a Priceless Heritage

THE EPIC GROWTH OF NINETEENTH CENTURY CHICAGO JEWRY

Morris A. Gutstein

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To Morris Seskind
one of the early pioneers —
Jewish Journalism : Chicago,
with kindest greetings and
all good wishes
Morris Gutstadt

A Priceless Heritage

OTHER BOOKS BY
DR. MORRIS A. GUTSTEIN

THE TOURO FAMILY IN NEWPORT

THE STORY OF THE JEWS OF NEWPORT

AARON LOPEZ AND JUDAH TOURO

To My Wife
With Love and Devotion

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Preface

SEVERAL attempts have been made in the past to write the history of the Jews of Chicago. Some fine monographs and books have been produced by various writers. However, an examination of many of these studies betrays at once either an apologetic or a theological point of view, or else merely a chronological and factual presentation of events. Very few, if any, give either a comprehensive or complete picture of the evolution of the local Jewish community in a sociological sense, and in light of the total economic, cultural, political and social environment. In this work, I have attempted, as much as possible, to achieve the latter approach.

This volume covers the history of the Jews of Chicago in the nineteenth century only. Following the dictum of the sages: "It is not incumbent upon thee to complete the work," I hope that some historian will undertake to write a second volume covering the twentieth century.

As far as possible, I made use of contemporary records and available original sources as the basis for the facts in this book. I tried to refrain from either polemics or controversies. To complete the survey, I added a number of important documents as appendices. Inasmuch as a work of this nature is incomplete without illustrations, I embelished the volume by plates, some of which have never heretofore appeared in print.

The publication of a volume of this scope is well nigh impossible without the assistance of many people. I wish here to record by acknowledgment and appreciation to those who, among many others, have been extremely helpful in making possible the appearance of this book.

The generosity of Raymond Sher and Charles Lissner launched this work. Financial assistance was also graciously given to me by Maxwell Abbell, Sol Bolnick, Max Briskin, Bernard R. Cohen, I. B. Cohn, Arthur Davis, Milton Feldmar, Leonard Fisher, Max Fliegelman, Sam Friedman, Max Gerber, Julius Green, Raymond Kelner, Albert Leavitt, Edward Lissner, Lee Levinson, Abe Ostrow, Sam Polk, the Jacob Sandman family, Max L. Schwartz, Isadore Shalowitz, Seymour Smoller, and Joseph M. Spalter; Norton Goldberg in sacred memory of his father Israel Goldberg; Sam Klibanow in sacred memory of his son Michael Klibanow.

I am sincerely grateful to them for their graciousness, generosity and kindness.

I wish also to express my sincere appreciation to: Max Applebaum for the illustrations; Leo Bloch for the art work of the title-page and the cover; Mrs. Meyer H. Cahan for reading the proofs; Erich A. O'D. Taylor for reading parts of the manuscript and making valuable suggestions; Samuel A. Broida for permission to consult the original records of the Congregation Ohave Sholom; S. D. Schwartz for placing at my disposal the records of Chicago Sinai Congregation; Rabbi Jacob Weinstein for placing at my disposal the records of K.A.M.; and to the librarians of the Hebrew Union College, the Jewish Theological Seminary, the Hebrew Theological College, and the Chicago Historical Society for giving me access to the materials in their archives.

Above all, I am humbly grateful to God for having enabled me to make this contribution to the history of the Jews in America, on the occasion of the forthcoming celebration of the Tercentenary of the American Jewish community.

Chicago, Elul, 5713 - August, 1953.

Morris A. Gutstein

Introduction

AS extensive as the story told in this book is, it does not presume to include all the facts and factors in the epic growth of the Jewish community in nineteenth century Chicago; nor does it claim to have given a full and complete account of the participation of the Jews in the larger community. The vastness of the city, the complexity of the community, and the absence of many original and authentic records make perfection and completeness well nigh impossible. As the story of this book unfolds, we may discern three things: It is a reflection of the story of America; it is the story of the Jewish pioneers and settlers and their descendants, who identified themselves fully with the New World and the city of their settlement and quickly became part of the great American civilization; it is the story of the Jews' retention of their identity as a religious community in spite of their identification with the American scene.

It is the story of America, because America is the epic of refugees and immigrants, of struggle and adjustment, of political freedom and economic opportunity, of expansion and growth, of religious liberty and cultural advancement, all of which the Jews of Chicago experienced and shared equally with their neighbors. Together they helped to create a civilization in the prairies, in the forests and in the wilderness of the middle west. For what is true of Chicago and the middle-west is true of all America, concerning which a poet sang:

Here where the savage roamed and fought,
God sowed the seed of nobler thought;
Here to the land we love to claim,
The pioneers of freedom came;
Here has been cradled all that's best

In every human mind and breast.
For full four hundred years and more
Our land has stretched her welcoming shore
To weary feet from soils afar;
Soul-shackled serf of kings and czar
Have journeyed here and toiled and sung
And talked of freedom to their young,
And God above has smiled to see
This precious work of liberty.[1]

It is the story of the integration of the Jewish pioneers and settlers and their descendants with American civilization. For, American civilization is the blending of many cultural elements to which the Jews contributed their proportionate share. America's greatness is not only its cities and countrysides, its rivers and ravines, its forests and farms, its mines and machines, as vital as they are to the country's culture and civilization. America's greatness is its mind and man, its soul and spirit, its people and progress, its law and lore. America is not only the popular hot-dog stand and ice-cream parlor, the dance hall and the movie, the shop and the store, the comic strip and the jitterbug. "America," as Zangwill puts it, is "God's crucible, the Great Melting Pot, where all races of Europe are reforming. Here you stand at Ellis Island, in your fifty groups with your fifty languages and histories and your fifty blood-hatreds and rivalries. But you won't long be like that, brothers, for these are the fires of God, you've come to. A fig for your feuds and vendettas. Germans and Frenchmen, Irish and Englishmen, Jews and Russians, into the crucible with you all. God is making the American."[2] America is the chemistry of many cultural and spiritual elements that have produced a single compound—the free man. In that crucible, in that fire of God, in that test tube, the Jews of Chicago, like those of all America, have been not only a catalytic agent, but a very vital ingredient.

It is the story of the Jews' retention of their identity as a religious group in spite of their assimilation with the environment, because America from its inception has been heedful of the respect and honor of the religious beliefs of the

individual. America has never assumed or presumed to impose the majority rule on the individual's mind. In spite of the aim for a united Americanism, it has allowed for diversity in opinion and belief. The Jews are but one example of this great American trait.

It has been hypothesized that because the Jews, like any other group, have retained their religious identity, they are destined to live in the New World in two cultures. This would be true only if we imply that the norms and the forms that constitute specific Jewish conduct and practice, as a religious group, make for an independent and absolute culture. But this is not so. The Jews of Chicago in the nineteenth century, with their steadfast adherence to Jewish traditions, either in Reform usage or in Orthodox usage, nay, even with their romance of Zion and specific attention to the social, charitable and philanthropic Jewish needs, have demonstrated that they are not less American because they are more Jewish, any more than Protestants or Catholics are less American because they adhere steadfastly to their faiths and churches. The Jews in Chicago have demonstrated that the differences between Jews and non-Jews in America can be viewed only on denominational levels, and one can remain a good Jew, not in spite of but because of being a true American.

The Jews, who came here from various countries abroad, brought along with them as many cultures as the number of countries from which they came. The German Jews were part of the general German immigration waves and hence had the background of German culture. The East-European Jews were part of the immigration waves from eastern Europe and hence brought along with them the culture of these countries. However, here these independent cultures melted in the crucible of Americanism. If the immigrants and settlers or even first generation Americans have found it difficult to loose some of the crust of their erstwhile culture, either in language, diet or gesture, their offspring have quickly lost the earmarks and remnants of these gradually forgotten cultural elements, and they can distinguish between one American and another only insofar as that one goes to Church and the other to Synagogue. Jewish assimilation in the American scene has

not been unlike any other group. The Jews have made a good and successful synthesis between their religious background and Americanism. Because of that, Jews have made valiant citizens. They had their influence on the larger community in America. The larger community also had its influence upon them. The American environment has caused many a Jew to change his religious interpretations, and in some instances had a great bearing on the religious observances of many. Social, political and economic factors, technological progress and basic democratic idealism that prevail in America have changed the attitudes of many non-Jews, likewise, towards certain religious traditions. In some instances, they have caused new ideologies to be formed and cherished. Yet, with all that, there was no religious assimilation of the Jews, in the form of complete surrender of their religious heritage. Similarly, there was no surrender of religious belief of any other group. The Jews in Chicago, like the Jews in all America, have retained their Jewish identity, primarily through the observance of specific religious forms, which is part of their spiritual heritage. If one inquires into the religious and social life of the various groups, he will find that the Jews like the non-Jews, from the least observant to the most observant, have retained definite patterns, which, in substance, are part of the total American civilization. For, though we admit that American culture is a blending of many other cultures, it is nonetheless true that it has a distinct pattern of its own, in which the Jew forms an integral part of the whole.

Every Jew in nineteenth century Chicago would have subscribed unequivocally to the "creed" of a great American who lived in our days:

> I believe in America because in it we are free—free to choose our government, to speak our minds, to observe our different religions.
>
> Because we are generous with our freedom, we share our rights with those who disagree with us.
>
> Because we hate no people and covet no people's land.

Because we are blessed with a natural and varied abundance.

Because we have great dreams and because we have the opportunity to make those dreams come true.[3]

This may indeed be the *Priceless Heritage* that the Jewish pioneers, who were responsible for the epic growth of the Chicago Jewish community in the nineteenth century, left to us.

PART I

THE COMMUNITY

1

Background

CHICAGO, the youngest of the world's great cities, has a picturesque history; it has experienced a phenomenal evolution in its growth and development. One hundred and twenty years ago, Chicago was a frontier outpost of less than a dozen cabins; today it is the second largest city in the United States and the fourth largest in the world. From a population reckoned at 50 in 1830, by 1949 the official count had grown to 3,632,532 in the city, and to 5,395,524 in its metropolitan and industrial area.[1]

From the frontier outpost of 1833, which was described as "presenting no cheering prospects, and containing but few huts, inhabited by a miserable race of men, scarcely equal to the Indianas," Chicago has rapidly become the hub of the nation's waterway, highway, rail and air network.[2] A grim reminder of the city's importance in the economy of the United States is the fact that Chicago is considered one of the three most likely targets of an atomic bomb attack by the enemy in case of a third world war.

Chicago has great eminence in the educational world and is the home and the meeting place of numerous and important scientific and technical societies. In and around the city there are ten universities, seven colleges, thirty-three professional and technical schools, five teachers' colleges and normal schools, and eight junior colleges. Approximately 1200 research laboratories are located within the Chicago industrial area.

Although industry and commerce have great importance in the city of Chicago, religion is not forgotten. The diocese of Chicago is the largest of the Roman Catholic Church in the western hemisphere; it has 265 churches and a cathedral within the city limits. The Polish National, the Liberal and the Orthodox Catholic groups have 26 churches. More than a thousand churches are ministered to by the various Protes-

tant denominations. The Bahai, the Buddhist and the Vedanta faiths have each their houses of worship. The Christian Scientists have 22 churches, the Unitarians, seven. There are half a hundred non-denominational Protestant churches in the city.[3] The religious needs of the Jews are cared for by about one hundred synagogues.[4]

Of the nearly four million people, about half a million are non-white and about half a million are foreign-born. One-tenth of the Chicago population is of the Jewish faith.[5]

The growth of the city is almost without precedent in our history, but it is not accidental. Many factors have contributed to Chicago's present greatness. Geographical and geological factors, without question, had their influence. The proximity to vital natural resources such as fertile soil, coal and oil, iron ore and timber, have contributed greatly to its development as the mother-city of a vast agricultural and industrial area. But far and away the most important role has been played by men. The early pioneers with their sturdy resolve to wrest out of the wilderness and prairies a settlement for modern civilization, the adventurous settlers, the enterprising merchants and farmers, all of them energetic immigrants, all and each contributed brawn and brain to the evolution of Chicago. In this growth and development, in the true American spirit of liberty, freedom, free enterprise, and opportunity, equal parts have been played by Protestant, by Catholic and by Jew. All alike experienced its pangs of birth. All watched over its cradle. All endured hardships as the little outpost grew to the mighty city.[6]

Originally, Chicago was an Indian village, a favorite summer rendezvous for several tribes. It is accepted history that no white man viewed the territory until 1673, when Father Jacques Marquette, a French missionary, visited the area and in the winter of 1674-75 established a camp. On a map of 1683, a site named "Fort Checagou" built by the French is mentioned. From the French the territory passed into the hands of the British; from the British to the United States.

United States troops, in 1830, built "Fort Dearborn," named in honor of the Secretary of War.[7] This fort was situated on the south side of the Chicago River, at what is

now the south-west corner of Michigan Avenue and Wacker Drive.[8]

A terrible catastrophe befell the occupants of Fort Dearborn on August 15, 1812. A band of Indians said to have been "500 strong" fell upon them viciously, and massacred twelve children, all male civilians, three officers and twenty-six privates of the garrison.[9]

Although Fort Dearborn was re-established in 1816, a town was not laid out nearby until 1830. The contemplated construction of a canal gave impetus to the settlement. On Independence Day of 1831, the ceremony of breaking ground for the building of the canal actually took place; even so, a year later there were in the town no more than "about a hundred inhabitants and five or six log houses."[10]

By that time, what was called the "western fever" was raging throughout the country, and multitudes of people set out in their covered wagons for the west. The potentialities of Chicago attracted many of those early pioneers. Chicago was officially incorporated as a town in August, 1833. Adventurous people came from the east, not only by covered wagon, but on foot and by water. The town grew rapidly. In 1834, provisions were made for "Common Schools," the prototypes of our present day public schools. That same year, John Calhoun founded the *Chicago Weekly Democrat;* a year later another newspaper was founded, the *Chicago American.*[11] By 1836, as many as six churches had been built. A charter was granted the Hydraulic Company, designed to supply the city with pure water from the lake. The following year, a medical college was set up by the Legislature. Although pigs still grunted down the highways, and wolves howled from the surrounding forests, the muddy streets, at which the whole country jeered, were raised above the soggy ground with some pavement. A few hotels and some factories were opened. When the town was incorporated into a city on March 4, 1837, it boasted a population of five thousand.[12]

Jews were among the earliest settlers of Chicago. One, Morris Baumgarten, is said to have arrived in 1832.[13] As early as 1834, Aaron Friend and Isaac Hays advertised in the *Chicago Weekly Democrat* concerning unclaimed mail at the post office.[14] Two years later, the first "Jewish peddler,"

J. Gottlieb, made his mark in the growing western town.[15] In 1834, one Peter Cohen appears as a subscriber of the *Chicago Weekly Democrat,* where he also advertised "a large and splendid assortment of winter clothing," as well as "a fresh supply of provisions, groceries and liquors," for sale in his store at the "east end of South Water Street."[16] The earliest General Directory of the City of Chicago extant lists "J. Fischbein, merchant, and Solomon Philip, merchant."[17]

In 1841, there settled in Chicago Isaac Ziegler, Benedict and Jacob Shubert, Philip Newburgh and Henry Horner.[18]

Isaac Ziegler was a peddler. Benedict Shubert, whose sideburns gave him the appearance of a Scotchman and who was therefore known as "Scott Benedict," was a merchant-tailor with a store at 187 Lake Street. Under the name of Scott Benedict he also advertised the sale of "A full assortment of dry goods, clothing, &c., constantly kept on hand" in his store.[19] Newburgh had a drapery and tailor shop at 153 Lake Street.[20] Henry Horner opened a retail and wholesale grocery store at Randolph and Canal Streets.[21]

Jewish association, however, with this part of the west dates back to an even earlier period, to pre-Revolutionary days.

The region in which Chicago is located was called *The Illinois Country,* in the middle of the eighteenth century. This area was not completely unknown in the Colonial period. As early as 1754, Benjamin Franklin had suggested a plan for western expansion and cultivation, and set forth some very sound arguments in its favor.[22]

After the *Illinois Country* had passed into English jurisdiction, Jewish fur traders in the east financed the first expedition to the west. This was led by Colonel George Groghan, whose purpose was the implementation of Benjamin Franklin's plan to establish self-governing commonwealths "back of the Appalachian Mountains."

Colonel Groghan's expedition, financed by Simon, Levy & Company of Lancaster, Pa., started down the Ohio River on May 15, 1765.[23] Upon his return, an *Illinois Company,* for the purpose of organizing a colony in the *Illinois Country,* was established. This met with no success. A second *Illinois*

Company was founded, which included in its membership the Jewish merchants Moses and Jacob Frank of London, England, the brothers Bernard and Michael Gratz of Philadelphia, Pa., as well as Joseph Simon and L. A. Levy of Lancaster, Pa.[24] In 1773, this company secured a grant of land from a Council of Indian Chiefs representing the Kaskaskia, Peoria and Cahokia Indians; this concession was known as the *Illinois Grant.* Another, the *Wabash Grant,* was secured by the company in 1776.

The Revolutionary War prevented the company from taking immediate actual possession of its land. An application for the title was made to Congress under the old Confederation and was reported by a committee of that body in 1781. On this report no further proceedings were held, and the claim rested dormant until the dissolution of the old government.[25] In the meantime, by the treaty of 1783, the *Illinois Country* had been ceded to the United States; it became part of the *Northwest Territory.* It is gratifying to know that even prior to the establishment of villages, towns and cities in the country about Chicago, Jewish pioneers had ventured into the expansion and the opening of the west. These expeditions, together with the negotiations with the Indians, opened and maintained communications between the west and the east. Though unsuccessful, they introduced English-speaking people to the country, and prepared the western population to accept American troops and United States sovereignty.

Little did the early Jewish settlers and pioneers who founded the Jewish community of Chicago know that coreligionists had paved the way for them, even as they had for other settlers and pioneers to follow.

2

A Quarter of a Century

IN Chicago, the nucleus of Jewish community life was a small group from Bavaria, who entered the middlewest with the early stream of German immigration. There were also a few settlers from Posen, which had originally belonged to Poland, but was acquired by Germany in 1815. A few Jewish settlers who came from Poland proper were also to be found in early Chicago.[1] Thus, from the very outset, the Chicago Jewish community, though small, was in a sense a heterogeneous group. The Bavarians, who were in the majority, called their Posen brethren "Polish," and did not particularly like them.[2] None the less, common hardships of adjustment to a new environment and a mutual desire to express themselves religiously held all groups together. As soon as they were able to muster a quorum of ten men — a *minyan* — they gathered in a small room above a store on the corner of Wells and Lake Streets, now in the northwest section of the *Loop,* to hold the first High Holy Day service in Chicago. This was on *Yom Kippur*—Day of Atonement—October 11, 1845.[3]

A contemporary Jewish scholar defines a community as "that form of social organization in which the welfare of each is the concern of all and the life of the whole is the concern of each."[4] In a Jewish community, this applies to the living and the dead, to the rich and the poor, to the healthy and the sick. The first manifestation, therefore, of Jewish community living is the organization of a congregation to worship together, a mutual sickness and benefit society, and a burial society. Sometimes a single group is organized to take care of all three needs, but individual groups may be formed to function in each respective capacity. Subsequently these groups will merge into one organization. The sequence of the organization of such groups has not

been the same in all communities. In some, the mutual benefit and sickness society was the first form of Jewish community organization. In New York City and in Newport, R. I., it is said to have been the congregation, though in each case it might have been the burial society that was organized first.[5] In Chicago, it was the *Jewish Burial Ground Society,* which came into being late in 1845, no doubt prompted by an immediate need.[6]

For the sum of $46.00, the *Jewish Burial Ground Society* acquired an acre of land from the city for use as a Jewish cemetery. The ground was situated near Lake Michigan and north of what is now North Avenue. This was well outside the city limits in those early days. The relics of a mausoleum that are still to be seen in that area—now the location of the Chicago Historical Society and Lincoln Park — testify to the fact that that section was once reserved for a general cemetery. A later City Directory lists the "City Cemetery" in the location "North Avenue to Lincoln Park, between North Clark and the lake."[7]

As a year or two passed, and the Jewish community was augmented by a number of new immigrants, the need for the organization of a congregation became apparent. The sporadic gatherings for public worship to observe a *Yahrzeit,* or on the occasion of a holiday, which as a rule were held in a private home, were inadequate to satisfy the zealous Jewish group, who, like their neighbors, were anxious to establish an organized Jewish community life and religious worship. After the High Holy Days of 5607, on October 3, 1846, at a gathering in the drygoods emporium of Rosenfeld and Rosenberg, at 155 Lake Street, the first Jewish congregation in Chicago was founded with a membership of fifteen.[8] Symbolic of the era and of the situation, the name chosen for the congregation was *Kehilath Anshe Mayriv*—the Congregation of the People of the West—subsequently referred to as *K.A.M.*[9]

The selection of the name for the first Jewish congregation in Chicago is not without significance. It manifests psychologically the thinking of the group. Though the constituents were all German Jews, and most of them originated from the same province abroad, they did not think in terms

of organizing solely a congregation or a "landsmanschaft" organization. They thought in terms of community. The first years of the existence of *K.A.M.* verify this contention. It is also to be noted that unlike the Jews of other communities, particularly in New York City, which tended to be a model for other communities, and where the congregations invariably were given names connoting certain qualities such as *Shearith Israel*—Remnant of Israel; *Anshe Chesed*—People of Lovingkindness; or *Ohabey Zedek* — Lovers of Righteousness, the Jewish settlers in Chicago preferred to identify their community life from the very outset with the New World, particularly with the west.

The date of the founding of *K.A.M.* has been given by most of the writers on the subject as November 3, 1847.[10] All anniversaries of that congregation have been observed and celebrated according to this date.[11] Yet, undoubtedly, that date is wrong. For, the congregation was definitely founded a year earlier.

The proof of the correct date of the founding of *K.A.M.* is so obvious that one often wonders how it was possible for the earlier chroniclers to have made the error. It is true that, because of the destruction of the original records of the congregation by the *great fire* in 1871, the early writers had to depend on memory or on oral tradition for many of the facts which they recorded.[12] However, the preamble to the revised constitution of *K.A.M.* at once reveals the correct date of its founding. This preamble reads:

> We the undersigned, members of the Religious Congregation of Israelites of the City of Chicago founded on the *third day of October, 5607, A.M.* by fifteen members, do hereby adopt and agree to obey the following Constitution.[13]

The corresponding civil calendar date of October 3, 5607, is October 3, 1846.[14]

We also have contemporary documentary evidence that 1846 was the founding year of *K.A.M. The Occident* of March, 1848, in referring to *K.A.M.* for the first time, mentions the fact that the congregation began with fifteen members in 1846.[15]

It was in a rented third floor room of a building on the southwest corner of Lake and Wells Streets, that the regular

services of *K.A.M.* were held. This particular room was situated above a clothing store, and was equipped as a synagogue in a rather rudimentary way.[16]

That *K.A.M.* was synonymous with the entire Jewish community of Chicago is evident from the immediate developments following the organization of the congregation. It seems that the community was not large enough nor did the people have sufficient funds at the time to sponsor two organizations. A contemporary record informs us:

> It soon became apparent that a rivalry of two associations, to wit: the *Jewish Burial Ground Society*, and the Congregation *K.A.M.* amongst as yet so limited a number of membership, must prove detrimental to one or the other, if not to both parties, for the advancement of one society would naturally retard the progress of the other. The members of both societies met in council, after advising and deliberating on the true conditions of affairs, they came to the conclusion to create a fusion and the two societies were united into one congregation. The *Jewish Burial Ground Society* having ceded all their right, title, and interests to the congregation joined it in membership and the *Kehilath Anshe Mayriv* became the sole owner of the Jewish burial ground.[17]

By the middle of the century, the Jewish community was freshly augmented by a number of enterprising young immigrants. Most of the newcomers joined the congregation. Not all of them, however, were satisfied with the strict Orthodoxy and the social environment that prevailed there. Some did not find themselves at ease at *K.A.M.* because they did not come from Bavaria. As a consequence, there developed a new group of a semi-religious character, the *Hebrew Benevolent Society of Chicago.* According to the preamble of its constitution, the purpose of this organization was:

> to associate together to provide in time of health for each other; for times of need and sickness to which the human frame is liable; and also to pay for the last duty and homage in what must fall to all living; and while we are able, to do good and to assist our brethren and fellow-men while life is granted us.[18]

The members of the *Hebrew Benevolent Society* manifested a more liberal approach to Judaism than had the members of *K.A.M.* The meetings were held at the homes of the participants. Whereas at *K.A.M.* it gradually became customary to speak and to conduct the meetings and all proceed-

ings of the congregation in English, the new society adhered steadfastly to the German language.[19]

The *Hebrew Benevolent Society* purchased three acres of land in the town of Lake View, near Graceland, for the sum of $600.00, for use as a cemetery. A later City Directory lists "Graceland Cemetery" as being located two miles north of the city. The new Jewish cemetery was a section of that general cemetery.[20]

In the decade between 1850 and 1860, the population of Chicago grew to 109,260. The Jewish population grew to 1500. By the late '50s, the number of Jews in the city was considered of sufficient importance "to have warranted consideration in the search of votes by political parties."[21]

A large segment of the general population consisted of Germans. The Jewish community consisted mostly of German Jews, unless we consider those of Posen as Polish. A very few had come from Holland and from eastern Europe. Chicago assumed the proportions of a midwestern metropolis. Newspapers, hotels, railways, theaters, saloons, libraries, churches, schools, businesses, factories and all other appurtenances and concomitants of a thriving and growing community and nineteenth century culture and civilization flourished. Ethnically the Jewish group identified itself with the general German population. The German Jew considered German his vernacular. He attended the German theater, read the German newspaper, shaped his social life upon German pattern, sponsored German organizations and belonged to German clubs. When some people insisted that, in the Day School of a German-Jewish synagogue in America, the language of instruction should at least in part be English, a correspondent of the *Algemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* protested: "I fail to see why the teacher, a native of Germany, should force himself, or be forced, to teach the children the elementary subjects in English. Why should the German language in general be ignored or thrust aside?"[22]

In Cincinnati, at that time the hub of German-Jewish community life in the middlewest, the *Deborah,* a German-Jewish publication, claimed:

> The Queen City has a richer social life than any other in the states. The blithe German spirit has here more than eleswhere

> subdued Puritanical rigor and austerity. Our Israelites have a large share in this victory of the joy of life. Not only are they vigorous supporters of the local public (German) theatre, but their own recreation clubs are the best in the city.[23]

In Chicago the *Deutsche Gesellschaft,* a society formed to promote German culture and to assist Germans in need, counted a goodly number of Jews in its membership. Henry Greenebaum was president of the *German Relief & Immigrant Aid Society,* which later was called the *German Emigrant Aid Society.*[24]

The German Jews hesitated to renounce the cultural patrimony they brought with them from their native country. It is not surprising therefore to hear of some wrangling in the Chicago congregation between its major constituents, the Bavarian Jews, who considered themselves fullfledged Germans, and the small number of Jews from Posen, who were considered "Poles." This may account for the fact that as soon as there were a sufficient number of Jews in Chicago who came from Posen, the Duchy of Polish Prussia, they organized a separate congregation. There were probably among them also some Jews from Bohemia, who were likewise not welcome at *K.A.M.* They named the congregation *Kehilath B'nai Sholom* — Congregation of the Children of Peace.[25] This group, subsequently referred to as *K.B.S.,* was gradually enlarged by the Jews who came from Amsterdam and other Dutch communities. Somehow the latter felt a greater affinity to their Prussian-Polish brethren of *K.B.S.* than to the Bavarian Jews at *K.A.M.*[26]

The traditional date of the founding of *K.B.S.* is May, 1852.[27] All anniversaries of that congregation have been observed according to that tradition. However, just as in the case of the other congregation's properties that were destroyed by the *great fire,* so *K.B.S.* lost all of its records in that conflagration. The date May, 1852, was adopted probably purely from memory, which might have been erroneous. For, *Edward's Annual Directory in the City of Chicago,* 1869-70, lists "Kehilath Beney Sholom" on Harrison Avenue, "north-west corner of Fourth Avenue," and states that the congregation was founded in "September, 1849." Similarly, George Phillips in his book *Chicago and her Churches* lists

"Kehilath Benay Sholom" and gives the date of its organization as "September, 1849."[28] Since both sources date from before the fire, and they cite the correct dates of the founding of the other Jewish congregations in Chicago, why should we not assume the correctness in the date of the founding of *K.B.S.*? It may well be that both derived their information from the same source which had the reliable knowledge that *K.B.S.* was founded immediately before the High Holy Days of 1849. The names of some of the founders that have come down to us were all in Chicago by that time. A strong tide of Jewish immigration started in 1849. That year therefore might well have been the year of the founding of the new congregation.[29]

This new congregation, although it also used the German language in its proceedings and as its vernacular, was given the cognomen *Polishe Shule* in contradistinction to *K.A.M.* which was called the *Bayerishe Shule.*[30]

K.B.S. first met and held services in a room above a clothing store on Lake Street, then moved to several other locations, until in 1864, they acquired a synagogue of their own. In order to have their own burial place, *K.B.S.* purchased part of the cemetery from the *Hebrew Benevolent Society.*[31]

In 1856, a segment of *B'nai Sholom* formed the *Chevrah Gemilath Chassodim Ubikur Cholem.* The aims of this group were identical to those of the previously organized *Hebrew Benevolent Society.* This new *society,* for that was the colloquial name for organizations in those days, purchased one acre of land from the *Benevolent Society* to be used as its cemetery.[32]

By this time the order *B'nai B'rith,* which had been organized in 1843 in New York City, by twelve German Jews, under the German name *Bundes Brueder*—Brothers of the Covenant—for the purpose of "uniting Israelites in the work of promoting their highest interests and those of humanity," was spreading quickly among the German-speaking Jews of the country. It excited interest in the Jewish community of Chicago. Some Chicagoans, in anticipation, had already joined the *B'nai B'rith* lodge in Cleveland which was instituted in 1850. On June 15, 1857 *Ramah Lodge No.* 33 of the *Independent Order of B'nai B'rith* was organized in Chicago.

Soon this lodge began to play an important role in the community, especially in its attempt to unite the various elements that were constantly rising to the surface. *Ramah Lodge* became the guiding and leading spirit in many communal affairs, as well as in national and international incidents.[33]

Within a decade and a half, the Chicago Jewish community grew from a mere *minyan* to two congregations, a growing and important B'nai B'rith lodge, four benevolent and relief societies, two ladies' benevolent societies, together with a literary, a dramatic and a fraternal organization. The Chicago City Directory of 1862 lists under the component societies of the *United Hebrew Relief Association,* the central and united charity organization founded by the Jewish community of Chicago in 1859, the following organizations: *Ramah Lodge; Young Men's Fraternity; Relief Society No.* 1; *Relief Society No.* 2; *Clay Literary and Dramatic Association; Ladies' Benevolent Society; Young Ladies' Benevolent Society; K.A.M. and K.B.S.*[34]

The local press took sufficient notice of its Jewish readers to publish at frequent intervals Jewish news items of national and local interest. *The Daily Democratic Press,* that appeared in Chicago in 1855, criticised the New York City relief administrators for refusing aid to a Jewish woman. It reported the growth of synagogues and Jewish organizations in New York, St. Louis, and Cleveland. A news item about the conversion to Judaism of a woman in Rochester, N. Y., and another in St. Louis, was of sufficient news value to be printed in the Chicago daily paper. Also recorded in the local press were the calling of a Rabbinical conference at Cleveland to "perfect unification of American Jews," a Russian *ukase* which ordered baptized Jews to furnish army recruits for the Russian army, the building of a Jewish hospital in New York City, the news that Austria would emancipate its Jewish subjects, and that London had elected a Jew, D. Solomon, as its Lord-Mayor.[35]

On Passover of 1855, the *Democratic Press* called to the attention of its readers that "it may not be uninteresting to some of our readers to be reminded that this day is the anniversary of the great Exodus of the people of Israel from the land of Egypt." "In connection with the above," this

daily reported, "we would inform our readers that there have been about 6000 pounds of unleavened bread sold here for the use of our Hebrew population of this city and surrounding country, that on the two first evenings of the Festival every Jewish family circle assembles around the festive board, the father relating the great wonders of the Exodus, and that today and tomorrow there will be divine services in the Synagogue on Clark street as also on Monday and Tuesday of next week." [36]

The liberal spirit of German Reform Judaism, which began early in the century, caught the imagination of the German-speaking Jews in the United States. They launched the movement of the *Reformverein* in many American-Jewish communities. This Reform movement had its champions in Chicago. On Juy 26, 1857, the *Israelite Reform Society* was founded for the purpose of holding services of "the type of Temple Emanu El in New York." [37]

This was followed, in 1858, by the *Juedischer Reformverein* which culminated in the founding of the first permanent Reform congregation in Chicago. In 1861, this became the *Chicago Sinai Congregation.*[38]

The rapid growth and the continuous industrialization of the city caused a shifting of the population. Ethnic groups which had had a tendency to "ghettoize" themselves in certain neighborhoods, commenced to abandon their former residences and church buildings and move into newer sections. This was especially true of the older immigrant groups and settlers, who had amassed some wealth and acquired social position. The Jewish community tended to move southward and northward of Lake Street, and also into what was then known as the "west division" of the city. By the '60s it extended south beyond what is now Jackson Boulevard, north to what is now Chicago Avenue, and west as far as Sangamon Street.[39]

On November 24, 1861, a group seceded from the *Chevrah Gemilath Chassodim Ubikur Cholem* to form a new burial and sick relief society, the *Chevrah Kedisha Ubikur Cholem.*[40] This new organization in addition to its prescribed program also conducted religious services in a hall on Wells Street, between Randolph and Washington Streets. Inasmuch as, in

the early sixties, the political atmosphere in the country made the word secession very unpopular in the North, the popular cognomen of the *Chevrah Kedisha Ubikur Cholem* synagogue became known as the *Secesh Shule.*[41]

The secession of one group from another seems to have been a common phenomenon of the growth of the Chicago Jewish community. In 1864, a group broke off from *Sinai Congregation* to form the *Zion Congregation.* This break was ascribed to a disagreement between *Sinai Congregation* and its rabbi. *Zion Congregation* made its home in the "West division" of Chicago, and the rabbi who ministered to *Sinai Congregation* became the spiritual leader of the new Reform congregation.[42]

Because the distance to the existing synagogues was too great for those who had moved to or had originally settled on the north side, the Jews of that section therefore organized the *North Chicago Hebrew Congregation.* Though that congregation was founded on Orthodox principles, the membership advocated moderate reforms at a very early date.[43]

The Jewish population in Chicago was continuously and rapidly increasing beginning with the '60s of the century. By the time of the Civil War, so greatly had the Jewish community in Chicago increased that, when hostilities broke out, it was possible to recruit a complete Jewish company of a hundred volunteers to join the 82*nd Regiment of Illinois Volunteers.*[44] Many of the names in this Jewish company reveal East-European origin. Apparently, the increased Jewish population was due not only to the large number of German Jews who arrived after the suppression of the European revolution of 1848, but also to the immigration of Jews from eastern Europe, particularly from Lithuania, Russia and Poland.

The immigrants from eastern Europe were identified, as "Russian-Polish" to distinguish them from those of *K.B.S.,* who were referred to as "German-Polish" or "Prussian-Polish". The general name *Litvaks* or *Russians* was also applied to the new immigrants.[45]

The East-European Jews began immediately to make a place for themselves in the community. Their vernacular was Yiddish and their chief occupation was peddling. The major-

ity had been reared in East-European Orthodoxy. They were not welcome, nor did they find themselves at home, in any of the existing congregations founded by German Jews, although all except *Sinai* and *Zion* were still Orthodox or Conservative at the time. Even the traditionalism of *B'nai Sholom* was a little strange and much too liberal for East-Europeans. As early as the autumn of 1862, *Congregation B'nai Jacob,* was organized with hardly more than a *minyan.* Mr. David Zaminsky, of New York City and later of Chicago, sent the *B'nai Jacob* a Holy Scroll for the use of the congregation. He encouraged many of his fellow *landsleit* to go west and peddle the wares which he supplied. When Zaminsky came to Chicago in 1866, he founded the *Beth Hamedrash Hagodol,* which met at his home. A year later, the *B'nai Jacob* and the *Beth Hamedrash Hagodol* were combined into one congregation *Beth Hamedrash Hagodol Ub'nai Jacob,* which also held its services in the home of Mr. Zaminsky.[46]

Soon, another Orthodox congregation, *Ohave Emuno* — Lovers of Faith—was organized by the "Russian-Polish" Jews. Because some of its members, even in the earliest days, were compromising their observances of traditional law and custom, the assemblage was dubbed *Die Halbe Emuno* —the half-faith.[47]

Some of the East-European Jews reflected a peculiarly uncompromising attitude in matters of synagogue conventions which were of rather minor importance. Apparently, the devout Orthodoxy in which the Lithuanian Jews were steeped, and which they wished to perpetuate in the New World, could not make any concession even when no violation of Jewish law was involved. That extreme Orthodoxy, although sincere, bordered at times on fanaticism. It even came about that the wearing of a straw hat in the synagogue was considered sufficient heterodoxy to cause the founding of a new congregation.

The incident occurred on a warm Saturday afternoon in July, 1870. Bernard Ginsburg, a native of Mariampol, Lithuania, was mourning a son. He arrived at the *Beth Hamedrash Hagodol Ub'nai Jacob* to recite the *Kaddish.* Apparently he also desired to chant the services. He was wearing a straw

hat because of the extreme heat. When the sexton of the *Beth Hamedrash Hagodol* noticed Ginsburg's headgear, he became furious at such "heresy" and he ordered the offender to leave the synagogue. There were few who came to the assistance of Mr. Ginsburg, except his own *landsleit* from Mariampol. They constituted a small minority at that time. The sympathy of the majority was with the sexton who won the eviction. The indignant *Mariampoler landsleit,* who had already organized a *Mariampoler Aid Society* of which Ginsburg was president, gathered in one of the homes on that very Saturday evening and decided to strike out on their own. Accordingly, a house was rented on Polk and Dearborn Streets, the site of the present railway station. They constituted their own *minyan,* and independently purchased a *Sefer Torah* in New York for the sum of eighty dollars, thirty of which they paid in cash, and the balance was to be paid in monthly installments of two dollars each. A few days before *Rosh Hashanah* of that year, the *minyan* became the *Congregation Ohave Sholom Mariampoler.*[48]

At the same time another group founded *Congregation Ahavath Achim.*[49]

All of these groups were strictly Orthodox and did not deviate one iota from the East-European synagogue ritual. Some went to the extreme of demanding in the constitution that "every member be required to attend services on Saturdays and holidays, and if found violating the Sabbath is to be expelled."[50]

During the formation and growth of the East-European division of the Chicago Jewish community, the liberal elements in the community did not remain dormant. The first congregations founded by the German Jews were gradually accepting the Reform movement which was active throughout the country. This action, as we shall see in a later chapter, became the chief concern of many of the German-Jewish leaders in Chicago.[51]

While no new Reform congregations were organized at this time, one which subsequently became Reform was founded in 1870. The Jews living in what was called the "southwest-side," near Halsted and Fourteenth Streets, came principally from German Bohemia. They were German-speak-

ing with tendencies toward moderate Reform. They organized a *minyan* and held services only during the holidays of *Rosh Hashanah, Yom Kippur* and *Sukkoth.* Gradually they expanded to the "Sabbaths and all festivals." Subsequently, they became the *Congregation B'nai Abraham,* with the aim of "holding divine services, teaching the young the tenets of Judaism, and practicing charity."[52]

As in the case of the other congregations, regular services of the *B'nai Abraham* were first held in rented halls. During the fall holidays when the halls were found inadequate, a neighboring church was secured for the purpose of holding services.[53]

In addition to congregations, the German Jews, at this time, also began to organize the social and athletic organization known as the "Club," and other groups, particularly charity, literary, musical and dramatic associations.[54]

In these years, while the community was interested in founding congregations, the people recognized the necessity of establishing a hospital to meet the needs of the Jewish community.

After a few money-raising functions by the various groups, the *United Hebrew Relief Association* obtained sufficient funds to acquire a lot for the erection of a hospital on LaSalle Street between Schiller and Goethe Streets. By 1866, the *U.H.R.A.* had fifteen affiliated organizations. All became intensely interested in the hospital project. A staff of physicians was procured to give authoritative advice on the planning of the building and on the matter of necessary equipment. On September 2, 1867, the cornerstone was laid. On August 10, 1868, the first Jewish hospital in Chicago was opened for patients. It should go without saying that the hospital was non-sectarian, and that, among its first patients, there were many non-Jews.[55]

Toward the end of the period, in 1869, the Jewish community was benefited by the publication of an excellent scholarly monthly, *Zeichen der Zeit*—Signs of the Times—published by the *Illinois Staatszeitung* in German interspersed with Hebrew characters. It was edited by Dr. Chronik, the spiritual leader of *Sinai Congregation.*[56]

The city of Chicago was growing quickly in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Jewish community kept pace with this rapid growth of the city. Before the seventh decade of the nineteenth century had passed and the Jewish community of Chicago was a quarter of a century old, the Jews of Chicago constituted a heterogeneous group with diversified elements and interests and with roots in Bavaria, Prussia, Holland, Poland, Russia, Austria and other parts of the world.[57] This heterogeneity was reflected in the soul-stirring appeal which Dr. Liebman Adler, spiritual leader of *K.A.M.* issued in behalf of the victims of the fire of 1874, when he said:

> Scarcely two decades have elapsed since all the Israelites of this city were living as in the bonds of one family circle. Each knew the other. All worshipped harmoniously in one temple and shared each other's woes and joys. How great is the change! Thousands scattered over a space of nearly thirty miles, in hundreds of streets, divided by pecuniary, intellectual and social distinction, provincial jealousies and even religious distinctions and differences. Separation, division, dissolution, estrangement, repeated and continual, are the words which characterize the history of our brothers in faith until now. Dissolved in the mass of our population, we are losing the consciousness of homogeneity and the strength gained for each individual by concerted action.[58]

By 1870, it is estimated, that there were about ten thousand Jews in Chicago; the general population was about three hundred thousand,[59]

In a quarter of a century, the Jewish community grew from a *minyan* to ten congregations with several thousand faithful members; a number of synagogue ladies' auxiliaries and independent Jewish women's organizations; a Jewish hospital; a city-wide charity service; and many Jewish philanthropic, social, fraternal and literary organizations. All these made for a thriving community commensurate with the physical growth of the city, which by then was about thirty-six square miles.[60]

3

The Great Fire to the Turn of the Century

THE eighth decade of the nineteenth century opened in Chicago with a tragic event, described at the time as having "no parallel in the world's history."[1] On *Simchath Torah Eve,* about nine o'clock Sunday evening, October 8, 1871, a fire allegedly started in a Mrs. O'Leary's barn on De Koven Street, between Clinton and Jefferson Streets, where a cow upset a lantern. The fire raged for twenty-five hours, and devastated the greater portion of the city, turning into ashes all that people had built for three decades. The fire not only consumed hundreds of buildings, but destroyed innumerable art treasures and important historic records. Thousands of people were left homeless. Over five hundred Jews were left without shelter or clothing. Many people lost their lives. Seventeen thousand four hundred and fifty buildings were devastated. The city nearly vanished. In the weeks following, many left Chicago believing that a city that had suffered such a disaster would never again be able to afford means for a livelihood.

When the fire was over, the Jewish community found that the synagogues of the *North-side Congregation, Sinai Congregation, Fifth Avenue Congregation, Congregation B'nai Sholom,* and the *Beth Hamedrash Hagodol* were all destroyed, and with them many of the Holy Scrolls.[2] The only synagogues that the fire had spared were those of the *Zion Congregation* and *K. A. M.* The Standard Club likewise escaped devastation. The Jewish hospital, on the other hand, was completely razed, but luckily the patients were saved.[3]

Of the *B'nai B'rith* order, the *Ramah, Maurice Mayer, Jonathan* and *Sovereignty* lodges were completely demolished

together with all their paraphernalia and regalia which were elaborate and costly.[4]

The *B'nai B'rith* order hastened to the assistance of the fire's victims. The larger lodges immediately organized a relief committee.[5] This committee sent an appeal to all *B'nai B'rith* lodges in the country and to the general Jewish communities in America. The appeal even reached as far as Europe, where it was published in contemporary publications.[6] The response was very generous. Thirty-four cases of supplies, chiefly clothing, and over twenty-five thousand dollars were received by the committee. These were distributed among the victims of the fire. The *B'nai B'rith* worked in conjunction with the *U.H.R.A.*

Before the embers of the fire were fully extinguished, and while the smoke was still visible, the city's rebuilding began, and its expansion resumed. Within a short time the tragic fire was but a bad dream forgotten in the hustle and bustle of the city's growth. But, as if God and nature had conspired against the complacency of the people and did not desire that they forget so soon and be lulled into a lethargy of indifference, three years after the *great fire* another conflagration started which threatened to be as furious and damaging as the first one.[7] Fortunately, careful dynamiting stayed the fire's progress. Before it was quenched, however, the *K.A.M.* synagogue was destroyed, and the rented quarters of the *Congregation Ohave Sholom Mariampoler* were burned to the ground. The Holy Scrolls were luckily rescued.[8]

Many of the families in the East-European Jewish community sustained heavy losses; they were homeless and in dire need of relief. The *U.H.R.A.* responded promptly to the wants of the distressed, but difficulty was met in raising funds, because its German Jewish constituency was not favorably inclined toward the "Russian-Polish" Jew.[9]

After the *great fire,* the Jewish community of Chicago assumed a different picture. East-European Jews arrived in large numbers and settled west of the river in the vicinity of Canal Street between what is now Congress Street and Roosevelt Road. Gradually they penetrated further west into the Lawndale district, then southwest into Brighton Park and into the Lawn Manor district as well as into the south-

ern part of the city. Some settled on the northwest side near Milwaukee Avenue. In the latter section there were principally Jews from Hungary, Austria, and Roumania. A number of German Jews as well as Russian-Polish Jews also settled in the northwestern section of the city. As the century progressed, this colony moved further westward, almost to the 3000 numbers, and northward to about 2500.[10]

The German-Jewish community expanded southward and northward, into the more exclusive neighborhoods around the Lake. Many of the older families remained in the "west division" of the city. In the last decade of the century, what might have been called a mass exodus of German Jews from the westside began; they moved to the more exclusive German-Jewish neighborhood in the southside.[11]

A Jewish immigrant who arrived in the late '70s observed the following:

> The ten thousand Jews were divided into definite groups. The Russian and Polish Jews were crowded into the districts bounded by Canal, Halsted, Polk and Fourteenth Streets. They were especially concentrated on Canal Street, where many were established in business. The great majority of this group of Jews earned their livelihood by peddling dry goods and notions, which they carried around on foot, or junk, vegetables and fruit, which were peddled by horse and wagon.
>
> The German Jews, who were in the minority, resided chiefly on Michigan Avenue, between 12th Street and 35th Street. Some Jews from Roumania, Galicia and Bohemia, lived in the Milwaukee Avenue district.[12]

A factor responsible for the moving of the population in general, and the Jewish population in particular, was the conversion of the early sections of the city into purely commercial districts and the erection of the various railroad lines and bridges. By 1880, various sections in the city had become identified with distinct ethnic groups; and the commercial, industrial, and residential neighborhoods were well defined.

The residential districts of the Jewish community were, to a certain extent, "self-ghettoized." The southern and northern section, with the wealthier German Jews, came to be colloquially called "the golden ghetto." To the "westside," where the East-European Jews lived, the cognomen "the ghetto" was applied without any adjective.[13]

By the early eighties, the Jewish community of Chicago was a complex pattern of various and diversified elements. Many new congregations mushroomed among the East-European Jews. The German Jews also organized new congregations, although their number was much smaller. Other organizations among both segments sprang up overnight. The multiplicity of these congregations and organizations made overall centralization and unification of the community next to impossible. In cases of charity and philanthropy, however, there were successful attempts to secure unified organization and action. But even in this phase of Jewish community life and responsibility, there were some diversities. The continuous rapid growth of the city and its population, which was paralleled by the continuous rapid expansion of the Jewish community, contributed to the complexity.[14]

From 1880 to 1900, the Jewish community of Chicago grew into the second largest in America. In the United States the Jewish population during this period more than tripled, increasing from about a quarter of a million to more than a million.[15] The Chicago Jewish population increased in even greater proportions. When the Columbian World's Fair was held in 1893, the estimated Jewish population of Chicago was 75,000.[16]

The increase in the Jewish population came primarily from the great influx of Russian Jews, who arrived after the pogroms in the early '80s.[17] Its extent can be gauged from the fact that during a period of seventeen months, from August 1, 1890 to December 1, 1891, more than 7,000 Russian Jews came to Chicago.[18]

When these Jews from eastern Europe began to arrive *en masse,* the grouping and organization of the new immigrants tended to concentrate along the lines of native city origins. This was the beginning of the *Landsmanschaften* movement, which evolved into a threefold pattern: the *Kranken Unterstitzung Verein* or aid society, the congregation, and the social or fraternal organization.[19]

There were various reasons for this trend. When the Jewish population in East-European cities was threatened with physical as well as economic destruction, a mass exodus of Jews from those cities often took place. They emigrated

jointly to America and settled in the same neighborhood in the New World. Then, differences in customs, dialects, modes of living and cultural patterns were often varied from city to city in eastern Europe. Within Russia, there existed tremendous distinctions among the Lithuanian, Ukrainian, and Polish Jews. Within Austria, there was as great a cleavage between the Galician and the Hungarian Jews. Within Galicia, there were marked differences between the eastern and western Galicians, and between both of these and the Ukrainian Jews, who also lived there. The Roumanian Jew differed from the Transylvanian and from the Slovakian. All differed from the Moravian and Viennese Jews. And so on *ad infinitum.* The grouping according to provincial origins was therefore a natural one.[20]

The early Jewish immigrants from eastern Europe organized their congregations either on provincial levels, or on city levels. Of the former, the *Russishe Shule,* the *Hungarian,* the *Austro-Galician* and the *Roumanian* congregations are examples. The latter are illustrated by the *Ohave Sholom Mariampoler,* the *Anshe Kalvaria,* the *Anshe Suvalk* and other congregations that came into existence in the last decade. By the turn of the century, many of the approximately fifty new traditional congregations were city *landsmanschaften* in composition, although some did not identify themselves as such.[21]

It is to be noted that in many instances the new congregations were preceded by the *landsmanschaft* aid or burial society, by a study, social, or fraternal circle, or by a *minyan.*[22]

Between the first and second fires, two additional congregations were founded by East-European Jews. The first was a group that assembled primarily for the purpose of reciting the Psalms regularly. They called themselves *Chevrah T'hilim.*[23] However, they also conducted religious services, and were referred to as a *minyan.* They possessed a *Sefer Torah* and accumulated a little money from dues and contributions.

The second congregation, likewise referred to as a *minyan,* was called *Rodfe Zedek.*[24] This group too had a *Sefer Torah* and some funds. In addition it owned a fine Vilna edition of the *Talmud.* In 1874 both congregations, consisting principal-

ly of Lithuanian Jews, united with the *Ohave Sholom Mariampoler* and formed one large, strong institution. The combined group retained the name *Ohave Sholom Mariampoler.*[25] They purchased half an acre of land in Oakwood, which was then in the extreme southern section of the city, and they consecrated it as their cemetery.[26]

A reflection of the economic status of the people and the congregation, as well as a manifestation of their cooperative spirit, can be found in their resolution that "every member should give a day's labor for carrying boards for the cemetery fence and for hauling gravel to fill in the swampy land."[27] Those who did not own a horse-and-wagon team were asked to hire them and thereby contribute their share.[28]

A large number of Jews from Russia proper arrived in the early '70s; some of these new immigrants felt the need for a *minyan* of their own. Differences between the Lithuanian and the Russian Jews about the pronunciation of Hebrew and about some of the synagogue customs prompted this desire of the Russian group to band together.[29] In the fall of 1875, the movement for the purpose of organizing a new congregation was begun. At first a small group held services on Saturdays only. Gradually, however, the need for daily services arose. Following the custom of the day, a room on Canal Street above a store was rented and equipped for use as a synagogue. Thus the *Congregation Anshe Kneseth Israel,* which became known as the *Russishe Shule,* was initiated.[30]

On *Simchath Torah* of 1884, ten Hungarian Jews met on Maxwell Street in the home of one of their *landsleit* to organize a congregation. The result was the *Congregation Agudath Achim,* which was the first Hungarian congregation.[31]

On the northwest-side too, in the early '90s, the Hungarian, Russian and Galician Jews became eager to found congregations on their own based on the provincial *landsmanschaft* level. In 1890, there were two small congregations in the northwest section worshiping in rented halls. One was the *Chesed V'emeth* and the other the *Sheveth Achim.* The former was also a burial society which was composed primarily of Hungarian Jews.[32] Another new congregation of Hun-

garian *landsleit* on the northwest-side was organized in 1889, using the name *B'nai David.*[33]

In the early '90s the Jews from Galicia began to organize a congregation. This also began with the nucleus of a *minyan* that met periodically in the basement of the home of a *landsman.*[34] On the High Holy Days, the group joined the congregation of the *Dobrzinsker Landsmanschaft,* consisting of people from the same city in Poland. They held services in *Schoenhofen Hall* at Milwaukee and Ashland Avenues.[35] The Polish Jews, however, were not too hospitable to their Galician co-religionists. All the honors were bestowed by the *Dorbrzinsker* on their own *landsleit.* Hence, on *Yom Kippur* night of the year 1897, the Galicians organized the first Austro-Galician congregation, which subsequently adopted the name *Beth Israel.*[36]

The East-European Jews also organized congregations in the various sections of the city based on a local neighborhood or community level. These congregations, naturally, were founded on sociological bases as well as for religious and educational reasons. One such congregation was founded on December 1, 1875, and it became popular in the last two decades of the century, although its membership was rather small. This was the *Congregation Moses Montefiore,* at 130 Augusta Street. This congregation held services only on Friday evenings, Saturdays, and holidays.[37]

On the north-side, densely populated by German Jews, after the *great fire,* there was a sufficient number of other Jews who, in 1878, with some of the more conservative elements of the German Jews, organized the *Congregation Anshe Emes.* Its services were held in rented halls. The congregation maintained its traditionalism throughout the century, although some moderate deviations were adopted from time to time.[38] Another new congregation that came into existence in September, 1888, was the *Kehilath Anshe Dorom,* better known as the *South Side Hebrew Congregation.*[39] In 1890 there was also organized the ultra-Orthodox congregation *Mishno U' Gmoro,* with a membership of thirty.[40] Not only was strict observance of the Sabbath a prerequisite for membership, but the members were expected not to shave.[41] The *Mishno U'*

Gmoro congregation rented an apartment above a store on Jefferson Street to hold its services and to follow its arduous program of Talmudic studies and prayer.

In the early '90s the East-European Jewish community, which had been constantly moving and pushing westward, as well as penetrating southward towards Englewood and the northwest, was also beginning to expand southwest into Brighton Park. Here the *Congregation Mishkan Israel* originated with a *minyan* in a private home in 1893. By 1896 they had acquired a synagogue and a charter.[42]

One fundamental strain ran through all the congregations of the East-European Jews, whether they were organized on native city *landsmanschaft* level, on native country *landsmanschaft* level, or on local neighborhood-community level. All of them endeavored, and succeeded to a great extent, to retain, uphold and perpetuate traditional Judaism in the New World and in their new environment. It was therefore only natural that the first concern of the major congregations was to organize a *Talmud Torah,* either as a congregational adjunct, or as a community project.[43]

Many of the congregations of the East-European Jews, adhering steadfastly and uncompromisingly to the traditional ritual and form, and therefore keenly interested in family purity, provided a *Mikvah.*[44] Some of the congregations organized groups within their ranks devoted exclusively to the study of Bible and Talmud and to the recitation of the Psalms. Some also organized free loan societies called *Gmilath Hassodim.* Practically all congregations gradually acquired their own cemeteries and organized burial committees called *Chevrah Kadishah.*[45]

The development of the East-European Jewish community in Chicago involved no conflicting ideologies weakening the inner structure. The continuous influx of new immigrants brought a constant growth and strengthening of traditionalism. The greater activity, therefore, in Jewish religious and cultural institutions as well as the most rapid increase in the organization of congregations during the last two decades of the century took place in the East-European Jewish community.

Hebrew and Yiddish presses and literatures evolved. The Yiddish theater was organized. Jewish labor unions, the Zionist movement, the Jewish socialist movement, and many institutions necessary to community progress were founded.[46]

The German-Jewish community was equally active during this period, though its orientation was in a different direction On the eve of the great devastating fire, October 8, 1871, a small group of people met on Milwaukee Avenue to plan the organization of a congregation in that part of the city.[47] The result was the establishment of *Congregation Rodef Sholom,* which was intended to be Orthodox. [48] The membership of the *Rodef Sholom* consisted primarily of people from central Germany. In time some Hungarian and Bohemian Jews joined with them.[49] The first service of the congregation was held on the first Saturday after the Sukkoth festival of that year in a private home. A *Sefer Torah* was donated by one of the founders.[50] As in the case of the other early congregations, *Rodef Sholom* met in rented halls until it acquired a synagogue structure.

In 1880, on the near northwest side, a group of fourteen German Jews met to form the *Emanuel Congregation.* Its place of worship was on Blackhawk and Sedgwick Streets. The services were traditional, with moderate reforms.[51] Later, in the early nineties, the *Congregation Or Chodosh* was organized by a group of German Jews in the same neighborhood. This congregation, which had Reform tendencies from its inception, in 1894, combined with Emanuel and was absorbed by it.[52]

When it became fashionable to move to the south-side, especially in the last decade of the century, *Isaiah Congregation* was founded there on October 24, 1895.[53]

In 1895, *Temple B'nai Jehoshua* was organized by a group of German Jews on the near south-side.[54]

In 1898, Dr. Isaac Moses, who had been the spiritual leader of *K.A.M.* from 1884 until that year, organized the *People's Synagogue,* in the German-Jewish community on the south-side. This congregation was founded on the basis of minimum contributions. Services of the congregation were conducted during the High Holy Days at the Oakland Music Hall.[55] After *Yom Kippur,* the name of the *People's Syna-*

gogue was changed to *Temple Israel* and a charter was obtained under the new name. Services continued to be held at the Oakland Music Hall on Friday evenings, Saturdays, and holiday mornings, until the congregation acquired a synagogue.[56]

Before the century was over, there were eleven congregations founded and maintained by German Jews, and a few additional congregations which had a partial German-Jewish membership. The former group, by that time, had all changed to Reform Judaism.[57]

In the latter part of the century, just as in the earlier days, the German Jews continued to stress and encourage the founding of *B'nai B'rith* lodges. By 1900, when there were twelve *B'nai B'rith* lodges in Chicago, practically all had adopted the English language in their proceedings. Some of them included non-Jews in their membership.[58]

The German Jews of Chicago also found fellowship and an opportunity to fraternize in the lodges of another national organization which began to penetrate the middle west in the early '70s. This was the *Independent Order Free Sons of Israel.* The lodges of this order were not as exclusive as those of *B'nai B'rith.* For this reason we find in the *Free Sons of Israel* lodges, at an early period, many members of the East-European Jewish community.[59]

The *Independent Order Free Sons of Israel* was founded in New York City on January 18, 1849, with its objective:

> **To unite the sons and daughters of Israel in the interests of common humanity, and to spread intelligence and enlightenment, and more firmly bind the tie which unites mankind; to illustrate the beautiful teachings inculcated by the cardinal principles of the order Friendship, Love and Truth; to succor the distressed, to relieve the needy, and lend a helping hand in all that is good and noble.**[60]

By 1900, there were nine general lodges and one exclusively women's lodge of the *Independent Order Free Sons of Israel* in Chicago.

Other national fraternal orders had lodges in Chicago. It is interesting to note that the names of many Jewish fraternal lodges were the same as the names of the Masonic lodges and the lodges of other general fraternal orders in

Chicago. Examples are such names as *Exelsior, Illinois, Garden City, Phoenix, Germania and Columbia,* which were common to practically all orders, Jewish and non-Jewish.[61]

The Jewish fraternal lodges in many cases provided burial places for its members on cemeteries acquired by the order, originally a prerogative exclusively of the congregation or the burial and benevolent societies.

Thus in 1875, the Chicago lodges of the *Independent Order Free Sons of Israel* established the *Free Sons' Cemetery Association.* The *Association* acquired a cemetery at Waldheim, consisting of five acres of land, to which six and a half additional acres were later added.[62] The *B'nai B'rith* likewise acquired a cemetery.[63]

The German Jews, in addition to their fraternization in the lodges, also founded another type of fraternal and social organization called the *club.*

The Jewish "club" was not a new thing in America. As early as 1761, a *Jewish Men's Club* was organized in Newport, R. I., but that club never reached the magnitude nor did it have the aims of the Chicago Jewish "club" founded a century later. There is, however, a certain affinity between them.

Early in 1862, the *Concordia Club* was organized in Chicago, meeting in a hall on Dearborn and Monroe Streets. It was the rendezvous for the leading personalities in Jewish community life. They formed a *Maennerchor* (men's choir) that entertained with musical programs and concerts at many of the social and cultural events.[64]

The *Concordia Club* was followed in 1869 by a similar organization named *The Standard Club.*[65] This club met at the beginning of its career in Brunswick Hall on Washington Street between Clark and LaSalle Streets, but shortly thereafter the club erected a building of its own, with all the proper facilities and latest equipment. It was located on Michigan Avenue and Thirteenth Street, then the most exclusive residential neighborhood of the German Jews. The Standard Club soon became the chosen location for most of the gala social events of the Jewish community. It overshadowed the Concordia Club, especially among the younger and wealthier people.[66]

In 1883, there was established, on the north-side, the *Ideal Club*. After meeting at 543 North Clark Street, the club acquired a building at 300 LaSalle Street. A year later, the *Lakeside Club* came into being, on the south-side. This was a more exclusive club with a beautiful home at 42nd Street and Grand Boulevard. Another club organized at the same time, among the German Jews, on the near west-side, was the *West Chicago Club,* with a clubhouse at 50 Thorpe Street. In 1897, the *Unity Club* succeeded the *Concordia Club.* Its clubhouse at 3140 Indiana Avenue was one of the finest buildings in the city.[67]

The German Jews continued their great interest in charity and philanthropic work, which they manifested through their congregations and their affiliated groups, as well as through special organizations.

The first Jewish hospital, built by the *United Hebrew Relief Association,* which was destroyed by the fire, was never rebuilt. Almost a decade had passed since the fire when, in the late '70s, a new hospital was made possible by the substantial bequest of Michael Reese.[68] On November 4, 1880, the cornerstone was laid, and, on October 23, 1881, the *Michael Reese Hospital* was dedicated and opened for patients. By the end of the century, the German-Jewish community had also built a *Home for the Aged* and organized an orphans' home.[69]

While the fraternal lodges and the clubs strengthened the social life of the people in the community and were excellent media for charitable work and unified action of some sort, they tended to weaken synagogue ties. The initiation ceremonies and the rituals at meetings in the lodges, as a rule, were elaborate, and in many instances quite impressive. The texts of many of the rituals were filled with Biblical quotations and beautifully phrased expressions, which often were soul-stirring, and gave many a spiritual satisfaction. Many a Jew began to feel spiritually self-sufficient in the lodge or in the club, which, by the end of the century, became the rendezvous for many people and a convenient substitute for the temple. By the end of the nineteenth century, therefore, the synagogue had lost its priority in Jewish community and

religious life among the German Jews in Chicago. The primary unifying forces among them became philanthropy and social life.

In the organization of fraternal orders and mutual aid societies, as well as social and cultural groups, the East-European Jews did not allow themselves to be outdone by their wealthier German brethren. Theoretically the *B'nai B'rith Order* welcomed in its membership Jews who came from all parts of the world, yet the East-European Jew was neither welcomed nor did he find himself at home in the existing *B'nai B'rith* lodges. The social difference between the German and the Russian Jews was too great in those days. These factors contributed to the founding of fraternal orders of their own by the Russian-Polish Jews. Thus, in September of 1872, a mutual aid society, consisting primarily of Russian Jews, was organized in Chicago under the name of *Bickur Cholem Ukadishu.* The purpose of this organization was to assist the distressed, visit the sick, and provide for honorable and religious burial of the dead. The original members of the aid society numbered about fifty people. In consonance with current custom, the *Bickur Cholem Ukadishu* acquired in 1872 two acres of land at Waldheim for a cemetery.[70]

In 1876, energetic members of the *Bickur Cholem Ukadishu* decided to organize a fraternal order with that organization as a nucleus. This attracted immediate city-wide attention. The order adopted the name *Independent Order Bickur Cholem Ukadishu.* The aid society became the first lodge of that order. Two additional lodges were soon added. Before long, the order extended beyond the city.

The aims and objectives of the *Independent Order Bickur Cholem Ukadishu* were outlined in form and style similar to those of the more aristocratic *B'nai B'rith Order,* but the ritual and regalia of the new order were not as elaborate. Like the *B'nai B'rith,* the order adopted a motto: "Truth, Love and Justice." The preamble of its constitution specified that the organization will give: "moral support of all means tending to educate and elevate the Hebrew race, charity, and universal benevolence."[71]

In 1878, the leaders of the Chicago lodges of the *Independent Order Bickur Cholem Ukadishu* expressed a desire to join the *B'nai B'rith* order as a group. Formal application to that effect was made to the *B'nai B'rith* Grand Lodge. After due consideration, the application was rejected on the ground that the membership of the *Bickur Cholem Ukadishu* consisted primarily of Russian Jews.[72]

Another fraternal organization which had a considerable number of lodges in Chicago was the *Independent Order Sons of Benjamin.* By the end of the century, this order had five lodges in the Yiddish-speaking community.

One of the lodges conducted its proceedings in English. There were also two ladies' lodges of that *Order.*[73]

The order that attracted most adherents and organized the most lodges was the *Independent Order B'rith Abraham.* That order was an offshoot of the *Order B'rith Abraham,* the third oldest Jewish fraternal organization in America. It had been founded originally on June 18, 1859, by German and Hungarian Jews. The *Independent Order B'rith Abraham* was established in New York City on February 13, 1887, with a five-fold program: 1) to aid members in need, 2) to supply medical needs, 3) to bury the deceased "in accordance with Jewish law and ritual," 4) to provide for families of deceased members, and 5) to assist members to become American citizens. Subsequently, the order undertook some additional tasks, namely, to protest discrimination against Jews in other lands, to combat attempts to restrict immigration of Jews to the United States, to support American Jewish philanthropy, and aid in the reconstruction of Palestine.[74]

The *Independent Order B'rith Abraham* lodges became a social outlet for the newly-arrived Russian-Polish Jewish immigrants. They desired to become Americanized and found in the lodge an excellent medium for that purpose. The new immigrants also found in the lodge some security and protection for themselves and their families.

In a short time, the *I. O. B. A.* became the most popular order in the East-European community. Very few of the lodges employed English at their meetings. Some attempted to use a Germanized Yiddish. Most used Yiddish. The newly-

arrived immigrants, as well as the older, half-Americanized immigrants from Russia, Poland, Roumania and other parts of eastern Europe, found themselves at home in a Yiddish-speaking environment. By the end of the century, there were thirty-one lodges of the *Independent Order B'rith Abraham* in Chicago. Three of these were exclusively for women. All were prospering in their activities and membership.[75]

Other fraternal organizations that formed lodges in the Chicago Jewish community, but which were not as extensive, were: the *Order Knights of Joseph,* the *Progressive Order of the West,* and the *Order Kesher Shel Barzel.* In the last decade the *Order Knights of Zion* occupied a rather conspicuous place among the East-European Jews in Chicago.[76]

Two orders were founded in Chicago in the early '90s, which deserve mention. In 1892, there was established in Chicago the order bearing the characteristic name *Somech Nofelim.* This order followed the same line of organization and was based on the same principles as the other orders. The ritual incorporated a great deal of Jewish history. The organization also admitted women to its membership. The meetings were secret, as they were in the other orders. Admission to the meeting hall was by pass-word only. The initiations were conducted with elaborate ceremony.[77]

Toward the end of the century, another more successful order was founded in Chicago, under the name of *Independent Western Star Order.*[78]

The *Order of the Maccabees,* which also included women in the membership of its Chicago lodges, appears on the records at this time. The principal work of this order was civic and philanthropic in nature. Some of the lodges established the first free kindergarten and penny lunch-rooms, and engaged in Americanization work among foreign women.[79]

The number of lodges was increasing rapidly. It seems that every dissenting group had utilized the opportunity to organize a new lodge of one or another "order." Before the century was over, there were in Chicago fifty lodges of various fraternal and benevolent Jewish orders. Similarly, many congregations sprang up overnight among the Jews from eastern Europe.

The mushroom growth of congregations and the multiplicity of organizations with their consequent conflicts and differences brought duplication and waste. This inefficiency was the subject of editorial criticism in the local press early in the '80s.

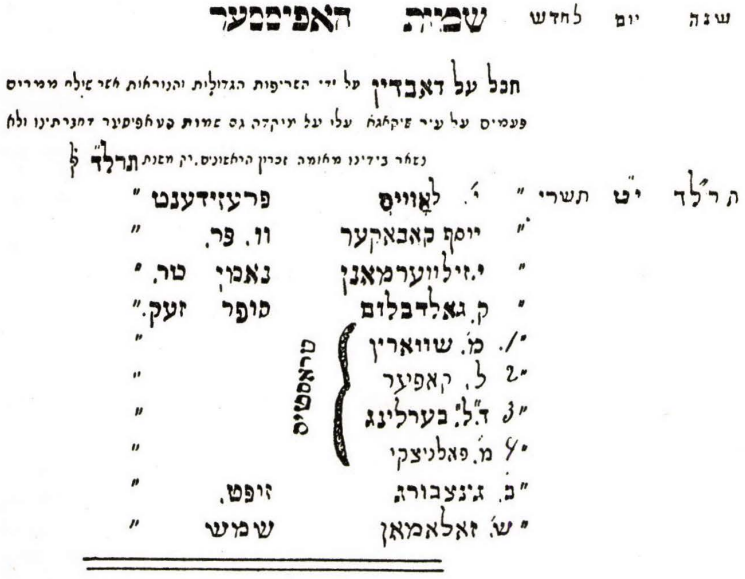
An editorial in the *Jewish Advance,* of August 19, 1881, on the "Consolidation of Congregations," reflects these conditions in the following manner:

> It is not the first time that the *Jewish Advance* calls attention to the fact that we have too many congregations in our city, and that the congregations should also consolidate. One congregation in the North Division would be sufficient; so would two congregations in the South Division,—one consisting of German Jews with reform proclivities, and the other consisting of Polanders, sharing more so-called orthodox principles; similarly it should be in the West Division, where one German-Reform and one Polish-orthodox congregation would fully answer at present the necessary demand. Within the next two or three years it might be difficult to bring about such a reduction. But if our 16 or 17 congregations cannot be reduced at once to 5, there should by all means efforts be made to reduce the number to 8 or 9. Shall we set forth the great beneficial effects such a consolidation would have upon the financial and upon the religious prosperity of our congregations, how the attendance of the service would be better and more regular, how our Sabbath Schools would become more efficacious, how a new religious life would be awakened in the city? But all further arguments are certainly superfluous, for to the wise, hints are sufficient, and we are not so impolite as to suppose that any one of our readers should belong to the unwise ones.

A similar editorial appeared a little later concerning the multiplication of lodges.[80]

Shortly before the High Holy Days of 1881, the same publication commented concerning the multiplication of *minyanim*: "This year we hope there will not be as many private *minyonim* started for the fall festival as there were in previous years. The business in this line is seldom, if ever, remunerative, and the congregations are greatly injured by it. If any of the individuals now trading in *'Yomim Noroim'* piety may yet have a strong desire to engage in this business, they will not, we hope, meet with any encouragement at the hands of those who have any respect for their religion."[81]

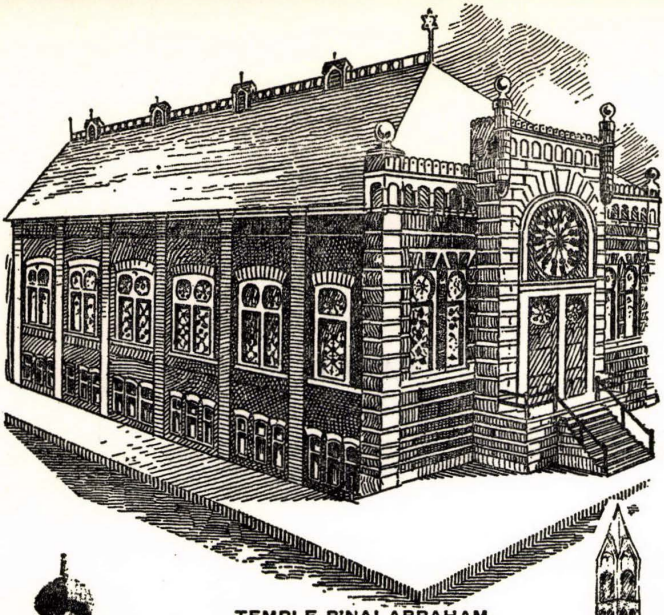
By 1900, the Jewish population of Chicago was "fully eighty thousand." [82] The community consisted of two distinct strata with tendencies that differed markedly from each other: the German Jews and the East-European Jews. The background of each made these communities different. The German Jews had turned completely to Reform Judaism, with the Sabbath and the Sunday school as their main objective in religious education. The East-European Jews upheld their Orthodox tradition steadfastly, with the *Talmud Torah* as their objective in Jewish education and the *Yeshivah* their ideal goal.



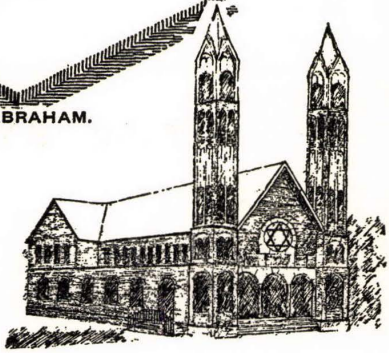
Names of officers of Cong. Ohave Shalom, 1874

PART II

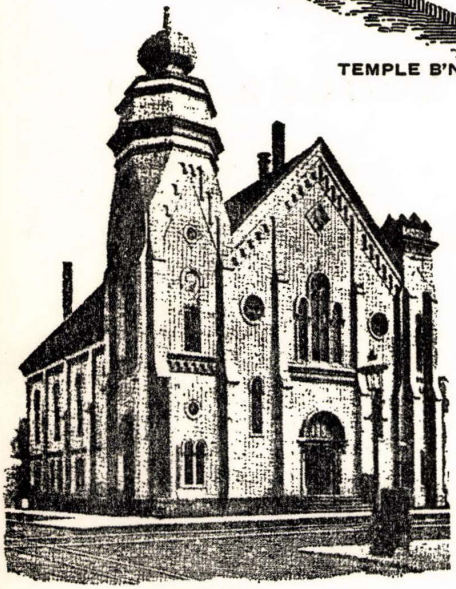
THE SYNAGOGUE



TEMPLE B'NAI ABRAHAM.



B'nai Sholom, 1877
Michigan Avenue, between 14th and 16th Streets



B'nai Sholom
Indiana Avenue at Twenty-Sixth Street



K. A. M. TEMPLE.
Indiana Ave. and 33rd *St.*

1

Synagogue Structure

THE bond which held the Jewish people together and insured their survival in spite of the many destructive forces has been its spiritual heritage. The most potent symbol of this heritage has been the synagogue. The synagogue manifested to Jewry its unitary character.

It has been said:

> Where there has been no synagogue to serve the wandering Jew as the rallying force of his individual Jewish spirit and the physical nucleus of community life, centrifugal forces have rapidly swept him into the maelstrom of the Gentile world. But where a synagogue has been established, thither Jews have come together centripetally from far and wide at stated intervals to reaffirm their basic unity, a unity of faith, religious life and tradition, a reflex of the unity of their God.[1]

So exalted a place did the synagogue occupy in the life of the Jew and so important became the synagogue to the vitality of Judaism that its antiquity was ascribed to Moses.[2] Jewish history cannot conceive of a Jewish community without the most integral part of it, the synagogue.

It is not surprising therefore that the Jews of Chicago, heirs to the tradition of Judaism in belief and practice, planned the erection of a synagogue when the community was barely half a decade old.

The evolution in Chicago from a *minyan* to a congregation and then to a synagogue structure was typical. In most instances the first stage in the process of the organization of any congregation was the gathering of ten men to hold a service for the observance of a *Yahrzeit* or some other occasion. This usually took place in a private home, or in a room behind or above a store. The *minyan,* within a short time, constituted itself into a congregation which either continued to hold its services in a private home or rented

a small hall or store which was equipped as a synagogue. After a few years of worshipping in this manner, when the congregation grew somewhat and the financial situation was promising, the people contemplated the acquisition of a synagogue structure.

A synagogue structure was acquired in Chicago in one of three ways: by purchasing an old church in the neighborhood and renovating it for synagogue use; by leasing or purchasing a lot and erecting upon it a new synagogue building; or by purchasing or leasing a lot in the vicinity of the congregation, and then acquiring a church building elsewhere and moving it to the lot.[3]

When Jewish settlers moved into a non-Jewish neighborhood, causing thereby a gradual exodus of the non-Jewish population who had maintained a church building in that neighborhood, that church building was naturally offered for sale to the Jewish residents. The acquisition of a church by a Jewish congregation for the purpose of converting it into a synagogue raised the question of whether it is permitted to do so in accordance with Jewish law. This was settled in the nineteenth century by precedent and by a legal decision, in a *responsum* on the subject. As a rule, the Jewish communities that grew up in the United States in the nineteenth century looked to New York Jewry for precedent and guidance in all Jewish religious matters. Practically all congregations organized in New York City, in the first few decades after 1825, acquired church buildings for use as their first synagogues.[4] For other communities to do likewise was therefore a natural thing. As to the legal question, in a *responsum* on the conversion of churches into synagogues, Rabbi Abraham Joseph Ash of New York rendered a decision, "that with the exception of a Catholic church, it is not prohibited in accordance with Jewish law and tradition to change a church edifice into a synagogue."[5]

By the middle of the nineteenth century many religious denominations flourished in Chicago, and practically all had their own church buildings. Some were modest. Others were imposing structures considering the times and the circumstances. It was therefore only natural for the Jewish com-

munity, though still small in numbers, to erect a synagogue structure commensurate with its growth and economic status.

The original place of worship of *K.A.M.*, in the room above the clothing store of Rosenberg and Rosenfeld at 155 Lake Street, was found to be inadequate from its very inception. Neither the quarters nor the approach was inviting. A contemporary observer informs us that: "The narrow, uninviting entrance was unpleasantly obstructed by the goods of an auctioneer, who occupied the store floor below."[6] In its first few years, the Jewish community of Chicago did not fare too well. The years 1848 and '49 were trying not only for the Jewish colony but for the entire city. The cholera epidemic, which claimed a few members of the Jewish community, as well as many victims of the city at large, caused a little recession and kept all in constant dread. By 1850, when the Jewish community numbered a "possible 200," the congregation had only twenty-eight contributing members.[7] It was financially difficult to expand. However, serving the entire community, the inadequacy of the congregation quarters became obvious very early, and some provision had to be made for expansion and for providing a more inviting and better equipped place of worship. Accordingly, in 1849, the congregation procured a five year lease on a lot, for the erection of a regular house of worship. This lot was on the north-east corner of Clark and Quincy Streets, at the location of what is now referred to as the "old post office." At that time it was a residential section. There were a few church edifices of other denominations in the vicinity.[8]

The breaking of the ground on the leased land for the construction of the synagogue proceeded at once. However, the financial resources were not forthcoming rapidly and in as great an amount as had been anticipated. Though the Jews of Chicago, even then, began to get along fairly well financially and were making gradual and steady progress economically, the temporary recession caused a little set-back. Besides, the Jews in Chicago were still too few in number to be able to finance the building of a synagogue themselves. Because of this, following a precedent that was practiced in the New World from the time that the first synagogue was built, the Jewish community of Chicago decided to address

a letter of appeal for assistance to some of the other Jewish communities in America.[9]

The decision of the congregation to issue the appeal was made at a meeting in July, 1850, and the plea appeared the following month as a news item in New York and Philadelphia, with a date line from Chicago, as follows:

> At a meeting of the members of the Congregation of the city of Chicago, convened on Sunday, July 20, 5610, a committee previously appointed, reported as follows:—
>
> Whereas, it is necessary for the welfare of this congregation to possess a house of worship, and our means being too small to build the same, be it therefore,
>
> Resolved, that a committee be appointed to solicit subscriptions from all Israelites and friends of the House of Jacob throughout the United States, to aid us in this laudable undertaking of providing for this congregation a suitable house to worship the Lord of Israel in this our adopted home on the shores of Lake Michigan.
>
> Whereupon, on motion, Mr. L. Leopold, the President of the Congregation appointed said committee.
>
> All of which were unanimously adopted.
>
> Signed, *P. Newburgh,*
> Secretary

The appeal sent out to the communities read as follows:

> To the Israelites and friends of the House of Jacob, throughout the United States.
>
> Greetings:—
>
> The undersigned in behalf of the Congregation *Anshi Mayriv* (sic), of the City of Chicago, most respectfully appeal to your generosity and solicit from you in the name of the God of our fathers, to extend to us your helping hand by liberal subscription toward defraying the cost of erecting a house of worship, so that this, and generations to come, may pray to the Lord of Israel in the same, and that he may pour out his blessings on you and all the descendants of Jacob forever.
>
> A. Kohn
> L. Grunebaume
> L. Rosenfeld [10]

The *Asmonean,* the Jewish publication in New York, endorsed the appeal by adding the names and addresses of the people, as well as of the *Asmonean* office, where subscriptions for the Chicago synagogue would be received.[11]

The *Occident,* the Jewish publication in Philadelphia, which did not quote the text of the resolution and the appeal, but referred to them generally in the news item about the Chicago congregation, wholeheartedly endorsed the plea and urged the Jews of Philadelphia to contribute.[12]

No records are extant to reveal to what extent financial assistance was forthcoming from the Jewish communities in America to whom the Chicago congregation appealed. Locally great efforts, which were lauded in the press, were expended to complete the construction of the synagogue in as short a time as possible. After five years of organization and planning, and more than a year of building, the first synagogue in Chicago, though not fully completed, was ready for dedication on Friday, June 13, 1851. In accordance with the Orthodox standard of the congregation, the Reverend Samuel M. Isaacs of New York was invited to officiate at the dedication. Rev. Mr. Isaacs was the spiritual leader of *Congregation B'nai Jeshurun* and later of *Congregation Shaarey Tefilah,* both Orthodox congregations in New York City. He was also editor of the *Jewish Messenger,* an influential publication with traditional tendencies. Rabbi Isaacs was originally from England and his oratory in English was very impressive. No doubt the choice of the Rev. Mr. Isaacs was made not only to avoid ideological conflicts with any of the German-speaking rabbis, but also to have an English-speaking orator to impress the non-Jews in the audience.[13]

The occasion of the dedication of the first synagogue in the city was historic and aroused the interest of the entire city. Many influential citizens of Chicago were invited to attend as guests. The Common-Council of the city accepted the invitation. So did a number of non-Jewish clergymen. The consecration made interesting news. The *Democrat* and the *Journal,* Chicago's daily newspapers, publicized the event for several days in advance. On Wednesday, June 11th, the *Democrat* wrote under the caption: *Consecration of the Jewish Synagogue*:

> The Jewish Synagogue, upon Clark street, now almost completed, will be consecrated upon Friday next, at 3 o'clock P. M. Reverend Mr. Isaacs, of New York, is expected to be present and lead in the services of the occasion. According to the usual custom, the

regular services will be in Hebrew, but a discourse in English will be delivered by Mr. Isaacs.

This denomination is entitled to a great deal of credit for its enterprise, liberality and religious zeal. Though few in numbers, they have made a glorious beginning for themselves.[14]

The same day the *Journal* carried a news item under the heading: *Consecration—*

On Friday afternoon next, at three o'clock, the Jewish Synagogue of Congregation *Khilath Anshi Marif* (sic) or the People of the West, will be consecrated.

The Rev. Mr. Isaacs of New York City will be present to conduct the services, which are upon such occasions, of a most interesting character. The ceremonial will, according to custom, be in the Hebrew tongue, but a discourse in English will be given by Mr. Isaacs.

With much effort, the few of the "peculiar people" resident here, have reared a neat and sufficiently spacious temple, to Him whom Abraham worshipped, and in doing so, have taken upon themselves a pecuniary burden difficult to be borne. Yet they do not repine, for there, shall the parchment of the law be unrolled and read, and there shall be heard the language that bade the hosts of old move on, with the pillared flame before—that Miriam sang upon the Red Sea's shores—that maidens murmured, as they turned their harps in Jewry—that God's own finger stereotyped in stone.[15]

The next day the *Journal* published apologetically:

To avoid misapprehension, we are requested to state, that in consequence of the small size of the Jewish house of Worship, none can be admitted to-morrow afternoon, except those who have received invitations.

On Saturday morning, however, the church will be open to the Public, and services will be held.[16]

The ceremonies of the dedication were calculated to impress those present with the significance of the occasion. The synagogue was beautifully decorated and was filled to capacity by men and women, young and old, of many faiths, much before the dedication exercises began. At the appointed time, when the doors of the synagogue were closed and silence reigned within the walls of the holy edifice, knocks were heard upon the closed door. The knocks came from without in accordance with the ancient ritual. After these knocks, the doors were opened. The Reverend Mr. Isaacs and the Reverend Mr. Kunreuther, each carrying a holy

scroll of the *Torah,* affixed with silver bells and covered with beautiful mantles, embroidered with gold, walked into the synagogue chanting in Hebrew, "Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors, that the King of Glory may come in."[17] Whereupon the choir intoned the prayer *Mah Tovu,* and a gentleman designated by the congregation opened the doors of the Ark. As the ministers advanced to the reading desk in the center of the synagogue, the congregation joined in the chanting. All this time the entire congregation remained standing, intent upon the order of the procession. As the reading desk was approached by the ministers, another gentleman designated by the congregation lit the perpetual lamp, hanging before the Ark, and the Reverend Mr. Kunreuther chanted the benediction in Hebrew, "Praised be Thou, O Eternal our God, Ruler of the universe, who hast given us life, and sustained us to attain this season." After that the traditional seven circuits were made around the *Bimah* by different gentlemen carrying the scrolls of the *Torah,* changing each time the circuit was completed. When the procession was over, the scrolls were deposited in the holy Ark, after which the choir sang the dedication prayer. A prayer for the government, in English, was then offered by the Reverend Mr. Isaacs, which was followed by the dedication sermon and by the singing of various psalms. The traditional Sabbath Eve Services concluded the consecration ceremonies.[18]

The dedication service made a deep impression on all present. A Chicago correspondent who signed his name *A member of Khilath Anshi Mayrif* reported the dedication in a letter to the *Asmonean,* which read as follows:

> According to previous notices, the consecration of the Synagogue (Khilath Anshi Mayrif) took place on Friday the 13th inst. at 3 o'clock P.M. Long before the appointed hour, the house was filled with as many people as could possibly be accomodated. At fifteen minutes past three, the Rev. S. M. Isaacs, and the Rev. I. Kunreiter entered the synagogue, each carrying a *Sephar Tora,* while the choir was singing *Mah Touvu.* Having made the usual circuits, they deposited the precious burdens, in the *Aron Hakaodosh* after which the choir sang very sweetly the Dedication Hymn, which was considered very appropriate for the occasion.

> Then a prayer in English was offered by Mr. Isaacs for the government, after which the reverend gentleman delivered an interesting and eloquent sermon, taken from the words 'And let them make me a sanctuary, that I may dwell among them.'
>
> The sermon being concluded, the choir sang the *Halelujahs* which were beautifully rendered. The whole ceremonies passed off much to the satisfaction of our members and Christian friends, of whom a great many were present.[19]

Another contemporary observer described the scene in the *Chicago Daily Journal* by saying:

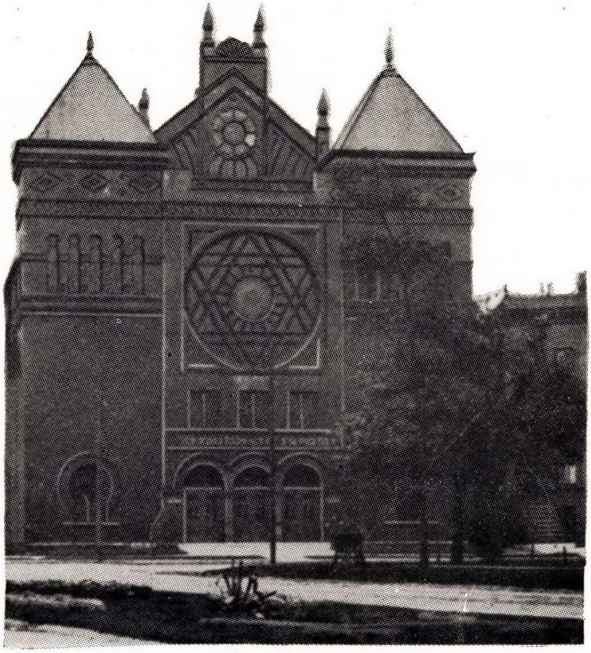
> It was a novel, yet beautiful spectacle, the house tastefully decorated with evergreens and flowers, the altar and its appointments elegant; the veil depending in rich and massive folds from the columns, the ark with its adornings; the rolls of the Law in their coverings of satin and velvet; the tapers burning in the four corners of the altar; the priest in his dark and flowing robe; and his assistants in dark-fringed white; the galleries and lower part of the house filled with ladies, while the men with covered heads, occupied the remaining space.[20]

The same reporter was greatly impressed by the service which he described mystically as follows:

> Now rose the Hebrew chant in sweet and novel harmony; and now the sacred parchments were borne in solemn procession, while still the chant went on; and now as did their fathers when the patriarchs' tombs were newly hewn, these rolls were laid within the ark, and then consigned to the mystery behind the veil.
>
> It was one of the most melodious things to which we have ever listened, and as it floated through the charmed and trembling air, it brought back the memories of that old glorious time historians chronicle, when a royal singer touched the harp of mingled prophecy and song, when Ophir gave up her gold, and Lebanon her cedars, and the Temple without the sound of a hammer, 'like some tall pine, that noiseless fabric grew,' the type in Earth's most precious duet, of that greater 'Temple not built with hands, eternal in the heavens,' the archives for the translated thunders of the Mount, and the earthly presence-chamber of Him who uttered them.[21]

The *Chicago Daily Democrat* was equally flowery in its account of the dedication, and published some of the Hebrew hymns in English transliteration and translation.[22]

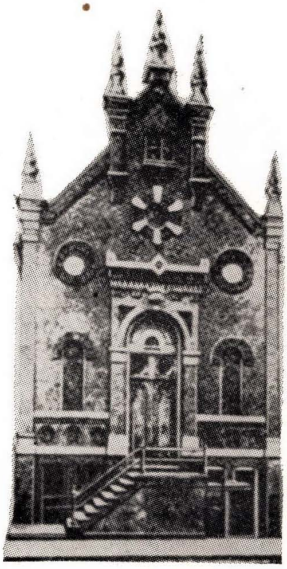
Neither a picture nor any architectural drawing or accounts are extant of that synagogue to enable us to give an adequate description of it. From the reference to it in the



ZION TEMPLE



Old Ohave Sholom Mariampol
Canal and Liberty Sts.



Old Beth Hamedrash
Hagodol

Various Old Synagogues

local press, and in the various City Directories, we gather that it was a modest frame structure with a capacity for four hundred and fifty people. It was provided with a balcony extending on three sides of the interior. The reading desk was on a raised platform in the center, which was surrounded by a railing, the corners of which were provided with candlesticks for "burning tapers," which were lit for services. The estimated cost of the structure was about $12,000.00.[23] Situated as the synagogue was on the north-east corner of Clark and Quincy Streets, with the entrance on Clark Street, the worshippers were facing east during prayer.

