza. Over four thousand Bostonians died during this epidemic. Along with larger agencies and hospitals of the city, the Federated Jewish Charities and the Beth Israel did their part in nursing those who were stricken. The Federated imported physicians and nurses from other cities to help check the terrible spread of the disease. While District Service workers prepared meals which were taken to the homes of sick families, the new Beth Israel was filled beyond its capacity with free patients.

Surmounting this crisis, the other activities of the hospital went on unabated. In 1919, almost eight hundred patients were treated, seventy per cent of whom paid either one dollar a day or nothing; while the remainder paid varying amounts, none met the full cost of hospitalization.

In 1918, Dr. Bronfin undertook the organization of a nurse's training school, of which Bessie Pisnoy became the first superintendent. Jewish girls were not then attracted to the career of nursing; often their immigrant parents did not consider it a respectable occupation. The pioneer students of the Beth Israel school lived in a dormitory remodeled from an old brick stable on the hospital grounds. Under the next superintendent, Dr. Boris Greenberg, the training school for nurses advanced greatly. After 1920, the student nurses received obstetrical training at the New York Lying-In Hospital and a few years later at the Boston Lying-In Hospital. Gradually the course expanded to include training in pediatrics at the Children's Hospital, in contagious diseases at the Boston City Hospital, and in mental illnesses at the Boston Psychopathic Hospital. The first ten girls graduated in 1921, and simultaneously the Massachusetts State Board of Registration gave the Beth Israel Training School for

Nurses official standing. The next year the hospital established its own registry of nurses. By 1925 the School had definitively opened the field of nursing to Jewish girls in New England.

During the Beth Israel's years on Townsend Street, an adjoining building purchased in 1919 permitted the expansion of the outpatient department. As at the old Mt. Sinai Dispensary, the doctors realized that both prevention and cure of diseases involved more than medical treatment, and in the spring of 1920 the young Beth Israel started a social service department. Miriam Segal, formerly at the Boston City Hospital, became the head worker. She was assisted by twelve volunteers from the ladies' neighborhood auxiliaries, who investigated the home conditions of the patients and operated a library for them. Before long the social service department had established harmonious working relations with the Federated Jewish Charities and other charitable agencies.

Medical care progressed with the start of a diabetic clinic under Dr. Hyman Morrison in 1923. The control of diabetes involved special diets which non-Jewish clinics had found difficult to adapt to the requirements of orthodox patients. A baby welfare clinic followed under Dr. S. H. Rubin in 1925. The Jewish Anti-Tuberculosis Association, which had helped at the old Mt. Sinai Dispensary, became associated with the Beth Israel's social service department in 1926.

Under three presidents — Hyman Danzig, Simon Swig, and Albert A. Ginzberg — the first years of the hospital suggested the potential role of a Jewish medical institution in Boston. Although more than fifty-five hundred patients had been treated at the Townsend Street building by 1923, the accommodations were inadequate for the evolution of a hospital of the highest quality. In size alone the small fifty-bed Beth Israel compared sadly with larger Jewish hospitals

in cities of similar population. Plans for the expansion of the Beth Israel soon involved the entire community.

The older group of Jews who had earlier resisted the founding of the hospital gained respect for it. Even the financial skepticism of the Federated trustees was partially withdrawn. In 1919 a few of these leaders individually made substantial contributions to the hospital. A.C. Ratshesky offered ten thousand dollars if the hospital's campaign could raise one hundred thousand dollars. With no difficulty the Beth Israel's president, Albert A. Ginzberg, answered this challenge.

Impressed, the Federated in 1920 officially acknowledged the services of the Beth Israel with a subvention of twenty thousand dollars. Increasing each year, these subventions almost doubled by 1928. Throughout this period as a beneficiary, the hospital was a partial member of the Federated. The events of the next few years made the Beth Israel's full membership in the federation a certainty.

The Federated's reservations about the value of a Jewish hospital had lessened because of several concurrent factors. The hospital existed and it would remain. Already it offered much needed opportunities for Jewish doctors in the area. Representative leaders could not ignore the accomplishments of the Townsend Street institution against all odds. In particular, the judgment of four well-known doctors convinced the Federated that the time was ripe for a general hospital under local Jewish auspices, which would rank with the best institutions in the city. A planning committee consisting of Dr. Harry Linenthal, Dr. Harry C. Solomon, Dr. Albert Ehrenfried, and Dr. Milton Rosenau expressed faith in the potentialities of the Beth Israel. Prominent in the fields of general medicine, neuropsychiatry, surgery, and public health respectively, these doctors were not dependent upon the Beth Israel's existence for their careers. Their recommenda-

tions gave objective authority to the widespread desire for a superior hospital among the old-time enthusiasts.

The hospital's million dollar campaign was launched in 1923. Professional and business men, laboring men, and housewives raised the money; even children, like those of the Sarah Greenwood School in Dorchester, earned pennies after school to purchase a cot for accident cases in the future children's ward. Albert A. Ginzberg successfully marshaled the support of the whole Jewish community. The Beth Israel group had planned to build on the Townsend Street property, with the intention of using the old building as a maternity wing. Midway in the campaign, doctors and lay leaders agreed to a foresighted alternative: the new hospital would be located in the city's recognized medical center, near the Harvard Medical School and other hospitals.

As in the earlier years of struggle which brought the Beth Israel into existence, women again took the initiative in paying for the land on Brookline Avenue, where the future Beth Israel would stand. Housewives paid for the site literally with contributions starting at one dollar a foot. Men and women of the Federated joined with those of the old Beth Israel group to finance the construction of the building. When it opened for patients in 1928, the Beth Israel became a constituent society of the federation.

In the same decade the Federated had also grown increasingly aware of the needs of the chronically ill. Through the intervention of Mrs. Oscar Grosberg, an active supporter of both the Beth Israel and of the Roxbury Bickur Cholim, the Townsend Street building became the property of that traditional visiting society. As an institution to serve poor people suffering from incurable diseases, the Society under a new name, the Greater Boston Bickur Cholim Hospital, entered the second phase of its development. In a stage of transition analogous to that of the Beth Israel in 1918, the

Greater Boston Bickur Cholim Hospital offered in 1928 institutional services to twenty-five poor chronically ill patients. At the same time it became the last constituent to join the Federated Jewish Charities in this decade.

Twelve years of the Federated's modern cycle drew to a close in the summer of 1929. Boston, like other cities in the 1920's, had witnessed extraordinary communal expenditure on buildings for good cause after good cause. Long before the Great Depression sobered the entire nation, the local Jewish organizations had exceeded their capacities. The Federated was one of the first sufferers. Paradoxically, despite the improved economy, the Federated's relief expenditures increased as District Service confronted problems of widowhood, illness, and old age in the mid-1920's. Each year intensified the financial burdens of the federation while the community emptied its pocketbooks for synagogue and temple buildings, for the "Y" gymnasium, and for the Beth Israel Hospital. Heavily mortgaged, the community had still to learn its capacity to maintain structures. Above all, the key to the financial success of the federation remained unsolved until the next decade.

Nonetheless the Federated Jewish Charities had made significant progress. By following the recommendations of the Welfare Committee in 1916, the federation had emerged from its provincial isolation. By 1929 the Federated Jewish Charities had taken its place as an equal among the private organizations advancing Boston's social service. The executive directors contributed to the general knowledge of welfare problems in the Boston Council of Social Agencies. The Federated's various experiments in family and child welfare and recreation, through District Service, the Children's Bureau, Hecht Neighborhood House, the Big Brother Association, and the Home for Jewish Children, interested the entire community. Equally important, this federation had led

kindred organizations in 1917 by accepting communal responsibility for Jewish education. And by 1929 the support of Jewish medical projects was another landmark in the federation's fields of community service.

Both older independent societies and newly created organizations widened the circle of the Federated's concerns. From 1917 to 1929 the number of constituent members of the federation increased from nine to eighteen. In the process of its expansion diverse groups worked more effectively for the community. This growth was significant. But real maturity would come in the era ahead which brought unpredictable changes in the functions of the federation.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Associated Jewish Philanthropies 1930-1955

Crisis upon crisis had forced the growth of the Federated Jewish Charities since 1895. Always immigration had been the catalyst quickening the purposes of this charitable federation. But the passage of the Immigration Act in 1924 proclaimed the end of the centuries of European migration to America. Although not for another generation would Jewish communities be predominantly native born, in that unknown era, leaders asked, would there be any need for their sectarian charities? As still more crises challenged the federation in the 1930's and the 1940's, this question was premature. Yet when the Great Depression, Adolf Hitler, and World War II had passed, the meaningfulness of Jewish voluntary organizations was still apparent under very different circumstances from those which had brought them into being. At the end of 1955 the continuing promise of American life and the existence of the State of Israel reaffirmed the values of the Boston federation.

Back in the summer of 1929, the Federated Jewish Charities drifted along in its accustomed state of financial insecurity. Maurice Hexter had just departed for Jerusalem, and a new executive director was appointed. A few months later economic disaster would begin to shatter the whole nation but no one yet knew America was at the end of a hazardous era and that another more revolutionary in its impact upon private social agencies was about to begin.

By the time of the catastrophe, the Federated's eighteen agencies made a complete framework of services in family and child welfare, health, recreation, and Jewish education. Still thin in some branches, these agencies would come to full bloom in the next quarter of a century. Fulfillment was, however, dependent first upon the mastery of the chronic financial problems. The federation which had been created to improve and enlarge fund-raising was still hampered by deficits in 1929. Although the contributors cut a wide sector across different groups in the community, numerically the percentage of givers, four and one-half per cent in the total Jewish population of one hundred thousand in Greater Boston, was slight. And since the orthodox portion of the community was more served than serving in the activities of the Federated Jewish Charities, its ultimate goal of encompassing the entire population was still unchanged.

The new executive director arrived in the middle of 1929 shortly before the Great Depression. Thirty-seven years old, Ben M. Selekman, a graduate of the University of Pittsburgh, had received his Ph. D. in economics at Columbia University in 1921 and been a member of the research staff of the Russell Sage Foundation. More recently, Selekman, a Zionist from high school days, had directed the American office of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem under Judah Magnes. Like other young American economists of his time, he had enormous confidence in social planning. While some

of his contemporaries would become architects for the New Deal, Selekman emphasized constructive blueprints for the Boston federation.

Despite the 1916 Welfare Report the progress of the Federated Jewish Charities by conscious design had been sporadic. Although the organization was more than a network of separate activities of charitable men and women, the vision of a total coordinated future for the entire community had not completely crystallized.

Communal leaders could not extend their applications of planning until professional social work became valid to the majority of the federation's members. The fact that leaders objected more and more to the name of "Federated Jewish Charities" was symptomatic of the enlightened thinking which increasingly prevailed from the mid-1920's among the volunteers and professional workers. The word "charities" no longer seemed appropriate in the name of their federation. On March 9, 1930 the Federated Jewish Charities was dissolved and in its place came the Associated Jewish Philanthropies, dedicated to the principle of service to others.

Louis E. Kirstein, the first president of the new federation and its most generous supporter, continued to proselytize for practices of modern social work. At the helm for the next twelve years, this self-made businessman who often reminded other philanthropic leaders that they or their fathers had been peddlers or shop-keepers, took pride in the young people coming up in the community. And he encouraged in this growing membership of the federation fuller acceptance of planned services.

Independent of the nation-wide economic crisis, a second comprehensive survey of the federation was essential for its internal development. The start of Selekman's professional administration precipitated an overhauling comparable to that of 1916. In contrast to the earlier Welfare Report, which

the Federated's leaders had administered exclusively, outside experts directed the 1930 Survey under the supervision of the Bureau of Jewish Social Research in New York, the predecessor of the national Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds. Specialists in each field of social service analyzed both professional agencies and smaller charity societies of the community in a report to a special federation committee. In turn, this committee of volunteers evaluated the Survey and supplemented the observations of the specialists from other cities before the Associated Jewish Philanthropies took action.

While the Survey was in process, the economic depression became wide-spread. The federation's dwindling treasury contracted still further. By spring its condition was so critical that non-Jewish neighbors formed a committee to aid the Associated Jewish Philanthropies in recognition of its service to the community. Yet the depression had only completed the financial havoc of the Associated. Fund-raising in the Boston federation as in most similar organizations had already deteriorated in the latter half of the 1920's. Inheriting a deficit of more than one hundred thousand dollars from the Federated Jewish Charities, the young Associated, fully in accord with the proposal of the 1930 Survey, introduced a program of professionally directed fund-raising.

With the appointment of Sidney S. Cohen, the Boston federation started to solve the plaguing financial problem of the last thirty-five years. A graduate of Syracuse University and an experienced journalist, Cohen had developed techniques of fund-raising with the New York and Brooklyn federations. While the Great Depression deepened, Cohen stimulated a group of men to found the Business Men's Council in 1930. The Council together with a reorganized Women's Division had notable influence upon the fall campaign. Despite the hard times the number of subscribers

doubled, representing nine thousand individual contributors. This increase in donations demonstrated resources which had been previously unavailable to the federation. In the future the raising and collection of money were maintained as an "all year round responsibility" under competent professional direction.

Following other recommendations of the 1930 Survey, the Associated Jewish Philanthropies developed a new structure of agencies. In view of the current specialization of techniques in family and child welfare, the Survey examined critically the multiple functions of District Service. District Service was complicated, expensive, and dependent upon the enthusiasm of social workers and local volunteers. Since the original esprit associated with this pattern of agencies had disappeared, by general agreement the experiment of combining family welfare and community recreation under District Service ended.

Instead the Jewish Family Welfare Association was established in June, 1931, to handle exclusively the economic and social problems of the Associated's dependent families. Although the district community centers were closed, branch offices were maintained for family clients in the districts of Roxbury, Dorchester, and the West End. The new Association at first continued the visiting housekeeper service in the Bureau of Home Economics and the work with the physically disabled in the Bureau for the Handicapped; the Bureau of Special Services became a liaison department through which the Benoth Israel Sheltering Association, the Hebrew Free Burial Association, and Moeth Chitim functioned. As a result of the recent Survey, the Jewish Prisoners' Aid Society was also integrated into this Bureau; and a new Guidance Bureau undertook the work with delinquent girls and unmarried mothers formerly carried on by the Council of Jewish Women. While some of these Bureaus continued responsibilities

inherited from District Service, others represented an enlargement of the scope of the family agency.

A more radical change followed from the creation of the Jewish Child Welfare Association. Despite the work of the Children's Bureau since 1917, the foster home program had not attained complete endorsement by the community. As a result, the Children's Bureau had been unable to develop a sufficient pool of foster homes. Therefore the agencies of the city and state still placed many wards in non-Jewish homes. The 1930 Survey had confirmed the belief that congregate supervision of dependent children was outmoded. With the inestimable help of a Women's Committee, the new child welfare agency was organized to explain its foster home program to small groups throughout the city. In addition Lotte Marcuse, the first head of the Associated's Child Welfare Association, championed the extensive program of foster home placements. By the summer of 1933 the Home for Jewish Children was closed. For seventy young inmates then transferred to private homes, the Child Welfare Association sympathetically bridged a difficult transitional period. Thereafter, in general, the Jewish community accepted child-placing as the main solution for the care of dependent normal children.

As the Great Depression settled like an endless fog over the entire city, other plans were temporarily shelved. Boston did not yield to the hysteria of apple selling and bread lines because of the solid local tradition of public welfare. But the indispensable aid from the Overseers of Public Welfare was not sufficient. Soon all private agencies were overwhelmed with demands from individuals who had never before had to apply for relief.

From the start of the long emergency, the federation successfully asserted itself as a central institution in the lives of Boston's Jews. Organizing an emergency placement service

known as the Vocational Bureau, the Associated immediately grappled with the problem of unemployment. Its office was crowded with jobless clerical workers, sales persons, craftsmen, and physical laborers competing for scarce jobs. Above all, family and child welfare and medical care took priority but even these services operated under severe handicaps.

At first, the Associated Jewish Philanthropies like other organizations struggled with the immediate relief problems. Despite the federation's own reduced staff, the Associated loaned a worker from its Family Welfare Association to cooperate with the city's Department of Public Welfare from 1930 to 1932. In the spring of 1930 during the celebration of Passover unprecedented requests mounted; not only relief cases of the family welfare agency but those of the Beth Israel, the Bickur Cholim, and still others on city relief and in public institutions were supplied with *matzos* and other ritual food.

Most continuously, the family agency faced the requests of people in dire need. Although its scarce funds were redivided to give needy families subminimal allowances, by the winter of 1932 the Associated accepted flour and food from the Red Cross. The family agency also helped impoverished rabbis, cantors, and scholars, who formed a new group of dependents until the Rabbinical Pension Fund was established in 1935 with the cooperation of the Rabbinical Association. Moreover, when the family agency's staff was cut, workers who could no longer be paid volunteered to help on a part time basis. It was hopeless to maintain all the services of family welfare; by the middle of the decade the Bureau of Home Economics and the Bureau for the Handicapped were discontinued.

Since District Service no longer existed, Hecht Neighborhood House and the Young Men's Hebrew Association were

the sole agencies for group activities operated by the Associated during the depression. Still in the West End, Hecht Neighborhood House remained an oasis, open to five thousand Jews and to other groups in need of comfort. The House overflowed with discouraged individuals. Seventy per cent of those who attended were unemployed. The new director, Helen Saftel, faced problems of a very different nature from those which Golde Bamber had tackled in the preceding forty years. Now there was need to keep alive the faith of young people in American democracy. Airing common economic and social grievances in discussion groups or sharing cooperative recreational projects, disillusioned youths were helped to accept their experiences self-reliantly.

In the first half of the 1930's, other issues confronted the Young Men's Hebrew Association. A new constituent of the Associated, the "Y" was in a state of transition, handicapped by a reduced membership as well as by inadequate funds. The once popular club work for youngsters and the adult current events forum had lapsed. Only the gymnasium program, still maintaining its former level of success, provided physical relaxation for troubled adults and youths. Despite the limited resources one new project, a summer day camp program for poor children of Dorchester and Roxbury, was successfully introduced. Across the street from the "Y," seven to fourteen year olds were supervised in Franklin Park and taken to swim at the Young Men's Christian Association. A fuller extension of the "Y's" program for the Roxbury neighborhood remained on the federation's schedule for the future.

Above all, the local institutions for Jewish education were the hardest hit. In the early 1930's the schools could not always pay their Hebrew teachers even small salaries. The efforts of the Bureau of Jewish Education to place teachers were unrewarding. Qualified instructors had to compete with

other unemployed individuals who sought to gain income by teaching Hebrew. Nevertheless the Bureau tried to continue its earlier experimental policies and in 1934 started a Department for the Training of Sunday School Teachers and Club leaders with field practice.

During these lean years there was little division between the work of the Bureau of Jewish Education and of the Hebrew Teachers College. Upon the retirement of Samuel Perlman, the second dean of the College, Louis Hurwich still head of the Bureau, became acting dean in 1932. The College managed to survive the depression and even improve its status. A small affiliated group, the New England Women's Association of the Hebrew Teachers College, paid its second mortgage of fifteen thousand dollars, operated the students' lunchroom, and contributed scholarship and library funds. This Association helped to sustain the Hebrew Teachers College and prepared its way to a more hopeful era.

Unemployment was a common tragedy drawing together the entire Boston community throughout the decade. Beginning in January, 1932, public and private social agencies banded together to raise money in united Emergency Campaigns. Under Louis E. Kirstein, a member of the allocation committee, the Jewish federation contributed to their success. The first year this communal innovation in the city's fund-raising produced over $3,000,000 of which one-third was allocated to the participating private agencies while two-thirds was donated to the Overseers of Public Welfare. As a result the campaign was repeated annually until the participating agencies agreed to federate permanently; in 1935 Boston's Community Federation was born. In the process of organization, the Associated Jewish Philanthropies, now forty years old, was a constructive model and its executive director, Ben M. Selekman, an important consultant. On November 21, 1935, the Associated accepted institutional

membership in the Community Federation of Boston. For the time being, however, the Associated decided to continue its own campaigns by which to "preserve the values which inhere in the vitality of the Jewish group organized under the Associated," and "also . . . secure maximum support from that group for the social services of Boston."

Over the next two decades, the Associated Jewish Philanthropies utilized its established ideals and practices to cooperate with the Community Federation and its successors, the Greater Boston Community Fund and the United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston. In 1936 an allocation from the Community Federation alleviated the Associated's deficits until its own fund-raising became more rewarding. Then as a gesture of appreciation for help through the emergency years, the Associated Jewish Philanthropies in 1937 made a special contribution of fifteen thousand dollars to the Community Federation with the compliments of the Jews of Boston. Thereafter a set sum raised separately by the Associated was included in the campaign total of Boston's community fund organization. Simultaneously public-spirited Jews with their fellow-citizens served ably on the boards and worked in the campaigns of their city's community chest. Out of the depths of the depression had come a new channel of good will and responsibility among Boston's neighbors.

The city weathered the first stresses of the depression through local action but basically the status of the Associated's clients did not improve until the federal government intervened with legislation. Through the New Deal private social agencies were partially relieved from providing material relief. The Associated's family welfare agency, which had been swamped with transients, benefited from the establishment of the Federal Transient Bureau, which provided funds for the agency to use for Jewish transients.

Moreover, when these men found employment on federal projects, the number of transients dropped markedly by 1938. In countless other ways, the Public Works Administration, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Works Progress Administration, and the Social Security Act of 1935 salvaged the unemployed.

As the government enlarged its program of aid, the role of private agencies was enhanced rather than diminished. More often they could offer individual neighborly or professional help which the government could not give human beings in need. The private agencies had greater opportunity to evolve further humanitarian and scientific principles of counseling and guidance. With this perspective the goals of the Associated Jewish Philanthropies' constituent agencies matured in the 1930's and 1940's.

Although hampered by heavy case loads and small staffs, both the Associated's family and child welfare associations now dealt with the psychological problems of family relationships. Both agencies welcomed students from the local schools of social work and encouraged their own staffs to take courses to develop higher professional standards. When in 1936 Dora Margolis, the case work consultant of the family agency for the past several years, succeeded Maurice Taylor as its director, the case work program was expanding. Guidance programs for delinquent girls and unmarried mothers were already part of the regular case load. Penetrating beyond financial maladjustments in dependent families, case work emphasized family rehabilitation through the treatment of individuals. By 1938 the Child Welfare Association too exercised greater selectivity by placing children in foster homes in Metropolitan Boston in preference to congested neighborhoods or declining Jewish districts. In summer placements, both agencies gave special attention to undernourished and other children who did not fit into the normal

summer programs offered at the federation's camps, Chebacco and Country Week.

Toward the end of the decade of depression, the two recreational agencies also reflected the federation's renewed vitality. For many years there had been concern for the sixty thousand Jews of Dorchester and Mattapan who had few meeting places for group activities. After forty-five years of service the Hecht Neighborhood House left the West End. Moving into the Canterbury Street building which the Home for Jewish Children had occupied since 1911, the new Hecht Neighborhood House in a short time attracted six thousand individuals to its varied programs. Parents paid fees on a sliding scale for a nursery school which offered a professionally trained staff. For older children there was a recreation game room sponsored by the Works Progress Administration of the New Deal. A day camp and an overnight camp mitigated the long hours of summer vacations. Of greatest significance for the future, the House welcomed a new organization of local women of Dorchester and Mattapan in the following winter. Their participation in the affairs of Hecht Neighborhood House infused fresh democratic spirit in the institution which wealthier men and women had run exclusively since the 1890's on behalf of those who used the House. When the neighborhood leaders gained representation on the old Board of Trustees in 1937, Hecht Neighborhood House was on the way to becoming, as these local representatives declared, "a Jewish community center for men, women and children."

While the Young Men's Hebrew Association lagged behind the Hecht Neighborhood House, new plans of the "Y" followed a similar path. Beyond the traditional appeal to young men and adults, professional workers through club programs directed educational charity-giving for children, a junior police corps for small boys, discussions ranging

from Jewish history to social hygiene for adolescents as well as a little theater for adults.

At the close of the decade, Hecht Neighborhood House and the Young Men's Hebrew Association were in a dynamic state. By the mid-1930's group work had emerged as an aspect of social work and those who had pioneered in settlement houses and Young Men's Hebrew Associations were among the formulators of the new field of professional social service. Hecht Neighborhood House now introduced record-keeping and supervision by trained workers who were graduates of schools of social work. Although limited by financial resources, Hecht Neighborhood House and, to a less extent, the "Y" also accepted other group work techniques. Through the initiation of club councils, both institutions consciously fostered democratic representation of the membership. But since the Associated's support was still necessarily frugal, the potentialities of these group work centers were very slowly realized.

While professionalization increasingly amplified the older spheres of service in the Associated Jewish Philanthropies, in the field of medicine the importance of adhering to scientific standards was unquestioned at the new Beth Israel Hospital from the outset. In spite of obstacles of the Great Depression, doctors and communal supporters created a unique Jewish medical center. For a quarter of a century this was the only Jewish hospital in the United States to attain the rank of a university teaching medical institution. Opening late in the summer of 1928, the Beth Israel gained focus and stability from several fortunate circumstances.

Under the executive direction of Dr. Charles Wilinsky the complicated task of fashioning a distinguished hospital took place. A graduate of Baltimore University School of Medicine in 1904, Dr. Wilinsky had devoted his career to the health problems of Boston's poor immigrants. His experiences first as a lodge doctor in the West End, then as a school

physician for the city's Health Department, and finally as a District Health officer in 1913 led Dr. Wilinsky to devise the Blossom Street Health Unit in 1916. Backed by eminent Bostonians, it became the model of eight health centers under Wilinsky's supervision in the 1920's. In the light of these experiences, he conceived the future role of Boston's Jewish hospital. He placed foremost the improvement of the community's health standards and allied this hospital with the city's other social welfare agencies toward that common end.

Equally important, the caliber of Beth Israel's medical leadership was superior. Four members of the first medical executive committee were graduates of the Harvard Medical School: Dr. Harry Linenthal, Dr. Herrman L. Blumgart, Dr. Harry C. Solomon, and Dr. Wyman Whittemore. And the fifth, Dr. Wilinsky, the new executive director, had long worked with Boston's leading physicians to advance the public health of the city. Dr. Harry Linenthal, who pioneered in the early Mt. Sinai Dispensary and at the first Beth Israel, was Physician-in-Chief and along with Dr. Hyman Morrison was in charge of the medical teaching program. Soon Dr. Charles G. Mixter who already had attained eminence was appointed Surgeon-in-Chief. A gifted young man, Dr. Herrman L. Blumgart, became the unanimous choice for the Director of Medical Research. In addition to these leaders, the rest of the medical staff was composed of able physicians who upheld high standards of practice both in the care of patients and in teaching and in research.

The Beth Israel's growing relation to the Harvard University family was a special influence. In the previous decade and a half, a brilliant corps of doctors had lifted the Medical School out of its parochial status and brought it into a position of national leadership. In the 1920's Harvard was one of the few schools using a full-time clinical staff for

teaching. Without being a direct sponsor, this Medical School looked upon the Beth Israel with cooperative, even avuncular interest. In the beginning the hospital was affiliated with the Medical School only in the Department of Medicine for a few students in fourth year medicine. Several years later a similar relationship developed with the Department of Surgery. When teaching in Medicine expanded to include third year and, finally, second year students, the Beth Israel became the first university hospital under Jewish auspices in the entire country.

Increasing academic relationships with Harvard and with Tufts Medical Schools had a pyramidic effect upon students, internes, and doctors. In contrast to most Jewish hospitals, the Beth Israel could ensure the continuing development of its physicians to the top of their specialities.

Among other accomplishments, the Beth Israel's doctors contributed significantly to medical science in this quarter of the century. Studies of the heart and the circulatory system led to the discovery of the external cardiac pacemaker, of special elements in the blood clotting mechanics, and to experimentation with new drugs in the treatment of high blood pressure and with radioactive iodine treatment for certain heart conditions. In addition, Beth Israel doctors advanced medical knowledge of Graves disease.

The special talents of Charles Wilinsky made possible an effective division between professional and volunteer participants in the construction of a first-class medical institution. Already accustomed to coordinating different groups, he dealt tactfully with doctors, trustees, nurses, patients, countless personnel of a general hospital, and the public at large. Although the financial condition of the Beth Israel was desperate, Wilinsky permitted no compromise in medical practices.

The Social Service Department of the new Beth Israel was

also representative of the scientific planning in the hospital. Unlike most voluntary committees of the time, the social service committee implanted professional standards into the original plan for the department. Designed by Maida H. Solomon, this plan was accepted by the trustees and formed the permanent structure upon which the department grew. The first head, Ethel Cohen, who was a graduate of Radcliffe College and professionally trained at the Simmons College School of Social Work, was directly responsible to the hospital medical director. Since few Jewish girls had yet entered the field of medical social work, there was some difficulty at first in hiring other trained personnel. But this lack of interest soon changed and the department became an important teaching and training center for medical social work. Through careful consideration of the role of the social worker in relation to the doctors, in 1929 Miss Cohen innovated the practice of having social workers accompany doctors on their rounds; her method was afterwards adopted in general hospitals all over the country. In this way, teamwork developed between doctor and worker for the good of the patient.

In all its functions the Social Service Department regarded itself as a liaison between the hospital and the rest of the community. In this connection there was special emphasis on the function of volunteers. The close-knit group of women who had formed the Jewish Anti-Tuberculosis Association in 1904 and supported first the Mt. Sinai Dispensary and then the Townsend Street Beth Israel, agreed to work under a trained social worker supervised by the hospital's Social Service Department. When tuberculosis cases grew small in number, this group of women turned their attention to chronic cases recommended by the Beth Israel department.

In this initial stage the department also stimulated other groups of volunteers, some to secure books, magazines, and newspapers in English and Yiddish; others to obtain toys for

the pediatric clinic and the children's ward; a flower committee to distribute flowers to the wards once a week; and a motor corps to drive patients home who were unable to provide their own transportation. These assistants who formed the Volunteer Service of the Auxiliary were typical of countless others who responded to the various needs of the growing hospital.

For as in the earlier days, the women of the Beth Israel Auxiliary were indispensable. Thousands now joined the original leaders who had made the dream of the hospital a reality. Its physical expansion derived largely from the capital improvements provided by this ardent Auxiliary under the successive leadership of Jennie Loitman Barron, Ernestine Spitz Prager, Theresa Cohen Whitman, and Viola Pinanski. The Auxiliary also adopted Mrs. George Wyner's inspired plan for raising money through life membership. Expended on countless undertakings, this fund produced private and semi-private rooms, an electric generator and maintenance shop, the children's pavilion, out-patient projects, housing quarters for internes, and a new surgical research laboratory. Over the years the Auxiliary sponsored the Volunteer Service, Public Health lectures, a surgical dressing group, and recreational evenings for student nurses. Later, a thrift shop and a coffee shop were effective enterprises of Auxiliary women who gave wherever they saw a need.

In addition to women, the Beth Israel's growth as a whole depended upon the faith and support of the community. For thirty years a nucelus of lay leaders had believed in a Jewish hospital. New generations now came along to work for it. But the modern Beth Israel had been launched just before the Great Depression. Costing three million dollars to build, far more than its sponsors had expected, the hospital started its life with a mortgage of one and one half million

dollars. Still the Beth Israel was in the rare circumstance for a Jewish hospital of receiving large federation support; despite all its burdens in the depression, the Associated Jewish Philanthropies provided generous allocations then amounting to thirty per cent of the hospital's income. Since the cost of free hospital care exceeded these annual subventions, for a decade and a half after 1927 generous financial backers, successively led by Albert A. Ginzberg, Louis E. Kirstein, David M. Watchmaker, and Casper M. Grosberg, sustained the hospital.

Meanwhile in the same Roxbury building which had housed the first Beth Israel, another medical institution was quietly taking root. In 1929 the Greater Boston Bickur Cholim Hospital on Townsend Street provided long-term care for poor sick folk whom general hospitals were unable to keep. In general, all American hospitals for the chronically ill were still underdeveloped and Jewish institutions were more like custodial institutions for the aged than hospitals. Mrs. Ida Cooper, the long-time head of the original Roxbury Bickur Cholim visiting society became the first president and later the superintendent of the Greater Boston Bickur Cholim Hospital. When Mrs. Cooper became the executive manager in 1931, Philip J. Marget assumed the presidency of the hospital for the next decade. Under the medical direction of Dr. Maurice Gerstein, an early leader in the old Mt. Sinai Dispensary, the majority of the beds at the Greater Boston Bickur Cholim were filled with free patients; physiotherapy, x-ray, and laboratory departments aided medical supervision.

Serving special needs of patients who could go nowhere else, the institution inspired the same kind of enthusiasm among its contributors as the old Beth Israel had in its former years. A similar pattern of auxiliaries gradually developed. In addition, the Associated Jewish Philanthropies gave generous allocations usually amounting to forty per cent of

the hospital's budget. The limited capacity of the hospital failed to meet the continuously growing applications. Since the sponsors regarded the care of the chronic sick as a traditional philanthropic duty, patients receiving free care in the 1930's composed about eighty-five per cent of the total admissions. In 1936 construction of a new wing giving the hospital an eighty-two bed capacity was imperative. With the completion of an operating room and dental laboratory the Greater Boston Bickur Cholim was able to introduce a more extensive program of medical care. A new name, the Jewish Memorial Hospital, reflected the changing focus in this institution for the chronically ill.

Like all private agencies the Associated Jewish Philanthropies at the end of the decade was already affected by the government's assumption of greater responsibility for the public welfare. But however much Boston's Jewish leaders and workers realized that the function of their private agencies was changing, there was not as yet full opportunity to exploit the new role. Since 1933 American Jews had grimly watched the rise of Adolf Hitler. In the same years in which unemployment mounted in Boston and the demands for local relief increased, the persecution of Jews in Germany brought new obligations. At first few people had sufficient foresight and financial means to migrate. Beginning with boycotts against Jewish owned shops and public burnings of books by Jewish authors, other restrictions followed until, on September 15, 1935, the Nuremberg Laws deprived all German Jews of citizenship. Thereafter the physical violence and brutality of the Nazis forced them to emigrate.

As in the 1880's when American Jews had learned of the Russian pogroms, the desire to help the refugees was immediate. And again it took time to organize efficient means of raising and administering funds and aid for the distressed victims. At first, some refugees poured over the borders into

surrounding European countries, while many others looked to Palestine as a haven. But even in 1933 a few crossed the Atlantic to America. Then Hitler's occupation of Austria in 1938 swelled this exodus into the first large wave of refugees. When a year later England's White Paper restricted the entrance of Jews to Palestine, America as in the past became the only hope.

When the National Coordination Committee of New York sent some of the victims to Boston, an informal Boston Committee for Refugees arose spontaneously to render emergency aid. Under the chairmanship of Walter H. Bieringer assisted by Dora Margolis, head of the Family Welfare Association, and Ben M. Selekman, executive director of the Associated, the small group of volunteers established temporary offices in the same building as the Associated Jewish Philanthropies. In addition the Committee received funds from the Greater Boston United Jewish Campaign. A limited staff worked tirelessly with the Committee, contacting businessman after businessman to produce jobs for the newcomers throughout New England. The Committee also found appropriate individuals to furnish affidavits for each refugee placed. At the same time Jewish fraternal lodges, temple brotherhoods and sisterhoods, the Council of Jewish Women, and also nonsectarian committees on behalf of doctors, dentists, teachers, and other displaced refugees coordinated their efforts with that of the Boston Committee.