From the beginning, the synagogue on Clark Street was inadequate for efficiently serving the needs of the Jewish community. Though a contemporary observer noted that even then some of the Jews of Chicago had begun to lag in their religious observances, the community at large was still keen about the observance of the ritual and about the community's responsibility to provide for it. One such community responsibility was to provide a *Mikvah* for the women; another, a school for the children. The building on Clark Street provided neither. A later chronicler in referring to one of the dedication sermons alluded to the *Mikvah* by recalling: "Mr. Isaacs, in his Saturday morning sermon, charged the Congregation with neglect of the purity law, and then declared that the punishment of God was visible in the death of the young married women, several of whom had recently died."[24] Two years after the dedication of the synagogue, the congregation purchased a lot on the north-east corner of Wells and Adams Streets. To alleviate the two shortcomings of the synagogue on Clark Street, a basement was constructed on the new lot, in which a *Mikvah* and a large room to be used for a school and for meetings were built. A dressing-room for the *Mikvah* was also provided. In 1854, the original synagogue on Clark Street was moved to the new location and placed on that basement.[25]

Very early in the career of the *Kehilath B'nai Sholom,* that congregation began to contemplate seriously the acquisition of a synagogue structure. It was their desire to build a modest building as did *K.A.M.* However, the financial circumstances of *K.B.S.* were by far too meager to undertake any

building program. The subject was discussed in the late '50s at every meeting of the congregation, but it remained only wishful thinking. A specific attempt to raise funds for a synagogue was undertaken as early as 1859. However, it apparently did not meet with much success. Following the established precedent of the earliest congregations in America, which was also used by *K.A.M.* in 1850, when they desired to build their first synagogue, *K.B.S.* decided to issue an appeal to the entire community, as well as to the Jewish communities outside of Chicago, to help them raise the funds for the building of a synagogue. The appeal was in the form of a circular printed with an introduction in Hebrew, quoting a few verses from Scriptures and their translation, and followed by the request for contributions. The appeal appeared in *The American Israelite* as a news item with a few introductory remarks:

> Chicago. A circular. Our friends of the congregation *Bene Shalom* (sic) have issued the following circular, calling on all pious men for aid in building up a Synagogue, which we gladly lay before the community, hoping that the praying congregation will be supported by our brethren. Every Synagogue is a monument to Judaism, and every Israelite should contribute his mite toward the creation of another monument to Judaism.[26]
>
> "Vow and pay unto the Lord your God: let all that
> "ought to be feared. Bring an offering to the Lord,
> "and let them make me a sanctuary, that I may dwell
> "among them. He that has pity upon the poor
> "lendeth unto the Lord, and that which he hath given,
> "will He pay him again. Give unto the Lord, the
> "glory that is due unto His name; bring an offering,
> "and come into His courts, the nearest and farthest
> "from your brethren."
>
> A small number of the children of Israel congregated on the western shores of Lake Michigan, in the great emporium of the Northwest, under the humble name *Kehilath Bene Shalom* (sons of peace) struggled along for several years without having a house of worship, using a room for the purpose, which we can not keep any longer. We intend to lease a piece of ground in some part of the city, and if we are fortunate enough to raise the necessary funds for building a house, we will dedicate it to the service of God and to the education of our children. Our private means are limited, our numbers are few; we, therefore, appeal to your generous hearts, brethren of our faith, in particular, to solicit your assistance. We, the Board of Officers of the Congregation, hope

and trust that our American co-religionists, so prone to appreciate and support noble and generous institutions, will not fail to lend us a helping hand in this great undertaking, not only to assist us on the present occasion, in the cause of the Almighty, but will respond to our appeal in a manner of the great nation of the Americans. **Donations will be thankfully received by the undersigned** President, and by the Editor of the *Israelite.*

For the congregation.

D. WITKOWSKY, Pres. of K.B.S.
REV. A. ALEXANDER, Prof. Sec. K.B.S.[27]

There seems to have been no encouraging reply to this appeal. For three years later, we find that *K.B.S.* was still trying to raise some money for the building fund at a *Purim* party they arranged on March 17, 1862, for that specific purpose. It was not until 1864, that they actually constructed their first synagogue edifice.[28]

The second synagogue structure in the Chicago Jewish community was that of *Sinai Congregation.* Soon after their organization in 1861, the congregation succeeded in acquiring for the use as a synagogue a former Christian church building. It was originally constructed for the *Trinity Episcopal Church* and was located on Madison Street. Simultaneously the congregation leased a lot on Monroe Street, between Wells and Clark Streets. At that time La Salle Street was not cut through to Monroe Street. The lot was situated on the north side of the street, just east of where La Salle Street is now. The church building was moved from Madison Street to Monroe Street, and became the first house of worship of *Sinai Congregation.*[29]

In spite of the explicit Reform platform, *Sinai Congregation,* at that time, was still concerned with certain traditional scruples. This was reflected in the two problems that arose, within the congregation, when they acquired the *Trinity Episcopal Church.* Some members questioned the legality, from the point of view of Jewish law, of converting a church into a synagogue. Some were reluctant to agree to the leasing of the lot on Monroe Street, inasmuch as its location would cause the worshippers to face north rather than east during prayer. The first problem was easily solved by precedent of law pointed out before. The second problem did create a slight controversy. However, it was soon solved by

Dr. Felsenthal, who submitted an opinion in writing that it is not necessary to observe the custom of facing east during prayer.[30]

The dedication of the first *Sinai Synagogue,* which very soon began to be referred to as the *Temple,* took place on June 21, 1861. Dr. Samuel Adler, rabbi of *Temple Emanuel* of New York, was invited to officiate. The selection of Dr. Adler was deliberate. He was the rabbi of the first Reform synagogue in New York City, and hence was the logical person to participate in the consecration ceremonies of the first Reform synagogue in Chicago. Besides, Dr. Adler had corresponded with some of the members of the *Reformverein,* which eventually became *Sinai Congregation.* He also advocated the organization of a new congregation based on Reform ideology, rather than to attempt to convert the old ones. His views had thus a direct bearing and influence on the founding of *Sinai Congregation.*[31]

No account has come down to us of the dedication ceremonies of this synagogue. We may well assume that the exercises were beautiful and impressive, and were trilingual, Hebrew, German and English.[32] A description of the building is extant. One of the local historians in writing about "Old Monroe Street" gives us the following account:

> In the fall of 1860, there was a strong reform movement among the Jews in Chicago, and a considerable number of members of the older congregations withdrew and founded *Sinai Congregation.*
>
> Their first temple was a one-story frame building, about 50 feet wide and 80 feet deep, on the north side of Monroe Street, just east of where LaSalle Street was opened through.
>
> This building was originally erected for *Trinity Episcopal Church* on Madison Street. It was moved to its location on Monroe Street for *Sinai Congregation* who leased it from Benjamin Lomard, president of the Real Estate Loan and Trust Co. in 1861.[32]

In 1863, the *Sinai Congregation* acquired a lot on Plymouth Court—at that time known as Third Avenue—at the corner of Van Buren Street. The cost of the lot was $7,000.[33] On this lot they erected a modest synagogue structure which they dedicated in the spring of 1863. Dr. Maurice Meyer, of New York, conducted the dedication service.[34] The new synagogue provided for a school and meeting rooms

in the basement. Its cost is given in the City Directories and in other sources as $12,000.00.[35]

Why *Sinai Congregation* erected its second synagogue so soon is not known. It can only be assumed that it was in order to provide better school facilities.

By this time *K. B. S.* became somewhat more prominent in the community, and its financial status apparently improved to a great extent. New members were also added to its roster, and some of the older members began to play important roles in the community in general. They took an active part particularly in the charitable and social work in the city. It became high time, therefore, that *Kehilath B'nai Sholom* which was now in existence over a decade should acquire a permanent place of worship. They had changed their place of worship several times since their inception. Orginially their *minyan* held services, in the usual manner, in a room above the clothing store of Solomon Harris, which was located at 189 Lake Street. This was probably before they were organized into a congregation. In 1855, as a fully organized group, we find them in a hall on the corner of Washington and Dearborn Streets. Shortly thereafter they moved to 226 South Clark Street, next door to *K.A.M.*[36] It was from here that they moved into their new synagogue structure. The increased membership and the few members with substantial financial means gave them the impetus to plan an edifice that should exceed in size and in architectural beauty the other two synagogues in the community. Accordingly they acquired a lot on Harrison Street at the corner of Fourth Avenue—now Federal Street—which at that time was considered Chicago's south-side aristocratic section.[37] Mr. Augustus Bauer, one of the prominent architects in the city, was engaged to draw the plans for the synagogue. Construction began at once and resulted in a magnificent brick structure, which rivaled in beauty many of the houses of worship in the city.

The formal dedication of the first *K.B.S.* synagogue took place a week before *Rosh Hashanah,* on Friday, September 23, 1864. The only two German-speaking rabbis in the community, Dr. Liebman Adler, of *K.A.M.* and Dr. Bernhard Felsenthal, of *Sinai* were invited to participate in the con-

secration ceremonies. Dr. Isaac M. Wise, of Cincinnati was invited to deliver the dedication sermon and also to preach at the Sabbath services on Saturday morning.

The Chicago Tribune of September 25, 1864, reported the dedication of the synagogue under the caption *Religious Intelligence*:

> The new Jewish Synagogue—Kehilath B'nai Sholom—situated on the corner of Harrison Street and Fourth Avenue was formally consecrated on Friday last. The services opened in the old Synagogue, No. 226 South Clark Street, where a parting address in German was delivered by Reverend Bernhard Felsenthal. A procession was then formed, and headed by the Light Guard Band. The Scrolls of the Law were borne to the new building, where after the usual ceremonies, Reverend Dr. Wise of Cincinnati, delivered the consecration address, and Reverend Liebman Adler offered prayer. The new building is a neat, tasteful structure, 80 feet long. Cost $24,000.00.[38]

Later sources give the cost of that synagogue as $27,000.[39]

The address of Dr. Felsenthal which was entitled *Die Einweihung des neuen Gotteshauses B'nai Sholom*—the dedication of the new B'nai Sholom synagogue—was considered important enough to be published in full by the Chicago Telegraph, a German newspaper in Chicago, published by the *Staatszeitung*.[40]

The *Zion Congregation,* organized in 1864, held its services for a short time in a neighboring church, on Desplaines, between Madison and Washington Streets. This was the former *Second Tabernacle Baptist Church* which they converted into a synagogue. But the population in that neighborhood was moving rapidly westward, making room for the continuing commercial and industrial expansion of the area in and around what is now the "Loop." Within a period of five years, therefore, the congregation moved more than two hundred numbers further west, and about four hundred numbers further south, to Sangamon Street and Jackson Boulevard, where they erected a beautiful synagogue in 1869. The former synagogue, the converted church building, was subsequently occupied by the Globe Theater which, according to a contemporary observer, "presented exciting melodramas and light plays."[41]

The *North Chicago Hebrew Congregation* would not be

outdone by the other congregations, so it leased a lot on Superior Street near Wells Street, on which they built a modest frame synagogue structure, which they dedicated on September 27, 1867.[42]

The first synagogue structure built by the Jews from eastern Europe was that of the *Beth Hamedrosh Hagodol Ub'nai Jacob.* Shortly after the incorporation of that congregation, it acquired a lot at 134 Pacific Avenue, now Sherman Street, on which they built a brick synagogue. The synagogue was provided with a *Mikvah* in the basement, and with a special room for a daily Hebrew school which was referred to as a *Cheder.* A balcony for women worshippers was provided. The *Bimah* was located in the center of the synagogue. The *Beth Hamedrosh Hagodol Ub'nai Jacob* synagogue at once became the center of the East-European Jewish community life.[43]

While the Jewish community expanded southward, northward and westward and founded new congregations, the membership of *K.A.M.* was continually growing. Soon the synagogue on Wells Street became inadequate for the congregation. At the same time the members were moving to the southern section of the city. In November, 1868, the congregation purchased for $50,000.00 a church on the northwest corner of Wabash Avenue and Peck Court. Peck Court was one short block south of the present Polk Street. The church was converted into a synagogue to meet the needs of the expanded congregation.[44]

By 1871, just before the great conflagration, there were eleven congregations in the Jewish community of Chicago. These were: *K.A.M.; K.B.S.; Zion; North Chicago Hebrew;* the *Secesh Shule; Ohave Emuno; B'nai Abraham; Beth Hamedrosh Hagodol Ub'nai Jacob; Ohave Sholom Mariampoler;* and the *Fifth Avenue Congregation.*[45] Of these congregations, seven possessed synagogue structures of their own: *K.A.M.; Sinai; B'nai Sholom; Zion; North Chicago Hebrew; Beth Hamedrosh Hagodol Ub'nai Jacob;* and the *Fifth Avenue Congregation.* The others still worshipped in rented halls that had been renovated for synagogue use. Of the seven, *K.A.M.* had its third synagogue by then, *Sinai* and

Zion, their second. Of all the synagogues, that of *B'nai Sholom* was the most impressive structure.

The fire in 1871, which destroyed five of the seven synagogues together with the Holy Scrolls, all other religious equipment, and the congregation records, created a temporary setback in synagogue activities.[46] The Jewish community joined enthusiastically with their non-Jewish brethren in the attempt to build anew upon the ruins of the old city. The rebuilding of the synagogues unfortunately did not proceed at a rapid pace. Before the community had recovered from the blow of the great fire, another fire started which destroyed the *K.A.M.* synagogue on Wabash Avenue. A setback developed in all building for a while when two of Chicago's big banking firms, the German Savings Bank and the German National Bank failed and created a temporary panic and depression.[45]

The first congregation to acquire a new synagogue structure after the great fire was, interestingly enough, not one that had lost its synagogue in the conflagration, but the new congregation *Rodef Sholom,* founded on the northern side of the city on the eve of the fire. Shortly after its founding, *Congregation Rodef Sholom* bought a Norwegian church, which was located on Huron and May Streets. The church was moved to a double lot on May and Second Streets, and was renovated for use as a synagogue.[48]

On June 22, 1873, a terrific wind uprooted *Rodef Sholom's* wood-frame synagogue and destroyed it. The congregation not only remained without a synagogue, but was left with an indebtedness of $7,000. Fortunately, through the efforts of one of its ardent members, sufficient funds were raised to build a new synagogue of sturdier construction, on the same location. The new synagogue was consecrated as the *Beth El Gemeinde.* The congregation issued bonds at ten dollars each, which were readily bought by the members, to help defray the cost of the synagogue.[49]

In October, 1872, *Sinai Congregation* purchased for $3,500.00 a site, 100 by 160 feet, on the corner of Indiana Avenue and Twenty-first Street, with the intention of constructing upon it a new synagogue. In the meantime, for regular services and meetings, the congregation rented quarters at Martin's Hall. For the High Holy Days' services, the *Church*

of the Messiah on Twenty-third Street and Michigan Avenue, graciously offered all its facilities to the congregation.[50]

When *K.A.M.* lost its synagogue, the *Methodist Episcopal Church* on Wabash Avenue and Fourteenth Street invited the congregation to hold its Sabbath services at its church on Saturdays.[51]

When *Sinai* and *K.A.M.* found themselves without synagogue structures, they began to negotiate a possible merger of both congregations with the ultimate aim of building one splendid synagogue edifice. By that time *K.A.M.* had adopted most of the Reform synagogue usages, except the removal of hats during prayer. The latter would not have prevented the union, for *K.A.M.* was willing to agree to the removing of hats during prayer. However, in January, 1874, *Sinai Congregation* introduced Sunday services. To this *K.A.M.* would not concede. This created a major obstacle to the merger.

At a special meeting of *Sinai Congregation,* on October 6, 1874, a motion was passed that the congregation was ready to unite with *K.A.M.* if it could be done on satisfactory terms. Committees were appointed by each congregation to confer with one another and consummate the amalgamation on agreeable terms. The *Sinai* committee, consisting of nine men, was instructed, however, to insist that consolidation with *K.A.M.* could take place only provided that the Sunday service as well as the Saturday service was preserved. After three meetings of the combined committees, the *Sinai* representatives reported back to their congregation, on November 24, 1874:

> While the deliberations were generally friendly and courteous, both committees were bound by instructions antagonistic to each other. Our committee was to insist upon the guarantee of a Sabbath and Sunday service, and the committee of *K.A.M.* was to oppose the Sunday service under all circumstances, and to make no other concessions for the instruction for those who are unable to participate in the Sabbath service, except lectures on Friday and Sunday evenings alternately.
>
> In a congregational meeting of *K.A.M.* intervening between the second and third meetings of the Conference Committee, no change whatever was made in their instructions, as far as we were able to ascertain. Thus we may safely say that your com-

> mittee is utterly unable to come to any understanding with the committee of *K.A.M.*, and from all appearances a union of the two congregations seems impossible, wherefore your committee begs to be discharged.[52]

Thus both congregations went their own ways. When the negotiations to amalgamate did not succeed, each decided to build a synagogue of its own.

After the fires, physical, spiritual, intellectual and economic Chicago began to assume a new perspective. In the general community the rebuilding of the city proceeded and progressed at full pace. Large commercial and industrial structures sprang up overnight. The commercialization and industrialization of the Loop and its neighboring areas perforce caused an exodus of the residents from those areas to the outlying districts. The network of rails constructed to route the passenger and freight trains into the depots of the various railroad lines in and around the Loop created a physical boundary between the residential and industrial districts. Attractive homes and apartment houses were constructed daily on the boulevards and avenues, north, south and west of the Loop. Impressive church buildings, theaters, libraries, museums, schools and colleges began to sprout and flourish throughout the city. The continuous growth of the city, making Chicago a true metropolis of the middlewest, gave many people a very good chance to profit from the consequent economic opportunities and to achieve fairly high financial status.

The large number of Jewish immigrants who arrived from Germany before the great fire, and from eastern Europe in the last two decades of the century, was not only of numerical significance, but also of great import in moulding the form of Jewish community life. It also played quite an important role in the evolutionary process of the city's growth. The new immigrants were, in a sense, instrumental in the final evolution of the twofold pattern of the Jewish community—the German and the East-European. Contrary to the accepted opinion that the German Jews isolated themselves in the "Golden ghetto" of the south and near north side, and the East-European Jews segregated themselves in the "West-side ghetto", the neighborhoods in which Jews

dwelled contained heterogeneous groups coming from all parts of Europe. There were many East-European Jews living among the German Jews in the so-called "Golden ghetto" of the south-side, and many German Jews lived on the west-side. Similarly the near-north-side and the north-west side contained Jews from Germany and eastern Europe. The lines of demarcation were by no means either geographical or physical. The division of the Jewish community into the two distinct strata of German and East-European Jews was based on ideological, social and economic factors primarily. The aristocratic streets on the south side were Michigan and Indiana Avenues. Washington Boulevard became the prominent promenade west of the River. On the near-north side, La Salle Street was considered the better section.

These elements in the general and in the Jewish communities of Chicago were reflected in the building programs of the congregations in the city. In synagogue life and activities, two definite trends were discernable. Among the German-Jewish congregations there developed a rival spirit in the building of their synagogues, each trying to outdo the other. Among the East-European Jews, there developed a competitive race in the organization of new congregations. In both there developed a vogue to found multitudes of synagogue auxiliary groups, lodges, societies and various other organizations.

This period saw the construction of the most beautiful as well as expensive synagogue structures among the German Jews. Very few synagogues were built by the East-European Jews. The larger number of synagogue structures acquired by the latter were originally church buildings which the congregations purchased and converted for Jewish worship. A few built small and unimposing new structures.

The competitive spirit in synagogue building was boldly manifested in the construction of the new temples of *K.A.M.* and *Sinai,* the two major German-Jewish congregations in the community.

In December, 1847, *K.A.M.* purchased from *Plymouth Church* their lot and church building on the corner of Indiana Avenue and Twenty-sixth Street and remodeled the

church into a synagogue. This became the fourth synagogue of *K.A.M.,* which was dedicated on February 5, 1875.

The service of dedication began at 4:30 in the afternoon and concluded with the Sabbath Eve service. The local newspaper reported concerning the exercises, that:

> There was nothing special in them to note with the exception of the opening ceremony of depositing the holy rolls, containing the Pentateuch, in the shrine, to which they were carried by Rabbis Dr. Machol, Messing, Kohler and Felsenthal, and by Mr. Kohn, who though not a rabbi was permitted to share the honor in consideration of his being the oldest member of the congregation.
>
> The remainder of the services included sermons by Drs. Machol, Adler and Felsenthal, in which the matter was suitable to the occasion.[53]

The same source reports that the interior of the synagogue had undergone considerable changes "since the church was purchased by *K.A.M.* The fittings were renewed, the walls frescoed, and a very beautiful shrine erected in the rear of the edifice." The report concludes interestingly: "The German rabbi of the church is Dr. L. Adler, the English rabbi, Dr. M. Machol."

Sinai Congregation, possessing the lot on the corner of Indiana Avenue and Twenty-first Street, arranged for the laying of the cornerstone on June 20, 1875. Construction of the temple began at once. When it was completed and dedicated on April 8, 1876, as the third *Sinai Temple,* its cost was found to have been just a little less than $70,000.00, quite an enormous sum of money at that time.

The dedication ceremonies took place on a Saturday. The ritual was brief, simple and dignified. The only rabbis, other than the spiritual leader of the congregation, that were present were Dr. L. Adler and Dr. B. Felsenthal. After the procession, Dr. Kohler offered a consecration prayer, which was followed by appropriate addresses presented by Rabbis Adler and Felsenthal. The ceremonies were concluded by Dr. Kohler with the Dedication sermon and the Sabbath services.

The new Sinai synagogue which attracted city-wide attention was described in the press as follows:

> It is a very substantial stone structure, showing strongly pronounced features of early French Gothic type in the substructure, and rather "Orientalized" tapping out. It seems to be a compromise between the strict "Orientalism" generally deemed a characteristic of synagogue architecture, and that strict Gothic character which, from the general form for Christian church architecture in this country and in England is frequently termed the Christian style. The most noteworthy external characteristic of this building is the massiveness and simplicity of its general proportions as well as of its details.
>
> There are three street entrances to this building, the principal one on Indiana Avenue, and two minor ones on Twenty-first street. Each of these entrances is in the centre of a pavilion, each surmounted by a dome, or rather domical pyramid.[54]

The entrance on Indiana Avenue was in the center of an "immense projecting central bay, having massive buttresses, and extending to a height of ninety feet above the sidewalk, and there surmounted by the main dome one hundred and fifty feet from the sidewalk to the top of the gilded star which forms its finial." [55]

The interior of the building consisted of spacious vestibules, an auditorium and Sunday-school classrooms in the basement; a large synagogue auditorium with gallery, an organ and choir loft, the rabbi's study and offices on the main floor. The synagogue auditorium was approached by three stairways terminating in very roomy corridors. The floor of the auditorium was slanted and had a rise of thirty inches from the pulpit, which was at the west end of the building, the entrance having been in the east end. The seats were arranged amphitheatrically with wide and spacious aisles between each row. There were one hundred and fifty-six pews, with an average capacity of five persons to each pew, allowing twenty inches to each seat. The balcony accomodated about one hundred and fifty seats. The organ was located behind the pulpit in an elevated room, so as to have the "dressing and resting-room on the auditorium level, below the organ gallery."

The "internal decoration" was described by a contemporary as "quite elegant," and as a departure from the "ordinary style of church or synagogue decorations." [56]

The main synagogue auditorium was eighty-four feet wide, one hundred and fifteen feet long, and fifty-three feet

high. Stained glass windows allowed fair illumination during the day. At night the building was lighted by a "sunburner" and side-lights disposed around the walls. The building was heated by four hot-air furnaces.

Sinai Temple, at that time, was the most magnificent house of worship in the city, and outdid in size and attractiveness all previous synagogue structures in Chicago.

K.A.M. took no less than fifteen years to erect a synagogue that approached the cost, size, and magnificence of *Sinai.* This was its fifth synagogue structure which was erected on Thirty-third Street and Indiana Avenue at a cost of $110,000.00. This synagogue was dedicated Thursday afternoon, June 11, 1891, the eve of the *Shovuoth* festival, the anniversary of the Sinaitic revelation and the giving of the Ten Commandments. Indeed an appropriate occasion for the dedication of a synagogue. Though the exercises took place on a weekday and admission was by card only, the temple was filled to capacity before the ceremonies began. A contemporary publication gives the following description of the event:

> Amid surroundings of extreme beauty, on a day as clear and bright as one could be, and in the presence of a vast and deeply interested audience, did the dedicatory services of *Anshe Mayriv's* new temple take place. The beautiful structure was thronged Thursday afternoon, the time set for the exercises. Handsome floral decorations met the eye everywhere, those about the ark and pulpit being especially profuse. In the audience could be seen the representative Jews of Chicago, including the officers of all sister congregations.[57]

The program, which was rather lengthy, opened with an organ prelude followed by the procession of the rabbis carrying the scrolls of the *Torah* which they deposited in the Ark. After Mr. Rosenberg handed over the key of the temple to the president, Mr. M. M. Gerstley, Dr. Felsenthal and Dr. Stolz offered dedicatory prayers. A German address was given by Dr. Liebman Adler, who at this time was rabbi emeritus of the congregation. Dr. Norden, Dr. Messing and Dr. A. R. Levy read Scriptural selections. So did Reverend Charles Austrian. Dr. Moses, the rabbi of the syna-

gogue delivered the sermon, and the usual "eloquent oration" was presented by Dr. E. G. Hirsch. Beautiful organ and choral music was interspersed throughout the exercises. The regular *Shovuoth* service concluded the program.

The new *K.A.M.* temple extended ninety-one feet on Indiana Avenue and one hundred and fifteen feet on Thirty-third Street. The main entrance was on the Avenue. The first floor was devoted entirely to a large assembly hall and the Sabbath-school rooms. The second floor constituted the main synagogue auditorium, with stairs to the galleries, the minister's study and the choir and organ loft. The third floor consisted of the galleries.

An excellent feature of the building was the four spacious stairways in all four corners leading to exits directly to the street. The exterior followed no particular historic style, or conventional rules of architectural design. Yet, the structure had a grandeur of its own which was described as being "far more imposing and majestic than any other building of a similar kind in this great city of architectural achievements, if not the entire West."[58] It was built of hard limestone with the upper portion set back from the main walls and surmounted by a very steep pyramidal roof of red tiles. The entrance arch, which was somewhat Romanesque, was surmounted with an inscription in Hebrew, which translates: "Open the gates of righteousness, that I may go in and thank the Eternal." Besides this inscription and the two gilded stars of David on the roof peaks, there was nothing typical in the exterior to indicate that it was a synagogue.

The interior was extremely colorful. The large arch directly over the rostrum, which had Persian designs, was very impressive. The Ark made of oak wood with delicate carvings in gold was of exquisite design. The ceiling consisted entirely of antique oak wood, without any ornamental projections, instead of the usual plaster. It might have been this which gave to the building the most excellent acoustics. The geometric line running through the railings of the gallery formed the star of David. The decorations in general executed throughout in harmony with the exquisite colors, created a rich and yet a most simple, dignified and delicate

effect. The illumination of the synagogue auditorium was planned so as to provide brilliant, direct and indirect lighting throughout, and not to be offensively glaring. The large arched windows in the synagogue auditorium were of simple design, yet of richly colored stained glass. The synagogue was designed by Dankmar Adler, son of Rabbi Liebman Adler. It had one hundred and ninety pews in the auditorium and ninety pews in the galleries totaling a seating capacity of fifteen hundred.[59]

While the temple was under construction, *K. A. M.* used the *Sinai Congregation* synagogue for Saturday services and for its Sabbath-school. After the congregation built its present synagogue, this beautiful and expensive edifice was sold to the *Pilgrims Baptist Church,* the present occupants of the building.

After *K.A.M.* dedicated its new synagogue, *Sinai Congregation* began to feel that its house of worship did not meet the demands of the time, the progress of the congregation, and was by far not as exquisite as that of *K. A. M.* The question, therefore, arose whether to build a new synagogue farther south, in the immediate vicinity in which the membership was moving, or to renovate and enlarge the present structure. The decision was made in favor of the latter. In 1892, *Sinai* decided to remodel the temple on Twenty-first Street. The congregation also engaged Dankmar Adler as its architect. Mr. Adler designed a complete new interior. He also effected some changes in the exterior. The temple was extended in area and the seating capacity was enlarged. New stairways and exits were constructed. A new and complete electric lighting and ventilating system were installed. Beautiful decorations adorned the walls. A new organ gallery with the exterior wall formed in rich plastered ornamental designs and colored in gold was built. There were seven domes in the ceiling, each used for indirect lighting. The illumination was soft and pleasing. New stained glass, with intricate designs in which the star of David was the principal motif, was put into the windows. On each side of the pulpit two fine, artistically wrought iron lamps, with silk shades, were erected. The predominant colors in the entire building were reddish brown and gold on the walls and light blue on

the ceilings. At the junction between the ceilings and the walls there was a broad frieze of heroic design throughout the auditorium. The small domes on each side of the vaulted ceiling were decorated in Egyptian style. It was reported in the contemporary press that the most outstanding feature was that: "The ark has been omitted, the scrolls of the Law not being used in *Sinai Temple.*"[60]

The alteration of the synagogue cost $60,000.00. The rededication took place on Wednesday, September 21st, the eve of Rosh Hashanah, with a simple but impressive service conducted by Dr. Hirsch. There were no guest speakers or any special program. The directors of the congregation and the members of the building committee, together with Dr. Hirsch and Mr. J. L. Gatzert, the president, were seated on the platform. The dedication exercises began with the reading of a poem — *Our Spellwords* — written especially for the occasion by Dr. Hirsch. This was followed by an address by the president which, in turn, was followed by the regular *Rosh Hashanah* evening service and sermon. The theme of Dr. Hirsch's discourse on the occasion was "The Two Books."[61]

When *Sinai* abandoned this synagogue, the structure was subsequently converted into commercial property.

The *B'nai Sholom Congregation,* whose synagogue on Harrison Avenue surpassed all other houses of worship in size and beauty, struggled for a while after the great fire without a house of worship. The City Directories of 1872 and 1873 record under *Kehilath B'nai Sholom* for those years, "burned out and not yet located." A later source informs us that after the great fire, "when they were burned out," they worshipped for six months in the house of Mr. I. Glokosky. Subsequently they moved to a building, "corner of Eldridge Street and Wabash Avenue," which later became St. Mary's Church. Following that they "entered a building on Hubbard Court, where they remained until 1875." In the City Directory of 1874-75, the location of *Kehilath B'nai Sholom* is given as "Wabash Ave. near cor. Hubbard Ct." In the next directory the address is changed to "Wabash Ave. between 13th and 14th streets."[62] Accordingly, the *B'nai Sholom Congregation* did not acquire

a new synagogue structure of its own until at least 1876. In that year they erected, at a cost of $30,000.00, a house of worship on Michigan Avenue, between Fourteenth and Fifteenth Streets, which became known as "The Michigan Avenue Temple."[63] The congregation worshipped in its new synagogue only about fifteen years. By then its membership had grown in large proportions and the activities of the congregation multiplied commensurate with its growth. The need of a large synagogue structure was felt very keenly. In addition to this the members of the congregation continued to move southward. Thus, when *K. A. M.* abandoned its synagogue on Indiana Avenue and Twenty-sixth Street, in 1890, the *B'nai Sholom* sold its synagogue on Michigan Avenue to the *Beth Hamedrosh Hagodol Ub'nai Jacob,* and purchased the one from *K.A.M.* After renovation, this new *B'nai Sholom* house of worship became known as the *Twenty-sixth Street Temple.*[64]

At this time, *B'nai Sholom,* apparently, entered the race of synagogue construction too. For only five years after acquiring the new synagogue, the Reform Advocate, under the caption "*Congregation B'nai Sholom,*" reported: "In response to a stirring call, nearly every member of the congregation attended a special meeting last Sunday afternoon. It was unanimously decided to appoint a committee of ten members, five from the executive board and five from the general body, whose duty it is to arrange for the selling of the present temple building, situated at the corner of Indiana Avenue and Twenty-sixth Street, and to purchase another site for building purposes located somewhere between Fourtieth and Forty-fifth Streets and between Wabash Avenue and Cottage Grove Avenue. Much enthusiasm exists over the proposed removal and it is safe to predict that the time will not be long before the congregation will be worshipping in a new and handsome structure."[65] Considering the geographical location of *K.A.M.* and *Sinai* it is obvious that the ambition of *B'nai Sholom* was to surpass them now as they did in 1864, before the great fire.

However, this ambition of the *B'nai Sholom Congregation* was not realized fully until the next century. Though the activities and the membership of the congregation and the

functions at the synagogue warranted both a new and large structure and a new location, the *B'nai Sholom* remained on Indiana Avenue and Twenty-sixth Street, until they amalgamated with *Temple Israel* in 1906.[66] It was not long after this that they did build a magnificent synagogue, school building and community house, on Michigan Avenue and Fifty-third Street, which subsequently was sold to the *Greater Bethesda Baptist Church. The Twenty-sixth Street Temple* was ultimately converted into business property.

The *North Chicago Hebrew Congregation* did not recover from the effects of the great fire until 1875. Many of its members had moved from the neighborhood. Dr. Norden, the rabbi of the congregation, left for Natchez, Mississippi, and later went to Europe. This caused a disintegration of the congregation. In 1875, the congregation was reorganized. Dr. Norden was recalled from Europe to resume his spiritual leadership, and the congregation continued to function normally. For several years, services of the congregation were held in various churches in the neighborhood and in rented halls.[67]

In 1882, the proceeds of a "Fair" brought the *North Chicago Hebrew Congregation* sufficient funds to purchase a lot on the corner of Rush Street and Walton Place for the sum of $5,000.00. The congregation erected the first story of its contemplated synagogue on the site and dedicated it on August 22, 1884. After worshipping there for eight years, they decided not to finish the structure and to seek a more suitable location. Accordingly, the lot and building on Rush Street were sold for $18,500, and another lot was purchased on LaSalle and Goethe Streets.

The cornerstone of the new synagogue of the *North Chicago Hebrew Congregation* was laid on August 30, 1894. Rabbi Norden, who by that time had served the congregation for almost a quarter of a century, delivered the address on the theme "The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man." A sketch of the history of the congregation together with a copy of the *Reform Advocate* were deposited in the cornerstone by the two oldest members, R. Gradle and Saul Glickauff.[68] On Friday, May 17, 1895, the new synagogue of the *North Chicago Hebrew Congregation,* which was de-

scribed as "handsome with a beautiful interior, dainty and tasteful in every particular," was dedicated. The Dedication Ceremonies, which ended with the evening service, was rather elaborate and lasted three and a half hours. This was not uncommon in the last decades of the nineteenth century. All the rabbis of the German-Jewish congregations were present. The platform was decorated with two flags donated by the children of the Sabbath-school. Representatives of the other congregations, as well as some of the prominent officials of the B'nai B'rith and non-Jewish ministers were seated on the platform. The program began with an organ prelude followed by musical selections rendered by the choir and by a Ladies' Quartette. Rabbis I. S. Moses and A. J. Messing gave Scriptural readings. The Dedication prayer was offered by Dr. Bernhard Felsenthal. A congratulatory address was given by Dr. J. Stolz. Rabbi A. Norden and Dr. E. G. Hirsch delivered sermons. The ceremonies concluded with the Benediction by Rabbi A. R. Levy. The cost of that synagogue was approximately $75.000.[69] Within time, this synagogue was sold to the *First St. Paul's Lutheran Church,* which occupies the building now.

The other synagogues that attracted attention in the German-Jewish community in the last decade of the century were those of *Emanuel, B'nai Abraham, Israel, and Isaiah* congregations.

Emanuel Congregation, founded in 1880, purchased a church building from a Swedish congregation located at 280 Franklin Street in 1886, and remodeled it as a synagogue. After *Emanuel* and *Or Chodosh* congregations amalgamated in 1894, they rented a Baptist church on Belden Avenue and Halsted Street, where they held services until they erected a new synagogue of their own.[70]

B'nai Abraham Congregation, the origin of which dated back to a *minyan* in 1870, built a new synagogue structure on Marshfield Avenue and Twelfth Street, in 1892. The cornerstone was laid on March 27, of that year with "Masonic ceremonies." A banquet in the evening, held at the Lessing Club, concluded the festivities.[71] The dedication took place on Friday afternoon, September 10, at half past four. As expected the synagogue was crowded to capacity for the

exercise, which in the usual manner were quite elaborate. As was typical in all German-Jewish congregations, and in those with a predominantly German-Jewish membership, all Reform rabbis participated in the ceremonies, and Dr. Hirsch gave the "eloquent oration." In addition to the local rabbis, there were present at the dedication Rabbis Stolz and Heller of New Orleans, who were en route home from Europe, and who were aspiring to rabbinic posts in Chicago.[72]

The *B'nai Abraham* temple was fifty-three feet wide and one hundred and ten feet long. The front exterior was of stone and in Moorish architectural design. It was rather massive in appearance. A large assembly hall, four classrooms and a kindergarten were provided in the basement. The main synagogue auditorium was approached through a vestibule in which there were erected two memorial tablets. The interior was finished in natural wood. The ceiling was of Georgia pine and of one span across the building. The pews were of oak. The windows were of stained glass and in perfect harmony with the fresco decorations of Moorish style. The organ and choir loft were above the pulpit. Chandeliers and gas fixtures of rich design illuminated the building. Bright carpets were laid in the aisles and all pews were provided with red cushions. The seating capacity of the synagogue was 960, the complete cost $45,000.00.[73]

Temple Israel rented the *Baptist Memorial Church* on the south side where services were held until the erection and dedication of its own synagogue. On May 10, 1898, the congregation purchased a lot on Forty-fourth Street and St. Lawrence Avenue. The cornerstone was laid on Sunday, July 3, and the temple was completed for dedication on Friday before Rosh Hashanah of the same year. Dr. Hirsch delivered the "oration" both at the cornerstone laying and the dedication ceremonies. The other rabbis in the community participated.[74]

The synagogue of *Temple Israel* was a modest structure. It had a seating capacity of 800. The exterior and the interior were of light colored brick.[75]

Before the close of the century, the last of the German-Jewish synagogues was built only about a block away from *Temple Israel.* It was the temple of *Isaiah Congregation* on

Vincennes Avenue and Forty-fifth Street. The dedication of this synagogue attracted more attention than its poorer counterpart *Temple Israel.* The ceremonies were divided into three parts. The formal dedication exercises took place Friday afternoon, March 17, 1899, at four o'clock. A special Sabbath service was arranged for Saturday morning. A "fellowship platform" in connection with the dedication took place Sunday evening.

The guest speakers on Friday afternoon, were Dr. Isaac M. Wise, of Cincinnati, and Dr. Max Heller of New Orleans. Others who participated were Rabbis Bernhard Felsenthal, J. K. Arnold, A. J. Messing, A. Norden, E. G. Hirsch, and A. Hirshberg. According to the *Program of Dedication,* Dr. Hirsch delivered just one of the sermons rather than the usual "oration." Dr. Stolz, the rabbi of the congregation, gave the introductory address. The exercise concluded with the Sabbath eve services according to the Einhorn ritual.

The guest speakers on Saturday morning were Dr. Henry Berkowitz of Philadelphia and the Reverend Dr. Jenkin Lloyd Jones. Dr. Isaac M. Moses, rabbi of *Temple Israel* participated in the services.

Saturday evening, the congregation entertained all the visiting and local rabbis at a dinner at the Standard Club.

The "fellowship platform" Sunday evening was a goodwill gathering and was designed so that the various denominations in the community could participate. The guest speakers included Rabbis Bernhard Felsenthal and M. P. Jacobson of Chicago, Dr. S. Hecht of Milwaukee, Reverend Simon J. McPherson, pastor of the *Second Presbyterian Church,* Reverend Robert McIntyre of the *St. James Methodist Church,* Dr. A. J. Canfield, pastor of *St. Paul Universalist Church* and Dr. R. H. White of *Stewart Avenue Universalist Church.*[76]

The synagogue of *Isaiah Congregation* was ninety-seven feet wide and one hundred and twenty-seven feet long. The auditorium was ninety by eighty feet with a balcony on the west, finished off in brick and imitation mahogany. It was equipped with opera chairs with a seating capacity for 1200 people. The ceiling was vaulted, the acoustics were perfect. The ark was finished in scagolia. The organ and choir loft

was in a raised gallery over the rostrum in the rear. The Sunday-school rooms were in the back of the auditorium. The basement was devoted to the kitchen, a dining-room a library and a reading room. The building was of brown pressed brick with a broad Ionic front facing Vincennes Ave.

Dankbar Adler was the architect of the *Isaiah* synagogue. Its cost was between fifty and sixty thousand dollars.[77]

The two congregations in the community—*Anshe Emes* and *South Side Hebrew*—which had an admixture of East-European and German Jews in their membership also built synagogues in the nineteenth century, but not of such imposing structure as those of the German Jews exclusively.

The *Anshe Emes* built and dedicated its first synagogue in 1893, at 1263 Sedgwick Street, which at that time was considered the north side.

The dedication of the *Anshe Emes Synagogue* took place on Sunday, September 3, 1893, with quite an elaborate program. Before the dedication exercises, at one o'clock, the congregation assembled at Phoenix Hall, 324 East Division Street, where the congregation held services before they built their synagogue. There the privilege of carrying the Holy Scrolls was sold to the highest bidders, and a considerable amount of money was thus raised for the synagogue. At two o'clock promptly, a large procession was formed to proceed to the synagogue on Sedgwick Street, accompanied by a brass band. The Scrolls were carried under a canopy. When the synagogue was reached the people crowded in rapidly and the doors were locked before the services commenced. On the platform were seated the invited guests, some of the officers, and Rabbis Hirsch, Moses, Norden, Messing, Levy, Felsenthal and E. B. M. Browne, who were invited to participate in the cermonies, as well Rabbi A. A. Loewenheim "the pastor" of the congregation and Reverend S. Goldman, who is referred to in the records as "the minister." After the prelude by the orchestra, Reverend S. Goldman opened the service by chanting "Open Thy Gates." Then followed the ceremony of lighting the perpetual lamp, which was kindled by the president of the congregation. Following that, Dr. Felsenthal offered the dedication prayer and the six Scrolls were brought forward and deposited in the Ark, accompanied

by singing led by Rev. S. Goldman. A prayer and an address were then given by Dr. I. S. Moses. Dr. E. G. Hirsch followed the president with "a brilliant exhortation," which in the program was listed as the "Dedication Lecture." Dr. Hirsch took the occasion to refer to "the help that ought to be given to the Jewish poor and requested all their efforts in that direction." Dr. Hirsch's lecture was followed by addresses given by Rabbis Browne and Norden, and by musical selections redered by the orchestra. Addresses by Rabbis Messing and Levy followed. After that Rev. S. Goldman chanted Psalm 30—the Dedication Psalm—which was followed by some more instrumental music by the orchestra. Finally, the "Dedication Sermon" was given by Rabbi Loewenheim, after which the full evening service was conducted.

The *Anshe Emes* synagogue was a simple but substantial structure, adequately meeting the needs of the congregation. It cost $25,000.00 and covered an area of 25 by 90 feet. The interior was of Norway pine throughout.[78]

The *South Side Hebrew Congregation,* which was organized in 1888, as the *Congregation Anshe Dorum,* met at first as was customary at the time, in rented halls. Eventually, the congregation acquired a lot for the erection of a synagogue structure on Indiana Avenue near Thirty-fifth Street. Ground was broken in March, 1899. The cornerstone was laid in May of the same year. The exterior was finished in October; and the congregation began to hold services then in the vestry of the building, and continued to do so until the complete interior was finished in the beginning of the twentieth century.[79]

The East-European Jewish community in nineteenth century Chicago was not as yet in a financial position to compete with their German-Jewish brethren in the erection of imposing synagogue structures. Yet, at least two of the East-European congregations— *Ohave Sholom Mariampol* and *Anshe K'neseth Israel*—succeeded in acquiring synagogues before the century was over, which compared quite favorably in size and in appearance to those of their richer co-religionists. It seems that, just as among the German Jews, *Sinai Congregation* and *K. A. M.* competed with each other, each trying to acquire a more beautiful house of worship; so,

among the East-European Jews, *Ohave Sholom* and *K'neseth Israel,* each tried to outdo the other by erecting a larger and a more impressive "shule." The result was that both built very attractive synagogue structures.

After the *Ohave Sholom* synagogue quarters burned to the ground in May, 1873, the congregation proceeded to hold services temporarily at the St. James Hotel, 408 S. Clark Street. At the same time they were making plans to build a new synagogue. Beginning, however, with the last quarter of the century, the Jews living on the east side of the River began to move to the west side. Canal Street, between Harrison and Fourteenth Street, thus became a very popular thoroughfare for the East-European Jews, who concentrated their businesses and organizations on and around that street. The *Ohave Sholom,* therefore, decided that their synagogue should follow the trend of the times and be moved into the new neighborhood west of the River. Accordingly they acquired a house at 576 S. Canal Street for the price of $7,250. The congregation made a down-payment of a thousand dollars, and agreed to pay the balance in thousand dollar annual installments. The house was renovated into a synagogue, and dedicated with great festivity on August 16, 1876.[80]

The *Anshe K'neseth Israel* congregation, on the other hand, conducted daily services for a while in a room above a store at 588 S. Canal Street. About 1880, they acquired a lot on the northeast corner of Clinton and Judd Streets, for the purpose of building a synagogue on it. At that time, they had only one hundred dollars in the treasury. After great efforts on the part of the officers and the membership they collected a few thousand dollars which, together with a loan of three thousand dollars which they secured from one of the vice-presidents of the congregation, they succeeded in erecting a fairly comfortable house of worship. It was a simple and inexpensive frame building, part of which was rented out, so as to help cover the maintenance expenses. In 1884, the frame house was torn down, and a new, imposing brick synagogue structure was erected in its stead.

The new *K'neseth Israel* synagogue was provided with a large auditorium, and a balcony extending on all walls of the

interior, except the eastern wall which was reserved for the Ark and the pulpit. The balcony was reserved for the women worshippers. The *Bimah,* where the reading desk for the Torah cantillation was located, was erected almost in the center of the auditorium. It consisted of a raised platform, approached on each side by a few steps and surrounded by a railing. The pews were placed on each side of the *Bimah* facing the Ark. The entrance to the synagogue auditorium was by way of staircases on each side of a vestibule on the ground floor, which led to a small vestibule in front of the auditorium and from there extended to the women's balcony. In the basement, they provided for the washrooms, the *Beth Hamidrash,* where the daily services were held, and a small vestry.

The exterior of the *K'neseth Israel* synagogue did not follow any particular architectural style. In effect it was a combination of Byzantine and Moorish designs with an attic roof, the front of which merged into a small arcade with a beautiful small dome and spire on top of which was the star of David. Two large doors let to the arched entrance. Small spires extended on each side of the front wall. The windows were of stained glass with a circular effect on top of each window. A large star of David in stained glass was surmounted on a large stained glass window above the entrance.[81]

The synagogue of *Anshe K'neseth Israel* had an unusually large library of rabbinic literature. Towards the end of the century they possessed no less than sixteen complete sets of the Talmud.

In 1887, the synagogue of *Ohave Sholom* on Canal Street suffered the damages of a fire, and for a short while the congregation worshipped at the home of the rabbi. But, within less than a year, they purchased a site on Canal and Liberty Streets, for the sum of $6,200. Early in 1888, they laid the cornerstone of a new synagogue. On September 2, 1888, they dedicated their new house of worship which cost approximately $25,000, and was very much similar to that of the *K'neseth Israel* synagogue. The interior was practically identical. The exterior was a great improvement over the latter. Instead of a single dome over an arcade in the center,

the *Ohave Sholom* had two domes, a small one on the right side and a large one on the left side of the building. Both extended directly from the walls. They appeared more like the domes on the Greek Orthodox churches. Each had a small spire with a star of David on top of it. Two stairways on the outside led from the sidewalks to the main entrance and vestibule of the synagogue auditorium.[82]

Just as in the case of the Reform congregations all the rabbis of the German-Jewish community participated in the dedication exercises, so in the case of the Orthodox congregations all the rabbis of the East-European Jewish community participated. But the primary function at the dedication seemed to have been performed by cantors rather than by the rabbis. When the *K'neseth Israel* synagogue was dedicated, the congregation imported, especially for the occasion, Cantor Kalman Kleinowitz from Shilel, Russia. After the *Ohave Sholom* dedicated its new synagogue, the congregation replaced its old cantor, Meyer Cantorowitz with a new cantor, called Alexandrowitch, who remained with them for twenty-seven years. It soon became a vogue among the Orthodox congregations in the East-European Jewish community to compete with one another, each attempting to engage a better *hazan*.[83]

The *Ohave Sholom* retained possession of their old synagogue on 516 S. Canal Street. After they moved to their new place, they sold the old one to a member of the congregation for 8,500 dollars, with the stipulation that for five years it should not be used as a synagogue. The purchaser, however, violated the agreement and leased the building for one year to the *Anshe Suvalk Congregation*, for a rental of one hundred dollars. When the *Ohave Sholom Congregation* was about to bring suit against the purchaser, the latter agreed to abide by the decision of an arbitration committee, which ruled that he was to pay a fine of five hundred dollars for the violation. They were gracious to permit the offender to pay the fine in monthy installments of fifty dollars each.[84]

A few of the other Orthodox congregations, smaller in size, acquired synagogues either through the purchase of old churches or by building new structures. In 1888, the *Hungarain Congregation Agudath Achim* purchased a Baptist

church at 307 Maxwell Street for the sum of 7,000 dollars and remodeled it into a synagogue which was later purchased by the *Beth Hamedrosh Hagodol.*[85] A fairly large synagogue was erected by *Congregation B'nai Israel* in the early nineties, at 1115 Cambridge Street. This synagogue is now used as a suitcase factory.[86]

Another synagogue was built by the *Congregation Chesed V'emeth* at 107 Brown Street, and dedicated on Sunday afternoon, November 4, 1894. The local press in reporting on this dedication commented that "the congregation is of recent formation and consists of sixty members, mainly of Austrian birth."[87]

A synagogue of frame construction was also acquired by the *Congregation B'nai David,* consisting primarily of immigrants from Hungary. This synagogue was located on Wood Street.[88] Of the thirty-seven known Orthodox congregations in the East-European Jewish community more than thirty were without houses of worship of their own at the turn of the century. They were all still holding services in rented halls or rooms above stores.[89]

At the turn of the century when the Chicago Jewish community boasted of at least fifty congregations, there were at least twenty Jewish houses of worship in the city. Most of them were handsome in appearance and built originally as synagogue structures. Some were among the most beautiful houses of prayer in the city.

2

Synagogue Leadership

THE problem of spiritual leadership in the Jewish community of Chicago in the nineteenth century was part of a larger problem for the entire Jewish community in America. When the first Jewish congregation was founded in Chicago, there were only three ordained rabbis in all of the United States, and all of them had come here after 1840.[1] Before the American Revolution, a number of ordained rabbis had visited the colonies, but none settled here permanently.[2] There may have been some visiting rabbis later of whom we have no record. We do know of some ordained rabbis who had settled in South America and in the West Indies before the American Revolution, but none came north.[3]

The Spanish-Portuguese Congregation, *Shearith Israel* in New York, founded in 1655, and the Congregation *Yeshuat Israel* in Newport, R. I., founded in 1658, both established the tradition that the *hazan,* who as a rule was also the *shohet* and the teacher, acted as the spiritual leader of the congregation and the community. He was called *Reverend,* in the style of English Jewry and the Protestant Church. In the records they are referred to officially as *minister.*[4]

When the *Ashkenazic* congregations began to be organized early in the nineteenth century, the same custom prevailed among them.

A Chicagoan of those days, in speaking about the early Jewish community, recalled that the "minister was the reader; he had to perform the marriage ceremony; he had to be present at funerals and offer the prayers there as well as in the house of mourning, and he had to act as *shochet.*"[5]

Later on, *hazanim* were also called "Rabbi" at times, not officially in the records, but by the people at large, and they were looked upon as such. In the latter part of the nine-

teenth century, with the German influence, the appellation "Doctor" was assumed by many, or given to them by the people. In some instances, the *hazanim,* especially those of German descent, did have a doctor's degree or later acquired one.[6]

Ofttimes, wherever and whenever needed, the *hazan* also acted as the preacher of the congregation. In the middle of the century, preaching in the American congregations was not too popular. The influence of the traditional synagogues in Europe still prevailed; preaching took place only on several occasions of the year, such as *Shabbath Hogodol, Shabbath Shuvah,* and on special events or holidays. Through the influence earlier in the century of the Reform movement in Germany, the sermon became an integral part of the religious service in the synagogue of the German and the Sephardic Jews; subsequently it also penetrated into synagogues of the East-European Jews.[7]

That the *hazan* should function in all of these capacities, and also serve as preacher, was not due to choice but to necessity. In the first place, the American Jewish community did not attract ordained rabbis. The distance from Europe, the hazards of the ocean journey at the time, the reputation of being a *Trefene Medinah* and a land of adventure, opportunity and radicalism, rather than a land of culture and religion, were all contributing factors in keeping men who had chosen to devote their life's work to the rabbinic calling, away from American shores. The small size of the individual communities, and their inability to maintain a rabbi at the standard of living set for American ministers, were not conducive to the settlement of ordained rabbis in the New World. The combined office of *hazan, shohet,* teacher, and preacher was more suitable to the economy of the congregations and also to the nature of American Jewish communities in the middle of the nineteenth century.

No single individual could perform adequately all the tasks imposed upon the *hazan.* Some of the *Reverends* were not capable of performing all the functions. Very few were good teachers. Still fewer were good preachers. There were some who had assumed the post of *hazan* or teacher or both, simply because of lack of ability to do anything else. Many

a time a *hazan,* or a *shohet,* or even a rabbi, left his position on first opportunity he was able to find a more lucrative source of making a living.[8] These conditions may have been responsible for some of the laxity in the observance of Jewish tradition which developed quite early in this country, and which as a rule, was often blamed upon economic conditions rather than a lack of proper spiritual leadership, teaching and guidance.

In general, however, there was a shortage of *hazanim, shohetim,* and teachers in the middle of the ninteenth century. Therefore, when congregations needed religious functionaries for their communities, they sought them in European countries through advertisements in the Jewish publications there.[9] Occasionally a local American businessman, who would be going to Europe on a business or pleasure trip would arrange to interview some candidates or a promising individual with a view to finding spiritual leaders for the New World.[10]

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the early spiritual leaders in the Jewish community of Chicago were merely *hazanim* and not ordained rabbis. In fact, the first Jewish spiritual leader in Chicago was invited to fill the need of a *shohet* in the community. He was to make it possible to provide *kosher* meat for those who were scrupulous about their observance of Jewish dietary laws.[11]

It was more than a year after its founding before the Chicago congregation obtained the services of Reverend Ignatz Kunreuther, who was brought from New York, on November 5, 1847, to serve as spiritual leader of the small but growing Jewish community of Chicago.[12] A later chronicler, recalling the early Jewish community life in Chicago and referring to Mr. Kunreuther reminds us that: "The congregation provided for a reader, a chasen (sic), and a shachet (sic)—a man able to kill cattle and fowl according to Jewish rites."[13]

The Reverend Ignatz Kunreuther came to Chicago on the invitation of *K. A. M.* Although he was a functionary of *K. A. M.* only, he was considered the *shohet* of the entire community, and he acted as such.[14]

Reverend Mr. Kunreuther was born in a small city near Frankfort-on-the-Main, in the year 1811. His father, who was rabbi at Gelnhausen, Germany, raised him in an ultra-orthodox atmosphere, and gave him an intensive religious education. He was a man of fine character, convincingly traditional, and observant of Jewish law and lore. He had good *Talmudic* training, and was well-versed in rabbinic literature. He also possessed much secular knowledge. Kunreuther conducted the services at *K. A. M.* in accordance with the strict observances of Orthodoxy. He served the congregation for six years. When some of the members of the congregation began to agitate for the adoption of reforms in the synagogue worship, he resigned his position and retired to private life.

However, according to a contemporary authentic document, Mr. Kunreuther was expelled from the congregation. The reason is not given.[15] During his ministry, Reverend Mr. Kunreuther had the opportunity to participate in an Ecclesiastical Court of three, that is called in the records, "Constituted Rabbinate Collegium." The court presided over the conversion to Judaism of one Caroline F. Hamlin of Lymanville, Stark County. Miss Hamlin married a Chicagoan by the name of Marcus Spiegel, who was traditionally inclined. In the certificate which was issued on August 21, 1853, Kunreuther's name appears with the title "Reverend". Of the other two members, one was Samuel Straus, a layman, who is also called "Reverend", and Isador Kalish, after whose name appears the title "Rabbi". Rabbi Kalish was from Cleveland, Ohio. Apparently, he was invited to come to Chicago for this occasion in order to preside over the proceedings as an ordained rabbi.[16]

After the relationship between *K.A.M.* and the Reverend Mr. Kunreuther was severed the latter entered the real estate and loan business, and became very successful in his endeavors. When the *Rodef Sholom Congregation,* which later became *Beth El,* acquired its synagogue on May and Second Streets, Mr. Kunreuther, who lived on Harrison Street and Fourth Avenue, walked the long distance from his home to the *Rodef Sholom* synagogue to officiate there at the services on Saturdays.[17] This he did voluntarily. Mr.



Rabbi Aaron J. Messing



Dr. Bernhard Felsenthal



Ignatz Kunreuther



Rabbi Henry Gersoni

Rabbis of some of the German-Jewish Congregations

Kunreuther passed away on June 27, 1884, at the age of seventy-three.

G. Schneidacher, who succeeded Kunreuther as "Minister and Teacher of *Kehilath Anshe Mayriv,*" in 1853, and who is later identified as "Godfrey Snydacker" likewise was not ordained. Godfrey Snydacker was born in Enger, Westphalia, Germany, on September 7, 1826. He received a very good religious and academic training and pursued the profession of teacher. In 1853, he arrived in Chicago to assume the post at *K. A. M.* As a trained teacher, the education of the children of the congregation was his major concern. It was Snydacker, who laid the foundation of the all-day school at *K. A. M.,* where Hebrew, English and German were taught "in addition to the common branches." Like his predecessor, he retired to private life after staying with *K. A. M.,* for three years. Unlike Mr. Kunreuther, however, Mr. Snydacker, identified himself with the Reform movement and in 1865 became president of *Sinai Congregation.* He held that office several years. When the *United Hebrew Relief Association* was founded in 1859, he became one of its prominent leaders. He was particularly interested in the erection of the Jewish Hospital in 1868, and in the *Michael Reese Hospital* in 1880.

After Snydacker resigned from *K. A. M.* he established a grocery business in partnership with his brothers, Louis and Moses, under the firm name "Snydacker Bros." In 1858, he was appointed the German Consul in Chicago, a post which he held for several years. In 1861, he entered the real estate and banking business under the firm name "Snydacker and Co.", with offices at 153 Washington Street. In this business he continued to the end of his life. He was gathered to his fathers on April 12, 1892.[18]

Mr. Snydacker was succeeded at *K. A. M.* by the Reverend Isidor Lebrecht in 1855 as reader and *shohet.* Mr. Lebrecht was born in 1805 in Niederstetten, Wurtenburg. He arrived in New York from Germany on Sept. 3, 1854. Six months later he was called to the *K.A.M.* pulpit. He, too, did not stay long with *K. A. M.* and soon retired to private life.[19]

Lebrecht was followed by the Reverend Mr. G. M. Cohen, as cantor and teacher. Cohen had been the *hazan* of *Temple Emanu-El* of New York from 1845 until 1852. He was also a teacher in *Emanu-El's* parochial school, and at the *Congregation Anshe Chesed* in New York.[20] In New York, Cohen used the liturgical compositions which were used in the synagogues in Munich, Vilna and Paris. The rabbi of *Temple Emanu-El* at that time was Dr. Merzbacher, one of the early leaders of Reform Judaism in America, and editor of a prayerbook *Seder Tifilah,* referred to usually as the *Merzbacher Siddur.*[21] It was under Merzbacher's influence that Cohen developed Reform tendencies which he unsuccessfully attempted to manifest at *K.A.M.* Later he sought to establish the first Reform congregation in Chicago.[22]

The Reform tendencies of Reverend Mr. Cohen were not popular at *K.A.M.* By 1857, the congregation was deeply concerned about its spiritual leadership and desired to replace the services of the Reverend Mr. Cohen with those of two competent men who would fit ideologically into the ministry of the congregation.[23] It is interesting to note the change of the needs of spiritual leadership by *K. A. M.* This change can be noted in the differences in the advertisements sent out by the congregation in search for religious functionaries. In 1851, when the congregation was seeking to engage functionaries, it advertised for two gentlemen, one to fill the office of "חזן ומלמד Reader and Teacher," and one to act as "שוחט מוהל ושמש *shohet, mohel* and *shamash.*"[24] In 1857, when they were looking for two gentlemen, one was to serve as "rabbi and preacher," and the other as "teacher, cantor and choir director."[25] Apparently there was a change not only in economic standards and religious needs, but also in ideology, by this time. It is evident from this advertisement that by 1857, the Jewish community of Chicago had grown sufficiently in numbers to warrant the engagement of a full-fledged rabbi and preacher. There is also another interesting item to be noted in this second advertisement. Whereas, in 1851, the salary offered for the "reader and teacher" was $500.00 a year, and for the *shohet, mohel* and *shamash* $300.00, in 1857 the remuneration offered to the rabbi was $1,000.00 annually, and that to the cantor $800.00.[26]

Apparently, economic conditions had improved to the extent that these higher salaries were possible. However, there was difficulty in obtaining these functionaries even at this higher salary. There were not many candidates in the United States, and clergymen from abroad still hesitated to come to America.

The second advertisement which was published in the *Israelitischer Volkslehrer,* in Frankfort-on-the-Main, did not produce many applications. It seems that only one letter was received from a resident of "Her British Majesty's Dominion," recommending a "high-learned gentleman, a man of great talents, a man of possessing appearance and a practical teacher." [27] This gentleman, apparently too impatient to wait for an invitation, arrived uninvited at the meeting of the committee to consider the recommendation. He proved, however, "not acceptable, because he did not live up to expectations." [28]

In Chicago, at this time, a religious functionary was elected for one year only. As a provision in the *K.A.M.* by-laws, it was criticized by Reverend Isaac Lesser in the *Occident,* who commended very highly the other provisions of the constitution.[29]

The editor of the *Volkslehrer* was likewise surprised that the term of office of rabbi and cantor was only for one year, nor did he consider the salary very attractive. He expressed the hope that this tenure would be changed, and even that the salary might be increased.[30] However, it was not until 1861, when the term of office was changed from one to three years. [31] Even though *K. A. M.* offered only a one year contract, in 1857, the congregation succeeded in engaging Dr. M. Mensor to fill the position of rabbi.

Rabbi Mensor came from Dublin, Ireland. The congregation had hoped to find in him a true champion of traditionalism, but he proved a disappointment. The congregation at that time began to experience differences of opinion among its members concerning the ritual. Although there was much unrest concerning the problems of "Reform," Dr. Mensor attempted to introduce certain changes which occasioned protest.[32] The *Cincinnati Israelite* of February 26, 1858, conveyed a different impression:

> The reforms proposed by the Rev. D. Mensor were all accepted without any objections. The congregation rejoices in a most peaceful condition, and has unlimited confidence in its pastor. The *hazan* elected being unable to come, arrangements were being made to re-elect Rev. Mr. Cohen as *hazan* and teacher. This will be no trifling acquisition for the synagogue. We are glad to learn that matters bear so prosperous an aspect, and hope they will continue so.[33]

In 1859, Dr. Mensor resigned the pulpit of *K. A. M.* and the rabbinic post remained unoccupied until 1860, when Dr. Solomon Friedlander, recommended by Dr. Samuel Adler of New York, assumed the position of spiritual leader of the congregation at a salary of $1,000.00 annually.[34] Dr. Friedlander was born on October 23, 1825, in Westphalia. He had received an excellent Jewish and secular education. At the age of nineteen, he acquired his Doctor of Philosophy degree from the University of Heidelberg. In 1847, he began to publish in Leipzig the *History of the Israelitish People.* In 1850, he published *The Life of the Prophets.* He was an associate preacher under Holdheim of the *Berlin Reform Society.* Later he became a professor at the *Jewish Teachers' Seminary* in Muenster, Germany. Not satisfied with this work, he studied medicine and received his medical degree in 1855. Unsuccessful in practice, he emigrated to America the same year. After having practiced medicine in New York without marked success, he accepted the post at *K. A. M.* But, soon after he came to Chicago, he was poisoned by the bite of a spider and passed away.[35]

Dr. Friedlander's brief ministry at *K. A. M.,* is not without significance. Having been raised in Westphalia, where German Reform Judaism practically originated, and having served under Holdheim in Berlin as associate preacher it goes without saying that Friedlander represented quite a liberal point of view in Reform Judaism. His engagement by *K. A. M.* might have been not only to fill a need and a vacancy but also to satisfy the liberal elements of the congregation and to meet the challenge of Dr. Felsenthal who, by this time, had begun his ardent agitation for Reform Judaism in Chicago in the spirit of David Einhorn of Baltimore.[36]

Prior to the coming of Dr. Friedlander in 1859, the congregation engaged as *hazan* and teacher, as well as choir director and reader of the Torah, the Reverend Marx Moses, who hailed from Alsheim, Rhenish Hessia, and who had been associated with the *Lodge Street Synagogue* in Cincinnati and with the *Congregation Shaare Rachamim* in New York, before coming to Chicago. Reverend Mr. Moses, who was an excellent teacher and a good *hazan,* introduced a mixed choir and under him the services were very impressive. During the holidays, he recited prayers in German which made a deep impression. Generally, Moses is credited as having "improved the mode of worship."[37]

After the death of Dr. Friedlander, *K. A. M.* was once more subjected to the search for a spiritual leader. A number of candidates were interviewed. The one who was most acceptable to the congregation did not feel inclined to accept the position. Others were not acceptable to the congregation, which began to feel, at this time, that it could have its choice. Finally, on March 17, 1861, Reverend Liebman Adler, who was one of the candidates with whom the congregation negotiated, was elected for a term of three years, at a salary of twelve hundred dollars a year.[38]

Reverend Liebman Adler was born on January 9, 1812, in Lengsfeld, in the Grand Duchy of Saxe-Weimar, Germany. His father, Judah, was an instructor in the local Hebrew school, and his son received his early Jewish education in that school. Liebman Adler also attended a preparatory school. As a young man, he received instruction in Hebrew and Talmud from Rabbi Isaac Hess of Lengsfeld and Rabbi Kunreuther, father of Reverend Ignatz Kunreuther of Chicago, who was rabbi at Gelnhausen. He also attended the Jewish high school in Frankfort-on-the-Main. He was graduated from the *Jewish Teachers' Seminary in Weimar,* and was appointed head of the Jewish congregational school in his native city. When this school united with the public school at Lengsfeld in 1849, Adler was appointed the head teacher of the combined school. In 1854, he came to America. After a few months in this country, he was elected preacher in the Detroit congregation, where he remained until the

Spring of 1861. In that year, he accepted the post at *K. A. M.* and came to Chicago.

When and where Reverend Liebman Adler received the doctor's degree is not fully known. In the contemporary press and records, he is referred to sometimes as "Doctor" and sometimes as "Rabbi." Towards the latter part of his career, he was called "Doctor" exclusively.[39]

Dr. Adler's duties are defined in the records as *"hazan,* preacher and reader." It was stipulated that he preach once a month or "oftener if he desired," and "also every first and seven (sic) day י"ט ר"ה and י"כ subject to the direction of the president of the congregation."[40] Later, Dr. Adler was released from preaching, except on "Holy Days."[41] No doubt, this was due to the fact that Dr. Adler preached in German only. In 1872, there developed a demand for English preaching during the year. On the holidays and festivals, German preaching was retained. To meet the demand for English preaching, the congregation engaged Dr. M. Machol, of Leavenworth, Kansas, as preacher, limiting Dr. Adler's work to German preaching on special occasions and on holidays, to the chanting and the reading of the prayers, and to teaching.[42]

Dr. Machol was born on November 13, 1845, in Kolmar, Posen. He received his Ph.D. degree from the University of Breslau and was ordained by the *Jewish Theological Seminary* at Breslau.

In 1876, Dr. Machol resigned his position at *K. A. M.* to accept the call from *Anshe Chesed Congregation* of Cleveland, Ohio, and Dr. Adler resumed his preaching in German throughout the year, though occasionally he attempted, quite successfully, to preach in English.[43]

Dr. Adler was in the active ministry of *K. A. M.* until 1882, (his seventieth birthday) when he was made "emeritus." He was gathered to his fathers on January 29, 1892, at the age of 80. A week before his demise he wrote his last will, which merits to be classed among the many ethical wills in our literature. It reflects, in a sense, the character and the personality of the man. It is brief, to the point and reads in full thus:

I desire that there be no haste in my interment. If there are no signs of decomposition sooner, the funeral should not be until forty-eight hours after my death.

If the physician who treated me should find it desirable in the interest of science to hold a post-mortem examination, I would like that he be not interfered with.

My coffin shall not cost more than $7.

No flowers.

My funeral to be directly from the place of demise to the cemetery.

No funeral oration.

Dear Hannah: In view of your delicate health, I desire that you remain at home and not join the funeral if the weather is the least inclement.

Not more than three days' mourning in domestic retirement.

I cherish the kaddisch—prayers of mourning in the synagogue —of my sons and daughters as it deserves, but I do so only if you, after the expiration of the year of mourning, do not omit attendance at the synagogue without necessity.

If financial conditions permit, each of my married children should join a Jewish congregation, the fittest being the K. A. M. Kehillath Anshe Maarabh, "Congregation of the Men of the West," corner of Indiana avenue and Thirty-third street.

Those children who do not live too distant should if the weather permit, and if it can be done without disturbing their own domestic relations, gather every Friday evening around the mother.

My children, hold together. In this let no sacrifice be too great to assist each other and to uphold brotherly and sisterly sentiment. Each deed of love you do to one another would be balm to my soul. The example of eleven children of one father who stand together in love and trust would be to his grave a better decoration than the most magnificent wreath of flowers, which I willingly decline, but leave to your judgment.

The small saving which I leave will come to you only after the death of the mother. I know you; I trust that you will not meet in an unfilial way about possession and disposition. The heritage which is already yours is a good name and as good an education as I could afford to give. It does not look as if anyone of you had a disposition to grow rich. Do not be worried by it. Remain strictly honest, truthful, industrious and frugal. Do not speculate. No blessings rests upon it even if it be successful. Throw your whole energy into the pursuance of the calling you have chosen. Serve the Lord and keep Him always before you, toward men be amiable, accommodating and modest, and you will fare well even without riches. My last word to you is: Honor your

> mother. Help her bear her dreary widowhood. Leave her undisturbed in the use of the small estate, and assist if there should be want.
>
> Farewell, wife and children!
>
> Another point, children. I know well you could not, if you would, practice Judaism according to my views and as I practiced it. But remain Jews and live as Jews in the best manner of your time, not only for yourself, but also where it is meet to further the whole.[44]

When Dr. Adler came to *K. A. M.* the congregation was in a fluctuating state ideologically, with the Conservative elements in the majority and in control. The liberal Reform elements seceded to form *Sinai Congregation.* Yet, moderate reforms were continuously introduced, some under protest and some with the consent of the entire membership. The policy was by no means definite or clear. The trend was towards Reform Judaism, which was finally achieved during Dr. Adler's ministry. The choice of Dr. Adler's successor indicates that, as late as 1882, *K. A. M.* was still wavering between absolute Reform advocated by the majority of the congregation and liberal Conservatism, espoused, to the last day, by Dr. Adler.

Dr. Adler was succeeded by Dr. Samuel Sale, who was elected to the pulpit of *K. A. M.* on August 5, 1883. Dr. Sale was the first American-born rabbi to serve a Chicago pulpit. He was quite liberal in his Reform views. Until Dr. Sale's assumption of active duty, Dr. Hirsch of *Sinai* preached at *K. A. M.* on several Sabbaths.[45] This no doubt put the congregation in a receptive mood to the views of liberal Reform.

Dr. Sale was born October 29, 1854, in Louisville, Ky. He studied at Washington and Lee University of Lexington, Va. In 1873, he went to Europe to study at the University of Berlin and at the *Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judenthums,* where he received his doctorate and rabbinic degrees in 1876. The *Har Sinai Congregation* in Baltimore, which was indoctrinated with extreme liberal Reform by Dr. Einhorn, was Dr. Sale's first pulpit.[46]

Dr. Sale ministered to *K. A. M.* for four years, after which he went to *Congregation Shaare Emeth* of St. Louis. He was succeeded at *K.A.M.* by Dr. Isaac S. Moses of Nashville, Tennessee, in April 1884. Dr. Moses was more Conservative.[47]



Chief Rabbi J. D. Ridwas.



RABBI A. S. BRAUDE



RABBI TODRAS TICKTIN

Rabbis of some of the East-European Congregations

Rabbi Moses came from Posen, Prussia, and had studied at the Real Gymnasium in Silesia. From 1865 to 1869, he attended the Conservative Rabbinical Seminary at Breslau. Upon arrival in America in 1872, he assumed the position as rabbi in Quincy, Ill. In 1877 he was called to Milwaukee, Wis., where he remained for eight years. During this time, he was co-editor of *Der Zeitgeist* with Dr. E. G. Hirsch of Chicago and Dr. Adolph Moses of Louisville.[48] For the short period of nine months, he was rabbi in Nashville, whence he was called to Chicago. Rabbi Moses served *K.A.M.* until 1869. In that year he declined reelection and Rabbi Moses Perez Jacobson was elected to succeed him. After Dr. Moses resigned from *K. A. M.* he organized the *People's Synagogue,* and became its rabbi until December 16, 1900.[49]

Rabbi Jacobson was a native of Ft. Wayne, Indiana. In June 1886, he was ordained by the Hebrew Union College and received his B. A. degree from the University of Cincinnati. Before coming to *K. A. M.* Rabbi Jacobson had held rabbinic posts at *Congregation Beth Israel,* Macon, Georgia, *Congregation Beth El,* San Antonio, Texas, *Congregation B'nai Israel,* Salt Lake City, Utah and *Congregation Rodef Sholom,* Youngstown, Ohio. Rabbi Jacobson was installed in his new pulpit on March 1, 1897. In the interval between July 1896, and the installation of Rabbi Jacobson, Reverend H. Eliassof, who was the principal of the *K.A.M.* Sabbath School at the time, had officiated as reader of the congregation.[50] Rabbi Jacobson remained with *K. A. M.* until the end of the century. He was succeeded in March, 1901 by Rabbi Tobias Schanfarber, whose work and ministry in Chicago is part of the 20th century epic.[51]

The first minister of the second congregation in Chicago, the *K.B.S.,* was the Reverend Edward Meirs of St. Louis, who accepted the position of reader and *shohet* of the congregation for one year, and served gratuitously. This was nothing unusual at the time. As we will see later, other rabbis in the city and elsewhere served gratuitously during that period of Jewish community life, particularly among the East-European Jews. Mr. Meirs seemed to have derived his livelihood from operating a millinery store.[52] Meirs was succeeded by Rev. Samuel Loewenthal, who was paid for his

services. In 1856, Rev. Alexis Alexander was the teacher and *shohet* of *K.B.S.* A year later we find Rev. Israel R. Worrensky occupying the position of *hazan* and *shohet* with a fixed salary of $600.00 per year. Mr. Alexander remained the teacher and the secretary of the congregation, suffixing to his name the title "professor," and supplementing his income from profits of a little grocery store he operated. Other ministers who served the congregation were: Rabbi S. Albo and Rev. W. Weinstein.[53]

From 1864 on, after *K. B. S.* built its beautiful synagogue, the congregation was very much desirous of obtaining the services of a spiritual leader, who should lend dignity to the position, prestige to the synagogue and should compare favorably to the other ministers in the community. An advertisement for a rabbi "fluent in German and English," which appeared in the *Israelite* in 1866, yielded no suitable candidate.

Not until 1868, when Rabbi Aaron J. Messing of Germany was called to the pulpit, did the congregation achieve this aim.

Rabbi Aaron J. Messing was born in Argenau, Prussia, on June 18, 1840. He was a descendant of a long line of rabbis in Poland. Messing was the oldest of four brothers, two of whom were also rabbis and one a merchant in Pittsburgh. The two rabbis were the Reverend M. Messing of Indianapolis and the Reverend Henry Messing of the *United Hebrew Congregation* of St. Louis.[54]

Rabbi Messing was educated for the ministry from the earliest days of his childhood. He received his Hebrew education under Rabbi Elijah Guttmacher, who was reputed to have been a "Hassidic Rabbi" in Graudenz, Posen. He also studied in Berlin and at the University of Rostock, where he received the Ph.D. degree. At twenty he became rabbi of the Jewish community in Militch, Schlesien. After three years in that post, he was engaged as the spiritual leader of the congregation in Mecklenburg Schwerin, Germany, where he remained for five years. In 1867, at the age of twenty-seven, he accepted the call of the Christy Street Synagogue in New York City, to which pulpit he was recommended by Zunz. A year after serving the New York congregation, Rabbi Messing re-

turned for a short while to Europe. In 1868, he received the call from *K.B.S.* and he came to Chicago to assume the spiritual leadership of that congregation. He stayed in Chicago only for a few years. On June 2, 1870, he left the city to accept the rabbinic post of the *Shearith Israel Congregation* in San Francisco at an annual salary of $3,000.00. He remained in San Francisco for only three years, and then returned to Chicago to resume his duties with *K. B. S.* After the High Holy Days of 1876, Rabbi Messing once more resigned his rabbinic post at *K. B. S.* and accepted the call of the *Peoria Hebrew Congregation,* where he stayed but a short time. In March of 1877, he again responded to a call from the San Francisco Jewish community. This time it was from the *Beth Israel Congregation* of that city. While in San Francisco for the second time, he was instrumental in establishing twenty-three Hebrew schools and no less than twelve congregations in Nevada, Oregon and California. In the interest of his spiritual, religious, educational and organizational work, he undertook a successful journey to Australia. When he returned from his journey, he again received an invitation from *K. B. S.* to become its rabbi. In 1890, he left San Francisco and returned to Chicago to resume his ministry here. He remained in Chicago the rest of his life.[55]

Between the years 1870 and 1873, we know of only one minister who served *K. B. S.* in the absence of Rabbi Messing. This was Rabbi Morris Spitz, who occupied the pulpit in 1871. Rabbi Spitz was born in Csaba, Hungary, in 1848. He was the son of Rabbi Joseph Spitz, and was educated in the rabbinic schools at Csaba and at Budapest. He attended the Gymnasium at Budapest and the University of Prague. He received his rabbinic ordination from Rabbi Judah Teveles of Prague. After leaving Chicago, Rabbi Spitz occupied the pulpit of *Congregation Emanu-El,* Milwaukee, Wisconsin, for seven years. In 1878, he became the rabbi of *Congregation B'nai El* in St. Louis, Mo.

Rabbi Spitz contributed many essays to the *Israelite* and *Die Deborah* under the pen name "Ben Abi," and he also wrote for many publications in Europe.[56]

From the very beginning, Rabbi Messing faithfully upheld the Orthodox traditions of the congregation in Chicago. He was a fine orator and gained many friends and followers in the community at large. When he returned from San Francisco, the first time, he seemed to have continued the traditional tendencies of the congregation. However, when he returned from San Francisco the second time, and found that, by that time, *K.B.S.* had gradually evolved into a Reform congregation, Rabbi Messing fell in line with the new ideology and practices of the congregation.[57]

During the second absence of Rabbi Messing, Rabbi Henry Gersoni became the spiritual leader of *Congregation B'nai Sholom.* Gersoni served the congregation for two years from 1877 to 1879. He had a very colorful career. A product of the early *Haskalah* movement in Russia, he was one of the group of young people who sought to emancipate themselves from the rigors of strict traditionalism and from the ghetto outlook and environment of extreme East-European Rabbinic Orthodoxy.

Gersoni was born in 1844, in Vilna, Lithuania. In accordance with the custom of Russian Jewry at that time, the environment of the Vilna Jewish community, and the desire of his pious and Orthodox parents, Gersoni was educated in the *Beth Midrash* of the *Vilna Gaon* and in other Lithuanian *Yeshivoth* for the career of Orthodox rabbi. He had a good mind and, early in his youth, gained a wide knowledge of the *Talmud* and rabbinic literature, and acquired an excellent rabbinic background. Presently he developed a yearning for worldly and secular knowledge, and secretly began to study languages: Russian, German, French, and English. In the beginning, there was no objection on the part of his parents and teachers to his study of non-Hebrew culture. But before long Gersoni's concentration on these studies disturbed them, especially when they noticed that his interest, progress, and enthusiasm in *Talmudic* studies began to diminish.[58] Upon the advice of some of his friends, Gersoni left Vilna to matriculate in the University of Petersburg to study philosophy. With the written recommendations of some of his "enlightened" friends, Gersoni succeeded in becoming a tutor of languages, especially French and English, in some influential

and rich homes in Petersburg. This helped him enough financially to enable him to pursue his own studies. Among his students was the daughter of a Russian general with whom he fell in love. Believing that, if he were converted to Christianity, he would be able to marry the general's daughter, Gersoni pretended to have adopted Greek Catholicism. However, when he asked for her hand, the general became so enraged that he threatened to kill him. This happened in 1866. Gersoni ran for his life. His intentions were to settle in Berlin, to forget about his "conversion" which he did not take seriously, and to enter the university to continue his philosophic studies. However, because of the Austria-Prussian war which was raging at the time, the police did not permit Gersoni, a "foreigner," to remain in Berlin. He finally succeeded in getting to London. Impoverished, hungry, and without friends or acquaintances, Gersoni accepted the hospitality of a missionary society in London, the *Christian Bible House,* where he worked in the printing and bindery shops. At the same time, he was also engaged in the translation of the Bible into several languages under the auspices of that institution. The *Christian Bible Society* had hoped to interest Gersoni in a missionary career. However, Gersoni soon became remorseful, regretting his actions of the past, and especially his association with the missionary society. He had not been fully aware of the implication of his position when first he accepted it. He therefore sought the advice of the Chief Rabbi, Dr. Nathan Adler. His primary concern was to escape from the clutches of the *Bible House.* Dr. Adler counseled him to go to Paris where he could study at the Sorbonne. In Paris, Gersoni succeeded in obtaining a scholarship from the Parisian Jewish community, which was always willing to assist young refugee students; but no sooner did Dr. Isadore, the Chief Rabbi of the Paris Jewish community, learn of Gersoni's career in Petersburg, then he immediately threatened to withdraw his support. In the meantime, the London missionaries began to prosecute Gersoni for not carrying out his promises to them. In order to gain the good graces of the Jewish community, he published a Hebrew essay entitled, *Whoso confesseth and forsaketh them, shall obtain mercy,* in the

Hamaggid; in this he vindicated himself completely. As a result Dr. Isadore helped Gersoni to emigrate to the United States, where he arrived in 1869 at the age of twenty-five.[59]

Upon his arrival in America, Gersoni obtained a position as a Sunday school teacher at *Temple Emanu-El* in New York where he remained but a short time. The leaders of *Temple Emanu-El,* who were all German Jews, did not relish the idea of having a Russian Jew, though possessing a great deal of knowledge, instructing their children. After the short period at *Emanu-El,* Gersoni succeeded in obtaining a position at the *Post,* a Yiddish publication, where he worked as typesetter and also was a contributor of literary articles.[60] He could not get along well with Mr. Zvi Hirsch Bernstein, the editor of the *Post,* and accepted the position of spiritual leader of the *Hebrew Congregation* in Atlanta, Georgia. Gersoni introduced a number of reforms in the Atlanta congregation. He preached in English and devoted considerable time to literary activity. While in Atlanta he published, in 1873, *Gersoni's Sketches of Jewish Life and History.*

After assuming his rabbinic position at *Congregation B'nai Sholom* in Chicago, Gersoni continued his interest in Reform Judaism, and also became active in the Anglo-Jewish press. In 1878, he founded the *Jewish Advance,* an English-German weekly, which appeared for three years. He also founded and edited the Anglo-Jewish monthly *The Maccabean.* After Gersoni resigned his rabbinic post at *B'nai Sholom,* he did not leave the city. He remained here to edit the periodicals he had founded. Occasionally he officiated as a guest rabbi in congregations where the pulpit was vacant. Thus in 1880, in the absence of a permanent rabbi at *Sinai Congregation,* we find that Rabbi Gersoni conducted the Confirmation Service and confirmed the children of that congregation.[61]

In 1882, Gersoni settled in New York City and devoted his time exclusively to literary activities. He became an active contributor to the American press. At the same time, he contributed a series of articles under the title *Letters from America,* to many Hebrew publications abroad, including the *Hashiloach.* During the latter period of his life, Gersoni translated a number of Russian classics into English,

and some of Longfellow's poems into Hebrew. He manifested a special liking for the Hebrew language and founded the Hebrew-speaking organization, *Hoveve Sfath Ever,* in New York, which attracted many of the early Hebrew intellectuals in the city. He died in 1897, at the age of 53.[62]

In 1880, *K. B. S.* had no rabbi. *The Jewish Advance* criticized this fact editorially. Yet, the Chicago City Directory for 1879 lists the Reverend Dr. Samuel Marks as the spiritual leader of that congregation. Dr. Marks was at *K.B.S.* also in 1881, when he was succeeded by Reverend Marcus Bonnheim, who occupied the position for only one year. In 1883-84, Reverend S. Kaufman held the rabbinic post. In 1885, the congregation had no minister. From 1886 until the return of Rabbi Messing, Reverend Bernard Cohn occupied the pulpit.[63]

The first spiritual leader of *Sinai Congregation* was Dr. Bernhard Felsenthal. Dr. Felsenthal was not brought up for a rabbinic career, nor was he ordained as a rabbi.

Dr. Felsenthal was born on January 22, 1822, at Muenchweiller, near Kaiserslautern in Rhenish Bavaria, Germany. He received his elementary education in his native town. Later, he attended the *Kreisgewerbschule* in Kaiserslautern, the Polytechnic High School in Munich, and the *Teachers' Seminary* at Kaiserslautern from which he was graduated in 1843. After teaching ten years in a small Jewish congregational school, he emigrated to America in 1854. Here Dr. Felsenthal spent his first two years as a teacher in Lawrenceburg, Indiana. In 1856, he accepted a teaching position in Madison, Wis. Two years later, when he came to Chicago, he took the position of clerk in the banking house of Greenebaum Brothers.

When the *Juedischer Reformverein* was founded in Chicago in 1858, Felsenthal became its secretary and guiding spirit. The *Reformverein* became the *Chicago Sinai Congregation* in 1861, and Dr. Felsenthal, upon the advice of Dr. David Einhorn of Baltimore and Dr. Samuel Adler of New York, accepted the position as its first spiritual leader. In order to qualify for the post, Dr. Einhorn sent Dr. Felsenthal a *Zeugniss* (certificate), in which he praised his "thorough knowledge," his "holy ardor," and his "exceptional

character." Dr. Samuel Adler conferred upon Dr. Felsenthal the title of *Morenu ha-Rav* (our teacher, the rabbi) and paid glowing tribute to his learning and his profoundly religious spirit. Two years later, Dr. Einhorn also bestowed upon Dr. Felsenthal the same title.[64]

Dr. Felsenthal served *Sinai Congregation* until 1864, having been elected to the post from year to year, in accordance with the custom of that congregation at the time. When a committee called on Dr. Felsenthal, on May 4, 1864, to inform him that he had been re-elected for the following year with a substantial increase in salary, he declined the reappointment. Dr. Felsenthal requested that he be elected "for a longer term of years, or, if the congregation would prefer this, that they would secure him in this position during good behavior." [65]

This request was voted down by the majority of the congregation, and, on June 17, 1864, Dr. Felsenthal preached his farewell sermon at *Sinai Congregation.*[66]

After Dr. Felsenthal resigned from *Sinai Congregation,* he became the first rabbi of *Zion Congregation,* which he helped to organize in 1864. In 1866, he received a Ph. D. degree *honoris causa* from the *Chicago University.* In 1902, he was awarded the honorary degree of D. D. by the Hebrew Union College, and, in 1905, he received a D. D. degree from the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. Dr. Felsenthal remained in active service as the spiritual leader of *Zion Congregation* for twenty-three years. He passed away on January 12, 1908.

After Dr. Felsenthal left, *Sinai Congregation* extended an invitation to Dr. David Einhorn of *Har Sinai Congregation* in Baltimore, to become its rabbi. Dr. Einhorn was editor of *Sinai,* a German-Jewish publication, and author of the Reform prayerbook *Olath Tamid.* This prayerbook was used by the principal Reform congregations in America, including *Sinai* of Chicago. He was one of the leading Reform rabbis of the time. However, Dr. Einhorn did not accept the invitation of Chicago *Sinai Congregation.*[67] Thereupon Dr. Felsenthal was asked to return to *Sinai,* and he likewise refused.[68]

In its efforts to secure a rabbi, *Sinai Congregation* stipulated that the applicant be a university graduate and a fully ordained rabbi, possessing, among other qualifications, the ability to preach in the German language. It was not easy to find such a candidate.

In the meantime, a Mr. Heiman of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, was engaged as reader and teacher for about a year after the autumn of 1864. Before Mr. Heiman's assumption of his duties and after he left, various laymen of the congregation conducted the services. During the High Holy Days of 1864, Dr. Adler of *K. A. M.* left his own pulpit to preach a sermon before *Sinai Congregation* on *Yom Kippur.*

In 1865, when B. Schoenman visited Europe and consulted Dr. Abraham Geiger about a candidate for *Sinai's* pulpit, the latter recommended very highly Dr. Isaac Loew Chronik. Upon Mr. Schoenman's return to Chicago, Dr. Chronik was elected the spiritual leader of *Sinai Congregation* for a period of five years, at a salary of three thousand dollars annually.[69]

Dr. Isaac Loew Chronik was born in Posen, Germany in 1831. He received his early Jewish education under the tutelage of his father, who wanted his son to become a traditional rabbi. At a very young age he entered the University of Koenigsberg, where his views on traditional Judaism and religious fundamentalism changed. For a while he became interested in politics and supported enthusiastically the Revolution of 1848. When the Revolution failed, he fled to Switzerland, where he began a literary career as a playwright. He published three plays: *Ahasveros, Herman und Hulda,* and *Der Famulus der Sternseher* (The Famulus of the Astrologer).

In 1856, Dr. Chronik settled in Amsterdam, Holland, where he tried to follow the rabbinic profession. He attempted to organize a Reform congregation, and met with great opposition by the Orthodox community. As if to reenact the Spinoza incident, some opponents actually threw stones at Chronik in the street.

After living in Holland four years, Chronik returned to Germany, where he became a member of the editorial staff

of the *Posener Zeitung* (The Posen Newspaper). After a short while he settled in Berlin, from where he came to Chicago.

It is not known whether Dr. Chronik received rabbinic ordination. Nor is it known where and in what field he received his doctorate. It is quite possible that it was in medicine. For, in the Chicago City Directory of 1871, and in the Census Report of that year, Dr. Chronik is listed as a physician.[70]

Dr. Chronik was a great scholar, he was held in high esteem by the congregation in Chicago, and commanded the respect of the community at large. His sermons were of high caliber, and it was often suggested that they were above the understanding of the worshippers. He conducted his ministry in strict German style. He never made an effort to acquire fluency in preaching in the English language. He was very much interested in literary work, and was the first to publish a monthly publication here in the style and form of the German *Juedische Wissenschaft* movement — *Zeichen der Zeit* (Symptoms of the Time).

Upon assuming the rabbinic post in Chicago, Dr. Chronik attracted city-wide attention. His sermons were published in the *Illinois Staatszeitung* and other German publications and periodicals. His counsel was sought by the German community as much as by the Jewish community. He was interested in general German affairs and lectured often on purely German themes. He made an unsuccessful attempt to organize a library and cultural society for Jews and Christians. He became active on a committee to fight Sunday blue laws, because they infringed upon the personal freedom of the people. He became a contributor to the *Deutsch-Americanisches Conversation Lexikon.* He lectured on the "Origin of Christianity" in the hall of the *Germania Maennerchor.* He was a member of a committee together with Dr. Felsenthal to welcome General Philip Sheridan to Chicago. Together with Felsenthal, he also attended the Rabbinic Conference in Philadelphia, where he advocated and promoted many radical Reform ideas. In general, he seemed to have divided his activities and loyalties between the general community and his congregation.[71]

Before the great fire of 1871, Dr. Chronik resigned from his pulpit, and moved from 99 Jackson Street to 201 - 3rd Avenue. The reason for the resignation is nowhere recorded. The conjecture that it was because of his dissatisfaction with the lack of spiritual life in America in general, and the lack of understanding of his theologic views, high academic standards, and literary and philosophic activities in particular, may well be right. If utterances in sermons may be taken as historic evidence, perhaps Chronik's statement in the penitential sermon, preached after the great fire, when Mayor R. B. Mason proclaimed a day of penitence and prayer, may reflect the reason for his resignation. "We were unworthy trustees of the goods entrusted to us, we have neglected the spiritual for the material good," said Chronik. Perhaps it was the overemphasis of the material rather than the cultural which displeased him so much that he decided to leave the pulpit in America. Then, of course, it might have been his genuine yearning to return to Berlin to live within the complete German environment. For Chronik never accepted American culture. Finally, it has been suggested, that it might have been the gradual assertion of the new generation in Chicago that desired an English-speaking and an American-thinking rabbi, rather than a spiritual leader who was completely German in language and in spirit.

Dr. Chronik did not return to Germany immediately. For about two years, he stayed on in Chicago, devoting apparently his energies to the practice of medicine.