After the Boston Committee for Refugees had performed the first transitional acts of help and hospitality, the professional agencies of the Associated offered special services. The family welfare agency gave financial aid to some refugees and counseling to others. The Beth Israel supplied free medical care for all. The Vocational Bureau trained new Americans for semi-skilled positions in the needle trades. Above all, children were the major concern in the resettlement

of these immigrants. When in 1934 Lotte Marcuse left Boston to become the Director of Placements of the new German-Jewish Children's Aid Society, the Associated's child welfare agency participated in the program which placed hundreds of refugee children in supervised foster homes.

In all these undertakings the élan of the Boston Committee for Refugees complemented the specialized help of professional workers and brought the community recognition at a national conference on refugee work in the spring of 1938. By that year the number of refugees had so increased that the Boston Committee was reorganized and became affiliated with the new National Refugee Service.

But as each year of Hitler's tyranny deepened the suffering, the help of local groups did not suffice. Motivated by federation leadership, in 1937 and 1938 Boston conducted its United Jewish Campaigns for Refugees, Overseas, and National needs. An effective national United Jewish Appeal on behalf of the Joint Distribution Committee, the United Palestine Appeal, and the National Refugee Service did not appear until 1939. Boston supported this campaign and Louis E. Kirstein became a member of the Allocations Committee of the National United Jewish Appeal.

In that year the Associated Jewish Philanthropies loaned its full personnel under Sidney S. Cohen's supervision to the local United Jewish Campaign. Thus the leadership of the Associated Jewish Philanthropies raised the funds not only in its own fall campaign but in the new spring drive to which Boston's Jews committed themselves. Significantly, the two separate campaigns raised nearly the same amount of money. Since many leaders were active in both campaigns, they conceived the idea of one joint drive to economize time, energy, and expense. In 1940, therefore, a single campaign was planned as a Combined Appeal. Boston thus became the first major Jewish community to raise all its funds for local,

national, and overseas needs in one concerted effort. By mutual consent, under the Combined Jewish Appeal the Associated Jewish Philanthropies and the United Jewish Campaign received amounts equal to those raised in their separate drives. Should the total collected from the Combined Appeal ever exceed these amounts, it was agreed to divide the additional sum equally.

The first campaign of the Combined Jewish Appeal under the chairmanship of Louis E. Kirstein produced five thousand new contributors. The goal to which the original federation of 1895 had been dedicated was in sight; for through the device of the Combined Jewish Appeal the number of contributors expanded enormously. In the past the donors from the outlying towns had been limited. Many new contributors were included through their Metropolitan communities which were now organized in the Combined Appeal, following the pattern of the 1937-1939 United Jewish Campaigns. Among these donors some who had been primarily concerned with the problems of Jews in Europe and Palestine became interested in the local functions of the Associated Jewish Philanthropies. The Combined Jewish Appeal finished the process of encompassing different segments of the Jewish population in one framework which reflected their various interests. Like the original Federation of Jewish Charities, the Combined Jewish Appeal was a fund-raising device conceived in a time of crisis by those who wanted to reach a greater number of contributors. Again like that first federation, the new mechanism of the Combined Jewish Appeal was an experiment. For the next few years the Appeal's relationship to the community remained temporary, dependent upon the joint annual renewal of the agreement by the Associated Jewish Philanthropies and the United Jewish Campaign.

As this experimental association became more solid, the Boston Jewish community faced the second World War.

Hitler's devastations were no longer solely a Jewish tragedy but involved the entire civilized world. Temporarily the war closed certain channels of the Associated and brought new ones into being. While the outbreak of hostilities in Europe in 1939 halted the exodus of refugees for a time, there were new problems at home. The Beth Israel became a vital element in the community's civilian defense program. In its research laboratories, doctors and technicians worked on a government project to study the mechanism of shock in relation to war casualties. The well-being of wives and children of servicemen concerned the family and children's agencies.

From early morning until late night hundreds — men and women, boys and girls — engaged in civilian defense and Red Cross activities at the Young Men's Hebrew Association and at Hecht House. Three generations of families worked in victory gardens. The professional staffs of the agencies wrote news letters to former members in the service and protected at the same time the morale of the home folk.

But the community displayed its most spectacular efforts in special services for the armed forces. As soon as the National Selective Service Act was passed in September, 1940, representatives of the leading organizations, spurred on by the New England Section of the Jewish Welfare Board, formed the Greater Boston Jewish Welfare Board Army and Navy Committee. Working with temple brotherhoods, sisterhoods, and fraternal lodges, the Greater Boston Army and Navy Committee helped to fill the religious, social, and recreational needs of servicemen and women.

These teeming activities led to the opening of the Boston JWB Army and Navy Club at 17 Commonwealth Avenue in January, 1943. One thousand volunteers participated in its programs to welcome servicemen of all faiths in the Metropolitan area. In two years, over two hundred and eighty thousand members of the Armed Forces, sixty per cent of

whom were non-Jewish, had visited the Club and more than fifty thousand service people were lodged overnight. The outstanding accomplishment of the local war services, the Army and Navy Club was financially sponsored by Boston's Jews through the Combined Appeal.

While the local community concentrated on these abnormal, temporary needs, war was affecting the federation more basically. Booming American industries had ended unemployment and raised the national income. Year by year despite inflation the Associated Jewish Philanthropies found that its contributors were in better financial position. Revisions in the income tax laws facilitated larger contributions to charity, especially by business corporations. By the end of 1942 when Louis E. Kirstein died, the Combined Jewish Appeal's goal of $1,500,000 was over-subscribed by $125,000.

The Associated was on the threshold of a new era of self-sufficiency. Significantly at this time, the constitution was revised, limiting the tenure of all future presidents of the federation to three years. From 1942 to 1955, the presidents were in succession Abraham K. Cohen, Jacob J. Kaplan, Milton Kahn, Reuben B. Gryzmish, and Benjamin Ulin. As in other federations, the years of the philanthropy of the few to the many were over. In 1930 there had been nine thousand contributors to the Associated Jewish Philanthropies but the contributors to the Combined Appeal in 1946 exceeded fifty thousand. Among these thousands there was a new generation of wealthy citizens. More important, Jews of all origins were unified in the Combined Appeal. Large giving ceased to be associated with the old federation group of the reform congregations. The viewpoints of new contributors and new leaders influenced the post-war directions of the Associated.

The success of the Combined Jewish Appeal as an instrument of fund-raising justified its establishment on a perma-

nent basis. During the process of planning its future, Ben M. Selekman defined the relationship of the Associated and the fund-raising Appeal. Since the Combined Jewish Appeal was "the creation of the Associated Jewish Philanthropies," the Associated itself still kept the obligation to "safeguard the interests of the Jewish Community of Greater Boston." Finally in December, 1946, the Combined Jewish Appeal of Greater Boston was incorporated. Its first president was Israel Friedlander who had served as campaign chairman of the Combined Appeal. By 1955, led by Friedlander and his successors, Herman Gilman, Samuel Markell, Jacob L. Wiseman, and Lewis H. Weinstein, Boston's Jews supported two hundred and one agencies ranging from the local twenty-two institutions of the Associated and extra-local agencies of the Metropolitan area to national service, cultural, and community relations agencies within the United States and beyond these to Israel and overseas agencies.

When Selekman retired to be the first Kirstein Professor of Labor Relations at the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration in 1945, Sidney S. Cohen became the executive director of the Associated Jewish Philanthropies and the Combined Jewish Appeal. After fifteen years of service, Cohen had intimate knowledge of the changing interests of the Associated. He was assisted by Isaac Seligson, a graduate of the New York School of Social Work who had shown professional skill with the Boston JWB-USO Army Committee during the war years. Under this direction the Associated matured as the center of Boston Jewish community service.

Administered by almost the same volunteer and professional leaders, the Associated and the Combined Appeal aimed to give a unified leadership to Boston's Jews. Beginning as a marriage of convenience in 1940, the relationship between the Associated and the Appeal became a real partner-

ship in which each complemented the other. Inextricably entwined in 1955, the federations virtually functioned as one, executing the common goods to which Boston's Jews subscribed in their annual contributions.

Throughout the decade the allocations of the Combined Appeal reflected the judgment and flexibility of leaders attuned to the needs at home and abroad. The year 1944 had brought the Appeal to a new peak of $1,600,000 and by 1948 $8,500,000 was reached. In these lucrative years the Associated Jewish Philanthropies waived its right to the additional funds to which it was entitled. At first, through the national United Jewish Appeal the bulk of the unparalleled sums was used for the relief and settlement of displaced persons. Moreover, the Boston community also galvanized itself for a memorable twenty-four hour SOS (Supplies for Overseas Survivors) Campaign during which the volunteers obtained more than 2,500,000 pounds of food, clothing, and medicine for the survivors in displaced persons camps. With the birth of the State of Israel in 1948, financial assistance to the new nation took precedence. Thereafter the recent emergency standard of giving approached permanent status.

As the community became conditioned to the larger scale of contributions, however, local expansion, partially delayed by lack of materials, was not forgotten. Back in 1943, the Associated had drawn plans which still affected the growth of its services in 1955. These plans took into account the changing conditions of Boston Jewish life. Like other groups in the city, more and more Jews found their standard of living improved. In varying degrees of prosperity those who could afford moved out of Roxbury and Dorchester and became residents of Brookline and Newton. The trek continued until in 1955 the circuit of Jewish residental areas had widened into thirty communities covering 700 square miles.

In this expanding circumference Boston was the center, the influential metropolis. Usually the men had their businesses or practiced their professions in the city. There were also ties to older members of their families still living in Boston's predominantly Jewish neighborhoods. Inevitably, there was ambiguity about the federation's relationship to the suburban settlements from which the Combined Appeal yearly drew richer contributions. The Beth Israel Hospital, the Jewish Memorial Hospital, the Bureau of Jewish Education, and the Hebrew Teachers College had always given full service to surrounding communities, while other agencies had functioned outside Boston during special emergencies. Should these Associated Jewish Philanthropies' agencies extend their regular services further or should the Combined Jewish Appeal support local services in the separate communities? Like the Greater Boston Community Fund, the Associated soon felt that the extension of fund-raising activities had to be followed by extension of other services. In 1952 the Associated Jewish Philanthropies revised its by-laws to give official recognition to its services to the Jews of "Greater Boston." But how best to preserve and develop the relationship of these growing suburbias to the Boston Jewish community was not quickly settled and would evoke thoughtful experimentation in the next decade.

Against this shifting background the federal government's continuing guardianship of the public welfare removed permanently the federation's old preoccupation with material relief, except for non-citizens. With war's end prosperity was undiminished. Private social agencies advanced from their position of the 1930's, freer to explore their roles in the rehabilitation and guidance of clients. Even though the Associated's transformation was slowed by the work for displaced persons, the modern agencies bore little resemblance to their forerunners.

At the turn of the century destitute children, deserted wives, and peddlers without packs had crowded the federation's offices. By the 1920's the demand for foster homes had exceeded the supply available. By contrast, in the decade after World War II the early needs had almost entirely disappeared; and even the demand for foster homes was waning. More often native born and naturalized citizens alike benefiting materially from American social legislation could afford the luxury of facing deeper adjustments in their lives.

Several innovations in 1946 demonstrated that the emphasis in the Associated Jewish Philanthropies' agencies had shifted from clients' economic and social problems to their psychological and emotional ones. First the newly established multiple agency, the Jewish Family and Children's Service, maintained within the one framework separate and specialized departments for casework. At the same time this agency assumed professional direction of the Ladies Helping Hand Home for Jewish Children founded in 1934 by supporters of the closed Home on Canterbury Street; the new constituent of the Associated now became a temporary home and study unit for problem children. In addition, the Family and Children's Service extended itself into the Metropolitan area with the opening of a Chelsea office. And through the Women's Committee of the agency the establishment of Camp Kingswood in Bridgton, Maine became the first major step in post-war implementation of the inadequate camp facilities offered by the older Country Week and Camp Chebacco. Finally another new agency, the Jewish Vocational Service, was born out of the old Vocational Bureau. Under the professional leadership of Dr. S. Norman Feingold, counseling, guidance, and testing provided scientific means of placing veterans, discharged prisoners, and handicapped people.

But in addition, recognizing the new problems of the growing suburban middle class which knew more leisure than in

the past, the Associated Jewish Philanthropies responded to conditions of American life which influenced all private agencies. In common with other American agencies they contributed to the technical advances in their specialties. Yet the Associated's constituents also enjoyed a sense of continuity with the tradition of their immigrant precursors by maintaining their separate contributions to social service. What was more, the shadow of race prejudice in the 1930's and 1940's made the Boston federation more conscious than ever before of its mission as an American Jewish voluntary association. The decade and a half of Nazism and war, and the accompanying nativist accents in America Firsters, the Christian Front, Father Coughlin, Silver Shirts, and other fascist prototypes had hardened the will of federation leaders and workers to preserve and create anew distinctively Jewish forms of community service.

Since 1936, physical attacks upon Hecht Neighborhood House youths by non-Jewish boys in Dorchester had been disturbing shadows of potential anti-Semitism. Apart from the federation's own agencies, the Associated Jewish Philanthropies then took the lead in founding a separate organization to handle the delicate problems involving inter-faith cooperation in Boston. By December, 1938, an Interim Committee was headed by Louis E. Kirstein and Ben M. Selekman only to lapse after a short time. But when low wartime morale precipitated further gang incidents from 1940 to 1944, the Associated Jewish Philanthropies organized a temporary Central Advisory Committee. Directed by Isaac Seligson, it conferred with the Governor's Committee and local Good Neighbor Committees and coordinated some of the activities of the leading Jewish community relations organizations in their efforts to combat prejudice. By 1949 a permanent Jewish Community Council of Metropolitan Boston under the professional leadership of Robert E. Segal emerged, consisting

of members appointed by twenty-two concerned organizations and also members at large. In the next eleven years it sought to improve and to protect inter-group and intra-group relationships. The groping attempts in 1904, in 1918, and in 1938 to establish this special kind of representative association with a membership contributed by different types of Jewish organizations would culminate in an effective Community Council in 1955, financially supported by the Combined Jewish Appeal.

The adolescent conflicts in Dorchester also spurred the Associated's long-delayed plans for a complete family recreational and cultural program. Since the closing of the District Welfare Centers in the 1920's, the Associated Jewish Philanthropies had acknowledged the gap in its support of group work. During the depression the Hecht Neighborhood House and the Boston Young Men's Hebrew Association were the sole recreational agencies of the federation. The different histories of these two old centers reflected the earlier era of immigrants when the concept of Americanization of the native settlement houses had also influenced Jewish group activities. Toward the end of the Hitler-dominated 1930's the federation declared itself in favor of consciously Jewish community centers. And still more in the perspective of some native born leaders after the Second World War, the presentation of Jewish topics at the older agencies seemed too casual. Their utilization of Jewish subjects did not seem thorough or sufficient. And it was noted that neither of these agencies had consistently made provisions for the entire family in contrast to the federation's short-lived District Welfare Centers of the 1920's. With different aims in view, the Associated Jewish Philanthropies made sectarian community recreation one of its first objectives in the post-war decade.

Yet this reorganization of the Associated's services — whether in group work, family and child welfare, or voca-

tional guidance — had hardly started before the last stream of displaced persons absorbed the major efforts of all the agencies. President Truman's Directive of 1945 and the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 set in motion another sizable wave to the West before the existence of the new State of Israel reversed the tide. Among these victims, more women, children, and aged folk came than in all the previous decade. The old Boston Committee for Refugees, revived early in 1946 and renamed the Boston Service for New Americans in 1948, again became the coordinating center for all the groups which aided displaced Jews. Among the Associated Jewish Philanthropies' agencies, the Family and Children's Service carried the major share of responsibility, providing food, financial help, and casework services. Children, who received preference in Truman's Directive, were placed in foster homes, sent to schools, or placed in educational units devoted to their readjustment at Camp Kingswood and at Bradshaw House. In addition, the Vocational Service directed adults to occupational opportunities. At the crowded clinics of the Beth Israel interpreters were provided and referrals were arranged in cooperation with the Family and Children's Service. The Beth Israel assumed responsibility for medical care while the Family and Children's agency provided supplementary aftercare. The Council of Jewish Women also assisted to secure housing and to attain citizenship.

By 1950 the settlement of a thousand families revealed the distinctive coordination of the Boston Service for New Americans with the other professional and volunteer organizations. All the skills which the federation had developed since its first help to Russian refugees in the 1890's, now eased the process by which German refugees and displaced victims of World War II became new Americans.

But despite this responsibility, at mid-twentieth century the Associated also took into greater account its established com-

munity. Most of the families who had settled in Boston in the five decades before the first World War had reached at least a middle income standard of living; the government aided those who were still economically underprivileged. Thus by 1955, the federation was able to extend its services to those who could share in the cost through fees. Increasingly the Associated Jewish Philanthropies served the majority of its supporters in all the agencies ranging from hospitals to centers. Counseling facilities for metropolitan communities and a district office in Brookline became available for paying clients at the Family and Children's Service. Likewise through the Vocational Service's group guidance program and small business consultation service the federation enlarged the meaning of job placement. Finally, the center program had come to fruition by the end of 1955.

During the past ten years in addition to the capital expenditures already completed and others being contemplated there was a three-fold increase in the Associated's annual recreational allocations from $78,000 in 1945-1946 to $224,982 in 1954-1955. Moreover, at the same time the Associated Jewish Philanthropies had received allocations for capital improvements amounting to $750,000, to be used primarily for the expansion of centers. From this fund, repairs to old structures and new extensions were planned for the Roxbury and Dorchester areas, still served by Hecht House and the Young Men's Hebrew Association. A gift of $50,000, received in 1947 from the Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr. Foundation for the benefit of youths, would soon help to build a gymnasium at Hecht House. For the second largest aggregate of Jews in the Brookline, Brighton, Allston, and Newton areas, a temporary community center had opened in 1946 at 310 Harvard Street, Brookline; by April, 1956, it had moved to its own home near Cleveland Circle, Brighton. Costing a half million dollars, this Brookline-Brighton-

Newton center was the first building in Greater Boston designed as a Jewish community center.