Early in 1872, Dr. Chronik left Chicago, returning to Berlin, where he continued to pursue a literary career. After a few years, he resumed the publication of *Zeichen der Zeit.* He passed away on January 14, 1884, at the age of 53. Dr. Chronik was married. The Census Report of 1871, lists the Chronik family as three females and one male.[72]

Dr. Kaufman Kohler, who had been invited to occupy the pulpit of *Sinai* before the great fire to succeed Dr. Chronik, did not arrive in Chicago until October 29, 1871. His salary was $3,000.00 annually. Born in Fuerth, Bavaria, on May 9, 1843, Kohler received a strict Orthodox training from his parents. He was an ardent and unfaltering adherent to traditional Judaism in his youth. For a time, he studied rabbinics

under Dr. Samson Raphael Hirsch, the founder of neo-Orthodoxy in Germany. However, his university studies at Munich and Berlin, together with his coming under the influence of Geiger, Zunz and Steinschneider, changed his outlook on Judaism. He became a zealous advocate of scientific methods in Jewish research and "of the necessity of harmonizing Judaism with modern thought and the new conditions of life which confronted Jews in the era of political emancipation." By the time Kohler received his Ph. D. degree from the *University of Erlangen* in 1867, at the age of twenty-four, on the thesis *Der Segen Jacobs,* he proved to be one of the most loyal adherents of Reform Judaism, and one of the first of the new school of Bible critics. *Der Segen Jacobs* raised a storm of opposition and made Kohler's career in Germany as a rabbi impossible at that time.

On August 28, 1869, Dr. Kohler came to the United States, where he was received enthusiastically by the great leader of Reform Judaism in America, Dr. David Einhorn. It was Dr. Einhorn's daughter, Johanna, whom Dr. Kohler married a year later. Shortly after his arrival in America, Dr. Kohler accepted the pulpit of *Congregation Beth El* of Detroit, Michigan, from where he came to Chicago two years later. Here he remained until 1879.

On June 17, 1879, Dr. Kohler announced his resignation from *Sinai,* to take effect on the last day of August. The resignation was accepted, to take effect June 30th. The Congregation voted the free use of the parsonage to Dr. Kohler for the ensuing months of July and August, after which he left to assume his duties as spiritual leader of the *Beth El Congregation,* in New York City.

During the High Holy Days of 1879, Reverend M. Samfield of Memphis, Tennessee, officiated at *Sinai.*[73]

On February 19, 1880, the congregation resolved to secure a "minister whose name will be an honor to Judaism and of whom we may have reason to expect that by word and deed he will teach the tenets of our faith in full accord with the convictions shared by all members of this congregation, and thereby inspire young and old with that love for our holy cause, which to the preservation of our religion is essential."

At a special meeting of the congregation held on July 25, 1880, Dr. Emil G. Hirsch of Louisville, Kentucky was elected rabbi of *Sinai Congregation* for a term of ten years at a salary of $3,600.00 annually. He preached his inaugural sermon on *Rosh Hashanah* of that year and immediately fascinated the entire congregation with his oratorical charm.[74]

Dr. Hirsch was born on May 22, 1852 in the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg. His father was Dr. Samuel Hirsch, Rabbi of Luxemburg and a liberal scholar and thinker. In 1866, the family came to America. After completing his preparatory work at the Philadelphia Episcopal Academy, Dr. Emil G. Hirsch entered the University of Pennsylvania, where he received his B.A. and A.M. degrees. He went abroad for graduate study in theology to pursue his rabbinic studies. In 1876 he received his Ph.D. degree from the University of Leipzig and returned to the United States to become the rabbi of the *Har Sinai Congregation* in Baltimore. After a year in Baltimore, he was called to the *Adath Israel Congregation* in Louisville, Kentucky, from where he came to Chicago. On June 16, 1878, Dr. Hirsch was married to one of the daughters of Dr. David Einhorn of Baltimore.[75]

Dr. Hirsch's ministry at *Sinai* was very successful. His salary was raised from $3,600.00 to $4,500.00 a year in 1882. and then to $5,000.00 in 1883. In 1885 it was raised to $6,000. A year later it was increased to $7,000. It rapidly reached $12,000, making it the highest salary paid to a rabbi at the time. The congregation also paid the premium on a $5,000.00 life insurance policy for Dr. Hirsch.[76]

At *Zion Congregation,* Dr. Joseph Stolz succeeded Dr. Felsenthal in 1886. Between 1884 and 1886 Dr. Max Heller served as his associate rabbi.

Dr. Stolz was born on November 3, 1861, in Syracuse, N. Y. In 1878, he entered the Hebrew Union College, attending the University of Cincinnati at the same time. He was ordained by the Hebrew Union College in 1883 and in 1898 he was awarded a D.D. degree by that institution. Dr. Stolz's first position was at Little Rock, Arkansas, from where he was called to the *Zion* pulpit in Chicago. He stayed with the *Zion Congregation* until 1895, when he organized *Isaiah Congregation.* Here he was elected for life.[77]

Dr. Stolz's earliest communal activities were associated with the *Jewish Training School,* the *Home for Aged Jews,* the *Chicago Hebrew Institute,* the *Jewish Aid Society,* and the *Board of Education.*

When Rabbi Stolz left *Zion Congregation,* Dr. Emil G. Hirsch occupied the pulpit at *Zion* on Friday evenings, and Rabbi Joseph Arnold on Saturday mornings. Rabbi Arnold was shortly afterward elected to take full charge of the rabbinical office until 1900, when he was succeeded by Rabbi Jacob S. Jacobson.[78]

Rabbi Jacobson was born in Schleswig-Holstein in 1840. He came to America in 1865, at the age of twenty-five and had held a number of important posts before he came to Chicago.[79]

The first minister of the *North Chicago Hebrew Congregation* was the Reverend A. Oliendorf who served the congregation for two years from its founding in 1867.[80] For a year, the congregation was without a rabbi. Then, in 1870, Rabbi Aaron Norden became their spiritual leader. Rabbi Norden was born in Prussia on June 8, 1844. He entered the rabbinate upon coming to America in 1865.

After Rabbi Norden had stayed with the *North Chicago Hebrew Congregation* for a year, the synagogue was destroyed in the great fire of 1871. Whereupon, he left for Natchez, Miss., and then went to Europe. He was recalled to Chicago in 1875. Rabbi Norden remained in the active ministry of the *North Chicago Hebrew Congregation* until 1898, when he was appointed rabbi emeritus and was succeeded by Rabbi Abraham Hirschberg. Rabbi Norden was active in the *B'nai B'rith* movement. He was secretary of the *Society in Aid of the Russian Refugees.* He served for two years in the Illinois Legislature. As chairman of the committee on Civil Service, he drafted the state civil service bill. He passed away on July 22, 1905.[81]

Rabbi Hirschberg was born in Cincinnati, Ohio on August 19, 1876. In 1898 he was ordained by the Hebrew Union College and received his A.B. degree from the University of Cincinnati.[82]

A discussion of the career of Rabbi Hirschberg belongs to the twentieth century during which time his active ministry extends.

At the *Rodef Sholom Congregation,* the Reverend Mr. Kunreuther, as we have seen before, officiated for a while. Then Mr. D. Gottlieb, a layman from Bohemia with a good Jewish background, officiated until a permanent rabbi was elected.[83]

In March 1873, Reverend Herman Eliassof was elected spiritual leader of *Rodef Sholom,* upon the recommendation of Dr. M. Machol, who at that time was the officiating Rabbi of *K.A.M.*[84] Prior to his coming to Chicago he was minister and teacher in Ogdenburg, N. Y.

The Reverend Mr. Eliassof was born in Vilna, Lithuania, in 1849, and came to the United States in 1871, at the age of twenty-two. He possessed a good rabbinic training and had mastered the Hebrew, English and German languages. He contributed articles to various periodicals in all three languages, and translated some Hebrew writings into English.[85]

After the synagogue of *Rodef Sholom* was destroyed by a wind that "lifted the structure from its foundations and hurled it a distance away, reducing it to splinters," Reverend Mr. Eliassof devoted his time principally to teaching, writing, and translating, and to welfare activities on behalf of the East-European Jews. Later he became associated with *K.A.M.* and *Zion Congregation* as principal of their respective Sabbath schools.

In 1884, he edited *The Occident,* a local Anglo-Jewish weekly. He was secretary and manager of the *Society in Aid of Russian Refugees.* When *Rodef Sholom* was reorganized in 1880 under the new name *Beth El Gemeinde,* Herman Eliassof resumed his spiritual leadership in the new congregation. But he did not occupy the pulpit for long. Rabbi Bonnheim, who had been associated with *Kehilath B'nai Sholom* for a short period of time succeeded Mr. Eliassof in the *Beth El* pulpit.[86]

In 1891, Dr. Julius Rappaport became the spiritual leader of *Beth El Congregation.*

Rabbi Julius Rappaport was born in a little Hungarian village near Debreczin on January 10, 1863. At the age of

five he began his religious studies in a "Heder" at Debreczin. His father, who was an accomplished Talmudic scholar, supplemented the "Heder" studies of his son with special studies in the Talmud and rabbinic literature. At the age of ten, he was sent to the *Yeshivah.* During his early *Yeshivah* days, he began to study Hebrew grammar, the Hungarian language, history and mathematics. His extremely Orthodox father apparently was not pleased with his son's studies of secular subjects, which was influenced by the *Enlightenment* movement. Whereupon, he sent him to the Rabbinical School in Pressburg. However, young Rappaport secretively continued his secular studies in Pressburg, yet not neglecting his theologic studies. At the age of nineteen, he received rabbinic ordination.

In spite of his graduation from the Pressburg Rabbinical School, Rabbi Rappaport was conscripted into the Austrian-Hungarian army, where, because of his rabbinic education, he served only one year instead of the usual four years. Upon his discharge from the army, he came to America, where he settled in New York. Upon the advice of a friend, he applied for the rabbinic position at *Beth El Congregation* in Chicago and was duly elected to the post.

The traditional tendencies of Rabbi Rappaport were not completely satisfactory to the congregation. However, gradually he submitted to the Reform trends of the time and the congregation, and inaugurated changes in the modes of worship. He built a gymnasium and a separate building for the Sunday school in connection with his congregation. He introduced the "Minhag America" ritual of Dr. I. M. Wise and the tri-annual cycle of reading the Torah, but he retained the two days of the festivals and some of the other Orthodox usages in the synagogue.[87]

Various rabbis officiated at *Emanuel Congregation.* In 1890, the Reverend Mr. Austrian was the spiritual leader. He was succeeded by Rabbi E. Brown, who in turn was followed by Reverend Julius Newman. In November 1893, Dr. Emanuel Schreiber was elected to the office of rabbi at *Emanuel,* and Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch officiated at the installation ceremonies.



Frontispiece of a Monumental Work
By RABBI A. A. ALPERSTEIN

Dr. Schreiber was born on December 13, 1853, in Leipnik, Moravia, a historic seat of Jewish learning. He received his early Hebrew education from his father Herman and grandfather Levi Schreiber. At the age of eleven he entered the flourishing *Yeshivah* of his native city, which was headed by Dr. Moses Bloch, who later became the director of the *Landes-rabbiner Seminar* in Budapest, Hungary. Dr. Bloch bestowed upon Dr. Schreiber the title "Chaver"—equivalent to the Bachelor's degree—at the age of thirteen. Later, Dr. Schreiber studied Talmud under the tutelage of Dr. Hildesheimer of Eisenstadt, Hungary, and then at the Rabbinical School in Berlin, Germany, and Rabbi Hirsch of Altofen, later Chief Rabbi of Hamburg. In 1870, he graduated from the Gymnasium and entered the University of Berlin. Shortly after his coming to Berlin he began to resent the Orthodoxy of Dr. Hildesheimer, and became a follower of the school of Abraham Geiger, which championed the Reform ideology. He attended the lectures on "Juedische Wissenschaft" given by Steinschneider, Aub, Geiger, Haarbrucker and Cassel. When the *Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judenthums* was opened on May 6, 1872, Schreiber was among the first *three* students that registered. The other two were Felix Adler of New York and Immanuel Loew of Hungary. Felix Adler, and Dr. Emil G. Hirsch who came to the *Hochschule* later, induced Schreiber to emigrate to America. After receiving his Ph.D. degree in 1873, he continued his theological studies for an additional year. In 1874, he was ordained as Rabbi by Geiger, Lazarus Adler, Chief Rabbi of Hessen Cassel and Elias Greenebaum, District Rabbi of Landau-Pfalz. In that year he accepted the position of professor of modern languages, history and Latin at the Samson-Schule in Wolfenbuettel, where both Zunz and Jost received their education. In 1875, Schreiber became rabbi of the Jewish community in Elbing, West Prussia. Three years later he accepted the call of the famous Hebrew congregation in Bonn, Germany. In Bonn, Schreiber encountered great opposition, because of his liberal tendencies, especially in the liturgy. He introduced the revised edition of Dr. Geiger's prayerbook, which was very radical in its Reform ideology, and thus antagonized the entire German rabbinate and the Jewish press. The opposi-

tion to Schreiber increased even more, when he published a number of articles and books antagonistic to Orthodoxy and began to publish the periodical *Die Reform,* which under great difficulties existed for five years.

In 1881, Dr. Schreiber accepted the call from the congregation in Mobile, Alabama, and came to the United States to assume his spiritual leadership in that city. Subsequently, he served as rabbi in Denver, Los Angeles, Little Rock and Toledo from where he came to Chicago. In all posts he advocated liberal Reform Judaism, and often encountered conflicts with the people on ideological grounds.

Dr. Schreiber was the author of a number of important studies in German and in English. Among his larger published works were: *Die Principien des Judenthums verglichen mit denen des Christenthums* in 1877; *Abraham Geiger* in 1879; *Die Selbstkritik der Juden* in 1880; *Graetz Geschichtsbauerei* in 1881. All these were published in Germany and were products of his earlier literary career. In 1892, he published in this country *Reform Judaism and Its Pioneers.* From 1893 to 1896 he was the editor of the Anglo-Jewish weekly, *The Occident,* that was published in Chicago. He also published many articles in the Reform Advocate. He was a prolific writer with a good style and contributed many articles to the Jewish press in America.[88]

Dr. Schreiber was considered a very forceful speaker, both in German and in English. He inaugurated *Friday Evening Late Services* with English discourses. On Saturday mornings, the services were conducted in German and the sermon was preached in the same language.[89]

At the *B'nai Abraham Congregation,* the Reverend Mr. Janko conducted the services and supervised the religious school. In his old age, when he was living at the Home for the Aged on Drexel Boulevard, Mr. Janko officiated at the religious services in the institution's chapel, Friday evenings, Saturdays and holidays. Shortly after the dedication of the first *B'nai Abraham* synagogue, the Reverend Isaac Fall was called to the pulpit. He remained with the congregation two years and was succeeded by Dr. Ignaz Grossman, who officiated for five years.[90]

Dr. Grossman was born at Trenczen, Hungary, July 30, 1825. He received his rabbinic training at the *Yeshivah* in Pressburg. In 1863, he became the rabbi of the Jewish community in Koritschan, Moravia. Three years later he became the spiritual leader of the Hebrew congregation in Warasdin, Croatia. In 1873, he was invited to become the rabbi of the *Congregation Beth Elohim* in Brooklyn, N. Y. From there he came to Chicago.

Rabbi Grossman was the author of a number of interesting studies, among them: *Drei Predigten* published in Warasdin in 1868; *Die Sprache der Wahrheit* in 1870; and *Mikraot Ketanot* a volume of 244 pages containing the enumeration of the 613 Biblical Commands in the original Hebrew, with a German translation and commentary culled from sixteen different commentators on the Bible. The author also added in his book the rabbinical definitions of the commandments and their moral lessons. The work was published in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1892. Rabbi Grossman also contributed very frequently to the German-Jewish periodical *Deborah.* His three sons were also educated for the ministry. Dr. Louis Grossman was the successor to Dr. I. M. Wise in Cincinnati; Dr. Rudolph Grossman was first assistant to Dr. Kohler at *Temple Beth El* in New York and later rabbi of the *Congregation Rodef Sholom* in the same city; and Dr. Julius Grossman was the spiritual leader of the Jewish community of Ipolysagh, Hungary.

Dr. Ignaz Grossman labored successfully as preacher and teacher in his Chicago congregation. He was held in high esteem in the entire community. In 1884, he inaugurated a number of reforms in the congregation, the principal one being the change in the mode of worship by the adoption of the *Minhag America* ritual of Dr. I. M. Wise. The reforms were achieved not without difficulties and opposition. In the following year he was made rabbi emeritus. He passed away March 18, 1897, in New York City.[91]

In 1885, after Dr. Grossman retired, he was succeeded by the Reverend Mr. Jacobson, who in turn was succeeded, in 1888, by Dr. A. R. Levy.[92]

Dr. Levy was born in Beerford, Starkenberg, in the Duchy of Hessia, October 24, 1858. He was reared in an Orthodox

environment. He began at an early age to prepare for the rabbinate. From 1869 to 1873, he was a student at the Gymnasium in Mayence. At the same time he studied rabbinics under Dr. Lehman, the champion of German-Jewish Orthodoxy and editor of the *Mainzer-Israelit.* He lived for a short period in Frankfort-on-the-Main, the cradle of Jewish neo-Orthodoxy, and in 1874, he went to Berlin. There he entered the Rabbinical Seminary, from where he was graduated two years later. For two years Dr. Levy was instructor in the preparatory department of his alma mater. He then took the rabbinic position in Frankisch Crumbach, Hessia-Darmstat. In 1879, he came to the United States of America, where he became the successor to Dr. Fluegel at the *K'neseth Israel Congregation* in Erie, Pa. In 1881, he entered the University of Georgia and was graduated in 1884. His thesis was on "Medicine in Early Times," which was published in the University Journal and was reprinted in the Digest's Journal of Philadelphia and in the publication of the Medical Society of the State of Georgia. The thesis dealt with the history of the practice of medicine among the Ancient Egyptians, Hebrews, Greeks and Romans. During his student days at the University of Georgia, Dr. Levy officiated as the rabbi of *Congregation B'nai Abraham* in Athens, until 1885. In that year he married Carrie Seligman of New Orleans and became the rabbi of the *Congregation Rodef Sholom* in Waco, Texas.[93] After three years with that congregation he was called to the pulpit of the *B'nai Abraham Congregation* of Chicago.

Dr. Levy was a prolific writer. Among his writings, a series of articles on *The Development of Written Language,* appeared during the months of May, June and July, 1886, in the *American Israelite.* He was very much interested in the plight of the poor and the needy and in the welfare of the new immigrants and their economic adjustment. He made charity his life's work. He served for a time, gratuitously, as superintendent of the *Russian Refugee Society.* His outstanding achievement was the organization of the *Jewish Agriculturalists' Aid Society,* which is discussed in another chapter.[94]

We have no record of an ordained rabbi serving at the *Anshe Emes* synagogue in its early days. The Reverend

Solomon Goldman, who officiated at the dedication of the synagogue and who is identified in some records as "rabbi" was a *hazan* and teacher only.

Towards the end of the century, the congregation engaged Rabbi Sol H. Bauer, who was ordained. Rabbi Bauer was born in 1863, in Poland and was educated in Germany. He received his ordination from Rabbi I. Trunk of Kutno, Poland. After ministering to two small communities in Germany, he came to America. Here, for a short while, he was rabbi in Hamilton, Ohio, and Schenectady, N. Y. Following that he came to Chicago and first became rabbi of *Moses Montefiore Congregation.* Then he served the *First Hungarian Congregation.* Finally he assumed the position of the *Anshe Emes* pulpit.[95]

The *Moses Montefiore Congregation* had a number of ordained rabbis in the nineteenth century, among them Rabbi Isaiah Agat, who assumed the post in 1890. Rabbi Agat was born in 1859 in Kurland. He was educated in the *Yeshivoth* of Sager and Bialistok, Russia. He also studied under Hildesheimer in Berlin and attended the Gymnasium in Libau, Kurland. After he came to America, he attended Northwestern University, where he received the B.Ph. degree in 1894. Before coming to Chicago, Rabbi Agat was spiritual leader in New Haven, Conn., and San Francisco, Cal.[96]

What was true of the German-Jewish community was true also of the East-European Jewish community. The early spiritual leaders in the latter were either *shohetim* or *hazanim,* or both, also functioning occasionally as preachers and teachers. Inasmuch as East-European Orthodoxy required the strictest observance of the ritual of the marriage and divorce laws, some of the early synagogue functionaries, who were called "rabbis" by the constituents of the congregations, though they were not ordained as such, soon came to believe that the title which they assumed and by which they were popularly honored was genuine. Some, therefore, took the privilege of functioning as fully ordained rabbis by issuing religious divorces, supervising the observance of dietary laws and by performing other duties which are the prerogative of duly Orthodox-ordained rabbis only. This caused

untold difficulties in some of the communities here and had its repercussions abroad.

This situation was reflected in Chicago when the *Beth Hamedrosh Hagodol* engaged Rabbi Lesser as spiritual leader in 1881. In a proclamation which appeared in the local press the leaders of the congregation gave public notice:

> To our brethren Israelites: It is well known to all that many disruptions and troubles were caused between families and quarrels in small congregations by men who call themselves Rabbis, who for the sake of a few dollars will divorce a husband who is in America from a wife in Poland, which brings ruination and misfortune to helpless and innocent children. And these selfstyled Rabbis for the sake of a few dollars will give Cabala (authorization to act as Shohet) or authorize men to be *Shochtim* who know nothing of *Shechites* (slaughtering). And for the purpose of abrogating these shameful deeds, and save the name of Judaism from disgrace, we, the *Polish Congregation Baith Hamedrash Hagodoul* (sic) and others of our brethren in Chicago have brought Rabbi Lesser from Poland . . . a man who besides the salary that he receives does not want to take anything from parties . . . If a man is capable and worthy to be a *Shochet* he gives *Cabala* gratis and the same in case of *Gittin* (religious divorces).[97]

The primary qualifications sought by the East-European Jews in their spiritual leaders were Talmudic scholarship and piety. Preaching and teaching were considered of secondary importance, though it was highly admired and appreciated, and certainly considered great assets of the rabbi. In the beginning of organized Jewish community life among the East-European Jews in America, the congregations consisted primarily of small groups of immigrants who hailed from the same city, town or village abroad. It was natural, therefore, that those people would seek to find a rabbi among their townspeople in Europe. At times such a rabbi was not in the active ministry in the place whence he came. He simply possessed rabbinic ordination, and devoted his energies to other pursuits than the rabbinate. However, his Talmudic knowledge and his piety were of good repute, and the "landsleit" in America were only too glad to have him in their new environment here, and to take care of their spiritual needs. The first spiritual leader in the East-European Jewish community in Chicago was Rabbi Ticktin, who was

brought to the American shores by the members of the *Beth Hamedrash Hagodol,* who hailed from the same vicinity in Europe—the neighborhood of Kalvaria, Russia—as did the rabbi. It is doubtful whether Rabbi Ticktin practiced rabbinics abroad.[98]

Rabbi Ticktin became associated with the *Beth Hamedrash Hagodol Ub'nai Jacob* in the late '60s of the century. He was the first duly ordained rabbi in accordance with Orthodox usage and tradition, and received no salary for his rabbinic services here. His principal income was derived from tuition fees paid by the students who attended the *Cheder* the congregation had established, and from rabbinic functions, such as weddings, religious divorces, funerals and other ministerial services. Within time the congregation did pay him a small salary.[99]

It was nothing unusual, during the middle of the nineteenth century to engage an Orthodox rabbi without a salary. It happened at least on one other occasion, at that time, in New York City. The *Beth Hamedrash Hagodol* in New York, which did pay its rabbi a salary, paid him only $2.00 a week. When Dr. L. Merzbacher first assumed his duties as spiritual leader of *Temple Emanu-El* in New York, the first avowedly Reform congregation in that city, his salary was $4.00 a week only. Considering the fact that the Chicago congregations, by and large, especially the Reform, did pay higher salaries than other congregations in the country, it is surprising that a man like Rabbi Ticktin was not offered any salary at all in the beginning.[100]

In 1880, Rabbi Ticktin withdrew from active rabbinic duties of the congregation to make place for another rabbi. Later, he accepted the rabbinic position of the *Congregation Anshe Kalvaria,* and remained with that congregation until his departure for Palestine, where he departed this life at an old age, highly honored and esteemed.[101]

Rabbi Abraham Jacob Gershon Lesser, who succeeded Rabbi Ticktin at the *Beth Hamedrash Hagodol Ub'nai Jacob,* was born in Russia. There he received an intensive rabbinic training and ordination. In his young days he was rabbi in Hordok, Russia. He also lived for a time in Grodno, Vilna and Suvalk in Lithuania. The first thing Rabbi Lesser did

upon arrival in Chicago was to interest the Orthodox community in the establishment of a community Talmud Torah. He stayed with his congregation until 1904, when he left for St. Louis. While in Chicago he published a number of interesting rabbinic works which are discussed in other chapters.[102]

In 1871, the *Congregation Ohave Sholom Mariampoler* engaged "Reb" Simchah Balterowitz as "rabbi, cantor, shohet and preacher," at the salary of fifteen dollars per month.[103] After being two years with the congregation he left for Jerusalem. He was succeeded in the *Ohave Sholom* pulpit by "Reb" Ezekiel Meyer Cantorowitz, whose official position in the congregation is described in the records as "cantor and *shohet.*" [104] Cantor Cantorowitz was with the congregation for five years. When the new synagogue on Canal and Liberty Streets was dedicated, the congregation engaged a new cantor by the name of Alexanderowitch, who occupied the cantorial position for twenty-seven years. At the same time, the congregation began to look for a duly ordained rabbi, who should minister to them solely in a rabbinic capacity.

In the late '70s, the *Ohave Sholom Congregation* had already decided "to bring over a Rabbi from the 'Old Country'." Negotiations were entered into with the well-known "Kovno Maggid," who was also popularly known as "The Ponivezer," to come to Chicago. The *Maggid* had at first agreed to accept the position. However, his great age deterred him from undertaking the journey to America. Rabbi Judah Barret then became the spiritual leader of the congregation. In 1884, he resigned his post because the congregation refused to increase his salary from $400.00 to $600.00 a year.[105] In December of that year, an invitation was extended to a young rabbi from Philadelphia, Rabbi Abraham Eliezer Alperstein, to preach a sermon at the *Ohave Sholom* synagogue. The young rabbi so impressed the worshippers that, in January of 1885, he was elected unanimously as the spiritual leader of the congregation at an annual salary of $600.00

Rabbi Alperstein, who originally came from Russia, was a great scholar. In his early ministry, he published a commentary on the tractate "Bikurim" of the Palestinian Tal-

mud. Like Rabbi Lesser, he was also very much interested in an intensive Jewish education for the youth. It was through his efforts that the *Moses Montefiore Talmud Torah* was founded on the occasion of the hundredth birthday of the great philanthropist.[106]

By 1890, Rabbi Alperstein had left his position at the *Ohave Sholom.* For a short while the congregation was without a rabbi. On April 25, 1891 they decided to invite Rabbi Rabinowitz of Selel, Russia to grace their pulpit. Rabbi Rabinowitz, who because of his great scholarship was known as the "Seleler Prodigy" accepted the invitation, and on July 10th of that year he arrived in Chicago to assume the position. He stayed with the congregation until 1894, when he was gathered to his fathers. Rabbi Rabinowitz's salary was $600.00 annually.[107] He impressed his audience with his great erudition, but the people found it difficult to follow his Talmudic dialetics. He was therefore not popular with the general masses, whose Jewish learning was limited, though he was very highly respected by all. The congregation, in order to please all members and worshippers, therefore engaged a "special preacher for Saturdays and holidays." He was Rabbi Abraham Samuel Braude. Rabbi Braude's salary was $18.00 a month, half of it paid by the congregation and half by the *Hevrah T'hilim.*[108]

In 1894, Rabbi Braude was elected as the full-fledged rabbi of the congregation at a salary of $600.00 per year.

Rabbi Abraham Samuel Braude, who came from the province of Kovno, Russia, was born on August 9, 1845. He received his rabbinic training in the *Yeshivoth* of Kelmy and Janishek and was ordained by Rabbi Hirsch Rabinowitz of Kovno. Before coming to Chicago, he served as rabbi in Mitan, Kurland. He was the author of a commentary on the *Talmud* and *Midrash* called *Beth Abraham* and early espoused the cause of cultural and political Zionism. He stayed with the *Ohave Sholom Congregation* until his death May 4, 1907.[109]

A year after the organization of the *Hevra Mishno U'G'moro,* in 1891, the congregation invited Rabbi Simon H. Album to grace its pulpit. He was born in Tazitz in the province of Kovno, Russia, in 1849. He was a brother of

Tobias Katznelbogen, Chief Rabbi of Petrograd, and received his rabbinic training in the famous *Wolozin Yeshivah.*[110] Rabbi Album was a great scholar, an uncompromising traditionalist and the author of a number of important rabbinic works.[111] He came to America at the age of 41, after he had witnessed a number of pogroms in Russia. Rabbi Album had a very keen sense of patriotism for this country in appreciation of American freedom. He remained with his congregation until his death in 1921. During the thirty years of his rabbinate, he was the foremost champion of Orthodox Judaism in Chicago.[112]

The *Congregation Ohave Emuno,* which later combined with the *Beth Medrosh Hachodosh,* whose synagogue on Clark Street was referred to as the "large synagogue" invited Rabbi L. Anixter to grace its pulpit.[113]

Rabbi Anixter was widely famed for his profound Talmudic scholarship, his piety and his devotion to the cause of Orthodox Judaism in Chicago. He published a number of important discussions on Jewish law, which reflect some of the problems of the East-European Jews in the community.[114]

Another Orthodox rabbi, who ministered to the East-European Jewish community in the last two decades of the century was Rabbi Joseph Komissarsky. Rabbi Komissarsky was born in Sejni, Russia, in the province of Suvalk, and was brought to Chicago in 1883, to become the rabbi of the congregation of his *landsleit,* which was usually referred to as the *Suvalker Shule.* He raised a large family of ten children, and led a rather poor life economically. The *Anshe Suvalk* congregation was located, at that time, on the near west-side around Canal and Maxwell Streets, and consisted primarily of newly arrived immigrants who themselves were struggling for a living. The congregation was short-lived, and after a while it merged with another congregation. A contemporary informs us that Rabbi Komissarsky "whose spirit of independence rebelled against the submission to the domination of congregational officials, withdrew from the rabbinate to spend a fruitful life in the sanctuary of his library, among the sages and philosophers of past ages."[115]

In the middle '80s there flourished in Chicago an Orthodox rabbi by the name of Baruch Chomah, who came from Telz, Lithuania. He was an outstanding scholar and the author of a number of important rabbinic works. It has not been ascertained with what congregation Rabbi Chomah was associated, but he lived in Chicago until the end of the '90s, when he went to Palestine and settled in Jerusalem.[116] It is noteworthy that the primary interest of Rabbi Chomah was the restoration of the traditional *Semichah*—rabbinic ordination—to which he devoted much effort and many of his studies, among them a complete treatise *K'thav Geith Ysroel,* published in Jerusalem in 1903.[117]

Other rabbis, whose names have come down to us as having served congregations of East-European Jews in the latter part of the nineteenth century, are Rabbi B. Cohn of the *Congregation Poale Zedek;* Rabbi Harris Kaplan of the *Tifereth Yisrael Anshe Luknik;* Rabbi Hyman Rosenzweig of the *Bnai Yisroel;* Rabbi Aaron Stern of the *Congregation B'nai David;* Rabbi B. Bernstein of *Congregation K'neseth Israel;* and Rabbi M. Bloch of the *Congregation Agudath Achim.*[118]

Rabbis Album, Braude, Alperstein and Anixter, as well as Rabbi Lesser who preceded them in Chicago by almost a decade, together with the other Orthodox rabbis, quickened the spiritual and traditional Jewish life in the community. They united in the organization of *Talmud Torahs.* They organized the supervision of the observance of Jewish dietary laws by the meat dealers and other establishments in the community, and they raised the traditional and cultural level of the Jewish community in the nineteenth century.

Before the century was over, the Orthodox Jewish community began to think in terms of obtaining a "Chief Rabbi" for the entire community. When Rabbi Jacob David Wilkowsky arrived in America, at the turn of the century, the invitation was extended to him to assume the office of "Chief Rabbi of Chicago." This he graciously accepted. Unfortunately, however, not all congregations were united in this effort, nor did all rabbis welcome the idea of a "Chief Rabbi."[119]

Foremost among the opposition was Rabbi Album, who disputed with Rabbi Wilkowsky on matters of *Halachah.*[120] After ten months, Chief Rabbi Wilkowsky left Chicago to retire to a life's work of Talmudic study in Jerusalem. This entire episode, however, is a study for the twentieth century.[121]

Save the controversy between Rabbi Album and the Chief Rabbi there were no disputes of any consequence between any of the rabbis, either in the East-European Jewish community or in the German-Jewish community of Chicago. Nor do we have any records of any major controversy between the laity and the rabbinate in Chicago. Occasionally, however, we do find occurrences which show a degree of disrespect on the part of the laity towards their spiritual leaders. Interestingly enough these occurrences were prevalent more among the German-Jewish congregations.

In the earlier Jewish community, *K.A.M.* discharged Dr. Mensor in a rather insulting way. In the words of an earlier chronicler "In November, 1858, Mensor was paid for nine months salary in advance, given traveling expenses, and this German-Irish gentleman, with his high-priest cap, his Hiberian wife and his plagiarized stock of sermons, was sent back to the Emerald Isle, and nothing more has ever been heard of him in a Jewish pulpit."[122]

Dr. Felsenthal, who was the primary moving spirit in advancing the Reform movement in Chicago and in the founding of the *Chicago Sinai Congregation* had to resign his rabbinic post because the congregation refused to elect him for a longer term than one year. His protest in 1863 and again in 1864 was of no avail. Apparently the tenure of office was not the only reason. The biographer of Dr. Felsenthal states: "There may have been a second reason for the action of the congregation. Much as they honored and loved him there were some among the members who were not entirely pleased that their rabbi had not all the graces of delivery, all the superficial excellences of the popular orator, in addition to his other excellences. These men wished to see him replaced by a more effective speaker."[123]

An event which manifested quite a great deal of disrespect for their spiritual leader occured in 1878, between the *Sinai Literary Association* and Dr. Kohler, rabbi of *Sinai*

Congregation. The *Sinai Literary Association* which was organized in 1877, and met at *Sinai Temple* consisted primarily of young adults. On March 13, 1878, the Association appointed a committee to invite Dr. Felix Adler to deliver a lecture under its auspices. Dr. Adler was the founder of the Ethical Culture movement, which at the time was a strong competitive force against Reform Judaism.[124] After Dr. Adler had accepted the invitation, Mr. James Rosenthal reported to the Association that Dr. Kohler, the rabbi of *Sinai Congregation,* refused to allow the use of the temple for the lecture. It was suggested, therefore, that the Standard Hall should be procured. The Association voted favorably on the suggestion, despite the fact that a communication had been received from Dr. Kohler which read:

> To my surprise, I hear that in the Sinai Literary Association, a motion is on foot to invite Dr. Felix Adler of New York to deliver a lecture before the members, he being expected to come here next week. Of what benefit to a society of Jewish young people, the lecture of a man can be, who has deserted the Jewish flag, and openly professes his disbelief in God and immortality, I really fail to see, unless the eradication of the Jewish faith is the object contemplated. But, I suppose very few of you members, if any, know anything about the young Professor, who merely by his fine oration, combined with great arrogance created for a while some sensation in New York.
>
> At any rate, I shall not allow my temple to be disgraced by a lecture to be delivered within its walls by one who blasphemes God and Judaism.
>
> Dr. K. Kohler.[125]

The Chicago Tribune in reporting this event stated among other things that there was only one vote upholding Dr. Kohler's protest. In the course of the discussion one gentleman dared to state that: "Dr. Kohler was only one member of the Association, and that his opinion was entitled to just as much weight as the individual opinion of any other member.[126]

When the Association voted to retain Dr. Adler's lecture in spite of the protest, Dr. Kohler again wrote in vain:

> In sending my communication to you, I did not address you as an individual member of your society, but as your teacher and spiritual guide, or, if you please, as your honorary member, and I need not say to you that by a single word of mine the precincts

of my temple can be shut to your meeting in spite of your God-fearing attorney.

Before writing my protest against the contemplated lecture of Dr. Felix Adler in my temple, I was informed by your advisor, Mr. Julius Rosenthal, that Dr. Felix Adler was simply expected to pass through our city on his way to Milwaukee, where he had been invited to lecture. Of an intention to invite him to lecture in Standard Hall here, Mr. Rosenthal was too cautious to say a word to me, nor did the members of your Association seem to have been aware of it before last night's consultation on the subject.

I emphatically protest against the insinuation made at the meeting last night, that my friends and colleagues, Dr. Felsenthal and Dr. Adler of this city, approve the teachings of Dr. Felix Adler. No rabbi, in or outside of America, dares consider himself a Jewish minister while approving the ideas and expressions with which the Standard Hall lecturer in New York most irreverently and insultingly assailed the Jewish religion, and which are now, in a milder form, set forth in his words "Creed and Deed." There is, without reserve, the belief in God and immortality discarded and "the Eagle of Liberty" (suggesting no doubt Prof. Felix Adler himself) proclaimed as the moral governor of human society "in place of the great King of the world."

Certainly the young Professor and his anything but original book, concocted from the works of Lubbock Tyler and Otto Caspari, who were wisely left unmentioned and from works of the Kuenen school, with several really original blunders interspersed, would hardly have created such a sensation in Jewish circles were he not the son of the venerable Dr. S. Adler and the pupil of the late Dr. Geiger, misleading thereby, and by fine oratory, many an advocate of Jewish reform. I myself have been frequently interrogated by Christian and Jewish friends of mine, whether my own radical views, already expressed before Kuenen in a work of mine quoted by the famous Dutch scholar, about the origin of the Jewish religion and the composition of the Bible, would not lead me into the same path of unbelief. My answer simply is: I, with all the theists of the age, hold the history of human culture, and progress in religion, morals, art and science, to be the revelation of the divine in man, above whom, in sublime heights, God will ever stand as His holy ideal of perfection and source of inspiration. Felix Adler, with all infidels, on the contrary, declares this divine ideal of perfection and fountain-head of inspiration to be a mere dream. The sum and acme of moral perfection is utilitarian morality and socialistic equality, or consists, as the author of "Creed and Deed" poorly defines his New Ideal, in "greater simplicity in manners, greater purity in the passions, and greater charity." This is his summum bonum, or highest goodness. Whether this doctrine is broader, more sound and liberal than mine, I leave to others to decide. That they are anything but beneficial

to Jewish (or Christian) young men, no man of religious principles can deny.

Regretting that my weekly lectures before your Association have not fallen on more fertile soil, I remain your

Dr. K. Kohler.[127]

The lecture by Dr. Felix Adler did take place at the Standard Hall, as scheduled, on March 26th, 1878. Five hundred people filled the hall and the Association raised $39.10.[128] But the matter did not end there. Apparently the protest of Dr. Kohler could not remain unanswerd in spite of the financial profit. Thus, at a special meeting on April 3rd, a resolution was proposed to apologize to Dr. Kohler. It took three full weeks and two meetings of debate, discussion and revision until the resolution was passed. It read in part:

> That we, as a Society take this means of expressing to Dr. Kohler our sincere regret that any action of the association should have been the unintended cause of offending him and, that as a strictly literary society we asserted the right to engage whatever lecturer we pleased independently of any outside interference, and acted accordingly in the maintenance of our privileges.
>
> And, further be it resolved; that the society considers the advice of Dr. Kohler upon all religious subjects entitled to great weight and that we highly esteem Dr. Kohler both for the active part he took in the formation of this association and for the interest he has manifested in us since our organization.[129]

While the Orthodox laity had great awe for its spiritual leadership, we find occasionally differences of opinion and minor controversies between the rabbis themselves. This was so especially in matters involving interpretation of Jewish law. It seems that the issuance of religious divorces was of vital concern to the Orthodox rabbinate. The execution of a Jewish bill of divorcement necessitates the engagement of a duly ordained Orthodox rabbi, who has been trained specifically for that task and who has the skill to carry out this specific rabbinic function. Now, it happened often that some of the Orthodox rabbis in Chicago would differ in the manner of the writing of the divorce or in the usage of certain formulae within the document. Thus one rabbi would nullify the divorce executed by another rabbi; he would not accept its validity because of some change in form, with which he

did not concur. Feelings were not spared in many such instances. Rabbi Album prided himself with the fact that during his entire ministry in Chicago, he never arranged for the execution of a Jewish religious divorce, though he was quite capable to do so, and lost a substantial income by abstaining from doing it. The reason he gave was: "When I first came to Chicago, I found confusion among the rabbis in connection with the form they used in the text of the *Get* (Jewish religious bill of divorcement). One wrote one way, and one wrote another. Each went in his own direction. Thus one nullified the *Get* of the other. When I attempted to make peace among them, and to persuade them to use a uniform text, I found it more difficult than the crossing of the Red Sea."[130]

Other controversies also prevailed, especially concerning the issuance of authorizations to sell *kosher* products and similar rabbinic matters. However, to all these disputes we may apply the rabbinic dictum, saying they were "differences of opinion which are of hallowed purpose."[131]

In the last decade of the century the liberal rabbis of Chicago decided to organize into an association.

The gathering of rabbis for the purpose of discussing questions of Jewish law and ritual, and for the study of vital principles of Judaism and Jewish community problems may be traced back to the second century of this era. The association of rabbis in various countries for the purpose of united action in communal affairs, and to improve the position of the rabbinate dates back to not earlier than the middle of the nineteenth century. Among the earliest organized rabbinic groups in the United States was a literary society. Influenced by the popularity of literary societies throughout the country, we find, in 1879, that the liberal rabbis and Jewish scholars throughout the country organized into the *Rabbinical Literary Society of the United States.* When this *Rabbinical Literary Society* held its second annual meeting on Tuesday, July 12, 1881 at *Sinai Temple* in Chicago, it boasted of one hundred and eighty-nine members, due to the efforts of Dr. Liebman Adler of Chicago.[132]

As far as we know, there were only two other conferences of rabbis in the United States before that date. One was

convened by Rabbi Isaac M. Wise in 1855 in Cleveland, and the other was held in 1869 in Philadelphia. The latter was attended by Dr. Chronik of *Sinai Congregation* and Dr. Felsenthal of *Zion Congregation* of Chicago. The former was not strictly a rabbinical conference, since it included many lay leaders, and it did not result in a rabbinical organization, or in the formulation of a specific ideology. The conference in Philadelphia, which was attended by twelve rabbis of the Reform movement, likewise did not give birth to an organization, although they adopted a number of measures which became the basis of later conferences, and of the ideology of Reform Judaism in America.[133]

Subsequent to the founding of the *Rabbinical Literary Society* other rabbinic organizations were founded in America, among these was the *Rabbinical Association of Chicago.* On October 28, 1893, the Reform Advocate reported: "Nearly all the local rabbis were present at the called meeting last Saturday afternoon at Henrici's Hotel and took steps to form a permanent organization."[134] As a consequence, on November 20, 1893, there came into being the *Rabbinical Association of Chicago,* with Dr. Bernhard Felsenthal as president, and Rabbi Norden as the secretary. This group announced that the "association is open to rabbis and friends of Jewish learning in this city and vicinity."[135]

The *Rabbinical Association of Chicago* was founded for the specific purpose of "fostering friendly sentiments between the colleagues, of deliberating on matters of general Jewish interest, of acting jointly, and as a body in practical Jewish matters whenever necessity arises for such united action, and for other kindred objects."

The association not only promoted fellowship among the rabbis of the community, but also made it possible to work unitedly on Jewish problems in the community that required the action of the entire Chicago rabbinate. It likewise helped to foster a better relationship among the various congregations in the city.

From the outset, the *Rabbinical Association of Chicago,* which gradually became known as *The Chicago Rabbinical Association,* dignified the rabbinic calling in its relationship

to the Jewish community and the non-Jewish community. Its "earnest and scholarly gatherings," as the meetings of the *Association* were always referred to, "won respect both for the office of rabbi and for the Jewish faith in the city."[136]

Among the rabbinic dignitaries of that time who were active in the Association were Dr. Liebman Adler, Dr. Bernhard Felsenthal, Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, Rabbi Aaron J. Messing, and Rabbi Aaron Norden. Although these men did not all share the same point of view in Judaism, they felt a close kinship and fellowship in the *Rabbinical Association.*

3

Synagogue Ideology

WITH few exceptions, the congregations organized in the Jewish community of Chicago in the nineteenth century were founded on the traditional ideology, interpretation, and practices of Judaism. *Ohabey Or, Sinai, Zion, Isaiah, Israel,* and perhaps *Or Chodosh,* were based from their inception on Reform ideologies and practices. By the end of the century all the congregations founded by German-Jewish immigrants or by German-speaking Jews, had adopted the Reform ideologies and practices; with one notable exception, *Anshe Emes,* which became Conservative. The congregations organized by the East-European Jews all remained Orthodox, with the exception of the *South Side Hebrew Congregation* which became Conservative. In all cases the transitions were conscious and not accidental; they came about through systematic and calculated patterns of change.

Two questions at once present themselves: What caused the transition from the German Orthodox congregations to Reform Judaism and the retention of Orthodoxy by the East-European congregations? How can we explain the transition of the *Anshe Emes Congregation,* on the one hand, and the *South Side Hebrew Congregation* on the other, from German and East-European Orthodoxy, respectively, to Conservative Judaism?

The answer to the second question can be given at once. A study of the membership, names and the records of *Anshe Emes* reveals that, at an early period, there was a large and important admixture of East-European Jews in that congregation. On the other hand, a similar study of the *South Side Hebrew Congregation* shows the presence of a large German element. Hence, just as the East-European element at *Anshe Emes* hindered the group from changing to Reform,

the German element at *South Side Hebrew Congregation* prevented that congregation's remaining absolutely Orthodox. Both had to make adjustments from their status. In either case "Conservative Judaism" was a "via media" and the best synthesis.

To answer the other question, requires a more detailed analysis.

It is not altogether correct to maintain, as some do, that the Jewish Reform movement in America was inaugurated with the German-Jewish immigration of the middle of the nineteenth century. Neither is it accurate to assert that Reform Judaism began as a protest against lengthy services in Hebrew and a lack of decorum in the Orthodox synagogue. That the Reform movement gained momentum and strength with the coming of the Jews *en masse* from Germany and from German-speaking countries; that it was greatly influenced and motivated by the German-Jewish Reform movement; and that its rapid growth followed the period of the German-Jewish immigration into the United States, is true. It is likewise a fact that, from the very beginning, Reform Judaism had expressed its uncompromising desire to modernize the Hebrew religious service in conformity with certain definite practices, including prayers in the vernacular, greater decorum, and shorter services. Essentially, however, Reform Judaism originated in the New World, as it did in the Old World, as the result of conflicting ideologies. In the United States it began early in the nineteenth century, before the great influx of German Jews took place.

The Reform movement in this country started in 1824, when forty-seven members of *Congregation Beth Elohim* of Charleston, South Carolina, dissatisfied with their traditional services petitioned the administration of the congregation to institute certain reforms in the ritual. When this petition was denied, twelve of the forty-seven petitioners formed the first Reform congregation in the United States, *The Reformed Society of Israelites.*[1] This congregation, with its many innovations in the ritual such as hymns sung in the vernacular, the shortened service, the elimination of certain ceremonies, and worshipping with uncovered heads, existed only for a brief period. It was not the great opposition of

traditionalism which was responsible for its brief existence, but rather the fact that there was no champion to preach the new philosophy enthusiastically enough to arouse the new congregation, nor did they have an inspiring leader and personality to guide them.

This situation was true not only in Charleston but, at the time, throughout the country. After 1840, a number of very important Reform congregations were founded with competent leadership, and with a definite philosophy and policy. These congregations gave impetus to the movement and set the keynote for the Reform movement in the United States, developing an American pattern which, despite ideological similarities, differed greatly from German Reform Judaism.[2] Such were the *Har Sinai Congregation* in Baltimore (1842), *Emanu-El* in New York (1845), and *Congregation B'ne Israel* and *B'ne Yeshurun* in Cincinnati, founded originally as Orthodox congregations, but which in 1854 and in 1855 respectively, became Reform congregations under the leadership of Dr. Isaac Mayer Wise and Dr. Max Lilienthal.

Notwithstanding adequate leadership and an understanding policy in these congregations, the conception remained that Reform Judaism was only a modification of traditional Judaism. The view was still maintained by many that the primary task of Reform Judaism was to cast off the burden of the *Mitzvoth* and the limitations of rabbinic law, so as to make it easy to live as a Jew without the many prescribed observances and restrictions. It remained to be demonstrated that Reform Judaism represented a distinct philosophy of Judaism, which the founders of the movement desired to translate into a living reality.

The philosophy of Reform Judaism in America, which in many instances went beyond that of German Reform Judaism, was an outgrowth of the German *Haskalah*—enlightenment—movement, and a synthesis of its consequences and the American environment of absolute religious freedom. The desire for emancipation, westernization and assimilation, culturally and politically, and the reality of complete political, economic and social emancipation, were realized in America by the German Jews. The first and second generations fell heir to those situations. Hence, Reform Judaism was a

natural adaptation for them. The East-European Jews of the first and second generation may have found political emancipation in America, but it took a long time for them to reach economic and social emancipation. In addition to this, they were heir to a cultural and religious background which, by a deep-rooted traditionalism, immunized itself against Reform.[3]

Signs of differences between Orthodox and Reform ideologies were apparent in the Chicago Jewish community a few years before Dr. Bernhard Felsenthal's arrival. Conflicting ideologies were heard at *K.A.M.* while the Reverend Mr. Kunreuther was still in office. It is noteworthy that, at the dedication of its first synagogue, a hymn was sung in English to the tune of *Old Hundred,* and English prayers were recited. These were definite Reform innovations. Mr. Kunreuther was not pleased with what had transpired and he desired to resign immediately after the dedication. His resignation was held back for some time because of the difficulty to replace him. Some members of the congregation, however, hastened Mr. Kunreuther's resignation because they were dissatisfied with his strict Orthodoxy; they openly requested reforms in the ritual at that early date.[4]

A very specific reference to the need of change and to the advisability to adopt some reforms at *K.A.M.* was made by Leopold Mayer, soon after his arrival in the city in 1852. Mayer, who was a graduate Hebrew teacher with a good educational background was invited by *K.A.M.* to preach a sermon on Passover of that year. In his sermon, Mayer urged the congregation to introduce the German language in the services and have some of the prayers recited in the "living language, German."[5]

When Abraham Kohn resigned the presidency in 1856 and Mr. Samuel Cole was elected to fill the unexpired term, the Reverend G. M. Cohen became the cantor of *K.A.M.* The congregation at that time had two distinct factions: one group staunchly upheld traditionalism yet was willing to accept some moderate reforms, whereas the other, influenced and spurred on by the writings of Dr. Einhorn and Dr. Isaac M. Wise, clamored enthusiastically and consistently for Reform. Reverend Mr. Cohen, who has been influenced by Dr. Merzbacher of *Temple Emanu-El* in New York, while he served in that con-

gregation, tended to lean toward Reform and sided with the latter faction.[6]

When Dr. Mensor assumed the pulpit of *K.A.M.*, it was thought for a while that he would cement all the forces of the institution and somehow eliminate the inner conflicts. Dr. Mensor came to the congregation well-recommended as a traditionalist and a man faithful to Orthodox practices. It was expected that he would stand firmly on the basis of the traditionalism upon which the congregation had been founded. However, in spite of his eloquence and well-worded English sermons which were calculated presumably to breathe "the spirit of piety and devotion to the cause of Israel," Dr. Mensor submitted to the *Reformers'* demands for a revised ritual. His suggestions for the abridgment of the prayers were strongly opposed by the majority of the congregation. After continued misunderstanding between the congregation and their spiritual leader, Dr. Mensor resigned his post in 1858.[7] The conflict was not avoided or ended. Nor was the conflict purely a congregational matter. It was a community problem.

Before the election of officers in 1857, the two factions in the congregation were divided along clear-cut lines, each group having its definite platform. The Orthodox group, which by this time had become "Conservative" in the present usage of the term, led by Abraham Kohn, was not altogether opposed to innovation. Their platform was summed up in the slogan "Peace, Harmony, and Moderate Reform." The Reform group, led by Elias Greenebaum, marshalled its cause under the banner "Equality, Reform, and Education." Each nominated a slate of officers. The Conservative faction nominated Samuel Cole for president, and the Reform faction nominated Mr. Greenebaum.[8]

The election was very heated, and each party saw to it that a maximum number of its sympathizers attended the meeting. A correspondent of the *American Israelite* in Cincinnati, who signed his name "Observer," reported that of 98 members 83 voted, with 51 casting ballots in favor of the Reform candidate, and 32 in favor of the Conservative.[9]

Abraham Kohn, replying to "Observer's" letter in the *Israelite,* contended that: "It was not for principle but for men that the election of officers of our Congregation was fought and won. There was no question of Reform at issue."[10] According to Kohn, it was simply that most of the members of the congregation who had come from Rhenish Bavaria, opposed the acting president, Samuel Cole, because he was a native of Polish Prussia.[11]

The result of the election did indicate, however, a definite tendency towards, and in favor of, Reform. Elias Greenebaum was elected president. With him were elected a group of other officers who were all gentlemen with liberal points of view. Elias Greenebaum did not hesitate to suggest that the congregation adopt the prayerbook of the Reform Temple in Hamburg, Germany, in place of the Orthodox *Roedelheim Siddur* in current use. His suggestion was premature and was not accepted. But the newly elected administration continuously urged the adoption of reforms. At board meetings they worked for the introduction of an organ, a choir, and other changes which the congregation was not as yet ready to adopt. Soon some changes, however, were made. For, when Mr. B. Schlossman succeeded Mr. Greenebaum in office, we find within *K.A.M.* three factions: one that was staunchly Orthodox and resisted all changes; another that desired moderate reforms and succeeded in obtaining them; and a third that wanted radical reforms and was on the verge of secession to form its own congregation. This is revealed in an article in the *Cincinnati Israelite* describing the Jewish and general communities of Chicago in 1859, under the caption *A Glance at Chicago.* This article states in part:

> The German congregation *Anshe Maarib* (sic), is now controlled by an efficient board of officers with Mr. Schlossman at their head, who progress slowly and safely, and improve one department of the congregation after the other. The majority of the congregation consists of moderate reformers who wanted and have a good choir in the synagogue consisting of young ladies and gentlemen, who want and will have in time an organ, the Minhag America, and a competent preacher. On the other side the orthodox stand who would not yield one inch unless they are compelled to do it, and then they still flatter themselves with the hope, the good old times will soon return again when they will have the majority

> again. We have nothing to say about them; their principles are well known to the world. We are only astonished about three highly respectable gentlemen, who we know fully well to belong to the side of reform in views, principles and sentiments, that they always vote with the orthodox for the restoration of the *Jekum Purkon*.[12] This conduct is a perfect enigma to us. The orthodox are a respectable minority in the congregation and might regain the majority through the manoevers of the radicals. This party consists of some members and a few outsiders who attempt to defeat the attempts of the reformers, in order to force them into a new congregation. We consider this wrong, because it is better to lead the whole congregation in peace onward to a better future, than taking out a few of them and leave the others a prey to stability and retrogression. Chicago has no community that is susceptible for any length of time to radical reforms, it can only injure the cause by its leaps, and frighten the orthodox far back by its outleaping Judaism. A union of all the friends of reform in Chicago, a prudent management of the congregational affairs, and a moderate and calculated progress, would soon bring the congregation to high perfection, as neither the best material nor a good will is wanting. Our orthodox brethren must gradually be educated for the present age; violent leaps only frighten them into extreme measures to oppose progress with might and main.[13]

The ideological conflict at *K.A.M.* had a threefold aspect. On the one hand, the question resolved itself whether the entire group should be persuaded by the adherents of the movement to become Reform. On the other hand, the problem arose whether the Reform group of the congregation should secede and form its own congregation based on Reform ideology. Finally, it became of great import and a definite problem whether the type of Reform, either within the congregation or in case of a separate and independent congregation, should follow the liberal form and ideology of David Einhorn of Baltimore or the somewhat moderate form of Isaac M. Wise of Cincinnati. There was by no means unanimity of opinion within the Reform group. The differences of opinion were derived from the conflicts between Einhorn and Wise on the question of Reform Judaism on a national scale and level.

On a national level, Einhorn represented the Reform ideology of the Hamburg Temple, and of Rabbi Holdheim in Germany. Holdheim was extremely radical in his point of view of Reform Judaism. He went as far as declaring that

the Jewish laws of marriage and divorce were obsolete, and he was even willing to abolish circumcision. The prayerbook Holdheim prepared for the Hamburg Temple was extremely liberal and unorthodox. He desired to substitute Sunday for the traditional Biblical Sabbath — Saturday — as the weekly day of rest.[14]

Isaac M. Wise was not quite that extreme, at least not in his early career, and during the time of rising conflicts between Orthodoxy and Reform in Chicago. Wise's edition of the prayerbook, which he called "Minhag America" (The Custom of America) was but an abbreviation of the traditional prayerbook with some vital changes in some of the phraseology in order to be in consonance with Reform ideology. But it was essentially a Hebrew prayerbook with an English translation. Einhorn's prayerbook, influenced by Holdheim, went far beyond that. First it was essentially a German-Hebrew prayerbook with the accent on the German. Then the contents, the form and the original prayers and hymns, were altogether out of line with the traditional *Siddur* or the *Machzor*. Wise wanted to form an American Judaism and an American Synagogue custom; Einhorn desired, it seems, to create a German-Reform Judaism in America. In the final crystallization of the movement, a synthesis of the two were consummated. In the first stages and evolution of the movement, which coincides with the beginning of the movement in the Chicago Jewish community, the Reform group at *K.A.M.* and its friends in the community who were not affiliated with the congregation were divided as to what school of thought and action to follow.

Before the inner conflict at *K.A.M.* broke out into the open, under the leadership of Samuel and Leo Strauss, a small group of members who were dissatisfied with the wrangling and the services themselves and who were discouraged about securing any changes within the congregation seceded and organized the *Israelite Reform Society* on July 26, 1857. Though they proposed "holding services in the style of *Temple Emanu-El* in New York," they seemed to have been under the aegis of Isaac M. Wise of Cincinnati. They engaged as their minister the Reverend G. M. Cohen, the cantor of *K.A.M.* Temporary quarters were rented for a

synagogue. The *Cincinnati Israelite* carried the news of the *Israelite Reform Society* in a letter from Chicago, dated August 5, 1857, addressed to Rev. I. M. Wise:

> Some 40 men of our faith united themselves on the 26th of July to establish an *Israelite Reform Society* in this city, and Rev. G. M. Cohen is our able leader. We will have services in the style of *Temple Emanu-El* in New York, at the Light Guard Hall, next New Year's days, Day of Atonement, and Feast of Tabernacles. A nice organ and a good organist are already procured for that purpose, and all who like to attend a service כדת מושה וישראל (sic) on days above named, are invited to call on us.
>
> I remain, very respectfully,
>
> Your Obedient Servant,
>
> Samuel Strauss.[15]

Although this group did hold High Holy Days and *Sukkoth* services during the year 1857, following the *Minhag America* ritual of Dr. I. M. Wise, it was short-lived. The *Israelite Reform Society* organized the *Israelite Congregation Ohabey Or* on February 15, 1858. The news of its organization was published in the *Cincinnati Israelite* on February 26, 1858:

> Pursuant to a call, a meeting of Israelites of the city was held on Monday, February 15, at 7:00 P.M. in No. 166 South Clark Street, and after Leon Strauss was appointed Chairman, and Samuel Strauss Secretary of that meeting, the following Resolutions were passed:
>
> "Resolved, that the persons here assembled shall from henceforth be a religious congregation, under the name *Israelite Congregation Ohabey Or,* under the statutes of the State of Illinois."

The congregation elected officers to serve until April 10, 1858.[16]

The *Israelite* was rather optimistic as to the future of the *Ohabey Or Congregation.* In an article on April 2, 1858, it reported:

> The *Congregation Ohabey Or,* who adopted the *Minhag America,* consecrated on Friday last, a place of worship, and held divine service during the last Sabbath and the *Pessah* feast. The Rev. Dr. Cohen delivered appropriate lectures on the occasion, and the congregation, we are informed, is highly satisfied. This new con-

> gregation has a choir and an organ, begins at once as a Reform Congregation, and must, therefore, meet with public support. The service is read in that simple sublime style which benefits the house of the Lord, and the singing part is left to the choir altogether.[17]

It is noteworthy that by this time G. M. Cohen assumed the title *Reverend Doctor.*

The news of the organization of the *Congregation Ohabey Or* even reached Europe, and there the opinion was expressed that the congregation was becoming stronger and more firmly consolidated.[18]

Though the *Congregation Ohabey Or* was ambitious and had long-range plans, as can be judged from the decision to "enter into contract with the learned gentleman, Rev. Dr. Cohen, of this city, for his engagement with this Congregation as Rabbi, Preacher, Teacher of Religion and Superintendent of the School of the Congregation for a term of four years," it did not see much light. It was eclipsed by the activities of Dr. Bernhard Felsenthal, who arrived in the city on April 18th of that year and soon inaugurated a methodical approach to the entire question of a Reform congregation on the basis of the ideology and doctrine of Dr. Einhorn. Nowhere is it recorded that the *Congregation Ohabey Or* held a second High Holy Days service.

Nowhere and by no other man in the United States was the philosophy of Reform Judaism more clearly defined than in Chicago by Dr. Bernhard Felsenthal. He had a keen mind and a sharp pen. Persistent in his ideas and, to a certain extent, uncompromising in his viewpoints, he was able to influence people and to persuade them to think as he did. Dr. Felsenthal, was sincerely convinced that changes in certain concepts and forms in Judaism had to be made. He had expressed his ideology on the matter of Reform in Judaism before his coming to Chicago. As early as 1856 he wrote *Reforms in the Synagogue,* emphatically setting forth the need for reforms in the synagogue as he saw them. In this he advocated the revision of the prayers, the use of the vernacular, and some other changes.[19] Shortly after this work was published, he wrote an article in German titled *Offenbarungsglauben und Reform, Sind Beide zu vereinbaren?*

(The Belief in Revelation and Reform—Are Both Incompatible?), in which he pointed out the need for Reform Judaism to find a logical foundation for its ideology in place of Orthodoxy's doctrine of revelation.[20] Dr. Felsenthal discussed the question of Reform in an article in the *Deborah* under the title *Reformbewegungen in den Israelitischen Gemeinden Amerikas* (Reform Movements in the Jewish Communities in America).[21] He also reviewed very favorably Dr. Einhorn's prayerbook, *Olath Tamid.*[22]

There is little wonder, therefore, that, when Dr. Felsenthal came to Chicago and the opportunity presented itself, he took up the question of Reform and the problem of the organization of a Reform congregation, with enthusiastic fervor.

Two months after his arrival in the city, Felsenthal encouraged the gathering of a group of men who were interested in Reform Judaism ideologically. The main purpose was the organization of a *Juedischer Reformverein.* They met in the office of Greenebaum Brothers at 45 Clark Street on June 20, 1858, at 3:00 o'clock in the afternoon. Leopold Mayer was elected chairman of the meeting, and Felsenthal was elected secretary. All the proceedings were conducted in the German language.[23] Dr. Felsenthal came to the meeting prepared to present his philosophy with youthful enthusiasm. After the chairman's opening remarks, Felsenthal presented his views in a paper containing twenty-seven theses, which he offered to the gathering for further consideration, introducing the theses with this preamble:

> We are deeply convinced that Israel has been called by God to be the Messiah of the nations, and to spread truth and virtue on earth. In order to fulfill this high mission, Israel has to undergo a process of purification in its own midst. This object will be best accomplished in free and blessed America where no material forces check spiritual progress. The special mission of American Israel, therefore, is to place Judaism before the world, purified in doctrine and conduct, and so to become a shining example for Israelites the world over.[24]

He then proceeded to state the *Fundamental Principles of the Jewish Reform Society in Chicago* by saying that "the object of the *Jewish Reform Society* is to awaken and cul-

tivate a truer conception of Judaism and a higher realization of Jewish religious life, first among its own members, and if possible, also in wider circles."[25]

In a very clear manner, Felsenthal outlined the *Religious Basis of the Society.* He maintained that:

> As sources for the knowledge of specifically Jewish doctrines, we consider the history of Judaism and its adherents . . .
>
> In the history of Judaism we first of all take into consideration the twenty-four books of the Bible . . .
>
> Besides, we consider the *Talmud* and the rich Jewish literature of the *post-Talmudic* period as most valuable sources of Jewish religious knowledge . . .
>
> By virtue of reason, which we also consider a divine manifestation as well as the whole of nature, we distinguish in Holy Scripture the treasures of eternal truth which are deposited in it from that which is merely the result of primitive conceptions of the time, and of faulty view of the world and of life, and also from that which were merely meant as laws for transitory conditions which have long since become obsolete . . .
>
> If we apply this rule to the Bible, we may undoubtedly claim the right to examine religious sources and institutions of post-Biblical times, and to separate that which we have recognized as true in doctrine and worthy of preservation in conduct from that which is recognized as dogmatically antiquated or, for practical purposes, as not being appropriate any more . . .[26]

The theses did not stop here. Felsenthal made clear his point of view of what constitutes Jewish religious practices and living, under the title *Jewish Religious Life - Cult - Public Worship.* He thus continued:

> The Cult which we are going to build up, and which stands before our eyes as the goal of our endeavors, consists partly in living a morally pure and worthy life, and partly in the establishment of such religious institutions and rites by which moral and spiritual elevation and progress may be furthered and fostered . . .
>
> Practice of moral duties in their entire scope constitutes the principal feature in the worship of God . . .
>
> The religious life in the home and in the family shall be revived, and it is our endeavor to make the Jewish family by proper means the Temple of God wherein shall dwell the spirit of God, and the spirit of peace, of love, of tenderness and holiness, and of devotion to whatever is true and good and noble . . .
>
> A good education of the young in the home and in the congregation is one of our chief objects. A Jewish child shall first of

> all receive a general education, but besides, his mind shall be filled with as complete as possible a knowledge of Judaism, his heart with the spirit of religion, and with love of Judaism, his volition and intentions to lead a life worthy of a lover of humanity and a true Israelite . . .[27]

As a basis for membership in the Society, Felsenthal proposed that "Anyone born of a Jewish mother who has not joined another religious denomination, and also anyone born of a non-Jewish mother who adopts explicitly Judaism as his religion, may become a member of the Society, if he subscribes to the fundamental principles of the same. Particular by-laws concerning this point shall be enacted at a future time."[28]

These theses and propositions were discussed not only at this initial gathering but at many subsequent meetings; they were finally adopted with very little change as the basis of the *Juedischer Reformverein* founded by the group.[29] It may be well to note the difference between the name of this group and the one formed earlier under the title "Israelite Reform Society." The difference is not without significance. The new one inspired by Einhorn shows definite German influence. The old one influenced by Wise manifested definite American influence.

Before the year was over, on December 28, 1858, the *Verein* issued a call to the friends of Jewish Reform in Chicago urging them to unite and to organize "a truly religious Jewish Reform Congregation." The proclamation read:

> We, the undersigned, have frequently had occasion to notice that in the Jewish circles of this city, there exists a great indifference to religious affairs. Such an indifference threatens to make life more base and materialistic, and stifles all nobility of thought, all participation in the higher endeavors towards the holiest possessions of mankind. On the other hand, a genuine religious life, which is as it ought to be, remains the most powerful factor in the sanctification of thought and conduct; in the purification of aim and life. In order to participate in the blessings of religion to the greatest possible extent, and in the most efficacious manner, and in order to bequeath them as the best heritage of the congregation of Jacob, to the succeeding generations, we herewith unite for the purpose of founding a Jewish congregation which shall awaken and cultivate a religious spirit, shall spread knowledge of

> Jewish doctrine and shall make Jewish life nobler and truer. For this purpose the congregation, which is to be founded, shall first consider the following points:
>
> The creation of a liturgy, which in its contents is genuinely Jewish and true, and therefore shall avoid the expression of views which have lost their hold on our consciousness, while it will the more strongly accentuate those views which the Judaism of the present era has recognized clearly and distinctly as more important. This service shall, in its appearance, be adapted to the needs of the times, and shall really edify and elevate the worshipper.
>
> Fostering and cultivation of a Jewish religious sentiment in the families by an endeavor to abolish customs and rites which are either defunct, or are based on erroneous views, and to create such rites as shall be full of life and truth and capable of bringing forth blissful results.[30]

By this time an additional number of men had joined the *Reformverein,* most of them from *K.A.M.;* some from *K.B.S.* About a month before the proclamation was issued, on November 24, some members of the *Verein* began an exchange of correspondence with Dr. S. Adler, the spiritual leader of the *Emanu-El Congregation* in New York, concerning a number of questions relating to the establishment of a Reform congregation in Chicago. The Chicagoans desired to have Dr. Adler's opinion on several questions: Was it "desirable to establish a new Reform congregation here?" Was "Isaac M. Wise's edition of the prayerbook, called *Minhag America,* adequate?" Should "some ways be pursued in a mixed congregation, that is a congregation consisting of members differing in their religious view, in order to satisfy, at least, the most urgent demands for reform?" "What ways should be pursued by a pure and unmixed Reform congregation?"[31]

While Dr. Adler was reluctant at first to reply to these questions, because they involved members of *K.A.M.* who had a spiritual leader, he, nevertheless, decided to reply for the sake of the Reform movement and the genuine desire on the part of the correspondents to establish a Reform congregation in Chicago.

Dr. Adler urged the Chicago inquirers to use their best efforts to establish a new congregation. He preferred Dr. Einhorn's to Dr. Wise's prayerbook, stating that "no prayerbook in existence can stand comparison with that of Ein-

horn."[32] Thus New York, being under the influence of Einhorn, helped to influence and determine the tendency of the first permanent and organized Reform movement in Chicago.

On January 9, 1859, the *Verein* resolved to consider: "(a) The religious basis of a congregation which shall be founded; (b) Essence; (c) Form of public worship in that congregation."[33] At the subsequent meeting on January 30, it was resolved "to appoint a committee whose duty it shall be to submit in the next meeting a report on the religious basis of a Reform congregation."[34]

On February 27, the committee reported their recommendations for the practices and observances for the proposed congregation, as follows:

> 1. As sacred days we consider the weekly Sabbath, which shall be celebrated, according to tradition, and the seven Biblical holy days, to wit: First and Seventh days of Passover, one day of Pentecost, one New Year's Day, one Day of Atonement, one day of Tabernacles, and one day of Atzereth.
>
> 2. Besides, there shall be distinguished in public worship the days of Chanukkah and Purim, New Moon and Chol-Hammoed and the ninth day of *Ab*.
>
> 3. In every public worship, even on those days, on which according to tradition, the *Torah* is not read, the reading of a portion from the *Torah* shall form an integral part of the service.
>
> 4. The *Torah* shall be read in a cycle of three years. The Prophetic portion shall be independently selected and adopted to this triennial cycle.
>
> 5. The reading of the *Torah* shall be in the original Hebrew. The Prophetic portions, however, shall be read either in the mother-tongue intelligible to the congregation, or in the language of the country.
>
> 6. Of the traditional prayer-book, there shall be retained some portion which scientific investigation has recognized as most ancient, and which on that account already possess a high degree of religious power. Still we reserve the right to make such changes as are necessary to bring these prayers in harmony with our convictions. Besides these old liturgical portions, prayers and hymns in the vernacular shall have a prominent place.
>
> 7. From the liturgy everything that is contrary to the convinctions of the congregation, shall be eliminated. Other parts, however, which in our days possess a greater sanctifying power, shall be more strongly accentuated.
>
> 8. Services shall be held with the greatest possible solemnity,

and if feasible shall be made more impressive by solemn choral song and organ music.

9. In the public worship of the congregation, there shall be no discriminations made in favor of the male and against the female worshippers.

10. The congregation does not recognize any privileged clerical order, the members of which should have exclusive right to perform certain ecclesiastical acts. There is no priesthood, either by inheritance or by ordination, nor is there any clergy which as such possesses special power. Obligations and privileges, such as preaching, consecration of marriages, etc., which are incumbent upon the clergy, are merely a mandate of the congregation. As a matter of principle, these acts may be performed by every Israelite, who is able and qualified to perform them.[35]

These recommendations were accepted by the *Reformverein,* with the elimination from the first section of the statement concerning the Sabbath the words "which shall be celebrated according to tradition," and with the additional provision: "Concerning the second day of New Year the question whether it shall be kept or abrogated shall be left open for the present, and a later meeting shall further consider the matter."[36] However, the *Verein* resolved "that the former committee shall prepare other points for consideration at the next meeting." This next meeting was held on March 13, 1859, and, among other things, the committee reported, as a basis of religious doctrine for the congregation, that:

Doctrines and regulations, which do not naturally follow from the historical development of Judaism, or which contradict it, are un-Jewish and shall not find official recognition in the congregation.

From public worship there shall be removed wailing over oppression and persecution, also the prayers for the restoration of the sacrificial cult, for Israel's return to Palestine, the expression of hope for a personal Messiah, and of a resurrection of the body.

Bombastic words, exaggerations, and bad taste shall have no place in public worship. Therefore, all unnecessary repetition shall be done away with.

On the other hand, the exalting and inspiring thought shall be strongly and emphatically accentuated, that Israel is a priestly nation among the nations on earth, the people chosen by God to bring about the Messianic kingdom of truth, of virtue and of peace.[37]

(Unveränderter Abdruck.)

KOL KORE BAMMIDBAR.

Ueber Jüdische Reform.

Ein Wort an die Freunde derselben,

von

B. Felsenthal,

Sekretär des jüdischen Reformvereins in Chicago.

Chicago, 1859,

Gedruckt bei Chas. Heß, Ecke von Randolph und Dearborn Str.

Title-page of brochure by Dr. Felsenthal published in 1859.

At the meeting held on March 13, a committee was appointed to "submit in the next meeting, the draft of a constitution or of parts thereof, for the contemplated congregation." The committee submitted such a draft April 10. However, action on it was postponed although a resolution was unanimously adopted, "that we are ready to form a Reform congregation upon the principles heretofore adopted by the *Jewish Reform Society,* and to pay at least $12.00 a year to it, if thirty members can be found to join it."[38] However, there apparently were not thirty members as yet convinced ideologically of joining a Reform congregation of the type suggested and outlined.

Dr. Felsenthal did not permit the enthusiasm for Reform to lag. In March of 1859, he published what became a very popular and controversial brochure, *Kol Kore Bamidbar — Ueber Juedishe Reform.* This brochure, while it may have hindered the actual organization of the Reform synagogue for a short while because of its radical approach, further clarified the point of view of the Reform movement and the principles underlying its ideology. In the *Kol Kore Bamidbar,* Felsenthal contended:

> Our age, in so far as it concerns itself with Jewish religious life, is evidently intended rather to build up than to tear down. But what shall be built up, what shall be constructed anew? The inner, deep-seated belief in God, the moral sense in all the relations of life, the attachment to and love for Judaism, the teaching of Moses freed of all heathenism and foolishness; with this must be combined the excision of all statutes and observances intended for other times, places and conditions.[39]

However, he then contradicted himself somewhat by saying that:

> The Bible is not the source of Judaism! It is not? Well, that is heresy, indeed. Softly, my orthodox friend. We say the Bible is not the source of Judaism, but we consider it a product of Judaism, and we concede, without reservation, it's most splendid and holiest product. But Judaism is older than the Bible. Judaism originated at the moment when God breathed into the first man the breath of life. For the kernel of Judaism is natural religion in the soul of man.[40]

The author speaks very enthusiastically about "universal religious truths." The source of these, he claims, are: "Nature about us—the universe; Nature within us—the life of the spirit and the history of mankind. The sources of specifically Jewish principles are the history of Judaism and its confessors."[41]

Felsenthal argues convincingly for the retention of Hebrew in the synagogue. "Hebrew in the Synagogue," he says, "is a tie which unites all Israel. There are stronger ties, to be sure; nevertheless, this too is not without importance. There is, however, another argument for the retention of Hebrew. It is the holy tongue, the language spoken by our God-inspired singers and prophets, and its sound makes a deep impression on the soul of every Jew, elevating, purifying, awakening reverence. It provides an element of mystery in the service which we would not willingly dispense with. Mystery within proper limits—we do not say mysticism—has its place in the spiritual life of man, more especially in the service which we dedicate to an incomprehensible God. Is not the soul itself strange and mysterious, full of unknown and inscrutable depths?"[42]

Felsenthal, in the brochure, reiterates his idea that Israel has a mission in this world, quite adequately. "But," he concludes, "we recognize our mission to consist much more in nurturing and building up than in abolishing and removing. Doctrines which we have recognized as true, but which have lost in great part their hold on our contemporaries, must be implanted anew and firmly; institutions which have a hallowing influence on the religious nature, and which are likely to enhance the religious life, must be retained, suitably changed, or, when necessary, created anew, according to the needs and circumstances."[43]

The brochure aroused much unfavorable comment and created controversies in this country and abroad, but it had its desired effect. Dr. Einhorn, in his publication *Sinai,* reviewed it favorably, as did some German publications abroad.[44] On the other hand, Dr. Gruenbaum in Germany could not agree with the author in the assertion that "The Bible is not the source of Judaism, but a product of Judaism." Similarly, many in this country could not see eye to

eye with Felsenthal.[45] However, Felsenthal's philosophy penetrated the thinking of many. But the efforts to organize a Reform congregation continued to be met with great opposition in the community, in spite of the agitation of the *Reformverein.* In a letter to a friend in Lawrenceburg, Dr. Felsenthal complained at the time:

> Our efforts at reform are making headway very slowly. You will not wonder at that when you remember what mighty opponents they are who stand in the way of efforts of this kind. There is, first, stupidity and ignorance, and "against stupidity the gods themselves contend in vain," there is, secondly, crude fanaticism, which threatens with the *auto-da-fé* anyone who attempts to lay a finger on its sacred dust and rubbish; thirdly, there is the complete absorption in money-making of the great majority who look with cold indifference on every idealistic and disinterested endeavor. Yet, I do not lose courage; I am confident that a better day will succeed this dark night of our Judaism.[46]

On April 17, 1859, the *Verein* called a public meeting, which was attended by many of the Chicago Jewish community. The gathering was addressed by Leopold Mayer and Dr. Felsenthal, who encouraged the audience by their enthusiasm for Reform. Hundreds of people attended another mass meeting addressed by Felsenthal on September 29, on the afternoon of *Rosh Hashanah.*[47] The rising political excitement, however, becoming more and more intense with the approaching Civil War, retarded the activities of the *Reformverein* and the movement to organize a congregation.

After the High Holy Days of 1860, when a number of congregants of *K. A. M.* who had not succeeded in obtaining certain moderate reforms in their congregation joined the *Reformverein,* the desire to organize a new congregation was intensified. That winter a committee, which included Dr. Felsenthal, was appointed anew to draft a constitution for a congregation.

The committee was swift in its actions and decisions; it met several times to draft a constitution, and even went beyond its mandate by bringing in a recommendation to call the congregation *Sinai.* This was adopted on February 17, 1861, together with the resolution to use the Einhorn prayer-

book for services.[48] At the general meeting of the congregation in April, the members ratified the constitution, the preamble of which read:

> Whereas, there appears to exist among Israelites a large degree of indifference in religious matters, threatening to drag life more and more to materialism and degradation, and stifling all nobility of sentiments, all sympathy for higher pursuits, all appreciation of the more sacred of humanity; while on the other hand, Jewish religious life, clinging to obsolete ideas, and maintaining antiquated usages, has taken its course in a direction of which we cannot approve;
>
> And whereas, we share the conviction that a truly religious life is the most powerful agent to create noble thoughts and good morals;
>
> And whereas, especially the Jewish religion, having a past of four thousand years, most glorious and eventful, is evidently destined, in the future, too, to act a most important part in the development of mankind and in its onward course to the lofty positions of the Messianic time coming;
>
> Therefore, a number of Israelites have associated with the avowed intention of fostering the inestimable inheritance of our fathers, of restituting the original spirit of simplicity, purity, and sublimity in Judaism and thus to perpetuate the same, and secure its duration.
>
> The means of attaining this sacred object are chiefly as follows:
>
> A sound religious education of the rising generation, by sustaining a school in which, at least, a thorough instruction in religion, in Hebrew, and in the branches connected therewith be imparted — a school inspiring the tender hearts of the children for Judaism and for everything that is good, just and noble; and the formation of such arrangements and institutions which tend directly or indirectly to promote and fulfill the objects of religion and to advance its professors to a higher state of perfection.[49]

The constitution and by-laws provided, in part:

> This congregation recognizes the Biblical Sabbath and the following Festivals: the first and seventh day of *Pesach,* one day *Shabbuoth, Rosh Hashannah, Yom Hakkipurim,* the first day of *Sukkoth* and *Atzereth.*
>
> In the service of the Congregation, notice shall also be taken of the following days: *Chanukkah, Purim, Rosh Chodesh, Chol Hammoëd,* the ninth day of *Ab,* and Thanksgiving Day.
>
> Prayers for the restoration of the Mosaic cult of sacrifices, for the return of an Israelitish nation as such to Palestine, the coming of a personal Messiah, the bodily resurrection of the dead, shall not be engrafted in the service of the congregation.

> The standard Prayerbook for this Congregation shall be *Olath Tamid, Gebetbuch fuer Reform-Gemeinden,* edited by Dr. David Einhorn.
>
> Such hymns, psalms, or prayers as shall be deemed appropriate by the Committee on Public Worship, may be temporarily added by them to the service of the day.[50]

Thus was born the second Reform congregation in Chicago, concerning which Dr. Einhorn correctly remarked, "We hardly believe that there is another Reform congregation in America which at its very beginnings had such clear conception of the aims."[51] On July 20, 1861, *Chicago Sinai Congregation* was chartered.[52]

Although *Sinai Congregation* began with a clear and definite Reform ideology, its synagogue practices were not completely reformed as yet. In fact, some of the religious views prevailing among some of the members were notably traditional. The men worshipped with their heads covered. Though the Einhorn prayerbook was adopted, a great deal of Hebrew was used, both read and chanted during the services. The *Torah* was read from the Scroll, to be sure, in accordance with the triennial cycle, but in the traditional manner. The worshippers, it seems, were called to the reading of the *Torah.* The minor festivals, as well as *Rosh Hodesh, Hol Hamoed and Tisha B'Ab* were observed.[53]

The conversion to complete Reform usages came at a rapid pace. When *Sinai Congregation* dedicated its second synagogue on Plymouth Court and Van Buren Street in 1863, the congregation decided that the men must remove their hats during the services. At the same time, a mixed choir with non-Jewish singers was organized.[54]

When Dr. I. Chronik became rabbi of *Sinai,* after Felsenthal left, the radical tendencies of the congregation deepened. Dr. Chronik was the first to suggest Sunday services instead of Sabbath services, but he did not succeed in persuading the congregation to that extent of Reform.

When Dr. Chronik was succeeded by Dr. Kohler, the movement to establish Sunday services was renewed. However, at a special meeting of the *Sinai Congregation* held on September 1, 1872, the motion to strike from the constitution the words, "Biblical Sabbath," was defeated by twenty-six

against sixteen. In October of 1872, Dr. Kohler earnestly renewed the movement to establish Sunday services. A committee was appointed by the congregation, at the meeting of October 27, "to consider the matter and make recommendations." The committee was encouraged by the resolutions passed at the special September 1st meeting, when the membership voted unanimously:

> Be it resolved, first, that a better attendance at the public worship is henceforth expected and thereby an interest and progress in religion attained. Whosoever advocates Saturday shall show it by example, and he who advocates Sunday shall not stay away, as an attendance will bring about material understanding and harmonious action cherished by all.
>
> For the purpose of affording an opportunity to the youth to hear sometimes a word of religion, the congregation will as soon as possible arrange for a periodical or Sunday service or lecture, and the members shall use their influence upon the youth to have them attend the same.[55]

These resolutions did not bring immediate results. The question was pondered more than a year, because the desire to institute Sunday services was prompted not so much by principle of Reform as by the expediency of having more worshippers attending services.

In November of 1873, Dr. Kohler sent a communication to the Board of Directors of the congregation, complaining that the attendance at the Saturday morning service was very small. Upon this, a special meeting of the congregation was called, at which the Board presented Dr. Kohler's communication, with an added resolution that:

> The *Sinai Congregation* express its full and implicit confidence in the ability, learning and devotion to Judaism of the Reverend Kohler, and its wish to retain his valuable services for the benefit of the young and old by all means, and that we consider it the duty of every member of our congregation to attend promptly public worship on the historical Sabbath, and are willing to preserve it in its proper integrity, but it appears from practical experience that a large number of our members are prevented by circumstances from enjoying the benefit thereof and in order to give them and to the rising generation an opportunity to receive religious instruction weekly, provision shall be made for this purpose as soon as practicable in addition to the present worship.[56]

At this special November meeting, several members of the congregation argued in favor of establishing a *Late Friday Evening Service* to remedy the situation of attendance, but a motion to that effect was defeated. The congregation then, finally, resolved to institute Sunday services.[57]

On January 18, 1874, the first Sunday service of *Sinai* was held at Martin's Hall, where the congregation was now worshipping, having no permanent synagogue structure of its own. Dr. Kohler preached a sermon on the theme, "The New Knowledge and the Old Faith," which, for a time, became the slogan of *Chicago Sinai Congregation.* In this sermon, Dr. Kohler developed the thought of the reconciliation of religion and science, and he undertook to prove the compatibility of Judaism with the doctrine of evolution.[58]

It seems that neither the reforms nor the Sunday services stimulated much religious enthusiasm and synagogue attendance at *Sinai Congregation.* This was clearly pointed out by Dr. Kohler in his resignation in 1879, when he wrote to the Board:

> It has since years been a matter of constant complaint from the pulpit and of sad discouragement both to the members of the congregation, and to myself, that my persistant efforts and pleading in behalf of a larger participation in Divine Service and a greater appreciation of our sacred cause, failed to arouse our members from their indifference and lethargy, which have successively been assuming a more alarming critical state.[59]

When Dr. Hirsch succeeded Dr. Kohler in 1880 he brought about a complete conversion of the congregation to radical reforms which were considered, at times, ultra-liberal even by the most liberal leaders of Reform Judaism.

The radical Reform tendencies under the ministry of Dr. Hirsch can be gauged from the following record in the minutes of *Sinai Congregation*:

At a special meeting on April 9, 1885, *Sinai Congregation* resolved: "Owing to the arduous labors devolving upon our worthy minister, Dr. E. G. Hirsch, this congregation hereby resolves to relieve him from the duty of preaching on Saturdays."[60] At the same special meeting the president of the Congregation recommended:

> The rite of circumcision to which even the most radical among us cling with much tenacity, has frequently been denounced from our pulpit as a disgusting relic of barbarism. If this assertion is true, as most of us concede it to be, why is it not our duty to declare in unmistakable language that the practice of the rite of circumcision is sacreligious and should be discontinued, and also make known the fact by resolution, what may be inferred from the silence of that point in our Constitution, that circumcision is not made a test for membership? This will do no violence to anyone's conviction, nor keep any one from performing the rite, who choses so to do, and will place us in a true light in the eyes of the world.[61]

According to the records, Dr. Hirsch replied to this recommendation of the president as follows: "I am glad to find myself sharing the views of the President. '*Milah*' (Circumcision) was never considered the '*conditio sine qua non*' of Judaism."[62]

Another recommendation made at this meeting was to "be consistent and abolish at the earliest moment practicable, all Hebrew reading and prayers."

To this, likewise, Dr. Hirsch agreed.

A third recommendation which emanated from this historic gathering was that the observance of all the Jewish holidays by *Sinai Congregation* should be transferred "either to the Sunday preceding or succeeding the day fixed by the calendar."

To the third recommendation, Dr. Hirsch objected. The congregation, therefore, resolved "that in deference to the views of our esteemed Rabbi, Dr. E. G. Hirsch, the recommendation advising a transfer of the Jewish Holidays to the respective preceding or following Sundays be not assented to."[63]

During the same year, Dr. Hirsch reported to the Board that on "each Sabbath morning the temple had been open, minister, sexton and choir were on hand, but no audience."[64]

The climax of *Sinai's* reforms came in 1892, when the temple was remodeled at a very high cost, and part of the renovation was the elimination of the Ark. The records on this change speak for themselves. At an Executive Board meeting, on May 7, 1894, the resolution was adopted: "Whereas, the Congregation is the owner of a *Sepher Torah,* the use of which in the services has been dispensed with; therefore,

be it resolved that the *Sepher Torah* be donated to the University of Chicago as part of the Semitic library, donated by the Congregation.''[65]

In the meantime, the situation at *K.A.M.* did not remain static. By 1859, as we have seen, the congregation had adopted a number of reforms. They instituted a mixed choir, and the triennial cycle of the Torah reading in the synagogue. By this time, they were also ready to modify substantially the education of the children in the community, and allocated funds for this. The agitation for Reform was indeed pressing. There were some who, in order to demonstrate their zeal for Reform, dared to remove their hats during the Sabbath services.[66]

When Dr. I. M. Wise visited Chicago in September, 1859, he found that at *K.A.M.* the Orthodox element ''would not yield.'' In his account of the visit, as we have seen before, Dr. Wise expressed himself against the secession of the Reform element from *K.A.M.* to organize a new and separate congregation. He agreed that it would be wiser to educate the Orthodox element in the existing congregation to understand and appreciate Reform.

Dr. Wise was impressed by the ''good school of *K.A.M.*, which was advanced and progressive.'' In that year, *K.A.M.* had introduced the Sabbath School. As to the synagogue services and ritual, Dr. Wise observed that *K.A.M.* ''has a fine mixed choir. They want an organ and the *Minhag America* and they will get it ultimately.''[67]

When the pulpit of *K.A.M.* was filled by Dr. Solomon Friedlander in 1860, the administration was definitely set on Reform. Dr. Friedlander's background having been that of Holdheim's extreme Reform, the congregation very likely would have changed more rapidly and most likely would have compromised on Einhorn's Reform tendencies. They had placed a great deal of hope in the leadership of Dr. Friendlander. However, his untimely death put an end to these hopes.

When the year 1861 rolled around, Mr. M. M. Gerstley was elected president and Dr. Liebman Adler was invited to become the Rabbi of *K.A.M.;* the trend toward Reform was halted for a while. While Dr. Adler, at the time, did not

object to the reforms already instituted, he was not willing to accept new ones. The trend toward complete Reform, however, could not be stopped at *K.A.M.* But until it was achieved, conflicting ideologies prevailed among the membership, and confusion, to say the least, reigned within the walls of its synagogue. This confusion was described in a letter by a Chicagoan, who signed his name "Radical Reformer" in writing to the *Occident* in Philadelphia, in July 1864. After referring to *Sinai* and *B'nai Sholom* congregations, he speaks about the "conflicting parties" within *K.A.M.* and states:

> At every meeting they adopt different resolutions and different modes of prayer. Though the congregation retains the customary prayerbook of German Jews, the services are neither Orthodox nor Reform . . . The Kiddush is not recited on Friday night. The prayers are shortened. Yet they observe the second holidays. Some want an organ, some want strict orthodoxy. Some want *Minhag America,* and some refer to it as *'Minhag Raik'* (the custom of shallowness and ignorance). Some want services exactly like those at Temple Emanuel in New York and some want *Kohanim Duchanen.*[68]

The founding of *Sinai Congregation,* which resulted in the resignation from *K.A.M.* of many members who were ardent advocates of Reform, eased the tension somewhat. M. M. Gerstley, president of *K.A.M.* in his annual report, on August 16, 1874, alluded to this when he stated: "Previous to (January 1861) and at the entrance upon the discharge of my duties as your President, 26, and amongst them some of our most intelligent members, resigned their membership." However, in the report Gerstley admits that *K.A.M.* has "—in observing the social and practical ways of our communities—long before then become convinced, that a congregation could not successfully survive the pressure of the times, by adopting a reasonable progressive standard; such as would leave the impression upon the minds of the members, that it was as necessary as it was proper, to educate ourselves and the rising generation agreeable to the spirit of the times in which we live and the circumstances by which we are surrounded."[69]

A contemporary source informs us that: "In 1860, Reform was made an issue at the annual meeting of *Temple*

Kehileth Anshe Ma'ariv.'' Apparently the most vexing question was the introduction of organ music to accompany the liturgy. This was one of the major indications of Reform ideology, at the time, and the advocates of Reform were persistent that the congregation obtains an organ. ''Under protest,'' this source continues to state, ''an organ was purchased for the Temple, and a committee was appointed to consider changes in the wording of the ritual for the services . . . The committee, however, brought back as its report a recommendation that, since there were many in the congregation to whom a break with Orthodoxy would bring real distress, the Reform group should resign and organize a new congregation.''[70]

This was but a temporary compromise and concession. It was the green light for the final emergence of *Sinai Congregation.* As to the organ, which was the major bone of contention, Michael and Henry Greenebaum, who were the chief agitators for Reform, solved the problem quite dramatically. During one night, in pitch darkness, they drove up with a horse and wagon to the *K.A.M.* synagogue and removed the organ from there, bringing it secretly to the new *Sinai Congregation.* There the organ became an integral part of the liturgical music from its inception.[71]

Besides the organ, another principal problem at *K.A.M.* was, apparently, the prayerbook. While Abraham Kohn was president, he referred in one of his annual presidential reports to the demand, in his opinion, of the necessity for a change in the ritual. He pointed out that it would first be necessary to abolish the *Minhag Frankfort* then in use. That the *Roedelheim Siddur* was unsatisfactory all agreed, but they could not come together on what prayerbook to substitute for it. At the congregation meetings, various propositions were considered; resolutions were passed and revoked. The *Minhag Hamburg* was proposed by one group. The *Merzbacher Prayerbook* was suggested by another. Apparently antagonistic feelings and attitudes towards Sinai Congregation precluded the Einhorn prayerbook, which the latter used. Agreement was reached only on the proposition to shorten some of the prayers and to eliminate others from the traditional prayerbook.[72]

Another contemporary refers to *K.A.M.* at that time as "the congregation in Chicago which stood midway between Reform and Orthodoxy."[73]

After the High Holy Days of 1864, *K.A.M.* appointed a committee of thirteen members, with the power to appoint a subcommittee, to "harmonize the congregation in the *Minhag.*"[74] The recommendations of this subcommittee are only vaguely known. Several attempted changes in the prayerbook resulted in the reintroduction of the *Minhag Frankfort.* When the congregation moved to its synagogue on Wabash Avenue, an organ was installed, the choir was enlarged, eventually including non-Jewish singers, and some additional reforms were adopted.[75]

After the great fire, the question of a change in ritual became a principal concern of *K.A.M.* At a meeting of the Board on December 18, 1871, a motion made by Samuel Cole recommended the adoption of Dr. Einhorn's prayerbook, in English translation, but no action was taken.

In 1873, the *Merzbacher* prayerbook was adopted and the congregation voted to conduct Late Friday Evening Services, with sermon and choir. The children's choir was replaced by a paid choir, consisting of professional non-Jewish singers under the leadership of a Mr. Erst, a Bohemian Catholic.[76]

On January 4, 1874, *K.A.M.* joined the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations,* officially identifying itself with Reform Judaism.[77] Though the transition from Orthodoxy to Reform at *K.A.M.* was fairly complete, the congregation did not worship without hats. For a while, also, the second days of the festivals were still observed.[78]

At a congregation meeting on September 9, 1875, *K.A.M.* resolved that the gentlemen remove their hats during worship. This resolution was not adopted unanimously; it was a majority which carried it, and decided the practice for the entire congregation. At the same time the observance of the second days of festivals was likewise abolished.[79]

While *K.A.M.* had changed completely to Reform Judaism, the congregation would not consent to a Sunday service at that time.

The next Chicago congregation to change its synagogue ideology was *Kehilath B'nai Sholom.* Although that con-

gregation began with stricter Orthodoxy than *K.A.M.*, it soon began to show tendencies towards Reform. Indeed one of its leading members and officers, Henry Greenebaum became active in the *Reformverein* and subsequently became one of the staunch lay leaders in Reform Judaism in the city. When Dr. Isaac M. Wise visited Chicago in 1859, he observed that *K.B.S.* "formerly had the appearance of liberality and progress, as long as Messrs Harris, Summerfield, Witowsky and other gentlemen yet had time enough to manage the affairs of the congregation; but now they have a Parnass, Mr. Mohr is his name we believe, who has not time enough to remember that he is a Parness, (sic) that he has to perform duties in this capacity, and is altogether behind the time." [80] Apparently, in the opinion of Dr. Wise, there was an attempt made before at *K.B.S.* to institute some reforms, but there was a return to strict Orthodoxy during Mr. Mohr's administration. However, once the trend towards Reform started it progressed at a fairly rapid pace. The Reform tendencies at K.B.S. were apparent at the dedication of its first synagogue in 1864. In the dedication address delivered by Dr. Felsenthal, the leading spirit of Reform Judaism in Chicago, the orator did not hesitate to point out to the *B'nai Sholom* congregants the differences between Orthodox and Reform Judaism. He concluded his address by stating:

> Let our Judaism in the future be wholly Jewish. Let us cast out its extreme elements. We shall not, therefore, regard with disdain the Judaism of the past, any more than would a daughter her mother, if she appeared in old-fashioned garments.[81]

That the *K.B.S.* was tending towards Reform ideology is also evident from the fact that Dr. Isaac M. Wise participated in the dedicatory program. In the report of the dedication in the *Israelite,* Dr. Wise observed that "this congregation like many others is orthodox in form and progressive in spirit." In 1871, Wise was happy to report that *K.B.S.* had "passed the resolution to introduce family pews."

With the assumption of the spiritual leadership at *K.B.S.* by Dr. Aaron J. Messing the Reform tendencies were halted for a while and a resurgence of traditional Judaism ensued. The extent of the Reform inroads and progress in the con-

gregation can be gauged from Rabbi Messing's correspondence with Rabbi Elijah Guttmacher, a Hassidic rabbi in Posen. In 1869, Rabbi Messing, whose extremely traditional background and Orthodox tendencies in synagogue practice and usages were still marked, complained in a letter to the rabbi in Europe, whose disciple he had been in his early days: "I find plenty to fight here. Even some of my own congregation would like to install an organ in the synagogue and organize a mixed choir. I had to publish synagogue rules in English, in order to show them the law that we do not need an organ."[82] It may have been because of these objections that Rabbi Messing resigned his position with the congregation in 1870, and not solely because of his hesitation to marry the synagogue president's daughter, as rumors had it.

When, in 1873, Rabbi Messing was recalled to Chicago to resume his spiritual leadership of *B'nai Sholom Congregation,* the congregation was already ripe for the adoption of many Reform usages. Rabbi Messing himself, in the course of his ministry in San Francisco had also come to accept some Reform convictions. An outstanding feature of Reform practice, at the time, was the Confirmation of boys and girls on the *Shovuoth* festival. In 1874, we find that *K.B.S.* held its first Confirmation service. To be sure, in the latter part of the '70s, there were no Confirmation services held for several years. But this most likely was due not to a change in ideology but rather to the absence of confirmands. For as early as 1875, *K.B.S.* joined the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations,* identifying themselves thus officially with the Reform movement in America. It was at that time, probably, that the *Minhag Polen* prayerbook was discarded in favor of the *Minhag America* ritual edited by Dr. I. M. Wise. The *Minhag America* prayerbook which was used by the congregation both in the English and in the German versions was in use at *K.B.S.* until the end of the century.[83]

With the assumption of the *K.B.S.* pulpit by Rabbi Gersoni, the Reform usages of the congregation were strengthened a great deal. During his ministry, the congregation introduced a mixed choir, family pews, and the triennial cycle of the *Torah* reading.[84]

In 1880, *K.B.S.* was officially designated as a "moderately Reform" congregation. Yet, a year later they still observed *Simchath Torah* in a strict Orthodox manner with *Hakofoth*—the *Torah* processions—and the *Torah* honors of *Hassan Torah* and *Hassan Bereshith.* In the last decade of the century, the congregation was still observing the traditional rite of *Bar Mitzvah* for boys exclusively on Saturday mornings, a practice which, for a while, was generally discarded in the Reform synagogues.[85]

When Dr. Messing returned to the *B'nai Sholom* to resume his spiritual leadership for the second time, the congregation had completed its transition from Orthodoxy to Reform. The daily *Talmud Torah* which he had established when he first came to Chicago, and the three-day-a-week Sabbath school of a later period, were replaced by a Sabbath school which met only on Saturdays and Sundays. By that time, we find that, though some of the German-Jewish congregations that were classified as Reform were still observing two days of Rosh Hashanah and two days of the festivals, *K.B.S.* had already discarded not only the second day of the festivals but also the second day of Rosh Hashanah. Ultimately, the *B'nai Sholom* congregation merged with *Temple Israel,* which from the outset was organized as a Reform congregation.[86]

Of the earlier congregations, *B'nai Abraham* was the next to adopt Reform Judaism. The change, as in other congregations, came about gradually. If the use of the organ is the primary indication of the change to Reform—as it was in the nineteenth century—then the transformation began before 1878. For the minutes of *Sinai Congregation* of March 14, 1878, record that the congregation's executive committee had agreed to sell the small organ to Congregation B'nai Abraham for one hundred dollars—twenty dollars in cash, and the balance to be paid in monthly installments of ten dollars. The transformation to Reform Judaism began when Dr. Grossman became the spiritual leader of the Congregation. His success as preacher and teacher of the congregation made him highly esteemed in the community. In 1881, the *B'nai Abraham* adopted Dr. Wise's *Minhag America* prayerbook.[87] The transformation continued when Reverend

Jacobson succeeded Dr. Grossman in 1885, and was completed during the ministry of Rabbi A. R. Levy, who assumed his post in 1888.[88]

Einhorn's influence was felt in another congregation in Chicago which changed to Reform. The *North Chicago Hebrew Congregation* underwent a transformation to Reform Judaism as early as 1875, when they adopted the Einhorn prayerbook.[89] The president's annual report of 1883, stated: "This Congregation has in all things regarding Reformed Judaism acted in harmony with our Sister Congregations." [90] While we do not know to what "Sister Congregations" the president referred, it may be assumed that it refers to *Sinai Congregation* and *K.A.M.* The question of Sunday services was seriously debated at the *North Chicago Hebrew Congregation* as it was at *Sinai.* In the rabbi's annual report a year later, under the heading, "Friday Evening Lectures," Rabbi Norden, the spiritual leader, remarked:

> We firmly believe and teach that the 7th day is the Sabbath of History, kept as such by the Israelites throughout all ages; yet it cannot be denied that prevailing circumstances compel many, *very many,* to be absent from divine service and attend Temple only once or twice a year. How detrimental this must be to the future progress of our religion, you may well imagine. Yet, such are the circumstances which we cannot alter. The idea, however, that old and young alike, you and your children, are deprived from listening to the word of God, is too serious a matter not to turn our immediate attention to it. We will, therefore, institute Friday evening services and lectures from the first Friday after *Schmini Azereth* to the Friday before *Pessach.*[91]

In due time, Rabbi Norden succumbed to the demand of the times and held Sunday services as at the *Sinai Congregation.*[92]

Rabbi Norden also spoke in his report in praise of "Confirmation," which had been practiced by the congregation "for a long time." [93]

Beth El Congregation, which was the offspring of the *Rodef Sholom Congregation,* became completely Reform in the last two decades of the century.[94]

Emanuel Congregation, which was one of the last German-Jewish congregations founded on Orthodox ideology and practices, began to show tendencies towards Reform early in

1886. The traditional prayerbook had been first replaced by Jastrow's prayerbook, which was traditional in essence but revised and abridged. In the early '90s, *Minhag America* replaced Jastrow's prayerbook. In 1893, under the influence of *Sinai* and *North Chicago* congregations, the Einhorn *Siddur Olath Tamid* was adopted and the congregation resolved to worship with uncovered heads.[95] In 1894, the *Congregation Or Chodosh* which had been organized a few years before, united with *Emanuel* thereby completing the transformation from Orthodoxy to Reform.[96]

Although some of the rabbis who staunchly upheld the "Historic Sabbath," offered strong opposition to Sunday services, once these services had been inaugurated at *Sinai Congregation* they were promptly adopted by other congregations in the Reform Jewish community. It was not a matter of policy, ideology or expediency but a matter of competition. Rabbi Stolz held Sunday services with sermons in English at *Zion Congregation.*[97] Later, *Isaiah Temple* held regular Sunday services.[98]

Late in the century the preaching was still to a great extent in German, especially on the High Holy Days. In some instances, the services proper were conducted in German.[99] Though the "Union Prayer Book"—the official prayerbook of Reform Judaism in America—had already appeared, the announcements of the Day of Atonement services in the last decade of the century reveal that none of the Chicago Reform congregations used that prayerbook. Apparently, the Reform community was still divided, at that time, between Einhorn and Wise enthusiasts rather than united under the "Union."[100] However, by 1900, at least one Reform congregation in the city —*Temple Israel*—did use the *Union Prayer Book.*[101] In that year, the announcement for the High Holy Days services in the various congregations in the city show that *Beth El, B'nai Abraham* and *B'nai Sholom* used Dr. Wise's *Minhag America* ritual; *Isaiah,* the *Jewish Orphan Home, North Chicago Hebrew Congregation, Emanuel, Sinai* and *Zion* used for their services the Einhorn prayerbook. Some used it in the English version of Dr. E. G. Hirsch and some in the original German version. Some used both versions.[102] The *South Side Hebrew Congregation,* where the services were

conducted "according to the Orthodox ritual," using the *Minhag Ashkenaz* prayerbook, used for the Memorial services on Yom Kippur the *Jastrow* ritual. *Anshe Emes* and *Moses Montefiore* congregations were using the *Minhag Ashkenaz* exclusively. So did the *Home for the Aged. K.A.M.* was still using the *Merzbacher* ritual.

In 1900, the *Beth El* and the *B'nai Abraham* congregations were still observing two days of Rosh Hashanah.

During the year, by the end of the century, the only two congregations in the city that conducted Sunday services were *Sinai* and *Isaiah. Israel, Zion, North Chicago,* and *K.A.M.* had adopted Late Friday Evening Services. The other congregations conducted their regular Sabbath services on Saturday mornings. Some also had an early Sabbath eve service, Friday at sunset.[103]

The many concessions made by Reform Judaism, the high reputation of some of the Reform rabbis and synagogues, and the popularity of the Sabbath Schools and Confirmation did not create, apparently, sufficient enthusiasm to gain many adherents to the Reform movement, nor that intelligent knowledge of it, which might have satisfied the leadership. In a paper on Dr. Einhorn, by Dr. E. Schreiber, published in the *Reform Advocate* on June 12, 1895, the assertion is made:

> In a time like ours when Israel so easily forgets its great leaders and a premium is put on base ingratitude; when Isaiah's complaints prove again true "The ox knoweth his master, Israel knoweth me not" and "The boy sneers at the hoary head and despicable charlatan scoffs at him who deserves honor," in a time when Jewish scholarship, enthusiasm, honesty of purpose and idealism far from being a recommendation, are ridiculed, laughed at, decried and denounced as useless, impracticable, out of date and back numbers; in a time when arrogance, humbug and ignorance on the one hand, and time-serving, flattery, hypocrisy, and Episcopalian-Methodistic emotionalism on the other seem to be bent upon making of Reform Judaism in America a laughing stock, a contemptible farce and mockery, of which its original founders would justly feel ashamed, in such a time it is befitting and necessary to remind those who have not yet lost all sense of duty and responsibility, who the true leaders of Reform Judaism have been.

The eulogy on Dr. Einhorn thus reflects the lack of esteem, as well as the lack of understanding, which many people had for Reform. Reform Judaism was an attempt to synthesize the Jewish religion with western culture and to assimilate Judaism in form and content to meet the political, technological, economic and scientific advances of the age. Although it did not fully succeed, there can be no question that, through its influence, many who would have drifted away completely from the Jewish fold remained in the ranks of the Jewish community. Ideologically and in observance, the breach between Reform and Orthodox Judaism was wide; but in the spirit of Jewish charitableness and kindness, and in the spirit of the prophetic ideals of the Universality and Oneness of God and mankind, Reform Judaism retained the age-old ideals of Jewish prophetic tradition.

4

Synagogue Life

Introductory

IN the early days of the Jewish community of Chicago, the synagogues played the most important and most effective role in Jewish communal living. They provided not only the services of prayer, but also Jewish education for the children, organized relief and social service and all Jewish needs from birth to burial.[1]

As the community grew, the synagogues gradually lost their exclusive control of many of the Jewish communal needs. Other agencies took over activities which originally had been part of synagogue organization and resposibility or at least under its sponsorship.

Very early in the history of the Jewish community of Chicago, charity and relief became a specialized and independent undertaking though organized with the cooperation of the synagogues.[2] The provision of *kosher* and Passover foods presently became a commercialized undertaking completely outside the synagogues. As time went on, special agencies were created to take care of Jewish education.[3] In the sacred field of Jewish marriage, hotels and halls catering for weddings began to compete strongly with the synagogue. Similarly, in the case of Jewish burials, commercial funeral parlors and cemeteries became current.[4] Yet, up to the very end of the nineteenth century, the centripetal force of Jewish community life in Chicago kept all closely knit with synagogue life. However, the differences between the German and the East-European Jews determined the role their respective synagogues played in their lives, and also set the pattern for their synagogue organization and government.

The differences between the early German and East-European Jewish immigrants were not only in political background, occupation, language, economic status and environment, but equally and fundamentally in their approach to

Judaism. The early German-Jewish immigrant was very much interested in adopting whatever was new, while the East-European spent his energies in preserving the old. This difference of attitude is reflected in the synagogue life of the respective communities. A simple example will suffice to illustrate this: When Dr. Isaac Lesser of Philadelphia visited Chicago in 1854, he was impressed by the emphasis on the use of the English language by *K. A. M.,* which he lauded as a fine manifestation of Americanism.[5] Though *K. A. M.* and the other German-Jewish congregations looked upon the German language with a certain awe and reverence, and used it in preaching and in special prayers, the proceedings in the congregation's affairs, especially at the meetings, were carried on in English.[6] In the congregations of the East-European Jews, on the other hand, there was an unyielding insistence upon the retention of Yiddish in all proceedings in the synagogues, at the meetings and in the schools. Time and again, Dr. Felsenthal urged the East-European Jews to learn English, if need be in night schools, and to discard Yiddish, which he referred to as a *jargon.*

The German-Jewish congregations, judging from the preamble to the constitution and the by-laws of *Sinai Congregation,* which expressed the common sentiments and objectives of the others, were: "to create and to achieve a Divine Service, which without divesting the same of its specific Jewish character, shall be in consistence with the laws of reason and truth, and which in its form, shall be such as will meet the demands of our time, claiming public instruction from the pulpit as an essential part of the same."[7]

For their part, the East-European Jews, judging from the constitution of the *Congregation Ohave Sholom Mariampoler,* which is characteristic of the other East-European congregations, aimed to found: "an organization to maintain a synagogue for daily prayer, mornings and evenings, Sabbaths and festivals, in accordance with the custom of Polish Jews . . . to have sick-benefit and visitations in case of illness . . . to maintain a cemetery and all necessary matters pertaining to it in case of demise."[8]

Thus the German Jews and the East-European Jews each went their own way in their synagogue life.

תקנות

אין דיא זומער דיקע טעג זאלמען יעדען
שבת ענדיגען דעם תהלים

דיא נאכט פון שבועות זאל ביענען דער יצ"
ליכט פון דער ה'. אין דיא זעלבע נאכט זאל מען
קאמען אין שול דעם תהלים דורך צו זאגען

שביעות נאך יזכור. אלע נפטרים פון חברה
מזכיר נשמות צו זיין

דיע עליות פאן פרשה נשא בבה"מד זאל
גערעדט ווערן צו חבירה תהלים

יעדער דארף צאהלען 5 סענט אויאך. נאך
אלע היצאת ווען עס ווירד זיך אויפגזאמלען
50 טאהלער זאלען דיא גבאים אין איין בייק
הינטראגען

ז' אדר בשנת העיבור ז' אש זאל חבירה איין
י"צ ליכט שטעלן לנשמת מרע"ה

יעדען א"ח שביעות זאל מען מאכען א כלפי
אויף אפפיסער 2 גבאים. ונאמען. סופר. 2 ר"ח
2 ש"ת

Selections from the By-Laws of the *Hevrah Tehilim* from the *Pinkas* of the organization founded in the early '70s.

Constitution, By-Laws and Pinkas

Practically all congregations in nineteenth century Chicago were governed by a set of rules and regulations, which, in the German synagogues, was compiled after the pattern of American organizations and societies, and was called *constitution;* and in the early East-European synagogues, it was compiled after the pattern of the old Jewish communities abroad, and was called *Takanoth* (enactments).[9] The constitutions were generally written in English. Some were written in German. The *Takanoth,* as a rule, were written in Yiddish. In rare instances, they were composed in Hebrew. Later in the century, the East-European congregations also began to call their rules and regulations *constitution* and *by-laws,* though they continued to write them in Yiddish, transliterating the various technical English terms into Hebrew characters.[10] The constitutions in most congregations were printed in booklet form independently or with additions called "laws" or "by-laws."[11] Some of the East-European congregations also printed their *Takanoth* but most of them simply had them inscribed in the front or in the back of the minute or record books. This was sometimes done by a professional scribe, who used the same artistic calligraphy as found in the holy Scrolls.[12]

Some of the East-European synagogues continued the custom of maintaining a *Pinkas* - a community record book - which, in the tradition of the old Jewish communities in Europe, was used to enter events of unusual interest in the community. Thus we find an entry in one of the records of a case concerning the loss of virginity by a young girl "because she jumped over a box at the age of eight." Another entry in the same *Pinkas* informs us that the congregation at a meeting resolved to comply with the request of a certain woman who petitioned that after her demise she should be buried in the third row in the cemetery, so that she should be interred directly opposite to her husband.[13]

לזכרון לדור כי יבא נכתב בספר

אשר החלמנה הנעוה מנב"ת מרת ראשיל בת ר' אברהם אבא ז"ל אשתר'
משה דיב סאנטאצקי ז"ל נדבה על החברה הזאת ספר תורה יפה ויקרה
בת שלשים מינטצעק רחב ואחה וחמשים דחלאחרם מחירה עבור נשמת בעלה
המנוח הנ"ל ז"ל. נכתב בספר יום ג' עו"י לחדש תמוז שנת תרמ"א לפ"ק.

אף גם זאת יבוא בספר, כפי אשר יעלה במסכם אחד בהמיטינג אשר אשתה
ראשיל סאנטאצקי זכתה מקומה, לאחר מאה שנה, בבית מועד לכל חי,
דהחברה הזאת: בְּשׁוּרָה הַשְּׁלִישִׁית נגד מְרַאשְׁתֵּי בעלה המנוח ר' משה
דוב סאנטאצקי ז"ל. נכתב יום ג' ט"ו תמוז שנת תרמ"ח לפ"ק.

להוי זאת לזכרון שהבתולה פריידא גיטל בת ר' שמואל טוביו
אייזינשטאק, אבדה את בתולותיה מחמת זיא איז איבער
אבאקס געשפרונגען בעת זיא איז גיוועזן צום אכטזן אהר אלט

לזכרון מעשים טובים

האשה הצנועה מרת שרה בילא בת אנשיל יגעתה להוסיף נדבת
להביא תפשיטי קדושה בעד בית הכנסת אוהבי שלום מאריאמפ
ד'היינו ארץ קודש, פרוכת וכתורת ומעילי לספרי תורות
וגעז פיקצערס יקרים, יזכרה ה' לטובה!
נכתבה בפינקס ערב ש"ק פ' מטות ומסעי תרנ"ח פה שיקאגא

Some of the entries in the *Pinkas* of the *Cong. Ohave Sholom.*

Schedule of Services

The attendance at synagogue services in the early days of the Jewish community was very good. During the time of Mr. Snydacker's ministry at *K. A. M.*, Reverend Isaac Lesser of Philadelphia, on his visit to Chicago, was impressed by a "large assembly of Israelites" he found at the services in the synagogue. However, the attendance in the German synagogues gradually decreased, in spite of the influx of large numbers of German-Jewish immigrants that swelled the membership of the existing congregations. The later mass-immigration of East-European Jews, on the other hand, was not only responsible for the mushrooming of many large and small congregations and organizations, but brought unusually large numbers to their synagogues. In the German synagogues it reached a stage, at times, when it was difficult to gather a *minyon* on Saturday mornings. As early as the '80s, there were no worshippers at all for the Sabbath services at *Sinai Temple,* while in some of the East-European synagogues it was found impossible to find enough space to accommodate all who came to worship on Saturday.[14]

The schedule of the religious services in the synagogues varied in many congregations. *Sinai Congregation* never seemed to have conducted daily services. Whether this was because they abolished the wearing of *Talith* and *Tefilin* from the very beginning of their existence or for any other reason is hard to tell. The Einhorn prayerbook *Olath Tamid,* which the congregation adopted at its founding, does contain services for "the Days of the Week." Sabbath services were held on Fridays at 7:00 o'clock in the evening, and on Saturdays, during the summer, at 9:30 and during the winter at 10:00 in the morning. Gradually, the services on Friday evening were eliminated, and formal services on Sunday morning were instituted. Eventually the services on Saturday mornings were also disbanded. This was done, not because of the Sunday services, but because of the lack of worshippers.[15]

The services at *K.A.M.* and *K.B.S.* in the beginning of their respective careers, took place at the same time. Both attempted to hold traditional daily services with *Talith* and

Tefilin. As to the Sabbath services, the traditional time schedule was followed: Fridays at sunset and Saturday morning at 8:00 o'clock. In the late '50s the Sabbath services schedule was regulated somewhat differently: during the winter the services on Fridays were held at 4:00 P.M. and on Saturdays at 8:00 A.M.; during the summer, Fridays at 7:00 P.M. and Saturdays at 8:30 A.M. In the '60s both *K.A.M.* and *K.B.S.* changed the time schedule to 6:00 P.M. for Fridays and to 9:00 A.M. for Saturdays. This schedule was retained by *K.B.S.* for quite a while. At *K.A.M.* toward the end of the decade it was changed to 10:00 A.M. on Saturdays. This was most likely brought about by the gradual change of the congregation to Reform ideology and practice. On the festivals and holidays similar schedules to the Sabbath services were followed by all congregations. No congregation, except *Sinai,* stipulated the time the services were to end. At *Sinai,* the Sabbath morning services were scheduled to end at noon.[16]

In the synagogues of the East-European Jews daily services were held regularly: mornings usually at 6:00 o'clock and evenings at sunset. In some congregations they had several morning services. Sabbath services were held: Fridays at sunset and Saturdays at 8:30 in the morning. In some congregations there was also an early service, Saturday mornings at 7:00 o'clock. In some East-European synagogues, when they had a visiting cantor, the Sabbath morning services ended one or two o'clock in the afternoon.[17]

In the early days of Jewish community life, men and women worshippers sat in separate sections in all synagogues, possibly also at *Sinai.* For, as late as 1864, the *Chicago Tribune* reported with curiosity that "*Rosh Hashanah* was a day observed with much solemnity by our Israelitish citizens, it being their anniversary of the creation of the world. It being the day on which the earth is supposed to occupy the same position in her orbit as at the creation, the two sexes were seated together during the services at the various synagogues. This is the only day in the calendar in which the mingling of the sexes during worship is permitted."[18] As a rule the women worshippers occupied the balcony, which was also called the *women's gallery.* At first, some of the congregations retained the separation of the sexes all year around,

but permitted mixed pews on the High Holy Days. Gradually mixed pews were introduced in all German synagogues.

Decorum

The East-European congregations suffered from a lack of decorum during meetings and during the services at the synagogue. Time and again, we find editorial comment in the Anglo-Jewish press about the quarrels in the "*Russo-Polish Shuls.*"[19] On the other hand, the German Jews developed a remarkably decorous service in their synagogues. This and the orderly procedure at their congregation meetings was the envy of the East-European Jews. In many by-laws of the East-European congregations provisions were made for maintenance of order, decorum and dignity during the services and at meetings. The *Ohave Sholom* constitution ordered that "the members must behave orderly in the synagogue and keep their seats during prayer." In other by-laws, it was agreed that, "during services everyone must treat his neighbor nicely, and the same is true about the meetings."[20] A worshipper was not permitted to remove his *Talith* on Saturday and holidays until after the closing hymn *Adon Olam.* No one was permitted to insult the man next to him or tell the president how to distribute the honors. In the *Ohave Sholom* by-laws, a clause was inserted that all congregants were responsible for keeping their children orderly during the services. If this were not done, the trustees had the right to expel the children from the synagogue. In the same article, the constitution explicitly asserted: "All members are considered alike. There is no difference between rich and poor. As long as one is in good standing, he is entitled to the respect of everyone else, but he is duty-bound to see that peace and contentment reign in the congregation."[21]

A set of fines was worked out by each congregation and affiliate organization for the violation of any of the by-laws. At *K. A. M.* the fines were applied to the school fund. In the other congregations the money was used for the maintenance fund. The violations ranged from misconduct during services

and at meetings to absence from meetings and insulting the president or an officer. The fines ranged from a quarter to as much as twenty-five dollars.[22]

Administration

The administration of every synagogue was in the hands of the officers and Board of Directors of the congregation The officers usually named were a president, a vice-president, a treasurer and one or two secretaries. In some congregations there was a special office *Gabbai Beth Hayim* a trustee of the cemetery.[23]

No one was eligible to hold office at the *Ohave Sholom Congregation,* except those who had been members of the congregation for at least six months. The officers and the trustees had to know how to read and write Yiddish. Relaives "until cousins" could not be elected to hold office at the same time or during the same term of office. At *K.A.M.* the knowledge of English was a prerequisite for any officer. In some of the other German congregations the secretary had to possess a knowledge of German to write the minutes.[24]

The president was duty-bound to attend services on Saturday and the holidays. This was required also of the vice-president and of the trustees in the East-European congregations. In some congregations, a member who received a notice saying that he would be "called up" to the *Torah* reading and did not appear at the synagogue was fined half a dollar. Some by-laws stipulated that every member was obliged to attend Sabbath services at least once a month. In congregations where there was no cantor, it was the sole prerogative of the president to select the people to read the services.[25]

Among the duties of the president was arbitration in questions of dispute among the members, and the visiting of all the sick of the congregation.[26]

Many congregations had special arbitration committees, which settled disputes among members, thus keeping litigations out of court. In all matters of criminal suits against a member, the *Ohave Sholom* constitution provided that a

ANNUAL REPORT

OF

M. M. GERSTLEY,

PRESIDENT OF

Kehilath Anshe Mayrin

TO THE

CONGREGATION.

CHICAGO, AUGUST 16TH. 1874.

MAX STERN, Printer, 185 Washington Street

Title-page of Annual Report of K.A.M.

committee be appointed to investigate the case and report its findings at the meetings.[27]

Every congregation had a number of standing committees, such as one on finance, public worship, cemetery and school. Usually, two meetings were held annually, one before *Passover* and one before *Rosh Hashanah,* or during the week of *Sukkoth.* Some held only one annual meeting. Some had as many as four.[28] The meeting dates were scheduled, as a rule, according to the Jewish calendar, and in connection with a festival. Thus the meetings at *Ohave Sholom Congregation* were set for *Hol Hamo-ed Pessach; Rosh Hodesh Sh'vat; Hol Hamo-ed Sukkoth;* and *Rosh Hodesh Tamuz.*[29] In the early days the president in some congregations was called *Parnass.*[30]

In some congregations the secretaries were paid an annual salary.[31]

Many of the congregations stipulated special qualifications for membership. *Ohave Sholom Congregation* required that an applicant must be a "fine Jew" and of good character, have at least six months residence in this country, be eighteen years of age, and able to earn a livelihood. He also had to pass a medical test to ascertain his health status. One who was a member of another congregation could not join the *Ohave Sholom* or *K.A.M.* congregations.[32] Generally, it was expected, in the early East-European congregations, that the members be observers of the Sabbath. This was not a prerequisite in all congregations; however, all congregations looked with high esteem upon those among its members who did observe the Sabbath. *Sinai Congregation,* in 1861, required that: "Each new member shall sign the Constitution and By-Laws of the congregation within three months after his admission, and his refusal to do so shall exclude him from membership and shall cause the forfeiture of his admission fee."[33] Similar provisions were made in some of the other congregations.[34] *Sinai* also stipulated that "Any Israelite desirous of becoming a member of this Congregation, being 21 years of age and of good moral standing, may apply in writing to the Board of Directors." People who did not observe the "Covenant of Abraham" were barred from membership in *K.A.M.* Similarly barred were those who married non-Jews.[35]

The same regulation prevailed in all early congregations. Gradually, the German-Jewish congregations modified their requirements for membership, reaching an extreme at *Sinai Congregation* where the "Covenant of Abraham" was not considered an absolute requirement. This was especially so in cases of male converts, who did not undergo circumcision, but who nevertheless were admitted to membership in the congregation.[36]

Many congregations charged an initiation fee for members.[37] Membership dues in the congregations were not uniform. *K.A.M.* and *K.B.S.* probably started with six dollars annual dues. *Sinai's* constitution of 1861, calls for twelve dollars dues. In the late '80s *North Chicago Hebrew Congregation* had $32.00 annual dues. Widows of members retained their membership in all congregations, as a rule, paying only half of the regular dues.[38] Towards the end of the century, the membership at the *North Chicago Hebrew Congregation* was divided into four classes—A, B, C, and D. Class A members had full rights and could own cemetery plots of the congregation and pews in the synagogue by purchase; they paid $32.00 annual dues. Class B members consisted of unmarried men, who were assigned a seat in the temple, and were entitled to only a "one half vote each upon all questions at the meetings of the Congregation." They paid only $16.00 in annual membership dues. Class C members were merely seat-holders. They could not vote at the meetings, but their children had the privilege of attending the Sabbath School. Class D members had the same privileges as Class A except that they could not hold the office of president, vice-president or treasurer. The latter was also true of Class B members. Class C and Class D members, also, paid $32.00 dues annually. A member could, of course, change from one class to another without paying any special fees, except the difference in the dues.[39]

When *Temple Israel* was organized, arrangements were made that: "The minimum dues shall be $5.00 per annum, entitling the contributor to one seat." *Isaiah Temple,* at its founding, adopted the following schedule of membership fees: "The annual dues for members shall be $25.00; a single man and widows pay $15.00, with full privileges."[40]

While the membership dues in most of the congregations were the same for all, except in those where there were various classes of members, in some congregations the intiation fees and dues did vary in accordance with age. At the *Ohave Sholom Congregation,* dues up to the age of thirty years, were $7.50 a year; from the age of thirty to forty years, $10.00 a year and from the age of forty and older, the dues were determined at a meeting of the congregation. Unmarried men paid only half of the initiation fees. The usual membership dues in the East-European congregations were six dollars per year. In some affiliate organizations of the congregation, the dues were set at five cents per week. If the dues were not paid for a year, a member could be expelled by vote at a meeting of the membership.[41] If a member was suspended, reinstatement was usually very difficult. If members were in arrears in their dues for six months, they lost their right to vote. *Sinai Congregation* by-laws provided that if a member were convicted of a criminal offense he was subject to expulsion by a vote at a general meeting.

Membership in the congregation usually entitled the member to cemetery and burial privileges. In some instances, there was a special small assessment for cemetery privileges.[42]

Pews and Seats

At the *North Chicago Hebrew Congregation,* there were four categories of pews valued at $400, $300, $200 and $100 per pew, consisting of four seats each. Members who acquired pews had sole rights to occupy them, but had to pay whatever assessments were from time to time levied by the Board. The pews could be assigned by one member to another. Nonmembers could not become pew-holders. If holders of pews ceased to be members of the congregation, the executive committee had the right to levy whatever assessment for them that it saw fit.[43]

At *Temple Israel* the prices for pews were $100, $75, $50, $40, $30, and $20.[44]

Before the High Holy Days, all the congregations advertised the sale of pews and seats. Some of these advertisements

also lauded the prospective services at the synagogue. In 1879, K.B.S. advertised:

> We recommend all those who are desirous of participating in a solemn religious service, to engage seats in this temple. The inspiring prayers, with its ancient melodies, and the agreeable voice of the cantor, accompanied by the choir, will materially add to the solemnity of the worship.[45]

Later in the century the advertisements read generally as the one from *Sinai*: "Persons desiring to rent pews for the coming year will find the house committee in attendance on Sunday," or as the one from *North Chicago Hebrew Congregation*: "Those desiring to attend divine services during the coming holidays at the temple must obtain tickets for pews or seats." Often pews were offered for sale by their owners, who advertised the fact in the local press. These advertisements read usually as the one from a *Sinai* member: "Pew for sale in *Sinai Temple,* No. 37, center aisle, full seating capacity; price $800."[46]

By the end of the century, the cost of pews in the Reform synagogues increased in price. At *North Chicago Hebrew Congregation,* the pews originally divided into four categories ranging in price from $100 to $400, now were divided into six classes, ranging in price from $100 to $700.[47]

Ritual and Torah Reading

The constitution of *Sinai Congregation* provided for the number of festivals to be observed. It also stipulated that "in addition to Hebrew prayers and hymns, a considerable part of the service shall consist of prayers and hymns either in German or in English."[48] In the other congregations, synagogue observances and the "modes of prayer" were not regulated by the constitution.

In the early German-Jewish congregations, the Torah was read according to the traditional annual cycle, completing the Pentateuch once every year. At *Sinai Congregation* it was read, in the beginning, according to the triennial cycle, completing the Pentateuch once every three years. This custom was gradually adopted by the other German-Jewish congregations. Eventually, *Sinai Congregation* abolished the

reading from the Scroll altogether. When the Torah was read at *Sinai Congregation* it was done in the orignal Hebrew and from the parchment Scroll. The *Haphtorah,* which was selected from any part of the Prophets, was read either in German or in English. *Sinai Congregation* never practiced the custom of "calling up" to the Torah reading, or the recitation of the priestly blessings either by the reader or by the *Kohanim.* In the other German synagogues, these customs were retained, for a period of time, until they changed completely to Reform Judaism.[49]

At *K.B.S.* the distribution of the Torah honors and the "calling up" to the Torah reading were apparently still practiced in the '80s, though by that time the congregation had joined the Union of American Hebrew Congregations—the national organization of Reform synagogues. *The Occident* of October 1, 1880, reported with curiosity:

> An event transpired on last Tuesday at Michigan Avenue Temple after many services. The honor of *Chasan Torah* was graciously tendered to Mr. Eli Frank and that of *Chasan Bereshith* to Mr. Eli Solomon, both members of that old Congregation. The official seat near the Ark was for a brief time assigned them. It was an auspicious occasion amidst *hoshanahs* and shouts of glory, they and the congregation led by the affable Reverend Samuel Marks, took up the line of march in a circuit procession and with Torah and auxiliaries in hand, regained their point at start.
>
> After the service a reception took place in the Vestry. Messrs Frank and Solomon were the hosts. The nice spread included Mumm, Virzenai and Sherries prepared by the ladies. Early reminiscenses were touched on.

The account concludes: "Well! Some went straight and some didn't, but it was a jolly *Simchath T'ourah* anyhow."

In the East-European synagogues the Torah was read in the traditional manner from the parchment Scrolls at all times, and the practice of "calling up" the male worshippers to the Torah reading was never abolished. In many congregations, the *Haphtorah,* likewise was read from parchment Scrolls, and obviously in the original Hebrew and in accordance with the stipulation of the Jewish calendar. The Torah honors of the High Holy Days, and sometimes also on the festivals, were auctioned during the services at an intermission period, and awarded to the highest bidder.[50]

Ministers, Rabbis and Preaching

The first constitution of *Sinai Congregation* regulated the functions and fees of the "minister," who could not be a member of the Board of Directors. His duties in addition to preaching were:

> To take such a part in the religious instruction of the youth as may be assigned to him; to prepare the youth of proper age for confirmation; to give his opinion on questions of religious nature laid before him by the congregation or by individual members thereof; to perform marriage ceremonies and to perform such other duties as shall be laid down in the contract with him by the Board of Directors.[51]

The by-laws named the fee for the performance of the marriage ceremony for non-members, three dollars; the fee for members was left to their discretion.

Preaching was not a common phenomenon in the early synagogues either of the German Jews or of the East-European Jews. When Dr. Adler was engaged by *K.A.M.*, it was stipulated that he should preach only on *Rosh Hashanah, Yom Kippur* and *Yom Tov*.[52] At *K.B.S.* there is no record of scheduled preaching at all until Rabbi Messing became spiritual leader, though they did have a number of rabbis before that.[53] On the other hand, at *Sinai Congregation* the sermon was made an integral part of the Sabbath and festival service from the very beginning of that congregation. As early as 1862, the *Chicago City Directory* announced that at *Sinai* there are "sermons every Saturday and holiday."[54] Among the duties of the "minister," the *Sinai* by-laws stipulated: "It shall be his duty to deliver sermons before the Congregation on Sabbaths and festivals . . . and to deliver funeral orations, if so requested by a member of the Congregation." [55]

Eventually preaching as part of the religious service was adopted by all German-Jewish congregations, and by a goodly number of the East-European congregations. In the latter, some of the larger congregations engaged special preachers called *Maggidim*.[56] However, the preaching did not take place regularly during the services on Saturday morning, but rather was a special event on Saturday afternoons. In

many of the East-European congregations, the rabbi or the *Maggid* also preached between *Minchah* and *Maariv* on Sundays.

In the earlier days the German language predominated in the preaching in the German-Jewish congregations. However, soon the younger generations preferred English, and made demands for it. For a while, Dr. Adler was released from preaching at *K.A.M.* so as to enable the congregation to engage Dr. Machol to preach in English.[57] Later, Dr. Adler was asked to resume preaching and he did so alternately in German and in English.

In the last decades of the century, preaching at *K.A.M., South Side Hebrew, B'nai Sholom, B'nai Abraham, North Chicago Hebrew* and *Or Chodosh* congregations was partly in English and partly in German. At *Emanuel,* all the sermons were preached in German. Only at *Sinai Temple* was English exclusively used.[58] At *Zion Congregation,* after Dr. Felsenthal became rabbi emeritus, the sermon was likewise exclusively in English.[59]

The p r e a c h i n g in the East-European congregations, throughout the century, was exclusively in the Yiddish language.

The office of cantor was gradually abolished in some of the German congregations. Whatever chanting of the liturgy was required for the services was rendered by the choir of male and female voices, at times not of the Jewish faith.[60] On the other hand, in the East-European congregations, the cantor played a very important role, and towards the end of the century many of the prominent congregations began to compete with one another in the selection of cantors. Each wanted to surpass the other in employing a greater "star" among the *hazanim.* In the beginning, none of the East-European congregations had choirs. It was neither a desire nor a possibilty. The financial circumstances of the people were much too meager to afford it. However, towards the end of the century, the larger congregations who had engaged prominent cantors also engaged choirs to accompany them. As a rule, they had special choir directors. In some congregations the cantor himself trained and directed the choir. The members of the choir were all men. For sopranos and altos

they used boys. In some instances the choir members were volunteers and deemed it an honor to be able to sing under the direction of some of the prominent choir directors or to accompany some of the outstanding cantors in the community.[61]

Bar Mitzvah and Confirmation

Bar Mitzvah and Confirmation played important roles in Chicago's synagogue life in the nineteenth century. The observance of *Bar Mitzvah* goes back to Talmudic days, and the term, as it is known today, is mentioned in the *halachic* literature of the 13th century. The *Bar Mitzvah* speech was already a common feature of synagogue life in the Middle Ages. Solomon Luria, a sixteenth century Jewish savant, makes reference to a *Bar Mitzvah* boy delivering a speech. *Bar Mitzvah* speeches often took the form of learned discussions, and were the means whereby the parents displayed the brilliance of their children. They were quite popular among the Polish Jews in the 16th and 17th centuries and played an important role in the 18th and 19th centuries in the synagogues in Germany.[62] The *Bar Mitzvah* ritual consisted, as a rule, of being called to the reading of the Torah; reading all or part of the weekly Sabbath *Sidrah;* the chanting of the *Haphtorah;* and the *Bar Mitzvah Seudah* or party. The speech was delivered either at the synagogue or at the party. That in some instances the *Bar Mitzvah* party was quite elaborate is evident from the fact that, in 1595, the Jewish community of Cracow, Poland, instituted a communal tax on *Bar Mitzvah Seudoth* in order to discourage extravagance.[63]

Early in the 19th century, Reform Judaism in Germany substituted for *Bar Mitzvah* the ceremony of Confirmation for boys and girls. The Confirmation service took place on *Shovuoth,* the festival of the giving of the commandments, according to Jewish tradition. The first Confirmation service took place in Cassel, Germany in 1810.[64] In the United States, Dr. Max Lilienthal introduced the ceremony of Confirmation for boys and girls in the year 1846, when he confirmed on *Shovuoth* of that year the first group of children

in the *Anshe Chesed* synagogue in New York.[65] Gradually, Confirmation took a steady hold and developed into an annual function of the Reform synagogues in America. At first it did not supplant *Bar Mitzvah,* but rather supplemented it. Eventually, most of the Reform congregations abolished *Bar Mitzvah* altogether in favor of Confirmation.

In Chicago, the Jewish community celebrated the *Bar Mitzvah* of their boys in the traditional manner. The first *Bar Mitzvah* observance in Chicago was probably that of Julius Newburgh, son of Philip Newburgh, one of the earliest pioneers in the Jewish community. It took place in January, 1851, at *K.A.M.* while they were still worshipping in the room above the store on Lake Street. Julius Newburgh was prepared for this occasion privately by Mr. Leopold Mayer. Mr. Mayer also prepared the second *Bar Mitzvah,* Martin Barbe, son of Bernard Barbe, which took place a week later. As a rule, the *Bar Mitzvah* celebrants in the nineteenth century all received private instruction in their preparation for the great event in their lives. This was so, also, among the Jews of eastern Europe. Though the East-European Jews had established fine community *Talmud Torahs,* the children attending these institutions were tutored independently in the reading of the *Torah* and the *Haphtorah.* Among the East-European Jews it was not customary for the boy to deliver an English speech on the occasion.[66] In fact it was considered heresy to do so in the Orthodox synagogues. Instead the more talented of the boys would be taught to deliver a Hebrew speech. Most boys spoke in Yiddish. Some presented both a Hebrew and a Yiddish discourse.[67]

In all German-Jewish congregations in Chicago, including *Sinai and Zion,* the Bar Mitzvah service was retained in the beginning of their careers. Gradually, most of the congregations, especially those that had converted completely to Reform Judaism, instituted Confirmation as the exclusive ritual of "coming of age" for Jewish boys and girls. At *K.B.S.,* the traditional *Bar Mitzvah* ceremony on Saturday mornings continued to be practiced for many years after the congregation formally adopted the practice of Reform Judaism.[68]

The first Confirmation service in the Chicago Jewish community took place on *Shovuoth* of the year 1862, at the *K.A.M.*

synagogue. On December 29, 1861, Dr. Liebman Adler, spiritual leader of *K.A.M.*, reported to the school board that he would hold Confirmation exercises next *Shovuoth.* The board then decided that: "Children of members and such as belong to the school," who are not less than 13 nor over 15 years of age were eligible for Confirmation. The program of the service was left to Dr. Adler.[69]

Confirmation services became popular in the last quarter of the century. At first, it was claimed as an exclusive Reform usage but gradually some traditional congregations adopted the custom of confirming boys and girls on *Shovuoth.*[70] However, there the Confirmation ceremony did not replace the *Bar Mitzvah,* but rather supplemented it.[71] This was so particularly in the *Anshe Emes* and in the *South Side Hebrew* congregations.[72]

In the beginning, all Confirmation services took place exclusively on *Shovuoth,* during the religious services of the congregation; the exercises were made part of the service. However, in 1883, *Sinai Congregation* resolved to hold all Confirmation services on the Sunday before *Shovuoth.* Some of the other congregations followed suit. The greater number, however, retained the custom of utilizing the *Shovuoth* festival for the Confirmation service.[73]

The Confirmation ceremonies in all congregations were rather elaborate. All the confirmands participated in the service, which, in many cases, included the reading of the Ten Commandments in Hebrew from the Holy Scroll. Every confirmand recited a prayer or prose selection dealing with some phase of Jewish religious life. The charge to the confirmands and the consecration and blessing of the confirmands by the rabbi of the congregation occupied the major part in the exercises and, as a rule, were most impressive. The liturgical music of the Confirmation services was equally impressive and inspiring. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, it became customary already to have elaborate Confirmation receptions and parties, either in the synagogue or at home.[74]

Concern for the Deceased

Another important element in synagogue government, during nineteenth century Chicago, was the regulation of the customs, the rules, and the needs associated with the passing of the members of the congregation. The funeral rites, regulated by synagogue tradition, were often incorporated in the by-laws or constitution of the congregations. In the beginning of Jewish community life in Chicago, funerals took place from the home and not from the synagogues and were simple in character and without display. A contemporary, commenting on the many deaths during the Cholera epidemic of 1849, observed:

> "The funerals were conducted with the utmost simplicity. Coffins were rudely constructed of rough pine boards and covered with black cloth. Flowers were never sent, nor even permitted. But instead, a contribution box was passed around, the collector pronouncing the words in Hebrew: *Zedokoh Tatzel Memoveth*—Charity saves from death.[75]

The East-European congregations paid scrupulous attention to the carrying out of the funeral and burial rites. Practically every large congregation had its own *Hevrah Kadisha,* though very early a community *Hevrah Kadisha* was organized. The members of the *Hevrah Kadisha,* as a rule were selected on the basis of their piety, and rendered their services gratuitously, except for the sexton, who was paid for the services he rendered. Every member of the congregation was entitled to the services of the *Hevrah Kadisha.* Already, in the early days of Jewish community life, the question arose among the German Jews whether it is permissible to modify some of the mourning rites. In 1862, Dr. Felsenthal suggested to Julius Rosenthal of the *Hebrew Benevolent Society,* in reply to an inquiry concerning "the treatment of the dying and the dead and the customs of mourning," that definite reforms in the custom should be made and that these should be embodied in the revised constitution of the society. Dr. Felsenthal also took the opportunity then to stigmatize many of the prevailing practices as superstitions.[76] In the last decades of the century, funeral parlors came into vogue that conducted elaborate funerals

מבוא.

בחבר החדש על פני האדמה ממנהר כל הינורים כל עוד נשמעו בו, יעלה למעלה למכניל על פלס השמים להבין כל דברי חכמה בת אלהים. האדם יהיה בנפשו עז להבות על כל מעשה עניין, ועל מלאכי לא יפחד גם לאמר, כי עוד יגיר נכחר מפס הנהו, וממנו לא יפלא כל דבר תקום וכמוס בעוד חיים חייהו"; נועץ יד המוקם נגע עליו לרעה; מי יודע אים אם לא עליו נגע מור לדעת מה פעל אל, רז הבריאה ויצירה יחד? נזחק נקל לנו לדעת, כי לרע מוקדם כמוקם הבריאה, ורוח האדם היא העולה למעלה! כי מי זה יאמין, הנפשות הסובבות על כל מעשה האלהים מראש עד סוף, פעליונה אמהו ופאחדונה וכל חכמתם תעבלע? לכן על החייס לדרוש בעד המעיס שיעובו לל עפרס בכבוד, וכבודם גם על עפר יכסון עד יעורר מחיה מתים מאנשם, ויקיצם ברחמיו רבים לקץ הימין. אי נזחק יפדנו לנו אנחנו חברה אוהבי שלום גם חברה גומלי חסד, הנקובה בשם "חברה קדישא", בנגלל זה יפן לנו ד' את בריתו שלום, ובלע המות לנצח, ומחה דמעה מעל כל פניס, אמן.

אָדָם מַה עָדַלְתָּ!
מָה רַב חָכְמָתֶךָ,
כֹּל לָדַעַת הוֹאַלְתָּ
בַּל נִסְתָּר מֵעֵינֶיךָ.

מִמְּךָ לֹא נִפָּלְאוּ
כָּל מִתְרֵי הַשָּׁבַע,
כָּתוּם לָךְ נוֹדְעוּ
עַל יִשְׁבְּעָתַיִם שָׁבַע.

גַּם מַעֲלוֹת אֱלֹהַּ
כִּי תַחְפּוֹץ לָדַעַת,
לֹא תֹאמַר. בָּבוֹהַּ
זֹאת! מִמֶּנִּי נִפְלָאַת?

מָה בְּמַעֲלוֹת יָמָּה
שָׁם עֵינְךָ חוֹדֶרֶת,
וַאֲשֶׁר בַּשָּׁמַיִם שָׁמָּה
בַּעֲמָקָה לֹא נֶעֱצֶרֶת.

לְאֵלֶּא יַד הַמָּוֶת
עָלֶיךָ מָשְׁלָה שָׁלְטָה;
אָז אֵין בַּמַּעֲלוֹת
לֹא יָדַעְתָּ אָתָּה!

הֵן, תַּהֲלוּכוֹת שָׁמָּש
תֵּדַע—מַעֲרוֹת יָרֵחַ,
הֲלֹא אַז מַאֲמָשׁ
הָאוֹר לָךְ זוֹרֵחַ

לָמָּה תִּסְבּוֹל צָדָק
רָשַׁע כָּכָל צוֹלַחַת,
מַדּוּעַ מֵרָשָׁע מַחֲזִיק
נֶפֶשׁ תַּם נֶאֱנַחַת.

אַךְ גַּם הִנֵּהוּ
בַּל יִשְׁלוֹם לָנֶצַח!
לֹא לָעַד חֲרֵבָהוּ
יַעֲשֶׂה כָּלָה עָרַץ.

גַּם עָלָיו הַקֶּרֶץ
בְּבָרֶק חִישׁ יַעֲל,
וְדִרּוֹר יִקְרָא לָאָרֶץ
יָדַי—מְמָרוֹמֵי מַעַל.

אָז יָקוּמוּ מַתֶּיךָ
כָּל הַנְּפָשׁוֹת תְּחַיֶּינָה,
אֵיךְ תִּגָּלֶנָה פְּלִיטָתֶךָ
עֵינֶיךָ זֹאת תִּרְאֶינָה!

Introduction from the *Pinkas* of the *Hevrah Kadisha* of *Cong. Ohave Sholom.*

with much display, which was not at all universally accepted by the spiritual leadership of the German-Jewish community. In 1889, Dr. Felsenthal urged "a reform backward" to the simple funerals of a former time.[77]

By 1900, the question arose whether funeral services should be held in the home or at the synagogue. Dr. Felsenthal opposed the holding of funeral services in the synagogue. Yet, in the German-Jewish congregations, which by then had all become Reform, the holding of funeral services in the synagogues was generally accepted.[78] On the other hand, the East-European spiritual leadership looked with disfavor at the holding of funeral services in the synagogue. On the basis of accepted tradition they permitted it only for outstanding individuals, such as rabbis and other religious functionaries, and for extremely active participants in community organizations as well as important officials of the congregation.[79]

Arrangements for funerals were, as a rule, made by the congregations. The funeral hearse and the carriages for the family were hired by the congregation from professional liveries that specialized in that service. *North Chicago Hebrew Congregation* provided in the constitution that "At the death of a member, his wife, or grown child, three carriages and a hearse shall be furnished by the congregation. At the death of a young child, one carriage and a hearse shall be furnished, or two carriages and no hearse."[80] They also provided that: "To provide for the payment of the expense, each member shall be assessed for the adult fifty cents, for the young child twenty-five cents."[81] Such special assessments were more prevalent among the East-European congregations.[82]

Provisions for funerals and usages of mourning in the *Sinai Congregation* by-laws are interesting. Funerals had to take place at least thirty-six hours from the time of death, unless otherwise ordered by a physician, or if the Sabbath intervened. The members of the congregation were duty-bound to attend the funeral. In the case of the death of a child, "Only ten members residing in the neighborhood" who were notified were duty-bound to attend.[83]

The provision for compulsory attendance at funerals by members was also enacted by the East-European Jews in their synagogue by-laws. For instance, *Mishkan Israel* by-laws provided that every member must follow the hearse at least one block, up to the "designated place" assigned by the burial committee.[84] However, a *minyan people*—ten men—had to go out to the cemetery. If traveling expenses were involved, they were paid by the congregation.

The constitution of the *Ohave Sholom Congregation* provided that all members who were not out of town were duty-bound to escort the deceased "until the end of the car lines, except those who have been chosen in rotation to follow until the cemetery."[85] The *Hevrah T'hilim* was more lenient. Its by-laws provided that only four members had to go to the cemetery.[86] In some instances, synagogue regulations provided that, in the case of the death of a member, no one was permitted to leave for business until after the funeral service.[87] This implied burial the same day as the death occurred, which was the customary thing among the Orthodox people of the East-European Jewish community.[88]

The *Sinai Congregation* by-laws provided for no more than three days of mourning, observed in the house of the demised, with special "prayer meetings" attended by the members.[89]

Records of the deceased were kept by all congregations, generally giving the following vital statistics: Full name, age, birthplace, day of death in Hebrew and in English, and the cause of death.[90]

Among the East-European Jews, the laws of mourning were observed more scrupulously. In most cases, the by-laws of the congregations provided that religious services be held in the house of the mourners, mornings and evenings, during the entire period of *Shivah,* and that the congregation to which the deceased belonged supply a *minyan.*[91]

Where the demised left no heir to recite the *Kaddish,* the congregation appointed a member to do so for the eleven months during the year of mourning. Memorial prayers were said regularly at Sabbath services, during the time traditional synagogue laws permitted it. The *Congregation Ohave Sholom* constitution provided that, if the deceased left a

family which could not afford to erect a monument, it was the duty of the congregation to do so, at a cost of $15.00.[92] It also stipulated that two members of the *Hevrah Kadisha* were to stay with the body of the deceased until burial, all night if necessary, in cases where the interment did not take place the same day.[93]

Burial took place exclusively on Jewish cemeteries, consecrated with Jewish rites. However, as time went on, and the Reform movement gained more strength and adherents, the question of Jewish burial in non-sectarian cemeteries arose, and it was decided in its favor. As early as 1867, *Sinai* and *Zion* Congregations proposed to purchase a burial ground in a non-sectarian cemetery, and Dr. Felsenthal advised that the purchase be made. Dr. Felsenthal argued that, while *Talmudic* opinion was chiefly against the burial of Jews with non-Jews, "Such pronouncement need not be binding upon us; the custom of maintaining separate cemeteries was partly the result of conditions in medieval times, which no longer exist."[94] The Orthodox community, on the other hand, insisted on the retention of the tradition of separate burial places.

In many instances, the coffin and the people attending the funeral service were conveyed by train to the cemetery. There was no other way to get to Forest Park or Waldheim, where most of the Jewish cemeteries were located, during the last two decades of the century. Funeral trains left daily from the old Wisconsin Central Railroad Station on Jefferson and Sixteenth Streets. When the train reached its destination, the casket had to be carried for a long distance before the cemetery grounds were reached. It was not possible to use a hearse or any other vehicle because of the swamps. Some of the old cemeteries in the northern and northwestern parts of the city, were continued to be used by the old congregations and were accessible by hearse.[95]

The inscriptions on the tombstones in the new cemeteries in Waldheim were mostly in Hebrew, with very little English; occasionally, there were a few lines of words in Yiddish. The inscriptions on the tombstones in the old cemeteries were written principally in English. There were many that were inscribed in German written in Hebrew characters. Hebrew

was used by some, but not extensively on the tombstones of the German-Jews. On some of the old monuments, we also find the traditional symbols, such as a pitcher for a *Levite,* or the signs of the hands for a *Kohain.*[96]

Sick Benefits and Miscellany

The congregations and the synagogues in nineteenth century Chicago were also concerned with the problems of health and financial assistance in case of illness of their members. Thus the by-laws of many of the congregations provided for sick-benefits for its members. The benefits varied in some of the congregations. All provided for a "visiting-the-sick" committee, which took its responsibility very seriously, because of the *Mitzvah* involved in carrying out its function. In some congregations, fines were levied on this committee if it failed to perform its duties. When a member was dangerously ill, the president had to send a committee to visit the sick person, and, if necessary, to stay with him overnight. If a member thus appointed could not stay with the sick person, the sexton was duty-bound to do so, and be paid for it by the member who had been appointed by the president. However, in cases where the person suffered "from a shameful disease," the congregation had no responsibility whatsoever.[97]

The rapid multiplication of synagogues in the East-European community was a continuous menace. Time and again we find, in the local press, references to the *minyanim* organized by small groups of Jews who were dissatisfied with whatever synagogues already in existence.[98] The *Ohave Sholom* constitution made clear: "It is prohibited, under all circumstances, for any member of the congregation to organize a *minyan,* without the permission of the entire congregation, and none of the members are permitted to attend services at such a *minyan.* Whoever will violate this provision, after three warnings, shall be expelled from membership and lose all privileges of the congregation."

The duties of the sexton in the synagogues were clearly defined by most of the congregations. He was usually appointed by the president, who had the privilege of dispensing

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with his services. The sexton had to be at the Synagogue before anyone else, and not leave until everyone else had left. He had to distribute all the notices for the meetings and for special occasions. In some synagogues, the attendance of the sexton at meetings was compulsory. He had to keep the synagogue clean and be present at all functions where his services were required. He, also, had to be on the cemetery at all funerals, for which he received special remuneration.[99]

Affiliate Groups

The East-European Jews organized special groups within their synagogues for the recitation of the Psalms, called *Hevrah T'hilim;* for the study of the Bible, called *Hevrah Torah;* or for the study of Talmud, called *Hevrah Mishnah* or *Hevrah Mishnah U'Gemara.* Not many of the original records of these affiliate organizations have come down to us, but those extant contain some unusual and interesting information.

The *Anshe Kalvaria Congregation* organized a *Hevrah Torah* in order to study the Bible in the same sequence as it is read on Saturdays and on special occasions at the synagogue. They maintained a membership dues of five cents per week, payable weekly. Whatever money was left after all expenses were met was used for the purchase of books for the congregation.

Members of the *Hevrah Torah* were obligated to visit one another in cases of illness. The recitation of the *Kaddish* after the study of the Bible was the sole privilege of the members of the group. In case a member did not leave a son, after his demise, one of the members was appointed by the *Hevrah* to recite the *Kaddish* in his memory. All members had to attend the services at the home of the mourners. The Sabbath on which the Biblical portions of *Yithro* (Exodus 18:1-20:26) and *V'es-hanan* (Deuteronomy 3:23-7:10) were read "belonged to the *Hevrah Torah,*" because of the Ten Commandments contained in those sections. Unless there was someone in the congregation who was required to be called to the *Torah* reading on those Sabbaths, all the honors were distributed to the members of the *Hevrah Torah.*[100] As did all

other organizations, the *Hevrah Torah* kept a *Pinkas* for its records and membership, using Hebrew and Yiddish interchangeably in the entries.

The *Congregation Ohave Sholom Mariampoler* organized, very early in its career, a *Hevrah Kadosha Mishnah U'Gemara* (Holy organization to study the Talmud), which had for its main objectives the study of a complete *Mishnah* and a complete page of the Talmud daily. The *Mishnah* was studied between *Minchah* and *Maariv* services and was of a more popular nature. The Talmud was studied after the evening services, and was confined to a more exclusive group. As a rule, the rabbi of the congregation conducted the studies. At times they engaged a special teacher or rabbi.[101]

The *Mariampoler Mishnah U'Gemara Hevrah,* as this group became popularly known, admitted to its membership only men who did not shave their beards and who observed the Sabbath traditionally. If a member was found to have violated the Sabbath publicly, he was immediately suspended. It is interesting to note that women were admitted to membership in the organization. But they were only contributing members, who were awarded certain privileges in lieu of their membership. The privileges extended to women members were: 1) services in their home after their decease, during the period of *Shivah;* 2) the recitation of Kaddish in their memory after the studies during the first year following their death; 3) the inscription of their names and *Yahrzeit* dates in the *Pinkas* of the organization; 4) the observance of their *Yahrzeit,* perpetually, by the *Hevrah.*[102] Women members were not expected to attend the studies.

Membership dues in this group were the usual five cents per week. A special initiation fee, ranging from three to five dollars, depending upon the circumstances of the applicant, was charged to all members. If one defaulted in the payment of the dues for one year, he lost all privileges of membership.

Every member of the group was obligated to attend the studies daily. If he was absent for two weeks consecutively, without a valid reason, the officers were authorized to punish him as they saw fit. If a member was present at the synagogue when the studies began, he was not permitted to leave without joining in the studies. No member was allowed

to suggest that the rabbi either shorten or lengthen the period of study or the Talmudic discussion. Nor could any member suggest the particular choice of the tractate to be studied.

The members of the group obligated themselves to assist one another in cases of need.

The *Hevrah Mishnah U'Gemara* arranged an annual *Seudah Ketanah* (small feast) on the first Saturday evening after *Sukkoth.* At the conclusion of the study of a tractate of the Talmud or an order of the *Mishnah* an elaborate feast was arranged. Similarly, at the conclusion of all the six orders of the *Mishnah.*

Officers were elected on the first Saturday evening after *Sukkoth* and consisted of two *Gabaim* (directors); an officer called *Ne-eman* (trustee) who was in charge of the money and the records; a treasurer; and three trustees to take care of the implementation of the *Takanoth*—the carrying out of the enactments. All records were kept in Hebrew.[103]

In the '70s, the *Ohave Sholom* absorbed an independent organization that was called *Hevrah T'hilim,* which conducted religious services and had for its major objective the recitation and the study of the Psalms. The *Takanoth* of that group was not too rigid in enforcing this rule. If one was As in the *Hevrah Mishnah U'Gemara,* membership in this group was also limited to Sabbath observers. However, this group was not too rigid in enforcing this rule. If one was found to violate the Sabbath, he was not expelled immediately, but was given a chance "to repent." The members were required to recite the entire Book of Psalms on Saturdays, during the summer months. The night of *Shovuoth* was observed as the *Yahrzeit* of King David. A light was kindled and all the Psalms were recited during the night of the festival. On *Shovuoth,* likewise, the group conducted memorial services for all deceased members. The Torah honors on the Sabbath when the portion *Nasso* (Numbers 4:21-7:89) was read, "belonged exclusively to the *Hevrah T'hilim.*"[104]

Membership dues in this group were likewise five cents per week. After the *Hevrah* had accumulated fifty dollars, it was deposited in the bank.

Whoever was in the city and did not attend the recitation of the Psalms for four Saturdays, was fined half a dollar. If he failed to attend for three months, he was expelled from the group.

On the seventh of *Adar,* and, in the case of a leap year, on the seventh of the Second *Adar,* the *Hevrah T'hilim* observed the *Yahrzeit* of Moses by lighting a Yahrzeit candle.

The group had its own officers, consisting of two directors, a scribe, a treasurer and two trustees to watch over the *Takanoth.*[105]

Ladies' Auxiliaries

A very important adjunct of the congregation of the German Jews was the ladies' auxiliary. Very few of the congregations of East-European Jews had such auxiliaries in their earlier days. It seems that only those East-European congregations that had among their membership some German or German-speaking Jews, as the *Anshe Emes,* the *Anshe Dorum,* and the *Moses Montefiore* congregations, had the assistance of ladies' auxiliaries.[106]

The ladies' auxiliaries were not all designated by the same title. *Ladies' Society* was the most popular name. Some were known as *Women's Club, Women's Society, Sister of Aid, Ladies' Auxiliary,* or just *Ladies.*

The *K.A.M.* women's group was known as the *Women's Auxiliary Society of K.A.M. Temple,* and was organized "for the purpose of furthering the intellectual and social well-being of its members and to be of service in the development of congregational life."

In order to meet "the need for social life in the Jewish congregation of today, and to bring the members in close touch with each other, and broaden the scope of its work," the *Ladies' Auxiliary of North Chicago Hebrew Congregation* was organized.

The *B'nai Sholom's Women's Society* was founded in order "to further the interests of the Sabbath school by supplying such necessities as it may require, and at the same time, to assist the Temple by looking after minor details." The same was the objective of the *Women's Society of Temple Israel.*

The ladies' auxiliary of *Isaiah Temple,* which came into existence only a few months after the congregation was founded in 1896, was known as the *Isaiah Women's Club.* This auxiliary, which numbered 500 members at its very inception, came into being "due to a desire on the part of the women to share the responsibility their fathers and husbands had undertaken, viz: the building up of a Reform Jewish congregation in that section of the South-side, where many Jews unaffiliated with a synagogue reside."

The auxiliary of *Temple Emanuel* was known as *Emanuel Congregation Ladies' Society,* and was dedicated to "the financial assistance of the congregation, besides encouraging the social features."

The auxiliary of *Temple B'nai Abraham* was also known as *Ladies' Society.* Originally, the efforts of the organization were directed mainly to further the welfare of the congregation. Later it extended its activities "in the work of charity and benevolence among the poor and needy of the city."

Zion's auxiliary was known as the *Women's Society of Zion Congregation of West Chicago.* Originally, that organization was the *West Side Sewing Society.* It is interesting to note that Dr. Joseph K. Arnold, the spiritual leader of the *Zion Congregation* from 1896 until 1900 was the secretary of the *Women's Society.* The object of the *Society* was "the promotion of the social and material interests of *Zion Congregation,* and those of its Sunday School" and to "temporarily relieve the distress of needy individuals when brought to their notice."

The *Ladies Society of Temple B'nai Jehoshua* was incorporated in the spring of 1896, under the title *First Hebrew Educational and Charitable Association.* The major effort of this organization was to "build up the temple."

The auxiliary of the *Beth El Congregation* was known as the *Ladies of Beth El.* The original aim of the *Ladies,* under the name of *Sisters of Beth El,* which was organized as early as 1870, was to "help financially the struggling congregation." Gradually, they extended their work in other directions, the chief among which was the purchase of the *Beth El Cemetery* for the congregation.

The auxiliary of the *Moses Montefiore Congregation* was known as the *Sisters of Moses Montefiore,* and was devoted exclusively to the support of the congregation. The women's organization of the *South Side Hebrew Congregation* was known as the *Sisters of Aid.* In addition to supporting the congregation, its efforts were devoted to "the cause of charity on the South-side."

Parsonages

It was not the policy of any of the congregations in the Chicago Jewish community to erect a parsonage or a residence near or within the synagogue area for their spiritual leader. However, when *Sinai Congregation* erected its third temple on Indiana Avenue and Twenty-first Street, the old frame building was moved to the back of the lot and was renovated for use as a residence for Dr. Kohler. The *K.A.M.* synagogue on Wabash Avenue and Peck Court likewise had a parsonage for its spiritual leader Dr. Adler. But this was probably due to the fact that the original church had a parsonage.

As far as we know, only one other congregation provided a parsonage for its spiritual leader. This was the Orthodox congregation *B'nai David,* who bought a house for their spiritual leader, Rabbi Aaron Stern, on Wood St. adjacent to the synagogue.[107]

Thus the Jews of nineteenth century Chicago kept pace with their faith and practiced their Judaism in the synagogues of the prosperous Jewish community—the German Jews in their way, the East-European Jews in their way. All were influenced by a priceless heritage of the past which they brought with themselves from their "old home." All tried to synthesize that heritage with the new conditions and make adjustments in the new environment. The German Jews emphasized the new, the East-European Jews emphasized the old. The former, in the process of adjustment, gave way to greater assimilation and to the adoption of Reform Judaism; the latter, during the nineteenth century at least, held

tenaciously to the traditional and Orthodox forms of synagogue and Jewish community life. Both served God and man in the New World in accordance with the dictates of their own conscience and as faithfully as they understood.

PART III

THE SCHOOL

1

From the *Melamed* to the Sunday School

THE school and the synagogue in the Jewish community always work in harmony to carry out a single plan; their aim is the instruction of the people in the Jewish religion. In ancient days the synagogue was not used exclusively as a place where the congregation gathered to worship, but also as a place of definite religious instruction. Similarly, the Jewish school in ancient days was never used exclusively as a place where the students gathered in order to acquire the knowledge of a few subjects of study, but also as a source of definite religious attitudes. Worship and instruction were thus integrated in the ideal Jewish community.

Rightly has it been said: "To the Jews, the synagogue was a place of instruction in the truth and duties of revealed religion, and in imparting and receiving this divine instruction, no less than in praise and in prayer, they were doing honor to God."[1]

Among the major concerns of the infant Jewish community of Chicago in the middle of the nineteenth century, therefore, were not only the problems of *kosher* meat, a burial place, and a congregation, but the even greater desire to have a Hebrew teacher with a place and agency to instruct the children in the religion of their people.

Like all other immigrant groups, the Jews who came to America in the nineteenth century brought with them definite patterns and traditions of education that had been followed for generations in their respective lands of birth. Where certain innovations had been accepted in some countries the groups coming from those countries carried the new ideas and changes with them. It is, therefore, not surprising to see the difference in outlook and approach between the German and the East-European Jewish immigrants in

connection with the establishment of their educational systems in the Jewish community of Chicago. Each group, naturally, tried to transplant its own previous experiences to the New World. Although among the German Jews the beginnings of Jewish education in Chicago were very similar to those of the East-European Jews, as soon as definite patterns of Jewish education evolved among the two respective groups they were seen to differ considerably in organization, objective, curriculum and method. Just as with the synagogue so the school in the Chicago Jewish community of the nineteenth century evolved along two distinct paths: among the German Jews the succession was from the *Melamed* (private teacher) to the Sunday school; among the East-European Jews it was from the *Cheder* (one-room school) to the *Yeshivah* (Talmudical Academy).

It has been assumed by many that: "No arrangements were made for education during the first few years of the life of the Jewish community," and that the first form of Jewish education in Chicago was the *all-day school* which was supposedly founded in 1853.[2] Both of these assumptions are incorrect. For, one of the major purposes of engaging Mr. Kunreuther to serve the Chicago community, so soon after the first congregation was established, was to have someone to instruct the children in the faith of their fathers.[3] As early as 1851, *K. A. M.* advertised in the *Asmonean*: "Wanted: For the Congregation at Chicago, Ills., a gentleman to fill the office of חזן ומלמד Reader and Teacher, Salary $500.00 per annum. None need apply but those conversant with the English language, and whose character will bear the strictest scrutiny."[4] The all-day school, contrary to the accepted opinion that it started in 1853, was not instituted until 1859. There were indeed very few children of suitable age for an organized Jewish religious school in Chicago in the first decade of its community life. However, from the very beginning until the establishment of the day school the children in the community who desired religious instruction were taken care of by the Reverend Ignatz Kunreuther and his successors at *K.A.M.*, and subsequently by the Reverend Edward Meiers and his successors at *K.B.S.*

The instruction of those early teachers was tantamount to private tutoring and consisted probably of mechanical reading the prayers in the *Siddur*—prayerbook—and some easy translations of the *Chumash* (Pentateuch). However, when Mr. G. Schneidacher assumed the position of *hazan* (cantor) and teacher at *K.A.M.*, succeeding Mr. Kunreuther in 1853, he wrote Dr. Isaac M. Wise in Cincinnati, discussing the need for textbooks in Biblical and post-Biblical history and suggesting that "a translation of Buldinger's biblical histories would answer this purpose."[5] From the style and contents of the letter, it is evident that Mr. Schneidacher not only met the qualifications of being "conversant with the English language," but that he was also interested in extending the curriculum to include more than merely the *Cheder* program. This policy was continued by his successors. It is quite probable that the Rev. G. M. Cohen, one of the early cantors and teachers at *K.A.M.*, introduced his own text — *The Hebrew Language Demonstrated in Olendorf's Method* —into the curriculum.[6]

In addition to the religious instruction offered by the congregations, Leopold Mayer, upon his arrival in Chicago from Germany in 1850, engaged in private tutoring of Hebrew and German. In the fall of that year, Mayer attempted to organize a private religious school with a few students he had acquired as a nucleus, hoping to enroll more as time went on. The project did not meet with great success nor with wholehearted approval of the president of the congregation. This school was short-lived. Whether the cause for its closing was the reaction of the community to Mayer's reputed liberalism in religious thinking, or to his own ambition for another more lucrative occupation, is a matter of conjecture. Both reasons might have contributed to the early dissolution of this private school.[7]

The growing Jewish community of Chicago could not, however, be satisfied with either the *Melamed,* the *Cheder* or the private school. Soon the problem of organized Jewish education became the subject of discussion at every meeting of *K.A.M.* It went so far that it was incorporated in the platform of one of the candidates who was seeking the office of the presidency in the congregation. In 1857, "Education"

became part of an election slogan. As a consequence there evolved the Jewish all-day school in Chicago.[8]

The German Jews, constituting the early Jewish community in Chicago, though traditionally-minded and observant in religious practices carried over some of the influence of the *Haskalah* — enlightenment — and subsequently the Reform movement which had begun in Germany towards the end of the eighteenth century. Under the influence of the *Enlightenment* movement there were established all over Germany and throughout German-speaking countries, Jewish schools where secular studies occupied the principal part of the curriculum. The language of instruction was the German vernacular. So popular was this school system that, when in 1840 the State schools in Germany opened their doors to Jewish children, a goodly number of the Jewish schools continued to exist and flourish, not as much for religious as for general educational reasons.[9] The idea of a public school under Jewish auspices was thus an accepted norm to the German-Jewish settlers in America, nor was the idea of a Jewish all-day school new on the American scene in the nineteenth century. In fact, by then it was already an established precedent.

The Spanish-Portuguese Jews who settled in the colonies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries founded all-day schools in conjunction with the organization of their congregations or the building of their synagogues. In the second quarter of the nineteenth century practically every congregation in New York had organized an all-day school.[10] When the Chicago Jewish community contemplated the establishment of day schools, there already were seven Jewish day schools in New York City, the stop-over depot for practically all immigrants. To this should be added that the first compulsory school attendance law was not passed in Illinois until 1864; it was not until 1889, that the second compulsory attendance law was passed, and became effective; and the municipal public school system was not of the highest caliber at this time.[11] These factors must have influenced the early German-Jewish congregations, interested as they were in the cultural advancement of their children, to establish Jewish day schools in Chicago.

The day school system was not in itself a strange phenomenon in Chicago. The Catholics had opened their first parochial school in 1844, with the German language as one of the subjects studied. These schools occupied such an important place in the community, that in the late '50s the Protestants vehemently protested against the attempts made by the Catholics to divert public funds for use in their parochial schools. By the '60s, the Catholics had twenty-two parochial schools in the city.

A private public school held its classes in "the basement of the Clark Street Methodist Church" as early as 1848. A "boy's classical school" was located in "the basement of the First Presbyterian Church." A high school met in the "vestry of the Jefferson Street Methodist Episcopal Church." By the '60s, there were in Chicago three German Evangelical Lutheran St. Paul's schools; six German United Evangelical Lutheran St. Paul's schools; and eleven other private public schools or day schools under Church auspices.[12] A Jewish day school, a private public school under Jewish auspices, was therefore fully in accord with the customs prevailing in the city.

It is important to note here that essentially there was a difference between the Protestant and the Catholic all-day schools, though both were parochial in origin. The former was a public school with religious subjects supplementing the secular studies. The latter was a religious school with definite Church orientations, where secular studies were secondary and supplementary. The Jewish day school, was modeled more upon the Protestant than upon the Catholic schools.[13]

The first Jewish all-day school in Chicago which is also referred to in the records as a "congregational school," was founded in 1859 by *K.A.M.*[14] Following that *Sinai Congregation* established an all-day school.

While the *Chicago Sinai Congregation,* aimed to make its pulpit of greatest importance, the leadership realized at the same time that Jewish education could not be forgotten. Accordingly, when the new temple was erected on Plymouth Court, careful attention was given to the matter of a religious school. Special quarters were provided in the Temple for an

all-day school. Teachers were engaged to give the pupils daily instruction in "the same curriculum as that of the public schools."[15]

When *Zion Congregation* was established in 1864, an all-day school was part of that congregation's planning. The City Directory of 1869-70, records the existence of a "Zion School - in connection with the Hebrew Church, 60 Desplaines St." F. B. Williams is mentioned as the principal. Reverend Bernhard Felsenthal is cited as "teacher of religion and the Hebrew language."[16]

A student of this school gives a scant picture of it: "In connection with Zion Temple, there was a school to which many of the Jewish children were sent in preference to public school . . . The services in the synagogue were conducted in German and Hebrew and so these languages were made part of the school's curriculum. As there were only six or seven grades, many of the pupils who attended went on to public school for further instruction when the course of study at Zion was completed."[17] Another student recalls that at the *Zion Temple,* Dr. Felsenthal, from its founding in 1864, "taught daily in the congregational combined secular and religious school."[18]

An all-day school was subsequently attempted by most of the newly-organized German-Jewish congregations. The Chicago City Directory of 1865-66, states: "Each of the Israelitish Churches maintains a day school, in which, besides the branches taught in the city school, instruction is also given in German and Hebrew."[19]

A detailed account of the Jewish day school can be culled from the only contemporary record now extant, the minute book of the "Board of Education" of *K.A.M.* It is safe to assume that it is typical and portrays the entire system in the community.

The constitution of the day school adopted at the meeting on November 6, 1859, provided: "The congregation shall appropriate at least $1,000.00 per annum to be paid over to the Treasurer of the Board of Education in quarterly installments," and that "the Congregation shall furnish their rooms under the Synagogue free of charge, also the necessary furniture, fuel and light in the same, and finally the services

of their sexton." The constitution also stipulated that: "Every member of the Congregation shall be entitled to send his children to the Congregational school subject to the laws of this act, and to the rules and regulations of the Board of Education . . . The tuition fees for the children of members shall be three dollars per quarter, payable in advance, except as hereinafter specified. In case of necessity, the Board may charge four dollars and a half per quarter for scholars in the higher classes."[20]

The school board, or as it is referred to in the records officially "The Board of Education," consisted of nine men called "inspectors." This title, no doubt, was borrowed from the "Board of Inspectors," which was elected by the City Council to supervise the City's public schools. If a "school inspector" failed to perform his duty or neglected to attend a regular or a special meeting of the Board, he was fined 50 cents. Illness was the only valid excuse. The fines were used for the school fund.[21]

Meetings of the school board were held on the last Sunday of each month, in the afternoon. Special meetings might be convened at the call of the chair.

The curriculum of the school was worked out by the board Poor children were admitted free. If seats were available, children of non-members were admitted at a fee of $4.50 per quarter, payable in advance. The deficit of the school was liquidated by private solicitations, subscriptions, and legacies from members and non-members.

Semi-annual reports of the standing of the school were submitted to the congregation. Examinations came twice yearly, at the termination of the winter and summer courses respectively. Every member of the congregation had to contribute $1.25 annually to the school fund, and the fines received by the congregation were appropriated for the school needs. If the fund accumulated $3,000.00, a sum not exceeding $300.00 could be borrowed from it to be used only for teachers' salaries, and the loan had to be repaid with ten percent interest per year.[22]

The By-Laws of the Board of Education adopted on June 21, 1860, provided for three committees: "A committee on text books and instruction, consisting of three members, a

committee on school furniture and school premises, consisting of three members, a committee on finance, consisting of two members."

The By-Laws also provided that:

> The morning exercises shall commence with reading the roll of the scholars, and be followed either by reading a chapter of the Bible or such other religious exercises as the committee on instruction may direct. The teachers shall avoid corporal punishment except in extreme cases and then it shall be applied only during the intermissions of lessons or at the close of the day's exercises.
>
> The teachers shall have the right to detain scholars after school to make up lessons or to serve as punishment, provided however, that scholars so detained shall not lose their dinners, and that the respective teacher who so detains scholars will remain with them in school and control their labors.
>
> The teachers shall not award any medals or other prizes to the pupils under their charge, unless specially authorized by the Board.
>
> The teachers shall make monthly reports to the parents or guardians of each pupil, which report shall show the standing of the pupil in scholarship, deportment and punctuality, and lay open their books of records to the inspection of the Board at their regular monthly meetings. The teachers shall not give permission to any pupil to leave school for the purpose of attending to any music, dancing or other lesson.
>
> No pupil affected with any contagious disease shall be allowed to remain at school.
>
> If any pupil who is frequently tardy after being properly admonished fails to correct the evil, he shall be reported to the Board of Education, and they shall give notice of the delinquency to the parents or guardians, then if the evil be not remedied, they shall suspend the scholar until such time as they receive satisfactory assurance that the irregularity will be corrected.
>
> Any pupil who shall absent himself from any regular examination of the school, shall be suspended by the Board, and shall not be received again, unless valid reasons for such absence are given by the parents or guardians.
>
> Any pupil that comes to school without proper attention having been given to the cleanliness of his person and dress or whose clothes need repairing for decency, shall be sent home to be properly prepared for school.[23]

When the day school was opened in 1859, its classes were held in the basement of the synagogue, which had been divided into two classrooms by a partition. As one hall led

to both the school and the *Mikvah* (ritual bath), it was voted that the "Entrance leading to schoolroom and Bathing Room be divided."[24]

Classes met six hours a day, three in the morning and three in the afternoon, for five days per week. The school year was divided into four quarters — First: September through November; second: December through February; third: March through May; fourth: June through August. At first there was only a two-week vacation period during the month of July. This was gradually increased to a full month.[25]

Most of the students at the school were from six to ten years of age, and were the children of congregation members. There were a few non-members' children.[26]

German occupied a very important role in the course of study of the day school. The curriculum consisted of a Hebrew-German department and an English department. As a rule the rabbi was in charge of the former. For the latter, a non-Jewish instructor was engaged. Singing, geography, arithmetic and other general public school subjects formed part of the English department. In the beginning the teacher in charge of the Hebrew-German department received $600.00 annually and the one in charge of the English department received $800.00 annually. Later the board decided to increase the salary of the head of the Hebrew-German department to $800.00. Finally it was raised to $1,000.00.[27] The salary was paid quarterly. The cantor instructed singing on Tuesdays and Thursdays from 4:00 to 4:30 in the afternoon. Religious instruction was given at the school every "Sabbath afternoon."[28]

The language of instruction was English with an exception in the "Summer School," when it was exclusively German. But the Hebrew instructor was requested to "use the German language in all the branches he instructs," throughout the year.[29]

The records are silent of the kind and type of textbooks used in the English department of the day school, but there are references to the texts used in the Hebrew-German departments. Upon Dr. Friedlander's assumption of his post, the board accepted his suggestion that there be more uniform-

ity of Hebrew and German textbooks, and that they acquire "an Israelitish translation of the Bible and a Map of Palestine."[30] A year later we find references to the acquisition of "*ein bewegliches* א"ב with *einen Setztafel;* the *Roedelheim Gebetbuch* סידור שפת אמת ; the *Roedelheim* Hebrew Bible חומש and *Die Lebensbilder Nos.* 1, 2, 3, *von Thomas.*"[31]

In 1865, the Board decided to procure from Germany 100 copies of the *Bibliche Geschichte* edited by Dr. Buldinger.[32]

Because of the untimely death of Dr. Friedlander, and the consequent lack of a Hebrew instructor, the board voted on October 30, 1860, that the "Congregational school be declared closed on Friday, the 2nd of November, until further notice."[33] However, Mr. Gleason, the head of the English department came to the rescue. The board entrusted him with the "school room to conduct the school for the next semester, until February 4th, on his own, until a Hebrew teacher is engaged."[34]

In 1861, the number of children in the school was 97, of these 62 were children of members, paying $3.00 quarterly; 22 were children of non-members, 16 of whom paid $4.50 per quarter and 6 only $3.00; 13 were free students. In 1869, the tuition fee was raised to $5.00 for members and $7.00 for non-members, and in that year it was voted that the number of children in the school should not exceed 110. As time went on, the school population not only reached its full capacity, but exceeded it. In 1865 there were 127 students in the school.[35] This necessitated the employment of an assistant teacher in the English Department. It also required more room. The school board, therefore, decided to request the trustees of the congregation to allow the school the use of the "Dressingroom of the מקבה (sic) for use as a Recitation Room."[36] And, as the work in the Hebrew Department likewise required more intensive attention, the board voted "that the teachers of our School shall not be allowed during the school hours to attend to any outside business such as חתונות & ברית מילות (sic) and funerals of non-members, without permission from the School board."[37]

By 1864, the enthusiasm for Hebrew and German at the school had dwindled somewhat, and recommendations were made that Hebrew should not be taught to children under

seven years of age, and that "German be curtailed in favor of English." This did not mean the elimination of German from the curriculum, but merely marked a greater emphasis on English.[38]

Discipline of students was a serious problem in the school. In the Hebrew department, in 1865, it was necessary to appoint a committee to consult with the teachers concerning the "abolishing of corporal punishment without interfering with the discipline of the school." A year later we find that two students were suspended for a quarter, and the order was read publicly, because they caused serious discipline problems to Dr. Adler.[39]

By 1868, the school board found the school quarters and facilities inadequate and requested the "Board of Administration" of the Congregation "to provide a better School house, otherwise School will have to close."[40] In 1869 the school closed.[41]

It is not necessary to speculate on the reason for the closing of the school. Lack of an adequate schoolhouse is but one reason. M. M. Gerstley, the chairman of the school board, in his report on April 29, 1873, pointed out the reasons quite clearly:

> The history of your school is—I may safely assert—well known to you all, and a rehearsal of her doings and workings from the time—1859—when first called into existence, up to the Spring of 1869 when closed through circumstances almost beyond control, would probably be a wasting of time, or too much of a tax on your patience.
>
> Suffice it to say that after your school closed (in 1869) there were in my estimation *two* causes which worked against its reinauguration. The one was a want of a proper school room in a proper or cultural locality, the other reason—and perhaps no less weighty one—that the parents now in general prefer to send their children to the public school in order to afford them all the chances for advancement into high school to finish their education.
>
> Nor is it to be disguised that a select Hebrew School for the Hebrew Education of our children has of late lost much of its importance so far at least as the question of opinion of its usefulness or necessity is concerned, and there was therefore at that time no pressure for a reopening of a Congregational school and but very little prospect of a sufficient support.[42]

The question of establishing a "free school" came up at the school board meeting on September 7, 1871, but no definite decisions were made. The decision to reopen the day school was not made until April 4, 1872. It was then resolved "to open a day school for Hebrew, English and German instruction, and to use the same books as in the Public school." The school was reopened on May 6, 1872. The reasons for the reopening of the day school are clearly explained by Gerstley in his report. "It was only after the great fire October 9, 1871, when through the lack of school houses and consequently the inconvenience of sending our children and especially the smaller ones, into densely crowded rooms, that a new life and new interests for the reopening of our school had manifested themselves, and agreeable to instruction the school after a lapse of three years was to be reopened for the reception of scholars."[43]

When the school was reopened the tuition fee was set again at $3.00 for members and $4.50 for non-members, per quarter.

Whether non-Jewish children attended the day school before 1869, is not known. In the second era of the school, after it was reopened following the fire, we find a number of non-Jewish children in attendance. During the first quarter of 1872-73, only one non-Jewish student was registered. During the second quarter there were two. During the third, five. During the fourth, the number went down to three. The general school population ranged from 35 to 57, during this time. The number of non-members' children increased from eight to thirty-one from the first to the fourth quarter of the school year.[44] An analysis of these figures shows that, at its height, the total number of children in the school during the second era was less than half that in the first era of the school. The number of non-members' children was more than double. The income of the school was considerably less.[45] These facts are not without significance, for ultimately they led to the discontinuance of the school.[46] *K.A.M.* at this time, not carrying the total community responsibility as it did at its founding and in the early decades of its existence, could not possibly have been expected to conduct a school at a

financial loss and for "strangers," as the non-members' children were called officially in the records.[47]

In 1873, Gerstley was optimistic in maintaining that: "As the past year has been encouraging for the maintenance of your school, we do not doubt that, with the same support on behalf of our members, your school will continue to improve to the satisfaction of parents as well as to the benefit of the Scholars."[48] Unfortunately his optimism was disappointed. The school gradually declined. In the annual report of the congregation, on August 16, 1874, Mr. Gerstley stated:

> When in 1859 the present school system was inaugurated, the school increased to an average of about 120 scholars, the 3 teachers then engaged conducted the school. What a change! We have now 2 teachers with 29 scholars, 16 of which are members' children.
>
> The want of a central location, the predilection generally acccorded to our public schools, and the general aversion of scholars as well as the indifference of parents for Hebrew education, are undoubtedly some of the many causes of the decline of our school.[49]

On April 6, 1875, the school board voted to discontinue the day school and to maintain only a Sabbath school. They also decided to have the "Sabbath and Sunday school" removed to the synagogue on the corner of Indiana and 26th Street.[50]

Lest we gain the erroneous impression that the day school was replaced by the Sabbath school, which is supposed to be its successor in the German-Jewish congregations, it is well to point out that, simultaneously with the existence of the day school, three other definite types of Jewish religious schools operated in Chicago in the German-Jewish community: The Sunday school, the private school, and the congregation *Talmud Torah*.[51]

As early as December 5, 1859, the school board of *K.A.M.* "moved and carried that the Board establish a Sunday-school for religious instruction to the children of this city above the age of eight years." At the same time it was also "moved and carried that all the Gentlemen of the Board willing to instruct in said Sunday school should present themselves to the Board." Leopold Mayer, who by now was in the banking business, B. Schoeneman and George Snydacker

offered their services as voluntary teachers in the Sunday school, which was open to members' and non-members' children alike, but only to those of "Israelitish parents."[52]

The story of the growth of the Sunday school is likewise preserved in the pages of the minute book of the *K.A.M.* school board. It did not occupy a very exalted place in the educational system in the sixties. The impression is gathered that it was more of a concession to the time than a felt need.[53]

Beginning with the seventies, the Sabbath school became more popular and was held in higher esteem. In 1871, we find that the *K.A.M.* school board voted to ask the congregation to appropriate $1,200 for two assistant teachers in the Sabbath school.[54] As a result, the congregation, significantly, advertised in the *Staatszeitung* for "two competent Hebrew teachers and instructors of Religion for the Sabbath School."[55]

The fact that paid teachers replaced the volunteers, and that they were offered a generous salary, testifies to the prestige of the Sabbath school in the seventies. In 1874, M. M. Gerstley pointed out that "in our days the greatest portion if not all the religious training of our youth depends on Sabbath school education."[56]

While at *K.A.M.* the Sunday or Sabbath school existed at the same time as the day school, it is not known whether the same prevailed at *Sinai Congregation.* The general impression is gathered that at *Sinai* the Sabbath school replaced and succeeded the day school. However, there is no documentary evidence extant to substantiate this. The Chicago City Directory of 1866 lists a "Sabbath school of 60 pupils" in connection with *Sinai Congregation.* It may well be therefore that, for a while before the great fire, the Sabbath school and the day school were conducted simultaneously by *Sinai Congregation.* But after the fire, when the synagogue and the school rooms were destroyed and when the prestige of the Sabbath school had generally risen in the community, they may have decided to replace the all-day school with the Sabbath school. By 1872, *Sinai* had a well-established Sabbath school only.[57]

The day school of *Zion Congregation* was eventually also replaced by the Sabbath school, where instruction was given

during the "usual hour or two on Saturday and Sunday mornings." [58]

The exact date of this change is likewise not known. Most likely it was in the early seventies, for in 1873, the Reverend Herman Eliassof became assistant to Dr. Felsenthal, in charge of the Sabbath school. He remained in this position for ten years. Among the most faithful and enthusiastic teachers of the school was Mrs. J. W. Strauss, a convert to Judaism, and the poetess, Miss Miriam Del Banco.[59]

The shift from the day school to the Sabbath school, and the latter's rapid rise, growth and popularity in the German-Jewish community are something of an enigma. Some maintain it was because of the rise of the public school system and the compulsory education laws; but then why was not the afternoon congregational Hebrew school, attended after public school hours, substituted for the day school in the early congregations founded by the German-Jewish elements? The public school system certainly was in vogue later, during the rise and development of the East-European Jewish community, and the East-European Jews did not resort to the Sabbath school for Jewish religious education. Other reasons must therefore be sought for the change, and other factors must have influenced the transition.