In accord with the national center movement defined by the Jewish Welfare Board, the Boston federation coordinated and developed its own center movement. After two unsatisfactory experiments the Jewish Centers Association of Greater Boston, under the professional direction of George Samansky, was established to advise the individual centers on their programs and personnel. Four years later there were fourteen members of the Centers Association; among them Hecht House, the Boston Young Men's Hebrew Association, the Brookline-Brighton-Newton center and the Chelsea Young Men's Hebrew Association were members of the Associated Jewish Philanthropies; the rest — Arlington-Lexington-Bedford, Belmont-Watertown, Cambridge, Medford, Quincy, Revere, Winthrop, Nantasket Jewish Youth, and Waltham community centers — were metropolitan financed.

The centers of the 1940's and 1950's enjoyed common programs and standards without sacrificing their individuality and local initiative. Financed basically by the Associated Jewish Philanthropies and the Combined Appeal with additional support from their own members, the centers were not limited to underprivileged groups. Other whole segments of Jewish residents used these gathering places. They provided nursery schools and summer day camps for small tots; athletic activities, dancing parties and discussion groups, and lectures for youths and adults; and Golden Age Clubs where old folks gossiped, played cards, read Yiddish periodicals, and listened to records. Essentially, the center was a private family club with members paying fees according to their ability. Wherever possible, a knowledge of Jewish history and Hebrew letters and the celebration of religious holidays were systematically inculcated into the activities of the center. In addition, as in all modern community centers,

group work became a technique of therapy. By 1955 highly skilled group workers at the Jewish centers supervised students from the Boston University School of Social Work.

The Associated Jewish Philanthropies sponsored centers which brought together Jews of many interests regardless of their religious affiliations. But, in addition, the federation worked with the growing number of synagogue centers which encompassed religious, educational, and recreational pursuits in the new suburban communities. The product of American Jewish life, each community center offered intimacy and security to its members in hours of leisure. While respecting and encouraging the variety of other associations in which Jews participated as Americans, the leaders of the Associated declared that through the community centers the members would also "adjust and contribute to the American life through the building of a democratic and creative Jewish life."

Still more, in the traditional field of Jewish education the federation served a responsive audience for the Hebrew language and literature. Even before the establishment of Israel, American-born Jews were awakening to a new interest in their special cultural heritage. Upon the retirement of Louis Hurwich after thirty years of dedication to the Bureau of Jewish Education and the Hebrew Teachers College, a fundamental reorganization of these two branches took place. When the College became a separate agency in 1947, the Bureau continued its other functions under Dr. Benjamin Shevach, a member of the first graduating class of the Hebrew Teachers College. Boston remained one of the few cities where more children attended Hebrew schools than Sunday schools. But suburban living deterred the continuance of intensive instruction at five-day-a-week schools; three-day-a-week education was more characteristic in the new metropolitan communities. How to transmit "the spirit and the

substance of the Talmud Torah tradition" under these new circumstances became the Bureau's raison d'être. A novel path to better training came through summer Hebrew schools and day camps, instigated by the Bureau in Nantasket, Dorchester, and Brighton. And reaching adults through a program of Jewish Studies for Adults at Zionist House, the Bureau further impressed itself upon the community.

Upon the contemplated removal of Temple Mishkan Tefila from Roxbury to Newton in 1955, there was also the reverse problem of supplying Hebrew instruction for children formerly taught at the Temple-supported school. Through the intervention of the Bureau and the support of the Associated Jewish Philanthropies, three separate schools — the Menorah, formerly financed by the Synagogue Adath Jeshurun, the Yavneh by the Synagogue Beth Hamidrash Hagadol, and the original school of Temple Mishkan Tefila — merged into a Combined Roxbury Hebrew School. The new school would educate three hundred and fifty children in the old Mishkan Tefila building. The federation thus accepted the principle of communal responsibility for elementary Hebrew education when local resources could not sustain it. More than in earlier periods, all levels of Jewish education were an integral part of the federation's responsibility.

Although the war interrupted a joint pilot program with a local school of social work to correlate professional group work and Jewish education, the Hebrew Teachers College advanced steadily on other academic levels. In 1943, the College bought property in Northwood, New Hampshire and opened Camp Yavneh where a summer school program of recent years was expanded. In addition to students from the Hebrew Teachers College and High School, many boys and girls came from other parts of the United States for summers of study and recreation at this Hebrew-speaking camp. The College itself, under the deanship of Dr. Eisig Silberschlag

after 1946, offered an imaginative range of courses for advanced students, beginners, adults, Sunday school teachers, and scholars. The enrollment soon exceeded three hundred students. Moving in 1951 to a stately new home in Brookline, the Nathan H. and Sadie S. Friedman building, the Hebrew Teachers College was the acknowldged center of the Hebrew-speaking community in New England. Late in 1955 the College was accepted into membership of the New England Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools and thus became one of the very few institutions of its kind in the nation to receive such accreditation.

In the same years the essential health services of the entire community entered another stage of development. Among the Associated Jewish Philanthropies' agencies, both the Jewish Memorial Hospital and the Beth Israel Hospital assumed new functions.

Led by three presidents, Louis E. Hellmann, David Gould, and David Stern, the Jewish Memorial Hospital illustrated the growth of hospitals for the chronically ill. Under the medical direction of Dr. Henry Baker and the hospital supervision of Murray Fertel, the Jewish Memorial in 1947 introduced programs in occupational therapy, physiotherapy, and social service. With new emphasis on treatment and rehabilitation of long-term patients who could benefit from medical treatments, a limited teaching program with Tufts Medical School advanced the hospital's scientific approach to chronic illnesses. Due to the federal provisions of social security for disabled and aged persons, about seventy per cent of the total income of the Jewish Memorial Hospital was now derived from the United States government. Moreover, the hospital also benefited from federal legislation granting funds for the construction of institutions for the chronically ill. By the end of 1955 the hospital opened the Emily R. and Kivie Kaplan building. As the number of

hospital beds reached one hundred and fifty-six, the supporters of this medical institution looked forward to greater accomplishments.

In the post-war years, the Beth Israel under the later presidents — Israel Friedlander, S. Robert Stone, and Sidney R. Rabb — continued to give free care. Even more, this hospital was a contribution of Boston's Jews to the entire community. Although supported and staffed mainly by Jews, more than half of the people using the outpatient departments were non-Jewish. The Beth Israel was like a university where each year a thousand medical students and sixty house officers of all faiths worked together and extended their social harmony beyond the walls of the hospital.

In this decade the Beth Israel acquired additional beds for medical and surgical patients and had improved facilities for pediatrics. In 1946 Dr. Herrman L. Blumgart added to his responsibilities for research the duties of Physician-in-Chief; in 1948 Dr. Jacob Fine became head of the Department of Surgery; and in 1951 Dr. Sidney Gellis headed the newly created Department of Pediatrics. The long-desired maternity wing was also finished; under the direction of Dr. Harold Rosenfield, this wing accommodated fifty newborn babies at a time. With the expansion of the Psychiatric Department into a full-fledged service under Dr. Greta Bibring in 1955, the Beth Israel's program was complete in all the fields of a general hospital — medicine, surgery, obstetrics, and psychiatry. At the same time in the new separate Yamins Research Building, the Beth Israel's distinguished record in medical and surgical research continued.

In 1954, Dr. Cecil G. Sheps became the new executive director of the Beth Israel. Formerly Research Professor of Health Planning at the University of North Carolina, a leader in the field of public health, Dr. Sheps soon joined the faculty of the Harvard Medical School as a Lecturer on Preventive

Medicine. With great appreciation of the Beth Israel's achievements, Dr. Sheps brought fresh vision to the health problems of the community.

Taking over a very different hospital from the unshaped institution which had begun in 1928, Dr. Sheps emphasized the changing character of general hospitals. No longer serving only the acutely ill but increasingly dealing with long-term and ambulatory patients, the Beth Israel was broadening into a health center for the entire community. Toward its enlightenment and continued progress, Dr. Sheps envisaged pooling the knowledge of both physical and social scientists in joint projects.

The Social Service Department continued to reflect the hospital's communal and educational outlook. Bess Schless Dana, the director since 1949, lectured at the Simmons College School of Social Work and the Harvard School of Public Health. In the same period a psychiatric social work teaching unit, cooperating with the above school of social work, developed in close relation to child and adult psychiatry in the hospital. With increased psychiatric emphasis, the department also showed long-term patients how to live with their illnesses. In coordination with the hospital's clinics, the Social Service Department also contributed to the preventive aspects of medical care, most recently in programs for pregnant women and handicapped individuals. Finally in 1955, its home care program, financed by the Women's Auxiliary, brought the Beth Israel's hospital and social services into new direct relationships with the Associated's other interested agencies.

The Beth Israel's communal point of view was part of the larger perspective shared by the Associated Jewish Philanthropies toward health services. Sixty years earlier the first Federation of Jewish Charities had had one clear duty: to help, as best it could, the immigrant newcomers. And

children had been uppermost in the thoughts and actions of those leaders. But in 1955, the Associated served in the main a native born population subject to the same changing physical and social conditions as other Americans. Boston's Jews were living longer. The increase in the span of human life brought to the foreground, as a major problem of the era, the aging population. All the Associated's agencies now converged upon this common problem. Moreover, a variety of older unaffiliated organizations long concerned with the aged or the chronically ill still existed. Therefore the Associated instigated a Health Services Council to promote better understanding of the different aspects of the problem.

Through the concerted efforts of these varied agencies, it was hoped that the whole community would learn to apply greater discrimination in the total care of the aged; thus hospital, convalescent, congregate, and home care along with rehabilitation, case work, vocational guidance, and recreation would be utilized according to the needs of individuals. Already there were promising signs of future inter-relationships in health services. In 1952 the Beth Israel assumed responsibility for the medical care of the Hebrew Home for the Aged; in 1955 another unaffiliated agency, the new Recuperative Center (sponsored by the Jewish Women's Health Association, formerly the Jewish Anti-Tuberculosis Association) also turned to the Beth Israel for medical supervision. The Beth Israel's own home care program was designed for sick people who did not require beds or other institutional facilities. In addition, the Family and Children's Service which also supervised aged folk in their homes and in foster homes, cooperated in a survey with the Beth Israel to determine further the medical and social needs of the aging group. Still in the stage of planning in 1955 was the sponsorship by the Vocational Service of a work adjustment center to rehabilitate and prepare for re-employment the

physically and emotionally handicapped and the aged. As these professional agencies sometimes overlapped in their consideration of the problems of the aged, the Associated Jewish Philanthropies hoped they would again demonstrate, as they had in the resettlement of refugees and displaced persons, the ability to work with each other and with outside organizations.

At the end of 1955, the Associated Jewish Philanthropies completed a decade of post-war accomplishment in which volunteer and professional leaders showed recognition of the changing needs of the community. Likewise the financial growth of the federation paralleled the prosperity of the members. In this period the Associated's allocations rose from $781,896 in 1945-1946 to $1,678,282 in 1955-1956; but these figures represented only a portion of the total budgets of these agencies which increased from $1,687,927 in 1945-1946 to $6,446,071 in 1955-1956. Thus the individual agencies received wide-spread support through membership dues and payment of fees as well as through central federation and governmental aid. The mature caliber of the Associated Jewish Philanthropies mirrored the fulfillment of the Jews of Greater Boston.

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In poorer days, the founders of the Federation of Jewish Charities in 1895 had fused inherited practices with new American methods of philanthropy. Since then, under successive names the Federated Jewish Charities and the Associated Jewish Philanthropies had contributed to American social service. At mid-twentieth century the trained skills offered by the federation described the progress of a profession. Gradually, planned services had replaced uncoordinated charities: two comprehensive surveys of 1916 and 1930 had twice altered the basic structure of the organization.

As each field of the Associated Jewish Philanthropies became more highly specialized, in the 1940's and 1950's frequent functional surveys of all the services created continuity in planning and performance.

But although the sixty years had brought more efficient and scientific methods of charity and service, Boston's Jews reviewed the activities of their forbears with interest and respect. The seeds of this profession lay in the human sympathies of individuals like those who had of their own free will chosen to create the original charitable federation. Over six decades the members had relinquished many of the functions of the first helpers of the poor. When the skilled professional workers gave specialized aid, the other members of the community became "the volunteers." Reversing the cycle of the decades, in 1955 the trained professional workers reaffirmed the role of the volunteers.

The mature federation was a complex organization in which thousands of men and women, young and old, were individual links giving to it personal meaning. Without such human beings who cared there would have been no federation in 1895; nor in 1955 would the Associated Jewish Philanthropies survive without these volunteers. At least seventy-five hundred of Boston's Jews worked for its success in the annual fund-raising campaigns of the Combined Appeal. Giving their money, time, and energy, they sat on endless committees through which the federation operated. Many hundreds advised on the boards of the various agencies; on the central budget and planning committees they worked with the professional staff to determine the policies of the federation.

Cumulatively, the leaders showed greater capacity to mobilize themselves not only for money-raising but for systematic humanitarian action. The mechanism of federation was, after six decades of experience, an effective central instrument enabling the leaders to react swiftly to emergen-

cies. In their minds the framework of this philanthropic structure was still associated with the charitable traditions of the by-gone past and yet provided efficient means of facing whatever human crises moved the consciences of mid-twentieth century American Jews. Like those elsewhere in the United States, the members of this Boston community repeatedly produced fantastic manpower, seemingly limitless, in executing the responsibilities they accepted at home and abroad.

The present character of the Associated Jewish Philanthropies, like that of its past, reflected the participants of each generation who re-created the federation in their own image. Spontaneously, different immigrant groups started their charities, and, as they found common purposes, joined the federation begun by the oldest settled group. After the last immigrant generation surmounted the trials of the 1930's, the Associated Jewish Philanthropies adapted itself to the new problems and interests of those it served. But even then the community was not at a standstill. During more than a century of settlement in Boston, the needs of the Jewish group were still changing. One by one, the factors of immigration, Americanization, and poverty had no longer determined the purposes of the federation. In the next half of the twentieth century might not conditions alter still further? To what extent would suburban living increase the number of independent communities and continue the revival of synagogues and temples as communal centers? Would a world of peace ever remove the responsibility American Jews felt for European Jews and Israelis? Then how much more would new unknown factors influence local communal efforts? Would the Jews of this city continue to express their habitual impulse to give, to organize, to serve, through a central federation? Thus far, the federation had been dynamic in adapting itself to the problems of each decade. In the future, its functions might differ again in radical, unpredictable

ways. But whatever form the Associated Jewish Philanthropies assumed, it would reflect the interests and ideals of the Jews of Greater Boston.

Note on Sources and Acknowledgments

Appendixes

Index

A Note on Sources and Acknowledgments

In writing of a century of Boston Jewish life I am indebted to the many members of the community who helped resolve the special problems of the research.

The following persons constructively shared their recollections: for the earlier decades, Judge and Mrs. A. K. Cohen (Sadie Rosnosky); Mrs. Adolph Ehrlich (Marian Ratshesky); Lee M. Friedman; Miss Sophie Friedman; Mrs. Claire Schindler Hamburger; Mrs. Mark Linenthal (Anna E. Davidson); Mrs. Max Mitchell (Ida Prager); Dr. Hyman Morrison; Harris Poorvu; Judge and Mrs. Philip Rubenstein (Mina Dreyfus); Robert Silverman; and Max E. Wyzanski; for the middle and later decades, Mrs. Max Bernkopf (Selma Cohen); Alexander Brin; Miss Ethel Cohen; Florence De-Haas Dembitz; Herbert B. Ehrmann; Henry Friedman; Casper Grosberg; Maurice B. Hexter; Louis Hurwich; Dr. Arthur Linenthal; Harry L. Lurie; Robert Morrison; Ben M. Selekman; Leo Shapiro; Morris D. Waldman; Jacob L. Wiseman; and Dr. Charles E. Wilinsky.

Equally important, the present staffs of the agencies of the Associated Jewish Philanthropies were generous with their time and exceedingly helpful with their information.

In addition, I greatly appreciate the cooperation of outside agencies in supplying other background: especially Mrs. Mary Kelly of the Boston Tuberculosis Association; Donald P. Moreland of the Family Service Association of Greater Boston; Miss Claire Forbes of the Food Clinic of the Boston Dispensary; and the United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston.

I wish to thank the staffs of the following libraries for their many courtesies: American Jewish Archives; Baker Library, Harvard Business School; Boston Medical Society Library; Harvard University Archives; and the Medical Society of New York State; and I am particularly appreciative of the efforts of Miss Stiena E. Benson of

the Simmons College School of Social Work Library; Frank P. Bruno of the Boston Public Library; Miss Fanny Goldstein of the West End Branch, Boston Public Library; and Isaac Sprague, Jr. of the Boston Athenaeum.

These manuscript collections proved significant: selected correspondence concerning Mary Antin from Mrs. Marcus C. Sloss (Hattie Hecht); scrapbooks of the Benoth Israel Sheltering Home from Robert Morrison; scrapbook of Joseph L. Bergman from Sidney M. Bergman; correspondence and clippings of Dr. Kallman M. Davidson from Mrs. Mark Linenthal; scrapbooks of Dr. Albert Ehrenfried from George Ehrenfried; scrapbooks and records of the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society through the courtesy of Miss Helen Alpert; pamphlets of Albert Hurwitz; Louis E. Kirstein correspondence, reminiscences, and documents at the Baker Library, Harvard Business School through the courtesy of Mrs. Mina K. Curtiss; manuscripts and papers of Dr. Harry Linenthal from Dr. Arthur J. Linenthal; scrapbooks and papers of Dr. Hyman L. Morrison; private papers of Frances Stern at the Boston Dispensary; and papers concerning Frances Stern and the Louisa Alcott Club from Mrs. Dora Lewis.

Published and unpublished records, reports, and other documents of the central administration of the Boston federation and of its agencies were basic. Of special value for the earlier chapters were the following: *Annual Report of the United Hebrew Benevolent Association* (Boston, 1894); *Annual Reports of the Federation of Jewish Charities* (Boston, 1896-1897, 1903-1905); *Purim Ball . . . A Memorial Volume* (Boston, 1914); *The Report of the Welfare Committee* (Boston, 1916); *The Survey of the Boston Jewish Community* (Boston, 1930-1931); and *Fifty Years of Jewish Philanthropy in Greater Boston* (Boston, 1945). For recent developments voluminous records, reports, surveys, correspondence, and minutes of the various organizations were enlightening.

In testing the evidence and completing the gaps in these records the files of the following newspapers were invaluable: *Boston Hebrew Observer* (1883-1886); *Boston Jewish Chronicle* (1891-1893); and the *Boston Advocate*, later the *Boston Jewish Advocate* (1905-). In addition it was necessary to amplify these sources in specific instances through the files of the *American Hebrew*; *Jewish Messenger; Boston Globe; Boston Journal;* and *Boston Transcript.*

Likewise local directories and reports were of primary usefulness: *Boston City Directory* (1850-1950); Boston Provident Association, *Annual Reports* (1861-1927); Boston Council of Social Agencies, *Bulletins* (1922-1940); *Directory of Charitable and Beneficent Organizations of Boston,* later the *Directory of Social Services Resources in Greater Boston* (1880-); and Overseers of the Poor, *Annual Reports* (1878-1930).

The following periodicals were of importance: *Charities,* later *Survey* (1897-1928); *Jewish Charity,* later *Jewish Social Service*

(1902-1923); *Jewish Education* (1928-); *Lend A Hand* (1886-1896); National Conference of Charities and Correction, *Proceedings* (1874-1912); and the National Conference of Jewish Charities, *Proceedings*, later the National Conference of Jewish Social Service, *Proceedings* (1899-).

There has been no modern historical study of the Boston Jewish community. But since the 1880's in each decade there were writings which treated specific groups and events: Solomon Schindler, *Israelites in Boston* (Boston, 1889) and Abraham G. Daniels, *History of the Jews of Boston* (Boston, 1892) were first hand accounts of charm and interest. Secondary historical versions began with Leon Huhner, "The Jews of New England . . . Prior to 1800," American Jewish Historical Society *Publications*, XI (1903), 77 ff. and Joseph Lebowich, "The Jews in Boston till 1875," American Jewish Historical Society, *Publications*, XII (1904), 101 ff. More recently, there were Lee M. Friedman's excellent pieces such as "The Dedication of Massachusetts' First Synagogue," *Jewish Pioneers and Patriots* (Philadelphia, 1943); Jacob Rader Marcus, *Memoirs of American Jews 1775-1865*, I (Philadelphia, 1955); and Charles Reznikoff, "Boston Jewish Community: Earlier Days," *Commentary*, XV (1953), 490-499. Arthur Mann, *Growth and Achievement Temple Israel 1854-1954* (Boston, 1954) ably treated the history of Boston's oldest reform congregation.

Historical studies which included Boston's Jews within the framework of the total community were important: Oscar Handlin, *Boston's Immigrants 1790-1865* (Cambridge, 1941) provided essential background in the period before the Civil War. William B. Whiteside, *The Boston Y.M.C.A. and Community Need* (New York, 1951) treated the growth of a social agency from 1851 to 1951. *Fifty Years of Boston* (edited by Elizabeth Herlihy *et al*, Boston, 1932) offered an accurate though sparse outline of the city's development from 1880 to 1930. In this period, Barbara Miller Solomon, *Ancestors and Immigrants* (Cambridge, 1956) described New England social and intellectual attitudes which have impinged upon the Jewish group within the city.

In addition, autobiographies, memorial histories, and nostalgic fiction presented suggestive accounts of immigrant experience: Charles Angoff, *When I Was a Boy in Boston* (New York, 1947), *Journey to Dawn* (New York, 1951), and *In the Morning Light* (New York, 1953); Mary Antin, *From Plotzk to Boston* (Boston, 1899) and *The Promised Land* (Boston, 1912); Samuel N. Behrman, *The Worcester Account* (New York, 1954); Herman Dana, *Early Days of the Beth Israel Hospital 1911-1920* (Boston, 1950); and Philip Davis, *And Crown Thy Good* (New York, 1952).

Similarly, informal reminiscences which appeared in the *Jewish Advocate*, June 26, 1952, and in the tercentary magazine supplement, *Jewish Advocate*, January 27, 1955, were informative and useful.

The literature in American Jewish history has increased notably within recent decades. All the volumes used in the preparation of this book cannot be cited here conveniently. For the general reader Moses Rischin, *Inventory of American Jewish History* (Cambridge, 1954) is recommended for its detailed bibliography. For those interested in the source material of this study of the Boston Jewish community the Archives of the Associated Jewish Philanthropies will be accessible.

Among the general books with different purposes were Salo W. Baron, *Social and Religious History of the Jews* (New York, 1937); *The Jews, Their History, Culture, and Religion* (edited by Louis Finkelstein, New York, 1949); Oscar Handlin, *Adventure in Freedom* (New York, 1954); Rufus Learsi, *The Jews in America A History* (New York, 1954); Abram L. Sachar, *History of the Jews* (New York, 1953); and Mark Wischnitzer, *To Dwell in Safety, The Story of Jewish Migration since* 1800 (Philadelphia, 1948). The annual volumes of the *American Jewish Yearbook* (Philadelphia, 1899-1956) furnished background for many aspects.

The voluminous literature of American social work and its specializations provided indispensable perspective. Particularly relevant on the historical development of federations were William J. Norton, *The Cooperative Movement in Social Work* (New York, 1927); Francis Greenwood Peabody, "The Problem of Charity," *The Organization of Charities Being a Report of the Sixth Section of the International Congress of Charities, Correction and Philanthropy* (Chicago, 1893); and Edward T. Devine, "Welfare Federations," *Survey*, XL (1921), 203-205, 269-271, 401-403. On the genesis of Jewish federations, Harry L. Lurie, *Jewish Communal Organization: Part I Some Aspects of Federation History* (New York, 1955) was the most recent and the best. Dealing specifically with Boston's federation were Morris Waldman, "Federation in Jewish Philanthropy, Description of the Boston Plan," *Menorah Journal*, IV (1918), 111-122 and his autobiography, *Nor By Power* (New York, 1953); and Hyman Kaplan, "Federating from the Bottom Up," *Survey*, LI, (1923-1924), 681-685.

The works of pioneer leaders in Jewish social service gave insight into the earlier period: Boris D. Bogen, *Jewish Philanthropy* (New York, 1917); Ephraim Frisch, *An Historical Survey of Jewish Philanthropy* (New York, 1924); and Maurice J. Karpf, *Jewish Community Organization in the United States* (New York, 1938). Later writings in this field included Dr. George Baehr, *Planning for Medical and Health Services under Jewish Auspices* (Philadelphia, 1947); Philip Bernstein, "The Changing Community — Implications for Jewish Community Centers," Address to Jewish Center Division of National Jewish Welfare Board, April 22, 1955, New York; Ben M. Edidin, *Jewish Community Life in America* (New York, 1947); Philip Goodman, *A Documentary Story of a Century of the Jewish*

Community Center 1854-1954 (New York, 1953); Arnold Gurin, *Jewish Communal Services* (New York, 1955); Maurice J. Hexter, "The Next Twenty-five Years in Jewish Communal Service," *Jewish Social Service Quarterly*, XXXII (1955); Oscar I. Janowsky, *The JWB Survey* (New York, 1948); Jewish Agricultural Society, *Jews in American Agriculture* (New York, 1954); Samuel Joseph, *History of the Baron de Hirsch Fund* (Philadelphia, 1935); Sophia M. Robison, *Jewish Population Studies* (New York, 1943); and Herman D. Stein, "Jewish Social Service Work in the United States," *American Jewish Yearbook*, LVII (Philadelphia, 1956).

Contemporary social workers in each period gave diverse interpretations: Grace Abbott, *The Immigrant and the Community* (New York, 1917); Golde Bamber, "Russians in Boston," *Lend a Hand*, VIII (1892), 168-172; Frederick Bushee, *Ethnic Factors in the Population of Boston* (New York, 1903); Richard C. Cabot, "The Role of Dispensaries," Paper presented before Maryland Medical Society, December 4, 1906; Ida M. Cannon, *On the Social Frontier of Medicine* (Cambridge, 1952); Ethel Cohen and H. A. Derow, "Training of Internes in the Social Aspects of Illness . . . ," *Journal of American Medical Association* CXVII (1941), 1817; Michael M. Davis, *Immigrant Health and the Community* (New York and London, 1921); Michael M. Davis and Andrew R. Warner, *Dispensaries Their Management and Development* (New York, 1918); *Bibliography on Dispensaries* (Chicago n.d.) through the courtesy of Michael M. Davis; *Greater Boston Community Survey* (2 vols., Boston, 1947-1949); *Report of the Massachusetts Commission on Immigration* (Boston, 1914); *Reports of the United States Immigration Commission* (41 vols., Washington, 1911); Ben Rosen, *The Trend of Jewish Population in Boston* (Boston, 1921); and Robert A. Woods *et al*, *The City Wilderness* (Cambridge, 1898) and *Americans in Process* (Cambridge, 1902).

In addition, the following unpublished manuscript histories were useful: Golde Bamber, "Record of the Hebrew Industrial School" (Hecht House); Ferdinand Berl, "An Outline of the Associated Jewish Philanthropies" (Associated Jewish Philanthropies Archives); Donald P. Moreland, "Service to Families and Individuals through One Hundred Years of Boston's History" (Family Service Association of Greater Boston); J. Jacob Neusner, "The Rise of the Jewish Community of Boston, 1880-1914" (Harvard University Archives); and Maurice Taylor, "The Jewish Welfare Center of Roxbury" (Harvard University Archives).

Appendix I

Federation of Jewish Charities

CHARTER SUBSCRIBERS

1895

Abraham Jay	5.00
Abrahams Mark	5.00
Abrahams Mrs Abraham	2.00
Alexander Alex	1.00
Alexander Jacob	30.00
Alexander Sigmund	10.00
Anthony Henry	20.00
Arkin Max	5.00
Aronson Adolph	10.00
Aronson Solomon	20.00
Asher Isaac	5.00
Asher (see Lehrburger & Asher)	
Bacharach Francis R	10.00
Baer Julius	5.00
Bahn Moses	2.00
Baitler Charles	10.00
Bamber Edward	5.00
Banash David	10.00
Barnard Simon	50.00
Barnash Mrs F	1.00
Barnet Jonas S	100.00
Barnet Solomon	10.00
Basch Jacob	.50
Basch Nathan B	10.00
Beckhardt Samuel	30.00
Beekman Charles J	10.00
Beekman Gabriel E	25.00
Benari Joseph	10.00
Bendix Mrs John H	5.00
Benshimol David	10.00
Benshimol Mrs Jacob	2.00
Berenson Albert	1.00
Berenson Louis	10.00
Bergheim David	.50
Bergman A	5.00
Bergman Joseph	2.00
Berkowitch Sam	.15
Berlowitz Benj	.25
Berman Mayer	.50
Bernard & Friedman	500.00
Bernstein Mayer	10.00
Bernstein Morris H	1.00
Bernstein Nathan	135.00
Berwin Jacob & Bro	200.00
Bilafsky Abraham	5.00
Bimsky Louis	5.00
Bloom Jacob	1.00
Bloom William	25.00
Blum William	2.00
Blumenthal Max	10.00
Blumenthal Woolf	1.00
Bornstein Jacob M	5.00
Bornstein Meyer I	5.00
Bornstein Mrs Meyer	1.00
Borofsky Samuel H	3.00
Brandeis Louis D	50.00
Brandt Carl	25.00
Bravman Max	.25
Brodie Jacob	16.00
Brodie Mrs Theodore	1.00
Bromberg Levi	1.00
Buitekan David	5.00
Buitekan Mrs Mary	5.00
Burman Simon	5.00
Buxbaum Samuel	10.00
Caro Joseph	2.00
Caro Manheim	1.00
Cash	1.00
Cash	.10
Casson Samuel K	2.50
Cobe Mark H	10.00
Cobe Philip	2.00
Cohen (see Richmond, Cohen & Reinhertz)	
Cohen A	5.00
Cohen Bros	25.00
Cohen Fanny	100.00
Cohen George	2.00
Cohen Henry	2.00
Cohen Hyman	5.00
Cohen Israel	50.00
Cohen Joseph	5.00
Cohen Morris I	10.00
Cohen Moses	2.00
Cohen Mrs Henry	1.00
Cohen Mrs I S	.50
Cohen Mrs J E	2.00
Cohen Mrs Jacob	.50
Cohen Mrs Sidney	1.00
Cohen, Simon & Co	30.00
Collin H	15.00
Collinsky M	.50
Coriat Harry	1.00
Cowan Miss Ethel	2.50
Crine Henry	25.00
Danichefsky Mrs	1.00
Daniels Abraham G	10.00
Davidson Adolph	10.00
Davidson Dr Kallman M	10.00
Davis Benjamin F	2.00
De Boer Mrs David	10.00
Demelman Samuel E	25.00
Dernham Albert	5.00
Deutchman Jacob H	1.00
Dinner A	2.00
Dinner Isaac H	25.00

Ehrenfried Mrs G..... 2.00
Ehrlich Adolph..... 5.00
Ehrlich Dr Henry..... 10.00
Einstein Charles..... .25
Einstein Louis..... .25
Eiseman Mr & Mrs Albert..... 100.00
Eiseman Julius..... 10.00
Eiseman Ludwig..... 10.00
Eiseman Mr & Mrs Nathan..... 100.00
Ellis Mrs William..... 1.00
Erlebach Adolph..... 100.00

Feldman Joseph..... 50.00
Fine Jacob..... .25
Finkelstein Nathan..... 5.00
Finkelstein Mrs Samuel..... .50
Finkelstein Samuel..... 1.00
Fish Israel..... 5.00
Fisher J J..... 2.00
Fisher Mrs Leopold..... 1.00
Fleischer Rev Charles..... 25.00
Flieth Mrs S..... 1.00
Fox Jacob..... 10.00
Frank Abraham..... 25.00
Frank Benjamin E..... 5.00
Frank Daniel..... 150.00
Frank Mrs Eleazar W..... 15.00
Frank Harris..... 5.00
Franck Mrs Julian..... 5.00
Frank Max..... 10.00
Frank M..... 3.00
Frank William..... 10.00
Franks Louis..... 3.00
Frankenthal Adolph..... 1.00
Free Employment Bureau..... 600.00
Friend (through Hyneman Bros)..... 400.00
Friedlander Charles..... .50
Friedman Jacob..... 100.00
Friedman Matilda..... 50.00
Friedman Mrs..... .50
Friedman Max (see Bernard & Friedman)
Friedman, Neiman & Bro..... 25.00
Frieman Napthali..... 5.00
Frye Morris..... 10.00

Ginsburg Barnard..... 20.00
Ginsburg Barnard & Co..... 5.00
Glass Mrs Morris..... 1.00
Goldman Mrs Harris..... 1.00
Goldschmidt Mrs Meyer H..... 25.00
Goldsmith Mrs Henrietta..... 5.00
Goldsmith Mrs Jacob..... 5.00
Goldsmith, Silver & Co..... 50.00
Goldsmith Mrs Simon..... 5.00
Goldstein Israel..... 10.00
Goldstein Mrs Samuel..... 5.00
Gomperts Mr..... .25
Goodheart Mrs Louis..... 1.00
Gordon Abram L..... 10.00
Gorfinkle Harris..... 10.00
Goulston Edward S Sr..... 25.00
Goulston Mrs Henry..... 2.00
Goulston Philip..... 2.00
Greenbaum, Levy & Co..... 5.00
Greenbaum Mrs Robert..... 15.00
Grodjinski Mrs Moses J..... 3.00
Gross Harry..... 10.00
Gross & Strauss..... 100.00
Grossman Elias..... 2.00
Grossman Henry..... 5.00
Gryzmisch Mr & Mrs Jacob..... 35.00
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Gutling M..... .50

Hano Louis..... 10.00
Harris Mrs David..... 1.00
Harris Louis..... 5.00
Harris Mrs S..... 1.00
Harris William..... 25.00
Hecht Bros..... 25.00
Hecht Jacob H..... 750.00
Hecht Mrs Jacob H..... 250.00
Hecht Lewis Sr..... 50.00
Hecht Louis Jr..... 350.00
Hecht Summit L..... 50.00
Heilborn Jacob..... 25.00
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Herman Ethel..... 10.00
Herman Joseph..... 25.00
Herman Joseph M & Co..... 50.00
Herman Levi..... 30.00
Herman Mrs Levi..... 10.00
Hermanson Hyman W..... 1.00
Hernberg M P..... .25
Herzberg Moses..... 3.00
Hirshberg Abraham..... 2.00
Hirshberg Rev Samuel..... 25.00
Hirshfield Romies H..... 10.00
Hirshson Simon..... 2.00
Hollander Julius..... 25.00
Hootstein M L..... 5.00
Hyams Godfrey M..... 100.00
Hyams Solomon M..... 10.00
Hyman Jacob..... .50

Isaacs David..... 5.00
Isaacs Mrs Gustave..... 1.00
Isaacs Mrs Isaac..... .50
Isaacs Maurice..... 5.00
Isaacs R..... 2.00
Isaacs Mrs Solomon..... .50
Isaacson Sussill A..... 10.00

Jackson Mrs B..... 1.00
Jacobs Mrs Joel..... 1.00
Jacobs Mrs John..... 5.00
Jacobs Mrs Lewis..... 1.00
Jacobs Mrs John..... 5.00
Jacobowitz Louis..... 10.00
Javner Mrs Fannie..... 1.00
Jolles Bros..... 5.00
Joski Mrs Henry..... 2.00