The first reason that motivated the change from the all-day to the Sabbath school was the growing influence of Reform ideology on the German Jews of the first and second generations. This emphasized the definition of Judaism as a religion and reduced its tenets to a few universal and ethical principles. Reform Judaism abrogated most of the traditional practices and discarded most of the old forms and usages. In synagogue worship, it advocated not only sermons in the vernacular, but also the recitation of the prayers and the singing of the hymns in that tongue.[60]

This diminished, if it did not completely invalidate, the need to study many of the subjects included in the day school or *Talmud Torah* curriculum, and also made the Hebrew language non-essential.[61]

In addition to this, the early German Jews tended to be assimilated in the American environment to the extent "that to maintain any more intensive Jewish schools than the

Sunday school involves a certain amount of disloyalty to the American ideal of assimilation, and may contribute to Jewish segregation.''[62] Such segregation was contrary to the Reform preaching of universalism.

By far the greatest influence on the religious thinking of early Reform Jews was the Protestant Church; the German Jew was greatly influenced socially by his Protestant neighbor. In Chicago, the Protestant denominations eliminated their day schools in the early seventies. The influence of the Protestants was admitted at a later date when Dr. S. Hecht of Milwaukee spoke on the ''History of the Jewish Sunday School'' before the *Congress of Religion* at the *World's Columbian Exposition;* he stated, ''Since we found that most of the child's time was taken by non-sectarian learning, we could not follow the methods of our ancestors and we adopted the institution of our Christian neighbors.''[63]

The principal emphasis in the curriculum of the Sabbath school was put on the study of Biblical history, which was taught mostly in story fashion. Some schools offered also post-Biblical history in the higher classes.[64]. On August 31, 1862, the *K.A.M.* school board resolved that the Sunday school ''Shall be exclusively for the purpose of giving Biblical history,'' and to ''cease instructing Hebrew and German grammaire (sic) till further instruction of the Board.'' This was probably due to the fact that they did not want to compete with their own day school. Early in 1872, the question of Hebrew reading in the Sabbath school was left to the discretion of the teacher. However, on December 30th of that year, it was decided that Hebrew reading be definitely introduced into the Sabbath school, to be studied half an hour on Saturday and on Sunday. It was also voted that each child be provided with a Hebrew prayerbook. When the day school was discontinued in 1875, the school board recommended that the curriculum of the Sabbath school should retain Hebrew reading and possibly translation.[65]

Hebrew was part of the curriculum of the Sabbath school of *Sinai Congregation* until 1879. In that year, an amendment to the by-laws that ''no Hebrew shall be taught in the Sabbath School of the congregation'' was defeated. A motion was carried at the meeting of September of that year, to have

Jewish Reader



For Sabbath Schools.

-BY-

DR. K. KOHLER.

Part III. *February, 1877.*

Title-page of textbook printed in Chicago in the '70s.

separate classes for Hebrew on Saturday morning. However, because of the small attendance in these classes, Hebrew eventually disappeared completely from the *Sinai Sabbath School.*[66]

Wherever and whenever Hebrew was part of the Sabbath school curriculum, Hebrew primers, as a rule written by the rabbis of the congregations, were utilized as a supplementary textbook to the prayerbook. As early as 1869, Dr. Felsenthal wrote *A Practical Grammar of the Hebrew Language,* which no doubt was used as a text. Later, to meet the requirements of the more elementary grades, Felsenthal composed a Hebrew primer *L'maan Yil-m'du,* which reached two editions. Dr. A. R. Levy of the *B'nai Abraham Congregation* published a textbook for elementary reading under the title *Reshith L'mudim L'yaldai B'nai Abraham.* Rabbi I. S. Moses of *K.A.M.* wrote a *Hebrew Reader;* and Rabbi A. J. Messing published a Hebrew primer under the title *Sfath Emes.* In 1892, a *Union Hebrew Reader* "designed for Sabbath Schools" was published in Chicago.[67]

The problem of textbooks, particularly in Biblical history, was always of great concern to the schools. After the *K.A.M.* school board received a reply to their inquiry from Dr. Wise of Cincinnati regarding: "Ways of lessons and instructions and also regulations of a Sabbath School," they purchased 125 copies of Dr. Deutsch's *Biblical History* at 85 cents per copy, and a similar number of Hebrew primers at 25 cents per copy. The Hebrew textbooks were only for the children of members, for the record reveals that "Special lessons in Hebrew spelling shall be confined as much as possible to the scholars of our members." [68]

Up to the middle of the seventies, some of the textbooks for the Sabbath schools were imported from abroad. In 1871, we find that "Dr. Kohler has written to Europe to get necessary books." The books from Europe were either not satisfactory or not forthcoming, for six months later, on November 24, 1872, the school committee was "instructed to confer with Dr. Kohler in regards to writing a textbook on Jewish Religion and History for the use of the Sabbath School." By 1876, Dr. Kohler finished the textbook entitled,

Jewish Reader for Sabbath Schools which became very popular at that time. It was published in several parts.[69]

In addition to Biblical history, the curriculum of the Sabbath school included the study of a catechism, modeled upon the catechism of the Christian Sunday schools. The adoption of the study of a catechism did not go unchallenged. At *K.A.M.*, the question of introducing one was referred in 1872 to "Rev. Dr. Machol and to Mr. Adler" for consideration.[70] The "Catechism" textbooks were very popular, and those published in the last decades of the century brought out some interesting points of view.

By 1891, the tenth edition of *Spiritual Questions* for the use of Sabbath schools was published by Bloch in Cincinnati and Chicago. These "Spiritual Questions," which also contained the answers, some in rhyme, dealt with religious beliefs, the holidays, and "our Duties toward God and Man." Typical of the contents of this children's textbook is the first question, which reads: "Who formed you, child, and made you live?" To which the answer is given: "God did my life and spirit give." The responses are repeated several times in the text in different form.[71]

It is interesting to note in this little textbook the inclusion of a small section titled, "The Jewish Creed." Six creedal points are given as basic to Jewish faith:

1) I know there is a God, He is One and only One, indivisible, eternal, holy and perfect.
2) I believe in a future life, etc.
3) In the Bible, we find all those teachings which, if faithfully carried out, will lead us to contentment in this life, and to happiness in the future life.
4) The supreme command of the Bible is: Love thy fellow-man like thyself, etc.
5) The so-called time of the Messiah is only that time in which all men will unite in worshipping the One holy God, and live together in brotherly love, peace and harmony.
6) Therefore, we Jews assert the common Fatherhood of God and the common brotherhood of man.[72]

Other textbooks used were: *Catechism for Elementary Instruction in the Hebrew Faith; Faith and Deed—A Brief Sketch of the Jewish Religion for School and Home;* and *Israel's Religion, A Catechism for Sabbath Schools.*[73]

Catechism textbooks were also written by some of the rabbis in the community. Rabbi Messing wrote a Catechism in Hebrew and in English which he called "Torath Emes"; at the turn of the century he composed an exclusive English edition of this work with the subtitle: *A Catechism for Instruction in the Mosaic Religion.* Dr. Felsenthal produced *A Catechism for the Instruction of Confirmands.*[74]

The teaching of singing, especially of the hymns used in the synagogue service, was also a popular part of the curriculum of the Sabbath school. A popular textbook on this subject was *The Sabbath Hymnal - A Collection of Songs and Services for the Jewish Sabbath School and Home,* by I. S. Moses.[75]

The problem of discipline and behavior in classes troubled many of the Sabbath schools. In 1883, with Dr. Hirsch as spiritual leader, *Sinai Congregation* was forced to adopt at its meeting: "It was moved and seconded that the attention of the school committee should be called to the bad behavior of the pupils at the Sabbath school and the committee be requested to adopt measures to bring about a better state of discipline." [76]

Following the system of the public school, the Sabbath school was divided into eight grades. Public examinations were held annually. Awards were given to the best students for their proficiency. Graduation from Sabbath school automatically qualified one for confirmation, though it was not an absolute prerequisite.[77]

In some congregations, post-confirmation classes were conducted under the supervision of the rabbi. When *Sinai Congregation* was negotiating for the engagement of a spiritual leader in 1880, it was resolved that: "The incoming minister shall also take charge of our Sabbath school and devote a portion of his time to the instruction of a class of young men and ladies who have graduated from our Sabbath School and are desirous of making further advancement in Jewish lore and history." [78]

Later, we find that the post-confirmands of *K.A.M.* organized a group of sixty students for the "study of Jewish history," under the leadership of Dr. Moses.[79]

The number of children attending the Sabbath schools is not known for all periods. Judging from the number of textbooks purchased by *K.A.M.* in 1875, there were probably 125 children in that school. A year later, it is reported in the minutes there were "about 130 children."[80] The numbers seemed to have fluctuated, because two months later the records speak of "about 120 pupils."[81]

In the same period, *Sinai's* records account for 140 children, divided into five classes.[82] *Zion Congregation,* reports about 150 pupils the same year.[83] In an official report of the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations* issued in September, 1880, the number of children in all the Jewish religious schools (referring to the Sabbath schools) in Chicago was given as 675.[84]

Sabbath school classes, as a rule, met twice a week, Saturdays and Sundays; in one instance — at *North Chicago Hebrew Congregation*—only on Saturday, at 9:00 A.M. "Because of the inconvenience of the fire," *K.A.M.* decided in 1871 that the "Sabbath school should be held Sunday" from 10 to 12 in the morning. Later they resumed the Saturday sessions.[85]

The time for the sessions was by no means uniform. A *Jewish Directory* published in 1884, cites the following schedule of the community's Sabbath schools: at *Sinai,* the Sabbath school met Saturdays, 2:00 P.M. and Sundays, 10:00 A.M.; at *K.A.M.* Saturdays, 8:30 A.M., Sundays, 9:30 A.M.; at *Zion Congregation,* the school met Saturdays, 9:00 A.M. and Sundays, 9:30 A.M.; and at *Congregation B'nai Abraham,* Saturdays, 8:00 A.M. and Sundays, 9:00 A.M.[86] It is surprising that this comparatively late source does not mention *Congregation B'nai Sholom.* An early source—Edward's Annual Directory of the City of Chicago, 1869-70—refers to the religious school of *Kehilath Beney Sholom* stating that it has a "Sabbath school for the purpose of instructing scholars in the religious tenets of their ancestors every Saturday 4:00 P.M."[87] It might be that Dr. Messing in organizing a Hebrew school temporarily did away with the Sabbath school.

Within time the Saturday sessions became voluntary in all schools. Eventually, the Saturday morning sessions were completely abolished, and one-day sessions on Sundays were

instituted. This did not occur all at once in all schools. At *Sinai,* an official attempt to abolish the Saturday sessions was made in 1885. However, not until 1893, did the school board report to the Executive Board its decision "to have only one session each week—on Sunday forenoon."[88]

It is not known when the name "Sunday school" replaced the old name "Sabbath school." In the early records of *K.A.M.* the names *Sunday school* and *Sabbath school* are used interchangeably. During the *World's Columbian Exposition,* the term "Sunday School" seemed to have been used exclusively for the religious school in the Reform synagogues.[89] Yet later, towards the end of the century, the term *Sabbath school* became popular again. It was probably not until about 1910, when the practice became universal to have only one day of Sabbath school, namely on Sundays, and that the general name *Sunday School* was universally adopted.[90]

The program of one of the Sunday morning sessions of the Sabbath school has come down to us:

> 9:00 A.M. The children entered.
> Rabbi Felsenthal spoke briefly.
> The children recited Hebrew and English prayers in concert.
> The children were examined by Dr. Felsenthal and Mr. Buxbaum. (They were examined in Biblical history, on verses from Szold's *Urim V'tumin,* and post-Biblical history.)
> The higher classes read *Hallel* responsively.
> They translated Hebrew Sabbath Prayers from Einhorn.
> The program ended with a closing prayer.[91]

Voluntary teachers continued to instruct in practically all Sabbath schools during the nineteenth century, though both *K.A.M.* and *Sinai Congregation* employed paid teachers at an early date.[92] In 1879, *Sinai* had five Sabbath school teachers, "paid and voluntary." In 1894, *Sinai* dispensed with the services of all voluntary teachers.[93]

Although a fairly good salary was offered to teachers, we find that their quality was poor. The contemporary press constantly criticised the type of teachers in the Sabbath schools and their capabilities. In one instance, we read: "The average religious school teacher is inefficient. School committees and congregations engage as teachers whomso-

ever they can get, even be it a young lady or gentleman who knows precisely as much as he can read out of the manual."[94]

In another instance, we hear the lamentation, editorially: "We have visited some of our Sabbath Schools and, in nearly all of them, we noticed the lack of good and capable teachers. Even the richest and most prominent of our congregations engage one or two efficient instructors for the higher classes, the rest of the work being entrusted to young ladies who know hardly enough of Judaism and Jewish History to satisfy their doubts in matters of religion and ethical questions."[95]

To remedy this situation, some rabbis attempted to organize "Institutes" for their teaching staff, but no sound progress was achieved in this manner. The first organized attempt to rectify this evil was made by Dr. Bamberger of the *Jewish Training School,* who, in 1896, established the *Jewish Sabbath School Teachers Association of Chicago;* teachers from eight schools were represented. They met on the first Sunday of every month to discuss "matters pertaining to Sunday School work." When this, too, did not meet with great success, Professor Bamberger tried to assist the teachers by publishing a series of articles on *Methods of Instruction in the Sabbath Schools.* He advocated the use of the same pedagogic principles as were used in the public schools to impress the children with the ethical and moral lessons of the Biblical stories. The *Jewish Chautauqua Society* also tried to help the Sabbath school teachers' situation by conducting a "Correspondence School" for Jewish teachers.[96]

The Sabbath school was not confined to the German-Jewish community and to the Reform congregations. In the '90s, we find that the two Conservative congregations, *Anshe Emes* and *South Side Hebrew,* conducted small Sabbath schools and held Confirmation exercises on *Shovuoth.*[97]

In the middle of the '80s, a movement to organize and conduct Sabbath schools for girls of Orthodox parents of the East-European Jewish community began in the Anglo-Jewish press. Girls were not welcomed in the *Talmud Torahs* at that time, and hence remained without any Jewish education.

In 1885, the *Occident,* editorially, called for the organization of Sabbath schools for the "poor Jews of South Clark Street, Pacific Avenue, Canal Street, and Milwaukee Avenue."[98] However, not until the organization of the *National Council of Jewish Women,* did this movement bear fruit. In 1896, the *Council* received a contribution from *Sinai Congregation* of $600.00 "to open a Sabbath School, on the West Side."[99] The school opened in rented quarters on the third and fourth floors at 571 Canal Street, and it became known as the *Sinai Mission School.* Other Mission schools were likewise established.[100] Such Mission schools sprang from several motives. First, similar schools had been opened by German-Jewish Reform congregations in New York in the poorer sections of the city where East-European Jews resided. Then, they were motivated by the ideal of teaching morality and thereby exerting a refining influence upon Jewish children; also they hoped to counteract the work of Christian missionaries who were active in the poorer neighborhoods of the Jews. That this is not simply a conjecture is evident from a statement by Miss Anna Goldberg, who organized a string of girls' schools under the title of *Deborah Religious or Sabbath Schools,* in which she said: "The aim of our schools was and is to impart to the children of the West Side a thorough religious Jewish instruction, which is neglected in many a Jewish home, and above all to withdraw Jewish children from the missionary centers existing at that time."[101]

The *Sinai Mission School* was briefly administered by the *National Council of Jewish Women.* Then the *Sinai Congregation* took over the management itself and moved the school to the building of the *Jewish Training School.* In 1901, there were 200 children in that Sabbath school.[102] Another "Mission Sabbath School" was conducted by *Temple Isaiah* at the Chicago Hebrew Institute.[103] Some of the schools met in the vestries of the Orthodox synagogues. We also find some Sabbath schools held in the public schools.[104]

In 1900 a Sabbath school was organized and conducted at the *Hebrew Literary Society* on 12th Street, by the *Order Knights of Zion.* This school met Saturdays and Sundays and was attended by 150 children, some of whom were boys.

The aim of the school was "to provide an instruction for our children where they can acquire a knowledge of Judaism, of the Hebrew language, and of Jewish history by methods most adaptable to their surroundings in this country."[105]

By 1900, the *National Council of Jewish Women,* in a survey of the Sabbath schools of the Reform community, reported the following registrations: *Isaiah* - 340 children, 7 years and up; *Sinai* - 253 children, 9 years and up; *B'nai Abraham* - 310 children, 6 years and up; *North Chicago* - 200 children, 5 years and up; *K.A.M.* - 155 children; *Beth-El* - 150 children; *B'nai Sholom* - 150 children; *Zion* - about 150 children. *Emanuel Congregation* and the *Chicago Home for Jewish Orphans,* which was under Reform auspices, although they conducted Sabbath schools, did not report at all.[106]

In spite of the evolution and progress of the Sabbath school, the spiritual leaders did not feel that it satisfactorily met the Jewish educational needs of the community. As early as 1874, Mr. Gerstley complained: "If we consider that Sunday schools and Bible classes are amongst other denominations the network (as it were) which is thrown around these classes in order to get them interested, as well as enlightened, in their religious views and beliefs, our Sabbath schools are in comparison most sadly neglected."[107] This neglect is evident also from an ideal venture to foster Jewish learning and culture in the Jewish community in the '70s. Though this venture did not meet with success, it is worth recording. It reflects, in a way, the desire on the part of the high-minded leadership and the great need on the part of the community for sound and good Jewish education.

The idea was conceived in September, 1876. On the 15th of that month, Dr. Kohler of *Sinai,* Dr. Felsenthal of *Zion,* Dr. Adler of *K.A.M.,* Dr. Norden of the *North Chicago Hebrew Congregation,* and a number of other prominent individuals, issued a printed appeal to the Jews of Chicago, urging them to organize a "Jewish Educational Society of Chicago." The sponsors pleaded:

> **Israelites of Chicago: What have you done for preserving our faith and transmitting the noble bequest of ages to posterity? True, you have in the different parts of this city formed congregations and erected beautiful houses of worship, redounding to the**

> honor of the God of our Fathers. You have ministers preaching to you every Sabbath and Festival day, well accredited by the surrounding world. You have Sabbath schools and teachers besides, to imbue the youth with all the elements of Jewish religion and history. But, are you satisfied thereby to have done all in your power to maintain the religion of our fathers in its pristine glory and purity? True, you have raised your children as Jews, but do you believe that they, after having attended the Sabbath school up to the time of their confirmation, will be able to expound and to defend Judaism before the world? Or, do you know of any one of them desirous of pursuing the study of Jewish lore and history, in order to know what Judaism is, and what it has accomplished in its wonderful march . . . Where are the schools from which you expect your future Rabbis and teachers and the well-read layman to come? . . .[108]

The committee, therefore, appealed to the community to "set aside your views differing in regard to the modes of worship, or the higher conception of the demands and aims of Judaism at the present age, we expect you, whether members of Reform or Orthodox congregations, whether married or single, old or young, to unite and cooperate in the work before us."[109]

On August 31st, 1876, articles were adopted which clearly defined the aims and purposes of the *Educational Society.* Among other things, the articles stipulated: 1) "To establish a school at Chicago, in which, in addition to the regular branches taught in our grammar and high schools, also instruction be given in Hebrew language and literature, and in Jewish religion and history." 2) "To create a system of instruction, by means of lectures, lessons, discussions and the like, and to devise other means by which our youth can be interested for Judaism."[110]

An attempt was made by the *Educational Society* to organize a school on the northwest side. A meeting was held at 626 Milwaukee Avenue, on June 21, 1878, for that purpose, and Rabbis Adler, Oliendorf and Gersoni addressed the gathering. A picnic to raise funds was arranged. The Society accumulated a fund of $700.00. Of this sum, $264.50 "was paid to a Hebrew school maintained for only a few weeks by our brethren, the Russo-Polish Israelites of Chicago." Four hundred dollars were invested in 4½% United States Bonds.[111]

Several additional meetings were held subsequently, but within a short time the *Educational Society* was completely dissolved and ceased to function. Later, it was suggested that the remaining fund be contributed to the "Industrial School" and the Kindergarten which was sponsored by the "Jewish Ladies" at the *B'nai Sholom Congregation.*[112]

It seemed a beautiful dream never to be realized, but was destined for the Jews of the west side, in the next decade, to establish a free community *Talmud Torah,* from whence the word of God came forth and in which the children were reared in the traditions of their fathers and in the culture of their people.

Simultaneously with the day school and the Sabbath school, there existed in the German-Jewish community of nineteenth century Chicago, two more types of schools which are worth noting: the private school and the congregational *Talmud Torah.*

One such private school was being taught by Dr. Liebman Adler as early as 1863. In that year, Dr. Adler was requested by the school board to dismiss the "private school." Apparently it interfered and competed with his teaching at the *K.A.M.* school. On Adler's refusal to give up his private school, the *Board of Education* threatened him with a motion to "advertise for a competent teacher to officiate for the next three years from May 4th, 1864." Though the motion was withdrawn, Dr. Adler finally agreed not to conduct a private school. It is noteworthy that the congregation had offered Dr. Adler an increase in his salary two months before. [113] Another such private school was that of Simon Heller on Halsted Street, near Polk Street. This school existed throughout the '80s.[114] In 1879, we find that Dr. Samuel Marks, spiritual leader of *Congregation B'nai Sholom,* advertised in *The Occident* that he conducts a private school, where instruction is offered in Hebrew and in English, and where "Youths are prepared for *Bar Mitzvah* and *confirmation.*" In the same year, the *Jewish Advance* commented editorially that the "Reverend M. Bonnheim, the new minister of *Rodef Sholom,* is a good teacher in Hebrew and German," and recommended that he be engaged for private instruction. The publication adds: "Rev. M. Bonheim's position not being

adequate to maintain him with his family as he deserves, it would be desirable that parents needing a good teacher for their children secure his services, by which they will certainly not be disappointed."[115] Apparently, he too conducted a private school.

Many parents sent their children to the private German-Hebrew schools, because they were dissatisfied with the small amount of Jewish education offered in the Sabbath schools. The German-Jewish private schools were conducted in a manner patterned after the methods used in the European *Cheder.* In these *Chadorim,* German as well as Hebrew was taught. Here, as in the case of Dr. Marks' private school, English was added occasionally to the curriculum.[116]

The German *Chadorim,* during the last two decades of the century, very likely were imitations of the numerous *Chadorim* which had grown up in the "Russian-Polish" Jewish community in the early '80s. There can be no doubt that the influence of the East-European Jewish community made itself felt on the educational thought pattern among the German Jews. A *Hebrew Free School* had been established quite early by the East-European Jews. But, in 1895, the *Occident* reported: "Dr. A. R. Levy is about to establish a *Hebrew Free School* in the vestry rooms of his temple, *B'nai Abraham,* 509 Marshfield. The object of this school is to perpetuate the Hebrew language as a living useful tongue. The idea is to teach the pupils to write as well as to understand. Two teachers will be needed, and perhaps three. The instruction will require less than one hour a day and the school will be open to all."[117]

At least one record of a congregational *Talmud Torah* in the second German-Jewish congregation has come down to us. There may have been more, though their existence is doubtful.

When Rabbi Messing came to the *B'nai Sholom Congregation,* he organized an educational institution under the name חינוך ילדים which sponsored a strictly traditional *Talmud Torah,* with a faculty of four teachers receiving $200.00 a month. There were 124 children in that *Talmud Torah* in 1869, studying week-day evenings and during the day on Saturdays. Rabbi Messing himself testifies that the pro-

gress of this school was outstanding, and the curriculum was calculated to give the children an intensive and traditional Jewish knowledge. Whether this school continued after Rabbi Messing left the city for a few years, is not known. When Rabbi Messing returned to Chicago, *B'nai Sholom* rapidly adopted reforms and with it the Sabbath school, as the agency for the religious education of their children. However, it seems that his influence on the educational system of the congregation prevailed. For as late as 1880, the *Occident,* in announcing the opening of the *B'nai Sholom* Sabbath school under the heading "Michigan Avenue Temple Sunday School," stated that the school opened on "October 10th, with three sessions weekly, viz. Monday and Wednesday from 4:00 to 6:00 p.m. with instruction in Hebrew reading and translating, and Sunday from 10:00 to 12:00 a.m. Bible history and religious calisthenics."[118] It is quite probable that other German-Jewish congregations conducted similar religious schools, consisting of a combination Sunday and twice-a-week Hebrew school.

2

From the *Cheder* to the *Yeshivah*

THE development of organized Jewish education among the East-European Jews in Chicago was different than that among the German-Jews. Here the evolution was from the *Cheder,* which earlier was an organized adjunct of the congregation, and later a private undertaking, to the community *Talmud Torah* and the *Yeshivah.*

Four factors affected this development. Unlike the German-Jewish immigrant, who in his native land had known a Jewish school where secular studies supplemented the Hebrew studies and the instruction was in the vernacular of the country, the East-European Jewish immigrant remembered in his native land a "one-room" school, a community *Talmud Torah,* or a *Yeshivah,* where secular studies were taboo, and where the language of instruction was Yiddish and not the vernacular of the land. The only concession ever made was, at times, the inclusion of Yiddish writing and arithmetic in the curriculum.[1]

When the German-Jewish immigrant came to Chicago, he found his new environment and his own adjustment to it much easier and more pleasant than did the East-European Jew. His neighbors spoke German as he did, and published the Illinois *Staatszeitung,* which he was able to read and through which he was able to exchange thoughts with his non-Jewish neighbor. The German Jew easily fell into the social pattern of the general community, as well as into Chicago's economic pattern.

This was not so with the East-European Jew. When he came here, he could not communicate with his non-Jewish neighbor. He could not read his neighbor's newspaper, and he had none of his own. Thus, for a long time, the early East-European Jewish immigrants had to live in a world of their own, which, ideologically, was no different from the old European world.[2]

The East-European Jews stayed poor longer than their German brethren; this meant that few individual congregations could afford to operate a religious school of their own, and perforce several groups had to join in the organization of *Talmud Torahs* as a community venture and on a community level. The East-European Jew brought the idea of a community *Talmud Torah* from his native land; his circumstances in the New World made it a necessity.

Finally, though the *Enlightenment* had reached the Jews in eastern Europe towards the end of the nineteenth century, the Jews who came to America in the middle of the century or a few decades later, were still under the strong influence of *Hassidic* piety and the Lithuanian insistence on *Talmudic* studies, or the staunch reliance on religious tradition and the observance of both.

The first form of Jewish education among the Russian-Polish Jews was not the private *Cheder*. Documentary evidence points to a different beginning. After the first East-European *Congregation B'nai Jacob* had combined with the *Beth Hamedrash Hagodol* in 1867, the new united congregation engaged the services of a Hebrew teacher, Leib Tuvim, to conduct what may be termed a congregational *Cheder*.[3] Similar congregational *Chadorim* were conducted by other congregations. The *Anshe Keneseth Israel* conducted such a school in the women's gallery of its synagogue, employing two teachers. The congregations *Anshe Kalvaria* and *Ohave Sholom* likewise maintained similar *Chadorim*. Perhaps, the latter can be considered congregational *Talmud Torahs* as were similar ones, associated with the *Agudath Achim* founded in 1889, and the *Ohave Zedek* founded in 1896.[4]

Some congregations, as part of their educational program, conducted Hebrew schools which met only three times a week. Such a Hebrew school was associated with the *Congregation Moses Montefiore* on the northwest side; it met Sunday mornings and on Tuesday and Thursday afternoons.[5]

Simultaneously with these congregational *Chadorim*, there grew up among East-European Jews a flock of private *Chadorim*. In 1881, the *Jewish Advance* informs us "there exist about thirty *Chadorim* among the Russo-Polish Israelites where Hebrew is taught. About the method employed in these

schools and about the cleanliness of the rooms, etc., we cannot as yet say anything, as we have not visited them. We expect to make a trip among the *Chadorim* and report our experiences." Regretfully, we do not find the results of the proposed visit to these *Chadorim* reported.[6]

However, from a later observer, we learn that "the *Cheder* system is worse in this city than in New York. The children degenerate through it and become indolent." By the end of the century, a *Cheder* was "found in almost every block of the Ghetto," with signs advertising in Yiddish: *"Do lerent men Aleph Bes biz Bar Mitzvah."*[7] This was usually translated into a pun, "Here one studies *Aleph Beth* until he is *Bar Mitzvah.*" The advertisements, of course, intended to convey the thought that the curriculum of the *Cheder* covered all subjects beginning with *Aleph Beth* and extending through *Bar Mitzvah.* However, the humorous interpretation was truer to reality. Not only were the school quarters unsanitary, inadequately lighted and ventilated, but the teachers were tragically incompetent. Often a person who was a failure in any other vocation or undertaking and knew little more than just mechanical reading opened a *Cheder* in order "to make a living." As a result, the students, boys only, learned little more than the reading of the *Siddur* and the recitation of the *Haphtorah* and the benedictions for their *Bar Mitzvah.*

During the last two decades of the century a host of itinerant Hebrew teachers, erroneously called "rabbis," walked from house to house with a *Siddur* under their arms, and were willing to give a child a private lesson in *Siddur* reading anywhere. It is more than just hearsay that, while some of the itinerant teachers drank the "glass of tea" with which they were treated by the parents, the children turned the pages quickly without reciting the lesson in order to finish sooner. Some children purposely mispronounced the words in order to check whether "the *rebbe*" was paying attention to them.[8]

Such conditions in Jewish education were deplorable. That early attempts were made to remedy them was only natural. The first impulse of Rabbi Lesser, when he assumed the spiritual leadership of the *Beth Hamedrash Hagodol*

Ub'nai Jacob in 1880, was to organize an adequate, well functioning community *Talmud Torah.* Inasmuch as he found his congregation financially unable to undertake and sponsor the project, Rabbi Lesser persuaded the *Congregation Ohave Sholom Mariampoler* and *Congregation Anshe Keneseth Israel* to join in the movement.[9] Two *Talmud Torahs* were established as a result — one on the west side and one on the south side. Both schools were instrumental in quickening traditional Jewish education in the community.[10]

The *Talmud Torah* on the west side was located at 138 Pacific Avenue. A contemporary publication refers to it erroneously as *The Beth Hamedrash Hagodol Theological Seminary B'nai Jacob,* and tells us of the curriculum, the time of the class sessions, the number of children attending and other pertinent information concerning that school. The publication states:

> They have just completed a comfortable schoolhouse dwelling two doors from the synagogue. The school has already seventy children, divided into four classes, where they are taught Hebrew and the Jewish religion. Aside from the Rabbi, there are three teachers.
>
> The school hours are from 7:30 A.M. till 12 noon and from 2 P.M. to 8 P.M., with the usual recesses. The first class, which makes up the elementary department and whose members do not yet attend the public schools, remains nearly all day in that school. But such as attend the public school receive instruction before 9 A.M. and after 3:30 P.M.
>
> The instruction consists only of aquiring the reading, grammar, translation of the *Pentateuch,* and the intonation peculiar to the reading of the *Chumosh* and prayers. Whatever instructions given are necessarily in the Russo-Polish jargon . . . For the present the expenses are defrayed by private subscriptions, and exhibits among the denizens of that not very salubrious locality a creditable effort to improve themselves, and their districts. The regime is yet of the most ancient medieval Jewish orthodox stripe.[11]

Organization of Jewish education among the East-European Jews on a wider community level, and as a community responsibility for the children of parents who could not pay, was attempted even before the *Talmud Torahs* founded at the instigation of Rabbi Lesser.

On February 18, 1878, the *Congregation Ohave Sholom Mariampoler* initiated, at a special meeting, the organization

of a community *Talmud Torah.* Not having sufficient funds for the project, they enlisted the cooperation of the entire "Russian-Polish" Jewish community and, accordingly, called the organization the *Chicago Talmud Torah.*[12] Whether or not this *Talmud Torah* was the same as the "Hebrew Free School," is difficult to ascertain from the records. It is probable that it was. In the late '70s, the *Hebrew Free School,* as a community project, was organized, with rented rooms in a house on Canal Street near Maxwell Street. Thirty children received instruction in that school daily. Some of the pupils had to pay a nominal tuition fee for the support of the school.[13]

When the *Moses Montefiore Centennial Celebration* took place in November of 1883, some of the enterprising gentlemen in the Russian-Polish Jewish community, interested in Jewish education, decided to expand the work and scope of the "Hebrew Free School," changing its name to *Moses Montefiore Hebrew Free School.*[14] When that school took over the quarters of the previous school on Canal Street, it began a campaign for expansion. The first aim of the new organization was to obtain an adequate school building. An ideal site for such a school building was located on Judd and Clinton Streets, opposite the "Russishe Shule." It belonged to one William H. Kerfoot, a prominent Chicago realtor, who, after investigating the work of the school and the children attending it, reduced the price of the lot from $3,500.00 to $2,500.00.

The new name of the *Talmud Torah* and the greater enthusiasm engendered by the expansion program did not effect its curriculum. The subjects studied at the *Montefiore Hebrew Free School* were still very similar to those of the East-European *Cheder.* The only additions perhaps were Hebrew grammar and Biblical history. The methods were practically identical. The language of instruction was Yiddish.[15]

From its earliest period the school had difficulties to meet its budget. On April 12, 1886, Dr. B. Felsenthal was persuaded to sign an appeal, countersigned by Dr. E. G. Hirsch, reading:

> *The Moses Montefiore School* is a truly beneficial institution which has been doing good and blessed work during the three years of its existence in our midst. About one hundred poor children of our Jewish-Polish population have received instruction in that school gratuitously, and many more poor children could share in the benefits of the school, to be trained and educated to become useful citizens, if only the necessary means for that purpose could be raised. At the present time the financial condition of this institution is very distressing and deplorable; and the further existence of the school is endangered, if the liberal and benevolent will not immediately extend a helping hand towards its support.
>
> We, the undersigned, therefore, earnestly and sincerely recommend this institution to our esteemed fellow-citizens and hope and trust that the help, which it so well deserves, will not be withheld from it.[16]

The response to this appeal, which was intended primarily for the "richer Jews" of the "south-side," was gratifying. Yet, it was not until 1889 that the *Moses Montefiore Hebrew Free School* succeeded in purchasing the property at 71 Judd Street, and establishing the school successfully in its own home. By that time, the school had reached a registration of 250 children. The financial condition of the institution however was still precarious. Another appeal for funds was issued on March 2, 1889, with the signatures of Rabbi Hirsch, Rabbi Felsenthal, Rabbi Moses of *K.A.M.* and Rabbi A. R. Levy of *B'nai Abraham.* The appeal read:

> *The Moses Montefiore Hebrew Free School,* located at 71 Judd Street, Chicago, Illinois, Jacob Cohen, president, having two hundred and fifty pupils or poor children in its charge, is badly in need of funds and is obliged to appeal to the Public for further aid. This School has the recognition of all the Rabbis in the City of Chicago.[17]

This appeal also met with a generous response, and helped the school to carry on its program.

A few years later, Dr. Kadison, realizing the need of a branch of the *Moses Montefiore School* in another part of the city, where more children would be able to acquire a good Hebrew and religious training, organized the *Rabbi Yitzchok Elehonon Talmud Torah.* This new institution acquired school rooms on Waller (now Miller) Street near Twelfth Street. Like its sister institution, it had financial difficulties. When the *Montefiore School* sold its building on Judd Street to the

railroad at a profit of $7,500.00, both institutions merged, and many of the financial difficulties were solved.[18]

The *Montefiore School* grew in very large proportions and eventually expanded into four branches with an enrollment of eighteen hundred students. A description of the school, when it reached over a thousand registrants, came down to us:

> The largest religious school in this city is the *Moses Montefiore Hebrew Free School,* which now occupies two buildings . . . with an attendance of over a thousand boys daily after public school hours. Here Hebrew reading, grammar and translation, Biblical history and Talmud are taught in the Yiddish language. The instructors are scholars but seldom disciplinarians. The condition of the rooms and the ventilation are not always what could be desired. This large school is supported by the Orthodox congregations which have no schools of their own and by private subscriptions. The children whose parents can afford it pay five or ten cents per week for tuition and are furnished with books free of charge.[19]

The financing of the free Hebrew school was not an easy matter. While it seems that they had many financial supporters, they did not have a regular membership to secure their budget. Collectors and agents were sent out to every funeral and *B'rith.* The story goes that: "bounties were paid to nurses of the Jewish maternity hospitals for information regarding every male birth, so as to know when the *B'rith* takes place, in order to solicit contributions on that occasion." Boxes were placed in as many Jewish homes which would accept them. Thus, with much struggle, the necessary funds to operate the *Talmud Torahs* were raised.

The methods and subjects of instruction in the community *Talmud Torahs* were not much improved over those in similar schools in eastern Europe. The translation method in Yiddish was employed, and, after the child had mastered the mechanical reading of Hebrew and the translation of some *Chumash,* he was introduced to the study of the *Talmud.* However, "in the early years the financial backers, through ignorance, objected to the study of *Talmud* on the ground that American-Jewish children cannot learn it; and in the later years the financial backers through ill-will also objected to the study of *Talmud.*"[20]

Generally, the community *Talmud Torah* conducted two shifts of classes. One shift held its sessions for three hours in the morning from 9:00 A.M. to 12:00 noon. Another held sessions from 4:00 P.M. until 7:00 P.M. The morning sessions were possible because the law of compulsory education was not enacted in Illinois until the late '80s. After it was enacted, during the last decade of the nineteenth century, the public schools in the neighborhood of the *Talmud Torahs* were so congested that the shortage of seats made attendance in shifts necessary. This, in turn, made it possible for the *Talmud Torahs* to have morning sessions.[21]

In the late '90s, another communal *Talmud Torah* was launched by the *Tifereth Zion Congregation* on the northwest side of the city. This school, which led a very precarious existence until 1904, was known as the *Marion Court Talmud Torah.*[22] The building it had occupied eventually became *The Marks Nathan Orphan Home.*[23]

The community *Talmud Torah* was managed in one of two ways: When the *Talmud Torah* was the result of joint sponsorship by several congregations, each congregation appointed a small committee to join with the others in managing the affairs of the school. When later the *Talmud Torah* became a general community affair, an independent organization evolved with officers and auxiliary organizations and with definite membership dues for each *Talmud Torah. The Talmud Torah* organizations appointed special school boards to manage the schools.[24]

In the last decade of the century, another type of Jewish education was introduced into the Jewish community of Chicago, modeled after the *Yeshivoth* in Europe, and the *Yeshivah* established in New York City.[25] The European *Yeshivah* was dedicated primarily to the study of the Talmud.

Many of the East-European Jews, especially those who themselves had studied in *Yeshivoth* abroad, were very zealous to preserve the study and the knowledge of Talmud in the New World. The middle-aged and the older people who were so inclined joined the Talmud study-circles of the various congregations, and thus kept the light of that ancient treasured rabbinic literature — the Oral Torah — aflame. But, were it not for the continuous influx of new

immigrants from eastern Europe, these adult *Talmud* study groups would have dwindled to nothingness, for they were seldom replenished by new members of the generations raised in America. The desire to create an institution that would perpetuate the study of the Talmud among the American generations was, therefore, an ideal dream and a fanatic zeal on the part of a few individuals, who spared no effort or money to see that dream realized through the establishment of a *Yeshivah* in Chicago. One of the leading spirits in the movement to establish the *Yeshivah* was a learned layman, Abraham Leon Simon. Rabbi Album was also very much interested in the establishment of a school of higher Jewish learning among the East-European Jews in Chicago. According to one source, about a hundred students were available for such a school at that time.[26]

Mr. Simon was born in Kalwaria, Russia, and came to Chicago in 1890, at the age of 45. As an ardent Talmudist, and having been associated with a *Yeshivah* in his native land, he was imbued with the enthusiasm to establish a *Yeshivah* in his adopted land. That this was not an idle dream, and that it could find fertile soil even in America, had been proven four years before Simon's arrival in Chicago, when the *Yeshivath Etz Chaim* was established in New York City in 1886. The New York *Yeshivah* was patterned after the *Yeshivah of Volozhin*, and its purpose was "to give free instruction to poor Hebrew children in the Hebrew language and the Hebrew law — Talmud, Bible and Shulchan Aruch." [27] The Chicagoans who desired to establish a *Yeshivah* here, came from the same European environment as the founders of the New York *Yeshivah*, and had an equal love and zeal for that type of institution.[28]

The passionate conviction that Jewish learning among the East-European Jews should not end with the curriculum of the *Talmud Torah* stimulated the group, headed by Mr. Simon, to action. After obtaining five hundred members at one dollar annual dues for the project, a small house was rented on Twelfth Street, and a *Yeshivah Etz Chaim* was founded in Chicago in 1899.[29] The Volozhin and the New York influence can easily be discerned in the establishment of that school. Primitive wooden benches, built by Simon

and his little group of ardent enthusiasts, were installed, and the study of Talmud began with an enrollment of thirty-four students and two teachers.[30]

The *Yeshivath Etz Chaim* had its share of difficulties and struggles in the beginning of its career, but before long the school succeeded in obtaining its own house on 1300 Johnson Street, where it continued to grow until it became the nucleus for the organization of the *Hebrew Theological College of Chicago.*[31]

In little more than a half a century, during which time the Jewish community of Chicago grew from a *minyan* to over 80,000 people, the Jewish educational system thus grew from private instruction of a few privileged children to an attendance of five thousand boys and girls in a network of Sabbath schools, congregational *Talmud Torahs,* communal *Talmud Torahs,* private *Chadorim,* itinerant *rebbes* (private teachers) and a *Yeshivah.*

3

The Jewish Training School

AN education project in the Chicago Jewish community of the nineteenth century, which merits special attention and independent discussion, was the *Jewish Training School.* That school was organized in order to provide in the so-called "west side ghetto," a "model public school" with emphasis in the curriculum on manual training.[1] This idea was conceived in the German-Jewish community as a philanthropic venture for "the children of the poor." In the beginning, the leadership in the movement to establish such a school was taken primarily by members of *Sinai Congregation.* Eventually, it attracted community-wide interest. Dr. Emil G. Hirsch championed the cause of the *Jewish Training School,* from the moment the idea took root in the minds of a few generous supporters of the *United Hebrew Charities.* He was moved by the desire to help the new immigrants from eastern Europe, primarily from Russia, to earn a livelihood through manual training rather than through peddling.[2]

The establishment of the *Jewish Training School* by the German Jews was, in a sense, an enigma. The German Jews continually clamoured for Americanization and westernization of their less fortunate brethren of faith who arrived from eastern Europe. Americanization, which was never clearly defined, was generally accepted to mean assimilation in the new environment, and the acquisition of the English language. This was considered by the German Jews a panacea for all the so-called "evils" resulting from the influx of the hundreds of thousands of Jewish refugees from Russia's pogroms. It is generally accepted that the most potent force for Americanization is not segregation of groups according to ethnic origins or common faith, but, on the contrary, the merging of the various elements that

constitute American society into one composite community, thinking and living in accordance with the principles of American democracy. No other institution is adapted for that more than the public school, where the children of all immigrants, regardless of their background, can be influenced in thought and in conviction to esteem the inestimable values of the American way of life. The *Jewish Training School,* although established on a non-sectarian basis from its very inception, located as it was in the predominantly Jewish neighborhood, and having been sponsored exclusively by Jews, was destined to have an almost exclusively Jewish student body. Thus, perforce, it would segregate the Jewish children from their non-Jewish neighbors. However, the idea of manual training for the children of the new immigrants, for the purpose of preparing them to take their place in American society as useful citizens, and to make their contribution to the economy of the country through skilful trades and vocations, must have overweighed the original philosophy opposing segregation.

The idea of a "Jewish Manual Training School" was conceived in the Spring of 1888, when Leon, Simon and Emanuel Mandel, comprising the "Mandel Brothers" firm, and Henry L. Frank donated a large sum of money to the *United Hebrew Charities* for the expressed purpose of establishing such a school in the neighborhood of the East-European Jews. When the *United Hebrew Charities* announced the contribution and the specific stipulation, and indicated its readiness to implement the idea of the bequest, the news was received with great enthusiasm in the German-Jewish community. Dr. Hirsch hailed the idea as a most exalted philanthropic venture and took on the leadership to translate it into reality. Spurred by the enthusiasm of Dr. Hirsch the foundation of a manual training school was laid in a class of nineteen girls taught by a single teacher in a room in the parsonage of *Sinai Congregation.* For two years this class continued with fair success. In 1890, this small group expanded into what became the model institution in the country, the *Jewish Training School.*[3] Because of the charitable aspect of the plan, very generous initial gifts were contributed by many individuals; these gifts

made the acquisition of a school building possible within a short time.[4]

The building, with all equipment, which the *Jewish Training School* constructed cost $52,276.01. It was a four-story, brick structure, 60 x 110 feet in dimension, with twenty-two rooms, capable of seating 800 pupils, and furnished with the "latest and most improved school apparatus." It had a machine shop, in which thirty boys could work conveniently; a joining-shop, equipped with the best tools, in which thirty-five boys could work simultaneously; and a chemical and physics laboratory with all modern, up-to-date equipment. The large assembly hall was fitted for exhibitions and gatherings. Washrooms and showers were of the latest style. The school even had Pasteur filters to purify the drinking water, and a thirty horse-power horizontal engine to drive the machinery to furnish the power, the heat, and the ventilation for the building.[5]

The Jewish Training School was non-sectarian, admitting non-Jewish as well as Jewish children. However, few non-Jewish children attended. Instruction was free. From the ages of three to fifteen years children were offered a complete elementary school education. Vocational courses began with the kindergarten grade. Professor Gabriel Bamberger, who was the principal of the *Workingman's School* of New York, was engaged as superintendent of the school. By his efforts, the most progressive methods and techniques were introduced into the school curriculum. Dr. Hirsch served as chairman of the school committee.[6]

It was indicative of the progressive attitude of the school's founders that the students were given the best medical attention.[7]

The school, in addition to daily classes for children, also conducted for adults a "night school" with classes in English, American history, physical culture, music, military drill, as well as vocational courses. The *B'nai B'rith* and the *Jochannah Lodge* were keenly interested in the "night school" and helped in its maintenance.[8]

The maintenance of the *Jewish Training School* was secured by a large membership paying annually $5.00 or more. There were also "patrons" who paid $25.00 and up

annually. Life members paid $500.00. Then there were gifts and bequests always forthcoming from generous individuals, which helped to support the school. All were needed, because, during the first year, the budget ran between thirty and forty thousand dollars.[9]

The general idea of manual training as part of the public school curriculum originated in Germany and was successfully pursued there during the nineteenth century. It was not introduced into the public schools of the United States until a later date. The adoption of manual training by the school system of Chicago was a favorite subject of discussion among the educators, but was still merely an academic question in the last decade of the century. In 1882, a few noble-minded individuals, influenced by Germany, founded the *Chicago Manual Training School* as a philanthropic venture. That school had erected a very spacious building on Michigan Avenue, near 12th Street, one block from the Standard Club, and in the neighborhood of the German-Jewish community and congregation. The *Chicago Manual Training School,* apparently, must have had some Jewish students, for we find that in 1885 this Chicago institution was one of the beneficiaries of the *United Hebrew Relief Association.*[10] Other influential factors were not wanting. No doubt, the existence of an *Industrial School for Girls* in New York had a direct influence on the founding originally of the class for girls which met at the *Sinai Congregation* parsonage. The *Workingman's School of New York,* which sponsored a successful manual training program for Jewish boys and girls likewise must have influenced the Chicago sponsors. Finally, the great influx of Russian-Jewish immigrant families, who as a rule had many children, causing rapid overcrowding in the public schools in the neighborhood of the East-European Jews, and the fact that many Jewish boys spent from three to four hours daily on weekdays and six hours on Saturdays and Sundays in *Cheder,*[11] neglecting their secular education, prompted the *United Hebrew Charities* to consider seriously the immediate implementation of the proposition to establish the *Jewish Training School.*[12]

On October 19, 1890, the *Jewish Training School* was dedicated in its own home at 91 Judd Street. The ceremony of dedication was not elaborate, but it was impressive. The principal address was given by Dr. Hirsch.[13] The philosophy of the school was expressed by Dr. Stolz, in his first report as corresponding secretary.

> "Our age, witness to so many radical changes in the beliefs, opinions and institutions of men, is also seeing the new ideas coming into prevalence, that the object of true education is the upbuilding of manhood. Education, we have learned, must develop the whole man, and because they were one-sided, the old educational methods are no longer suited for our age. They develop the brain, but not the hand and eye. They teach facts, but not how to use them; words, but not what they stand for. They strengthen the memory but do not summon from their hiding-place the countless powers latent in every child. The old methods failed to prepare men to fulfill all the purpose of life, and within the last quarter of a century, a successful system of manual training devised, in which the workshop was made a part of the school, in order to develop and strengthen the body, to exercise the power of attention and perception, to unfold the constructive and inventive faculties, and to create a love of labor, in short, to prepare the pupil for life, and not for examinations." [14]

In brief, the philosophy of the *Jewish Training School* was to educate the people to become self-sustaining so that they would not become burdens upon society.

The educational objectives of the *Jewish Training School* were clearly defined. They were: 1) to teach a vocation in trades and handicrafts to the children of immigrants; 2) to integrate properly the education of the student with American civilization; 3) to establish high academic standards in public school instruction; and 4) to establish high health and hygienic standards in the student body.

The school adopted a motto which symbolized its objectives the three "H's"; "Heart, Head and Hand." Before long, it became the most advanced and the most progressive institution of this type in the country.[15]

The manual training curriculum emphasized sewing for girls and woodwork for boys. The teaching of industrial work included weaving, basket-making, bead-work, book-binding, copper-work, engraving, etching and printing. Much attention was paid to art-work, which included designing.

modeling, sketching, free-hand and mechanical drawing and posing. The regular course of studies included physical culture, music, nature study, physiology, hygiene, civil government, ethics and morals. In the academic curriculum, they followed the public school system.[16]

The German language played an important part in the curriculum, but was taught "in the Grammar Classes only." The reason given for this was, "the more languages, the more culture." Gymnastics and music, also, had an important role in the course of study and were taught in all classes to boys and girls alike. Specially trained teachers were engaged for German, music, physical culture, art, sewing and manual training instruction.[17] The course of studies in the female department was essentially the same as that of the male department, except that it included sewing and dressmaking. Some of the graduates of that department were able to sew a plain dress and worked in business houses as dressmakers or with private families as seamstresses. In 1893, there were 200 students in the female department of the *Jewish Training School* night session. All but 32 of the registrants were under 30 years of age, most of them being girls between 14 and 22 years old.[18]

The *Night School* sessions met from 7:45 to 9:45 in the evening.

The *Jewish Training School* also conducted weekly dances for the young people in the community.[19]

When the *Jewish Training School* opened there were about 1500 applicants for admission, although there were accommodations for only 800. 1100 were admitted.[20] Gradually, the enrollment leveled off to 600 annually.

The Kindergarten conducted by the school had sessions in the forenoon and in the afternoon with different children in each session.

Closing Exercises were held annually. As a rule the ceremonies were made very impressive and they were organized to attract the community's attention. At all the Closing Exercises various prizes were awarded to outstanding students. In 1892 there were the *Leon Mandel Money Prizes* for conduct, scholarship, drawing, modeling, mathematics, efficiency in machine shop and sewing department and pro-

ficiency in English; the *Sophia Rosenblum Prize* consisting of gold medals for best attendance; the *Simon Wolf Prizes* also consisting of gold medals for most industrious workers; the *Laura Bamberger Prize,* a gold medal for the most earnest worker in drawing. Special prizes of books for efficiency in natural history and philosophy were also given.[21]

The success of the *Jewish Training School* was such that soon a branch of it was established on the south side of Chicago. The *south side branch* was opened on September 14, 1893, at 32 College Place, facing the old Chicago University grounds. Professor Bamberger was in charge of this branch also, but, because of his duties at the *west side school,* he secured the services of T. J. Shea, as principal for the *south side.* Mr. Shea was a graduate of the Indiana State Normal School and Indiana University.

The *south side branch* of the *Jewish Training School* maintained a Kindergarten as well as Primary and Elementary departments. The school was fully equipped with workshops and all up-to-date facilities for physical education and recreation. This branch did not offer free instruction. The fees for tuition which included "Gymnastics, Drawing, Modeling, Manual Training and all branches commonly classed extra," was $50.00 per year for Kindergarten, $80.00 for Primary Grades and $100.00 per year for Elementary Grades.[22]

The Chicago Tribune thus evaluated the work of the *Jewish Training School*:

> Crossing to the West Side to Chicago's Ghetto on Judd Street, the *Jewish Training School* lifts its walls unostentatiously but strongly above the surrounding squalor. This institution, under Professor Gabriel Bamberger, was established four years ago. The school is free, non-sectarian, and receives pupils of both sexes and all nationalities between the ages of 3 and 14. The qualifications for admission are that the children must be of the poor, within the age limit, and pass a certain physical examination. One of the most admirable and unique features of this institution is the school physician. He should be in every school for the poor of the city. This systematic medical examination of the children detects the beginning of chronic ailments of the nature of heart-disease and comsumption, and physical infirmities like defective vision and deformities of the spine. The detection is followed by their treatment and the provision of glasses, splints, trusses and other

> needed help. The Kindergarten connected with this school is in a flourishing condition. Last year sixty pupils were finished in the Kindergarten proper and sent to the intermediate Kindergarten. The school opened this fall with 150 pupils, with Miss Laura Ebel and six assistants in charge. Of this number, 100 were new recruits. As in other busy quarters, there were many more applicants than places in the Kindergarten department. The school-room is spacious, sunny, and fitted with every appliance known to Kindergarten work. The children presented a collection of shrewd physiognomies, and little bodies filled with overwhelming activities which were to receive such direction that none of these little people would become future paupers.[23]

The influence wielded by the *Jewish Training School* on the community and on public education in the United States in general is inestimable. In accordance with the opinion of Professor Bamberger, 50 per-cent of the children would not have attended public school at all, if not for the *Jewish Training School.*

Though "religion was not taught formally and was not part of the school exercises, a deep and true religious influence upon children and parents," was exerted by the school.[24] On the general scene, the work of the school was of such significance and proved to be of such importance to the character training of the child, that the Board of Education adopted *manual training* in the curriculum of all *primary schools* in the City of Chicago. *Manual Training* as an integral part of public school education, can thus be traced back directly to the *Jewish Training School of Chicago.*[25]

Another important influence of the *Jewish Training School* on the American school system, was the creation of the idea of the *Parent-Teachers Association* and the concern for the physical health of the student. The *Jewish Training School,* for the first time, instituted regular monthly meetings for the parents of the students, who met together with the instructors and the superintendent of the school.[26] Then, the *Jewish Training School* made periodic medical examinations of the children mandatory. Both of these elements play a most important part in our modern school system.

PART IV

THE PEOPLE

1

How Came They Here?

THE two principal population strata of the Jewish community in nineteenth century Chicago had their origin in Germany and eastern Europe. From both the Jews fled. In both their lives were made miserable by their neighbors, who preached the golden rule "love thy neighbor," but practiced bigotry.

German and East-European Jews began to settle in America before the American Revolution. Large numbers of Ashkenazic (Germanic) Jews from England and Holland, and some who came directly from Germany, Hungary and Poland were found in New York City in the early part of the eighteenth century.[1] However, up to the nineteenth century, neither the German nor the East-European Jews constituted an organized and homogeneous entity to make their influence sufficiently felt as groups. It was not until the defeat of Napoleon in 1815, that Jews from Germany and from German-speaking countries reached the American shores in large numbers and began to be singled out as a specific group of immigrants. Similarly, not until the fear of pogroms and economic insecurity, in the last decades of the century, drove hundreds of thousands of East-European Jews to the New World, were the latter singled out as an ethnic element.

What caused this mass emigration of German Jews from their native land? The rise of reaction which swept European countries under the influence of Metternich, the Congress of Vienna, and the Holy Alliance, brought in its wake a wave of anti-liberalism, which induced many to leave the country. The first mass German emigration was thus prompted not so much by economic reasons as by the ideal to strive for freedom. Later, after the revolutions of 1830 and 1848 had failed, the emigration accelerated. The emigrating people were spurred

on by the ideal of political and religious liberty. The hope to found a "free German cultural center" in the New World was no less a motivation. However, as the century advanced, these aspirations were not the only decisive factors. Gradually, a powerful influence was created by economic and social factors. The possibility of establishing oneself in the New World, of finding familiar surroundings congenial to one's own mode of living and language, and the enchantment of economic opportunities and advancements were conducive to many to venture a hazardous journey into an unknown land. The same reasons that prompted many Germans to seek a haven of political refuge and better economic opportunities also motivated many Jews to follow the trend of the general emigration from Germany. However, in addition to these factors, the Jews of Germany had their own special reason for leaving their native land in order to seek more suitable climes elsewhere.

The tempestuous flood of chauvinism which engulfed Germany, long before Bismarck and Hitler, found its expression in anti-Semitism and Jew-baiting. Early in the nineteenth century, anti-Semitism spread like wildfire throughout the land—in government circles, literature and the press, and particularly in the universities. Disorders led by the *hep-hep* movement broke out in a number of cities. In the Bavarian Diet shouts were heard on many occasions, "Banish the Jews!" Similar outbursts were heard in other German government circles.[2]

Added to this, the Jews of Germany were made to suffer discrimination in gaining employment and special restrictions by decree. The trades in the small towns and cities in Germany were overcrowded. A Jewish artisan, besides having no legal right to obtain employment, was barred further by lack of available work.

To add insult to injury, a number of German principalities enacted special forms of *Jew-taxes,* such as "protection-money," "geese-money," "horse-money," and other levies which imposed a crushing burden upon them.[3] Thus, many a Jewish artisan and merchant, who did have the right of residence by virtue of being within the restricted number of Jewish residents permitted to dwell in the municipality,

would have to part with the greater share of his earnings for these onerous Jewish taxes. This compelled many of "the younger and even the older men to seek their fortunes in other parts of the world."[4]

This situation was reflected in the contemporary press and literature. In a news item from Bavaria, published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* we read:

> **What should our young people do? Having lost a fortune in litigations to gain their purpose (to obtain the right of citizenship) . . . what is there for them to do but to seek a new home, where they can utilize their professions and demonstrate their knowledge and abilities?[5]**

In another dispatch we find:

> **In Swabia (Jewish) artisans in various trades have recently made their appearance. But many of them have encountered such obstacles in obtaining the right of permanent residence that they have decided rather to emigrate.[6]**

In a communication from Hamburg, under the date of June 22, 1837, the following is revealed:

> **Last week, a group of German emigrants passed through here on their way to America. Among them were some seventy Jews, coming mainly from Bavaria. They had acquired a trade but could not engage in it, since they were not permitted to become residents in their native land; the number of Jewish families in each community must not increase.[7]**

Little wonder, therefore, that the Jews of Germany in the post-Napoleonic period became very anxious to leave their country. Their natural inclination was to go to America. As early as 1822, Leopold Zuns and Edward Gans wrote to the well-known Mordecai Manuel Noah, stating in part that German Jewry "looks with expectancy and hope to America and would gladly exchange its sufferings in its native land for the liberty that everyone regardless of faith enjoys here (in America)."[8]

By the end of the fourth decade of the century, German-Jewish emigration had gained significant proportions and had assumed the character of a mass movement. In 1839, the German press estimated that 10,000 Jews had left Bavaria. The German government was not altogether pleased with the

mass-emigration of the Jews. Realizing suddenly that, as a result of a large-scale Jewish emigration, it was losing more and more tax-payers, the government began to place hardships in the way of prospective emigrants. Certain decrees were enacted to make it impossible, or at least very difficult, for one to emigrate from the *fatherland.* This is revealed in the following news account:

> Even some of the older families of Ettingen are now emigrating, but they encounter great difficulties. The European governments, as is well-known, have concluded a treaty with the North American states concerning free emigration up to 1840; but the Standesherren (princes) have the right to demand the tenth guilden (meaning a tenth) of the possessions taken along, and a family, let us say, taking 4,000 florins would have to render to the *Standesherren* 400 florins. Wallerstein, the Prince of Ettingen, is patently making use of that right and thereby hinders the (Jewish) emigrants.[9]

Yet, this did not prevent the Jews from emigrating. To help the emigrants gain employment in the New World, many societies for the promotion of handicraft among Jews were organized in the larger cities. The younger people of the middle and poorer classes would flock to the workshops of these organizations in order to learn a trade and to prepare for a more secure future. Organizations also sprang up in many cities, to provide prospective emigrants with passage to the boat; a ship's ticket to American ports; to organize mass transports; and to provide for the religious needs of the immigrants during the journey.[10]

The struggle of the early German-Jewish immigrant began prior to his reaching the strange shores of America.

A trip to this country in the first half of the nineteenth century was fraught with great danger. The voyage was perilous. The boats were small and generally dilapidated. The cabins were filthy and overcrowded. Food was scarce. Many an unknown traveler breathed his last on the high seas, attempting the journey to the land of freedom. As late as 1869, a voyager observed: "If crosses and tombstones could be erected in the water, the routes of the immigrant vessels from Europe to America would have assumed the appearance of crowded cemeteries."[11] Yet, many braved the hazardous

voyage, lasting as long as eighty-five days at times, for the privilege of breathing the air of liberty.

Though the organizations in Germany provided some of the emigrants with steamship tickets, a large number who arrived in American ports in those days had to become "redemptioners." They did not have the passage price for the journey, and, therefore, had to be hired out for several years to an employer who reimbursed the captain for the fare.[12] A contemporary spectator, referring to this evil, recorded: "Unscrupulous boardinghouse keepers maintained 'runners' and 'sharks' at Castle Garden, who preyed upon the frightened, gaping immigrants, dazed by their sudden contact with a new roaring civilization."[13] It may well be worth mentioning that another contemporary observer recorded that, among the swindling agents, there was not a single Jew to be found. This author writes from personal observation:

> I was particularly assured by the fact that I did not see a Jew among the riffraff and I would have recognized them even aside from their long noses and black hair. Germans of the Christian faith, too, have borne me out in this, that among the bandits they did not encounter a single Jew.[14]

It seems that although many of the German-Jewish immigrants had learned a trade prior to their arrival in this country, most of them took to peddling and to business. Apparently, in this country too, in those days, the Jewish artisan found it difficult to ply his trade. Whether it was because the Jewish artisan was still traditional in his Sabbath observance and would not accept employment which involved working on Saturdays, or because the trades here too were somewhat overcrowded and drew their constituency from the Irish, Swedish and general German newcomers, is a subject to be studied.

"In the Jewish community," according to a young man who arrived in New York from Germany in 1840, "The majority of the immigrants were poor, and strangers to the language and customs of the country. Upon the advice of those who were here before them, the greater part of the Jewish young men went peddling. There were two or three Jewish merchants who supplied Jewish peddlers with 'Yankee

notions' which they called 'Kuttle Muttle.' The principal merchant was dubbed 'Hershel Ganef'; he trusted them all; instructed them what to call things, and how to offer them for sale."[15]

Another contemporary record reveals not only that the German Jews took to peddling but also describes the various types of peddlers who were popular in those days. This source speaks of the "basket peddler," who was somewhat conversant with the English language; and the peddler "who carried a pack of 100-150 pounds on his back and who already entertained hopes of becoming a storekeeper in due time." This author adds: "Among the peddlers arose an aristocracy with a hierarchy all its own; the *wagon baron* with his own horse and wagon for peddling cross-country; the *jewelry count* who carried around a satchel with watches, rings, and other jewelry; the *store prince* who had attained the ownership of a store."[16]

The early German-Jewish immigrant in Chicago thus took to peddling as a matter of course. There were some who opened small businesses. A few found employment in the trades.

Leopold Mayer, in speaking before the *Council of Jewish Women* in Chicago in 1899 on "Recollections of Chicago in 1850-51," referred to the early Jewish peddlers in glowing terms:

> . . . Honor to them! They were respected and liked by their customers, who every season awaited their arrival before laying in a stock of necessary goods. Whether or not to compare them to the renowned Yankee peddler, I leave to you. At all events, they made a good living for their families, and while gathering money, at the same time established a business that grew with the country.[17]

With the influx of large numbers of German Jews, there also arrived on the shores of North America many Jews from eastern Europe. Though the immigration of East-European Jews did not develop on a large scale until the '80s of the century, a considerable number of Jews from Russia, Poland, Hungary, Austria, Roumania, and other East-European countries began to make an impact on the American Jewish community shortly after the middle of the century. After the

Civil War, their penetration was marked, and it began to assume significant proportions. The number of East-European Jews in the United States before and immediately after the Civil War is not definitely known. The estimates are at great variance. One source states: "Since 1869, there had been in progress a slow but steady emigration of Russian Jews, regulated by the Paris 'Alliance' with the aid of a Koenigsberg committee. A small number were placed in Germany, the majority (four thousand annually) found their way to America."[18]

While the majority of these immigrants in the first half of the nineteenth century tended to remain in the coastal cities in the east, primarily in New York, a goodly number did penetrate into the interior of the country, some reaching the middle west, and some settling as far as the Pacific coast. Among the earliest Jewish settlers in Chicago were some who came directly from Poland.[19]

What prompted the Jews of eastern Europe to leave their native lands and seek a haven of refuge in the New World? The answer is very similar to that of the German Jews. The political factors that caused the emigration of the Jews from Germany in the nineteenth century also prevailed in Russia. There they were even more pronounced and more vigorously enforced. They were aggravated by reactionary violence which subsequently resulted in a large-scale exodus during the last two decades of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth.

The partition of Poland gave Russia the upper hand over millions of Jews in Lithuania in western and southwestern Russia, and in Poland proper. The Jews had lived in these territories for centuries. Yet, in spite of this, and in spite of their number and their contribution to these countries, they were regarded as aliens in government and religion, and as suitable subjects for public derision. Special laws were decreed by the government to degrade the Jews to the lowest depths, economically, socially and politically.

The reactionary regime of Czar Nicholas I, which kept the entire country in a semi-medieval state of existence, passed a recruiting law in 1827, which actually involved the kidnapping of Jewish boys, no older than ten or twelve years, to be

raised as soldiers in a totally non-Jewish environment under very cruel circumstances. These soldiers were known in the Yiddish vernacular as *Nikolayewsky Soldaten.*[20]

The fierce anti-Semitic laws restricted the residence of Jews to a few specified districts, which became known as the Russian *Pale.* The *Pale* was nothing less than a gigantic medieval ghetto including fifteen provinces of western and southwestern Russia, and ten provinces in Poland. Jews were prohibited from living in the rest of the eighty-nine provinces and territories, which comprised about 95 percent of the Russian empire.

Up to 1861, Russia retained the feudal system. When the serfs were emancipated in that year, the heavy taxes imposed upon the peasantry ground them to the bone. The hungry, fearful and ignorant masses bore their misery with "ox-like patience." It seems that Russia "still preserved feudalism, not in its political spirit but in its economic structure, serfdom, monopoly and the privileges of the nobility, its immunities in the matter of taxes, its exclusive right to landed property, and its *seignorial* rights."[21]

Under these circumstances, the Jews were crushed between the nobility and the peasants. One author pictures the Jews in Russian-dominated eastern Europe as a part of a great layer-cake: "the fine frostings on top—the nobility; the hard crust below — the peasant; and in between — the Jew."[22]

Added to this was the theocratic rule of the Orthodox Church. The Greek Orthodox Church in Russia with the Czar as its head exercised absolute autocracy. According to its ideology, only the Russian Orthodox were true Russians, all the others were either aliens or heretics, theoretically to be ousted from the land.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, Nicholas I tried to convert the Jews by force. He banished Jews from many cities. He promulgated decrees prohibiting the study of the Talmud and was intent upon complete "Russification" of the Jewish people in his realm. His son and successor, Alexander, was more liberal. In the beginning of his reign, this liberalism tended to ease the lot of the Jew in Russia. However, by the end of his reign many of the restrictions imposed

upon the Jews by his father were renewed. In 1871, in Odessa, Jews were murdered in a cold-blooded pogrom.[23]

Needless to say that these prevailing conditions disposed the Russian Jews to emigration. Only one country in the world, America, opened its doors and offered a haven to the "tired souls and weary wanderers." It gave them an opportunity to find their way in the New World's freedom. Even before 1881, the immigration of Russian Jews assumed mass proportions. As early as 1880, when the Jewish population in New York City alone was 100,000, half of them were from eastern Europe, primarily from Russia and Russian-Poland.[24]

As if to exemplify the dictum that "history repeats itself," the majority of the early Jewish immigrants from eastern Europe, like their earlier brethren of faith from Germany, were also small traders and peddlers. And again there were peddlers of all kinds: "Those who rang doorbells, customer peddlers who worked only among their steady customers, pushcart peddlers who stood with their little carts at fixed places, or those who pushed their carts along the streets, and country peddlers who traveled over the countryside to sell their city wares to farmers."[25]

The settlement of East-European Jews in the middle west was not as large, in proportion, as in the coastal cities of the east. But the penetration, especially into Chicago, was marked. As early as 1872, the *Illinois Staatzeitung* estimated that the number of Polish Jews in Chicago was equal to that of German Jews.[26]

The growth of the Jewish community in Chicago in the nineteenth century was at a fast pace. In 1850, when Leopold Mayer arrived in Chicago, he found two hundred Jews in the city.[27] By 1855, the number had increased to about one thousand.[28] According to another estimate, the number had increased by then to about three thousand.[29] By the end of that decade, there were, in Chicago, about five hundred Jews eligible to vote, and their suffrage was sought by the various political parties in the city.[30] By the end of the '60s the Jewish population was nine thousand, according to one estimate; according to another, twelve thousand.[31] The latter seems more reliable.[32] In the '70s, the number is said to have been over fifteen thousand.[33] By the late '80s, the Jewish

community of Chicago boasted of a population of more than 50,000. At the end of the century, when the number almost doubled, the proportion of East-European Jews was much more than half.[34]

2

Conflict and Strife

WHEN the East-European Jews began to settle in Chicago in large numbers, many of the Jews who had come here before from Germany, had become assimilated socially and religiously, and almost all were adjusted politically and economically to the new environment. Their economic status was highly improved. Some had amassed wealth and occupied high social positions. Others were active in the political life in the community. Already in the '70s, we find among the German Jews some of the most outstanding merchants and manufacturers in the middle west. Some had become prominent bankers, real estate and insurance brokers. It was almost natural, therefore, that conflict and strife should arise between the wealthier German Jews and their poorer East-European brethren in faith, who were still in the struggling state of "making a living." The erstwhile "peddlers," who now were the department store owners, clothing and furniture manufacturers, or successful entrepreneurs in other business ventures, looked down upon the newcomers from eastern Europe, who were the "peddlers," and who had all to do to make economic and social adjustments.

The new Jewish immigrants from eastern Europe settled densely, for the most part, in the section of the city which eventually became known as the "west-side ghetto."[1] There the rent was cheaper, and the newcomers found it easier to adjust themselves economically, socially and religiously. The neighbors spoke the same language, *Yiddish.* For a while they continued to wear the same style of clothes as abroad, which did not appear too strange to those who had settled there before. Then they found there the *landsmanshaft* societies, the congregation that staunchly and zealously continued the East-European Orthodoxy in the ritual and mode

of worship to which the newcomers were accustomed; and the stores that were selling the type of merchandise sought by the immigrants from eastern Europe.

The living conditions among the early East-European Jews were not too attractive. The neighborhoods were to a great extent neglected by the Street Department, and the houses were not kept in good repair by the landlords. The results were filthy streets and dilapidated homes. The immigrants, being poor and not being able to provide for themselves new and attractive clothes, sometimes were shabbily dressed.[2]

These conditions often evoked from the German Jews criticism, derision and pity. But "the East-European Jews," a contemporary tells us, "did not wish to be pitied, they desired rather to be understood. Not being understood by their German-Jewish brethren, who often look down upon them, they chose to dwell among their own kind and live according to their traditional custom."

The same observer continues apologetically: "They are often charged with being dirty, sometimes filthy; but if we reflect that after arriving on these shores their first residence is generally in a neglected section of the city, and the first object lessons they receive consist of dirty streets and alleys and broken-down tenements without sanitary accommodations, we shall be less ready to find fault."[3]

However, the strife between the German and the East-European Jews was more deep-rooted than that. The German Jews looked upon their East-European brethren in faith as fanatics, neither well-mannered nor cultured. The German Jews' attitude towards the Russian Jews comprised both sympathy and fear; they sympathized with their plight and feared their effect on the American scene. The German Jews pitied the poor, erstwhile persecuted and "inferiority complexed" Jew from eastern Europe; but they believed the new arrivals would retard westernization in America. As one writer puts it:

> The Jews on the South and on the North-side were becoming conscious of the growth of a ghetto on the West-side, which though removed from their own residential districts by considerable distance, would be regarded by Gentiles as an integral part of the

> Jewish community. They considered themselves even farther removed in social distance than in miles from these poor, benighted peddlers with long beards, with side-locks, and long coats. They sensed that all the progress they had made in breaking down barriers, in preventing the development of a ghetto, and in gaining recognition for themselves as persons rather than as Jews with their Christian neighbors, might now, with the new connotation that was attached to the word Jew, come to a sudden halt.[4]

On the other hand, the East-European Jew looked at his German brother in faith as a rich, non-observant and assimilated Jew, whose habits bordered an apostacy. The Russian Jew looked at the German Jew with envious respect and a certain amount of pride. He was envious of the position the German Jew had achieved in the New World, socially and economically, but he was proud of his own traditionalism and Jewish cultural background, even though he could not read or write the vernacular of either his former or his adopted country. The East-European Jew, concerned with keeping body and soul together, able to earn but a meager living and eager to save a little to bring his family here from overseas, looked with suspicion as well as envy upon his German-Jewish brother.

A local Chicago newspaper, in observing the strife between the German and the East-European Jews, made the comment: "In religious matters they—the East-European Jews—are Orthodox to the extreme, and are inclined to look upon the Reformed Jews, who have abandoned so much of the old ritual, as worse even than the Gentiles."[5]

The attitude of the East-European Jew towards the German Jew can best be judged from the statement of an early immigrant who said:

> When I first put my feet on the soil of Chicago, I was so disgusted that I wished I had stayed at home in Russia. I left the Old Country because you couldn't be a Jew over there and still live, but I would rather be dead than be the kind of German Jew that brings the Jewish name into disgrace being a Goy. That's what hurts: They parade around as Jews, and down in their hearts they are worse than Goyim, they are *meshumeds* (apostates).[6]

Another immigrant who arrived in Chicago about 1877 recorded his observation thus:

> The relationship between the Russian and Polish Jews and the German Jews was anything but amicable. The latter group, with their background of German culture, speaking the German language, engaging in more worldly and sophisticated business enterprises, and practicing Reformed Judaism, were looked upon as Germans rather than as Jews. The Russian and Polish Jews maintained that the reformed religious ideas of the German Jews made them really "substitute" or "second-hand" Jews, and that their Rabbis were almost like Christian ministers. Some even asserted that they regarded the Christian ministers more highly than the Reformed Rabbis, since the former were believers and preached their religion truthfully and faithfully, while the latter tried to deny their Judaism, so as to ingratiate themselves with the non-Jews.
>
> The Russian and Polish Jews, having come from countries where oppression took the place of education, were considered by the German Jews and people in general to be unlearned and "half-civilized." Very few of them could read or write English, and since there was as yet no Yiddish paper here, they received their information from their children of school age, who could understand a little of what was in the newspapers. The majority knew only what little Hebrew they had learned in the *cheder,* and for the most part were religious fanatics. Most of them had beards and wore ill-fitting garments, spoke only Yiddish, and made their living as peddlers or petty traders. They were accordingly looked upon as undesirable immigrants by many.
>
> The attitude of the German Jews towards their Russian and Polish brothers was one of superiority and unpleasant pity. They tolerated them only because they were Jews, and one would often hear the German Jews bewailing their fate—that they, Americanized business men, had to be classed in the same category with the poor, ignorant, ragged, Jewish peddlers on the other side of the river, on Canal Street.[7]

The attitude of the German Jews towards their East-European brethren was not unanimously unfavorable; nor was the attitude of the Jews in America, who had already made their mark in the New World and were enjoying the fruits of their labors in the land of liberty and freedom, unanimously against the new Jewish immigrants from eastern Europe. The attitudes, as expressed in the contemporary Jewish press and lecture platform varied pro and con.

In early numbers of the *Occident* which republished articles from the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums,* much was written about the plight of the Russian-Polish Jews; these articles evoked a sympathetic attitude on the part of the reader. As early as 1847, a correspondent for the *Occident*

proposed America as a haven for the persecuted in Russia and Poland, and added the suggestion that the great masses who found a haven here should turn to agriculture and colonize large tracts of land in Virginia, Pennsylvania, Texas, Missouri and Canada. *The Asmonean* too was sympathetic to the new Jewish immigrants from eastern Europe.[8]

On the other hand, Dr. Wise, who in 1861 had defended Polish Jewry by maintaining that the best Hebrew scholars in America as well as in England came from Poland, and that Polish Jewry supplied most of the rabbis, changed his views and contended that the "Polish Jews" retard the progress of Judaism in the United States.[9] Of course, Dr. Wise had Reform Judaism in mind.

Many of the American-Jewish leaders were afraid that the East-European Jews would become burdens for them to support, and therefore did not favor their coming to America. *The Jewish Messenger* at one time suggested to the Board of Delegates that they advise the *Alliance Israelite* to settle the immigrants in the inner parts of Russia.[10]

In 1870, the Board of Delegates, expressing itself openly against mass immigration of Russian-Polish Jews, stipulated in a resolution that they would welcome only those who were young, sturdy, and willing to work.[11]

An eloquent plea for unity between the German and the East-European Jew was made by Maurice Fluegel, one of the early advocates for settling Jewish immigrants on farmland and preparing them for agricultural pursuits.[12]

The inhuman Russian persecutions of the Jews which began in 1881 changed the attitude of many German Jews in America towards their Russian-Polish brethren. They became more friendly toward them and expressed pity for the victims of the persecution. Thus the *American Hebrew* of June 7, 1881 staunchly maintained that America had room for all, no matter from where they came—Roumania, Russia, or any other country. Similarly the *Hebrew Leader,* speaking of the 100,000 immigrants expected to arrive by the end of the year 1881, was charitably inclined, and assured its readers that the new arrivals would greatly benefit the country.[13]

A year later, unfortunately, the *American Hebrew* advocated that the entire Jewish immigration be stopped,[14]

and the *Hebrew Leader* openly advised that the refugees from Russian persecution should not be sent to the United States but to Palestine.[15] Another publication in the middle west maintained that the "immigrants from Russia are not part of European civilization . . . The influx of Russian Jews is very unfortunate, and a failure . . . They are the uncultured and useless elements of Russia . . . The Russian Jews belong to Russia."[16]

Repercussion of the strife between the German and the East-European Jews were heard even in the English press. In 1872 the editor of the *American Israelite* had to defend the "Polish" Jews of Chicago against an attack made upon them by the *Chicago Post* in which Polish Jews were characterized as shameful speculators at a time when their main pursuit was either poor peddling or hard labor.[17] After the second fire, when the East-European Jews in Chicago suffered most and assistance was not forthcoming quickly nor commensurate with the need, it was necessary for Dr. Liebman Adler to come to the defense of his East-European brethren by asking eloquently in a plea for aid:

> Brothers and Sisters: Are these poor ones less to be pitied, are they less poor, are they less Israelites because Poland or Russia is the land in which they first saw the light, or rather the darkness, of this world?[18]

Some German Jews held the East-European Jews responsible for the temporary upsurge of anti-Semitism which was manifested in the City in the '70s. In 1859, one of the Chicago newspapers claimed that there are "no better people in the city than the Jews."[19] Mayer, in his *Jews and Judaism of Early Chicago Days* recalled that:

> The relationship between Jews and non-Jews was cordial, and many of the former, not only belonged to the various political and fraternal organizations, but also held office therein . . .
>
> The balls and festivities given by the non-Jews were often attended by the Jews, who were never in the least looked upon as undesirable. The Germans, Jews and non-Jews, were one, and the prejudices from the fatherland, if not dead, were at least hidden.[20]

When a certain musical society refused to accept Jews into its membership, it evoked vehement protests from the press.[21]

However, after the great fire in 1871, though the Jews suffered from the conflagration equally, and lost about ten million dollars in property damage, an outburst of Jew-baiting ensued. The first victims were the Jewish peddlers from Poland. In 1873, we find the Jewish community appealing to the authorities to protect the synagogues on the Sabbaths against the hoodlums who threw rocks and other damaging objects into them.[22] The German Jews ascribed these anti-Semitic manifestations to the presence of the East-European Jews.

Some German Jews feared the encroachment of the East-European Jews on the economy of the country. It may be that it was this fear and attitude that called forth, editorially, the following comment from the Chicago Anglo-Jewish publication, the *Occident*:

> Twenty-six thousand Polish Jews in a single year. That is certainly an overdose for our American national economy. And now, why should we be deceived? These Polish Jews are as indigestible for the American stomach as are the Chinese . . . Now to come to a conclusion, much might be said in behalf of these Polish, Russian and Roumanian Jews; as also much could be said in favor of the Chinese. Without doubt, they possess spiritual qualifications and characteristics, which in an economic sense, can be made profitable to our land and our country . . . But that will not set aside the fact that so many of these East-European Jews, as reared in their native land, are not desirable in our American communities . . . [23]

Facts, however, and the wise judgment of some of the far-sighted German-Jewish leaders did not agree with that writer. A contemporary observer of the life among the East-European Jews in Chicago, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, records that:

> There are about 30 Russian Jews in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, and 30 in the Rush Medical College. In the less prominent schools, like the Bennet or the Harvey, many more are to be found. In the John Marshall Law School there are 10 Russian Jewish young men; while others are scattered among the different law schools of the city.[24]

A survey of the educational, religious, industrial and philanthropic activities and achievements of the East-European Jews in Chicago, makes it clear that their German-

Jewish brethren had accomplished nothing which they too could not achieve, and that certainly the German Jews did not need to be ashamed of their East-European brethren. In intellectual progress and in service in and to the community of America, the East-European Jew proved himself the equal of his richer German brother. Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, the most eminent Jewish religious leader in Chicago's German-Jewish community, and perhaps in all of the United States at that time, saw in the East-European Jew quite a different picture when he predicted:

> The study of the future of the Russian Jew in the United States is of vital importance, because on his success or failure depends the very fate of Judaism itself in this land. Numerically, even now the dominant factor in American Jewry, the Russian Jew will at no remote day also assert the leadership in all movements expressive of his race and religion. It is the Russian Jew who will mold the character of the synagogue and its mission to the Western World. In a measure as he will rise socially, intellectually, morally, and spiritually will the standing of Judaism and the influence of the Jew be accorded distinction and recognition.[25]

Just as there was strife between the German and the East-European Jews, there was also strife within the ranks of both camps. In the early '50s, when the number of East-European Jews in Chicago was still negligible, conflict arose throughout the country between the East and West-German Jews. Those of East-Germany hailed from Posen, Silesia, eastern and western Prussia, sections that originally belonged to Poland, followed in their synagogue ritual the Polish-Jewish customs. Because of this, they were connoted by the West-German Jews as "Polish" or "Pollaks." Those who were more generous, called them "Herzogthuemer."[26] The West-German Jews considered themselves full-blooded Germans and they considered their East-German brethren inferior, though they spoke the same language. The conflict was mostly ideological and was aggravated the more because the latter did not submit readily to Reform Judaism, which very early engulfed the Jews from West-Germany. Because of the influence of Polish-Jewish traditionalism, the congregations founded by the East-German Jews remained Orthodox much longer than those founded by the West-German Jews.

As late as 1856, Max Lillienthal complained that the progress of Reform Judaism is hindered by the Orthodoxy of the East-German Jews, to whom he refers as Poles.[27] However, as the East-German Jews too gradually succumbed to the influence of Reform Judaism, the conflict between them and their West-German brethren subsided considerably and both turned against the East-European Jews, primarily against those coming from Russia and Poland.

In Chicago the strife within the ranks of the German Jews was evident shortly after the first congregation—*K.A.M.*—was founded. The Bavarian Jews did not look at all with favor upon the Jews who hailed from that part of Germany which previously belonged to Poland. The founding of *Kehilath B'nai Sholom* only a few years after the founding of *K.A.M.*, while the community was still not large enough for two congregations, was as much the result of strife as it was the desire of the Jews from Posen to follow a different usage in synagogue custom than the one current at *K.A.M.* This strife is reflected in the fact that, even though Henry Greenebaum, who came from Eppelsheim, a small village in the Rhine Palatinate, was an officer of *K.B.S.*, the congregation was connoted as the "Polishe" in an uncomplimentary sense. In reciprocation *K.A.M.*, which was called the "Bayerische Shule," was dubbed by the people of *K.B.S.* "Bauerische," meaning "farmer's"[28] In 1874, when M. M. Gerstly in his annual report to the congregation lamented the fact that the membership of *K.A.M.* has not kept pace with the "increase of our co-religionists in this city for the last decade," he indirectly indicated the inner conflict when he attempted to rationalize the reason for it by saying, "that at least seven more sister congregations, most if not all the offspring of *K.A.M.* have been called into existence and consequently our interest considerably divided." These congregations did not all result from conflicting ideologies. Some indeed came into being because of inner strife among the members.

We have but to recall that in 1857, when the contest between the two candidates for the presidency at *K.A.M.* was supposed to have been based on differences in ideology, the truth was revealed by Abraham Kohn in a letter to the

Israelite in Cincinnati that Samuel Cole was defeated by the "Bavarian Jews" because he was a "Prussian Polish Jew."[29]

The conflicting ideologies concerning Reform Judaism that prevailed in the early community, which produced the *Jewish Reform Society* in 1859, and subsequently resulted in the formation of *Sinai Congregation,* was also accompanied by a great deal of controversy and strife.

Thirty years after the formation of the "Society," Leopold Mayer, one of the nine original members who were present at this initial meeting, wrote to Dr. Felsenthal:

> Reform was not accomplished in Chicago in the course of friendly promenades. Many a battle was fought, and many were the dissolutions that fell to the lot of those early champions of Reform. It was you, who led the fight.[30]

The formation of *Zion Congregation* in 1864, under the leadership of Dr. Felsenthal, was not only to satisfy the need of a synagogue by the small group of German Jews who lived in what was then the west side, but because of dissatisfaction of some with *Sinai Congregation.* The same was true about the formation of the *Hillel* lodge of *B'nai B'rith* vis-a-vis the *Ramah* lodge. The schism between *Sinai* and *Zion* congregations was reflected in *Ramah* and *Hillel* lodges respectively. The latter consisted primarily of members of *Zion Congregation.* As late as the last decade, controversies at *K.A.M.* resulted in the formation of a new congregation, the *People's Synagogue.*[31]

Strife within the East-European Jewish community was even more aggravated. The schism between the *Beth Hamedrash Hogodol* and the *Ohave Sholom,* which led to the formation of the latter congregation in 1870 had not ceased. It is well to record here the incident connected with the first burial in the *Ohave Sholom* cemetery. It happened on Friday, the 25th of Elul, 5635 (1875), shortly after the acquisition of the cemetery. Joseph Solomon Pardes, son of Aaron Pardes of *Ohave Sholom,* passed away. The congregation did not as yet possess the necessary implements for the ritual preparation of the dead for burial, nor did they have a hearse in which to convey the deceased to the cemetery. The *Congregation Ohave Sholom,* therefore, asked the leaders of the

Beth Hamedrash Hogodol to loan them all the necessary implements at whatever cost they would stipulate. The *Beth Hamedrash Hogodol* refused. Whereupon the *Ohave Sholom* performed the ritual with "home-made utensils," borrowed a wagon from a grocer, and proceeded to the cemetery with the funeral procession. On the way to the cemetery, the people of *Ohave Sholom* and the *Beth Hamedrash Hogodol* quarreled continuously. At the cemetery the latter tried to persuade the survivors of the deceased not to permit their dear one to be buried on such a barren and empty field. Apparently they also argued on the basis that this was a new cemetery and not yet consecrated soil. The mourners were impressed at first by the arguments of the people of the *Beth Hamedrash Hogodol.* After questioning the rabbi who stated that, if there is an opening between the old and the new cemeteries, the new one may be considered old, some members of the *Ohave Sholom* immediately tore out a few boards from the fence separating the two cemeteries. Thereupon, the burial took place in the new *Ohave Sholom* cemetery.[32] The two congregations however, continued their schism. It took a special "peace committee" to effect a permanent reconciliation.

The strife within the East-European Jewish community was reflected in the contemporary Anglo-German press. Thus we find in the *Jewish Advance,* a reference to the fighting in the "Russian-Polish" Jewish community in the following uncomplimentary words: "The Russo-Polish Israelites are having a lively time somewhere around Canal Street." This is followed by the remark: "If it is possible for a Russo-Polish congregation to have a house of worship and to pray there for a while without fighting, if it is possible for a handful of our countrymen to own a *Sefer Torah* without going to law about it, we would advise them to try and do it."[33]

Piling Pelion upon Ossa, the editor of the publication in the next issue "apologized" saying that the disparaging remarks in the *Jewish Advance* of the previous week did not refer to the *Anshe Mariampol* who "are known for their respectability."[34]

The existing differences and the strife within the larger Jewish community in Chicago in the nineteenth century

may give one the impression of a camp divided against itself. However, this was far from being so. The dissenting elements between the German and East-European Jewish communities, and within each community, were far outweighed by the factors of unification in the synagogue, the school, in the work of charity and philanthropy, and in cultural pursuits.

3

Sabbath and Ritual Observance

THE Jewish community of Chicago was essentially Orthodox in its early days. Jewish stores on Lake Street, then the main business thoroughfare, were closed on Saturdays and Jewish holidays. Religious services were well attended. If we can rely upon the reminiscences of Meyer Klein, one of the early Jewish pioneers, we have his testimony that on Saturdays and Jewish holidays: "It was customary to close all business, and, in the wholesale as well as in the retail district, one could observe notices in the windows and doors of every Jewish business-house with the inscription, 'closed on account of Jewish Holiday'."[1]

The Sabbath was also consecrated and observed in the home. One of the early immigrants recalls in his memoirs: "The families had all brought with them their old-country piety and also their *Shabboth* lamps with six or seven arms, filled with stearic oil, made cotton wicks by hand, and on Friday evening before beginning the Sabbath would light them, then offer a consecrative prayer and after that would not touch fire."[2] Another writer, born in Chicago in 1858, observes: "Our nursegirl's mother was the *Shabbos goya* — a necessary adjunct to every Jewish household at that time. It was her duty to come on the Sabbath, to light the fires and do such chores as the day of rest prohibited the members of a Jewish family from performing."[3]

But it was not long after the community was founded that the traditional religious observance began to lag. The first indication of this was the public violation of the Sabbath which began to be noticed already in the early '50s. In 1850, when Leopold Mayer arrived in Chicago, he was amazed that: "Already at this period the Sabbath was more or less violated." He found that at the synagogue services: "most of

the women and many of the men were regular attendants, and the latter, as a usual thing, left hurriedly for their places of business. Many stores were already open, and the younger men, engaged as clerks were invisible in the synagogue. The younger women, likewise, were few, and, of the children under fifteen, there were scarcely any."[4]

When Rabbi Aaron Messing came to Chicago to assume the spiritual leadership of *Congregation B'nai Sholom,* he found no more than five stores closed on Saturdays, because of Sabbath observance. In his correspondence with Rabbi Elijah Guttmacher, Messing boasts that at his instigation sixteen establishments closed their stores on Saturdays, after he had been in the city a little over six months.[5] Even if that was so, considering the large number of stores that remained open, it still indicates a widespread violation of the Sabbath.

From the business establishments, the laxity in Sabbath observance was eventually transferred to other areas.

With the influx of the new Jewish immigrants from eastern Europe, Sabbath observance became more prevalent. This was so, however, only in the neighborhood of East-European Jews. Even here laxity began to set in at a rather early period. In his sermons in the late '80s, Rabbi Lesser admonished the Jews from eastern Europe, to whom he was ministering, for their violation of Jewish ritual law, particularly for profaning the Sabbath. Rabbi Album, in his published works, cannot condone the widespread violation of the Sabbath in the 1890s by the Jewish bakers and other businessmen who cater to the Jewish trade, though he realizes that "there are many Jewish people in America who violate the Sabbath, but who do so because of poverty and need, and must therefore be condoned." The good rabbi is of course certain that these people are mortified by their Sabbath violations, and "as soon as God will help them, they will observe the Sabbath with rejoicing in accordance with our holy Torah."[6]

The breakdown in Sabbath observance was the direct outgrowth of the complexity of the new forces which played an important role in moulding the lives of the people in the New

World. These forces were primarily economic and social. To some degree they were also ideological.

The economic and social factors were quite involved. In central and eastern Europe, the Jews of the nineteenth century were still living in semi-isolation and social self-containment. In Russia, Poland, Roumania and other parts of eastern Europe, Jews for the most part lived almost exclusively within the confines of the Jewish community itself. Some small towns were exclusively inhabited by Jews. In the larger cities where the Jewish population was a part of the general population, self-ghettoization by the Jews in certain specific districts was common. This had its effect on the economic status of the Jew. The Jew was easily able to set up his own pattern of the work week, without interfering with the larger economy of the city or the province and without the infringement of his own economic status. The Jewish workingman, as a rule, catered solely to a Jewish clientele, and as an independent artisan could, without difficulty, avoid working on Saturdays. Social and religious pressure aided him in his decision to do so. As one writer puts it: "Where the Jew was not an independent entrepreneur and thus free to fix his own day of rest, he was, as likely as not, relatively free from the competition of the non-Jews and was thus under a minimum economic disadvantage in keeping his shop closed on the Sabbath."[7]

In the New World, the situation changed considerably. From the very beginning the Jew constituted a minority in the population. Here the economic activity of the Jew had to fall in line with the majority of the population and with the general pattern of American life. This pattern fixed Sunday as the day of rest. This had its immediate effect on the newcomer to this country, whether he became a small businessman, a manufacturer, or preferred to ply his trade in whatever capacity he chose. The only exception was the peddler, or the small storekeeper in the exclusively Jewish neighborhood. The former was his own boss. The latter still had to submit to certain social and religious pressure which did not altogether vanish even here in the New World.

A large number of the new Jewish immigrants from eastern Europe was absorbed in the "needle trade," which also

presented a problem of Sabbath observance. When some of the German or Hungarian Jews entered the clothing industry and concentrated on manufacturing, they employed, as a rule, non-Jewish help, to whom Saturday was not the day of rest. For a manufacturer, therefore, to keep the factory open on Saturday, with non-Jewish employees producing the commodities, while he himself attended services in the synagogue or held a prominent office in a congregation was not considered paradoxical. In fact it became a widespread practice. Later when Jewish tailors, operators, finishers, and other workers were added to the non-Jewish employees, because of the expansion of the industry and the arrival of the new immigrants from eastern Europe, it became commonplace to expect the Jewish artisan to work on Saturday. The prospective immigrant from eastern Europe, in preparation for his settlement in America, was impressed with the fact that a trade, especially in the tailoring industry, would serve him in good stead in the New World and would make his adjustment so much easier. The choice of employment in the tailoring industry was, therefore, almost mandatory for many. Hence they were practically forced to submit to existing conditions, among them to work on Saturdays. Regretfully, where a workingman was able to make special arrangements not to work on Saturday, he had to accept a lower wage. This, too, moved many to accept employment on Saturday.

Those who entered the retail business, rather than manufacturing, were confronted with yet another problem. Early in the history of this country, Saturday became the main shopping day. This was only natural, since Sunday was recognized as the day of rest. In preparation for Sunday, the city folks would be busy obtaining their needs, and the farm folks would come to town to shop for their provisions. To keep the small or large store closed on Saturdays, in many instances, meant losing the major source of income. At times it meant the difference between staying in business or giving up. As a rule, and possibly because of self-preservation, the people chose to stay in business.

On the other hand, the Jews who chose to follow the professions, who might have been able more than the others

to observe the Sabbath, had claim to another situation. Most of the clients of the Jewish professional person were non-Jews. These had to be served on the day most convenient to them. They, too, apparently found Saturdays more convenient to consult their physician, dentist, or lawyer.

An additional factor for the laxity in the observance of the Sabbath was the urge to become self-sustaining. The early German and the later East-European Jews, who abroad were restricted in their economic pursuits, for the first time, began to have the opportunity to follow free enterprise and to gain a semblance of financial well-being. The spirit of nineteenth century America in general was that of economic expansion. The atmosphere in the New World was electrified with the spirit of economic opportunity for all. The spirit loomed high in the middle west, and was in fact part of the western expansion fever that began in the first half of the century. In an attempt to become self-sustaining, or just "to make a living," it became not uncommon to place the ideal of economic advancement before religious consciousness.

The ideological differences and conflicts with respect to traditional Judaism, which played an important part in early Jewish community life in Chicago, and were responsible for the rise of Reform Judaism in the city, were also in a sense contributing factors to the breakdown of the Sabbath. In the attempt to adjust the Jewish religion to modern trends and the observance of Jewish ceremonials to modern convenience, many Jews assumed the privilege of doing everything suitable to their taste and of casting off the discipline, which Jewish law placed upon them. When Reform Judaism abrogated the dietary laws, the use of the *talith* (prayer shawl) and the *tefilin* (phylacteries) and the adherence to other traditional precepts, the observance of the Sabbath laws, except for formal religious services went overboard.

Later in the century, when socialist propaganda became prominent in the labor movement, it too weakened the religious outlook of the people. Many of the socialist labor leaders were anti-religious and injected that attitude in their followers. As a consequence, violation of the Sabbath and

religious law in general began to be looked upon as not so sinful.

Another important factor in the weakening of Jewish religious life in the community was the breakdown in the observance of *Kashrut* (Jewish dietary laws). In the first few decades of Jewish communal life in Chicago, the observance of *Kashrut* was generally accepted. Violation of dietary laws was the exception, not the rule. Leopold Mayer, referred to before, observed in the early '50s that "the dietary laws were strictly observed."[8] Even later, with the rise of Reform Judaism, violation was not general. Hannah Solomon, in speaking of her life in Chicago in the '60s, states: "All Jewish homes were strictly *kosher* in my childhood, and no one, however radical, would dream of questioning the custom in those days."[9] One of the principal concerns of the Jewish community in Chicago, from its very inception, was to provide *kosher* meat to the people in the community. As the community enlarged and expanded, the problem of obtaining *kosher* meat and the observance of dietary laws became a matter of individual, private concern.[10]

Not too many factors interfered with the observance of *Kashrut*. From an economic point of view, since *kosher* meat was not sold at exorbitant prices, the Jewish woman, with some traditional background and guidance, was only too glad to observe the dietary laws in her home. Economic and social factors did not play too important a part in this respect. The breakdown in the observance of *Kashrut* in the early Jewish community in Chicago was due, therefore, to a great extent, to ideological factors. Rabbi Messing, in his epistle to Rabbi Guttmacher, alluded to above, corroborates the fact that with the rise of Reform Judaism in the city many Jewish homes had become *terefa* (not *kosher*). "To date," Rabbi Messing wrote, "eight homes have already sold their non-*kosher* dishes, and instituted a *kosher* home, so that I can eat at their tables."[11]

With the rise of the East-European Jewish community, the observance of *Kashrut* experienced a resurgence, but this only among the East-European Jews. In the beginning, the provision of *kosher* meat among the East-European Jews was likewise a community responsibility. The early congregations

provided a *shohet* for the community and saw to it that the people were supplied with *kosher* meat. With the expansion of the community, the supply of *kosher* meat and other foods became an important commercial enterprise. It was thus wrested from the congregation and became the concern of certain important business establishments. The distributors of meats and other food products, who were catering to the needs of the Jewish consumers and who were seeking their patronage, saw to it that their products obtained the proper and authorized rabbinic supervision. In case of meat, the packing houses engaged the *shohetim,* who, on their own, supervised the observance of the dietary laws, and also by mutual consent, submitted to the authority and supervision of a rabbi.[12]

Rabbinic supervision of the observance of dietary laws in the community extended to *matzoth,* wine, brandy, and other Passover products; bread for all year around, and other products associated with Jewish home observance.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the consumers' market for *kosher* foods had indeed become an important economic factor and a subject of deep concern for the producer and distributor. Bearing in mind also the fact that Chicago merchants and meat-packing houses supplied the needs of many other cities with smaller and larger Jewish communities, we can realize how important it was for these food distributors to satisfy the *kosher* market.

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the four major and largest meat-packing houses in Chicago, Armour & Co., Schwartz-Shield and Sulzberger & Co., Libby, McNeil & Co. and Swift & Co. had *kosher* departments, each supervised by rabbis and employing a number of *shohetim.* These companies produced *kosher* meat on a large scale both for local consumption and for nationwide distribution. In addition to this there were a number of smaller houses, "who slaughtered only between ten and twenty heads of cattle a week," for *kosher* consumption. These too engaged their own *shohetim* and had rabbinic supervision.[13]

As a rule, the rabbis were paid by the companies for the supervision. However, we have documentary evidence that Rabbi Zvi Shimon Album and Rabbi Joseph Komissarsky, two

outstanding rabbis in the Orthodox Jewish community in nineteenth century Chicago, supervised the observance of the dietary laws in the above mentioned companies, gratuitously.[14] The work involved was indeed very taxing. But, none the less, they felt it their duty to visit the stock yards several times a week, and to establish the observance of the dietary laws on a firm basis.

The major part of the rabbinic supervision in the abattoirs involved the examination, authorization, qualification, and the supervision of the *shohetim.* To this the *shohetim* submitted voluntarily, as well as by agreement with the companies. At times, a rabbi was engaged to remain in the stockyards during the entire period of slaughtering, to watch that the procedure was proper.[15]

It was quite difficult for the Jewish bakers to obtain supervision for their products. The rabbis refused to give rabbinic sanction to any baker shop that was either open or that baked bread on the Sabbath. An interesting proclamation signed by Rabbis Album and Komissarsky concerning the bakery shops, is revealing. It reads:

> In the name of our holy *Torah,* we are informing our brethren of the household of Israel, that whereas there are many Jewish bakers in America, that are not scrupulous, and bake on the Sabbath which is not only a violation of the Sabbath but a profanation of the name of God, and whereas Jewish bakers who audaciously profane the Sabbath by baking bread, so that the customers who cannot control themselves, satisfy their gluttonous passion by having warm bread on Saturday evenings thus making it necessary to profane a Biblical command, and making the Sabbath inferior to any other day of the week, therefore, we the rabbis of the "Organization of Rabbis" of all America, inform our brethren of the household of Israel, that all bread that is baked on the Sabbath in prohibited to be eaten by Jews; the baking utensils are likewise prohibited; and the bakers are not trustworthy in any matter which concerns the observance of the Jewish religion; and all those who purchase the bread which was baked on the Sabbath are subject to the same religious strictures as the bakers.[16]

Following this proclamation, the Jewish bakers, voluntarily, signed an agreement not to violate the Sabbath and to subscribe to all the rules of Jewish religious supervision. In part the agreement read:

> We the Jewish bakers of Chicago, have met in convention, and having realized the seriousness of the great sin of the profanation of the Sabbath, have accepted upon ourselves voluntarily the obligation not to bake on the Sabbath, and every baker who will violate this agreement and bake on the Sabbath will be subject to anathema and his bread will be prohibited to all the Israelites.[17]

This was signed by nine bakers, who then were qualified to obtain rabbinic supervision for their products. Subsequently, the L. Wittenberg Company, which operated a "Steam Matzos Bakery," added its signature, thus also becoming qualified to obtain rabbinic supervision.[18]

In the beginning of the twentieth century, when the Orthodox Jewish community in Chicago engaged the services of Rabbi J. D. Ridwas, as Chief Rabbi, a controversy broke out between him and Rabbi Album concerning the matter of the supervision of *kashrut* in the meat-packing houses. It was expected that all of the supervision should become centralized under the Chief Rabbinate. However, this usurped the prerogative of Rabbis Album and Komissarsky, who challenged the agreement drawn up between the *shohetim* in the large meat-packing houses and the Chief Rabbi. The agreement read in part:

> We the undersigned have made a binding agreement amongst ourselves, in accordance with religious law to wit: The *shohetim* of this city, whose signatures are appended herewith on the bottom, take upon themselves to be under the exclusive supervision of Rabbi Ridwas, the Chief Rabbi of this city. The said rabbi obligates himself to accept us as the *shohetim* of this city, and he is not permitted to engage other or additional *shohetim*, without our permission, unless it becomes necessary to do so for the sake of enhancing the status of *Kashrut*, and it will not diminish our ability to earn a livelihood . . . If it is the desire of the said rabbi to send another rabbi to the slaughterhouse to supervise the observance of the law, it is his permission to do so, but no rabbi is permitted to assume supervision over us, unless sanctioned exclusively by the Chief Rabbi.[19]

The controversy between the Chief Rabbi and Rabbi Album resolved itself when the former left for Palestine, retiring from the active rabbinate. No other Chief Rabbi was engaged in his place. However, both Rabbi Ridwas and

Rabbi Album continued the polemics of their controversy in their published writings, each justifying his stand and approach from a Jewish traditional point of view.[20]

Chief Rabbi Ridwas, while in Chicago, issued supervision certificates to seventy-three butcher shops selling *kosher* meats. These certificates were displayed publicly and bore a special insignia of the Chicago Chief Rabbinate. He also authorized the supervision of the production of *kosher* products of a Chicago sausage factory. To each item of the sausage factory was attached a label signed by a special supervisor, who was on the premises of the factory continuously.[21]

An interesting relic from the nineteenth century Jewish community of Chicago is the following event associated with the observance of dietary laws. It happened in the year 1886, when the congregation still had some jurisdiction over these matters. The *Ohave Sholom Mariampoler Congregation* had passed a resolution stating that all its members should make their purchases only from the "grocer and baker who made a yearly contribution to the congregation for its charitable work," and whose products were certified as *kosher* by the congregation's rabbi.[22] One of the members of the congregation was appointed to supervise the matter and to see to it that the resolution was carried out. This went along nicely until 1886, when the rabbi of the *Ohave Sholom* demanded that the baker (identified in the records as "Ch. L. B.") increase his annual contribution. This request the baker refused on the ground that he could not afford it. The situation became aggravated when an employee of the baker, who is identified as "A. W." proposed to the rabbi that "if the members of *Ohave Sholom* would buy *Matzoth* from him, he would leave his employer, set up his own *Matzo*-bakery, and pay the full contribution which the rabbi had asked." Apparently this proposition was acceptable to the rabbi and to the members of the congregation, and, before long, "A. W." opened a new bakery with the patronage of the *Ohave Sholom* membership. The former baker was displeased with this competition and sought all means to meet it. Shortly after the new baker ventured into his enterprise, he was arrested on charges of immoral conduct and failure to support the

child of a girl who claimed that he was the father of her baby. This created an uproar in the community and was embarrassing to the rabbi, who had innocently "sanctioned a baker who was a scoundrel and a disgrace" to the Jewish community. The chronicler of this event tells us: "The members who had from the beginning refused to leave the old baker, now held a 'strong card' against the rabbi. But what did Providence ordain? The new baker was freed from jail. It was disclosed that he was not the father of the girl's child. The girl came in person, child in arms, and swore that the old baker had persuaded her to falsely accuse the new baker."[23]

Upon this, the entire congregation was summoned to the *Ohave Sholom* synagogue. It was urged that "no one should remain at home." The synagogue was crowded. The rabbi "wrapped himself in his *talith,* ascended the pulpit, and sobbed violently over the deplorable condition of Judaism in the *Trefe* land, and over a baker who, entrusted with the setting aside of *Chalah* (the ritual of separating a piece from the batch of dough, which is burned after the recitation of a special prayer, commemorative of the ancient dough offering) throughout the year and depended upon not to have even a trace of leaven in the baking of *Matzoth,* trumps up a false charge against a fellow-Jew." The rabbi's reproach lasted for a long while and ended with the formal excommunication of the old baker. Everyone was forbidden to have any relationship with the man, and any member who might be found crossing the threshold of the bakery was to be expelled from the congregation immediately. Those present at the synagogue solemnly vowed to carry out the decrees of the rabbi and the congregation. The proceedings were officially recorded in the records of the congregation on May 15, 1886.[24]

When one of the members dared to suggest that he would not abide by the excommunication he was expelled from the congregation. He was not readmitted until he had apologized to the rabbi and to the officers. He was fined $25.00.[25]

On the Sabbath announcing the month of *Elul,* 1886, some friends and the sons of the excommunicated baker came to the synagogue, halted the reading of the *Torah* and demanded that the ban which had ruined a Jewish family be removed. They utilized this opportunity to assault the rabbi when he

ascended the pulpit to declare that the excommunication remained in force. The baker's sons were evicted from the synagogue. The baker sued the rabbi and the congregation for having ruined his business. When the Judge exonerated the defendants, the baker appealed to a higher court. The case was drawn out for years; it was finally settled on January 22, 1894, when the congregation reimbursed the baker for part of his trial expenses, "and a heavy burden was taken from the congregation."[26]

As the century drew to a close, the dietary laws were still strongly adhered to by the East-European Jews in the Chicago Jewish community. Violation of *Kashrut* was the exception not the rule. The supply of *kosher* food presented no problem. Since all food production and distribution became substantial commercial enterprises, merchants were only too eager to satisfy their clientele that desired food prepared in accord with the observance of Jewish dietary laws. Individual rabbis, whose authority was honored in the community provided rabbinic supervision for many of the food commodities. As to the German Jews, or to be more correct, as to those who identified themselves with Reform Judaism, the dietary laws presented no problem, as their observance was formally abrogated by the movement.[27]

4

The Home, the Younger People, the Women in the Community

AN integral part of community life is the home, and the social behavior of the people outside of the home. It has been said: "The Jews' home has rarely been his 'castle.' Throughout the ages, it has been something far higher—his sanctuary."[1] Concerning Jewish home life in the early Jewish community of Chicago, one of the German-Jewish pioneers observed:

> The houses in which we lived in those days in Chicago were modest one or two story frame dwellings. Samuel Cole was the only one occupying a brick home, though Mr. Shubert lived over his brick store. Business houses were at no great distance from the homes and the men were generally to be found with their families after business hours. The women occupied themselves with needlework, household duties and reading. The children were reared to honor and obey their parents. The father had not yet attained the dignity of the title 'governor,' nor was the mother mentioned as the 'old woman'. If the Jewish home was not quite what it was in Germany, it was still founded on Jewish love and respect.[2]

It is obvious from the last remark that there was something wanting in the Jewish home in Chicago. From the earliest times, it seems that certain barriers were created between the parents and their children. This was particularly true between the immigrant parents and their American-born children, or their immigrant children, who were reared in America. These barriers are not difficult to explain. Younger people, especially children, assimilate with the environment much sooner than older people. Young people and children brought to America by their parents Americanized much sooner than their elders. The retarded progress of the older generation often conflicted with the swift progress of the younger generation. This was reflected in their different social, cultural and religious interests.

One of the contributing factors to the cleavage between the old and the young, which has been overlooked by many, was the anomalous conduct of some of the parents. It happened often that the parents, who were imbued with the "old home" piety, and who themselves would abstain from working on the Sabbath and guard carefully against the violation of any religious traditions, had no control over their children's total disregard of the Jewish heritage. Some parents indeed complained about it, but did nothing to prevent it. The children who at times earned as much as, and sometimes even more than, "the old man," the common objectionable connotation of the father, would help "to support the house." This gave them privileges beyond those allowed by convention. As a consequence the interests between the old and the young diverged in different directions. Yet, the Jewish home in nineteenth century Chicago, by and large, was kept intact, and remained the sanctuary of Jewish family life.

The early Jewish settlers, whether from Germany or eastern Europe, had many children and raised large families. This was also true of the first and sometimes even the second generation native born parents. Home and family responsibility, as well as the relationship between one family and the other, were of serious concern. As Leopold Mayer relates:

> The people clung together in sorrow and joy. The good fortune of one was the happiness of the other while the gloom of one cast a shadow over all. Thus the first Friday in Chicago, I watched, with one of my brothers, at the bedside of the sick child of a friend.[3]

Life in general, in mid-century Chicago, seemed to have already been, in accordance with the standards of those days, somewhat accelerated. The city was expanding rapidly and with it the pace of living. "The people in Chicago were always in a hurry," observed some of the spectators at the Fair in 1859, but they were courteous and generally liberal to one another regardless of racial, cultural or religious background.[4] The Hebrew publication *Ha-Maggid,* in 1862, remarked with envy that in the western part of the United States, in Chicago and other cities, where large and new Jewish communities were growing up and Judaism was flourishing, "the Jews enjoy equal rights with other inhabitants in

all matters and there is no difference between the Jews and the other people."[5] In fact, a casual remark of a reporter in the *Daily Democrat,* in 1851, reveals a very high regard for the Jewish citizenry in Chicago. "The Jews in our city are not numerous," states this reporter, "but they are very respectable and public-spirited."[6]

Because of the smallness of the Jewish community in early Chicago, and the limited number of young people, social functions were not numerous, and community activity in general was circumscribed. However, as the community grew, social life, cultural and other community functions came to occupy a very important role. The gauge by which we measure such activity, as a rule, is the number of organizations and their functions in the community. Youth and adult organizations in nineteenth century Chicago were in abundance. The young people were banded together for charitable, social, fraternal and cultural pursuits. They found these interests in a multiplicity of philanthropic, dramatic, social and literary societies. The adults found their interests in clubs, lodges, societies, welfare groups, fraternal orders, charity societies, sewing circles and a multiplicity of other organizations.

One often wonders: "Why so many organizations, particularly youth and young adults?" The reason is not difficult to find — for, there is a definite correlation between the synagogue's stronghold on the people and the number of non-synagogue and youth organizations. The lesser the influence of the synagogue, the greater the number of organizations. In early Chicago the synagogue was the centripetal force of Jewish community life, and the congregation occupied a most exalted and important place in the life of the people. Young and old found a place in them and they did not need to seek other outlets for their interests. The congregation and the synagogue served not only as media for common religious expression, but afforded excellent opportunities for social contact, cultural advancement, and philanthropic activity. Gradually, as the community expanded, the congregations and the synagogues lost their stronghold on the people. Some attribute the cause to the spirit of emancipation, which loomed high in the nineteenth century, and to the prevailing

economic and political situations. Others, to the advancement of scientific knowledge and the cultural progress of the age. There are some who find the reason in the lack of central rabbinic authority. Whatever the contributing factors, other outlets for the emotional satisfaction and social needs of the people had to evolve. Thus the rapid increase of the number of non-synagogue organizations. When charity work was part of the synagogue, the various charity organizations were synagogue adjuncts or at least affiliates. With charity becoming a hobby of some of the individuals and almost a private enterprise on the part of some specific groups, charity organizations of older and younger people began to mushroom overnight in all sections of the city. Within time, belonging to, or being active in, these organizations, became to many a conscience-offering and a vicarious atonement for not attending religious services and for lack of interest in the synagogue and in the observance of Jewish ritual. In the German-Jewish community, where Reform ideology, reducing the ritual practices to a minimum, penetrated deeply in the nineteenth century, charity became a substitute for many a shortcoming. That often Judaism was killed with charity was more than a pun. It was a prosaic truth. The organization of charity groups, therefore, became so popular that even the youngest found an outlet for their emotional and religious aspiration in them. In the course of time, there was organized the *Young Ladies Benevolent Association,* the *Young Ladies' Flower Mission,* to visit the sick at the Jewish Hospital; the *Young Ladies' Aid Society;* the *Daughters of Charity; Young Standards,* a charity organization of boys under thirteen; the *Little Helpers,* consisting of girls of twelve and over; the *Young Helpers of K.A.M.;* the *Young Girls' Sewing Society* organized to assist Russian Jewish exiles; the *Work Basket Society,* consisting of young ladies of the ages of fifteen to seventeen; the *Young Ladies' Buds of Charity,* and other similar groups.[7]

The charity organizations, however, could not fully satisfy all the emotional needs of youth. Young people are interested in athletic activities, social functions and cultural pursuits as well. Earlier in the community the athletic desires were easily satisfied by the *Turnverein.* Jewish young people who

wanted to take advantage of the German or Bohemian *Turnverein* were not barred from doing so. The discrimination which existed abroad did not seem to prevail here. Within the course of time, Jewish organizations were founded to give vent to the athletic needs of the young folks. The *Young Men's Hebrew Association,* which was founded in 1877, and had a north, a south and a west side group, was one such organization. Later, the *Chicago Young Men's and Young Women's Hebrew Association* devoted part of its program to athletics, in which the young ladies also indulged. Other groups engaged in athletic activities also. The final evolution of most of these groups was the Jewish Community Center, the nucleus of which was the *Hebrew Institute,* which evolved towards the end of the century.[8]

Social functions in the early community, one of the Jewish pioneers recalled, "were limited. Engagements were still few, but the young folks longed for diversion. In summer, carriage rides and joint walks in the fields, and in winter, sleigh rides were in order; sometimes there were even theatre parties given . . . dances, today called balls were difficult to arrange; but we had them."[9]

As the population increased, it became necessary at an early date to form specific organizations for social activities. But, inasmuch as every existing organization could arrange social functions, there was no need for a great number of social groups per sè. Yet, gradually many such groups did come into existence. Among the adults, the *B'nai Sholom Ladies' Social Society* led the way. Among the younger set, the *Terra Cotta Social Club,* the *Silver Star Pleasure Club,* the *Rival Social Club,* the *South Side Social Circle, "Our Circle" Social Club,* the *Union Social Club,* the *Young Men's Hebrew Pleasure Club,* are but a few examples of the many others that mushroomed in the various neighborhoods in the city.[10]

The overwhelming majority of extra-synagogue organizations in the nineteenth century Jewish community of Chicago consisted of literary societies, which satisfied the interests of the people in music, art, drama, and in various literary activities. The literary society was not confined to young

people only—adults as well organized or joined literary groups in the community.

The popularity of the literary societies was nation-wide. Throughout the country, in every Jewish community, such groups flourished, and most everyone followed the same pattern of organization and program.[11] The high repute in which these societies were held throughout the country can be gauged from the fact that, in 1879, the liberal rabbis and Jewish scholars, particularly from the middle west, organized into the *Rabbinical Literary Society of the United States.*[12]

The interest in literary societies was evoked by the environment. In the second half of the nineteenth century it was in vogue for young people and adults of all denominations to form social fraternities, dramatic groups, musical associations and above all organizations devoted to literary activities and debating. This was particularly so among the German young people who had immigrated to the New World together with their parents during the German mass-immigration movement, and also among those who were born and reared here. Some of the Jewish young people were welcome and joined some of these societies. Occasionally, however, Jews were barred from membership.[13] In the early '50s of the century, literary societies consisting primarily of young people of German-Jewish parentage began to be organized in the Jewish community in America.[14] Most of these societies were not associated with any particular congregation in the community, though many of them met in the vestries of the various synagogues. In Chicago, however, some of the major and more popular of these groups were sponsored by the larger and more popular German-Jewish congregations in the city.[15]

The literary societies devoted their main efforts and energies to the presentation of literary, musical and dramatic programs for their members and for the community. Occasionally, they also presented fund-raising functions, the proceeds of which went for charity. Sometimes they presented purely social programs.[16]

The formation of literary societies in the Chicago Jewish community goes back to the earliest period of its existence. In the middle '50s, there already existed in the city a Jewish

literary society that bore the name "Mendelsohn."[17] Soon after the founding of the *United Hebrew Relief Association* in 1859, the *Clay Literary Society* became one of its constituent member organizations.[18] That organization united with the *Excelsior Dramatic Club* a year later to form the *Clay Literary and Dramatic Association,* which was still active in the '80s of the century.[19] In the late '60s, when the Jewish Hospital was organized and built, the *Washington Irving Literary Association* took an active part in its maintenance.[20] The most flourishing period, however, of Jewish literary societies in Chicago, was in the last quarter of the century. From that period the names of no less than fifty-four different organizations of this type, and references to at least four additional groups whose names are not mentioned, came down to us.[21] The most popular of these organizations, seemed to have been the *Zion Literary Society,* which became popularly known as *Zion Lit.*[22] This group was organized and sponsored in 1877, by *Zion Congregation.* Dr. Bernhard Felsenthal was its guiding spirit.

During the same years, the *Sinai Literary Association,* which met at *Sinai Temple,* was founded and a year later the *Addisonian Literary Association,* which became the *K.A.M.* group, came into existence.[23] Before long, these congregations did not remain alone in the sponsoring of literary associations. The *Kehilath B'nai Sholom,* now part of Temple Isaiah Israel; the *B'nai Abraham Congregation,* now part of *Washington Boulevard Temple;* the *North Chicago Hebrew Congregation,* now *Temple Sholom,* organized literary societies of their own. Before the century was over one or more literary societies flourished in every section of the city, meeting in synagogue vestries, in halls and in homes.[24]

Some congregations had junior literary societies. Thus *Zion* had a group known as *Young People's Society* which was dedicated to the study of Biblical literature. *B'nai Abraham* had the *Juvenile Literary Society.* There was also the *Excelsior Juvenile Literary Association,* which functioned on the near-west side.[25]

Within time some of the congregations accommodated more than one literary society. *The Progress Literary Society* met on alternate Sundays at *Sinai Temple* and so did the

Crescent Literary and Debating Society. The *Peerless Literary Society* met on alternate Sundays at *Zion Temple.* The *Progressive Literary Association* met at the *B'nai Sholom Temple.* The *B'nai Abraham Synagogue* was the home of the *Jewish Culture Association.* The *Montefiore Literary Association* as well as the *Knowledge Seekers* held their gatherings at the *K.A.M. Temple.*[26]

That there was a great deal of competition and conflict between many of the societies, goes without saying. In some instances, the conflict was quite apparent. When the *Sinai Literary Association* disbanded, the *Zion Literary Society* dedicated part of one of its programs to a humorous eulogy on the passing of that society. This was reported in the press curiously: "A paper was read at the *Zion Literary Society* giving a humorous touching elegy on the demised *Sinai Literary Association.*"[27]

Some of the wealthier and more popular literary societies published their own club paper. The names of at least five such papers came down to us: the *Sinai Herald*; the *Mendelsohn Oracle;* the *Zion Journal;* the *Lasker Review;* and the *Addisonian Oracle.*[28]

The literary programs conducted by all literary societies followed almost a single pattern. The following program outline is characteristic of all: 1) Address or remarks by the president or chairman of the program. 2) Music, instrumental or vocal or both. 3) Lecture or debate. 4) Recitations. 5) Dramatic presentation. 6) Declamations. 7) Reading of Essays of Poems. 8) Presentation of current events or society news.

A few typical programs of some of the more popular literary societies will be enlightening. At the *Sinai Literary Association,* on January 16, 1878, the "literary exercises," as the programs were called, consisted of: 1) Reading — "A Leap-Year Wooing"; 2) Declamation—"Charley McCree"; 3) Reading—Selection from "The Whickers"; 4) Declamation — "Dan Pharton"; 5) Reading of "Sinai Herald"; 6) Oration on "The Chinese Question."

A typical program of the *Lasker Literary Society* contained: 1) Reading from "Hamlet"; 2) Piano solo; 3) Violin

solo; 4) Critical review of the Crusades; 5) Quotation from "Sir Walter Scott."

The *Mendelsohn Literary Association* advertised a literary exercise consisting of: 1) Piano selection; 2) Declamation "Learning to Dance"; 3) Reading of "Mendelsohn Oracle"; 4) Debate — "Should Grant have a third term?".

One of the programs at the *Zion Literary Society* contained: 1) Recitation — "Koenigin Sabbath" by Heine; 2) German Song; 3) Debate on pending political crisis in Europe; 4) Reading of "*Zion Journal*"; 5) Reading of humorous "touching" elegy on demise of *Sinai Literary Association;* 6) "Spelling bee."[29]

Some literary societies did plan to have Jewish contents in its programs. For example the *Jewish Culture Association* which met every Monday evening at the *B'nai Abraham Temple* set for its goal the following program outline: 1) Jewish history — 30 minutes; 2) Essay or talk on any Jewish custom, social or religious — 15 minutes; 3) Literary subject — 30 minutes.[30] But this outline was not always followed. The closest approach was one of the programs which lists the following agenda: 1) Historical sketch "Saul"; 2) The ghetto described by Carl Emil Franzos in his "The Jews of Bornow."[31]

The programs of the societies were frequently criticized for over-emphasizing music. On one occasion the Jewish Advance remarked editorially: "We have noticed that at the meetings of our young men societies, musical exercises are given preponderance to. It seems however, that it would be most appropriate to pay more attention to literature."[32]

Some societies had special German sections that had their own officers and program. These were organized by some of the members who "admired the richness of German Literature." One such group was the *German Section* of the *Zion Literary Association,* which was organized early in '79.[33]

Some of the larger literary societies such as *Sinai Literary Association,* the *Jewish Culture Association, Zion Literary Society* and the *Knowledge Seekers* at *K.A.M.* sponsored monthly public lectures and forums, that attracted large crowds. One of the programs of the *Utopians* was attended

by "nearly three hundred persons, many of whom were representatives of other local Jewish Literary Societies."[34]

Declamations and Recitations were very popular elements in the literary exercises.[35] Some of the declamations were in the German language.[36] Debating occupied a very prominent place.[37] Occasionally debates were arranged between two societies, as was the case in the joint program of the *Utopian* and *Lasker* societies, where the subject debated was: "Resolved that the course of action pursued by the strikers of Homestead was justifiable."[38]

The overwhelming majority of literary societies flourished in the German-Jewish community. However, the younger people among the East-European Jews could not be outdone by the German-Jewish youth. Influenced by their German co-religionists, the younger set of the East-European immigrants organized their own literary associations. As in all other aspects of Jewish community life in Chicago, there was a sharp division between the literary societies among the German Jews and those among the East-European Jews. Among the former, the emphasis was put on general culture and music, and Jewish culture was almost totally neglected. In the latter, Jewish culture was given priority. Another important difference was found in the constituency of the organizations. While the general membership of the German-Jewish literary societies were recruited from the rank and file, the membership of the East-European societies consisted primarily of the intellectuals and the intelligencia. The characteristic distinction of the East-European groups, however, was that they were intrinsically Jewish. They provided a medium for literary expression and creativity of the pioneer Yiddish and Hebrew writers. The Hebrew and Yiddish languages were used in most of them.

The first of these literary societies dates back to the early '80s. On January 12, 1883, a few intellectuals of the East-European Jewish community organized an association for the propagation of Hebrew literature under the name *Dorshei Safruth Ho-Ivrith* (Seekers of Hebrew Literature). This literary society, which had among its attendants at meetings and participants in the program, Dr. Felsenthal, Rabbis Anixter and Alperstein, and Herman Eliassof, produced the

Hebrew monthly *Keren Or* (Ray of Light), which was dedicated to Jewish affairs, scholarship and literature.[39] In 1892, another Hebrew and Yiddish speaking literary society of East-European Jews was organized under the name *Sopho Beruroh* (Clear Language).[40] This group, in 1893, together with the earlier *Dorshei Safruth Ho-Ivrith,* combined to organize the *Shocherei Sfath Ever,* which also bore an English subtitle *Hebrew Literary Society.*[41] The activity of this organization was quite extensive among the East-European Jews. The group grew by leaps and bounds, and was augmented continually by the intellectuals of the new East-European Jewish immigrants. With the rise of Zionism, the *Shocherei Sfath Ever* became the rendezvous of all Zionist activities. The Knights of Zion, the earliest Zionist Federation, made its headquarters under its roof, and "many notable conventions and conferences" took place under its auspices.[42]

Lest we gain the impression that the literary societies, among the East-European Jews, consisted exclusively of the Hebrew and Yiddish speaking groups, it is well to record that, in the nineteenth century East-European Jewish community in Chicago, there existed a number of important literary associations similar to those of the German-Jewish community. These groups used the English language in their proceedings and programs. One such organization was the *Disraeli Literary Society,* which was founded in 1888. Another was the *Workingmen's Education Club,* which became the training ground for the Jewish Labor Movement. The membership of the *Levinsohn Literary Society* and the *Self Educational Club* was likewise of East-European stock.[43]

Another index of flourishing community life is the activity of women's organizations. Since time immemorial, women have occupied an exalted place in Jewish community life. The Bible speaks in no less complimentary terms of the matriarchs than it does of the patriarchs. Deborah occupies as important a place among the Judges as does Gideon. Jewish heroines are accorded recognition in no less a measure than the Jewish heroes. The ancient sages respected the opinon of Beruria as they did that of Rabbi Meier. Indeed,

the Jewish annals of the past are replete with many names of noble women who served God and Israel gloriously.

It is, therefore, not surprising that from the earliest days of Jewish community life in Chicago, women played an important role in the religious, social, fraternal, educational and charitable activities. It is no legend that because of the religious zeal of a woman—Mrs. Dilah Kohn—the community hastened to invite a *shohet* to come to the city, so that *kosher* meat be available for the Jewish home.[44] When Rabbi Messing came to Chicago, he was instrumental in organizing the *B'noth Sholom* (Daughters of Peace) for the purpose of propagating more enthusiastically the practice of kindling the Sabbath lights and the preparation of the Sabbath loaves.[45] The women saw to it that the holy Scrolls in the synagogues have the proper covers, and the arks have beautifully embroidered curtains with religious symbolism. The women at *K.A.M.* made sure to present the *hazan* with a nice cap and gown to dignify his position. Among the German-Jewish congregations, women very early joined the choir in the singing of the synagogue liturgy, and the religious school faculties to teach the children of the community their religious faith.

Jewish women's organizations flourished in Chicago practically from the inception of Jewish community life. There were the congregations' sewing circles, the ladies' and the young ladies' benevolent associations, and the women's societies among the German Jews. Some bore German names like the *Frauen Wohlthaetigkeits Verein* and the *Deborah Verein.* Before the community was a quarter of a century old, there were as many women's groups in the city as congregations and men's organizations.

Women's organizations were not confined to the German-Jewish community only. Among the East-European Jews, there were also organized many such groups independently or as auxiliaries to other organizations. Among these groups was one bearing the Hebrew name *Agudath Nashim* (Organization of Women).[46]

Up to the last two decades of the century, the primary efforts of all women's organizations were concentrated on charity activities, working as a rule for the synagogue, the

United Hebrew Relief Association, the Hospital, or for any other recognized cause. The meetings of the societies indeed served as a good medium for social contact and the gatherings provided a social outlet for the members. However, most of the groups were primarily instruments of other organizations. Later in the century, there were founded Jewish women's organizations of an independent nature, comparable to the men's organizations. In the last decades of the century, a number of special women's lodges of the various national fraternal orders began to flourish. The *Order Brith Abraham* established the *Martha Washington Lodge No.* 20, and the *Ladies of Illinois Lodge No.* 31. The *Order Free Sons of Israel* chartered the *Esther Lodge No.* 7 for women. The *Independent Order Sons of Benjamin* organized a ladies' lodge, the *Lady Montefiore Lodge No.* 13. Then there was the *Rebecca Lodge* and the *Johannah Lodge,* that exerted a tremendous influence in the community. By the end of the century, the ladies' lodges were legion.

The organization that attracted the widest attention and climaxed the activities of the women's groups in the city was the *National Council of Jewish Women,* which was founded in 1893. *The National Council of Jewish Women* was a direct outgrowth of the *Jewish Women's Congress,* which was organized at the *World's Columbian Exposition* in Chicago in 1893, and was an integral part of the *Jewish Denominational Congress* and the *World's Parliament of Religions.* It was the first national gathering of Jewish women. There can be no doubt that the enthusiastic gatherings and functions of the Jewish women at the various *Congresses* at the *Columbian Exposition* was a manifestation of the spirit of emancipation of women in general. Dr. Hirsch alluded to this later when he wrote in *The American Jewess* "The last decades of the nineteenth century will probably live in history as the age of women's emancipation."[47]

Hannah G. Solomon and Sadie American were the leading figures in the *Jewish Women's Congress.* The Congress opened on the fourth of September at ten o'clock in the morning, at the Art Palace. The large attendance required an overflow meeting and evoked a comment by a reporter: "Women elbowed, trod on others' toes, and did everything

else they could without violating the proprieties, to gain the privilege of standing edgewise in a hall heavy with the fragrance of roses."

The *Women's Congress* lasted four days, and was very elaborate. Among the papers read were: "Jewish Women of Biblical and Medieval Days to 1500" by Mrs. Louis Mannheimer; "Women in the Synagogue" by Miss Ray Frank; "Women as Wage-Workers with Special Reference to Directing Immigrants" by Miss Julia Richman; and "Influence of the Jewish Religion in the Home" by Miss Mary Cohen.

As part of the *Women's Congress* program on September 21st, Miss Henrietta Szold was delegated to deliver a paper at the "World's Parliament of Religions" on "What Judaism has done for Women." On the 26th, Miss Josephine Lazarus was invited to read a paper on "The Outlook for Judaism," with special reference to women's contributions.[48]

As a souvenir of the Congress, the women published a very attractive "collection of the principal melodies of the Synagogue, from the earliest times to the present," under the title "Songs of Zion." The compilation was edited by Reverend Alois Kaiser and Reverend William Sparger, who also wrote the introduction. Dr. Cyrus Adler wrote the preface. It was advertised for sale, curiously enough, as "A book for every Jewish household, most appropriate as a confirmation, wedding or birthday gift, and in use by many Church choirs."

At the opening session of the *Women's Congress,* Mrs. Jacobson of St. Louis read a poem "White Day of Peace" especially written for the occasion by Miriam del Banco of Chicago. The author was in the audience. At the final session, which was very well attended, Miss Sadie American presented a paper on "Organization," which resulted in the immediate founding of the *National Council of Jewish Women.* The name was simply an adaptation of the then existing national organization called "National Council of Women," which the Jewish group joined shortly afterwards.[49]

At the last session of the Congress, a resolution defining the aims and purposes of the *National Council of Jewish Women* was clearly set forth:

Resolved, That the National Council of Jewish Women shall:

1. Seek to unite in closer relations women interested in the work of religion, philanthropy and education and shall consider practical means of solving problems in these fields.
2. Shall encourage the study of the underlying principles of Judaism, the history, literature and customs of the Jews and their bearing upon their own and the world's history.
3. Shall apply knowledge gained in this study to the improvement of the Sabbath-schools and in the work of social reform.
4. Shall secure the interest and aid of all influential persons in arousing the general sentiment against religious persecutions wherever, whenever and against whomsoever shown, and in finding means to prevent such persecution.[50]

A committee composed of one delegate from each state was appointed to draft a constitution, and to perfect the final arrangements. Mrs. Hannah G. Solomon was elected president. The Council subsequently became a service organization, with a five-point program consisting of: 1) Contemporary Jewish affairs; 2) International relations; 3) Social legislation; 4) Social welfare; and 5) Service to foreign born.

The popularity of Jewish women's organizations and activities in the community, and the desire of Jewish womanhood to be articulate, in the last decade of the century, prompted the appearance of a national monthly published in the interest of Jewish women, *The American Jewess*.[51]

5

The Jew and his Neighbor

AS the Chicago Jewish community grew in numbers and expanded into the various sections of the city, social as well as other contacts between the Jews and their non-Jewish neighbors were natural consequences. Inevitable results of social contacts between groups of different denominations are intermarriages and conversions, which are not always pleasantly received. There are no statistical records extant to show the extent of intermarriages and conversions in the nineteenth century Jewish community of Chicago. If we can rely upon indirect evidence based on pronouncements of various leaders and decisions of congregations, intermarriage among the German Jews was not uncommon. In 1880, Dr. Bernhard Felsenthal bemoaned the problem of intermarriage in an article in the *Deborah,* in which he pointed out that intermarriage was undesirable from the standpoint of Judaism and resulted in unhappiness. The problem of intermarriage, naturally, involved conversion. In the very early period of Jewish community life in Chicago we find that a Quaker girl who married a Jewish man was converted to Judaism by a tribunal of three, one of whom was an ordained rabbi from another city, and one a layman.[1] In 1868, there is a record of six Christians who were converted to Judaism.[2] Several Catholics were converted to Judaism, in 1869, by Rabbi Messing.[3] Two years later, we hear of two women and four children who were converted to Judaism.[4] An American correspondent of the *Hazefirah,* reported in 1880, a case of an "undesirable conversion to Judaism."[5]

In an article in the *Zeitgeist,* Felsenthal pointed out that the regrettable feature of intermarriage is not mingling of blood, but the falling away from Judaism of the descendants of the mixed marriages. Felsenthal advises as a means of

preventing this, that non-Jewish parties to such marriages be accepted as proselytes without unnecessary formality.[6]

In 1880, the Court of Appeals of the *Independent Order B'nai B'rith* rendered a decision that the offspring of mixed marriages are eligible for membership.[7] Felsenthal did not particularly approve of this action, though in a reply to the question whether a child of a mixed marriage is a Jew, he stated unequivocally "yes, provided he himself desires to be considered one."[8] In regard to circumcision as a requirement for Jewish proselytes, Felsenthal maintained that in light of the universal character of the Jewish religion, the rite is not considered indispensable.[9]

The conversion from one denomination to another is not a one-way traffic. Just as there were converts to Judaism, there were also some conversions to Christianity. In 1863, there was established in Chicago the *Western Hebrew Christian Brotherhood* for the specific purpose of converting Jews to Christianity.[10] The organization was an auxiliary of the *Hebrew Christian Brotherhood* of New York. Within a year that organization boasted that it had converted four Jews out of every one hundred and fifty visited. However, it would seem that the expense of running the organization did not warrant its continuation in Chicago, for after a few years nothing more was heard of this *Brotherhood.*

In 1869, the *Chicago Times* published a rather sarcastic article on the failure of two Catholic missionaries who attempted to convert Jews in Chicago.[11] This article attracted the attention of two European publications which republished it in translation.

While there was a great apathy to conversions not only among East-European Jews, but also among the German Jews, and many of the rabbis of the Reform synagogues expressed this apathy from the pulpit and in the press, some of the Jewish parents in the German-Jewish community did not hesitate to send their daughters to be educated in Christian schools. This public violation of Jewish sensitivity was severely criticized in the Jewish press. An editorial in 1881 points out: "A very bad custom is coming into practice among the Chicago Israelites. Of late many are sending their daughters to convents to be educated there." After elaborat-

ing on the evils consequent to such a thing, the writer declared: "Our ministers should take cognizance of this deplorable state of affairs and endeavor to check the evil before it is too late."[12]

The contact between groups of various denominations, on the other hand, at times creates excellent media for good will, brotherhood, and better understanding. This is so, especially, where the religious leadership is not predisposed to prejudice, and fundamental democratic principles form the basis of mutual understanding. In Chicago, mutual goodwill prevailed among all groups from the very beginning of its existence.[13] Similarly, from the inception of the Jewish community in Chicago, the relationship between the Jews and the non-Jews in the city was amiable. Immediately after the fire, and later, on many important occasions, Christian churches permitted Jewish congregations to hold religious services in their edifices. On several occasions the municipal government permitted Jewish charity organizations to use city property for fund-raising functions. When the ladies' group of the *Hebrew Benevolent Society* petitioned the City Council for the use of the South Market Hall for a benefit affair, their wish was promptly and generously granted. Non-Jews contributed generously to Jewish charitable appeals, and non-Jewish physicians helped considerably in the planning and in the servicing of the hospitals erected by the *U.H.R.A.*[14] The Jewish hospitals and dispensaries as well as the *Jewish Training School,* on the other hand, were all established on a non-sectarian basis, and at times the *Michael Reese Hospital* accommodated and treated without charge more non-Jewish than Jewish patients.[15] On various occasions the Jewish community made special collections and contributions for non-Jewish causes.[16]

It is to be observed that the major proponents of the good-will movement came from the German-Jewish community. This is not at all surprising. Nor is it to be attributed to the assimilationist trends and attitudes of the German Jews. It was due simply to the fact that the German Jews were more exposed to their non-Jewish neighbors, and were less ghettoized than their East-European brethren of faith. The German Jews were also more cosmopolitan in character

at that time, something which the East-European Jews acquired one or two generations later.

In the late '70s, planned enterprises were undertaken calculated to create a better understanding among various groups within the Jewish community and between the Jewish and non-Jewish population.

In November of 1878, a "Joint Thanksgiving Service" was held at the *K.A.M. Temple* on Indiana Avenue, with Rabbis Kohler and Adler officiating. In the same year Dr. Felsenthal organized a *Society for the Promotion of the Study of the Old Testament in the Original Language,* which met on alternate Sundays at the First Methodist Church.[17]

At that time, also, the *Ladies' Union of the German Relief Society* conducted some interfaith activities and elected a Jewish woman to the board of the organization.[18]

When Dr. Hirsch came to Chicago, good-will and interfaith activities increased to a great extent, because of his keen interest in such movements. On September 25, 1881, Dr. Hirsch addressed a "concourse" of four thousand people at the *Plymouth Congregational Church.*[19] Similar functions addressed by rabbis took place throughout the decade, culminating in an unusual interfaith program which took place in 1890. On November 24th and 25th of that year a *Joint Conference of Jewish and Christian Clergymen* was held at the *Methodist Episcopal Church* on Clark and Washington Streets. The dominant figure at the Conference, and the one responsible for calling it, was the Reverend William E. Blackstone. On the first day, the Reverend E. P. Goodwin delivered an eloquent address on *The Attitude of the Nation and Christian People toward the Jews.* Dr. B. Felsenthal presented a discourse on *Why Israelites Do Not Accept Jesus as their Messiah.* At the evening session Dr. Adler opened the proceeding with the reading of Psalm 25, and Dr. E. G. Hirsch delivered an address on *The Religious Condition of the Jews Today and their Attitude toward Christianity.*

The second day of the conference featured a lecture by Dr. Stolz on *The Post-Biblical History of Israel* and a paper, which was written originally in Hebrew by Rabbi A. J. G. Lesser, spiritual leader of the *Beth Hamedrash Hagodol*

U'bnai Jacob, and translated for the occasion into English by Herman Eliassof.

The theme of Rabbi Lesser's paper was *V'hoyoh B'acharith Ha-yomin — It shall come to pass in the end of days.* Non-Jewish clergymen who participated were: Reverend J. M. Caldwell, who spoke on *Jerusalem and Palestine as they are today and the Restoration of Israel,* and Reverend David C. Marquis, who delivered a talk on *Israel's Messiah.* A Jewish speaker, whose name did not come down to us, and who was recorded just as "an Israelite" spoke on *The Anti-semitism of Today.* Professor H. M. Scott concluded the Conference by summarizing on the theme: *Israelites and Christians, their Mutual Relations and Welfare; or Lessons of this Conference.*[20]

Earlier in the same year, the Jews of Chicago manifested their good-will toward the non-Jewish community by coming to the assistance of *The University of Chicago.* Had it not been for this assistance, it is doubtful whether the University would have been able to weather the financial crisis it faced at the time. Early in 1890, the old *Chicago University* underwent a reorganization and refounding under the new and present name *The University of Chicago.* One of the major problems of the new institution was the lack of funds to operate adequately and to initiate the desired educational program, which ultimately made the University one of the outstanding academic institutions of learning in the country. J. D. Rockefeller promised a very generous contribution to the University on the condition that the institution raised a certain sum locally. Amid these financial difficulties, the officers of the University approached Berthold Lowenthal, who was president of *Sinai Congregation* at the time, and one of the leading bankers in the city. Mr. Lowenthal promised he would do all in his power "to initiate a movement among the Jews of Chicago to aid the University."[21] At first he persuaded Dr. Hirsch and Eli B. Felsenthal, a graduate of the old *Chicago University* (class of '78) to join in initiating the movement. Jointly they called a mass meeting on April 8, 1890, at the *Standard Club,* and there it was voted to raise the sum of $25,000.00 for the new *University of Chicago.*[22] Within a period of two months, the committee selected at

this mass meeting to obtain contributions, turned over to the University $25,500.00 besides $15,000.00 secured previously from Jewish alumni of the old university.[23] The subscriptions pledged totalled $28,350.00 This sum was finally increased to $35,000.00.[24] A contemporary observer reports: "Their (the Jews) original contribution of $35,000.00 saved the first donation of J. D. Rockefeller of $600,000.00 being made at a time when it seemed impossible to fulfill the conditions attaching to that gift." [25]

Later *Sinai Congregation* independently donated $5,000.00 to the University for a Semitic library.[26]

An event in the City of Chicago which was instrumental in fostering genuine universal good-will was the *World's Columbian Exposition,* which opened on May 1, 1893. The Exposition was popularly referred to as the *World's Fair.* In 1890, the City of Chicago passed the million mark in its population. The city was growing by leaps and bounds. The *World's Columbian Exposition* gave it even more impetus for expanding and becoming the metropolis of the middle-west. The Exposition also had its effect on the growth of the Jewish community. As one writer puts it: "The Exposition, by the impetus it gave to the settlement of great numbers of Jews in Chicago, removed the limitations from the Chicago Jewish community and gradually brought about the realization that it was destined to become one of the largest and most important Jewish communities in the world." [27]

It is not generally known that the moving spirit behind the Columbian Exposition, which assumed a magnitude of world-wide proportions, was the late Dr. Cyrus Adler. One day in 1890, Dr. Adler was riding in a smoking car with William Elroy Curtis, Washington correspondent of a Chicago newspaper. Mr. Curtis was telling Dr. Adler about the plans for a great exposition in Chicago which was to be held in 1892 to celebrate the four-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America. Dr. Adler then commented that "they ought not follow along the lines of the *Centennial Exposition* which was very notable in its day for having gathered together the products of the world, but they ought to go one step further and try to gather together the people of the world and show them at their work." [28] Dr. Adler further

suggested in the course of the conversation that, at the Chicago Exposition, they could do for the Orient, on a large scale, what was done at the Rue de Cairo at the Paris Exposition of 1889, on a small scale.[29]

This conversation was overheard by James W. Ellworth, a prominent Chicago merchant and collector, who happened to be acquainted with Curtis, and who extended an invitation to Dr. Adler to come to Chicago and appear before the Board of Directors of the *World's Columbian Exposition* to explain his idea. Dr. Adler accepted the invitation. When he presented his idea before the Board, every member received it with great enthusiasm. The fear of financial difficulty to implement the idea was soon dissolved by another idea of Dr. Adler. It was that the foreign merchants organize syndicates which would pay the expenses of building, bringing over people, merchandise and all other needs for the Exposition, in lieu of the privilege of their having the sole right to sell the goods of their respective countries on the Exposition grounds.

In accordance with these ideas, which ultimately led to the appointment of Dr. Adler to travel in the Orient for over a year to arrange for representation of the various countries at this World's Fair, the *World's Columbian Exposition* was finally opened in the presence of the President of the United States. It was one of the greatest events in the history of nineteenth century America.

The Jews of Chicago took an active interest in the Fair. When the grounds were dedicated eleven hundred members of the Chicago lodges of the fraternal order *Somech Nofelim* marched in procession in full regalia.[30]

Of outstanding significance to the Jewish community in America in general, and to the Jewish community of Chicago in particular, at the *World's Columbian Exposition,* were three programs: *The Jewish Denominational Congress,* the *Jewish Women's Congress,* and the *World's Parliament of Religions.*

The *Jewish Denominational Congress,* was one of a number of other Denominational Congresses associated with the general *Parliament of Religions,* one of the major events of the Fair. Originally the Congress was to convene on Mon-

day, August 28, at 10:00 A.M. at the *K.A.M.* temple on Indiana Ave. and 33rd St., and to continue for four days. Later, the opening was changed to the 27th and it was scheduled to be held at the Memorial Art Palace on Michigan Avenue and Adams Street. The event was publicized as follows: "This Congress is of paramount importance to the Jews, the program is intensely interesting, and the audience should be limited only by the capacity of the rooms."[31]

The program of the *Jewish Denominational Congress* was very elaborate. Among the papers presented were: *The Synagogue and the Church and their Mutual Relations with Reference to their Ethical Teachings* by Rabbi K. Kohler; *The Fundamental Doctrine of Judaism* by Rabbi I. M. Wise; *Popular Errors about the Jews* by Rabbi Joseph Silverman; *Ethics of the Talmud* by Rabbi M. Mielziner; *Contributions of the Jews to the Preservation of the Sciences of the Middle Ages* by Rabbi S. Sale; *Position of Woman among the Jews* by Rabbi M. Landsberg.[32]

The organization of the *Jewish Denominational Congress* and the general Jewish participation in the *World's Parliament of Religions* was delegated to the *Central Conference of American Rabbis* and the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations.* A joint committee consisting of representatives of the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations,* the *Central Conference, Congress of Jewish Women* and the local Chicago committee, with Rabbi Joseph Stolz of Chicago acting as secretary, planned all programs and made all arrangements.[33] The speakers at the Congress were predominantly Reform rabbis. Some of the papers were excellently written and presented from a denominational standpoint. Some papers contained a considerable amount of apologetics.[34]

The chairman of the first meeting was Dr. E. G. Hirsch. In response to the Address of Welcome given by C. S. Bonney, president of the *World's Congress Auxiliary of the Exposition,* under whose auspices all the Denominational Congresses were held, Dr. Hirsch said:

> **This hour, on the one hand, is a willingly accorded recognition —not that it is marvelous that in this country over which floats the emblem of religious liberty, the Jews should be given the permission to witness before the world to the faith that is within**

> them—it is self-evident under the principles upon which American society and American civilization have been reared. Not this, then fills us with joy—that we may, without trammel, tell the world at large of our aspirations, of the foundation upon which rests our ideal,—but that the world should now recognize us not as a nation among the nations; not as a race among the races; not as a people among the peoples—but as a religion among the religions; this it is that wings in this hour our soul to bold flight. Yes, we claim today, to be only a religious community.[35]

Dr. Hirsch concluded his remarks by saying: "We are glad of this opportunity to invite the world to the secrets of our faith and the ultimate tendency of our hopes. And we should be glad that when men have heard us, they shall say: "Why, you Jews are not different from us; you are men as we are; your hopes are our hopes; your beliefs are our beliefs. And why should the world not say this? Have we not all one Father? Has not one God created us all?"[36] From the tone of the papers read afterwards it is apparent that the emphasis was laid on common denominators rather than on differences, a thing which was not so obvious at the other Denominational Congresses.

Though the *Jewish Denominational Congress* had its desired effect as far as public relations were concerned, some of the leadership was not altogether satisfied with the way it finally evolved. A contemporary editorial comments:

> *The Jewish Congress* was in certain respects a disappointment. It labored under great difficulties. The time of the year, the fixing of which was not a matter of free choice, set for its meetings, was perhaps the most unhappy that could have been selected. With our holidays so near at hand, the Congress nominally international, could not but shrink to the dimensions of a national, yes, a sectional assembly. But it would be unjust to hold that no good was accomplished by the Congress. The papers read were all of remarkable character and showed scholarship and ability in a higher degree than was in some quarters expected . . . Maybe the expectation that the address would be preserved in a permanent form was instrumental in keeping many away who otherwise would have been among the audience.[37]

The general *Parliament of Religions* was opened Monday morning, September 11. The motto of the Parliament, suggested by Dr. H. Adler, Chief Rabbi of the British Empire, was: "Have we not all one Father? Has not one God created

us?" Every session was attended by an audience that tested the capacity of the hall. Fellowship and enthusiasm marked each gathering. Some of the Jewish papers presented in the course of the Parliament were: *Influence of the Hebrew Scriptures* by Dr. A. Kohut; *Jewish Contributions to Civilization* by Prof. D. D. Lyon; *The Greatness and Influence of Moses, the Jewish Law-giver* by Dr. G. Gottheil; *The Spirit and Influence of Rabbinism* by Reverend Isadore Myers; *The Outlook for Judaism* by Miss Josephine Lazarus, *What Judaism has done for Women* by Henrietta Szold; *Judaism and the Social Question* by Dr. Henry Berkowitz; *Fallacies About the Jews* by Dr. Joseph Silverman; *Universal Elements in Religion* by Dr. E. G. Hirsch; *The Sabbath in Judaism* by Dr. B. Felsenthal; *Ethics of the Talmud* by Dr. M. Mielziner.[38] The Reverend Dr. H. Pereira Mendes, the spiritual leader of the *Spanish-Portuguese Synagogue Shearith Israel,* New York, was among the distinguished visitors at the Parliament and also delivered an address.

The *Parliament of Religion* closed on Wednesday, September 27. The closing session, presided over by Dr. Hirsch, was indeed dramatic. The Archbishop of Zante, head of the Eastern Church, appeared at the session in his priestly vestments. After having been introduced by the chairman, the Archbishop, with a gracious salutation to the platform occupants and to the audience, spoke: "Most Honorable Ladies and Gentlemen: I am not a Jew. I am a Christian, a profound believer of the truth of the Gospel. I am always bound to defend the truth, and for this reason I present a paper here tonight." At the request of the Archbishop, Professor Small then read a prepared statement by the dignitary of the Eastern Church:

> **In the East the belief is current among the ignorant masses of the population, that the Jews use, for purposes of religious rites, the blood of Christian children, and in order to procure such blood, do not shrink from committing murder. In consequence of this belief, outbreaks against the Jews are frequent, and the innocent victims are subjected to many indignities and exposed to great danger. In view of the fact that such erroneous ideas are also current among the ignorant of other countries, and during the last decade, both Germany and Austria were the scene of trials of innocent Jews, under the accusation of having committed such ritual**

> murder, I, as a Christian Minister, ask this Congress to record our conviction that Judaism forbids murder of any kind, and that none of its sacred authorities and books command or permit murder, or the use of human blood for ritual practices, or religious ceremonies. The circulation of such slander against the adherents of a Monotheistic faith is un-Christian. The origin of the calumny must be traced to the Roman conceit, that early Christians used human blood in their religious observances. It is not consonant with Christian duty to allow this horrible charge to go unrebuked, and it is in the interest of Christianity's good repute that I ask this parliament to declare that Judaism and the Jews are innocent of the imputed crime, as were the Christians of the first century.[39]

An editorial in the *Reform Advocate* commented on this statement by saying: "The venerable Archbishop of Zante is entitled to the thanks of all Jews and Christians alike; and none who witnessed the scene, when the prelate, at the conclusion of the reading of his paper, lifted up his hands towards Heaven and broke out in the solemn words: 'Standing before God Almighty, I declare this horrible charge to be untrue', will ever forget the remarkable incident or not deem it the fortune of his life to have been present."[40]

Many discourses were delivered from the synagogue pulpits on the significance of the *World's Parliament of Religion.* In one of these discourses, Dr. Hirsch stated eloquently:

> God's truth is like a ray of the sun, broken by the prismatic medium and spread into the glowing tints of the rainbow. Each line stands for a certain element in the one thread of light that passed through the medium. Each line, therefore, has its own beauty. This was the fundamental thought of the *Parliament of Religions* not for conversion, not for controversy, but for cooperation did they meet together. The representatives of the most different creeds were invited to witness to their faith and voice their message. This *Parliament of Religions,* unique in the history of the world, will not pass away without lasting effects. It is of course too much to expect that seventeen days undo what in seventeen centuries has been produced; that overnight the weeds of prejudice and bigotry be uprooted. But the seed has been cast, and soon here and there a voice will be heard pleading for the higher and nobler religion of humanity, for a union of men and women, made all in the image of God, pilgriming up the height toward the last peak, where God's glory will be seen as a glory unknown to the Temples erected on the lower levels.
>
> This was the crowning glory of the Exposition this year, that Buddhist and Mohammedan, that Hindu and Chinese met with

> Jew and Christian, of different beliefs themselves, and under one roof, testified to the mystery of the one Father, whose greatest blessing, however, to man is the thought that all men are made in His image, and therefore are brothers. Thus, this season cannot have come and gone without lasting blessings. May we, then, remembering the inspiring sight when the buildings shall have disappeared, and when the last vestige of beauty shall be swept away, treasure beyond and underneath the external, the materially marvelous, this eternal and internal miracle, the principle for which and of which this Exposition was the outward monument. Prometheus freed, because slavery no longer in this world; Prometheus unbound, because competition no longer the fetish, but cooperation the sacred duty. Prometheus God-like and God-blest, because in all climes and in all creeds, in all lands and in all liturgies, the grand anthem chanted by him of the dignity of man, in which is proclaimed the Glory of God.[41]

As a direct outgrowth of the *Parliament of Religions,* the *First American Congress of Liberal Religious Societies* was convened at *Sinai Temple* on May 22-25, 1894, under the inspiration of Dr. Hirsch. The "Call" for this congress merits recording: "Believing in the great law and life of love, and desiring a nearer and more helpful fellowship in the social, educational, industrial, moral and religious thought and work of the world, the undersigned unite in calling an *American Congress of Liberal Religious Societies,* and such other churches and organizations of any name, as may be willing to recognize a common duty and to work in the spirit of kinship herein indicated."[42] The Congress was lauded editorially by a non-Jewish clergyman as "the beginning of the great church of the future, the church of humanity, in which 'there shall be neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free' but all shall be one in the love of God and man."[43] Another editorial commented on the Congress, the primary purpose of which was to "secure closer cooperation between the Universalists, Unitarian, Independent, Reformed Hebrew, Ethical Culture and other similar churches or societies," that it was evidence of "the greater individual freedom in thought, and the closer union in practical activities relating to religion."

6

With Malice Towards None

FROM the earliest day of their settlement the Jews of Chicago made all efforts to integrate themselves with the new environment, and to identify themselves completely with the new country, giving it on all occasions their uncompromising support and loyalty. Most of the Jewish immigrants, whether they came from Germany or from eastern Europe, experienced abroad hardships and discriminations. This caused them to be more appreciative of the environment of freedom, democracy and economic opportunity. The total identification of the Jewish settlers with the New World, and the new life, was part of ancient Jewish tradition. When the Jews were first dispersed from Judah, the prophet Jeremiah instructed them in the name of God: "Seek the peace of the city whither I have caused you to go, and pray unto the Lord for it; for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace."[1] In this spirit the Jews, wherever they lived, felt it their duty to perform loyally and to the full the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. In every land they gave of their best to the upbuilding of its institutions, the development, the progress, the prosperity, and the security of the country. Having found a genuine haven of liberty and equality in the United States, the Jews here gratefully reciprocated with loyal patriotism. This was later acknowledged publicly by one of the famous Presidents, who wrote:

> **The Jews of the United States have become indissolubly incorporated in the great army of American citizenship prepared to make all sacrifices for the country, either in peace or war, and striving for the perpetuation of good government and for the maintenance of the principles embodied in our Constitution. They are honorably distinguished by their industry, their obedience to law, and their devotion to the national welfare.[2]**

Having identified themselves with the United States to that extent, the Jews also felt that they had a right to the full enjoyment of their American citizenship, and to be extended all the rights and privileges as Americans.

In the first decade of the life of the Jewish community of Chicago, the Jews of America were called upon to defend the rights of their American citizenship. It involved the solicitation of the good-will of the American community, to secure open expression of American public opinion, in a matter which touched the honor of the Jews. In 1850, a treaty was drawn up between the United States and the Swiss government which contained a clause guaranteeing only to Christians the enjoyment of certain rights and privileges. President Fillmore objected to the treaty because of the discriminating clause, and the Senate refused ratification. However, after a few years and some modification, the treaty was ratified by the Senate on November 6, 1855.[3]

The Swiss government at that time officially prohibited Jews from living in certain cantons of the Republic. When Mr. A. H. Gootman of New York, an American citizen, wished to reside in Switzerland in connection with some business arrangements, he was expelled because of his Jewish faith. As an American citizen he petitioned the Hon. Theodore S. Fay, then Secretary of State, to appeal to the Swiss government on his behalf. This the Secretary refused, apparently on the basis that it was an internal matter of the Swiss government over which the United States had no jurisdiction. The American-Jewish community was aroused to justifiable indignation. Dr. Isaac M. Wise in *The American Israelite* editorially denounced the treaty and the action of the Swiss government and called for united action on the part of the Jews of America. He asked for mass protest meetings and resolutions. The other Anglo-Jewish publications in America were not silent in the matter.[4] A great number of the general American newspapers featured editorials and articles condemning the Swiss government for its action. Among these newspapers were the *Chicago Democratic Press,* which published an editorial under the heading *Middle-Age Bigotry — Our Government Implicated* and the *Chicago Daily Journal* which wrote: "It is, or at least always has been understood

by us, one of the fundamental principles of our republican government, that no man or set of men shall be proscribed politically or in any other respect on account of their religious faith."[5]

The Chicago Jewish community was quick in responding to the call of Dr. Wise. Abraham Kohn, M. M. Gerstley, and Samuel Cole took the leadership and arranged to see Senator Stephen A. Douglas about the matter on August 4th. The Senator received the Chicago Jewish delegation very cordially, and suggested that a memorandum on the subject be presented to the President of the United States. He offered to assist in the matter in whatever way possible.[6]

Instead of the Chicago Jewish community acting on its own, it was thought to be more effective that the entire American-Jewish community should act in unison. The Baltimore Jewish community suggested that a conference be called in that city with representatives from as many communities in America as possible; that these delegates should proceed in a body to Washington, and there lay their grievance before the President of the United States. The conference was held on October 28, with M. M. Gerstly of Chicago figuring prominently in the proceedings. He was one of seven to sign the memorandum and one of the delegates who presented it to President Buchanan personally on October 31.[7]

The President received the delegation in "the most friendly manner." He stated that the clause in the Swiss treaty was "violative of constitutional principles which neither the Senate nor the previous administration intended."[8] President Buchanan promised to remedy the wrong done to the Jews. Diplomatic conferences between representatives of the Swiss and United States governments followed. Switzerland maintained that the discriminating clause could not be removed without amending its constitution. This was not done until 1874. President Lincoln, soon after his inauguration in March, 1861, appointed Mr. Berneys, an American Jew, as the consul to Zurich. Through his good offices the problem was solved to a great extent.[9]

In the year 1858, another instance of bigotry occurred in Europe which aroused the protest of American Jewry. In that year Edgar Mortara, a six year old child of a Jewish family

of Bologna, Italy, was abducted by Papal guards and placed in a monastery. Previously the child had been secretly baptized through a servant girl in the employ of the Mortara family. When the confessor of the servant girl reported the matter to Papal authorities, the child was forcibly removed from his parents to be reared in the Catholic faith. The Vatican at that time held temporal sway over the Papal states. The parents attempted in vain to regain possession of the child. Several governments protested this infringement of religious freedom and parental rights. Even Napoleon II protested against the act, but to no avail.

After Bologna was annexed to the Kingdom of Italy in 1860, the parents of the child made another attempt to regain their child, but by this time Edgar had been removed to Rome where he was brought up as a ward of Pope Pius IX. The Italian government could not even prosecute the servant girl, who by that time enjoyed the protection of a convent.

The petition of a large number of German rabbis to the Pope, the personal intervention of Moses Montefiore and the protest meetings in the United States, did no more than to elicit from Pius IX the opinion that "while the church deprecated abductions, the baptism of the child had made him a Christian, a spiritual condition against which no temporal considerations could prevail."[10]

Chicago Jewry registered its protest against the Mortara abduction in a letter by Dr. Mensor, the spiritual leader of *K.A.M.*, the eloquence of which can be judged only by reading the text:

> Whoever is acquainted with the history of the Jews in the Eternal city of Rome, be he of the seed of Abraham or of the stock of other nations, he must be grieved at their deplorable condition there, if but one spark of humanity and liberalism is alive in his breast. What cruel enactments and degrading laws have the accessors to Peter's Chair passed against the Jews! . . .
>
> Indeed, with the accession of Pius IX, the dawn of liberty seemed to ascend on the Roman horizon, and Israel looked joyfully forward to the time when they will throw off the yoke of degradation, but their hope has been crushed and they are precipitated from the summit of their momentary joy into the yawning abyss of misery. Sorrow is their brother, grief the friend of their hearts.

After quoting the news item about the Mortara abduction which he had clipped from a newspaper received "by the last mail," Dr. Mensor continues:

> This piece of cruelty needs no comment and would have been believed impossible to be committed in the 19th century . . . Let the free American Israelites—and there will be plenty of our American brethren who will join and take this matter in hand—obtain the interference of government, England, France and Holland would speedily follow—and the struggle for liberty will achieve triumph in Rome.[11]

No interference would sway the Catholic Church.

Jewish and non-Jewish communities were brought close together by the Civil War in the United States. On the Union side and on the side of the Confederate States, the Jews in their respective states manifested their traditional patriotism, and fought side by side with their Catholic and Protestant fellow-citizens; they shared with them the hardships and the responsibilities of the conflict. Chicago Jewry played an important role on the side of the Union. The Civil War was preceded by political agitation and unrest which centered around the founding of the new Republican Party and the subsequent nomination of Abraham Lincoln for the presidency of the United States.

It cannot be stated that all Jews were in agreement on all the issues involved, nor that all participated equally. Neither can it be said that the Jews of Chicago were one-sided. Not all shared the same political opinion. Henry Greenebaum, who admired Lincoln and was a friend of the president, aligned himself politically with Douglas. Greenebaum had his followers, but they were not numerous.

Greenebaum, who was elected as alderman on the Democratic ticket in recognition of his "political activity and influence with the voters of that party," records his meeting with Lincoln at a dinner at which the latter was the guest of honor:

> On the occasion of the dinner at the Fremont House, I met Lincoln for the first time and was greatly impressed by his congeniality, by his wealth of humor, and by his remarkable mental endowment. I formed the greatest appreciation of his personality, and whenever he came to Chicago subsequent to that time, I called

> on him at the Fremont House to pay my respects. On one of these occasions, during his contest with Stephan A. Douglas for the United States Senatorship, I accompanied Lincoln on a walk during which he asked me for my support. My reply was that I could not do so, that I was a strong political adherent of Douglas. Lincoln said he knew this and that he was not in real earnest in asking my support.[12]

However, the majority of the Jewish community of Chicago was on the side of Lincoln in his differences with Douglas. Abraham Kohn, who was City Clerk of Chicago in 1860, led the majority of the community in favor of Lincoln. Kohn was described in the "Democratic" press as "one of the blackest Republicans and Abolitionists."[13] Kohn had met Lincoln for the first time during the presidential campaign in 1860 in his store in Chicago. He was introduced to Lincoln by Congressman Isaac N. Arnold and expressed great admiration for the future President.

Several members of the Jewish community of Chicago took a leading part in laying the foundation of the "Republican" party, which made anti-slavery part of its political platform. Julius Rosenthal was the first secretary of the *Fremont Club* in Chicago espousing the Republican party platform. Rosenthal together with Adolph Loeb[14] and Leopold Mayer were among the five signatories who issued a proclamation for a mass meeting to join the Republican party. Charles Kozminski was elected president of the *Washington Club,* another Republican organization.[15]

The slavery question was of deep concern to many. Some were even vigilant about the problem. As early as 1853, Michael Greenebaum led a "crowd of citizens" to liberate a fugitive slave from the United States Marshal who arrested the "poor devil of a negro" on Van Buren and Sherman Streets.[16] Dr. Liebman Adler and Dr. Bernhard Felsenthal, the two outstanding Jewish spiritual leaders in the community, did not hesitate to use their pulpits and pens to condemn slavery. Dr. Felsenthal published an article on June 6, 1862, in the *Illinois Staatszeitung* under the heading *Die Juden und die Scklaverei* (*The Jews and Slavery*) in which he expressed himself strongly against the evil institution of slavery, and asserted that the great majority of Jews in America were anti-slavery in opinion.[17] Felsenthal continued his attack on

slavery in another article in the *Staatszeitung* under the title *Legislatorische Barbarei Negerrecht und Judenrecht* (Legislative Barbarism, Negro-rights and Jews'-rights) in which he criticized the bills passed in the Senate declaring negroes incompetent to act as witnesses in the District of Columbia. The writer traced a similar restriction in the case of Jews from Justinian to his own time, and cited examples of some existing statutes in several of the German states. "What can justify such barbarism?" he asked and concluded: "Russia does not lie only between Kalisz and Kamchatka, but it is also on the shores of the Potomac and Lake Michigan."[18]

Dr. Adler was equally eloquent in his opposition to slavery, and unhesitatingly expressed his opinion from the pulpit. Later his older son joined the Union forces.

When Lincoln was elected president and about to leave Springfield for Washington to be inaugurated, Abraham Kohn, who greatly appreciated Lincoln's love and understanding of the Bible, sent to the president-elect a beautiful silk American flag, the work of his own hands, painted in colors, its folds bearing in Hebrew characters exquisitely lettered in black, the quotation from the Book of Joshua:

> From the wilderness, and this Lebanon, even unto the great river, the river Euphrates, and all the land of the Hittites, and unto the great sea toward the going down of the sun, shall be your border. There shall not any man be able to stand before thee all the days of thy life; as I was with Moses, so I will be with thee, I will not fail thee or forsake thee. Be strong and of good courage for thou shalt cause this people to inherit the land which I swore unto their fathers to give them. Only be strong and very courageous, to observe to do according to all the law, which Moses my servant commanded thee; turn not from it to the right or the left and thou mayest have good success, withersoever thou goest. This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth, but thou shall meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe to do according to all that is written therein, for then thou shalt make thy ways prosperous, and thou shall have good success. Have I not commanded thee? Be strong and of good courage; be not affrighted, neither be thou dismayed, for the Lord thy God is with thee withersoever thou goest.[19]

Before Lincoln left for Washington, some of the Southern states, especially South Carolina, aimed "to prevent the inauguration" of the President, although he was constitution-

ally elected. A general mass meeting was called in Chicago to protest this movement, and to "render all aid, military and otherwise, to the enforcement of the Federal Laws." Among the signatories on the proclamation for the meeting were Julius Rosenthal, Edward Salomon, Leopold Mayer and Adolph Loeb. The proclamation declared, in part:

> As long as men in any part of the country are plotting the destruction of the Government, or engage in lawless outrages upon the public property — while the flag of the nation is insulted, and its public defenses seized upon— while the authority of the laws is denied and resisted, we will ignore all political distinctions and divisions and forgetful whether we are Democrats or Republicans, remember only that we are citizens, and stand shoulder to shoulder in defense of the Constitution, the Union and the laws.[20]

Needless to say, the movement to prevent the inauguration of Lincoln was not successful. When the president-elect departed for Washington from Springfield, Henry Greenebaum though officially affiliated with the Democratic party was among the people to see him off. He described the departure with deep feeling: "A large crowd gathered and the dear man made a very solemn and impressive speech—indeed he moved us to tears. With wonderful modesty he expressed his fear of being unable to meet the grave responsibility that awaited him at the White House. His faith in God gave him courage, he said, and he asked us to pray for him. Taken all in all, I consider him the greatest man I ever met. He was a man of very broad views, had no prejudices whatever against any nationalities or classes, and many of the most prominent Jews of Illinois supported him for the Presidency."[21]

Shortly after the inauguration of Lincoln, the war-storm between the North and the South began. It was at this time that the barely decade-and-a-half-old Jewish community manifested its fullest measure of loyalty. All rallied staunchly to the support of the Union. The second man in Chicago to volunteer for the Union Army was Joseph B. Gruenhut. He was followed by Edward S. Salomon, who was elected, in the Fall of '61, as Alderman of the Sixth Ward. Gruenhut became attached to the 12th Illinois Infantry Division. Salomon joined the 24th Illinois regiment, commanded by Colonel Hecker and known as the "Hecker Jaegers." He was sworn

in with the rank of First Lieutenant, and gradually rose to the rank of Brigadier General.[22]

The *Ladies' Sewing Society* converted its charitable work to war work, to meet the needs of the soldiers. The *United Hebrew Relief Association* inaugurated a special campaign to raise funds for the wounded soldiers after the bloody battle of the "Pittsburgh Landing." Other Jewish organizations did their share also.[23]

Though the community was rather young in 1862, a movement began in Chicago to organize and outfit a Jewish company of the new *Hecker's 82nd Illinois Regiment,* which was to be commanded by Edward S. Salomon, who by that time had reached the rank of Lt. Colonel. On August 13, 1862, a mass meeting was held at the hall of the Concordia Club. A committee was appointed to draft appropriate resolutions expressing the sentiment of the meeting. Forgetting all political and synagogue partisanship and differences, Colonel Salomon, Henry Greenebaum, Leopold Mayer, and Abraham Kohn urged the people at the meeting to exert all their effort for the Union cause. The result of the meeting was a resolution to raise $10,000 or more "among the Israelites of the city, for the purpose of immediately recruiting and organizing a company for active service in the war."[24] $6,200 was subscribed immediately. A recruiting office was opened the next morning, and forty-two volunteers were recruited that day. In the evening another meeting was held at Concordia Hall, and additional subscriptions raised which increased the sum to $7,568. The urgency of the matter was too great to allow it to wait until the following week. Therefore, a third meeting was held on Friday evening, the eve of the Sabbath, to complete the task. This third meeting was addressed by Lieutenant Governor Francis A. Hoffman, and ended with subscriptions reaching $11,000 and 96 recruits for the Jewish company, which was named the *Concordia Guard.*[25]

The Jews of Chicago thus lived up to their resolve, which resulted from their ardent patriotism, and the realization that: "The present crisis in the affairs of our nation directly appeals to every citizen enjoying the inestimable blessing of American freedom to exert himself to his utmost in assisting the government in its effort to maintain the integrity of the

Union and the crushing out of the rebellion, which must and shall be done.''[26]

The Chicago press very highly commended the effort of the Jews on behalf of the Union. There was hardly a single Jew who did not make a contribution and fully one-tenth of the male Jewish population enlisted in the armed forces.

The tribute paid the Jewish community by the *Tribune* of Saturday, August 16th, was well deserved:

> Our Israelite citizens have gone beyond even their most sanguine expectations. Their princely contribution of itself is a record which must ever redound to their patriotism. The rapidity with which the company was enlisted has not its equal in the history of recruiting. In barely thirty-six hours time they have enlisted a company reaching beyond the maximum of gallant, strong-armed, stout-hearted men, who will make themselves felt in the war . . . Can any town, city or state in the North show an equally good two days' work? The Concordia Guards have our best wishes for their future and our hopes that victory may always crown their aims.

On Monday, August 18, a formal presentation of the 82nd regiment flag was arranged. The flag was received by Colonel Hecker from Mrs. Mary Leopold, in the presence of Lieutenant Colonel Salomon, the commander of the regiment, and Captain Jacob LaSalle, the commander of the Concordia Guards, who were all present in full uniform. Joseph B. Gruenhut, who was wounded at the battle of Fort Dearborn in February, 1862, reenlisted and joined the 82nd Illinois regiment with the rank of Captain. Among the other volunteers was Dankmar Adler, son of Rabbi Liebman Adler. The 82nd Illinois regiment was active in many campaigns during the war, including the decisive Gettysburg campaign. The Jewish community of Chicago kept in close touch with the regiment through a committee headed by Henry Greenebaum.[27]

At the Battle of Gettysburg, Colonel Salomon, exhibited great heroism. Two horses were shot from under him, while he was leading the regiment. Captain Gruenhut and Lieutenant Mayer A. Frank, who replaced Captain LaSalle when the latter left the service in May, 1863,[28] likewise distinguished themselves at Gettysurg,[29] In recognition of his heroic service, Captain Gruenhut was later appointed by Governor

Fifer to head a commission to erect a monument in honor of the soldiers of Illinois on the Gettysburg battlefield.[30]

After the Gettysburg Battle, Lieutenant Colonel Salomon was promoted to the rank of Colonel. When he returned on June 16, 1865 with the 310 men of the 82nd regiment which, when it had left Chicago in 1862 consisted of 900, he had the rank of Brigadier-General. The heroic remnant of the regiment still carried the flag presented to it by the Jewish women of Chicago. At the reception and welcome tendered to the regiment, John Wentworth, who was Mayor of Chicago in 1857 and 1860, spoke eloquently and directly, pointing out: "A few years since, there was a cry raised that 'foreigners' could not be trusted, and an attempt was made to disfranchise you, but, when at last the time came that tried men's souls—when native-born Americans proved false to their allegiance to their flag, and tried their utmost to tear down and trample under foot the noble structure their fathers fought and died to rear up, then you 'foreigners' came forward and showed yourselves true men. You have done honor to your native and to your adopted countries. I say it: You have proved that this country owes its existence to foreign immigrants."[31]

In recognition of his service Henry Greenebaum was elected an honorary member of the 82nd Illinois Veterans Association. General Salomon was elected County Clerk in 1865, on the Republican ticket. A few years later President Grant appointed him Governor of the Washington Territory.

Before the wounds of the maimed were bound or the dead of the Civil War buried, the shot that killed Abraham Lincoln reverberated throughout the land, and saddened the Jewish community of Chicago as it did everyone else in the country. On April 19th, 1865, when the remains of the President were removed from the White House to the Capitol, special prayers and sermons were given by Dr. Adler at *K.A.M.* and Dr. Felsenthal at the *Zion Temple*.[32] Both Adler and Felsenthal lauded the martyred President for his kindness and humanity. The latter described Lincoln as one in whose private life and in whose public life, justice and love, firmness and kindness, were splendidly combined.

At the funeral procession of the martyred President, the Jewish community of Chicago was officially represented by the *Hebrew Benevolent Association,* the *B'nai B'rith Ramah Lodge* and the *Congregation Bikur Cholim.*[33] The Jewish business places were all draped in black with Lincoln's portrait elaborately displayed. Foreman Brothers put up the motto, "First in the Race that led to Glory's Goal." The President's body lay in state in the Court House in Chicago for two days *under a canopy of sombre richness inscribed with that noble Hebrew lament: 'The Beauty of Israel is slain upon the High Places.'*[34]

7

Care of the Needy

OUR sages maintain that the world is supported on three pillars: *Torah,* religious service, and beneficence. Historically considered, the Jewish people has assumed the responsibility of sustaining these pillars. If at times the Jews were negligent in the study and propagation of *Torah,* or lax in their religious service, they compensated for these shortcomings by beneficence. This has been so especially in the New World, where Jewish charity was one of the conditions basic to the permission for the Jews to settle, and where, ever since, Jewish benevolence and philanthropy have been exemplary.[1]

It may be for this reason that our sages have connoted Israel as a people of compassion, and have promulgated a wide range of philanthropic and charitable teachings which find few parallels among other religious groups. Israel is bidden by our sages to be careful not to hurt the sensibilities of the poor when extending help to them, nor to investigate the needy too critically. Jewish usage makes it obligatory to organize the charity work of the community and make it efficient. Jewish charity concerns itself with the visiting of the sick and with the burial of the dead, as well as with the giving of alms; with providing an education for those who cannot pay for it; with redeeming captives, as well as with offering shelter and hospitality to the wayfarer; with assisting in business and with extending a loan, as well as with supporting the widow, the orphan and the stranger; with extending a hand of friendship, a word of kindness and a smiling countenance, as well as feeding the hungry. Jewish charity, as the Hebrew word *Tzedakah* denotes, is *justice* to the poor.

Jewish charity, moreover, is not only an individual responsibility, but is a community responsibility also, which in many instances is regulated by law. The giving of charity is a duty obligatory upon every Jew.

One of the early Jewish codifiers maintains that: "Charity is the main foundation of Israel's preeminence, and the basis of the Law of Truth . . . For one must know that he is not the master of that which he has, but only the guardian, to carry out the will of Him who entrusted these things to his keeping. Whosoever withholds alms from the needy thereby withdraws himself from the luster of the *Shekhinah* (God) and the light of the Torah."[2]

It was in this spirit that the Jewish community of Chicago began its existence and achieved its growth.

It was prophetic that the first form of organizational life in the Jewish community of Chicago was associated with charity. The *Jewish Burial Society,* which was founded before the first congregation, was an organization for benevolence.

On Sunday, December 3, 1854, *K.A.M.* met with Rabbi Isaac Leeser of Philadelphia, who was visiting the city as a guest, and organized a *Benevolent Society* for the congregation. On Tuesday, December 5, Rabbi Leeser was invited to deliver a lecture on the Jewish religion at Warner's Hall, for the purpose of raising funds for this society. The audience, which contained Christians as well as Jews, responded very generously. Later, Reverend Leeser received a note of thanks from the society, together with a silver cup as "a slight token of our regard."[3]

After the *B'nai Sholom* was organized, two charity organizations were quickly formed as adjuncts to that congregation. These were the *Ladies' Sewing Society,* which was founded to provide clothing for the needy, and the *Relief Society of the B'nai Sholom.*[4]

The charitable activity of the Jewish community was not confined to those of Jewish faith only, nor was it limited to the local scene. Cooperation was achieved between Jewish and non-Jewish groups, as well as between the various groups and the municipal government. In 1855, the Jews of Chicago raised $400.00 for the victims of yellow fever in Virginia;

$183.00 of this was raised at the *K.A.M.* Synagogue.[5] Charity was not the concern only of the older members. The young people participated enthusiastically, and formed their own groups.[6] Before the first decade of the second half of the century was over, the Jewish community of Chicago had in its midst: The *Hebrew Benevolent Society;* The *Hebrew Relief Society* the charity organization maintained by *K.A.M.,* the *Young Men's Fraternity,* which was devoted to the dispensation of charity; the *Relief Society of the Congregation B'nai Sholom;* the *Ladies' Benevolent Society;* the *Young Ladies' Benevolent Society;* and the *Ladies' Sewing Society,* besides the *Hevrah Gemilath Hassodim Ubikkur Holim.*[7]

While there surely were diversities and conflicting ideologies in the Jewish community by then, when Dr. Isaac M. Wise of Cincinnati visited Chicago in 1859, he observed: "As regards charity, our Chicago brethren are all Jews and second to none. In this case the Orthodox and Reformers are fully united."[8]

The unity of the Chicago Jewish community, which Dr. Wise noticed with regard to charity, found expression in that year in the formation of a single relief organization, which included all the existing small groups.

On the initiative of the *B'nai B'rith Ramah Lodge,* representatives of all Jewish organizations, including congregations, met in the vestry room of the *K.A.M.* synagogue in the Fall of 1859, to organize one united central relief body for the community. Henry Greenebaum was the leading figure in this movement. He was spurred onward by the desire to eliminate waste and duplication in charitable work. The result of the meeting was the formation of the *United Hebrew Relief Association.* A constitution was adopted setting up two funds: a *Relief Fund* for immediate cases, and a *Reserve Fund* to provide for a hospital in which "poor coreligionists shall be attended to when sick, and for an asylum to receive Jewish widows and orphans without means." Special committees were appointed to administer the funds.[9]

The Board at first met once a week, then two meetings a week became necessary. The income for the funds came from various organizations, as well as from individual members who paid minimum dues of fifty cents annually.[10]

Several physicians offered their services for the sick and needy at no cost, and one druggist supplied medicines at reduced prices.

Soon after its founding, the *U.H.R.A.* began to contemplate the erection of a Jewish hospital, a project in accordance with its original aims and objectives. The *Association* also desired to establish a home for widows and orphans. On many occasions in the growing community situations occured where hospitalization for needy Jews and accomodation for Jewish widows and orphans presented serious problems.[11]

In the first years of the existence of the *U.H.R.A.* its efforts had to be devoted to the immediate distribution of charity to the needy, and not much money could be put aside in the *Reserve Fund* for a hospital. As soon as the opportunity presented itself, special efforts were exerted by the Association to provide funds specifically for a hospital. The first of these efforts was a public banquet held on March 22, 1864, which netted the organization $1,600 profit. Though a considerable sum at the time, it could be considered only a nucleus for the erection of a well-equipped and modern hospital building. However, this, together with funds the *Association* had accumulated before, was sufficient to acquire a lot on LaSalle Street, between Schiller and Goethe Streets, at a cost of $7,000. The lot was purchased by one of the directors and put in trust for the *Association.*[12]

By this time, the *U.H.R.A.* had fifteen affiliated organizations. The enthusiasm of the directors stimulated swift action. On October 22, 1866, they called a mass meeting of the entire community in order to solicit funds for the building of a hospital. The response was very encouraging. Before the evening was over, $10,000 had been subscribed to the project by those present. This initial and successful step of the community on behalf of benevolence and charity was highly commended in the local press, and stirred the Committee to further action.[13]

Various other Jewish organizations in the community arranged money-raising affairs for the benefit of the hospital building fund. The *Concordia Maennerchor* presented a concert which netted $400.[14] The *Young Ladies' Benevolent Association* staged a Ball, which brought in $200.[15] The

children of the community arranged to contribute as a group, and a considerable sum was raised through this effort. The final sum accumulated was nearly $18,000.[16] in addition to some $4,000 which the Association raised through its regular membership channels.