Kaffenburgh Isaac & Son..... 150.00
Kaiser Mrs Benjamin F..... 5.00
Kallman Samuel..... 3.00
Kamber Elias..... 5.00
Kantrowich Isaac..... 5.00
Kaplan..... 1.00
Kaplan (see Linenthal & Kaplan)
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Kirstein Louis E..... 75.00
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Klein Alexander..... 1.00
Klein Ignatz..... 3.00
Klein Joseph..... 2.00

Koopman Julius..... 125.00
Kornfeld Felix..... 25.00
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Koshland Joseph..... 150.00
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Levenson Mrs Sarah..... 1.00
Leventhal L..... 5.00
Levi Adolph..... 5.00
Levi Gabriel..... 5.00
Levian Mrs Edward A..... .50
Levin Louis..... 5.00
Levine Harris..... 10.00
Levine Israel..... 2.00
Levine Julius..... .10
Leviseur, Louis & Joseph..... 200.00
Levy Benjamin..... 75.00
Levy Mrs Fannie B..... 5.00
Levy Harry S..... 1.00
Levy Isaac..... 25.00
Levy Mrs Jacob..... 2.00
Levy L..... 5.00
Levy Louis..... 20.00
Levy Morris..... 10.00
Levy Robert..... 20.00
Lewenberg Joseph..... 25.00
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Lewis Mark..... 10.00
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Miransky L J..... 5.00
Mode Zachariah..... 5.00
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Norisky Joseph L..... 3.00

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Osgood Dr Arthur..... 5.00

Pearlstein Harris..... 5.00
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Pearlstein Max..... 5.00
Pearlstein Philip..... 5.00
Peavy Bros..... 250.00
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Peavy Isaac..... 85.00
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Philips Isidore..... 15.00
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Ratshesky Israel A & Abraham C..... 200.00
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Rich Israel A & Daniel S..... 25.00
Richmond, Cohen & Reinhertz..... 20.00
Ries Mrs R..... .50
Rodberg Isaac L..... 5.00
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Rosenbaum Michael S..... 1.00
Rosenbaum Theodore..... 5.00
Rosenberg S..... 50.00

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Rosenfeld Max..... 20.00
Rosenfeld Nathan..... 100.00
Rosenfeld Trustee for Mrs N..... 100.00
Rosenthal Jacob..... 5.00
Rosenthal William..... 1.00
Rothenberg Israel J..... 25.00
Rothenberg Mrs Israel J..... 1.00
Rubin Harris..... 5.00
Russy Anton W..... 5.00

Sachs Henry..... 15.00
Saffirsohn Rabbi Moses..... .50
Salinger Joseph..... 10.00
Sanders Mrs A..... .50
Sanger Mrs Fannie..... 2.00
Scheinwald Isaac..... 2.00
Scheinwald Louis..... 2.00
Schellenberg Benjamin..... 5.00
Schendel Moritz..... 1.00
Schiller Samuel..... 1.00
Schlanger Joseph..... 2.50
Schoenhoff Carl..... 20.00
Schon Simon..... 7.00
Schwartz Max..... 1.00
Schwartz Simon M..... 5.00
Seaman Mrs Lena..... 2.00
Segal Louis..... 1.00
Seldner Lippman..... 15.00
Shapiro Mrs Sophia..... 1.00
Shapiro Solomon..... 2.00
Shapiro Mrs William..... 2.00
Sharaf Israel M..... 1.00
Shine Mrs Solomon..... 1.00
Shuman Abraham & Co..... 600.00
Silver (see Goldsmith, Silver & Co)
Silverman Bros..... .25
Silverman D..... 1.00
Silverman David..... 10.00
Silverman & Lurie..... 5.00
Silverman Moses..... 10.00
Silverman Rose..... 2.00
Simon Mrs Joseph..... 1.00
Simon Samuel..... 1.00
Simonds Mrs Henry..... 2.00
Simonds Mrs R..... 1.00
Simons Isaac..... 1.00
Slanger Max..... 1.00
Slobodkin Harris A..... 2.00
Solomon G..... 2.00
Solomon Mrs Jennie..... .50
Sondheim Joseph..... 5.00
Sonnabend Louis..... 10.00
Sosnoski Mrs Jacob..... 1.00
Spinoza Benjamin..... 5.00
Spitz Mrs Abraham P..... 10.00
Spitz Bros & Mork..... 100.00
Spitz Geo W..... 5.00
Spitz Henry B..... 25.00
Stack Samuel & Co..... 10.00
Steinert Alexander..... 100.00
Steinert William..... 50.00
Stern Jacob..... 5.00
Stern Louis..... 25.00
Sternberg M V..... .25
Stener Max..... .25
Stone Joseph..... 10.00
Strauss Ferdinand..... 200.00
Strauss Louis..... 100.00
Strauss Mrs Levi..... 25.00
Strauss Samuel..... 10.00
Strauss (see Gross & Strauss)
Strecker Joseph L..... 2.00
Strecker Morris..... 5.00
Strecker Mrs Morris..... 2.00
Sulzbury Abraham..... 25.00
Susser Moses..... 5.00

Tigner Marcus..... 1.00
Turnim B..... .50

Van Baalen Mrs Fannie..... 20.00
Van Dam Moses..... 1.00
Van Noorden Ezekiel..... 25.00
Van Raalte Albert..... 5.00
Van Raalte George..... 5.00
Victorson Isaac..... 2.00
Victorson Samuel W..... 10.00
Vorenberg Simon..... 150.00

W I..... 2.00
Wallace Levi..... 5.00
Warshauer Joseph & Co..... 1.00
Wax Nathan S..... 5.00
Waxman Nathan..... 125.00
Weil Charles..... 25.00
Weil Eli H..... 5.00
Weil Mrs Henry J..... 1.00
Weil Martin H..... 5.00
Weinberg B..... 5.00
Weinberg Henry..... 5.00
Weinberg Jacob..... 5.00
Weis Mrs Max..... .50
Weisbein Louis..... 20.00
Weiskopf Abraham..... 10.00
Weiskopf Mrs Abraham..... 1.00
Weiskopf Charles..... 3.00
Westheimer Harry..... 25.00
White Asher A..... 25.00
White Mrs Isaac..... 2.00
White Mrs Louis..... 1.00
White Mrs Max..... 2.50
White Mrs Samuel..... 2.50
Williams & Son Edward..... 15.00
Wingersky Lazarus..... 5.00
Wingersky Mrs Solomon..... 1.00
Witkofsky Iquatz..... 2.00
Wolf Louis..... 25.00
Wolf Mark..... 1.00
Wolff Benjamin M..... 25.00
Wolff Hyman A..... 10.00
Wolfsohn Joseph..... 5.00
Wyner Mrs Henry..... 1.00
Wyzanski Charles E..... 2.50
Wyzanski Henry..... 5.00
Wyzanski Isaac..... 10.00
Wyzanski Max..... 5.00
Wyzansky Henry..... 15.00
Wyzansky Louis J..... 5.00
Wyzansky Max..... 5.00

Young Isaac..... 25.00

Zanditton Louis..... 5.00
Zarling Hyman..... 5.00
Ziegel Louis..... 15.00

Appendix II

Constitution

Of The Federation of Jewish Charities in 1895

Preamble

WHEREAS, the Jewish charities of the City of Boston are now administered by a number of different organizations, each acting independently of the others, resulting in imperfect investigation and a duplication of charities, and believing that a union of interests for a common cause will tend to a more systematic administration of the charities, will avoid duplication and the making of paupers, will establish a more perfect system of investigation and registration, will render moral as well as material aid and will receive a more generous support from the community, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that a federation be established, to be called THE FEDERATION OF JEWISH CHARITIES OF BOSTON.

Objects

The objects of this society shall be:

To secure the harmonious action of the different Jewish Charities of Boston by establishing a central bureau for the reception and registration of all applications for relief.

To place the results of such investigations at the disposal of the members of this association.

To provide means for furthering the charitable work of its members and for such other purposes as will tend to raise the needy beyond the need of relief.

Membership

The membership of this federation shall consist of such associations as may become parties to this agreement.

Any Jewish charitable society may become a member, upon application, by vote of the Board of Trustees at a special meeting called for such purpose.

Every member of this federation obligates itself not to solicit financial aid, unless by permission of the Board of Trustees.

Any member of this federation failing to co-operate with this society, may, by a two-thirds vote of the trustees, at a special meeting, called for such purpose, be declared to have withdrawn from the federation.

Every member of this federation agrees to furnish the Committee on Statistics, prior to the first day of June in each year, a statement of the receipts and expenses for the past year, and an estimate of the probable income and expense for the coming year.

But nothing in this section shall be so construed as to prohibit the right of any member from receiving any bequest or any voluntary donation of any nature whatever.

Appendix III

Federation Presidents Through The Years

*1895-1901	Jacob H. Hecht
1902-1903	Godfrey Morse
1904-1908	Lehman Pickert
*1909-1918	Abraham C. Ratshesky
1919-1921	Louis Baer
1922-1924	Louis E. Kirstein
1925-1927	Albert W. Kaffenburgh
1928-1929	Judge Abraham K. Cohen
*1930-1942	Louis E. Kirstein
1942-1944	Judge Abraham K. Cohen
1944-1947	Judge Jacob J. Kaplan
1947-1950	Milton Kahn
1950-1953	Reuben B. Gryzmish
1953-1956	Benjamin Ulin

Presidents of Combined Jewish Appeal of Greater Boston, Inc.

1946-1948	Israel Friedlander
1948-1950	Herman Gilman
1950-1953	Samuel Markell
1953-1955	Jacob L. Wiseman
1955-1956	Lewis H. Weinstein

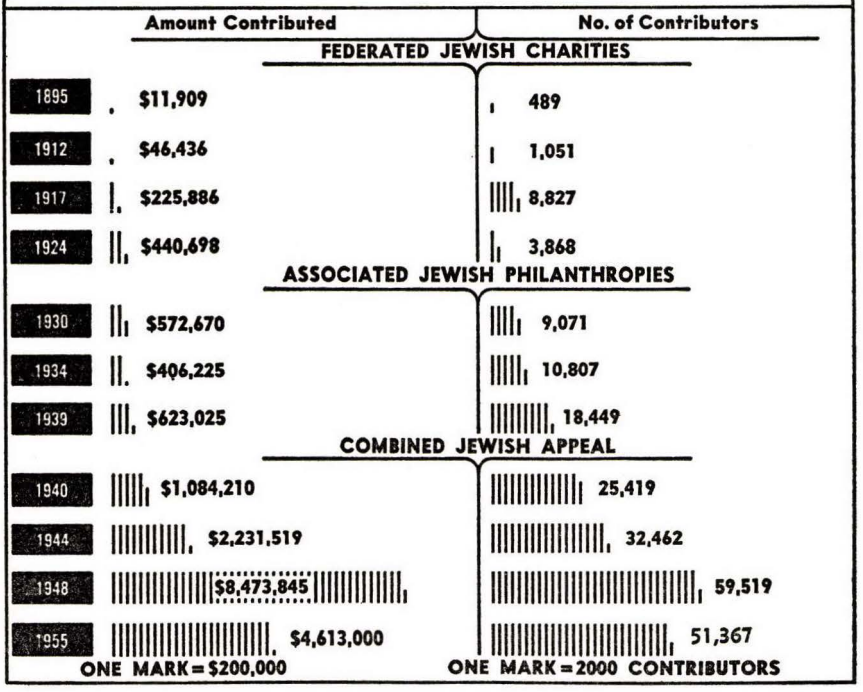
*1895-1908, organized under the name of Federation of Jewish Charities; 1908-1929, organized under the name of Federated Jewish Charities; from 1930, organized under the name of Associated Jewish Philanthropies.

FINANCING LOCAL SERVICES FOR SIXTY YEARS

YEAR	1895	1911	1918	1925	1930	1939	1948	1955
FAMILY SERVICE	$6,700	$19,325	$97,449	$187,135	$180,362	$171,941	$311,142	$412,055
CHILD CARE	$2,300	$19,650	$52,159	$94,264	$71,610	$62,282		
HOSPITALS		$4,825	$1,992	$43,345	$209,422	$230,810	$602,996	$781,812
CENTERS		$2,700	$5,075	$13,125	$25,837	$36,000	$127,560	$226,606
JEWISH EDUCATION			*$34,695	*$54,392	$41,106	$35,053	$119,236	*$183,294
CAMPS		$321	$4,515	$5,500	$7,491	$9,200	$59,641	$51,073
TOTAL	$9,000	$46,821	$195,885	$397,761	$535,728	$545,286	$1,220,575	$1,654,840

*Includes subvention to Hebrew Schools One square block = $50,000

BOSTON'S SIXTY-YEAR RECORD OF GIVING



Appendix V

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Associated Jewish Philanthropies, Inc.

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BENJAMIN ULIN

First Vice President
BENJAMIN A. TRUSTMAN

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Isidor Slotnik
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Alvin C. Tamkin
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Irving Usen
F. Frank Vorenberg
David M. Watchmaker
Mrs. Nehemiah H. Whitman

Index

Abrams, Israel, 54
Abrams, Meyer, 54
Agoos, Lassor, 86
Agoos, Samuel, 104
Alexander, Louis A., 55, 82
Allen, Frederick, 51
Allston, Mass., 156
Alpert, Abraham, 65
America Firsters, 153
American Committee for Ameliorating the Condition of Russian Refugees, 28–29
American Israelite (New York), 32
Americanization, 2, 5, 7, 20, 22 ff., 50–54, 64–66, 80, 154–155
American Jews, 16, 73, 93–95, 120–121, 143–145, 149, 153. *See also* Americanization; Boston Jews; Jews by national origin; National Conference of Jewish Charities
American Joint Distribution Committee, 94
American Red Cross, 101, 131, 147
Andrews, Mrs. Julius, 78
Antin, Mary, 51
Anti-Semitism, 12, 28, 34, 36, 54, 65, 67, 125, 143–145, 147, 153–154
Appleton, Elizabeth, 24
Arlington-Lexington-Bedford Jewish Community Center, 157
Armed Forces, 147
Aronovitch, Anna, 56
Associated Charities (Boston), 14, 51, 60
Associated Hebrew Schools of Boston, 99–101, 103
Associated Jewish Philanthropies of Boston: Boston Jewish Community Survey (1930) and, 128–130; Businessmen's Council, 128 ff.; Combined Jewish Appeal and, 145–146, 148–151; Community Federation and, 134; development, 125–167; naming, 1, 127; Women's Division, 128
Associated Young Men's Hebrew Associations of New England, 87, 108
Austria, 144
Austrian Aid Society, 39

Baker, Henry, 160
Baldwin Place Synagogue, *see* Congregation Beth Israel
Balfour Declaration, 94
Baltimore, Md., 3, 8, 10, 73
Baltimore University School of Medicine, 137
Bamber, Golde, 22–25, 50–51, 116, 132
Bangor, Me., 3
Baron de Hirsch Committee (Boston), 77
Baron de Hirsch Dispensary, 57
Baron de Hirsch Fund, 28–29, 44, 50
Barron, Jennie Loitman, 141
Bavarian Jews, 3, 10
Beech Glen Street, 50
Belmont-Watertown Jewish Community Center (later Beth El Temple Center of Belmont and Watertown), 157
Benari, Ida, 25
Benari, James, 8
Benari, Rose, 25
Benderly, Sampson, 99–100
Bendix, John H., 8
Benoth Israel Sheltering Association, 26, 109, 129
Benoth Israel Sheltering Home, 25–27, 29, 38–39, 56–57, 65, 68, 72, 85, 109–110
Bercowitz, Anna, 97
Bergman, Joseph L., 59, 71
Berlin, 89
Berlin, Meyer, 104
Bernkopf, Max, 107
Bernkopf, Selma Cohen (Mrs. Max), 106
Beth Israel Hospital, 84–85, 118–123, 131, 137–142, 144, 147, 151, 155, 160–163
Beth Israel Hospital Association, 84

Bibring, Greta, 161
Bieringer, Walter H., 144
Big Brother Association of Boston, 108
Blaustein, David, 20
Blechman, Nathan, 85
Bloom, William, 60
Bloomfield, Meyer, 52, 72
Blossom Street, 102
Blossom Street Health Unit, 138
Blue Hill Avenue Synagogue, *see* Congregation Adath Jeshurun
Blue Hills, 46
Blumgart, Herrman L., 138, 161
B'Nai Zion Educational Society, 20
Bogen, Boris, 101
Borofsky, Samuel, 49
Boston: M. Antin and, 51; Common Council, 11, 49; Department of Public Welfare, 131; Depression of 1929 and, 130; Health Department, 138; Immigration Station and, 65; Juvenile Court and, 82; L. E. Kirstein and, 91; medical services and, 55–56; Municipal Court and, 87, 90; Port, 27, 102; social service and, 5–6, 22 ff., 35, 62; School Committee, 11, 63. *See also* Boston Jews; sections and streets by name; Yankees
Boston Advocate, see Jewish Advocate
Boston Association for Relief and Control of Tuberculosis, 60–61, 91
Boston City Hospital, 119-120
Boston Committee for Refugees, 144-145, 155. *See also* Boston Service for New Americans
Boston Council of Social Agencies, 123
Boston Dispensary, 52, 106
Boston Globe, 63
Boston Jewish Community Survey (1930), 128-130
Boston JWB Army and Navy Club, 147-148
Boston JWB-USO Army Committee, 149
Boston Jews: economic development, 2, 6–7, 9–10, 36, 45, 50, 73, 127, 148, 150, 156; population, 1–4, 7–10, 36, 70, 73, 94, 96, 126, 136, 150, 156. *See also* federation by successive names; Jewish immigration; Jews by national origin; synagogues
Boston Lying-In Hospital, 119
Boston Medical Society, 57
Boston Provident Association, 5–6, 10-11, 13–14, 40, 60, 91
Boston Psychopathic Hospital, 113, 119
Boston Section of National Council of Jewish Women, 54, 67, 78, 81–83, 107, 129, 144, 155
Boston Service for New Americans, 155. *See also* Boston Committee for Refugees
Boston Sewing Circle, 11
Boston University: School of Oratory, 23; School of Social Work, 158
Boston Young Men's Christian Association, 9, 132
Boston Young Men's Hebrew Association: 1870's, 9; 1880's and 1890's, 18–20, 22; 1900's, 53–54, 67, 71, 90; 1910's, 86–88, 96, 108; 1920's, 103, 106, 116–118, 123; 1930's, 131–132, 136–137, 154; 1940's, 147, 156–157
Bowdoin Street, 115
Bradshaw House, 155
Bradshaw Street, 112
Brandeis, Louis D., 52, 59, 95, 116
Bridgton, Me., 152
Brighton, Mass., 117, 156, 159
Bromberg, Edward, 59
Bronfin, I. D., 118–119
Brookline Avenue, 122
Brookline, Mass., 117, 150, 156, 160
Brookline-Brighton-Newton Jewish Community Center, 157
Brooklyn, N. Y., 128
Bryantville, Mass., 77
Bulfinch Place, 116
Bulgarian Jews, 36
Bureau of Jewish Education (Boston), 103, 132–133, 151, 158–159
Bureau of Jewish Education (New York), 100
Bureau of Jewish Religious Schools, 99, 101, 103
Bureau of Jewish Social Research (New York), 128
Bureau of Jewish Statistics and Research of American Jewish Committee (New York), 89
Bureau of Philanthropic Research (New York), 89
Bychower, Victor, 57

Cabelinsky, Simon, 104
Cabot, Richard C., 62
California, 10, 60
Cambridge Jewish Community Center, 157
Camp Chebacco, 136, 152
Camping, *see* recreational agencies by

name
Camp Kingswood, 152, 155
Camp Maplewood, 114–115
Camp Yavneh, 159
Canterbury Street, 75, 136, 152
Cape Cod, 54
Carver, Samuel, 55
Central Jewish Organization, 82, 88
Chambers Street, 24, 58
Chardon Street, 13, 38
Charitable Burial Association (Hebrew Free Burial Association), 1, 27, 33, 68, 129
Charity, *see* England; Jewish tradition of charity; Yankees
Charles River, 79, 90
Chauncy Street, 28
Cheder, 18, 21
Cheever, Clarence A., 45
Chelsea, Mass., 24, 71–72, 152
Chelsea fire, 71–73, 78
Chelsea Young Men's Hebrew Association, 71, 106, 157
Chevra (*chevrot*), 15, 36, 83
Chevra Shas, 100
Chicago, 32, 43, 56
Child, Francis J., 24
Children: child-placing, 47–49, 74–75, 98, 113–115, 130, 135, 145, 152; institutional care, 16–17, 30, 74–77, 99, 114–115, 136; casework, 69, 82, 114–115, 135, 152. *See also* camps by name; Group work; Jewish education, Recreation, social agencies by name
Children Astray, 115
Children's Aid Association of Boston, 47
Children's Bureau (Federated Jewish Charities), 98–99, 107, 113–115, 123, 130
Children's Hospital, 119
Children's Mission, 74
Christian Front, 153
Cincinnati, Ohio, 43, 56, 101
Civic Service House, 52
Civil War, 3, 6, 9, 17
Cleo Club, 8
Cleveland Circle, 156
Cleveland, Ohio, 73
Cohen, Abraham K., 20, 90–91, 148
Cohen, Ethel, 140
Cohen, Israel, 12, 18
Cohen, Louis, 50
Cohen, Sidney S., 128, 145, 149
Cohn, S. S., 18
Columbia University, 96, 126
Columbus, Ohio, 102
Combined Jewish Appeal of Greater Boston, 145–146, 148–151, 154, 157, 165
Combined Roxbury Hebrew School, 159
Commonwealth Avenue, 46, 147
Community Federation of Boston, 133–134. *See also* Greater Boston Community Fund; United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston
Compton Street, 57–58
Confidential Exchange, 38
Congregation Adath Israel (Temple Israel), 3, 8, 10, 18, 32, 37, 59, 64
Congregation Adath Jeshurun (Blue Hill Avenue Synagogue), 86, 101, 159
Congregation Anshe Poland, 57
Congregation Beth Hamidrash Hagadol, 159
Congregation Beth Israel (1840's), 3
Congregation Beth Israel (Baldwin Place Synagogue), 21, 27, 49, 71–72
Congregation Mishkan Israel, 18
Congregation Ohabei Shalom (Temple Ohabei Shalom), 3, 6, 9, 11–12, 17, 64, 89
Congregation Sharry Jerusalem, 65
Cooper, Ida, 142
Cooper Street, 26, 56–57, 109
Coriat, Isidor, 62
Coughlin, Father Charles E., 153
Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, 128
Council of Jewish Juniors Home for Convalescent Children, 114
Council of Jewish Women, *see* Boston Section of National Council of Jewish Women; National Council of Jewish Women
Council of Young Men's Hebrew Associations and Kindred Associations, 87–88
Counseling, 156
Country Week, 42, 77, 98–99, 115, 136, 152
Crawford Street, 104

Dana, Bess Schless (Mrs. Lester), 162
Dana, Meyer, 85
Danzig, Hyman, 84, 118, 120
Davidson, Kallman M., 57, 85, 118
Davidson, Mrs. Kallman M., 99
Davis, Philip, 67
De Haas, Jacob, 53, 55, 67–68, 71
Dembo, Fannie, 56
Denver, Colo., 31, 60
Depressions: 1873, 9; 1893, 30, 34–35; 1915, 79; 1921, 109; 1929, 123, 125–126, 128, 130–131,

133–134, 137, 141, 154
Desertion, *see* Family
Destitute Jewish Children's Aid Society, 99. *See also* Jewish Children's Aid Society
Detroit, Mich., 43
Die Israelitsche Gemeinde Mishkan Israel, 3
Dietetics, 90, 107
Diet Kitchen, 41–42, 60
Displaced persons, 150–151, 155, 164. *See also* German Jews
Displaced Persons Act of 1948, 155
District Service (Federated Jewish Charities), 97, 102, 106–113, 119, 123, 129–131
Dorchester, Mass., 55, 75, 83, 97, 111–112, 122, 129, 132, 136, 150, 153–154, 156, 159
Drucker, Saul, 115
Dutch Jews, 7

East Boston, Mass., 24, 97, 111
East Concord Street, 53, 87
East European Jews, 18, 21–22, 25, 28, 36, 70, 83, 94. *See also* Jews by national origin
Ehrenfried, Albert, 62, 85, 118, 121
Ehrlich, Henry, 57
Ehrmann, Herbert B., 106–107
Eichler, Menahem M., 89
Einstein, Abraham, 8
Einstein, Mrs. Abraham, 11
Eliot, Abigail, 116
Ellis, David, 87
Elysium Club, 8, 89, 91
Engel, Ida, 25
Engel, Linda, 25
England: Puritans from, 2; nursery school movement, 116; science of charity, 14, 31–32, 52; settlement movement, 52; White Paper (1939), 144
Estonian Jews, 36
Europe, 81, 146

Family: casework, 112, 135, 151–152, 155, 163; desertion, 30, 41, 43; visitors, 6, 14, 38, 77; welfare, 8–9, 11–12, 29–30, 40–41, 69, 74, 97, 108–110, 113, 123, 129–131, 154. *See also* social agencies by name
Federal Emergency Relief Administration, 135
Federal Transient Bureau, 134
Federated Jewish Charities (Boston): Chelsea fire and, 71; founding, 68; functioning 1908–1916, 70–92; growth 1916–1929, 93–128; naming, 1, 164. *See also* Report of Welfare Committee (1916); Boston Jewish Community Survey (1930)
Federated Jewish Charities (Columbus, Ohio), 102
Federation: idea of, 14–15, 31–34, 68, 77
Federation of Jewish Charities (Boston): founding, 1, 33–34; functioning, 37–49, 55–57, 60, 68–69; Hebrew Immigration Aid Society and, 65 ff.; Hebrew Industrial School and, 50, 53; immigration restriction and, 67; Mt. Sinai Dispensary and, 59–60, 98; movement for Greater Federation, 63–64, 67–68, 77; significance, 146, 162, 164
Federation of Jewish Organizations of Massachusetts, 67–68
Feinberg, Morris, 104
Feingold, S. Norman, 152
Fertel, Murray, 160
Fiedler, Arthur, 112
Filene, Edward A., 53
Filene's, William and Sons, 91
Fine, Jacob, 161
Finkelstein, Nathaniel, 87
Fishel, A. L., 19
Fleischer, Charles, 32, 59
Florence Street, 102, 111
Forsyth Dental Infirmary, 113
Fort Hill Avenue, 50, 75, 99
Foss, Eugene N., 82
Frank, Mrs. Daniel, 42
Frank, Lina, *see* Hecht, Lina Frank
Frankenstein, Lina, 71
Franklin Park, 132
Fraternal lodges, 8, 44, 56, 67, 90, 96, 144, 147
Freedman, Louis, 62, 118
Free Employment Bureau, 1, 28–29, 33, 37, 44, 65
Friedlander, Israel, 149, 161
Friedman, Lee M., 53
Friedman, Max, 28, 33, 70
Friedman, Nathan H., 160
Friedman, Sadie S. (Mrs. Nathan H.), 160
Friedman, Solomon, 13
Friedman, Sophie, 79
From Plotzk to Boston, 52
Fund-raising: Associated Jewish Philanthropies and, 128–129, 145, 164–165; background of, 31; Beth Israel and, 84–85, 122–123; Combined Appeal and, 145–146, 148–150; Boston's Emergency Campaigns, 134; Federated Jewish Charities and, 73, 88–89, 91,

95–96, 102, 126; Federation of Jewish Charities and, 1, 32–33, 37, 39–40, 64; nationalization of, 94; United Hebrew Benevolent Association and, 31; United Jewish Campaigns and, 145. *See also* American Jews

Galician Jews, 21, 36
Gardner Bill, 67
Garland Kindergarten School, 52
Gellis, Sidney, 161
Gemilut Chasadim, 4, 38
German-Jewish Children's Aid Society (later European-Jewish Children's Aid, Inc.), 145
German Jews, 3, 21, 36, 65–66, 70, 143 ff., 155, 165. *See also* Displaced persons
Gerstein, Maurice, 57, 142
Gilman, Herman, 149
Ginzberg, Albert A., 86, 120–122, 142
Goldberg, Ida, 80
Goldberg, Lewis, 87
Golden Age Clubs, 157
Goodman, Samuel, 57
Gorovitz, Martha (later Mrs. M. G. Waldstein), 113
Gould, David, 160
Goulston, Edward S., 18–19
Goulston, Theresa Hirshfield (Mrs. Edward S.), 82
Grace Agular School, 54
Greater Boston Bickur Cholim Hospital, 83, 118, 122–123, 131, 142–143. *See also* Jewish Memorial Hospital
Greater Boston Community Fund, 134, 151. *See also* Community Federation of Boston; United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston
Greater Boston Jewish Congress Committee, 95
Greater Boston Jewish Welfare Board Army and Navy Committee, 147
Green, Hetty, 87
Green, Jacob Gyocre, 57
Greenberg, Boris, 119
Grosberg, Casper, 72, 142
Grosberg, Oscar, 84, 86
Grosberg, Mrs. Oscar, 122
Group work, 136–137, 154–158. *See also* Recreation, social agencies by name
Gryzmish, Reuben, B., 148
Guild, Curtis, 51

Hale, Edward Everett, 25, 51
Hale House, 51
Hall, Prescott, 67
Handicapped, 40–41, 129, 131, 152, 160, 162–163
Hanover Street, 18, 22
Harvard Street, 156
Harvard University: faculty of, 24, 31, 51; Graduate School of Business Administration, 149; Law School, 52; Medical School, 61–62, 90, 122, 138–139, 161; School of Public Health, 162; students of, 20, 52–53, 102, 108
Hawkins Street, 13
Health services, 55–64, 84–85, 98, 112–115, 118–124, 137–143, 155, 160–164
Health Services Council, 163
Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society (Boston), 12, 65
Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society (New York), 12
Hebrew Free Burial Association, *see* Charitable Burial Association
Hebrew Free Loan Society of Boston, 86, 109–110, 129
Hebrew Home for the Aged, 83, 163
Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, 65, 68, 74
Hebrew Industrial School: Country Week and, 98; 1890's and 1900's, 50–51, 74, 81, 90; Federation and, 38, 50, 53; founding, 22–25; Hebrew Women's Sewing Society and, 42; influence, 52, 66; 1910's, 79, 83, 115. *See also* Hecht Neighborhood House, Hecht House
Hebrew Ladies Moshav Zekainim Association, 83. *See also* Hebrew Home for the Aged
Hebrew Ladies' Sewing Circle, 11. *See also* Hebrew Women's Sewing Society
Hebrew Ladies' Sewing Society, *see* Hebrew Women's Sewing Society
Hebrew Sheltering Home, *see* Benoth Israel Sheltering Home
Hebrew Teachers Association, 99
Hebrew Teachers College, 104–105, 133, 151, 158–160
Hebrew Teachers Training School, 99, 101, 104
Hebrew University (Jerusalem), 126
Hebrew Women's Sewing Society (Hebrew Ladies' Sewing Society 1878–1894): District Service and, 97–98; 1880's, 15–17; 1890's, 40–42, 60; Federation and, 1, 32–34, 37–38, 68; founding, 11–12; Hebrew Industrial School

and, 24–25, 50; Moeth Chitim and, 86; 1910's, 79–81, 83
Hecht House, 147, 156–157. *See also* Hebrew Industrial School, Hecht Neighborhood House
Hecht, Jacob H., 10–11, 13, 24, 26, 28, 33, 50–52, 91
Hecht, Lina Frank (Mrs. Jacob H.) 10–12, 22–24, 32–33, 50–52, 54, 70, 106, 115
Hecht Neighborhood House, 111, 115–116, 123, 131–132, 136–137, 153–154. *See also* Hebrew Industrial School, Hecht House
Heinstadt, Bavaria, 10
Heller, Jacob, 19
Heller, Nathan A., 87
Hellmann, Louis E., 160
Helman, Eva, 80
Helping Hand Home for Jewish Children, 152
Helping Hand Temporary Home for Destitute Jewish Children, 49–50, 68, 75–76, 99, 112. *See also* Helping Hand Home for Jewish Children; Home for Jewish Children
Herman, Joseph M., 74
Herman, Mrs. Joseph M., 42
Herman, Levi, 85
Herzl, Theodor, 53
Hexter, Maurice, 101–103, 115, 126
Hillson, H. M., 18
Hirsch, Baron Maurice de, 28
Hirshberg, Abraham S., 103
History of the Israelites in Boston, 16
Hitler, Adolf, 125, 143, 145, 147, 153–154
Holland, 3
Home for Jewish Children, 74–77, 83, 89, 112, 114–115, 123, 130, 136. *See also* Helping Hand Temporary Home for Destitute Jewish Children; Leopold Morse Home for Aged and Infirm Hebrews and Orphanage
Horticultural Hall, 9
Howland Street, 87
Humboldt Avenue, 117
Hungarian Jews, 36, 96
Hurwich, Louis, 100–101, 103–104, 133
Hurwitz, Albert, 87–88
Hyams, Godfrey, 53, 90
Hyams, Isabel, 52, 90–91

Immigration: cessation in 1914, 109; Council of Jewish Women and, 81; legislation and, 67, 110; New England and, 5, 21; restriction, 66–67, 110, 125. *See also* Jewish immigration to United States
Immigration Act of 1924, 125
Income tax, 148
Industrial League, 54
Industrial Removal Office, 44, 65
Influenza epidemic (Boston), 119
International Congress of Charities, Correction and Philanthropy, 32
International Tubercular Congress, 60
Intervale Street, 112
Irish immigrants, 2
Isaacs, Nathan, 105
Israel, 125, 149–150, 155, 158, 166
Israeli, Phineas, 101
Italian immigrants, 116

Jacob Hecht Club, 24, 52
Jacobs, Charles, 59
Jamaica Plain, Mass., 79
Jerusalem, 126
Jewish Advocate (Boston), 55, 67–68, 73
Jewish Anti-Tuberculosis Association, 61, 120, 140, 163
Jewish Big Brother Association, 107–108, 123
Jewish Centers Association of Greater Boston, 157
Jewish Child Welfare Association, 130, 135. *See also* Jewish Family and Children's Service
Jewish Children's Aid Society, 98, 114
Jewish Chronicle (Boston), 26, 31
Jewish Colonization Association of Paris, 28
Jewish Community Council of Metropolitan Boston, 153–154
Jewish Dispensary for Women and Children, 56–57
Jewish education, 17–18, 21, 54–55, 88, 99–101, 103–105, 123–124, 132–133, 157–160
Jewish Education Society, 99
Jewish Education Week, 104
Jewish Family and Children's Service, 152, 155–156, 163. *See also* Jewish Child Welfare Association; Jewish Family Welfare Association
Jewish Family Welfare Association, 129, 131, 144
Jewish immigration to the United States: in 1880's, 2, 7, 12, 21; in 1890's, 28, 34; in 1900's, 35–37; in 1920's, 125; in 1930's, 143; in 1940's, 155 ff.; influence of, 16, 20–21, 64–67, 125. *See*

also Boston Jews; Jews by national origin
Jewish Maternity Clinic Association, 98
Jewish Memorial Hospital, 83, 143, 151, 160. *See also* Greater Boston Bickur Cholim Hospital
Jewish People's Institute, 55
Jewish Prisoners' Aid Society, 83, 129
Jewish State, 94. *See also* Israel
Jewish Theological Seminary, 96
Jewish tradition of charity, 4–5, 9, 11, 15, 26 ff., 36 ff., 47, 64–65, 83–86, 109, 129, 164–165
Jewish Vocational Service, 152, 155–156, 163–164
Jewish Welfare Board, see National Jewish Welfare Board; New England Section Jewish Welfare Board
Jewish Women's Health Association, 163
Job placement, 9, 19, 28–29, 44–45, 79, 106, 129–131, 144, 154–156, 163. *See also* Vocational education
Johnstone, W. J., 57
Joint Distribution Committee, 145
Joint Jewish Education Committee, 99
Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr. Foundation, 156
Judaism: conservative, 94, 99; orthodox, 3–4, 20, 24, 27, 54, 71, 94, 99–100, 120, 126; reform, 10, 18, 20, 54, 94, 99, 148