On March 24, 1867, the building committee, headed by Isaac Greensfelder, was authorized to prepare plans for a hospital structure not to exceed $18,000 in cost. By this time, a staff of four physicians, Drs. Schmidt, Isham, Seiffert and Mannheimer was on hand to give authoritative advice on the plan, and to approve the architect's designs.[17]

On September 2, 1867, the cornerstone of the hospital building on LaSalle Street was laid amidst impressive ceremonies. All the leading organizations marched in procession from their meeting places to the hospital grounds. The attendance was unusually large. Mayor J. B. Rice brought greetings on behalf of the city and welcomed the hospital to the many other charitable institutions in Chicago. Dr. Chronik of *Sinai Congregation* delivered the principal address in German. Henry Greenebaum delivered the principal address in English. In the cornerstone were deposited reports of the *U.H.R.A.*, the list of contributors, copies of the city newspapers, including an Italian and a Swedish paper, and copies of the *Advance, Hebrew Leader, Israelite* and *Jewish Messenger.*[18] The press reported favorably on the dedicatory ceremonies. One newspaper commented on the event by saying: "A good day's work, well done."[19]

As the building proceeded at a swift pace, the *U.H.R.A.* continued to arrange additional fund-raising events to meet the expenses. One such gathering was held in Concordia Hall in December, 1867, which raised no less than $11,573.29.[20] On August 10, 1868, the hospital was opened for patients. It consisted of a red brick building 42 feet wide and 30 feet long, with a basement and two floors. The first floor was used for male patients and consisted of one large and four smaller wards. The second floor was reserved for women patients and had the same ward arrangement. The cost of furnishing the hospital was $1,987, a major part of which was donated by the women's organizations. The final cost of the hospital was $25,286. Dr. Schmidt was appointed hospital physician and

surgeon but would receive no compensation. Mr. and Mrs. A. Levy were employed as custodians at a salary of $800 a year.[21]

The organization of the *U.H.R.A.* did not prevent the formation of other charity organizations in the community. In some instances the *U.H.R.A.* encouraged them because it served as a clearing and coordinating agency, and derived its major support from the smaller charity groups. These smaller groups did their work through the *U.H.R.A.* Thus, for example, the *Ladies' Sewing Society,* which was organized to provide clothing for the needy, did its work through the *U.H.R.A.,* instead of independently. This was the policy of other organizations as well.[22] In the late '60s, two women's charity organizations founded were the *Frauen Wolhthaetigkeits Verein,* (Women's Benevolent Society), and the *Sisters of Peace.* Both functioned through the *U.H.R.A.*[23]

The great fire in 1871 created a dual problem as far as the care of the needy was concerned. First, the hospital was burned down completely. Then, the *U.H.R.A.* did not find itself prepared to take care of all the needs of the many fire victims. It is pleasant to learn that the patients of the hospital were miraculously saved and given good care.[24] However, the building of a new hospital could not be undertaken for another decade. As to the problem of immediate relief created by the conflagration, the voluntary assistance of the *B'nai B'rith* saved the situation.[25] It is to the credit of the Jewish community that of all the Jewish victims of the fire, the Chicago Times stated: "Not one has been sent to ask for aid of the general or special relief committee of the Gentiles."[26]

The problem of building a new hospital was laid aside but never dismissed by the *U.H.R.A.* The situation was further aggravated by the second fire in 1874. The problem of relief and rehabilitation for the victims of the fires had to take precedence. The fires were followed by an economic depression, and financial panic in 1877.[27] These circumstances hindered the *U.H.R.A.*'s undertaking the project of building a new hospital.

In 1878, Michael Reese, a bachelor living in San Francisco, California, died on shipboard while on his way to Europe.

In his Will he bequeathed to his nephews, Henry L. Frank and Joseph Frank, the sum of $30,000 to be devoted to charitable purposes in Chicago. The bequest did not stipulate the form of charity for which the money should be utilized. By that time, the "Jewish young men" of the community had organized a charity organization, the *Young Men's Hebrew Charity Association,* with the specific purpose of stimulating the building of a hospital.[28] Henry L. Frank, personally, was likewise very much interested in building a Jewish hospital in Chicago. He therefore prevailed upon his brother, the other trustee of the Reese bequest, to offer the $30,000 left by their uncle to the *U.H.R.A.* for the erection of a new hospital, with the provision that it be named *Michael Reese.* This offer was accepted.[29]

Michael Reese left another large sum, two hundred thousand dollars, to Jacob Rosenberg, his brother-in-law, and Mrs. Henrietta Rosenfeld, his sister, with the mandate that the greater part of it be also used for charitable purposes in Chicago. Mr. Rosenberg and Mrs. Rosenfeld set aside $50,000 of this sum as an endowment fund for the hospital. The gift was gratefully accepted by the *U.H.R.A.*[30]

In 1880, the site of the old hospital on LaSalle Street was exchanged for a lot 208 x 252 feet on the corner of Twenty-ninth Street and Lake Avenue. There, on November 4th of that year, the cornerstone of the *Michael Reese Hospital* was laid. The ceremonies took place amid a small, disappointed audience of about a hundred people. The weather was bad; the mood of the participants was not much better.[31]

Apparently, the Jewish community of Chicago was not entirely pleased that the hospital project had assumed the appearance of a "Reese family affair." This was not mere rumor; it was actually expressed by deeds and words. When the building was begun and additional funds were needed to complete it, the *U. H. R. A.* found difficulties in obtaining contributions from the community at large for the hospital. On December 26, 1880, a mass meeting was called at *Sinai Temple* for the purpose of raising funds but only seventy-five people attended. Godfrey Snydacker, who had been very active in the erection of the first hospital, openly stated: "The Michael Reese 'heirs' have commenced the hospital;

now let them complete it and run it." However, Henry Frank met the criticism against the Reese heirs in a good-humored fashion, and insisted that the hospital was a community affair.[32]

After considerable discussion of how to raise the additional funds needed, it was decided that the method of popular subscription should be used. Seven Thousand Dollars was raised immediately. Among the larger contributors were the Reese heirs and Godfrey Snydacker. Dr. Adler of *K.A.M.* and Rabbi Gersoni of *B'nai Sholom* were among the original contributors.[33]

Before the meeting at *Sinai* had adjourned, a committee was appointed to solicit additional contributions. These gentlemen subsequently raised $10,000, and the building of the hospital proceeded successfully and unabated. On October 23, 1881, the *Michael Reese Hospital* was formally completed, dedicated and opened for patients.

The ceremony of dedication was attended by Mayor Carter H. Harrison, Drs. Felsenthal, Hirsch and Adler, Rabbi Bonnheim of *Beth El,* Rabbi Norden of *North Chicago Hebrew Congregation,* and Dr. Ignaz Grossman of *B'nai Abraham Congregation,* all of whom participated in the program. Neither the laity nor the Rabbinate of the East-European Jewish community were present. With the exception of Dr. Michael Mannheimer, the staff of physicians and surgeons were non-Jewish.[34]

The final cost of the hospital rose to over $70,000, after the additional expenditure of monies for instruments imported from Europe and for the furnishings of the hospital.[35]

The work of the *U.H.R.A.* expanded with the growth of the community, and its responsibilities were heavily taxed on all occasions of great need — such as the building of the hospital and the fire victims' relief. The East-European Jewish immigration in the '70s and '80s, also added to the work of the *Association* and depleted its resources. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the leaders of the *U.H.R.A.* complaining at times of lack of support on the part of the community, and lack of funds to function adequately and in a manner commensurate with existing needs. In 1884, the leaders of the Relief Association declared that: "With all their boasted

progress, with all their zeal for the improvement of humanity, the Jews of Chicago have shown themselves vastly inferior to their brethren of other cities in practical works."[36]

The major portion of the funds of the *U.H.R.A.* was raised as a result of appeals made at synagogues on *Yom Kippur* Eve; but not all synagogues cooperated. *Sinai Congregation* was most generous in its support. In 1892, the president of *Sinai* announced that $11,462.50 had been raised by *Sinai* members for the *United Hebrew Charities;* $5,325.00 for the *Michael Reese Hospital;* $3,820.00 for the *Cleveland Orphan Asylum;* and $5,168.00 for the *Jewish Training School* in Chicago. The *Yom Kippur* donations collected at *Sinai* in 1894, for the *United Hebrew Charities,* amounted to more than $12,000.[37]

The various organizations affiliated with the *U.H.R.A.* raised contributions through fund-raising affairs, membership dues, and solicitations throughout the year. There were, also, solicitations at funerals, and funds were received, too, from contribution boxes placed in some homes and offices.[38] Apparently, all this was not sufficient nor community-wide. In 1884, we find that the *U. H. R. A.* urged that the city be divided into districts, and that committees be appointed to solicit funds for the *Association* on a community-wide level from non-members as well as members — in fact, from all Jews who were capable of contributing. This proposal was based upon the philosophy that the purpose of charity is not alms-seeking nor the giving of unworthy relief, but the supply of profitable employment and opportunity for self-rehabilitation. This was believed to be a community responsibility.[39]

The program and operation of the *U. H. R. A.* comprised every aspect of charity in the community. The major beneficiary of the *U.H.R.A.* was the *Michael Reese Hospital.* For example, in 1884-85, four hundred and twenty-six patients were admitted to the hospital, of which only one hundred and thirty-one patients paid for care. A great number of patients were not of the Jewish faith. Of the two hundred and eighteen Jewish patients admitted, only twenty-two paid for care; one hundred and ninety-six were charity cases. The annual

expense of the hospital was between twenty and thirty thousand dollars.[40]

Sewing circles in all parts of the city, associated with the *U.H.R.A.*, provided bandages, garments, linens and other similar needs of the hospital. The *U.H.R.A.* had among its affiliates the *Young Ladies' Aid Society* and the *Young Ladies' Flower Mission,* both of which assisted in hospital work.

There was no Jewish orphans' home in Chicago in the '80s. Jewish orphans were often sent to the *Cleveland Orphanage,* sponsored by *B'nai B'rith.* Some were cared for legally in foster homes. In 1884, there was a *Society for the Education of Jewish Orphans* in Chicago, which was an affiliate of the *U.H.R.A.* This society may be the same as *The Jewish Orphan Society,* which was founded in May, 1884, by Elise Frank with a contribution of $30,000. The purpose of this organization was to rear and maintain orphans in foster homes by foster parents rather than to place them in asylums. Children bereft of one or both parents were placed with families who received a moderate compensation for the maintenance of the children confined to their care. The children were adopted by the *Orphan Society.* Guardians were appointed for all children to watch over their welfare while in the foster homes. When the children became self-supporting they were "dropped from the list of the society" and others were adopted in their stead. None of the officers of the *Jewish Orphan Society* were salaried.[41]

The *U.H.R.A.* took over an *Employment Bureau,* which had been founded by the *Young Men's Hebrew Charity Association.* Out of 486 applicants for placement in 1884, 281 were provided with jobs. In the report of this bureau, we find that they had no difficulty in finding employment for English-speaking applicants, unless they suffered a physical disability. Of all the applicants for employment that year, 172 were classified as Russian, 109 as German, 83 as Austrian, 62 as American, and the others, ranging in number from one to fifteen, as Canadian, Dutch, Swedish, French, Roumanian and English. Every conceivable trade and occupation was represented.[42]

The extent of the general relief work of the *U.H.R.A.* can be gauged from the annual report of 1884, wherein we find that, in that particular year, the association received 3,850 applications for relief, of which only 1267 could be granted. Of these, 1154 were residents of Chicago and only 113 were non-residents.[43] In that year, 55 residents and 52 non-residents were provided with assistance in transportation. Altogether, the association expended $13,442.98 within the year on relief work. Similar sums were spent practically every year in the '80s and '90s.[44]

In 1887, the leaders of the *U.H.R.A.* indicated the great need for an old people's home in the community. However, such a home was not established until the early '90s.

In 1888, the *U.H.R.A.* went through a partial reorganization, for the purpose of enlarging and expanding its work, and on November 24th of that year was chartered anew under the title, *United Hebrew Charities.* On October 7, 1889, the new constitution and by-laws were adopted, which continued operation in the same manner as had been done by the *U.H.R.A.* Again, we hear that the number of relief cases had increased considerably and the funds raised were insufficient for all the applicants who sought aid. Criticism was heard throughout the city to the effect that the office of the *U.H.C.* did not do enough for the needy. However, the funds available were sufficient to care for only 1368 of 2700 applicants for relief. The leaders of the *U.H.C.* complained that Chicago had become known as the Eldorado of the Jewish pauper; yet the community did not respond with contributions commensurate with the criticism it registered.[45]

One of the main supports of the *U.H.C.* was the *Y.M.H.C.A.* On March 15, 1882, this latter association gave a very successful ball, which raised $25,000.00. Afterwards, the *Y.M.H.C.A.* ball became an annual affair. During the '80s and '90s, these balls were the most famous and colorful social functions in the community, in addition to being an excellent means of raising funds for charity work.[46] The *Y.M.H.C.A.* established a library at the hospital. The *Chicago Lying-In Dispensary* was another of its achievements. The evolution of that institution is interesting. In 1895, a Dispensary was set up to give charitable assistance to the needy ob-

stetrical cases, and also to serve as an institution of instruction. The moving power behind the founding of the Dispensary was Dr. Joseph Bolivar DeLee, the "crusading obstetrician."[47] Dr. DeLee, on his return from Vienna, where he had devoted several years of his studies to specialization in obstetrics, was impressed by the work of the newly-founded *Lying-In Hospital* and the *Broom Street Dispensary* in New York, which he visited and where he observed the excellent work these institutions were rendering in maternity cases and in home obstetrical service. He was prompted to establish a similar institution in his home city, Chicago. His motivation was purely idealistic. It was estimated, in the middle '90s, that there were in Chicago annually at least 35,000 births, almost half of which were attended by "careless, ignorant and not over-clean midwives."[48] Many cases of grave illness caused by bad obstetrics and by malpractice in maternity care were brought to the hospitals daily. Dr. DeLee was determined to rectify this situation, and to devote his entire life, if necessary, to cure the deplorable situation. He was not unmindful of the obstacles and difficulties which might loom in his way, but his zeal and enthusiasm to accomplish his aim, and his uncompromising determination to place obstetrics on a scientific basis and on a par with surgery and other branches of medicine overshadowed all his personal troubles in reaching his objectives.

Late in 1894, Dr. DeLee began his crusade in Chicago to clear up the evils which existed in the practice of obstetrics. Dr. Jaggard of the *Northwestern University Medical School,* situated at that time at 2431 Dearborn Street, gave Dr. DeLee an opportunity to test his plan of a maternity clinic for home obstetrical service at the *South Side Free Dispensary,* which was connected with the Medical School. This attempt met with dismal failure and quenched the interest of the University in the project. But it did not discourage Dr. DeLee. After negotiation with the *U.H.C.* he obtained the use of a room for a maternity clinic at the Charities-sponsored *Judd Street Dispensary.* The *U.H.C.* also voted a subsidy of $500 for the work. However, this attempt, too, met with failure. It was not a lack of patients, nor lack of confidence by the patients in the service, which caused the difficulties. It was

the medical staff that spelled the failure of this second venture. The medical staff vetoed the plan completely, and when, a little later, DeLee tried personally to enlist the cooperation of some of his medical colleagues and attempted to persuade them to help him in his movement he met with a rebuff.

Dr. DeLee tried once more, but in a different manner. He decided to persuade a few business people to help him by sponsoring a maternity clinic on a purely philanthropic basis. This met with a more encouraging response. The biographer of Dr. DeLee records that, after the doctor had discussed the project with a number of prominent, philanthropic Jewish women in the community:

> Mrs. Levy Mayer and Mrs. Emanuel Mandel agreed to go on the board, and Benjamin R. Cahn agreed to act as treasurer. At a meeting of the *Young Men's Hebrew Charity Association,* held at the Standard Club in January, 1895, to disburse the proceeds of their annual Charity Ball, DeLee presented the case of the proposed institution, which up to that time did not even have a name. The Association gave him $200 and at the same time a name was adopted: *The Chicago Lying-In Dispensary.* DeLee decided on the name as he stood before the committee.[49]

To supplement the initial gift of the *Y.M.H.C.A.* and to aid in this philanthropic venture, a number of individuals made personal contributions which enabled DeLee to open a clinic at once. After consulting the executive of Hull House for the purpose of selecting the most suitable location for the clinic, a tenement of four stove-heated rooms on the corner of Maxwell Street and Newberry Avenue (the most densely populated section of the west-side Jewish community) was obtained for the Dispensary at a rental of $12.00 per month. Dr. DeLee's biographer recalls that: "Dr. Doering donated a stove, a table, some chairs and old carpets, which were cut up into rugs. Dr. DeLee's family supplied linen; a neighborhood secondhand furniture store provided two beds."[50]

On February 14, 1895, the *Lying-In Dispensary* was formally opened for patients, without ceremonies. It is interesting to note the description of the beginnings of the Dispensary:

> The first patients were sent by Mrs. Johanna M. Loeb, of the *Society of Friendly Visitors.* DeLee entered their names in a new application book and gave them profuse and careful prenatal care. But the women were suspicious of the institution and called midwives at the time of birth. They could not understand why a doctor would offer his services for nothing. Thus it was not until February 27 that the first delivery was made. The first confinement was that of Mrs. Simon Edelman, and DeLee was assisted by Dr. Frank E. Simpson, a student at the Medical School. The case took all night and part of a day, but Dr. DeLee did not leave the house, fearing that the family would call in a midwife. His work was appreciated, and from that patient the fame of the new Dispensary spread rapidly. Within the first month, eight women were delivered . . . In its first year the new Dispensary had 204 deliveries. The second year there were 549, and 840 in the third. Students were summoned from the Medical School for all births.[51]

The financial situation of the Dispensary remained precarious for some time. On several occasions it was feared that its doors would have to be closed because of lack of funds. Evidence of this is found in the fact that at one time Rabbi Joseph Stolz of *Zion Congregation* had to make a personal donation of $10.00 to the Dispensary to keep it open for patients.[52] The plight of the institution in its early, struggling stages is thus described:

> There were times when there was nothing to eat for the Dispensary's staff. Once thirteen cents and half a loaf of stale bread represented the available assets. A pint of milk (three cents) and the bread went as dinner for two, and with the remainder DeLee went home and borrowed $10 from his father. He did this on several occasions. His mother frequently contributed loaves of bread and food from the family table.[53]

Eventually the work of the *Lying-in Dispensary* became very popular. The great demand for the Dispensary services required the opening of branches in other parts of the city. Patients for the Dispensary were recommended by the *Visiting Nurses' Association,* and by "various public institutions, missions, physicians, private charities and from the social settlements.[54]

The Dispensary, from its inception, was nonsectarian. The patients came from all walks of life and from all religious denominations and races. Support for the Dispensary was likewise forthcoming from people of all denominations.

Records reveal that, before long, "prominent physicians and religious leaders of both the Christian and Jewish faiths added their cooperation and support." [55]

A little over a year after its founding, the Dispensary moved into cleaner and more comfortable quarters in the *Elizabeth E. Marcy Home,* also on Maxwell Street. There, shortly afterwards, a training school for obstetrical nurses was started, and internes began to take up residence to complete their studies, to gain practice and to specialize in obstetrics.[56]

The medical success of the Dispensary justified Dr. DeLee to begin a new movement for a special *Lying-in Hospital.* In order to avoid "unnecessary deaths of mothers in childbirth," which were often caused by conditions in the patient's own home and by insufficient and inefficient postnatal care. DeLee became convinced that a special maternity hospital, separate and distinct from the general hospital, should be established. Dr. DeLee met with a great deal of opposition on this score; yet, his crusading spirit moved him at all times not to surrender his ideas and ideals to "reluctant candidates for donations" or to "hostile property owners" or to evil rumor-mongers. Before the century was over, DeLee succeeded in obtaining the support of the *Young Men's Hebrew Charity Association* and the *German-American Charity Association,* as well as that of a number of philanthropic individuals, to enable him to rent a large house at 294 Ashland Avenue, which he converted into a maternity hospital under the name of *Lying-in Hospital.*[57]

Thus, out of the Dispensary, there evolved the hospital which, in the course of time, not only placed obstetrics on a very high plane in medical practice, but contributed significantly to the scientific knowledge of that branch of medical science. It was also greatly responsible for the reduction of the mortality rate in mothers and infants.

After the terrible massacres in Russia, with the consequent unprecedented influx of Jewish refugees, Chicago Jewry found itself overwhelmed by the great number who found their way to this city and who had to be taken care of temporarily. To provide this care for the needy, the *Jewish Sheltering Home* was established in 1883, in an un-

pretentious frame building on Liberty Street. Many hundreds of immigrants found temporary accomodations in that home. As the horrors of the pogroms subsided the demands on the *Sheltering Home* lessened. Within a short time it was completely abandoned, only to be organized again in 1901, under the Hebrew name *Hachnosas Orechim.* While the former was sponsored primarily by German Jews, the latter was the creation of the East-European Jews. In the reports of the *U.H.C.* of the early '80s, we find that one of the beneficiaries was a *Crèche and Sheltering Home.* No doubt this organization is the same as the earlier *Hachnosas Orechim.*[58]

The *U.H.C.* continually increased and improved its medical services. In the '90s, as the need arose, a free Dispensary for the examination and treatment of non-hospitalized patients and a nurses' school was added to the Michael Reese Hospital. To make it possible for the people of the west side to obtain free medical care whenever necessary, the *U.H.C.* also dedicated and maintained the *West-Side Dispensary* on 509-11 South Morgan Street. By the end of the century, the annual reports mention among the organizations associated with it, either in the capacity of beneficiary or as a supporting group, the *Women's Auxiliary Committee of the Sheltering Home,* the *Personal Service Society,* the *Baron Hirsch Ladies' Aid Society,* and the *Home of the Friendless.*

The nature of the *Home of the Friendless* is not easy to ascertain. Perhaps it was the forerunner of the organization founded on October 15, 1901 by a number of ladies' societies under the name *The Home for Jewish Friendless and Working Girls.*[59]

On April 17, 1895, the *U.H.C.* opened a "sheltering home," for children under twelve years old whose mothers were employed during the day. The home was located at 134 Twelfth Street, now Roosevelt Road. It had its own house physician, Dr. Ingerham, a matron and several nurses in attendance. Before children were accepted in the home, they were examined medically, and special clothing was given to all children to wear while in the home. The large two-story brick building, which was fitted and equipped for the Sheltering Home, cost $7,000. The plan for this home was to have it house a crèche, a shelter and a labor bureau.[60]

Early in the '80s, it was rumored that a home for the Jewish aged and the infirm would be established in Chicago. At that time, it was thought that the *Free Sons of Israel* and the *Kesher Shel Barzel* lodges would undertake this task. Later in the '80s, first the *U.H.R.A.* and then the *U.H.C.* expressed the need for an old people's home in the community. However, it was not until 1891 that the needed institution was established as *The Home for the Aged Jews of Chicago,* under the sponsorship of the *U.H.C.* Abraham Slimmer of Waverly, Iowa had donated $50,000 for such a home in Chicago, provided the Jews of Chicago would raise an equal amount. The matching sum of money was raised without difficulty and the Home was established on Drexel Avenue and 62nd Street, on the south side.[61]

From the annual reports of the *Home,* it can be seen that not all inmates were admitted free of charge. Some paid $150 above the regular admission fee, some arranged that certain sums of money be given to the Home after their demise. One inmate in the late '90s paid $30 quarterly in lieu of an admission fee.[62]

The *Home for the Aged,* in addition to its support from the *U.H.C.,* derived a supplementary income for its budget from subscribers who paid from $50 to $100 and by patrons who paid $10 annually. General donations ranging from $100 to $1,500 came in periodically.[63]

Most of the inmates were German Jews. Of the seventy inmates in 1897-98, 40 were German, 7 were Hungarian, 5 were Russian, and the rest were classified as American, Austrian, Polish, Dutch, Bohemian, Galician, Alsatian and English.[64]

Though the *United Hebrew Charities* had often spoken of the need of a Jewish orphan home in Chicago, the *Chicago Home for Jewish Orphans* was not opened until October 7, 1894. This orphanage was begun in a rented house at 3601 Vernon Avenue, where it could accommodate only thirty children. A few years later, a piece of property was donated, and again Mr. Slimmer came forward with needed aid. He offered a contribution of $25,000 provided an equal sum would be raised by the Jews of Chicago. This was soon accomplished and a "large, fine building" was erected on

Drexel Avenue, adjoining the *Home for the Aged;* it was dedicated on April 23, 1899.[65]

The *U.H.C.* also supported the *Ridgelawn* Cemetery for poor persons who could not afford burial expenses.[66]

Though the *U.H.R.A.,* and later the *U.H.C.,* took care of the needy in the entire Jewish community, the East-European Jews always manifested a desire to have their own charity organizations. In the beginning, the congregations and the aid societies took care of the special charity needs of the East-European Jews. We have seen that the *Beth Hamedrash Hagodol U'bnai Jacob* and the *Congregation Ohave Sholom Mariampoler,* in addition to their religious and educational work, also provided in their by-laws for definite relief and charity work.[67] Later, the other East-European congregations did the same and various "aid societies," beginning with the *Mariampoler Aid Society,* specialized in relief work.[68]

In the late '80s, the "west side" Jewish community, primarily Russian-Polish in origin, became dissatisfied with the methods of the *United Hebrew Charities;* the feeling grew that "the time had come for it to give as well as to receive." This feeling asserted itself in the organization of an independent charity organization on the west side, in 1889, under the name of *Tz'doko Koleleth* (General Charity).[69] As had the *United Hebrew Charities* for all Chicago, this organization adopted as its aim the centralization of relief work on the west side. The *Tz'doko Koleleth* had a struggle raising its funds through nickel and dime donations. Nonetheless its work was highly praised even by the *U.H.C.*[70]

Another form of aid for the needy, primarily in the Russian-Polish Jewish community, was the *Free Loan Society.* Among poorer Jews, this was a very important institution. Very often some individual, who desired to establish himself in a small business or even in peddling, so as to become self-sustaining, and who did not desire to accept charity, found the *Free Loan Society* the only solution to his problem. To obtain a loan from the bank was out of the question, for it involved credit and interest, which the poor individual usually did not have and could not afford.

The first free loan societies, usually called *G'milath Hasodim,* were started by a few generous individuals in the Orthodox congregations. Among the first of these societies were the *Rabbi Yitzchok Elchanan Gemilath Chassodim* and the *Hevra G'milath Hasodim Mishna U'Gmoro.* The latter was founded on January 8, 1894, and operated from the congregation's quarters at 636 O'Brien Street. This group started with an initial capital of $175.00 raised by subscriptions from the wealthier members, who each contributed $15.00. To start with, the loans ranged from $3.00 to $10.00. Gradually, they were increased to the extent that the maximum limit was set at $500.00. In the course of the existence of this organization, almost half a million dollars were loaned and over twenty thousand individuals were assisted in making their way in this world.[71]

Another popular free loan society was the *Woman's Loan Association.* This group was founded on the west side in 1895 by a few generous women with a capital of $87.00. They, too, started with extending loans ranging from $3.00 to $10.00. This was gradually increased to $25.00, and, finally, reached a maximum of $150.00. Thousands of Jewish families were helped in this manner.

Very few losses were experienced in these loans. In 1898, the *Woman's Loan Association* extended loans amounting to $745.00 without any loss whatsoever. The next year, out of $1,020.00 loaned, only $7.00 was lost. In 1900 the society lost a total of $18.00 in loans totaling $2,915.00.[72]

When the *Bureau of Personal Service,* which originally was organized by the Chicago section of the *National Council of Jewish Women* and later became part of the *Associated Jewish Charities,* made a survey of the Jewish district in 1896, it found that there were fourteen *Loan Societies* "operated by the Russian group alone."[73] This would imply, of course, that other Jewish groups likewise operated free loan societies to assist those in need of that particular philanthropy.

The aged of the Orthodox Jewish community did not find themselves at ease in the *Home for the Aged* on Drexel Ave. First, there was the ever-present question of dietary laws; then, there were certain other religious and social conflicts present, which made them uncomfortable. At the close

of the century, the need was clear for the establishment of an Orthodox Jewish home for the aged. During the summer of 1899, a small group of Orthodox men from the modest walks of life gathered on the west side, and established the *Beth Moshov Z'keinim* (Home for the Aged). The institution was chartered in September, 1899. In December of that year, a meeting of delegates of congregations, lodges and societies was held, at which officers for the year 1900 were elected. The primary problem of the *Beth Moshov Z'keinim* was the acquisition of a home, for which the necessary funds were not at first forthcoming. Once again, Mr. Slimmer offered a generous donation of $20,000, to be given upon conditions similar to those accompanying his previous gifts. Mr. Slimmer's donation and offer were graciously received. With such a start, the comparable amount was easily raised. A fine building was erected on Ogden and Albany Avenues for the *B.M.Z.*, as this Home for the Aged became known.[74]

A very interesting aid society that came into existence among the East-European Jews in Chicago in the last decade of the century was the *Lechem Lorevim* (Bread for the Hungry). This was an organization which was devoted exclusively to providing food for needy individuals and families.[75]

While every charity organization assisted the Russian immigrant, in the early '80s and '90s, a number of special organizations were founded to help the "Russian refugees." In 1882, we hear of the *Russian Relief Committee* working actively, and succeeding in procuring employment for most of the refugees sent to Chicago by the Board of Delegates.[76]

In the same year, we hear that the "Russian-Polish Israelites" started the *Ohabe Ger* (*Lovers of the Stranger*) *Association* for the purpose of assisting the refugees. This association boasted of a membership of 250, each paying an annual subscription of $3.00. The *Ohabe Ger,* in consonance with the custom of fund-raising affairs of the time, arranged a ball for which "tickets in behalf of their praiseworthy object" were sold. The organization became permanent, after fulfilling its duty as a temporary relief committee.[77]

Relief for Russian refugees was not confined to local assistance. As early as 1881, an appeal was made at the

Standard Hall for a "Russian Fund," which resulted in the forwarding of 5,000 francs to the *Alliance Isrealite.*[78] Another appeal for Russian refugees was made by Dr. Hirsch at the *N'ilah* (closing) Service of *Yom Kippur* in 1881, at *Sinai Congregation.*[79]

Some years later, two other special organizations came into existence to help the Russian refugees. The first Chicago branch of the *Jewish Alliance of America* was formed at a mass meeting in the *Russishe Shul* on May 29, 1891. This group numbered 300 in its membership.[80] Among the speakers at the mass meeting were: Rabbis Felsenthal, Moses and A. R. Levy, Henry Greenebaum and Leon Schlossman, at that time president of District Grand Lodge No. 1 of *B'nai B'rith.*[81] The *Jewish Alliance of America* was founded at a national convention held in Philadelphia on February 16, 1891. Representatives of the Jewish community of Chicago attended.[82]

On August 23, 1891, *The Society in Aid of the Russian Refugees* was organized to centralize all work. The Chicago branch of the *Alliance* merged with this new organization. On September 4, 1891, the society opened an office on Jefferson Street. The society conducted its relief work in conjunction with the "Sheltering Home" which had been established by the Chicago branch of the *Alliance* a short while before, and which was also located on Jefferson Street near the society's office.[83]

The Society in Aid of the Russian Refugees provided board and lodging to widows and orphans who arrived in the city. The men who had learned a trade were provided with tools and sewing machines to work and earn a livelihood. Others were sent to learn a trade, and the committee paid for the teaching, and also for the board of the applicant for several weeks.[84] A contemporary report tells us: "Nearly all the families who remained in Chicago received the necessary furniture, stoves, and, in some instances, several months' rent. During the cold weather, many of the families living here received coal. Hundreds of bundles of warm clothing for men, women and children were received at the office of the Executive Committee from all parts of the city, and distributed among the needy applicants. Shoes were also

given to a great many who were in need of them. The kind-hearted Jewish physicians of the neighborhood had volunteered their medical services, and the Executive Committee paid for medicine." The *Society* existed for only a year and a half. During this time over 600 families were assisted in various ways.[85]

The East-European Jewish community also organized a "Free Burial Society" at a very early date. In December of 1875, on a very cold early winter morning, the sexton of the *Ohave Sholom Mariampoler* synagogue found a dead youth in the vestibule. Naturally, he and the worshippers who had arrived early that morning to pray were shocked at the sight. Upon investigation, it was found that the dead young man was the son of poor Jewish parents, who were residing on Liberty Street. He had been sick for a long time. In an effort to cure their child the parents had spent every cent they had, together with whatever they were able to realize from pawning their valuables. Their sacrifice was of no avail. When their son passed away, the parents did not have the means of providing him with proper burial, so they brought his body to the synagogue and waited to see what the congregation might do about it. The *Congregation Ohave Sholom Mariampoler* accepted the obligation, gave the dead youth his last rites and buried him in accordance with Jewish tradition. Soon thereafter, and as a consequence of this tragic event, the *Hevrah Kadisha* was organized to provide free burial for poor people, in accordance with Jewish tradition. By the end of the century an independent free burial society under the name *Gomlay Chessed Shel Emes* was organized.[86]

Another form of care for the needy among the East-European Jews in the self-imposed "ghetto" of the west side, was the *Maxwell Street Settlement.* The formation of a settlement house was not a new occurrence in Chicago. It had its prototype in the Hull House, a social settlement which was set up to serve the new immigrants of various backgrounds. Its location in the west side ghetto district might have given impetus to the creation of the *Maxwell Street Settlement,* which was intended for Jewish residents and its

program was planned for the Jewish immigrants and settlers exclusively.[87]

The *Maxwell Street Settlement* began as a "resented philanthropy" by the recipients, though idealistically conceived and promulgated by its originators. In the spring of 1892, a conference was called at Hull House, which by some in the "west-side ghetto" was suspected of having missionary zeals. The "establishment of a social settlement in the west-side Ghetto" was considered with the aim that it should serve as a cultural center for the "enlightenment" of the needy and newly-arrived Jewish immigrants and settlers. There were present the sponsors of this new philanthropy, a number of German Jews who were associated with Reform synagogues, a small group of East-European Jews "in behalf of the recipients of this beneficence." Miss Jane Addams, the guiding spirit of the Hull House, was present simply as a spectator. She was so annoyed, however, by the quarrelsome attitude on the part of some of the people present and the suspicion on the part of the "west-siders" that this philanthropy might be just a camouflage for the introduction of Reform in their midst, that she remarked, "It seems to me that there is more ill-feeling between Reform and Orthodox Jews, than there is between Jews and Gentiles."[88]

It was not, however, upon ideological grounds that the atmosphere was charged with discontent. It was the sting of the contempt in which the recipients of the philanthropy were held by some of the gentlemen present, which made itself keenly felt in the course of the discussions. The result of the conference was that the settlement was to be established, but only on the understanding that men and women of the neighborhood itself be asked to participate in its organization. A committee was appointed to find suitable quarters. An "old but commodious residence" was found on Maxwell Street, east of Jefferson Street, acceptable for the settlement, and the *Maxwell Street Settlement* came into being.

Judge Bregstone, who was present at the initial conference, describes this settlement as follows:

> Although the moving spirits of the *Maxwell Street Settlement* were such men as Julius W. Mack and Lessing Rosenthal, whose intentions were well-meant, the residents of the Settlement were not

> the proper men to accomplish the end for which it was established. They were men of wealth and education, who left their luxurious homes to live in the Ghetto Settlement, a noble enough sacrifice but a vain one. These men could not understand the psychology of the people among whom they came to spread culture and refinement. Every person who crossed the threshold of the settlement, whether seeking information in regard to naturalization or an immigrant eager to delve into the intricacies of the English language, was looked upon as a pauper begging for alms, and was treated as such. Then too, the Settlement became a popular center for debutantes who, eager to dabble in social work, descended into the Ghetto under the leadership of a typical social worker of that period, to help the "poor Russian immigrants." Under these conditions, it took but a short time for the Settlement to become extremely unpopular. The people of the neighborhood soon discovered that the new institution was patronizing them to an extent which bordered on insult.[89]

The program of the *Maxwell Street Settlement* was of high calibre, and was calculated to introduce general culture with practical knowledge to those who availed themselves of the services of the organization. It may well be that some of the programs were too advanced and not fully understandable by the people in the neighborhood, because of their lack of knowledge of the language. A schedule of classes and club programs during the winter season of 1894-95 reveals an ambitious, interesting program. The active season usually began immediately after the High Holy Days, toward the end of September.

The following is the program announced for the week, beginning Monday, September 24, 1894, inaugurating the functions of the season that year. It will illustrate the type of work done by the Settlement:

Monday: Latin (elementary), Miss E. Witkowsky;
Girls' Club, Miss Sadie American;
German, J. W. Moses;
Talks on Art and Architecture, J. A. Loeb;
English Novels (selected), Hugo Pam.

Tuesday: Book-keeping, Miss J. Norden;
French (elementary), Miss Shire;
English Grammar, J. W. Loeb;
Social Science, M. Rosenthal;
Arithmetic, Arthur Stein.

Wednesday: Commercial practices, Milton J. Foreman;
Geometry, J. A. Loeb;
American History, E. Snydacker;
English Poetry (selected), J. J. Abt.

Thursday: Book-keeping, Miss Norden;
English Grammar, J. W. Loeb;
Boys' Debating Club, J. Lowenhaupt;
English Novels (selected), Hugo Pam.

Friday: Physical Culture, Miss M. F. Low;
Girls' Club, Miss American;
German, J. W. Moses;
French (elementary), Miss Shire;
Arithmetic, Arthur Stein.

Saturday afternoon clubs and classes were conducted in various fields of interest, for boys and girls from nine to fourteen years of age. There was a group in Nature Study, conducted by Miss Lenore Loeb; Mythology by Miss Agnes Foreman; Plants and Flowers, by Miss Alice Morgenthau; House Improvement, Miss Lily Engelman; Fable and Myths, Miss Adele Morgenthau; Boys' Reading Club, Miss Susie Cohn; Reading Club, Miss Fannie Goodman.[90]

It was as a direct reaction to the *Settlement* that the *Self Educational Club* was started in the drugstore of Leo Porges, the first Russian-Jewish druggist in the neighborhood. This shop became the rendezvous for all intellectuals of the west side.[91]

The *Self Educational Club* was a very popular and crowded organization, with headquarters on Halsted Street, south of Fourteenth Street, while the *Maxwell Street Settlement,* with all its wealth and potentialities, was declining. "It was not until many years later," writes Bregstone, "when Ernestine Heller was put in charge of the *Settlement,* that it became an active and busy institution, ministering to the neighborhood's needs and functioning in a way intended by the men who founded it."[92]

The years 1893 and 1894 were years of depression, with bread lines and soup kitchens to alleviate some of the sufferings of the hungry. The Jewish community of Chicago did not shirk its duty in this demand upon it for care of the needy. Two *People's Soup Kitchens* were organized, one at 615 South Canal Street, and one at 3831 South Halsted Street.

On Canal Street, from 1,000 to 1,500 persons were provided daily with one hot meal, "the most scrupulous care being taken to discriminate against professional paupers and unworthy impostors." At the Halsted Street Kitchen, from 100 to 300 families were provided daily with food and meals. House to house visits among the destitute families in the neighborhood revealed an indescribable degree of misery and suffering among the people, who were willing to do any kind of labor to support themselves in any manner, so as to avoid becoming a burden upon the community. The extent of the work of the Kitchen on Canal Street can be gauged from the fact that in November of 1893, 3,500 loaves of bread were distributed; in December, 12,000; and in January of 1894, 15,000. During the same period, 11,000 pounds of meat were consumed. At Halsted Street, the distribution of food was even greater, because there entire families were served.

The Soup Kitchens did not confine their work to the serving of meals and the distribution of food; in many instances, they also distributed clothing, bedding and blankets to the needy families. They were careful, also, to pay close attention to the observance of the Jewish dietary laws. In order not to offend the sensibilities of the needy, a charge of one cent per meal was made. Mrs. Morris Loeb was the president of this philanthropic venture.[93]

This spirit of unity in the care for the needy which had made possibile the *U.H.C.* was manifested once again at the very end of the century. A movement was begun to unite all charities in the Jewish community into one central collecting and disbursing agency. The first step in that direction was taken at a meeting of a few enterprising individuals, who convened on January 7, 1900, at *Sinai Temple* to discuss the question. The Jews of Chicago received the plan for a united organization of all charity groups with great enthusiasm. They wholeheartedly endorsed it and subscribed to it liberally, so that in less than two months over $100,000 was pledged by 600 subscribers.

On April 12, 1900, a meeting of all subscribers was held, and the *Associated Jewish Charities* was formed. A charter was obtained, and the organization set out at once to select its officers and Board of Directors. The first objective of the

Associated Jewish Charities was to increase the subscribers' list. The quota set for the first year of its existence was $150,000. In the first annual report on May 7, 1901, the total receipts were found to be $135,000, contributed by 1700 subscribers. Among the beneficiaries of the funds raised during the first year, were the *Relief Department, U.H.C., Michael Reese Hospital, West-Side Dispensary, Home for Aged Jews, Chicago Home for Jewish Orphans, Jewish Training School, Cleveland Orphan Asylum, National Hospital for Jewish Consumptives* at Denver, *Chicago Lying-in Hospital and Dispensary, Maxwell Street Settlement, Seventh Ward Bureau Personal Service and Juvenile Court* work, and the *Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society.* It is a remarkable fact that the administration of the funds cost no more than $3,250.00.[94]

Nothing is more fitting for the close of this chapter than the words of Ecclesiasticus:

> Water will quench a flaming fire; and alms maketh an atonement for sins. And he that requiteth good turns is mindful of that which may come hereafter; and when he falleth he shall find a stay. My son, defraud not the poor of his living, and make not the needy eyes to wait long. Make not an hungry soul sorrowful; neither provoke a man in his distress. Add not more trouble to an heart that is vexed; and defer not to give to him that is in need. Reject not the supplication of the afflicted; neither turn away thy face from a poor man. Turn not away thine eyes from the needy, and give him not occasion to curse thee; for if he curse thee in the bitterness of his soul, his prayer shall be heard by Him that made him.

8

The Hoe and the Anvil

FROM the time of the conquest of Canaan, the Jews had been overwhelmingly an agricultural people. We need but examine the various references to the land that are found throughout the Bible to realize the close association of the Jewish people with the soil in ancient days. Even after the conquest of Judea and the destruction of the Temple by the Romans, in the first century of this era, the Jews followed successfully agricultural pursuits in many countries of their dispersion. It was not until the latter part of the Middle Ages, when the Church and the temporal powers forbade the Jews to own or acquire land, and merciless persecutions, massacres and expulsions made it necessary for them to dispose of whatever landed property they possessed, that they had to abandon the cultivation of the soil and turn to artisanry and trade. Toward the end of the eighteenth and in the beginning of the nineteenth century, some of the restrictions that had been imposed upon the Jews in connection with owning land, or following agricultural pursuits, were removed in some parts in Europe. In America the restriction never existed. Thus, both abroad and in America we find the emergence of movements and organizations urging the Jews to turn to agriculture as a means for a livelihood. Many thought that it was important for the general welfare of the Jewish community and the economy of the land in which they lived that Jews should emerge from the confines of the ghetto, limited occupations and narrow forms of livelihood. It is no secret that well-meaning Jewish leaders and philanthropists envisioned in Jewish farming a panacea to all evil that befell the Jewish people, especially antisemitism. To some, Jewish colonization was conceived as a broad base for recreating the Jewish nation. To others,

transplanting the Jew from the city to green pastures meant the release of many from the tension of economic insecurity and instability.[1]

Jewish attempts at colonization and agriculture in America began in the early part of the nineteenth century. As early as 1820, Major Mordecai Manuel Noah acquired a tract of land on Grand Island in the Niagara River for the specific purpose of establishing the Jewish agricultural colony *Ararat.*[2] In 1837 twelve Jewish families bought a tract of land of 500 acres in Wawarsing, New York, where they established the colony *Sholem,* which had a precarious existence for a decade.[3]

In the middle of the century, William Renau of New York set up the *Jewish Colonization Society* to establish Jews as farmers in the West; Meyer Klein was sent West to implement the idea. One hundred and sixty acres of land in Shaumburg, Cook County, not far from Chicago, were purchased from the government with the express purpose of settling Jews on the land to engage in agriculture. This project, too, met with no success.[4]

Not until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when the persecutions in Russia were driving masses of Jews to America, did the idea of establishing Jewish agricultural colonies in the United States develop on a large scale. At that time, farming was looked upon as the most "desirable means for the absorption of some of the fast arriving immigrants." Many came to the United States with the specific idea of engaging in agriculture, especially those who had no trade, and did not look with favor on peddling, the usual pursuit of the new immigrant. European societies such as the *Mansion House Committee,* and the *Alliance Isrealite Universelle,* assisted in the emigration of large numbers of Russian refugees who, under their guardianship, came over with the idea of becoming farmers in the New World. In the United States the *Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society,* which later became the *Alliance Land Trust,* assisted the newly arrived immigrants to achieve their aspirations. In the short period of two or three years, at least sixteen colonizing projects were founded in various parts of the United States. Many of these projects did not meet with success, but some

developed into ideal colonies and proved an excellent means for winning a livelihood and attaining adjustment in America.[5]

The Jewish community in Chicago played its share in the attempt to colonize Jews on farms. Among the ideal pioneers in the "back to the soil" movement was Rabbi Abraham R. Levy, the spiritual leader of the *B'nai Abraham Congregation* in Chicago. Through the initiative and efforts of Rabbi Levy, the *Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society of America,* established in Chicago in the year 1888, launched a number of successful colonization projects in the middle west. Membership fees and donations were used to carry on the work. Additional revenue was obtained from "mite boxes" placed in some Jewish households in the city. The children of the Sabbath schools and the teachers assisted in the collections. The general aim of the society was "to help people leave the enslaving sweatshop or unpromising and degrading peddling in the city and start out as farmers."[6]

The principal work of the society was to make loans to prospective Jewish farmers. Since the society did not have very large funds, money often was advanced by philanthropically-minded individuals of the Jewish community, who invested and reinvested sums varying from $150 to $1000 in loans for the protègès of the society. The society presently decided to create a "Loan Fund," and to issue "Certificates of Credit," in denominations of ten dollars and upwards. These certificates were redeemable after ten years from the date of issue, or before, at the option of the society, and bore annual interest at the rate of three percent. By the end of the century, loan certificates in the amount of about $8000 were subscribed.[7]

Shorty after its founding, the *Jewish Agriculturists' Society* assisted four families in acquiring 80 acres of land in southwestern Minnesota where they established themselves as farmers. This effort was followed by a number of other successful agricultural settlements supported by the Chicago society.[8]

By 1900, Rabbi Levy reported that, in the twelve years of the existence of the *Agriculturists' Society,* it had settled 105 farmers of whom 89 were still on their farms at the time. The cost of establishing a family on a farm varied from

$300 to $1,000. Assistance had been rendered in the shape of loans, secured either by real estate or by the chattels of the borrowers and bearing interest at the rate of four percent. The 89 families who remained on the farms worked an aggregate area of 10,617 acres of land located in Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Michigan, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana and Florida. Thirty-six of these families had taken homesteads on government lands covering 5,760 acres and valued at $23,000. On these homesteads, by the end of the century had been built 29 dwellings, 22 barns, 15 granaries, 10 stables, and 6 sheds and corn cribs, valued at $14,500. Forty-one of the families had purchased 3617 acres of land for $48,630, which, because of the improvements on the land, were valued at $65,000. Twelve of the families had established farms on 1230 acres of rented land, for which they were paying $3460 in rentals. The 89 Jewish farmers supported by the *Agriculturists' Society* owned 257 horses, 277 cows and 195 calves. The money loaned to the farmers amounted to $35,525, of which the sum of $22,495 had been repaid. There were only 38 persons who owed money to the society, amounting to only $14,030. The Jewish farmers apparently borrowed money from other sources as well, but not to such a great extent. At the time Rabbi Levy reported, the total encumbrance on the farms was $26,200, totalling $12,170 in non-society debts.

The cost of operating the society and carrying on the work for the twelve years had been less than $3000, which sum included the expenditures for printing, postage, legal fees and records.[9]

With the coming of the Russian-Polish Jews in large numbers in the 1880s, there was introduced not only a new social, religious and cultural influence upon the American Jewish community, but also a new problem of vocation and economics affecting the industrial situation of many a large city, and the Capital-Labor relationship of the country. The early Jewish pioneers had taken to peddling and small business, eventually graduating into larger business and commercial enterprises. Although there was always a certain number of craftsmen in the technological fields and trades, and even a certain number of unskilled laborers among the

earliest of the Jewish settlers, neither group seems to have created a problem. This was probably due to the fact that there was no extensive mass-immigration, except in the middle of the nineteenth century for a short period, and this never assumed the proportions of the East-European immigration.[10]

Despite the fact that a solution to the problem was attempted by the plans for agricultural colonization, and that many of the new immigrants took to peddling, the bulk of the Jewish immigrants, especially those from Russia, preferred factory work, and small business enterprises.

Economically the Jews of early Chicago belonged to the middle class of small merchants gradually increasing the size of their commercial enterprises as the city grew. Even those who began by peddling soom gave up their pack and hawking to open a small store, an easier and more dignified way of earning a livelihood. There were some who occupied themselves with the trades, but they constituted a minority. None of the early Jewish pioneers in Chicago were members of professions because they were all newly-arrived immigrants, and had not had the opportunity for proper training. Later on, in the late 60s, we find a few Jews in the legal and medical professions.[11]

In speaking about the commercial and financial condition of the Jews in the early '50s of the century, Mr. Leopold Mayer recalled: "In comparison with their standing in the *fatherland,* the Jews in Chicago were fairly well situated. They were already engaged in the various branches of commerce. Some had dry goods, others clothing stores; many were engaged in the cigar and tobacco business, and there were even a plumber and joiner, and a carpenter here. Some, loading their goods upon a wagon, others upon their shoulders, following the honorable vocation of peddling . . . At that time there were no millionaires among the Jews, but all felt independent."[12]

Some of the Jews of Chicago accumulated a little wealth very early and began to play an important role in the financial world. When Dr. Wise visited Chicago in 1859, he found that "nowhere in the United States were there, in proportion, so many bankers, lawyers and notaries-public

among our brethren, as in Chicago." There were two Jewish banking houses at the time, one that of Messrs. Greenbaum and Brothers, and another that of Messrs. Silverman and Mayer.

With the general economic growth of the city, manufacturing and wholesale distribution became important factors in the community economy. The Jewish small store owner accumulated a little wealth and usually expanded his commercial enterprise into a wholesale business or a department store. The tailor prospered and ventured into manufacturing.

By 1880, the chief industry that attracted the new immigrant was the manufacture of men's and women's clothing or, as it was commonly designated, the "needle trade." This industry was highly developed in five cities in the United States: New York, Baltimore, Philadephia, Boston and Chicago. It was controlled primarily by German and Hungarian Jews, who preceded the Russian-Polish Jews in the country by one or two generations.[13] The nationality and religious denomination of the labor groups in this industry was constantly changing, with the influx of the new immigrants. In the '70s, the Irish replaced the Swedes and the Germans. In the next decade, the Irish were replaced by Jews, Italians, and Poles.[14] Before the Jewish immigrant made his impact, the working force in the clothing manufacturing business consisted of women and older children, receiving very low wages. The newly-arrived Russian-Polish Jew, therefore, had to overcome more than one obstacle. The elements which decided in his favor were his skill—for many had prepared themselves for the tailoring trade to meet this situation — and his industrious habits coupled with the desire to "make good" in the new life.

The clothing manufacturing industry was divided into two branches conducted by two types of employers. The first was the "manufacturer," who produced the entire garment for distribution in the market, although he did not actually make the garment. He designed it, cut it by pattern, and sent it to the "contractor" who saw to its manufacture. At times, the manufacturer might himself produce one part of the garment, if it was a ladies' suit of two pieces, or a man's suit of two or three pieces. Most of the manufacturers

had more than one contractor, each producing a specific part of the garment. Some of the contractors had "subcontractors," to whom they sent part of their "bundles" to be put together. Out of the sub-contracting element, grew the "sweatshop."

The "sweatshop" was a very convenient arrangement for the contractor and sub-contractor to make "the easy dollar." The contractor who received a large order from the manufacturer but did not have the space nor machines to produce it in his shop, gave a number of "bundles" to individuals to take home and "do it" there. In the home, which for the early Russian-Polish immigrant seldom consisted of more than two rooms and a kitchen in a tenement house, the contractors would put in one, two, or three sewing-machines, and have the entire family join in the sewing of the garments. At times one might, of course, rent an additional room or a special apartment usually referred to as a tenement, a store, or a small loft, and employ, in addition to the members of his family, some outsiders, or "boarders."[15]

Many of the early employees in these sweatshops were highly intellectual and intelligent people. Some were students in the universities, who thereby paid for their studies and earned their livelihood. Many a prominent figure came from the environment of the sweatshop.[16]

The sweatshop, was the determining factor in the development of the Jewish socialist movement and the Jewish trade-union movement. At a United States Congressional investigation of sweatshops in Chicago in 1892, Abraham Bisno, a cloak operator at the time, testified that he had been working in the trade "for years." When asked, "How many hours a week did you work eight years ago?" he replied: "I worked between 70 and 75 hours a week." The testimony of Bisno clearly reflects the condition of labor in general, and sweatshop conditions in particular, in the '80s of the century in Chicago. For a seventy or seventy-five hour week of difficult labor, he earned from fourteen to sixteen dollars. When the type of work became better because of the improvement of the merchandise and the style of the apparel, he worked less, only 65 to 70 hours a week. Then, however, he

produced more and the wages decreased to thirteen or fourteen dollars in the "busy season," and there was very little or no work in the "slack season."[17] In 1892, Bisno testified, he had worked only 60 hours a week at a salary of eleven dollars and produced more work than ten years before. The wages were calculated according to the "pieces" produced, and the price per "piece" varied with the times and conditions. This accounted for the fluctuation of wages between eleven and sixteen dollars a week.

According to this testimony, there were only three sweatshops in Chicago in 1881. Within a decade the number had increased to such an extent that they became a menace and a problem. In defining a "sweatter" in this testimony, all agreed that it referred to a person who took "work" from a larger manufacturer. He did not invest any money, nor carry any risk, nor did he control anything and yet he shared in the profit that the merchandise brought. A "sweatshop," they agreed, was a place not built for manufacturing and yet goods were produced through hired labor that the contractor had engaged.[18]

Bisno illustrated it in the following manner: "I work in a factory which is open only ten hours a day. But since I want to work more than ten hours, I take the work home every evening. The manufacturer tells me that I can take home all the work. This I do. And there every member of my family and my neighbors work for me. Sweatshops are thus shops in the homes. But now that the industry has grown, the sweatshops are becoming regular large factories employing many working people, and working in cellars, in attics, and wherever they can work longer hours."[19]

In this Congressional investigation, it was also revealed that in spite of compulsory education, child labor was widespread in the '80s and '90s. The health of the working man was greatly impaired because of unsanitary conditions in the sweatshops. A brother of Bisno worked in a sweatshop for years and died of consumption, leaving a wife and five children.[20]

All the Jews in Chicago of course were not tailors, large and small manufacturers, or large and small storekeepers. Mr. Bisno, in his study of the "Economic and Industrial

Condition" of the Russian Jew in Chicago in the '80s and '90s, gives us an eyewitness account. He states that "the industries in which the Jews are employed in the greatest numbers are the sewing and cigar trade," but he agrees with the Irishman who worked in the same factory, who said "a Jew would rather earn five dollars a week doing business for himself than ten dollars a week working for someone else." Yet, he records that he found Jews in his time who were employed as "iron molders, machinists, locomotive engineers, sailors, farm helpers, boiler makers, butchers at stock yards, street sweepers, section hands on railroads, motormen and conductors on the street cars, brick layers, carpenters, steam fitters, plumbers, workers in bicycle-plating shops, and in factories of electrical appliances, of iron beds and springs, of shoes, of woodwork and of upholstery, in tin, mattress and picture-frame factories, and in bakeries." [21]

An interesting observation which Bisno makes is: "There are eight non-Jews to one Jew employed in the needle industries in Chicago." While in the cigar industry there were also more non-Jews employed than Jews, Bisno remarks that "the proportion of non-Jews to Jews among the cigar makers in not quite so large." [22]

The application records of the *Congregation Ohave Sholom Mariampoler* provide a good cross section of the occupational setup of the East-European Jews in the economy of the larger community. In these records the applicants listed their vocations as: butchers, blacksmiths, liquor dealers, bottle dealers, teachers, grocers, rag peddlers, milk dealers, peddlers of vegetables, iron dealers, druggists, laborers and merchants.[23]

Just before 1900, there were "4,000 Russian Jews engaged in the sewing trades in Chicago," earning between $400 and $600 per year. Several hundred East-European Jews were contractors or manufacturers. About 1500 of those employed in the sewing trades were engaged in what was called "country order" coat-making, which was a less expensive type of custom coat-making.

The scale of wages is interesting. Operators received from $11 to $25 per week; assistant operators, from $5 to $12; basters from $10 to $18; assistant basters from $5 to

$10; pressers from $10 to $18; assistant pressers from $4 to $8 per week. There were a number of higher paid employees, but these were a small percentage of the whole. The wages in the "ready-made coat-making trade" were 20 percent less. It must be borne in mind that the earnings were not the same throughout the year because there were slow or "slack" seasons for several months.

Sewing machines were operated by foot, and the shops were generally in poor condition. Steam was later introduced in place of foot-power, and the lighting and ventilating conditions of the factories improved as time went on.[24]

Mr. Bisno estimates that small contractors and manufacturers operated on an average capital of $10,000 to $20,000. This was true in the cap-makers industry, as well as in the manufacturing of knee-pants, overalls, and children's clothing. He states that there were fifty furriers among the East-European Jews who earned $12 and $18 per week for nine months of the year. "2,400 Russian Jews" were engaged in the cigar and tobacco trades. Many were in business for themselves operating a store or a small factory or both. The earnings in this industry were higher than those in the needle trades. The cigar manufacturers operated on less than $20,000 of capital.[25]

Between 1893 and 1897 when there was an economic depression in the city, employment in all industries lasted only from four to five months of the year.

Jews played an important part in the mattress trade, both as employers and as employees. The workers in this and in the picture-frame industries earned less than those in the needle and cigar trades. Similar conditions existed in the bakeries.

It was estimated that there were "2,500 to 3,000 clerks in stores and offices, bookkeepers, stock-keepers and kindred occupations ranging from the lowest paid shipping-clerk to the high-salaried department store manager."[26]

There were a thousand fruit and produce peddlers earning from "$20 to $35 per week" during certain seasons, but their average earnings were much lower. They were poor and their children did not follow the occupation of their fathers. On the other hand, there were from one thousand to fifteen

hundred people engaged in the dry goods, notions, and gentlemen's furnishings business, who earned a good living and could give their children a proper education. "100 Russian Jews" were in the saloon business.[27]

Contrary to the accepted opinion, the East-European Jew was not very active in the early development of the trade union movement. Bisno tells us that "one of the main reasons why they did not support trade unions and labor organizations to the same extent as other nationalities was that most of them did not believe themselves to be working men for life, nor did they think that they will leave as a heritage to their children the lot of a wage-earner." It seems that he did not fully grasp the psychology of the early East-European Jew in this respect. The trade union movement in its infancy was an outgrowth of socialism and at times was associated with extreme socialistic tendencies bordering on anarchy. The early East-European Jew was essentially Orthodox in his religious faith. Association with trade unionism was difficult for him because of the liberal religious tendencies or complete lack of religious feeling among the trade union leaders and many members. Bisno himself admits that the Jews cooperated much more in the organization of labor than other nationalities, such as the "Poles and some of the Germans and Bohemians," of whom he says "the church and the priests are keeping in an ignorant helpless, and 'scabbing' state of mind." He admits that the Jews "are beginning to realize, slowly, but surely, that their economic future lies in an alliance with the labor unions and the socialist movement, and they will become a factor, I believe, in establishing the state of affairs in which labor will be free and receive what it produces."[28]

In 1886 the "Knights of Labor" began agitation for an eight hour day and the unionization of the Jewish cloakmaker. Meetings were held and strikes were called, but the movement did not succeed. The intellectual members of the group organized the *La Salle Political Club.* That club was a social-democratic organization devoted to the education of the Jewish masses and to spreading the doctrine of socialism. It arranged lectures and forums and organized debates and

classes, which were attended by large groups. In 1892, Abe Cahn, at that time leader of the *Jewish Socialist Party* in New York, and later editor of the Yiddish Daily *Forward,* delivered a series of illustrated lectures at the club on "How the Jews live in New York." He gained many converts to socialism. It was through the leadership of the *La Salle Club* that the *Chicago Cloakmaker's Union,* which was predominantly Jewish in membership, was organized.[29]

The *Cloakmaker's Union* was the first to protest against child labor and the sweatshops. With the assistance of some of the residents of Hull House, they succeeded in having a law passed prohibiting the employment of children under fourteen years of age, and prohibiting the employment in home-shops of other than members of their family.[30]

Simultaneously with the organization of the *Cloakmaker's Union,* other Jewish unions came into existence, such as the *Cigarmakers, Cap-makers, Knee-pants-makers, Cigarette-makers,* and *Typesetters* unions.[31] Under the leadership of Benjamin Schlessinger, all the unions amalgamated under the name of *Die Yiddishe Vereingte Gewerkschaften,* (United Jewish Labor Organizations) of which organization he became secretary.[32]

Though the *Vereingte Gewerkschaften* went through a period of difficulties in organization and adjustment, and had many battles to fight in order to gain recognition, eventually it became "a potent factor not only in the cause of labor but in all Jewish affairs." Judge Bregstone, in writing his personal observations of "the Jewish labor movement" in Chicago states, referring to the *Gewerkschaften*: "Although most of its leaders, were socialistically inclined, it participated in all Jewish affairs and contributed to every Jewish cause, whether of local, national or international character. In the early development of the socialist movement in the United States, it followed a purely cosmopolitan tendency; in principle it recognized no national ties or boundaries . . . Jewish socialism in Chicago was developed in a manner which differed from that in New York or Philadelphia. It had none of the advantages and disadvantages of being dominated by a small group of strong individuals. Here

the rank and file were given opportunities to express themselves, and, as a result, the movement was broader and more colorful while the individualities of its members expanded and their personalities grew richer."[33] It was in the Chicago Jewish trade-union and socialist movements that men like Schlessinger, who became president of the *International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union,* Sidney Hillman, Samuel and Alex Levin and other prominent figures in the Jewish labor movement were reared.

9

Judaica

JUST as Chicago was the rendezvous of many of the early land speculators, adventurers, fortune seekers, and other elements which often gave ill-repute to the Midwest of the mid-nineteenth century, so was it also from the earliest days of its founding a bee-hive of literary activity and interest in art and music. Newspapers, periodicals, a library, schools, music and literary clubs flourished in the city from its inception. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the Jews in the city similarly interested in all aspects of literary creativity from the earliest days of active Jewish community life. This activity, which we connote as "Judaica," in time evolved along two distinct community lines — the German and the East-European.

The early Jewish population, being part of the predominantly German elements in the city, naturally found its literary expression within that group. They subscribed to the German-language newspaper, the *Illinois Staatszeitung,* to which occasionally some contributed letters, news items and even articles. They joined the German music and literary clubs, and attended the German theatre. Because of the smallness of the population, the specific and independent Jewish literary activities were limited. There were neither the men of letters to create, nor any Jewish presses, printers or publishers to produce, great literary works. However, by the early '60s, there were at least three men who were active in Jewish literary activity in Chicago: Dr. Bernhard Felsenthal, Dr. I. L. Chronik and Dr. Liebman Adler. All were functioning rabbis. All hailed from Germany and their literary creativity reflected native German influence. Dr. Felsenthal was influenced by German moderate

Reform, and the rabbinic conferences held at Brunswick, Frankfort and Bresslau in the '40s of the century. Dr. Chronik was influenced by German radical Reform of Geiger and Holdheim, and the *Juedische Wissenschaft* (Jewish science) movement. Dr. Adler was influenced by the Conservative element in Germany and by the "enlightenment" movement.[1] All three were strongly affected by the then modern trend to make full use of the vernacular in their literary productivity. They were also influenced by German secular literature, writers and thinkers. Expressing the thought of all, Felsenthal, in his later life, wrote:

> Spiritually I am a German, for my inner life has been profoundly influenced by Schiller, by Goethe, by Kant, and by other intellectual giants of Germany. I have drunk from the springs of German literature; I have sat at the feet of German teachers; and I acknowledge, with a certain pride, in thought and feeling I am a German.[2]

The first author who can be properly singled out as a contributor to Chicago Judaica was Dr. Bernhard Felsenthal. Though influenced by Germany, Felsenthal was keenly alive to the American scene, which included the activities of Dr. Einhorn in Baltimore and Dr. Samuel Adler in New York in the field of Reform Judaism. He was not unaware of the activities of Dr. Isaac M. Wise in Cincinnati, though the latter did not seem to have made a profound impression upon him. The interest displayed by some Chicago Jews in the Reform movement, especially the Greenebaums, in whose banking house he was employed when he came to Chicago, also had a marked effect on Felsenthal. The local German newspapers and printing press made it possible for him to engage in a literary career which earlier produced a variety of works in German. Later he also wrote in English and in Hebrew.

In 1859, as we have seen in a previous chapter, Dr. Felsenthal published a brochure bearing the Hebrew title in transliteration *Kol Kore Bamidbar* (a Voice Calling in the Wilderness). This brochure, written in the German language, was the first publication of Jewish content to appear in Chicago. It bore the interesting German subtitle *Ueber Juedische Reform—Ein Wort an die Freunde Derselben* (Con-

cerning Jewish Reform - A Word to the Friends Thereof).[3] As an appendix the author added the correspondence between a group of Reform enthusiasts in Chicago and Dr. Samuel Adler of *Temple Emanu-El,* New York.[4]

Kol Kore Bamidbar was not the first literary product of Dr. Felsenthal. He had previously published articles on Reform and other subjects in the *Israelite, Sinai, Deborah,* and the *Illinois Staatszeitung.* He also contributed letters in Hebrew to the *Ha-Maggid* in Europe, describing conditions of freedom in America, and touching on Jewish Reform and the services in Reform synagogues. In that period, also, he regularly wrote articles for the *Chicago Republican,* for the *Hebrew Leader* and for the *Christian Freeman.*[5]

Dr. Felsenthal often lectured before organizations in the city as well as before large and small groups in his synagogue. A by-product of one of these lectures was the publication of another brochure in the German language, *Juedisches Schulwesen in America* (The Jewish School System in America), which was presented originally on December 13, 1865, at the *Ramah Lodge* of the *B'nai B'rith.* It was published in 1866.

In *Juedisches Schulwesen in America,* Dr. Felsenthal comments upon the conditions prevailing in America as they affected Jewish education at the time. He sets forth the urgent need for order and the systematic organization of Jewish education on a lower and higher level. Felsenthal proposes that schools be established in every city, and Hebrew studies be part of the curriculum in every school. He outlines a course of study, and emphasizes the need of schools for higher Jewish learning rather than for just elementary training. He advocates sending American young men to prepare for the rabbinate in German seminaries, rather than attempting to educate them in America.[6]

Dr. Chronik of *Sinai Congregation,* who was by nature and training an academician and who apparently was more interested in literary activities than in the pulpit, published in the late '60s a monthly periodical, *Zeichen der Zeit* (Symptoms of the Age), dedicated to "Religion, Philosophy and Sociology and their Interrelationship." The first issue was dated January 15, 1869. The subscription price was

Zeichen der Zeit.

Eine Monatsschrift für

Religion, Philosophie und Gesellschaft

in ihrer Zusammengehörigkeit.

Redacteur:

Dr. Chronik,

Prediger der Reformgemeinde „Sinai" zu Chicago.

1869 Erster Jahrgang. 1869

Dampfpressendruck der „Illinois Staats-Zeitung," 104 Madison-Straße, Chicago, Illinois.

Title-page of first monthly publication in German that appeared in Chicago in 1869.

two dollars per year. It was printed by the steampress of the *Illinois Staatszeitung* in a format of 5 1/2 by 8 1/2, each number consisting of sixteen pages. Though Dr. Chronik was listed only as the editor, it seems that most of the articles were written by him.[7]

Zeichen der Zeit was not the first literary creation of Dr. Chronik. He had previously contributed articles to the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Conversations Lexikon,* as well as to the *Staatzeitung* and other German publications.[8]

It has been stated:

> Dr. Chronic's historical importance in the community rests upon an activity he faithfully gave himself to, outside his pulpit. For the furtherance of his radical reform views, he established the first Jewish publication in Chicago. *Zeichen der Zeit,* which appeared monthly, and was in the German language. Like everything else Dr. Chronic did, it was a scholarly piece of work and did credit to the intellectual standards he sought to uphhold in Chicago. It is to be regretted that a file of the paper is not in existence. It is believed that Dr. Chronic continued to edit the paper until shortly before he left Chicago in 1870.[9]

Obviously this author did not search too much, for a copy of a complete year's issue of *Zeichen der Zeit* is preserved in the archives of the Chicago Public Library. This makes it possible for us to obtain a very clear understanding of the nature of the publication. There was neither any local nor any specific national Jewish news items in *Zeichen der Zeit* and the term "Jew" or "Israelite" or "Jewish religion" is not mentioned in the introduction in the first number. There can be no mistake, however, about the specific Jewish character of the publication. The Hebrew and Aramaic quotations in the original and their interpretations are profusely scattered in every issue of the magazine. The general form followed the pattern of similar Jewish publications in Germany. The contents consisted generally of: 1) an editorial on some subject relating to religion, philosophy or sociology, 2) an article or essay on a general subject, sometimes by a guest writer, 3) correspondence, 4) literature (reviews), and 5) notes on and interpretations of interesting news items.[10]

Zeichen der Zeit was interested very much in Reform Judaism. The first essay was devoted to a discussion of Dr. F. Schleiermacher and Israel Jacobson's hundredth birthday anniversary, in which the author lauds both of them and makes a comparison between the two. Each brought Reform to his co-religionists, Schleiermacher to Christianity, Jacobson to Judaism. There appears also an article on the status women and a review of ספרי קודש *Illustrirte Pracht-Bibel fuer Israeliten in dem masorethischen text und neuer deutscher Uebersetzung mit erlauterden Bemerkungen von Dr. Julius Fuerst.* (Holy Scriptures—Illustrated Bible for Jews in the traditional text with a new German translation and explanatory notes by Dr. Julius Fuerst). In one of the issues there appeared a reprint of a proclamation printed in one of New York City's newspapers, exalting German science, art, literature and education, and criticizing the young people of German parents, who neglect the language of Lessing, Goethe, Schiller and Humboldt. The author suggests that the German language be made compulsory in the schools of New York City, which according to its German population is "the third largest German city."[11] In the same issue there also appears a discussion about the synod that took place in Leipzig on June 29, 1869, which was attended by 80 rabbis, scholars and community representatives. The synod is exalted and is compared with the Councils held in Rome, except where the latter dealt with the abstract theological doctrines, the Jewish synod dealt with problems for the betterment of humanity.

Zeichen der Zeit was indeed a highbrow publication, and its tendencies were towards Bible criticism, radical Reform Judaism and anticlericalism.

Dr. Liebman Adler of *K.A.M.* was not overly active in literary work before the great fire of 1871. The only product of his pen from that period was the publication of a brochure of five sermons, which appeared in 1866. Individual sermons and eulogies by Dr. Adler appeared from time to time over a number of years. Later in the century he published several volumes of sermons.[12]

There is reference to a fourth Jewish author in that early period — Joseph B. Gruenhut, who later became prominent

in the Union army. It is reported that, in 1867, Joseph B. Gruenhut edited a German-Jewish periodical or newspaper called *Die Reform.* There are no copies extant to give us any information on the nature of that publication.[13]

Before the great fire, all literary activity in the Jewish community was in the German language. After the fire, Jewish literary activities in Chicago were primarily trilingual: Hebrew, English and Yiddish. The only publication in German, other than the earlier *Die Reform* and *Zeichen der Zeit,* was *Der Zeitgeist* (Spirit of the Age) which was published between 1880 and 1882 in Chicago and Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The *Zeitgeist* was a family periodical dedicated to the interests of American Judaism; it concentrated primarily on Reform ideology. It was a bi-monthly, and was edited by Adolph Moses of Louisville, Kentucky, Emil G. Hirsch of Chicago, and Isaac M. Moses of Milwaukee, later of Chicago. The first numbers of this publication carried a Milwaukee by-line only. On October 27, 1881, Chicago was added. Several issues bore a Chicago by-line only.[14]

With the coming of the East-European Jews in greater numbers, there soon developed a Yiddish and Hebrew press, which was destined to become very prolific and to occupy an exalted place in the life of the community. Before the century was over, there appeared in Chicago at least ten Yiddish and five Hebrew newspapers and periodicals.

During the period of mass-immigration, the Yiddish press in America became an important educational factor. It gave the new immigrant an elementary education in local, national and world affairs. It opened for him new horizons from which he was generally shut off in his crowded tenements and filthy sweatshops. Institutions for social welfare and for the improvement of the lot of the newcomer, the Jewish labor movement and fraternal organizations, overseas relief societies and the movement for the restoration of Zion, the struggle for Jewish rights the world over and the *landsmanshaften* organizations, the striving for Jewish national and religious unity and Jewish institutions of learning were to a great extent inspired by the Yiddish press. The rise and growth of American Yiddish literature evolved from the Yiddish newspapers. The Yiddish press gave the opportunity

to many a writer to have a medium for the manifestation of his literary talent and for the dissemination of his literary creativity. The successful achievements of the Yiddish stage may be ascribed, at least in part, to the assistance it received from the Yiddish press. It is, therefore, little wonder that the Jewish newspaper came to occupy a most influential position in the cultural evolution of the East-European Jewish community in America.

The pioneer of both the Yiddish and Hebrew press in Chicago was Nachman Baer Ettelsohn. Mr. Ettelsohn was born in 1828, in a small town in the Province of Suvalk, Russia. His father was Rabbi Baruch Ettelsohn, an author of several Hebrew volumes. In 1851, Mr. Ettelsohn came to America. After a number of years, he settled in Chicago and opened a small Hebrew-Yiddish printing press and shop. He had a sound Talmudic and Hebrew education, and he also possessed a great deal of general knowledge. Not having been influenced too much by the "enlightenment movement," he tended to favor East-European traditionalism. By the time Ettelsohn opened his printing shop in Chicago, a few attempts had been made in New York to issue Yiddish weeklies. There was *Die Yiddische Zeitung* (Jewish News) which had the English subtitle "The New York Hebrew Times," which began to be published March 1, 1870; the *Yiddish Post* which began to appear the same year; the *Hebrew News,* bearing the same title also in Hebrew characters, which was published in four languages, Yiddish, Hebrew, German and English, started in 1871; *New Yorker Yiddische Zeitung* (New York Jewish News), which began to appear in 1872; the *Yiddishe Gazetten* (Jewish Gazette), which was founded in 1874; and the *New Yorker Yisraelit* (New York Israelite), which came into existence in 1875.[15] The thought of a Yiddish periodical to be published in Chicago was therefore neither strange nor novel. Since Ettelsohn had his own printing press, and the opportunity presented itself in 1877, when the Russo-Turkish war broke out, and the East-European Jewish immigrants, who had come primarily from Russia, were craving to learn of the war news, he decided to publish a Yiddish newspaper. Inasmuch as the people coming from eastern Europe could speak or read neither English nor

German, the news in the local press published in either of these languages was not accessible to them. Yiddish or Hebrew were the only media through which they could obtain the desired information. A Yiddish newspaper was therefore not only a public utility but was supposed to have proven also a good business project. By that time the East-European Jewish community of Chicago had increased in sufficient numbers to have many readers of such a publication. Local, social and community problems had also assumed enough significance to make a Chicago Yiddish newspaper a worthwhile instrument for their publication. Thus, the Yiddish press made its bow with the publication of the *Israelitische Presse* (Israelite Press). Ettelsohn in his old age admitted that he conceived the idea of a Yiddish newspaper, "because the *landsleit* (fellow countrymen) desired to hear some news of the Russian-Turkish War," and that "the principal aim of the publication was not to preach any particular idea, but to give the Yiddish-speaking people some news items and enlighten them on certain contemporary questions." [16]

As his associate editor, Ettelsohn invited S. L. Marcus of Alabama. Subsequently Mr. Marcus became an instructor in one of Chicago's Hebrew schools, where he taught "the Pentateuch with Mendelsohn's translation and Hebrew grammar," under the supervision of Rabbi Henry Gersoni.[17]

The *Israelitische Presse* was a weekly, dedicated to news of Jewish interest and light literary material. The language and style were Germanized so much so that some called its dialect "German in Hebrew characters." [18] Dr. Felsenthal contributed a number of articles in German-Yiddish to the *Israelitische Presse.*[19] In 1880, the publication ceased to appear in Chicago and was transferred to New York City.[20]

In 1881, Ettelsohn began to publish a Yiddish monthly *Chicagoer Israelit,* which lasted but a short while. In 1885, Ettelsohn attempted to revive the old periodical in Chicago under a different name *Die Yiddische Presse.*[21]

The *Israelitische Presse* was printed in folio format with three columns on each page. The subscription price was two dollars per year, and three dollars for foreign countries. Individual copies sold for five cents. For advertisements the charge was ten cents per line. The newspaper advertised

itself in its own columns urging the people: "Advertise in the *Israelitische Presse,* the finest Yiddish-German newspaper in the world. The *Israelitische Presse* has more reading material than any other Jewish newspaper."[22]

After these pioneering attempts by Ettelsohn, which cannot be said to have been totally unsuccessful, a new venture in Yiddish journalism began in Chicago. The source and inspiration came from New York City. In 1885, Kasriel H. Sarasohn, who was one of the pioneers in Yiddish journalism in New York, branched out to Chicago. Here in that year, together with his son, he founded the *Chicagoer Wochenblatt* (Chicago Weekly), which enjoyed considerable success. Its circulation was not confined to the city only. Like all other weeklies it enjoyed a fair circulation in the entire middle west, thus making it more profitable.[23]

Another Yiddish weekly, bearing practicaly the same name, began to appear in 1895, under the editorship of Jacob Mordecai Wolfsohn. Its title was *Yiddishes Wochenblatt* (Jewish Weekly).[24]

In 1887, a new Yiddish weekly, which later was destined to become the first daily Yiddish newspaper in Chicago, made its appearance. It was the *Jewish Courier.* This weekly was published at first by M. Ph. Ginzburg, who owned a Hebrew-Yiddish printing press on Canal Street. The editor was Leon Zolotkoff, who hailed from Wilna, Russia, and who had made his debute as a journalist at the age of thirteen, with articles in the Hebrew weekly, *Hamelitz,* published in St. Petersburg. He also wrote in Russian and in Yiddish prior to his settling in Chicago. Within time Zolotkoff gained a reputation as one of the foremost Yiddish and Hebrew journalists as well as playwrights. In 1893, he entered Lake Forest University, where he obtained the LL.B. degree, thus adding the practice of law to his journalistic and communal activities. On the staff of the *Courier* with Zolotkoff were Isadore Hurwitz and S. P. Rabinowitz. The latter had previously issued the Hebrew yearbook, *Kneseth Israel* in Warsaw. After a short financial struggle the *Courier* was purchased by Kasriel H. Sarasohn and his son, who became its publisher. Zolotkoff remained the editor. The periodical consisted of four pages of six columns each.[25]

In 1892, the Courier began to appear as a daily under the name *Der Taeglicher Yiddisher Courier* (The Daily Jewish Courier). At the same time the *Chicagoer Wochenblatt* became the weekly edition of the *Courier*. Peter Wiernick, who experienced a colorful career in his early struggles in America as peddler, printer, compositor, "make-up" man and even delivery boy, was invited to join Zolotkoff as co-editor of the *Courier* and the *Wochenblatt*.[26]

After the *Courier* became a daily, another Yiddish weekly made its appearance in Chicago. During the *Columbian Exposition* there began to appear under the management of Leon Zolotkoff, *Die Yiddish Welt* (The Jewish World). This publication was of short duration. It existed for only a few months.[27] Shortly thereafter, Zolotkoff made an attempt to issue another daily. Assisted by his nephew Louis Ogus, who together with Samuel Ginsburg operated a printing press on Twelfth Street, he ventured to edit the *Chicagoer Yiddishes Tageblatt,* which also bore the English subtitle "Chicago Jewish Daily News." But, in this venture too, Zolotkoff did not succeed, and Roman G. Lewis became the editor.[28] At the same time M. Ph. Ginzburg decided again to issue a newspaper. Accordingly he began to publish the *Jewish Citizen* with Elijah N. Zoline as editor. This daily lasted but a month.[29]

Between 1893 and 1896, there appeared in Chicago a special daily edition of the *Yiddishes Tageblatt* (Jewish Daily) under the editorship of George Zelikowitch. The Chicago edition was known as *Yiddishes Tageblatt fun der West.* In 1894, Professor Zelikowitch also began to issue a weekly under the title *Die Yiddishe Gazetten fun der West,* which also had an English title *The Western Jewish Gazette.*[30] Thus two dailies, and two weeklies sponsored by the dailies, were appearing simultaneously, competing with one another. Though all of them followed "Orthodoxy" in the ideologies, the *Tageblatt* was a more liberal paper and championed labor on many occasions. The Jewish laboring class considered the *Tageblatt* their favorite organ. Morris Seskind, who subsequently edited a socialist paper, and later became labor editor of the *Chicago Forward,* and Benjamin Schlessinger, who became a moving force in the organ-

ization of labor unions, contributed to the *Tagleblatt* feuilletons and news articles.[31] The *Tageblatt* ceased to exist in 1896, while the *Courier* continued until 1944.

There was still another Yiddish newspaper which appeared in nineteenth century Chicago. Joel Liebling, who in Pittsburgh had been issuing the weekly *Der Blumengarten* (The Flowergarden), came to Chicago in 1898 and, in that year, began to publish twice weekly the *Yiddish Presse und Progress* (Jewish Press and Progress). Two years later this publication changed into a daily under the title *Die Yiddishe Presse* (The Jewish Press). Subsequently the name changed to *Taegliche Yiddishe Presse* (Daily Jewish Press). These publications followed Orthodox ideology.[32]

Two additional Yiddish dailies which came into existence at the turn of the century, but did not last long, should be referred to here. In 1900, there was established in Chicago, the *Arbeiter Zeitung* (Worker's Journal), which was socialistic in ideology and was edited by Morris Seskind, Benjamin Schlessinger and Isaac Feingold. H. L. Meites was its publisher.[33]

A daily, the *Taegliche Yiddishe Shtimme* (Daily Jewish Voice) began to appear in Chicago in 1896. This daily may have been the forerunner of the *Taeglicher Yiddisher Kol,* which also had an English title *The Daily Jewish Call,* and which began to appear in 1900, under the editorship of Leon Zolotkoff with the assistance of the poet Morris Rosenfeld. The latter also issued a weekly under the title *Zuntag Kol* (Sunday Voice).

Jacob M. Wolfsohn succeeded Mr. Zolotkoff as editor of the *Taeglicher Yiddisher Kol* (Daily Jewish Voice). The newspaper was published by H. Liederman. After a short existence it ceased publication.[34]

In 1899, there appeared in Chicago a weekly, edited by Morris Reinhard, under the title *Chicagoer Yiddisher Kronikel* (Chicago Jewish Chronicle).[35]

The Hebrew press was not quite as prolific in Chicago as the Yiddish. The first Hebrew publication to appear in the city was the *Hechal Ho-Ivriyoh* (Hebrew Mansions) which was edited by Nachman Baer Ettelsohn and S. L. Marcus as a supplement to the *Israelitische Presse.* The

Hechal Ho-Ivriyoh had its own title and because of this it is to be considered a separate publication. It is mentioned as such in Steinschneider's bibliography *Ha-Mazkir* (The Reminder).[36] Unfortunately, there are no copies left of the *Hechal Ho-Ivriyoh* to furnish an insight into the true nature of this publication. Judging from the references to it and to some of the articles in it, it was a publication dedicated to the discussion of Jewish legal questions and interpretations.[37]

The second Hebrew periodical was the *Keren Or* (Ray of Light) which was first issued in June of 1889 by Leon Zolotkoff. It was an outgrowth of the cultural activities of the Hebrew organization *Doreshei Safruth Ho-Ivrith.* The motto of the periodical was the verse from Genesis 1:3 "Let there be light." The title page declared that it was dedicated to "Jewish interests, culture and literature." It was a 32 page publication, and only two issues were published.[38]

On September 24, 1893, four years after the cessation of the *Keren Or,* Michael Levi Rodkinson issued in Chicago one number of the Hebrew publication *Ha-Kol* (The Voice). It bore the English title "The Call." The *Ha-Kol* was founded by Rodkinson in 1876 in Koenigsberg, Germany, and removed to New York City in 1880.[39]

In 1897, Wolf Shure edited in Chicago the *Hapisgoh* (The Summit). This publication originally published in New York, later appeared in Baltimore. It was established in 1892. In its fifth year of publication it began to appear in Chicago, the first issue from that city bearing the Hebrew date, *Tishre* 27, 5658. This periodical ceased to exist in its sixth year of publication after the fiftieth number had been published. The *Hapisgoh* carried on the first page of every issue the announcement in English: "A Hebrew literary weekly in America for the purpose of promoting the knowledge of the ancient Hebrew language and literature, and to regenerate the spirit of the nation." The subscription price was $2.50 per year. It was an eight-page publication, three columns on each page. The last page was reserved for advertisements.[40]

After the *Hapisgoh* ceased publication, it was replaced by another weekly called *Hatchiah.* This periodical also

bore the title in English "*Regeneration.*" Wolf Shure continued as editor. The same announcement of purpose that appeared in the *Hapisgoh* was continued in the *Hatchiah.* The subscription price and the format were likewise the same. The *Hatchiah* was published only over a period of one year and three weeks; it ceased publication after the third number of the second year was issued.[41]

Though some of the Yiddish and Hebrew newspapers and periodicals did not last a long time, it is still an indication of great interest in Yiddish and Hebrew in the latter part of the century, and the fruitful literary productivity in those languages by the East-European Jews.

The Anglo-Jewish press was likewise well represented in Chicago, and quite early had its staunch champions and supporters in the community. The first Jewish periodical in the English language, that appeared in Chicago, was *The Occident,* a weekly devoted to general news, literature, science, art, and the interests of Judaism. The first issue, which appeared in 1873, was published by M. Hoffman and Julius Silversmith. This publication criticized Orthodoxy and often also attacked Reform in unkind words. It continued for more than twenty years, until 1895.[42]

On June 14, 1878, there appeared in Chicago a weekly publication which announced that it was "devoted to social interests and progressive Judaism." It was edited by Rabbi H. Gersoni and called *The Jewish Advance.* The motto that headed the front page of this publication was "Execute the judgment of truth and peace in your gates." The *Jewish Advance* was also published partially in German.[43]

"The Advance" was followed in January, 1882 by *The Maccabean,* a monthly magazine in English, also edited by Rabbi Gersoni. Neither the *Jewish Advance* nor the *Maccabean* were very successful periodicals.[44]

A great boon to the Anglo-Jewish press and to the dissemination of "Judaica" in Chicago was the establishment of a branch of the *Bloch Publishing Company* in the city. This publishing house was originally founded in 1854 in Cincinnati by Edward H. Bloch in partnership with his brother-in-law Dr. Isaac M. Wise.[45] In 1885, Charles E. Bloch, who had been associated with his father's business since

1878, as "printer's devil," took over the management of the Chicago office of the publishing company. It was from this office that many of the local Anglo-Jewish publications were issued. The first one was the *Chicago Israelite,* which was a local edition of the national *American Israelite,* published in Cincinnati, under the editorship of Isaac M. Wise. The *Chicago Israelite,* which was first issued in 1884 under the editorship of Leo Wise, enjoyed a great deal of influence and popularity in the community, under the management of Bloch.[46]

Another Anglo-Jewish periodical, which was very popular in the last decades of the century and which emanated from *Bloch Publishing Company,* was the *Sabbath Visitor.* This was originally founded in the early '70s, in Cincinnati, and intended for "Young Israel." The *Sabbath Visitor* was "edited and conducted" by Isidor Wise until October, 1888. After that date, Charles E. Bloch became the editor, and the magazine began to carry the by-line "Chicago and Cincinnati" with the former as the place of publication. For a while Dr. David Philipson was the editor and the publication place of the periodical changed back to Cincinnati. However, in 1893, a special notice was issued to all "friends and suscribers" that, after May 1st of that year, "the *Sabbath Visitor* will be published and printed in Chicago by *Bloch Publishing Co.* at 180-82 Monroe Street."[47]

The most popular, and by far the most important and influential periodical that emanated from *Bloch Publishing Company,* was the *Reform Advocate,* founded on February 20, 1891. The *Reform Advocate* was founded by Charles E. Bloch with Emanuel M. Newman as partner. Dr. Emil G. Hirsch became the editor of the paper from its inception. In fact, the *Reform Advocate* was founded by Bloch, in order that Hirsch "might have a personal organ through which to speak and write for American Israel on great themes." Dr. Hirsch poured into the *Reform Advocate* "out of the richness of his extraordinary learning and the keenness of his never-failing wit and oratory."[48]

The *Reform Advocate,* as the title indicates, was a weekly devoted to the interests of Reform Judaism. It also featured news and articles of general Jewish interest. Along with the

editorials, special essays, sermons and discourses, as well as articles on the "science of Judaism" by Dr. Hirsch, there appeared in the columns of the *Reform Advocate* sermons, articles, literary essays and discourses by other rabbis and authors.

A very interesting Anglo-Jewish publication, which was published in the last decade of the century in Chicago was "The American Jewess," which began to appear in April, 1895. This periodical was the result of the enthusiasm engendered by the *Jewish Women's Congress* and the *National Council of Jewish Women.* The *American Jewess* was not the first Jewish monthly ever to be published for Jewish women. In 1888, there appeared in New York City a Yiddish weekly called *Die Weibereshe Zeitung* (The Women's News), edited by Morris Wexler.[49] The *American Jewess* was "Devoted to Social, Religious and Literary Subjects." Mrs. Rosa Sonneschein, who later became very much interested in Zionism, and was one of the delegates to the first World Zionist Congress, was the editor. Shortly after its appearance, *The American Jewess* absorbed *The Montefiore Magazine,* which heretofore was published in Indianapolis, Indiana. In 1896, the magazine's office was moved to New York, and was published and distributed by *The American Jewess Publishing Company,* with Lucien L. Bonheur as business manager. Mrs. Rosa Sonneschein remained its editor.[50]

In 1897, there appeared in Chicago *The Star of Israel,* a journal devoted to "Moral and Intellectual Progress," edited by J. Parvon. This was a bi-monthly publication, and changed its motto several times. In one of the issues, it claimed to be "devoted to the cause of moral and intellectual progress of the American Jews in general and those from Russia in particular." The last issue, which purported to be "The Organ of Slovanic Judea," appeared on November 31, 1897, and announced the aim of the journal to be "Devoted to the Regeneration of Israel." [51]

To the list of newspapers and periodicals should perhaps be added at least five monthly bulletins, which were published by the various Jewish literary societies in Chicago. The names of these publications that came down to us are:

Sinai Herald; Mendelsohn Oracle; Zion Journal; Lasker Review and *Addisonian Oracle.* These monthlies were read at the program meetings of the various associations. As no copy of these publications are extant, there is no way of knowing their format and contents, except that they seemed to have concentrated on news items and gossip of the respective organizations.