Kagan, Bertha I., 84
Kahn, Milton, 148
Kallman, Marcus, 13
Kaplan, Emily R. (Mrs. Kivie), 160
Kaplan, Jacob J., 106–107, 148
Kaplan, Kivie, 160
Kaplan, Morris, 55
Kasanin, Jacob, 113
Keren Hayesod, 94
Kirstein, Louis E., 91–92, 95 ff., 105–106, 127, 133, 142, 145–146, 148, 153
Kishineff massacres, 36, 54, 65
Kurinsky, Sarah, 49

Ladies North End Benevolent Association, 8
Landau, J. H., 53
Landsmannschaften, 15, 36, 56, 86
Landsleit, 3, 7
Lasker, Raphael, 11, 18, 27
Latvian Jews, 36
Lee, Joseph, 72
Lehrburger, Lyman, 106
Lehrburger, Pauline (Mrs. Lyman), 106
Lehrburger, Richard L., 116
Lend A Hand, 25
Leopold Morse Home for Aged and Infirm Hebrews and Orphanage: Federation and, 1, 32–34, 37, 68, 83; founding, 16–17; functioning, 30, 45–47, 49–50; Home for Jewish Children and, 74–76, 89
Levenson, Henry H., 55
Levi, Carrie, 23
Levine, Samuel A., 87
Liebmann (later Liebman), Blanche, 25
Liebmann, Gustav, 57
Liebmann (later Liebman), Mrs. Harry, 96
Linenthal, Harry, 61–62, 76, 118, 121, 138
Literacy test, 67
Lithuanian Jews, 36
Lithuania Society, 39
Liverpool, England, 31
Lloyd Optical Company, 91
Lodge, Henry Cabot, 67
Loewenberg, Herman, 101
London, 116
Louis, Isaac, 57
Louisa Alcott Club, 52, 90
Lourie, David A., 115
Lowell, Mrs. E. J., 24
Lowell, Mrs. G. G., 24
Lowell, Mrs. John, 24
Lurie, Mary, 61
Lyman School for Boys, (Westboro, Mass.), 51
Lyons, Leo, 63–64, 67

Magid, Samuel, 87
Magnes, Judah L., 126
Maimonides, Moses, 4
Maimonides School, 54
Marcuse, Lotte, 130, 145
Marget, Philip J., 142
Margoleis, Morish, 21, 27
Margolis, Dora, 135, 144
Markell, Samuel, 106–107, 149
Marshall, Louis, 88, 100
Mattapan, Mass., 16, 45–46, 103, 111, 136
Massachusetts, 11, 48, 74; Bay Colony, 5; General Relief Committee (Salem fire), 78; Governor's Committee (Chelsea fire), 71; Insurance Committee of Legislature, 107; Insurance Commission, 107; Legislature, 105; Mothers' Aid Law, 79, 106;

State Board of Charities, 47; State Board of Registration in Nursing, 119
Massachusetts General Hospital, 60–61
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 52, 90
Massachusetts Prison Association, 82
Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, 47
Massachusetts State Medical Society, 57
Mazur, Louis, 26
Medalia, Leon S., 62, 103–104
Medford Jewish Community Center, 157
Medical social work, 62, 74, 80–81, 120, 139–140, 160, 162
Medway, Mass., 45
Mendelsohn, Lena, 40
Mendelsohn, Louis, 61
Menorah Institute, 159
Metropolitan Dispensary of Boston, 57
Metropolitan services, 71–72, 78, 151–152, 157–158
Millis, Mass., 45
Milton, Mass., 45
Minot Hall, 19
Mitchell, Max, 40, 42–45, 48–49, 54, 64, 67–69, 72, 74–75, 77
Mixter, Charles G., 138
Mizrachi movement, 104
Moeth Chitim Association, *see* United Moeth Chitim Association
Montefiore Home and Aid Society, 16
Montserrat, Mass., 98
Morrison, Hyman, 62, 113, 120, 138
Morse, Charles, 8
Morse, Godfrey, 11, 32–33, 63
Morse, Leopold, 11, 16
Moses Mendelssohn Lodge, 8
Moss, Abraham, 27
Mt. Lebanon Hospital School of Nursing (New York), 61
Mt. Sinai Dispensary: Beth Israel and, 84, 118; growth of, 58–64, 66, 81, 120, 138, 140, 142; Jewish Maternity Clinic Association and, 98; social service and, 80
Mt. Sinai Hospital Association, *see* Mt. Sinai Dispensary
Mt. Sinai Monthly, 63

Nantasket, Mass., 159
Nantasket Jewish Youth Center, 157
Naomi Lodge, 8, 90
National Civic Federation of Women, 79
National Conference of Charities and Correction, 43–44, 77
National Conference of Jewish Charities (later National Conference of Jewish Social Work, then National Conference of Jewish Social Service), 43–44, 48, 75, 77
National Coordination Committee of New York, 144
National Council of Jewish Women, 54. *See also* Boston Section of the National Council of Jewish Women
National Desertion Bureau, 44
National Jewish Hospital (Denver, Colo.), 60
National Jewish Welfare Board, 87, 112, 117, 157
National Refugee Service, 145
National Selective Service Act, 147
New Deal, 127, 134, 136. *See also* federal agencies and legislation by name
New England: economy of, 2 ff., 6–7; immigration and, 21 ff., 29, 66 ff.; Jewish education and, 88, 160; Puritans and, 5; social service of, 22. *See also* Yankees
New England Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, 160
New England Hospital for Women, 24
New England Section of the Jewish Welfare Board, 147
New England Women's Association of Hebrew Teachers College, 133
New Hampshire, 115
New Orleans, La., 3
Newton, Mass., 117, 150, 156, 159
New York City, 12, 20, 28, 32, 35, 43, 56, 61, 87, 89, 96, 102, 108, 117, 128
New York Hebrew Sheltering Home, 26
New York School of Social Work (Columbia University), 149
Nordenschild, Ferdinand, 8
North Bennett Street Industrial School, 23
North End, 2, 13, 18, 20–22, 24–26, 36, 41, 49, 58, 65, 86, 109
North End Benevolent Association, 13
North End Bickur Cholim Association, 84
North End Hebrew Free School, 72
North End Ladies Society, 39
North Russell Street, 109–110
North Shore, 98
Northwood, N. H., 159

Norton, Edward E., 33, 70
Norton, Rachel, 25
Nuremberg Laws, 143
Nursery school movement, 116, 136
Nursing, 119 ff.

Old age, 5, 12, 16–17, 45, 83, 123, 142, 160, 163 ff.
Overseers of the Poor (later Overseers of Public Welfare), 5–6, 13, 29, 47, 106–107, 130, 133

Paine, Alonzo K., 62
Palestine, 94, 144–146. *See also* Israel
Palmer, George M., 57
Parental School (West Roxbury, Mass.), 52
Paris, 28
Parker Memorial Society, 74
Peabody, Francis G., 31–32
Perlman, Samuel, 133
Perry, Henry J., 62
Philadelphia, 56, 73
Phillips, J., 8
Pickert, Lehman, 33, 59, 64, 70–71
Pierce, S. S., 24
Pinanski, Nathan, 86, 101, 103–104
Pinanski, Viola (Mrs. Abraham), 141
Pinksohn, Richard, 59
Pisnoy, Bessie, 119
Planning, 1, 6, 69, 89–92, 97, 105, 121, 126–128, 150, 163–165. *See also* Boston Jewish Community Survey; Report of Welfare Committee
Pleasant Street, 6
Poles, 116
Polish Jews, 3, 7, 21, 34, 66
Public welfare: child-placing and, 47, 49; depression and, 130–131, 133–136; health and, 56, 63, 138, 160; influence of, 13, 29, 151–152; juvenile delinquency and, 52; mothers and, 79, 106–107; private agencies and, 5–6, 13, 29, 151. *See also* New Deal; Overseers of the Poor
Public Works Administration, 135
Purim Ball, 9
Portuguese Jews, 2
Posen, Poland, 3
Posselt, Emil, 46
Posselt, Ruth, 46
Prager, Ernestine Spitz (Mrs. I. K. E.), 141
Pratt, Joseph H., 60
Progress Cultural Club, 7
Promised Land, 52
Prussia, 3
Psychiatric social work, 113, 162

Quincy Jewish Community Center, 157

Rabb, Sidney R., 161
Rabbinical Association of Greater Boston, 131
Rabbinical Pension Fund, 131
Radcliffe College, 140
Ratshesky, Abraham C., 26, 28, 70–71, 73, 89, 94, 98, 121
Readville, Mass., 25
Recreation, 19–20, 24–25, 50–54, 79–80, 98, 111–118, 131–132, 136. *See also* Group work; social agencies by name
Recuperative Center, 163
Report of the Welfare Committee 1916 (Federated Jewish Charities), 91–93, 97–98, 101, 123 ff., 127–128
Revere Jewish Community Center, 157
Richards, Ellen A., 90
Rochester, N. Y., 91
Roosevelt, Theodore, 75
Rosenau, Milton J., 90, 121
Rosenthal, Charles, 60
Rosnosky, Isaac, 11, 16
Rosnosky, Sadie (later Mrs. A. K. Cohen), 25
Roumanian Jews, 21, 36, 42
Roxbury High School, 84
Roxbury Ladies' Aid and Fuel Society, 39

Roxbury Ladies Bickur Cholim Association, 83, 122. *See also* Greater Boston Bickur Cholim Hospital; Jewish Memorial Hospital
Roxbury, Mass., 55, 58, 84, 86–87, 97, 99, 104, 111, 117, 129, 132, 142, 150, 156, 159
Rubenovitz, Herman H., 99
Rubenstein, Philip, 52, 63
Rubin, S. H., 120
Ruggles Street Nursery School, 116
Rules of Transportation, 44
Russell Sage Foundation, 126
Russian Jews: arrival of, 7, 13, 30, 34–36, 51, 155; attitudes toward, 22, 25, 28, 30, 65–66
Russian pogroms, 12, 143. *See also* Kishineff massacres
Rutland State Sanitorium (Mass.), 60

Sachs, Ben, 17
Saftel, Helen (Mrs. Harry), 132
Salem (Mass.) fire, 78
Samansky, George, 157

San Francisco, Calif., 3
Sarah Greenwood School (Dorchester), 122
Savage, Minot, 19
Savitz, Harry A., 114
Sawyer, Meyer J., 103
Schiff, Jacob, 100
Schindler, Solomon, 10–11, 13–17, 26, 28–29, 31–34, 37–42, 45–46, 51, 69
School for Jewish Communal Workers (New York), 99
School nurses, 63
Schwabe, L. B., 19
Seaver Street, 117
Segal, Miriam, 120
Segal, Robert E., 153
Selekman, Ben M., 126–127, 133, 144, 149, 153
Seligson, Isaac, 149, 153
Shalit, Etta, 26
Shaw, Mrs. Quincy, 52
Sheps, Cecil G., 161–162
Shereshefsky, Abraham, 57
Shereshefsky, Cecilia, 57
Shevach, Benjamin, 158
Shoninger, Joseph, 8
Shulman, Sadie Lipner, 87
Shuman, Abraham, 26
Sidman, Edward, 115–116
Silberman, Dorothy Conrad, 106
Silberschlag, Eisig, 159
Silbert, Coleman, 88
Silverman, Martha Michaels (Mrs. Robert), 77–79
Silverman, Robert, 77
Silver Shirts, 153
Simmons College School of Social Work, 35, 51, 102, 106, 140, 162
Slepian, Philip, 108
Slutsky, Aaron, 26, 28
Slutsky, Fanny, 25
Smith, Samuel O., 117
Smithwick, M. P., 62
"Social Cost of Industrial Life Insurance," 107
Social Security Act of 1935, 135
Social Service Index, 11, 38
"Society of Brotherly Love," 3
Solomon, Harry C., 121, 138
Solomon, Maida H. (Mrs. Harry C.), 113, 140
Solomon, Hyman, 101
South End, 2, 19–20, 24, 36, 51–54, 58, 84, 86–87, 97, 102–103, 106, 111
South End House, 53
Spanish-American War, 35
Spitz, Abraham P., 28, 32
Spitz, Mrs. Abraham P., 33, 42
Spitz, Nancy (Mrs. George J.), 25, 41–42
Spitz, Zippora (later Mrs. William Rosnosky), 79
Staniford Street, 59
Stebbins, Herbert W., 82
Stern, Caroline, 90
Stern, David, 160
Stern, Frances, 52, 90–91, 106–107
Stone, Mark, 19–20
Stone, S. Robert, 161
Strauss, Ben Joseph, 17
Strauss, Charles M., 8
Strauss, Ferdinand, 74
Strauss, Mrs. Ferdinand, 71
Strauss, Leon, 96
Strauss, Mrs. Louis, 79
Strauss, Nathan, 8
Strauss, Samuel, 8
Suburbanism, 152 ff., 158, 166
Sumner, Philip S., 57
Supplies for Overseas (SOS) Campaign, 150
Swig, Simon, 120
Switzerland, 56
Synagogues: centers and, 158, 166; charity and, 4, 6, 15, 27, 36–43, 82–83, 144, 147; composition of, 3 ff., 7, 20; Federated Jewish Charities and, 70, 96; Jewish education and, 99, 103; number of, 36, 70, 94. *See also* congregations by name; Judaism
Syracuse University, 128

Talmud Torahs, 18, 21, 103–104, 159
Taylor, Maurice, 102, 107, 111–112, 135
Temple Mishkan Tefila, 3, 85, 99
Temples, *see* congregations by name
Tewksbury, Mass., 13
Titelbaum, Albert, 83
Touroff, Nisson, 104
Townsend Street, 84, 118, 120–122, 140, 142
Training Schoo for Jewish Social Work (New York), 105
Training School for Sunday Schools, 101, 103
Transients, 25–27, 44, 109–110, 134–135
Truman Directive of 1945, 155
Tuberculosis, 59–62, 91, 114, 120, 140
Tufts University Medical School, 57, 61, 98, 139, 160

Ukrainian Jews, 36
Ulin, Benjamin, 148
Union Park Forum, 106
Unitarians, 6, 25

United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston, 134. *See also* Community Federation of Boston; Greater Boston Community Fund
United Hebrew Benevolent Association: Benoth Israel Sheltering Home and, 27; child welfare and, 30, 45, 47–49; end of, 97–98; Federation and, 32, 34, 37, 68; Free Employment Bureau and, 29–30; founding of, 6–7; fund-raising and, 31; health services and, 56–57; in 1870's, 8–11; in 1880's, 12–13, 15–17, 19, 22; in 1890's, 30, 38, 40–42, 65; in 1900's, 43–44; in 1910's, 77–78; Mt. Sinai Dispensary and, 58, 80; United Moeth Chitim and, 86
United Hebrew Charities (New York), 96, 101
United Jewish Appeal, 150
United Jewish Campaigns (1937–1939), 144–146
United Moeth Chitim Association, 85–86, 109, 129
United Palestine Appeal, 145
United States, *see* Immigration; Public welfare
University of Berne, 56
University of North Carolina, 161
University of Pittsburgh, 126

Van Noorden, Mrs. Ezekiel, 54
Visiting housekeeping, 91, 111, 129, 131
Visitors, *see* family welfare
Vocational education, 22–25, 50, 55, 79, 144, 163. *See also* Job placement
Volunteers: concept of, 165; professional work and, 97 ff., 106 ff., 110 ff., 114, 120 ff., 127–129, 140, 155
Vorenberg, F. Frank, 106
Vorenberg, Simon, 2, 49, 99

Waldman, Morris, 96–97, 99–101
Waltham Beth Israel Community Center, 157
Warburg, Felix, 100
Warren Street, 87
Warrenton Street, 3
Washington School (Boston), 79
Washington Street, 3, 17, 19
Watchmaker, David M., 87, 142
Weil, Mrs. Charles, 33
Weinstein, Lewis H., 149
West End, 2, 24, 36, 51, 55, 58, 63, 79, 86–87, 97, 102–103, 109–111, 115, 129, 132, 136–137
West End Educational Union, 54
West End Ladies Society, 39
West End Young Men's Hebrew Association, 87, 96, 106
Westphalia, Germany, 3
West Springfield Street, 19
White House Conference on Dependent Children, 75
Whitman, Theresa Cohen (Mrs. Nehemiah), 141
Whittemore, Wyman, 138
Wilinsky, Charles, 137–139
Winthrop Jewish Community Center, 157
Wiseman, Jacob L., 87, 106, 149
Women's Educational and Industrial Union, 90
Women's Scholarship Association, 83
Woods, Robert A., 53
Works Progress Administration (WPA), 135–136
Work test, 29 ff.
World War I, 93, 99, 107, 109, 156
World War II, 125, 146–147, 151, 153–155
Wyner, Mrs. George, 141
Wyzanski, Max E., 33, 90

Yamins Research Building, 161
Yankees: charity and, 6 ff., 10–11, 14; influence of, 22–23, 69; Jewish agencies and, 13, 72, 74; occupations, 2; social agencies, 9, 11, 14, 38, 40, 42, 47, 51–53, 90–91, 132
Yavneh Hebrew School, 159
Yeshiva University, 104
Young Ladies Hebrew Society, 42
Young Men's Christian Association, *see* Boston Young Men's Christian Association
Young Men's Christian Union, 42
Young Men's Hebrew Association, *see* Boston, Chelsea and West End organizations
Young Women's Hebrew Association, 26, 87, 96
Young Women's Hebrew Society, 39

Zakrzewska, Marie, 24
Zedakah, 4
Zionism, 20, 77, 94–95, 112, 126
Zionist Association of Greater Boston, 95
Zionist Council, 82
Zionist House, 159

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8/87