Another publication of interest that should be mentioned is *The Hebrew Student.* This was a non-Jewish monthly published in the interest of "Old Testament Literature and Interpretation." It was edited by W. R. Harper and carried the motto in Hebrew from Malachi 2:7:

> *For the priest's lips should keep knowledge,*
> *And they should seek the law of his mouth;*
> *For he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts.*

The first issue was published in April, 1882. The subscription price was one dollar a year, a single copy selling for ten cents. It boasted a circulation of three thousand and advertised itself as "the only periodical in the United States devoted exclusively to the interests of Old Testament study." It is interesting to note that in the first issue there appeared an essay by Rabbi I. Stern of Stuttgart, Germany on "Beams from the Talmud."[52]

Though the press was of greatest concern and most popular in the general community, other "Judaica" was not neglected. Inasmuch as music played a very important role in the early Jewish community in Chicago a number of important works in that field were published. The musical program occupied an exalted place in the synagogue services. The early Reform congregations, having been much influenced in the form of worship by the Protestant Church, advocated the singing of hymns in the vernacular. *Sinai Congregation* led the way. The musical program at *Sinai Temple* was regularly announced in the local press under the heading "Musical Notes." To meet the demand of the people, in 1861, Dr. Bernhard Felsenthal, at the expense of *Sinai Congregation,* had printed for public use a collection of thirty-four German hymns by various authors.[53] Fifteen years later, there appeared another collection of Jewish hymns,

under the title *Israelitische Temple Gesangen* (Jewish Synagogue Hymns) by Otto Loeb. A second edition of this work, which became very popular was published in 1887. Mr. Loeb was the organist of the *Zion Congregation* for many years.[54]

A musical collection and anthology, *Songs of Zion,* was published in 1893 by Reverend Alois Kaiser and Reverend William Sparger. A collection of *Sabbath School Hymns* by Rabbi Isaac S. Moses was published in 1894.[55] Another collection of hymns by the same author, published in 1896, was *The Song Book for Jewish Worship.*[56]

With the rise and popularity of the Sabbath schools, the demand arose for Biblical history texts, as well as for catechisms of religion and ethics and other text books. To meet this demand, we have seen how Dr. Kaufman Kohler, the spiritual leader of *Chicago Sinai Congregation,* published in 1876, the *Jewish Reader for Sabbath Schools,* which contained Biblical stories told from an ethical and moral point of view. We have seen also how the spiritual leaders of some of the other congregations published a number of Hebrew grammars, primers and Jewish catechisms. Some Sabbath school textbooks appeared without giving the author's name. The output of such texts was rather prolific throughout the country.[57]

Another prolific literary activity of the German-Jewish community, on a national level in America, was in the field of liturgy. One of the major problems of the early Reform congregations and the principal conflict between them and the traditional synagogues were concerned with the nature and the form of the liturgy. The problem of the liturgy had produced at an earlier date the *Minhag America* (The American-Jewish Ritual) by Isaac M. Wise, the *Olath Tamid* (Daily Offering) prayerbook by David Einhorn, and other prayerbooks by various rabbis, used in the Reform as well as in traditional congregations that had liberal tendencies. The first editions of many of these prayerbooks were in Hebrew with German translations; original prayers were in the German language.[58]

Chicago made its contribution to the subject of liturgy and in the publication of prayerbooks. In 1892, the *Union*

Prayer Book was published here. It was edited by the *Central Conference of American Rabbis,* for the use of Reform congregations and for the purpose of unifying the liturgy in Reform synagogues.[59]

In order to supplement the prayerbooks and prayers used in some of the Reform congregations, and also to provide an adequate ritual for special occasions, several rabbis wrote and published supplementary prayer booklets. Thus Rabbi I. S. Moses published, in 1893, *Additions for the Ritual for the Day of Atonement.*[60] In the same year an *Evening Service at the House of Mourning* was published in Chicago.[61] In 1895, there appeared a special prayerbook titled *Evening and Morning service for Weekdays.*[62]

In 1896, Dr. Emil G. Hirsch translated Dr. Einhorn's prayerbook, *Olath Tamid,* from the German into English for his congregation. This translation was used by other congregations too and became the basis for other texts.[63]

In the liturgical field may be considered a number of early *Hagadahs* (The Home Service of Passover Eve). A beautiful *Hagadah* appeared in 1883, edited by Hayim Lieberman.[64] This *Hagadah* had a commentary on the closing hymn *Had Gadya,* (One Kid) written by the editor.[65] For the more liberal, Rabbi I. S. Moses published a *Hagadah* with the subtitle, "Domestic Service for the Eve of Passover." This *Hagadah* was intended for the Reform element in the community and required a second edition in 1898[66]

The early emphasis among Reform Jews and their spiritual leaders upon ethical rather than upon ritual values in Judaism produced a number of books in the nineteenth century. In 1872, Dr. Isaac M. Wise published in Chicago his work *Judaism, its Doctrines and Duties,* in which he emphasized the moral and ethical approach and interpretation of Judaism as a religion.[67] Rabbis I. S. and Adolph Moses were joint authors of *The Ethics of the Hebrew Scriptures,* following the same ideology. This came out in 1889.[68] An author who desired to remain anonymous published, in 1892, *Selections from the Bible and the Sayings of the Sages.*[69] Two years later, Henry Cohen published *Talmudic Sayings,* selected and arranged under appropriate headings.[70]

1

הִתְעוֹרְרוּ ! הִתְעוֹרְרוּ !

4

" מַצַּב יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּאַמֶּעריקָא מוֹרֵא הַנֶּהֱוֹ מְשַׁגְּרִים הֵם לֹא בְּשׁוּם נִכְלְמוּ ·

" פָּנָיו קָדְרוּ אַף רָפוּ יָדֵיהוּ · " יִשְׂרֵי לֵב אֶת אָזְנָם לֹא אָטָמוּ ·

" בְּנַפְשׁוֹ יָבִיא לַתְּמוֹן · וְאֵין · " אִישׁ אִישׁ לֹא נֶעֱדָ ל ה ·

" עֲבוֹדָה יְבַקְשׁוּ גַּם עֲבוֹדַת פֶּרֶךְ · " לְשָׁמוֹעַ לְקוֹל מִשְׁנָה וּגְמָרָא ·

" אַךְ לָאֹכֶל לְחֶם אֵין לְפָנָיו דֶּרֶךְ · " הֵם רָאוּי טוֹב סַחֲרָה מִכָּל סְחוֹרָה ·

· וּמַעֲמַד הַדַּת לִרְאוֹת תִּדְמֹעַ כָּל עַיִן · " יוֹם יוֹם קְבָעוּ עִתִּים לַתּוֹרָה ·

5

2

לְהַגְדִּיל תּוֹרָה אֵין אֶחָד סוֹנֵהּ · " הִתְעוֹרְרוּ אַחַי הִתְעוֹרְרוּ ·

וַיִּתֵּנוּ אֶת הַיֶּלֶד בְּזוֹנָה · " עֵינֵי כָל הָעָם אֲלֵיכֶם יְשַׁבֵּרוּ ·

וּמְאוּמָה עֲהוֹרָה לְבוֹ רַק · " מִדֵּי יוֹם בְּיוֹמוֹ מַעֲשֵׂי כֶם בַּלּוּ ·

וְלִבּוֹ אַךְ נִכְסַף נִכְסַף · " וְהָיָה זֹאת לָכֶם לְעֶטֶרֶת תִּפְאֶרֶת ·

לְקַבֵּץ פְּרוּטוֹת וּלְהַגְדִּיל כֶּסֶף · " וְלִדּוֹר אַחֲרוֹן תְּכַתֵּב זֹאת לְמַשְׁמֶרֶת ·

יָעַר פִּיו עַד בְּלִי חֹק · " וְשִׁנּוֹתֵיכֶם אַתֶּם בְּנֹעֲימִים הִבַּלְתֶּם ·

3

6

וְיִקְרֵי עַמֵּינוּ יַחַד גָּאָסְפוּ · " אַתֶּם בְּצַלְתֶּם אֲחֵיכֶם מְשַׁחֵת ·

חָסוּ עַל פְּרִי הַחַיִּים שֶׁלֹּא יִכְמָשׁוּ · " בְּאֶרֶץ אֲמֵעְרִיקָא קֶרֶן הַתּוֹרָה תָּרִימוּ ·

וּבְעֵדַת אֲהֲבֵי שָׁלוֹם עָצְרָה קָרְאוּ · " כִּי לֹא עִוֵּד אֶת נַפְשָׁם אֲשֶׁם יְשִׁימוּ ·

עֲצוּת יָצְצוּ מַחְשֶׁבֶת חָשְׁבוּ · " לְאֹמֶר חֵלֶק בַּתּוֹרָה לֹא יֹאבֵד קַחַת

לַחֲבֹר חֶבְרַת מִשְׁנָה וּגְמָרָא יְצֹא יָצָאוּ · " וּבְיֹתֵר אַחֵינוּ בְּאוֹרְפָא יְהִי עָמִיתָם

שֶׁכֻּם אֶחָד אֶל הַמְּלָאכָה קָרָבוּ · " וַיְהִי רָצוֹן שָׁלוֹם וֶאֱמֶת בֵּינֵינוּ

הַלֹּא דְּבָרַי אֹ"שׁ בְּרוֹדֵא הַמְּמֻ"ן דִּפְה

Poem by Rabbi A. Braude describing the conditions of Jewry and Judaism in America and paying tribute to the founding of the *Hevrah Mishnah U'Gemarah*.

As the sermon was an honored feature of the services of the German-Jewish congregations, and later also of those of the East-European Jewish congregations in the community, a prolific output of this type of Jewish literature occurred.[71] In the '80s and '90s, a number of individual sermons and lectures as well as essays and articles were published by Chicago rabbis and authors, either in the local press or in separate pamphlet form.[72] From the pen of Dr. Hirsch, in the '90s, came published discourses in considerable number, among them: *Some Tendencies of the Modern Drama; Paul, the Apostle of Heathen Judaism; Judaism and Modern Religion; Myth, Miracle and Midrash; The Jews and Jesus; Jesus his Life and Times; The Doctrine of Jesus; The Bible in the Light of Modern Science; Attacks on Jews and Judaism;* and *Why I am a Jew.*[73]

In the last two decades of the century, a number of collections of sermons were published. Such a collection in German by Dr. Liebman Adler, in three volumes, appeared in 1891, under the Hebrew title *Tzenah Urenah* (Go Ye and Behold).[74] Another collection of sermons and discourses by Dr. Adler, in English, under the title *Sabbath Hours,* was published by the *Jewish Publication Society* in 1893.[75] In 1895, Rabbi I. S. Moses published the four sermons he had delivered on New Year's Eve; they bore the title *The Profession of Judaism.*[76]

Belles-lettres, polemics, and poetry also occupied the attention of some Jewish authors. In 1881, Rabbi Gersoni published a small booklet of about forty pages titled *Jew Against Jew;* it sold for ten cents.[77] A year later, he issued a Hebrew poem entitled *Kadimah* (Forward), which was a translation of one of Longfellow's poems. It was published first in *The Maccabean,* and then in a separate reprint.[78]

On the occasion of the centennial of Moses Montefiore in 1884, H. Eliassof wrote a poem in Hebrew, called *Mizmor L'thoda,* (A Song of Thanks).[79] The Reverend Mr. Eliassof in 1897 also wrote another Hebrew poem on the occasion of the golden jubilee of K.A.M., called *From the Rising of the Sun unto the Going Down.*[80]

To meet the need of the Sabbath schools that were eager to present dramatizations of Biblical stories and

historic events, particularly in connection with the holidays, many authors wrote children's plays. A large number of such plays appeared, especially for the *Hanukah* and the *Purim* festivals. Thus, in 1886, there was published in Chicago a play in five acts called "Haman and Mordecai," written by Harby Clifton. In the early '90s the *Reform Advocate* advertised for sale two other Purim plays, "Hadassah or Esther Queen to Ahasuerus," by Mrs. T. F. Bloch, which sold for 75c per copy; and "The Book of Esther" by A. Willner, which sold for 25c per copy. Before Hanukah, the local Anglo-Jewish and Yiddish press advertised the sale of many Hanukah plays.[81]

In the early '90s, Jacob G. Goldberg wrote English verse of considerable merit. Goldberg also translated, from Hebrew into English, Abraham Mapu's idyllic love story, *The Lovers of Zion.*[82]

A famous poetess of great merit was Miriam del Banco, whose poem *White Day of Peace* was highly acclaimed when read at the opening of the *Jewish Women's Congress,* in 1893.[83] In the columns of the local Anglo-Jewish and Yiddish-Hebrew press there appeared many good poems during this period. However not all were written by Chicago authors.[84]

Historic interest in the Jews of Chicago produced a number of interesting studies even at an early time. In 1880, Dr. Felsenthal contributed an article on *The Jews of Chicago* to R. Blanchard's *Discovery and Conquests of the Northwest, with the History of Chicago.*[85] In 1894, Felsenthal read a paper before the *American Jewish Historical Society* on *The History of the Jews of Chicago,* which was published in the society's *Publications.*[86] In 1897, upon the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of *K.A.M.,*[87] H. Eliassof wrote a *History of Kehilath Anshe Maarabh* in collaboration with Dr. Felsenthal.[88] A year later Felsenthal wrote *The Beginning of Chicago Sinai Congregation* which gave a clear insight into the early Reform movement in Chicago.[89] In 1901 the *Reform Advocate* published a special number *The Jews of Illinois — Religion, Charity, Industry,* written by Herman Eliassof and edited by Dr. Hirsch. As this work was prepared in the nineteenth century it belongs to this period. It deals primarily with the Jews of Chicago, laying

greater emphasis on the constructive ability of the early Jewish community with its German-Jewish Reform congregations and rabbis. It is surprising that neither Felsenthal nor Eliassof mention some of the important literary creations of the Orthodox rabbis in the community that were published in that period.[90]

At the close of the century, on November 4, the *Chicago Journal* published a paper by Leopold Mayer on *Jews and Judaism of Early Chicago,* which contributed greatly to the knowledge of the history of the early Jewish community of Chicago.[91]

In the category of historic literature should also be classed *Reform Judaism and its Pioneers* by E. Schreiber, published in 1892, and the essay by the same author, *Historians of Judaism in the Nineteenth Century*, which was published in 1894.[92]

Of general Jewish interest, although with somewhat of a polemic content, were two small publications in the last decade of the century: *Juedische Fragen* (Jewish Problems) by B. Felsenthal, published in 1896 in German, and *Jerusalem* by the Reverend William Blackstone, a Christian minister, who was interested in the restoration of Palestine for the Jewish people.[93] Blackstone's work was in Hebrew and in English, and was later translated into Yiddish and German. It contained a map of Palestine and a picture of the Wailing Wall, and it stressed the moral obligation of the Gentiles to see to it that Palestine be given back to the Jews.[94]

A few studies on the Bible appeared in nineteenth century Chicago. In 1878, Dr. Kaufman Kohler published in German a scholarly translation of the *Song of Songs.*[95] A serious study was the work on the 613 commands in the Bible "Mikraoth Ketanoth" by Dr. Ignaz Grossman, published in 1892, which was discussed in an earlier chapter.[96] Later in the century, lectures on the Bible appeared in the *Reform Advocate.*[97] Some of the volumes of Hebrew sermons published later by the Orthodox rabbis may be classed as Bible studies.[98]

Of Rabbinic literature produced in the nineteenth century Chicago Jewish community, the first work dates from 1877. In that year, Yechiel Yehudah Levinsohn published the

first Hebrew book in Chicago, *Ho-Emes Ho-Ivrioh* (The Hebrew Truth), which consisted of comments on *Agadah* and contained glosses on the medieval philosophic and ethical treaties of Bachya Ibn Pakuda, *Hovoth Hal'vovoth* (The Duties of the Heart). This book was published by Nachman B. Ettelsohn.[99]

Some years later, in 1887, Rabbi Abraham Eliezer Alperstein, the spiritual leader of the *Congregation Ohave Sholom Mariampoler,* published a monumental commentary on the tractate *Bikurim* (First Fruit) of the Palestinian Talmud. He called the commentary *Perush Haral,* and published it together with the Talmudic text. The commentary is divided into three parts: *Bikurei Anovim* (The First Fruit of the Vine), *Pree Helulim* (First Fruit), and *Ya-alath Chen* (Beautiful Gazelle), all three emphasizing different aspects of the Palestinian Talmud.[100] In 1890, Rabbi Alperstein published another edition of his work with an additional commentary, *Pree Genoser* (Fruit of Genoser).[101]

In lighter vein was the book *Tzror Hamor Arugath Ha Bosem* (Bundle of Myrrh, Bed of Frankincense), dealing with stories of the life of Moses Montefiore, published in 1887 in New York, but written by a Chicago author, Ephraim Schaffner. This small book had been written in Hebrew and translated into English and German.[102]

Mr. Nachman Baer Ettelsohn edited and published his father's, Rabbi Boruch Ettlesohn's, work *T'oomei Zebijah* (Twins of a Hind),[103] which was printed in 1891 in the office of the *Jewish Courier.* This book purports to deal with "comments on passages of the Talmud and Midrash." Rabbi Ettelsohn was also the author of *Tikvath Yisroel* (Hope of Israel), on the Passover *Hagadah,* and *Kanfe Yonah* (Wings of the Dove), on *Midrash Hazisoh* (Midrash to Canticles). The latter were not published in Chicago.[104]

A Hebrew-English commentary on *Pirkeh Aboth,* under the title *Mogen Aboth,* was written and published by B. Meirowitz in 1895.[105]

The following year Wolf Shure published a Hebrew work by Zechariah Joseph Rosenfeld called *Tikvath Zechariah* (Hope of Zechariah). It dealt with the laws of purity and

the Ritualarium as well as with the laws of carrying on the Sabbath.[106]

A very important homiletic and *halachic* (legal) work was written and published in 1897 by Rabbi Abraham Jacob Lesser, the spiritual leader of the *Beth Hamedrash Hagodol U'bnai Jacob.* This work, called *Beth Hamidrash* (Academy), deals with homiletical interpretations of Biblical passages and contains a number of excellent Hebrew sermons for various occasions. In the preface and in the texts of some of the sermons, the author gives a brief insight into the religious and educational life of the Orthodox Jewish community. The second part of the book called *Hidushei Beth Hamidrash* (Academic Novellae), is purely *halachic* and deals primarily with the laws of Passover, quoting and discussing the Palestinian Talmud, Maimonedes and Rabenu Tam.[107] This book was published in Chicago in the printing shop of Naphtali Ganshar, 303 Dearborn Street. Mr. Isaac Bear Chones, who later published the *Orech Hamilim V'Hapisronim* (Lexicon of Words and Interpretations), a dictionary of Hebrew and Aramaic words in the Bible, was the proof reader.[108]

In the same year Rabbi Lesser published a dialogue in Hebrew between a father and a son under the title *B'acharith Hayamim* (In the End of Days).[109] This work was translated into English under the title *In the Last Days,* by Herman Eliassof, and printed together with the Hebrew original.

That same year, Wolf Shure published a 273 page volume *Netzach Yisroel* (Israel Eternal), praising the role the people of Israel had played in the history of the world, and analyzing Judaism as the source of faith in God, with its profound understanding of law and justice.[110]

Three Hebrew books, two of the rabbinic type and one bordering on belles-lettres were published in Chicago in 1898. One is *Mikveh Yisrael* (Ritual Hygiene in Israel), dealing with the laws of the Ritualarium, by Rabbi Zwi Grodzensky. Another is *Ivri Onochi* (I am a Hebrew), by Abraham Lazarus, presenting the virtues of the Jewish patriarchs. The third, at times classified as a novel, is *Zichronoth Ho-eer Kivshon* (Memoirs of the City of Affliction), which contains memoirs of the struggling days in Russia and the beginning

of the Zionist movement, by A. Heyman Charlap.[111] The latter includes a supplement of related questions under the title *M'shailoth B'nai Adam* (Problems Relating to Mankind).[112]

In 1899 and 1900 respectively, two homiletic works in rabbinic style were published in Hebrew: *Bikurei Anavim* (The First Fruit of the Vine) by Simon Yitzchok Finkelstein,[113] and *Birchath Av* (Blessings of a Father), by Abraham Cohen.[114] Rabbi Sholom Israelsohn, who was then rabbi in Milwaukee, published in Chicago the *Sefer Noveh Sholom* (Abode of Peace), dealing with comments on and interpretations of passages in the Talmud and in the code, *Yad Hachazakah* (The Mighty Arm) of Maimonedes.[115] This book was published in 1900.

Rabbi Jacob Wilkowsky, who became the first and only Chief Rabbi of the Orthodox Jewish community of Chicago, published a monumental work prior to his coming to this country on the Palestinian Talmud. Rabbi Wilkowsky was devotedly engaged in the publication of a definitive and complete edition of the Palestinian Talmud. The cost of the printing was to have been 22,000 Russian rubles; and he aimed to raise at least a part of this sum in America. He succeeded in obtaining sufficient funds to pay the publishers' part of the cost. As a sign of his gratitude and appreciation, he dedicated the section *Nezikin* (Damage)—the fourth order of the Mishnah—to his supporters in America.

While in Chicago, Rabbi Wilkowsky published a commentary on the books of Genesis and Exodus, *Nimukai Ridvoz* (Homilies of Ridvoz).[116] He also wrote a great number of responsa, which a little later he published in Jerusalem under the title *T'shuvoth Beth Ridvoz* (Responsa of the House of Ridvoz), to distinguish it from an earlier work published in Wilna in 1881, called *T'shuvoth Ridvaz* (Responsa of Ridvoz).[117]

The presence of Rabbi Wilkowsky in Chicago, as we have seen, aroused a number of controversies in the Orthodox community. In these controversies Rabbi Album of *Congregation Mishno U'Gmoro* figured prominently. Because of one of these controversies, involving Rabbi Wilkowsky and the *shohetim*, Rabbi Album published his book *Sefer*

Divrei Ho-Emeth (The Words of Truth).[118] Although this work, as those of Rabbi Wilkowsky's, rightfully belong to the next century, they climaxed the high level of this period of active rabbinic literary activity in the Jewish community of Chicago.

In Yiddish, too, a number of literary works were produced in the nineteenth century. Of these, mention must be made of the writings of Leon Zolotkoff. Under the pen name *Zokeff Godol,* Zolotkoff published a number of humorous works.[119] He also wrote several plays: *Samson; The Heroes of Zion;* and *Zalman Troubador.* A number of interesting short stories and novels came from his pen, among them: *Blood is not Silent; A Story of Jewish Affliction; The World's Bandits; Joseph de Castra; The Black Hand;* and *Between Love and Millions.*[120]

Peretz Wiernik was among the Yiddish writers in Chicago.[121] He started as a peddler, upon his arrival here in 1885. Later he became a merchant. However his primary interest at all times was literature and writing. Wiernik wrote in Hebrew, Yiddish and in English. While in Chicago he prepared his book *Die Yiddishe Geshichte* (History of the Jews) which he published in New York in 1901. He also commenced to work on his *History of the Jews in America* which he published later.

Jacob Mordecai Wolfsohn wrote a number of essays in Yiddish under the pen names *Kiker, Lantern,* and *Hatovim B'yichud.*[122] Dr. A. Lane translated essays from Hebrew into Yiddish and also wrote some original essays in Yiddish that were published in the Chicago Yiddish press.[123] Joel Liebling, the editor of the *Yiddishe Presse,* upon his arrival in Pittsburgh in 1887, had started as a peddler and then as a journalist.[124] In Chicago he contributed a number of excellent studies in the Yiddish language.[125]

In the field of poetry, the balladist Yitzchok Reingold produced in Chicago, in the latter part of the century, a number of interesting volumes. In 1894, he published *Der Welt Zinger* (The World Singer), consisting of a collection of folksongs. A year later he issued a second volume under the title *A Bintl Blumen* (A Bouquet of Flowers), consisting of Yiddish folk poetry. In the same year Reingold published a

Yiddish song *Tzwai Gute Breeder* (Two Good Brothers), to be sung to the melody of the English song "Two Little Girls in Blue." In 1896, he published *Die Neieste Reingold's Teater und Folk Lieder* (Reingold's Newest Theater and Folksongs), "sung with English melodies." Another work of the same type, in two volumes, called *Die Strune* (The String) was published by Reingold in the same year. The work included songs by other authors as well. Reingold also published a novel, in the same year, titled: *A Welt unter der Erd* (A World under the Earth), or *Der Tzukunftiger Dor* (The Future Generation).[126]

Menachem Mendl Dolidzky published in Chicago, in 1897, a "criminal novel of aristocratic and general life," called *Der Gebildeter Merder* (The Educated Murderer) or *Dem Henker's Zuhn* (The Executioner's Son).[127]

In the nineteenth century, it was very popular to print constitutions and by-laws of congregations, lodges and various other organizations. Similarly it was in vogue to publish annual reports of the outstanding institutions, such as the *U.H.R.A.,* the *Jewish Training School,* the *Jewish Charity Association,* the *B'nai B'rith District Lodge,* and many others. While these publications may in a sense be catalogued among "Judaica," we can not consider them as literature.

To the catalogue of contributors to "Judaica" in the Chicago Jewish community must be added Abraham H. Fromesohn, who was born in Chicago in 1873. Mr. Fromesohn wrote in English and his major literary work was done in New York as the editor of the English section of the *Yiddishes Tageblatt* (The Jewish Daily), and the *Yiddishe Gazetten.* He became associated with the Associated Press in 1897.[128]

A score of Hebrew and Yiddish printing and publishing houses were established in Chicago in the nineteenth century, to meet the desire of the authors to publish their books. As a rule, the Hebrew and some of the Yiddish works were printed at the expense of the authors, who also personally managed the sale and the distribution of their books.[129]

Thus the last quarter of the nineteenth century saw the growth of Chicago Jewish literary productivity in the

field of "Judaica" in four languages: Hebrew, English, Yiddish and German. Many of the works are still read and stand out as monumental reminders of the cultural aspects of the community.

10

The Romance of Zion

THE Jews have mourned for Zion from the time the Romans overran Judea, destroyed Jerusalem, and burned the second Temple; they have hoped and prayed for its restoration for almost two thousand years. Israel has been exiled, but what made the exile bearable was the hope that some day there would be a return to Zion, a rebuilding of the Jewish homeland; in that blessed day, Jewish wandering and homelessness would cease.

These ideas are expressed in the Messianic belief, in prayers, in the Jewish creed, and in actual attempts to regain and to restore Palestine as a Jewish State, beginning with Bar Kochba, and continuing through Herzl, Weizmann and the success of present day Zionism in establishing the Jewish State "Israel."

In the ideology of the *Restoration of Zion,* there was a marked difference between the East-European and the German Jewish communities. The East-European Jew, who had suffered and experienced the harshness of exile more than any other Jew in the nineteenth century, was well versed in Jewish lore and tradition; he did not expurgate from his *Siddur* the references to *Eretz Yisrael,* Zion, Redemption, and a Redeemer, as did some of his brethren in western Europe and in America. Once in America he took up the aspiration to rebuild Zion, though the New World was as promising to him as it had been to others. With the stream of Russian immigration flooding into the United States in the 1880's, the first movement of modern Zionism, the *Hovevei Zion* (Lovers of Zion) was transplanted here.[1]

In 1886, ten years before political Zionism was initiated by Dr. Herzl's *Judenstaat,* a branch of *Hovevei Zion* struck root

in Chicago. Organized on March 23, 1866, the group was dedicated specifically to colonization in Palestine.[2] The by-laws provided that: (a) the membership of the organization shall not exceed fifty; (b) that each member is obligated to contribute annually twenty-five dollars; (c) that the organization shall be discontinued after twenty-five years; and (d) in the course of this time the organization has to acquire in Palestine, for every member, twenty-five acres of land, and to build houses thereon.[3]

The organization further stipulated that guards and pioneers should be provided and designated to watch the land in Palestine and to till the soil, that after the expiration of the designated period all members should journey to Palestine, and that everyone should settle on his respective portion of land to become a farmer.[4]

Ten years later the *Hazefirah* reported that the Chicago *Hovevei Zion* had purchased six thousand *dunam* of land in Palestine, for which they paid six thousand dollars, leaving an unpaid balance of three thousand dollars.[5] The news item continues with the information that the organization had the money on hand, and that it would soon receive the deed to the land. One delegate had been sent to Palestine, and four families were settled and working on the land.[6]

Beginning with the latter part of the seventeenth century, a number of quasi-Utopian attempts were made by non-Jewish idealists, writers, and adventurers towards the restoration of Palestine as the Jewish homeland.[7] One such attempt, in the nineteenth century Romance of Zion, was made in Chicago by a Protestant minister, the Reverend William C. Blackstone.[8] The Reverend Mr. Blackstone conceived the idea that, if the European powers could be persuaded to call a Congress to consider the plight of the Jews in eastern Europe, they might be persuaded to give Palestine back to the Jews to be made into their homeland, especially having in mind the persecuted Jews in Russia. The proponent of this plan was cognizant of the fact that this would require the consent of Turkey, the ruling power of Palestine at the time. The best approach to the problem, Rev. Mr. Blackstone thought, would be through the presentation of a *Memorial* to the President and the State Department of the United States, asking them

to use their good offices to persuade the European powers to call this Congress. Accordingly, he spent tireless months gathering signatures of prominent and influential men and women in America to append their names to such a *Memorial.* On March 5, 1891, the Reverend Blackstone presented a very impressive Memorial to President Benjamin Harrison, signed by eminent people in all professions, and by clergymen of many denominations from Chicago and other parts of Illinois, as well as from Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington.

The *Memorial* contained a strong and convincing plea for the restoration of Palestine as a Jewish homeland. It urged that the land be taken from the Turks, and stated plainly: "Why should not the powers which, under the treaty of Berlin in 1878, gave Bulgaria to the Bulgarians and Servia to the Servians now give Palestine back to the Jews? These provinces, as well as Roumania, Montenegro, and Greece, were wrested from the Turks, and given to their natural owners. Does not Palestine as rightfully belong to the Jews?"[9]

The *Blackstone* Memorial was an outgrowth of a Conference between Christians and Jews that was held in Chicago.

The Jewish signatories from Chicago, who included Rabbis Isaac S. Moses, A. J. G. Lesser, Aaron J. Messing, A. R. Levy, Liebman Adler, B. Felsenthal, Joseph Stolz and Jacob Dauch, consented to append their names only after the addition of the Adenda that "Jews have not become agriculturalists because for centuries they were almost universally prohibited from owning or tilling land in the countries of their dispersion."[10]

The Jewish community of Chicago was not unanimous in approving the *Memorial.* Dr. Hirsch did not sign. Speaking for himself and for a large number of Reform Jews he referred to the document as "ill digested sentimentality" and spoke of Blackstone as a "visionary" who went on a "fool's errand." Hirsch did not agree that "Palestine belongs to the Jews as does Bulgaria to the Bulgarians." He did not object to colonization but he was against restoration.

On the other hand, Dr. Felsenthal supported the Reverend Mr. Blackstone and eloquently declared: "The Jewish

colonies in Palestine—Hail to them! May they increase rapidly and vastly! May they flourish! May they bring happiness to those who dwell in them!"[11]

The East-European Jews in Chicago who had organized a *Hovevei Zion* group here five years before, hailed the move of Rev. Mr. Blackstone with great enthusiasm. At a mass meeting, on May 1, 1891, which was addressed by Rabbis Felsenthal, A. R. Levy and Alperstein, the Memorial of Blackstone was highly commended, and Felsenthal was elected an honorary member of the *Hovevei Zion*.[12]

While Jews and non-Jews dreamed of the Utopian *Memorial* and the restoration of Zion messianically, other events took place which were destined to overshadow all previous events and attempts for the rebuilding of Palestine as a Jewish national homeland. The Dreyfus affair in France and its consequent effect resounded throughout the world and reached the shores of America. With it also traveled the news that Dr. Theodore Herzl had made public his dream of the restoration of Zion—a dream destined to begin a new and triumphant chapter in the history of the Jews.

It was at the Chicago *Hebrew Literary Society* that the first *Herzlian Zionist* group was organized.[13] That was in 1896. News had reached America that Dr. Herzl had pubblished his famous *Judenstaat* outlining the aims and aspirations of political Zionism. A discussion at the *Hebrew Literary Society* and in the community ensued immediately. Most of the members of the *Society* were fired with enthusiasm at the idea of restoring the Jewish State. There were some, however, who were lukewarm. Unanimity of opinion in the community, either among the Reform or the Orthodox groups, was not possible. The former, with very few exceptions, were categorically opposed to the idea. The latter were more favorably inclined. Harris Horwich, who himself had been to Palestine, writes: "My brother Bernard became wild with enthusiasm over the project and insisted that I get busy at once and do something about it."[14]

But Bernard Horwich, at that time, not being fully acquainted with Herzl's plan, would not take the initiative. Harris and others, however, succeeded in getting fifty people to a meeting in a hall on Jefferson Street, where a discussion

of organizing a Zionist group continued for four hours. Though the speakers, led by Harris Horwich, presented vivid and convincing testimony as to the plight of the Jewish people and the need of a homeland, the vote taken at the end of the meeting indicated that five to one were against organizing a group according to Herzl's plan. Yet shortly thereafter the *Chicago Zionist Organization No.* 1 was founded.[15]

It was of utmost signficance that Dr. Felsenthal, the founder of the first permanent Reform congregation, and one of the early spokesman of Reform Judaism was present at the organization meeting and addressed the group in German, wholeheartedly endorsing and supporting the idea. He promised that he would do everything he could until his last day on earth and in the world to come, to further the cause of Zionism.[16]

The first *Zionist Organization* in America added members rapidly. When the news reached this country that in August of 1897 the first *World Zionist Congress* would be held in Basel, Switzerland, and that Dr. Herzl was calling upon the Jews in all countries to send delegates, Chicago was eager to respond to this call. The financial situation of the Zionist group in Chicago, however, did not warrant the expenditure. Its treasury was low in funds. Nevertheless, at one of the meetings of the organization, Bernard Horwich made a strong plea to the membership for contributions to send a delegate to that epoch-making event. One hundred dollars was raised immediately. The balance was collected in small coin contributions by committees going from house to house and from store to store. Leon Zolotkoff, whose fluency in the English, German, Russian, Yiddish and Hebrew languages, combined with his profession as a lawyer and his reputation as a writer, gave him an excellent position in the community and in the Zionist ranks, was chosen as the Chicago representative.[17]

When Mr. Zolotkoff returned from the Congress, the first interstate Zionist body in America was founded under the name of *Knights of Zion* with chapters, known as "Gates" throughout the state. The organization was chartered October 28, 1897.[18]

The *Zionist Organization No.* 1 became *Gate No.* 1 and within a year the organization had ten *Gates* extending "even

in other states." The leadership in the *Gates* was provided exclusively by the East-European Jewish community. It is very likely that the organization of the *Knights of Zion* replaced the *Hovevei Zion* group. When the *Jewish Colonial Trust Bank* was organized, the *Knights of Zion* sold 2400 shares at $5.00 each.[19]

The *Chicago Daily Jewish Courier* staunchly supported the cause of Zionism from the first, and was very helpful in publicizing and propagating Zionist organization activities in Chicago.

Die Welt, the official *World Zionist* organ although published in far-off Vienna, was happy about the progress of the movement in America. In one of its early issues, *Die Welt* reports that Zionism had taken root in the United States in spite of the opposition of certain Reform rabbis. It speaks of the *Zion Association of Chicago,* the first to be incorporated in Illinois, and of the *Hebrah Zion of Chicago,* organized by the *Shochrei Sfath Ever* numbering four hundred and fifty members. *Die Welt* further commented that Zionism in America was an asset; Jews there were free to organize, and their financial position enabled them to do a great deal for a "Colonial Bank."[20]

On Sunday, January 2, 1898, a mass-meeting, under the auspices of the Senior Zionist group in Chicago, was held. The well-attended meeting resulted in the organization of the Youth Zionist Group—*B'nai Zion* (Sons of Zion) whose membership consisted primarily of pupils of the *Talmud Torahs.* These young Zionists paid three cents weekly in dues; in the beginning, they numbered twenty-five boys from twelve to thirteen years of age.[21]

The women did not cherish the idea of being outdone by the men. February 13th and again on the 20th, Zionist mass-meetings were convened with women as principal speakers, appealing to the Jewish women to join the Zionist cause. The result was the formation of the *B'noth Zion* (Daughters of Zion) organization.[22]

By April, 1898 *Die Welt* was very happy to report the formation of the *Westliche Zion-Allianz* with twelve groups of the "Far West" having joined the alliance, and with "Attorney Zolotkoff" the leading figure in the organization.[23] The

publication was also happy to add that the *Zion Association* presented a play *Die Farmer von Zion* or *Der erster Feiertag —The Farmers of Zion* or *The First Festival* — at the Park Hall with a thousand people attending. All Zionist organizations were present, some carrying American and Jewish flags, attracting great attention as they marched in as a body.[24]

The play portrayed Jewish life in Europe and farming in Palestine. While the play was dramatically rich, the presentation was considered poor. The drama's content was favorably commented upon at the time.[25]

A year before this, in 1897, independent Zionist groups, *Ohave Zion* and *L'maan Zion* (Lovers of Zion and For the Sake of Zion) had been organized. There was also organized a *Chicago Zion Society.*[26] On August 21, 1898, the *Ohave Zion* amalgamated with the *Chicago Zion Society* under the new name of *Dorshe Zion.*[27] Another outstanding Zionist group was formed under the name *Kadimah* (Forward) which absorbed the *Clara de Hirsch* and the *Hatchia* societies.[28] The younger element was attracted primarily by the *Kadimah.*[29]

At the end of the century, one chronicler reports, there were four senior Zionist groups in Chicago.[30] Of these four, three were affiliated with the *Federation of American Zionists,* and one was the *Order Knights of Zion,* which by itself was a federation of six *Gates* in the city of Chicago,[31] making a total of nine Zionist groups in the community.[32]

Zionist enthusiasts were active and zealous in bringing their message to as large and varied an audience as possible. That they stopped at nothing can be gauged from an amusing occurrence. During the presidential campaign of 1900, a debate among the Democrats, Republicans and Socialists was arranged at the Metropolitan Theatre on Jefferson Street, with Harris Horwich representing the Republicans. Horwich, when his time came to speak, delivered instead an address on Palestine and Zionism which lasted a full hour. When reprimanded for it, he retorted that he had to utilize this opportunity, for perhaps he never again would have an audience of two thousand people.[33]

11

The Jews and the Larger Community

THE blessing which God gave Abraham, "And in thee shall be blessed all the families of the earth," may in a sense be applied to all countries that have given the Jewish people a haven and extended to them the natural rights of all human beings to enjoy life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Many a country has thus been blessed because of the contributions of the descendants of Abraham to its economic prosperity. The Jews who found a haven of liberty and economic opportunity in nineteenth century Chicago, and who witnessed the expansion and growth of the city into the second largest in the country, had in no small measure a share in that expansion and growth. From the earliest days of their settlement, the residents of Jewish faith gave the larger community their uncompromising and effectual support and demeaned themselves as good citizens on all occasions. They were among the very best and most desirable immigrants. Having been tested on the anvil of affliction, their appreciation of liberty was keener, their love of freedom deeper, and their thirst for right and hunger for justice were more firmly rooted in their souls. For these reasons they were more grateful to the new country of their adoption and the city of their settlement than many another immigrant group. They manifested that gratefulness in uncompromising loyalty, and with hard work and toil made their contributions to the city's progress and welfare. The Jews quickly adjusted themselves to the new environment and fell in line with the builders of the city in every capacity. Even in the earlier days, when many were peddling

their wares, they rendered a valuable service to the undeveloped city and its environs. It has been aptly stated: "As the Jew trudged along on the highways and by-ways of the new world, with his heavy peddler's pack, he carried civilization and commerce from the larger cities, the market centers, across the vast prairies, over the steep mountains and through the wild woods, the rural towns, to the hamlets and villages, to the isolated log cabins and the lonely houses. Wherever he passed, the Jewish pioneer left a message of new life which was unfolding itself in the cities; of the new industries which were established in the land and of the general progress of the nation."[1]

As time went on and the Jewish peddler became the small storekeeper and the small storekeeper became the department store owner or the manufacturer, they played significant roles in the economy of the city and the nation. As a rule, historians sing the praises of the men and women who left their imprints on the sands of time in the domain of science, art, theology, literature, philosophy and other similar fields. It goes without saying that Chicago's growth could not have been possible without the pioneers who made their contributions in these areas. However, in the development of a new city, social foresight and genius for trade and finance play equally significant roles. The pioneers in commerce and industry are of no less importance to the progress and general welfare of a community. Among the many who must not be forgotten, therefore, are the merchants whose distributive genius has advanced the economic progress and financial welfare of the city. While the Jews in nineteenth century Chicago took an active part in every aspect of general community and civic life, they exerted a special influence in commerce and in industry, and, to some extent also, in banking and finance. The large department stores, the manufacturing plants, and some of the early banking houses, real estate and insurance offices established by Jewish residents played an unusually important and beneficial part in the successful evolution of Chicago into a midwestern metropolis.

It would not be, however, historically just were we to neglect the other areas in which the Jews of Chicago

exerted their influence and made significant contributions. One of these areas is philanthropy. The Jews in nineteenth century Chicago were especially noted in that domain. It has been pointed out by a reliable authority that: "In certain ways the Jews of Chicago may claim the credit of having been among the first to inaugurate the better methods according to the truer standards of the new philanthropy in the dispensation of relief." The Jewish Hospital dedicated in 1868 and later the *Michael Reese Hospital* were model institutions in the art of healing on a nonsectarian basis. The *United Hebrew Relief Association* and the *United Hebrew Charities* were examples of community-coordinated charity work, which in a sense set the pace and created the idea of the modern *community chest.*

The Jews of Chicago also set an example in the provision for the education of the young. *The Jewish Training School,* with its emphasis on manual training, was a model institution in the field of education, stimulating a similar orientation in educational objectives by the Boards of Education locally and nationally.[2]

Another area in which many Jews of nineteenth century Chicago played an important role is music. The Jewish influence on American opera has long been recognized by the historians of American culture. We need but remember that the first performance of Italian opera in America, which dates back to 1825, had the assistance of pioneering Jewish impresarios, among them Lorenzo da Ponte, Moritz and Max Strakosch and Max Maretchek. Da Ponte was responsible for the American premiere of Mozart's Don Giovanni. As early as 1859, Max Strakosch organized an opera company in Chicago. This company was the principal predecessor of the famous *Chicago Opera Company.*[3]

After the great fire of 1871, Chicago developed into one of the leading musical centers of the world. Jewish musicians and patrons of music played a significant role in this development. Among the most outstanding Jewish artists, who settled in Chicago shortly after the fire, was the eminent concert pianist, music instructor and conductor, Carl Wolfsohn. He was a close friend and associate of Theodore

Thomas, the founder of the *Theodore Thomas Orchestra,* which later became the *Chicago Symphony Orchestra.*[4]

Upon his settlement in Chicago, Wolfsohn founded the *Beethoven Musical Society,* a choral group for mixed voices, which later became popularly known as the *Apollo Musical Club.* Under its direction were arranged many recitals of talented artists and chamber music concerts. Wolfsohn also trained many of the leading musicians in his time and eventually became a patron of music students and art. As a great admirer of Beethoven, Wolfsohn presented many historic recitals of Beethoven's work and, in 1896, he presented to the city a bust of that classic musician, which was placed in Lincoln Park.[5]

Simultaneously with the settlement of Wolfsohn, another great Jewish musician settled in Chicago—Emil Liebling. Liebling like Wolfsohn hailed from Germany. He came from a family of noted musicians and had the good fortune to study music under Franz Liszt at Weimar and Julius Dachs at Vienna. He was a brilliant composer, concert pianist of international repute, instructive lecturer and music critic. He contributed prolifically to musical literature. In 1876, Liebling founded the musical society, the *Liebling Amateurs.* For a generation, he and Wolfsohn occupied the most exalted place in the Chicago musical colony.[6]

Another outstanding and successful Jewish concert pianist in nineteenth century Chicago was Mrs. Fannie Bloomfield-Zeisler. She was born in Bielitz, Austrian Silesia in 1866. At the age of two, her parents brought her to Chicago. Here she received her early musical training from Wolfsohn. Later she went to study under Leschetizky in Vienna. After performing successfully in Europe she began her concert career in America in 1893. Shortly thereafter her fame became world-wide.[7]

Two other great artists who received their tutelage from Wolfsohn were Myrtle Elvyn and Augusta Gottlow. Miss Elvyn was born in Sherman, Texas. Miss Gottlow was a native of Shelbyville, Illinois. Miss Elvyn, after receiving her basic musical training in Chicago, went to Europe to study under the guidance of the world-famed pianist, Leopold Godowsky. In Europe she appeared before

the most critical audiences, among them the German royal family and the Kaiser. Miss Gottlow was most active in musical circles in the early part of the twentieth century, when she enjoyed a reputation as one of the leading pianists in America.[8]

In the late '80s, Leopold Godowsky made his home in Chicago, where he was active in musical circles until 1900. In that year he settled in Vienna, where he was appointed dean of the music school by Emperor Franz Joseph. Godowsky was born in Wilna, Lithuania in 1870. He is said to have been the greatest pianist since Liszt.[9]

There were many Jewish artists in nineteenth century Chicago outstanding in other musical fields. In 1886, Simon Jacobson, a famed violin virtuoso and pedagogue, and L. Gaston Gottschalk, an opera baritone and vocal master, settled in Chicago. They were followed by Ludwig Marum, the eminent violinist, Frederick Hess, the famous violin-cellist, the accomplished pianist and vocal teacher, Madame Johanna Hess-Burr, and the outstanding concert-master, violinist and conductor, Max Bendix.[10]

Toward the end of the century, there became active in Chicago the preeminent Jewish musician, Chevalier N. B. Emanuel, who became the conductor of the *Chicago Philharmonic Orchestra.* Later he was the choir-master of the *Chicago Opera Company.* At the same time, there settled in Chicago Herman Devries, who, after a successful operatic career, became an outstanding music critic and teacher.[11]

One of the most distinguished music schools in America is the *Chicago Musical College,* which was founded in 1867. Jewish artists were associated with that school from the earliest days of its founding. The famous pianist and music critic, Maurice Rosenfeld, who was the music critic of the Chicago Daily Examiner and Daily News, was instructor in piano at the *Chicago Musical College* for more than twenty years. In 1897, Arthur Friedheim became the head of the piano department. He was succeeded in 1910, by Rudolph Ganz.[12]

Another great musical school was the *Chicago Conservatory of Music.* That school was founded by Samuel Kayser, who was responsible to a great extent for the erection of the

Music Auditorium in 1889. It was in this Auditorium that the first operatic performance of the *Metropolitan Opera Company of New York* took place in 1898, under the management and with the participation of Maurice Grau, a famous bass-baritone.[13]

The Jews in nineteenth century Chicago also made considerable contributions to medical knowledge and practice, to science and literature and to other domains of American culture. As early as 1859, Dr. Isaac M. Wise observed that Chicago had a Jewish physician. He does not give his name. It may have been Dr. Michael Manheimer, whom we find active later in the '60s. Dr. Manheimer, who came from Germany, helped considerably in the work of the first Jewish hospital. Later he became a very active member of the medical staff of the Michael Reese Hospital.[14]

Another prominent Jewish physician of the same period was Dr. Sigismund D. Jacobsen, who came originally from Copenhagen, Denmark. At the age of nineteen he received the Ph. D. degree from the University of Copenhagen. At twenty-five, in 1861, he received the M. D. degree. After to America, settling in Chicago in 1866. Dr. Jacobsen specialized in ophthalmology. His own clinic for the treatment of the diseases of the eye was destroyed by the fire in 1871. He was a member of the staff of *Michael Reese, Cook County, German Maternity,* and *Alexian Brothers* hospitals. In 1881, he received an honorary M.D. degree from *Rush Medical College* in recognition of his outstanding work in ophthalmology. In 1887, he organized the *Scandinavian Medical Society.*[15]

Another Jewish ophthalmologist, who also specialized in the diseases of the ear, was Dr. H. Gradle, who was prominent in the '70s. The Gradle family was active in the *North Chicago Hebrew Congregation* which is now *Temple Sholom.*[16]

We already discussed the great contribution of Dr. Joseph B. de Lee to the knowledge and practice of obstetrics. Jewish physicians, who made contributions in other fields, were not wanting in nineteenth century Chicago. In the latter part of the century, there was active an outserving in the Danish Infantry as surgeon, he emigrated

standing medical authority in pediatrics, Dr. Isaac Arthur Abt. Dr. Abt was born in Wilmington, Illinois. He received his medical education in Chicago, where he was graduated from *Northwestern Medical School* in 1891. After pursuing postgraduate studies in Vienna and in Berlin, he became professor of diseases of children at *Northwestern University, Women's Medical School* and at *Rush Medical College.* He also became attending physician in pediatrics at *Michael Reese* and *Cook County* hospitals and consultant at *Provident Hospital.*[17]

Dr. Emanuel Friend, who was born in Chicago, was another prominent physician about the same time. He was a graduate of *Rush Medical College,* and pursued graduate studies abroad in Heidelberg, Berlin and Vienna. Dr. Friend specialized in surgery, and was clinical professor of surgery at *Rush Medical College,* attending surgeon and pathologist at *Michael Reese Hospital* and at the United Hebrew Charities' Dispensary.[18]

Two other outstanding contemporaries were Drs. Edwin J. and Sydney Kuh. The former was born in New York City, where he received his basic medical training. After studying in Austria, he settled in Chicago, where he enjoyed a successful career. The latter, a younger brother, was likewise born in New York City. In 1882, he came to Chicago. Three years later he entered *Chicago Medical College.* After a year's study, he went to Heidelberg, Germany, where, in 1890, he obtained the M.D. degree with high honors. Upon his return to Chicago, he specialized in mental and nervous diseases. He became professor of nervous diseases at *Rush Medical College* and at the *Chicago Policlinic;* senior attending neurologist at *Michael Reese Hospital;* chief of the department of psychiatry at the *House of Correction;* chief of staff of the *Cook County Psychiatric Hospital;* consulting neurologist of the *Jewish Home for the Aged;* and director of the *Illinois Society of Mental Hygiene.*[19]

Another prominent neurologist was Dr. Julius Grinker, who was born in Koenigsberg, Germany, and graduated *Rush Medical College* in 1895. He became professor of neurology at the *Chicago Postgraduate Medical School* and attending neurologist in a number of hospitals in the city.[20]

A prominent surgeon in nineteenth century Chicago was Dr. Boerne Bettman. He was born in Cincinnati, in 1856. At the age of twenty-one, he received his M. D. degree from the *Medical Department of Miami College.* After four years of graduate work abroad, he settled in Chicago in 1881, where he specialized in the diseases of the eye and the ear. He became Surgeon-in-chief of the *Illinois Eye and Ear Infirmary,* founder of the Chicago Ophthalmological Society, professor at the *College of Physicians and Surgeons* and *Postgraduate Medical School,* occulist and aurist at the *Michael Reese, Cook County* and *German* hospitals, and surgeon of the Second Regiment of the *Illinois National Guard.*[21]

Not all Jewish physicians hailed from Germany or other parts of central Europe, or were born in America from German-Jewish parents. Though the East-European Jews in Chicago came at a later date and during the nineteenth century were still experiencing many hardships of adjustment, they nonetheless produced a number of pioneering physicians, and a goodly number of young immigrants sought a medical education while struggling to make a living.

An outstanding pioneer in Jewish community life among the East-European Jews was Dr. A. P. Kadison, who came to Chicago in 1878, at the age of thirty-eight, after having practiced medicine abroad for a number of years. Because of his keen interest in the poor of the west side, where he settled, he became known as the "Community Doctor." Dr. Kadison was very much devoted to Jewish education and to philanthropy among the East-European Jews.[22]

Other physicians of East-European stock were Drs. H. Pirosh and Theodore B. Sachs. We may add here, also, the names of Drs. Carl and Emil G. Beck, who came from Bohemia, and Dr. Gustav Kalischer, who came from Vienna.[23]

Toward the end of the century, we find a successful Jewish woman physician, Dr. May Michael. She graduated from the *Woman's Medical School of Northwestern University* in 1898, and became associated with *Wesley Hospital, Jewish Training School, Jewish Aid Society Dispensary, Chicago Home for Orphans,* and other charitable institutions. She

was the author of a number of studies in pediatrics in which she specialized.[24]

The discussion of medicine brings to mind other scientific fields in which some Chicago Jews excelled. In the field of physics, the greatest contribution was made by Albert A. Michelson. Dr. Michelson, who in his day was probably the greatest physicist, was born in Germany in 1852. As a young child his parents brought him to America. At the age of twenty-one he graduated from the *U.S. Naval Academy,* where two years later he became an instructor in physics and chemistry. After four years of teaching in the Academy, he was transferred to the *Nautical Almanac* office at Washington. Following a number of years of post-graduate work in outstanding universities in Europe, he was appointed professor of physics at *Clark University.* In 1892, Dr. Michelson became professor of physics at the University of Chicago. In that capacity he invented the method of measuring the velocity of light and the motion of molecules. He also succeeded in measuring the diameters of distant stars. For his scientific achievements, Dr. Michelson received the Rumford medal in 1889; the Grand Prix at the *Paris Exposition* in 1900 and many other awards, among them the Nobel Prize.[25]

Another Jewish scientist in nineteenth century Chicago was Dr. Julius O. Stieglitz. He was one of the leading chemists in America and was head of the department and professor of chemistry at the University of Chicago, with which he became associated in 1892. His major activity, however, falls in the twentieth century.[26]

A profession in which Jews in nineteenth century Chicago were extremely well represented was law. As early as 1859, Dr. Isaac M. Wise found in Chicago a number of lawyers.[27] Some of the Jewish attorneys occupied very important positions in the general community. To mention more than just the names of a few would indeed take up a volume by itself. Among the more prominent members of the Bar in the community were: Julius Rosenthal, Adolph Moses, Adolf Kraus, Samuel Altschuler, Levy Mayer, Jacob Newman, Max Palm, Andrew Jackson Hirshl, Eli B. Felsenthal, and Sigmund Zeisler.

Another profession which was served honorably by members of the Jewish community was architecture. The work of three prominent Jewish architects — Dankmar Adler, Simeon B. Eisendrath and Henry L. Ottenheimer — is outstanding.

Dankmar Adler was born at Langsfeld, in Saxe-Weimar, in 1844. His father was Dr. Liebman Adler, spiritual leader of *K.A.M.* In 1859 Dankmar Adler came to Chicago where he received his academic training. When the Civil War broke out, he was the first to volunteer into the Union Army. Upon his return from military service he became associated with the office of O. S. Kinney. In 1871, Adler formed a partnership with Edward Burling. Among the many beautiful structures designed by Adler and Burling were: the *First National Bank, The Tribune Building, Grace Methodist Church, Sinai Temple, Marine Bank* and other prominent buildings. For a while Adler practiced alone. In 1882, he formed a partnership with Mr. Louis H. Sullivan, under the firm name *Adler and Sullivan.* It was during this period that he designed some of the most prominent buildings in the city, such as the *Stock Exchange,* the *Auditorium,* the *Union Trust,* the *Standard Club* and the synagogues of *Zion, Sinai* and *Isaiah* congregations and of *K.A.M.* Mr. Adler possesed a special skill in providing perfect accoustics in his structures. An outstanding achievement in Mr. Adler's career was the design of the "Golden Gate" of the *Transportation Building* at the *Columbian Exposition.* Among his other achievements was the construction of the Pueblo, Colorado Opera House, the first large theatre in which no columns were used to support the gallery. He was also the consulting architect for the construction of the *Carnegie Music Hall* in New York City. From time to time, Mr. Adler contributed important articles to leading architectural and engineering journals, and to the *Architectural Encyclopedia* of which he was a contributing editor.[28]

Simeon B. Eisendrath was born in Chicago in 1868. He received his training at the *Massachusetts Institute of Technology* and in the office of *Adler and Sullivan.* In 1889 he was appointed lecturer in architecture in the Chicago Evening High Schools. After entering private practice, he

built the *Michael Reese Training School for Nurses,* and the annex for women and children, the *Home for Aged Jews,* the *Home for Jewish Orphans.* He also designed the ten-story fireproof building known as the "Plymouth." In 1893, he was appointed by the mayor as Building Commissioner.[29]

Henry L. Ottenheimer was likewise born in Chicago in 1868. He too received his basic training in the office of *Adler and Sullivan,* where he worked from 1884 to 1889. After his apprenticeship in that office, he went to Paris, France, where he completed his studies. Upon his return to Chicago, he became associated with the designing department of the *Columbian Exposition.* In his private practice he designed a number of important business buildings and residences.[30]

A number of other prominent architects who were born in the nineteenth century and received their basic training in the latter part of the century were: Alfred S. Alschuler, Alexander L. Levy, David S. Klafter, and Henry L. Newhouse. However, their principal creativity belongs to the twentieth century.[31]

In the field of literature, there were a number of Jewish authors in nineteenth century Chicago that merit our attention. Among the earlier names we have Miriam Del Banco, who was a popular poetess, and was active in Jewish social work. At one time she was a teacher in the *Sabbath School of Zion Temple.*[32] Andrew J. Hirshl was one of the early authors on legal topics.[33] Dr. Mortimer Frank published a number of studies in medicine.[34]

Later in the century, Louis James Block, who was born in Austria in 1851, made a number of important contributions as a writer on literary and philosophic topics. Among his works were: *Dramatic Sketches and Poems, The New World and other Verse, Capricios, Many Moods and Many Minds* and *The World's Triumph.* He also wrote a play *The Judge.*[35]

In 1893, Victor H. Polachek took up newspaper work in the employ of the *Chicago Times.* Four years later he was associated with the *Chicago Inter Ocean* In 1898 he became telegraph editor of the *New York World,* and a year later

he joined the staff of the *New York American* of which he subsequently became city editor.[36]

In 1898, Emil Friend, who wrote under the pen name "Boersianer," became a member of the editorial staff of the *Chicago Daily News.*[37] Other staff members of the *Daily News* were Frank Emerich, an editorial writer, and Isaac K. Friedman, a special feature writer. The latter was the author of a number of novels, among them *Poor People, By Bread Alone, The Autobiography of the Beggar* and the *Radical,* which he wrote later.[38]

A Jewish journalist who attained notable success in nineteenth century Chicago was Herman L. Reiwitch. Mr. Reiwitch was of East-European stock. He was born near Odessa, Russia in 1868. At the age of five he came to America. At fourteen, he settled in Chicago. Mr. Reiwitch was a self-made man who achieved prominent positions in newspaper work by the strength of his own will and determination, by hard work and by the gift of a good mind. In Chicago he began as an *A. D. T.* messenger. Then he found a job as an office boy in the *Tribune* office, where he carried "copy" from the editorial office to the printers. Within a short time he became a reporter. Though very young he succeeded in making good. In 1886, during the agitation for an eight-hour workday, he was labor reporter for the *Tribune,* which took him to the "Black Road" and "Haymarket Square Riot." He was assigned to the hanging of those condemned in the riot. After an exciting, difficult, as well as colorful career of ten years with the *Tribune,* he became associated with the *Herald,* later the *Record-Herald.* After a year's service as assistant editor he was appointed city editor in 1893, at the youthful age of twenty-six.[39]

The participation of Chicago Jews in military, civic and political life was exemplary in the nineteenth century. The names of a number of very prominent members of the armed forces have come down to us. The list is headed by Brigadier General Edward S. Salomon, Colonel Marcus M. Spiegel, Captain Joseph B. Gruenhut and Mayer Frank.

General Salomon had a colorful career as a soldier. He joined the 24th *Illinois Regiment* as 2nd lieutenant. His galantry in action and general proficiency in tactics were

the cause of his successive promotions. He organized the 82nd *Illinois Infantry Regiment,* when he was promoted to the rank of Colonel. Under General Howard he participated in the battles of Chancellorville and Gettysburg during the Civil War. He had his horse shot from under him and managed to survive and to take part later in the battles of Chattanooga, Lookout Mountain, and Missionary Ridge. As a reward for his valiant military service, President Grant appointed General Salomon to the Governorship of Washington Territory.[40]

Colonel Marcus M. Spiegel, who was born in Germany in 1829, settled in Chicago in 1855. He was one of the organizers of the *Hebrew Benevolent Society.* Before the Civil War he moved to East Liberty, Ohio. When war broke out he enlisted in the *67th Ohio Infantry.* Because of the bravery manifested on the battlefield, he quickly rose to the rank of Colonel. He served through the campaigns of the Southwest, and was seriously wounded. But for his untimely death he would have been promoted to the rank of Brigadier General, for which he was recommended by his superior officers.[41]

Captain Gruenhut enlisted as a private in April, 1861, in the 12th *Illinois Infantry,* being the second man to enlist in Chicago in the Union army. Subsequently he rose to the rank of Captain of Company K of the 82nd *Illinois Infantry,* which consisted solely of Chicago Jews. He participated successfully in the memorable Battle of Gettysburg for which he was honored in later years by Governor Fifer, who appointed him one of the three commissioners to erect a monument on the Gettysburg battlefield. At the unveiling of the monument, on September 3, 1891, Gruenhut delivered the dedicatory address.[42]

Mayer Frank enlisted at Chicago in the Jewish company and was given the rank of lieutenant. He too served in the battles of Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. He went with General Sherman to Knoxville. He volunteered to dislodge the Confederate sharpshooters, and for a time scouted in Georgia, Tennessee and Alabama against guerilla chief "Roddy." For his heroism he was considered "among the bravest Captains in the service of the United States." [43]

The contribution of Chicago Jewry to civic and political life in the nineteenth century was very notable. When the Jewish community was barely one decade old, in 1856, Henry Greenebaum was elected alderman of the Sixth Ward. From that year until the end of the century no less than thirteen Jews were members of the City Council.[44] In 1860, Abraham Kohn, who was one of the moving personalities in the early history of *K.A.M.,* held the position of City Clerk. The same position was held by William Loeffler from 1897 to 1903. Loeffler was also alderman in 1892, representing the Second Ward. Five Jewish men held the position of County Commissioner from 1889 to 1900 — Isa Manheimer, 1889; Martin Emerich, 1892; David Kallis, 1893; John Ritter, 1894; and Maurice Rosenfeld, 1900.[45] Among the judges in nineteenth century Chicago we find Phillip Stein in the *Superior Court of Cook County* in 1892. He was also presiding judge of the *Appelate Court of the First District.*[46] Henry A. Kauffman, Morritz Kauffman, Emanuel C. Hamburger, Adolph J. Sabath and Henry Roth served as Justices of the Peace. Hamburger and Sabath also served as Police Justices.[47] Joseph Pollack was clerk of Cook County, an office that was held earlier by General Salomon. E. C. Hamburger was the clerk of the *Supreme Court of Illinois* in the year 1872. As early as 1868, Henry A. Kauffman became North Town Supervisor. In 1884, Adolf Kraus, prominent in *B'nai B'rith* work, became the president of the Board of Education. Jacob Lindheim held the office of South Town Collector in 1891. In 1897, Ben Barnett occupied the same office.[48]

In 1867, Henry Greenebaum was appointed by Governor Oglesby a member of the *State Board of Equalization.* Two others on that Board were: Sol Simon, 1891; and Louis D. Hirsheimer, 1896. Under Mayor Harrison, in 1893, Adolf Kraus occupied the post of Corporation Counsel. Later, in 1897, he was president of the *Civil Service Board.* In 1892, Abraham E. Frankland was superintendant of compulsory education.[49]

Berthold Loewenthal of Chicago was alderman of Rock Island from 1855 to 1857. In 1871, he became supervisor of South Town of Chicago. In 1875, he was elected to the Public Library Board. Others on the Board were: Julius

Rosenthal, 1872-75; Adolph Moses, 1882-1888; Bernard Moos, 1887-1896; and Jacob Frank, 1897-1903. Dr. Emil G. Hirsch served as president of the Public Library from 1888 to 1897. Herman Felsenthal, Charles Kozminski, Edward R. Frankenthal, Dr. Joseph Stolz and Dr. E. G. Hirsch were members of the Board of Education.[50]

Jews of nineteenth century Chicago also occupied important offices in the state and national governments. Louis Solomon and Moses Solomon were State Senators. At least ten served as legislators.[51] From 1893 to 1895, Julius Goldzier served as Congressman in the House of Representatives in Washington.

On the national scene, President Arthur appointed Max Polachek, Consul General at Ghent, Belgium, in 1883. In 1896, Dr. Hirsch was chosen Republican elector-at-large for Illinois by popular vote.[52]

In other civic matters, Dr. Boerne Bettman distinguished himself as president of the *State Board of Public Charities,* to which Governor Yates also appointed Dr. Hirsch to serve as a member. Adolph Nathan and A. M. Rothchild served honorably as Directors of the *Columbian Exposition.*[53]

Thus in all areas of life the Jews left their imprints, in nineteenth century Chicago, leaving a Priceless Heritage for posterity.

Appendix

Documents

A. FROM MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

1. Constitutional Laws and Regulations in reference to the School of Khilath Anshe Maariv.
2. Extract from a School Report.
3. Report of Chairman of Board.
4. Preface from *K.A.M.* Cemetery Record Book.
5. Extract from Minute Book of Mishkan Israel Congregation (Trans.).
6. Letter from Israel Perlman of California.
7. Extract from another letter of same.
8. By-Laws of Hevrah Kadisha.
9. By-Laws of Hevrah Mishnah and Gemara.
10. By-Laws of Hevrah Tehilim.
11. By-Laws of Hevrah Torah.

B. FROM PUBLISHED SOURCES

1. Excerpts from the book "Abraham Lincoln and the Jews"
2. Jewish Denominational Congress
3. Jewish Women's Religious Congress

A. FROM MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

1

CONSTITUTIONAL LAWS AND REGULATIONS IN REFERENCE TO THE SCHOOL OF KHILATH ANSHE MAARIV

(Copied from Constitution, By-Laws and Minutes of the Board of Education of Kehilath Anshe Maarab)

Sect. 1

1. The Congregation shall appropriate at least $1,000.00 per annum to be paid over to the Treasurer of the Board of Education in quarterly installments.

2. The Congregation shall furnish their rooms under the Synagogue free of charge, also the necessary furniture, fuel and light in the same, and finally the services of their sexton.

Sect. 2

Every member of the Congregation shall be entitled to send his children to the Congregational school, subject to the laws of this act, and to the rules and regulations of the Board of Education.

Sect. 3.

The tuition fees for the children of members shall be three dollars per quarter, payable in advance, except as hereinafter specified. In case of necessity, the Board may charge four dollars and a half per quarter for scholars in the higher classes.

Sect. 4

No child shall be admitted into the school without having first obtained a permit from the Board of Education. Neither shall any child be admitted under the age of six years, nor during the school term.

Sect. 5

The Congregation shall after the passage of this act elect nine school inspectors who shall be termed and styled the "Board of Education" of the Congregation K.A.M., said Board to be divided into three classes of three members each; the members of the first class to vacate their seats on the first Sunday, after April the 1st, 1861, those of the second class on the first Sunday after April 1st, 1862, and those of the third class on the first Sunday after April 1st, 1863.

Sect. 6

At the first election the nine members elect shall draw lots to designate to which class each of them shall belong the result to be recorded into the minutes of the Congregational records.

Sect. 7

After the first election the Congregation shall annually thereafter on their regular meeting on the first Sunday after the fourth of February or at least before the first Sunday of April elect three inspectors for said Board of Education who shall enter upon the discharge of their duties on the first Sunday of April following in each year and hold their offices for three years, and until their successors are elected and qualified.

Sect. 8

Any member accepting the office of School inspector, failing to do his duty or neglecting to attend a regular or special meeting, shall be fined for each neglect 50 cents; sickness of himself or family or absence from the city shall be the only valid excuses and these fines shall go into the school fund.

Sect. 9

In case of resignation removal or death of any inspector the President of the Congregation after having received due notice from the Board of Education shall at the next congregational meeting cause an election to fill the vacancy.

Sect. 10

At the first meeting of the Board after their election, they shall organize by electing from their members a chairman, secretary and treasurer, a majority of the Board shall constitute a quorum at their general and special meetings.

Sect. 11

The Board shall hold its regular meetings on the last Sunday of each month at 2 o'clock P.M. unless otherwise ordered by the Board. Special meetings may be called at any time by the Chairman or at the written request of any three members of the Board left with the secretary.

Sect. 12

The school and its management shall be wholly under the control and direction of the Board; they shall have the sole power and authority to engage teachers for such a length of time as they deem proper, but an engagement for a longer time than three years must be ratified by the Congregation to be valid; they shall also be empowered to discharge teachers at their discretion, to prescribe the course of studies in the different classes, to visit the school from time to time, to be present at all examinations, to determine upon school time and vacancies, to suspend or expel scholars, whose conduct they deem injurious to the character of the school.

Sect. 13

They shall also have the power to reduce the school taxes for those not able, or to grant time for payment, and to admit poor children free of charge, and also to admit children of non-members if there are vacant seats and to stipulate the tuition fee for the same.

Sec. 14

If the funds received for tuition fees shall not be sufficient to meet all the expenses of the school, the Board shall have the right to call on members or private individuals for assistance.

Sect. 15

The Board of Education shall have the direction and supervision of the school fund and the school library and make all rules and regulations for the same.

Sect. 16

The Board of Education shall furnish semi-annual reports of the standing of the school to the Congregation at their general meetings in May and November.

Sect. 17

The chairman shall preside in all meetings of the Board, conduct the meeting according to parliamentary usages, sign all orders upon the school treasury and give permits for admitting scholars to the school. In the absence of the chairman, the board shall appoint one of the members to preside at their meetings, and such member elect shall assume the chairman's duties. At the expiration of his term the chairman shall deliver to his successor all papers and documents in his possession.

Sect. 18

The Secretary shall keep correct minutes of all proceedings of the board in a Book provided for that purpose, countersign all orders on the school treasury, draft the semi-annual reports for the Congregation, keep account of all monies

received and expended by the Board, make annual statements of the financial affairs, and notify the members of the regular and special meetings, and attend to all necessary correspondence.

Sect. 19

The treasurer shall receive all revenues for the school from the Secretary and pay out of the same all orders signed by the chairman and countersigned by the secretary; he shall keep account of all the receipts and expenditures of the school treasury, and invest the money of the school fund according to the direction of the Board; he shall also bring in semi-annual reports to the Congregation about the financial affairs of the school treasury. He shall give satisfactory bonds with two sureties to the Trustees of K.A.M. for the faithful performance of his duties and the safekeeping of the money, and when leaving his office he shall deliver up all monies, books and papers appertaining to his office to his successor.

Sect. 20

There shall be held two examinations yearly, one at the termination of the winter course, and the other at the termination of the summer course, two days to be set aside for either of them.

Sect. 21

The school, if numbering no more than eighty scholars, shall be provided with two teachers at least, for more than eighty, three teachers or more shall be engaged if possible.

Sect. 22

The Congregation shall establish a school fund to be employed for the sole use and exclusive benefit and maintenance of a school, said fund to be created in the manner following:

1st, Every member of K.A.M. shall contribute quarterly $1.25 at least to said fund.

2nd, All fines received by the Congregation shall be appropriated to the same fund, both revenues to be collected by the Congregational Treasurer and paid over to the school treasury within one month after the receipt thereof.

Sect. 23

The school fund shall be entitled to receive donations and legacies of members and non-members.

Sect. 24

Neither the principal of the school fund nor any part thereof shall ever be applied or paid out for any purpose whatsoever, but the interests may be appropriated for the benefit of the school, as soon as the fund will have accumulated to the sum of $3,000.00, provided however that the Board may in case of necessity during the first two years borrow a sum not exceeding $300.00, temporarily from that fund to enable them to fulfill their engagements with the teachers, which sum of money so borrowed is to be replaced with ten percent interest per annum.

Sect. 25

All regulations and laws previously enacted either in the constitution or By Laws, in conflict with these laws shall be and are hereby repealed.

The above laws were legally passed in the Congregational meeting of the 6th of November, 1859.

2

EXTRACT FROM MINUTES OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION OF K.A.M. (1859-1877)

"At the meeting of April 29th 1873 the President laid before the Board the following report which (by oversight of the Secretary) was omitted.

"Gentlemen!

"Members of the School Board of K.A.M.

"The history of your School is—I may safely assert— well known to you all, and a rehearsal of her doings and workings from the time—1859—when first called into existence, up to the Spring of 1869 when closed through circumstances almost beyond control, would probably be a wasting of time, or too much of a tax on your patience.

"Suffice it to say that after your school closed (in 1869) there were in my estimation *two* causes which worked against its reinauguration, the *one* was a want of a proper school room in a proper or cultural locality, the *other* reason—and perhaps no less weighty one—that the parents now in general prefer to send their children to the public school in order to afford them all the chances for advancement into high school to finish their Education.

"Nor is it to be disguised that a select Hebrew School for the Hebrew Education of our children has of late lost much of its importance so far at least as the question or opinion of its usefullness or necessity is concerned, and there was therefore at that time no pressure for a reopening of a Congregational school and but very little prospect of a sufficient support.

"It was only after the great fire Oct. 9-71 when through the lack of school houses and consequently the inconvenience of sending our children, and especially the smaller ones, into densely crowded rooms, that a new life and new interests for the reopening of our school had manifested themselves, and agreeable to instruction the school after a laps of three years was reopened for the reception of scholars. Through instruction of the Board, Miss Georgia Manning a very industrious and kind lady teacher has been engaged at a salary of $500.00 per annum and the school has given so far ample satisfaction."

Chicago, April 22nd, 1873.

M. M. Gerstley

3

REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SCHOOL BOARD

Gentlemen, members of the School Board:

Our board meetings have of late been far and below, as the saying is. Under the rules laid down we should have met once every month for the transaction of business. But as there was scarcely anything that could be laid before the Board for their consideration, save the ordering of the pay of the salary of the teacher, the amount of which has been stipulated by the board in approving the engagement, orders were accordingly issued from time to time for the salary of your teacher, paid by the Treasurer, and no further necessity existed for calling a board meeting.

In consideration, that persons who are engaged in business during the day, and would rather spend their leisure time in their own way and make engagements as

occasion may require; I think that I may not be mistaken when I think that the board is willing to overlook these shortcomings, especially as I can give the board the assurance that I looked after and superintended the school, and have taken care that everything proper and necessary was provided for the benefit of the scholars as well as for the comfort of the teachers.

Order, decorum and cleanliness have been especially the aim of the school for the last 12 months and the discipline has been most exemplary. But in order that you may have a proper conception of the standing and condition of your school, allow me to give you first and foremost, a statistical review of its standing for the year ending with the present quarter —

1st quarter, from May 1 to July 30, 1873
24 members and 30 nonmembers — 54 scholars, Revenue.....$183.00
Including four free and five non-Jewish

2nd quarter, from August 1 to October 31, 1873
27 members and 25 nonmembers — 52 scholars, Revenue.....$175.50
Including 4 free and 4 non-Jewish

3rd quarter, from November 1 to January 1, 1874
18 members and 21 nonmembers — 39 scholars, Revenue.....$126.00
Including 4 free and 2 non-Jewish

4th quarter, from February 1, 1874 to April 30, 1874
16 members and 21 nonmembers — 37 scholars, Revenue.....$121.50
Including 4 free and 3 non-Jewish

Total Revenue.....$606.00

The expenditures are:

Salary	$600.00
Ink, Stationery, etc.	1.50
	$601.50

The other outlays, such as stoves, gas, fuel, furnishing rooms and service for the school, all borne by the Congregation.

Thus, it will be found that there is a gradual decrease, a lack of support of our school.

And right here where we find our Public Schools overcrowded, accomodations for scholars very limited and where we might reasonably expect an influx of scholars, our school diminishes for want of patronage from our own members.

And why is this lack of support of a Hebrew School one might ask?

Why are scholars taken out from our school just at the time when the fruits of labours of our teachers may be more susceptible, and also more beneficially realized?

There are several causes to which the above may be ascribed. There seems to be a general antipathy among the scholars to a Hebrew education and to be separated from and deprived of the advantages of a public school education.

The known predilection of parents who in most cases lean in that direction has no small influence to strengthen the already existing prejudice of scholars against our Hebrew Schools. The next cause is an unavoidable consequence of our public school system—scholars who desire to advance to the high school have to visit public school a certain limited time before they can make claim to that

advanced position and it is in the spirit of scholars as well as with the wishes of parents that the opportunity of such advancement should not be lost sight of. Scholars are therefore withdrawn from our school sooner than they would under other circumstances.

Now let us look for a moment at the perplexing position of our teachers. Scholars are put into our school in their first crude condition. Undisciplined, scarcely capable of understanding what it means to be kept under control, the teacher has to use the most delicate means to get these little urchins willing to come to school, and with his boundless patience he will only succeed in making the newcomer comprehend that the very first law of the pupil is obedience.

Step by step with the most tender care — as the gardener nurses the most tender plant — he watches them as they progress in the proper development of their intelligence; but he scarcely feels the gratification in his bosom to see his hopes realized in the promised advancement of his scholar when suddenly he is withdrawn and to his great mortification he has to fall back on lower grades in order to raise those left again to that standing like the ones before them only to become fit subjects for their withdrawal, and this continual changing of scholars interferes materially with your teachers in regulating their classes.

Very seldom—and let this be said to the honor of our teachers as well as to the good standing of our school—very seldom is a scholar withdrawn for any other reason, than that he is advanced further and faster than our limited school will permit and as parents believe that our school can be of no use to him any longer he is sent to public school. Such, fortunately or unfortunately, is the condition of our school.

Our Sabbath and Sunday School is attended regularly by about 100 scholars, more or less. The discipline in that school is not very commendable; scholars are more or less unruly and attendance is more or less interrupted—but the great drawback for our Sabbath and Sunday School is that scholars of more mature understanding will not attend Sunday School any longer—from the age of 12 to 13 years the scholar is, in a kind of mechanical way, taken through the exercise of confirmation lesson—and let me here remark there is no blame to be attached in this direction either to the preacher or teacher, for this has now become the standing rule of parents—for as soon as he has passed the act of Confirmation the scholar is persuaded that he has in going through that ceremony been granted the right of absolution, or in other words, he feels himself absolved, free, loosened from all further participation in attending to or reviving anything which may possibly improve his information or strengthen his views in that closely connected history of our race and our community.

The apprehension that the religious—historical education he has received through the most strenuous efforts of his teacher may soon be lost sight of, or may be entirely forgotten seems to be founded on sound practical demonstration. An improvement in that direction would be very desirable.

On the 6th day of October last a telegram was received, asking the members of our Congregation for immediate aid for our suffering Brethren in Memphis. Speedy action was necessary to afford immediate relief. A majority of the members of the board requested me to issue an order on the Treasurer of the School Board for $100.00 as a donation for relief to the Memphis sufferers. That I had no such authority there was not the slightest doubt in my mind. Yet the epidemic raging

with merciless sway, and the least that could be done on our part was to give such timely pecuniary aid as we could afford in order to help those who were then in a most destitute condition, I waived my constitutional scruples and issued an order for $100.00 for the above purpose and I hope this action will meet with your approval. With the end of the present quarter ends the engagement of your teacher. It is time now I think that the board may take some action or give some expression at least as to whether the services of the present kind, energetic teacher are to be secured for the future or whether you desire to have another in her place.

All of this and some other matters which may be brought before you is now left for your earnest consideration.

M. M. Gerstley,
Pres., B. of E.

Chicago, February 10, 1874.

4

COPY OF THE "PREFACE" IN THE K.A.M. CEMETERY RECORD BOOK OF THE YEARS 1871-1899

The casual observer will scarcely be able to reconcile his mind to the fact that in 1840—or about that time—the whole population of the city of Chicago did hardly reach the number of those of our co-religionists which are this day domiciled as permanent inhabitants of the renowned and busy metropolis of this great north west.

It was then that some members of our persuasion directed their steps towards —what was then termed—"the western wilds" and imprinted for the first time, as an advance guard of their numerous followers, their foot marks on the soil of the western shore of Lake Michigan.

These pioneers of our co-religionists came here with the earnest intention, the firm determination—if not to seek their fortune—to labor, to toil along with others, to earn an honest livelihood and if possible to establish a home for themselves and their families. They were not permitted, however, to remain isolated or separated from their friends and associates for any length of time, others of equal courage and fortitude followed their lead, so that within a short period they found themselves surrounded by a small band of friends and acquaintances.

The first necessity which impressed itself upon their minds—however limited their number—was the propriety—agreeable to a long cherished custom practiced amongst Jewish communities—of providing a place of burial, where they themselves and their families or friends, may find a proper and last resting place, a place of quiet and final repose.

In accordance with these views, Leon Greenebaum, Moses Baker, Issac Wormser, M. Brownschild, Philip Newburger, Benedict Shubart and others, formed themselves in a "Jewish Burial Ground society."

In 1844-45 they bought a piece of ground from the city authorities—known as the "old Jewish burial ground," lying within the confines of the then city cemetery, now Lincoln Park—at fifty dollars, for the use of a Jewish burial ground. The ground was placed under fence and used for that purpose.

With the influx of emigration towards the west, and consequently to Chicago,

the number of our co-religionists increased in due proportion, and they soon found themselves numerous sufficient to start a Jewish congregation.

On the third day of October One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty Seven, a certain number amongst them: A. Kohn, L. Rosenfeld, Jacob Rosenberg, S. Cole, Isaac Ziegler, A. Frank, Benedict Shubart, L. N. Leopold, Philip Neuburger, Jacob Fuller, B. Brunemann and others, about twenty in number, signed the constitution—previously adopted—as members of the Congregation

"Kehilath Anshe Mayriv"

It soon became apparent, however, that a rivalry of two associations, to wit: The Jewish Burial ground society and the Congregation K.A.M. amongst as yet so limited a number of membership must prove detrimental to the one or to the other, if not to both parties, for the advancement of our society would naturaly retard the progress of the other. The number of both societies met in council, after advising and deliberating on the true conditions of affairs, they came to the conclusion to create a fusion and the two societies were united into one congregation. The Jewish burial ground society having ceded all their right, title and interests to the congregation joined it in membership and the congregation Kehilath Anshe Mayriv became the sole owner of the Jewish burial ground.

The disagreeable task of keeping up the inclosure of the burial ground exposed to the east winds and the lake storms, the filling up of the ground and the graves with sand blowing in from the shore, made it very annoying to the members, even to keep the place in a somewhat becoming and proper condition; and notwithstanding that the fence was rebuilt and the ground cleared several times from the sands heaped upon the graves; the location of the burial ground was found to be neither a suitable place for the dead nor a very inviting spot for the living.

As the congregation increased in membership, the desire for a better and more agreeable site for a burial ground was felt and impressed itself more seriously upon the members every day.

A committee was appointed and instructed to select a suitable piece of ground for the purpose. Agreeable to its report—in the year 1855-56—the present burial ground was bought by the congregation at $2,400.

The place was put under proper enclosure, the necessary improvements made, a portion of the ground laid out in lots, trees were planted and to each member was allotted a family lot, for the use of himself and family. The old Burial Ground was abandoned and on the 11th day of June, 1857, the first internment in the present Burial Ground took place.

The number of interments in the old burial ground up to the time of its abandonment were as near as we can recollect about 150.

The register of the burial ground with the rest of the record of the Congregation was destroyed by the great fire of the 8 - 9 October 1871, there were up to that time about 435 interments. By the Constitution the congregation is the sole owner of the Burial Ground, the family lots are allotted to members for the benefit of themselves, their wives, their children while minors, and parents or unmarried brothers and sisters dependent upon them for support. Provided, however, that they—the members—pay their dues and assessments imposed upon them by the Congregation. But if members fail to pay their dues and assessments to the Congregation, voluntarily leave the Congregation, or get expelled from membership

for some cause as provided in the constitution, then all their rights and title in the Burial Ground will cease, and revert back to the congregation.

The above are facts as they came within my own observation. I write merely from memory. I have personally known all the members of the Congregation from its commencement.

My object in writing this short sketch is not merely to narrate the historical development of our congregation, not simply to state events as they passed or transpired; it is equally my intention to prove to those who may desire to accept the course we have chosen, and to interest themselves in the advancement of a work we have commenced; how we may be able with small beginnings, but with caution, perseverance and proper management, especially in a good cause, to meet desired ends and to reach higher aims.

But it is more especially my purpose to try to convince those who feel interested in the promotion of society, that united action, good will amongst members and the preservation of peace at all hazards are the most essential characteristics of communities to ensure success.

Chicago, April 20, 1877.

M. M. Gerstley

5

"TAKANOTH" OF THE CONGREGATION MISHKAN ISRAEL OF BRIGHTON PARK, CHICAGO. COPIED FROM THE PINKAS OF THE CONGREGATION. (ORIGINAL IN YIDDISH)

(In the translation, which I give here, I tried as much as possible to follow the Yiddish idiom of the original, in order to convey the spirit in which the Takanoth were written.)

1. This congregation shall be known by the name Brighton Park Hebrew Congregation "Mishkan Israel,"; this name shall never be changed.

2. This congregation shall follow all Polish customs, in the order of the Prayers of Shacharith, Mussof, Mincha, Maariv. This shall never be changed.

3. If only ten members of this community will uphold the By-laws, these ten members remain with full privileges and the property that belongs to Congregation Mishkan Israel remains the rights of these ten members.

4. Election of officers shall take place Chol Ha-Moed Pessach and Chol Ha-Moed Sukkoth.

5. The officers consist of President, Vice President, Treasurer, Secretary and three Trustees.

6. Meetings shall take place every two weeks, Saturday night. The president and seven members in good standing have a right to call a special meeting, whenever necessary.

7. When a member shall pass away, God forbid, the Congregation is duty-bound to give $25.00 for funeral expenses, and when the wife of a member passes away, $15.00 for funeral expenses, and when a child, from $5.00 to $10.00 for funeral expenses.

8. When a member shall, God forbid, "sit Shivoh" (observe the memorial week) a Minyan must be provided during all of the Shivoh if it is not far from the synagogue.

9. When a member shall pass away, no member is permitted to go out on business until after the funeral.

10. Every member must follow the funeral procession at least a few blocks, until the designated place that the undertaker will point out.

11. A Minyan of people (10 men) shall ride to the Cemetery, all costs being paid by the Congregation, Mishkan Israel.

12. If a member shall die, God forbid, and not leave anyone to say Kaddish, may God forbid, or he will leave some one to say Kaddish, but he will not be able to attend to it, God forbid, it is the duty of the organization to appoint a man that he should say Kaddish a complete year, and every Shabbath a Hazkarah shall be recited, and also the Yahrzeit shall be kept.

13. When two members quarrel, it is the duty of the president and the officers to make peace, so that it should not come to trials.

14. If any of the members will do something good for the organization, such as donating a Sefer Torah or Holy Torah ornament, or books, whether a man or a woman, their names shall be inscribed in the "Pinkos", for an everlasting memorial that they did good for the Congregation.

6

LETTER FROM ISRAEL PERLMAN OF LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA, TO THE AUTHOR REFLECTING SOME INTERESTING PHASES OF EARLY CHICAGO JEWISH LIFE.

There was a reform Temple on Lake Street downtown, also a reform Temple on Clark Street cor. Jackson where the old Post office is located. There are not many people who know it, or even remember it; when you are downtown sometime it will be worth your while to walk to Clark and Jackson. There is still a small sign on the Post office wall saying, this premisses housed a Jewish reform Temple. I think it gives the name of the Temple, but I am not sure. Between 1890-95 a community or Orthdox shull was started on the south side by a man named Jacob Flaxman; another one in Englewood. In about the same time another Orthodox Synagogue was established on Larrabee Street between Chicago Ave and Division St. The name was Krinker Shull named after a small town in Poland. Some of the members I knew personally. The names I remember were as follows: M. Burton, M. Blonsky, L. Kaplan, Henry Horwich, S. Goldman, Louis Feinberg, W. Serlin, J. Simon, Louis Lewin and A. C. Lewin. I believe all of them passed away by this time. I herewith give you names of some early settlers who are still with us: Bernard Horwich, Jacob Blumberg, Mrs. Lena Laskowitz, sister of Mr. Blumberg, A. S. Roe, Nathan Shur of N. Shur Co., Jacob Levy, 1001 W. North Ave. landed 1887; Mayer Kubelsky landed here in 1885, father of Jack Bennie formerly in Waukegan now Gary, Ind.

Now will explain some of this mentioned done for the welfare of Jewish people. Bernard Horwich, firm name Horwich Vilkin Co., 26th and Paulina Sts. landed here in 1883 or 1884 a former partner of my oldest brother, Max Perlman, in Koenigsberg, Germany. He was the first Zionist, was sent to Bazil and other places in Europe as representative or delegate for Chicago Zionist convention. He is very liberal, charitable and one of the best workers in most all Jewish Institutions. He was the one who organized the Federated Jewish Charities of Chicago.

Later in years the Federated consolidated with the Jewish Charities of Chicago. Jacob Blumberg formerly of Chicago, now in Waukegan, Ill. a very good natured and charitable man organized and built a Synagogue in Waukegan, then many of the members refused to honor their pledges, so he was the only one to carry the burden. In other words they let him carry the bag and it costed him $4,000 to clear all obligations against the Synagogue. His sister in Chicago, Mrs. Lena Laskowitz, a very nice honorable old lady, devoting all her time and hard worker in at least a half a dozen or more charitable institutions including Hebrew Theological College.

A. S. Roe, a Prince of a fellow, well educated in Hebrew and other languages, including Italian, he used to be in the wholesale grocery business, a very successful man was very wealthy, now in the Insurance business.

Nathan Shure, with N. Shure Co. landed here about 1890 or 1892 is the wealthiest of all them all. Jacob Levy 1001 W. North Ave. landed here in 1887, Mayer Kubelsky Father of Jack Bennie landed 1885, formally of Waukegan, Illinois, now in Gary Indiana.

If you can contact any of these persons mentioned above, you may get valuable information. I suggest you should get in touch with the Chicago Jewish Chronicle the late H. L. Meites founder of the Chicago Jewish Chronicle some 20 odd years ago, worked several years to obtain information of the early settlers in Chicago. I am almost positive they have records of his work, which if you can get, will be more valuable to you than anybody can give you at the present time. I reminded myself of another incident. We had sort of a club called *Dorshe Sfath Ever* where all of our old timers used to come together. Through this club, the Jewish Peoples Institute was originated first on Wilson and Clinton Street, then on Taylor St. Mr. Julius Rosenwald of Sears Roebuck and Company gave a donation to build an extra building also a swimming pool later in years it was sold and with the help of the German American Jews built a magnificent building on Homan Avenue and Douglas Boulevard. This is due to the credit of a young lawyer at that time Mr. Nathan D. Kaplan who is occasionally in Palestine and Chicago. Knew them personally, even their father, of blessed memory.

Chicago sixty years ago, Western Avenue was city limits of the West Side. West of it was just farms.

Northwest was as far as Logan Square.

North nothing further than Lincoln Park.

South Side nothing further than Stock Yards.

Funerals were conducted by train only. There was no other way to get to Forest Park or Waldheim. There used to be funeral trains daily in the old Wisconsin Central Railroad at Jefferson and 16th street. When the train reached destination the Coffin had to be carried several miles to the cemetery, no hearse or any vehicle could be used as there were swamps all over.

Los Angeles, July 5, 1946

7

EXCERPT FROM LETTER OF ISRAEL PERLMAN OF LOS ANGELES CALIFORNIA TO HAROLD L. PERLMAN OF CHICAGO, CONTAINING SOME PERSONAL OBSERVATION ON EARLY CHICAGO JEWISH LIFE.

Now, I will tell you all about our Shull which father established; when he came to this country he brought Torah with him. We bought a home on Wilson Street between Canal & Clinton Streets. The Jews in the neighborhood were all poor, the same as other neighborhoods but there was no Shull except the one on the South Side so father decided to have some sort of a Community Center free for all who wanted to join — even those who were called to the altar when the Torah was read were also free.

We had a large room and there was the Center. Now it's the Sioux Line. Jews in general were poor so father decided to organize a free burial society which exists today. They have their cemetery in Waldheim and are giving free burial to any one who cannot pay. In the beginning we had about twenty people. Later it grew to more then 70. The place got too small so we built in the rear a 2 story frame building large enough for a hundred persons. On the first floor was the Shull; the second was vacant. As time passed father passed away. One day a man named Marcus came over and mother rented him the room above the Shull as a cigar factory. Instead of moving on the second floor, he moved in the Shull. On Friday some people gathered for prayers and they found the Shull occupied, so they asked mother what to do about it. She told them that she rented that man the upstairs room so they decided to move the things upstairs. The next Monday trouble began. The Revenue Office charged the man for making cigars without permission and without stamps, also started civil suits against myself and your dad, one suit before a judge in Logan Square which was in the wilderness at that time, and the other suit way out on South Halsted Street which was also in the wilderness. To tell the story short, the men who moved were fined sums of money and jail sentences.

We had lawyers to defend him. We paid their fines and all expenses and got them all free. I think it cost us around $6.00 — that was the end of the Shull.

In the meantime, Mariampoler Shull started — it is now on Polk and Independence — the Russishe Shul on Judd Street — now on Douglas Boulevard — then Kooner Shull on Clinton Street — now on 15th & Homan all of our brothers joined. Any other information you want to know, don't hesitate to ask me.....

Los Angeles, March 25, 1946

8

TAKANOTH OF HEVRAH KADISHA GOMELAI HESED SHEL EMES. Adopted on the 15th of Kislev, 639, at Chicago. (Literal translation from the Yiddish.)

1. Two people must ride to the cemetery.

2. If one will insult a member of the *Hevrah Kadisha* he will be fined five dollars the first time. The second time he will be suspended from the *Hevrah Kadisha.*

3. In case of a death, they must wait for the chief-sexton. It is not permitted to perform the purification rites before he comes; if he is in the city.

4. Trustees and sextons are to serve until the 15th of Kislev.

5. If a sexton or a member of the *Hevrah Kadisha* will be notified to take care of a deceased person, may God save us, and he will not attend to it, he shall pay a fine of two dollars.

6. The sexton of the synagogue must be present at all funerals and go to the cemetery, for which he is to receive $1.50.

7. One who rides to the cemetery with a team (of horses and wagon) shall receive $2.00.

8. The *Aliyoth* at the Synagogue on the last day of Passover, and on *Shemini Atzereth* belong to the *Hevrah Kadisha.*

9. On the 15th of Kislev, the Synagogue must give to the *Hevrah Kadisha* $10.00 for a dinner.

10. On the 15th of Kislev all members of the *Hevrah Kadisha* must come to the synagogue to recite penitential prayers, and they have to fast on that day.

11. Two members of the *Hevrah Kadisha* must stay overnight with the deceased person. These members will, as a consequence, be exempt from standing watch at the bedside of a sick person.

9

TAKANOTH OF THE HEVRAH KADOSHA MISHNAH U'GEMORO OF THE CONGREGATION OHAVE SHOLOM MARIAMPOL. (Literal translation from the Hebrew.)

1. The name of the organization shall be *Hevrah Mishnah U'Gemoro* of *Congregation Ohave Sholom Mariampol.*

2. One chapter of the *Mishnah,* and one page of the *Gemoro* shall be studied daily.

3. The *Mishnah* shall be studied between *Minhah* and *Maariv,* and the *Gemoro* immediately after *Maariv.*

4. One who shaves his beard or violates the Sabbath publicly shall not be eligible for membership. Any member of the organization, who is found violating the Sabbath shall be expelled.

5. Every member must come to the study period daily. If a member is absent two weeks consecutively without a reason, he shall be fined in accordance with the decision of the trustees.

6. A member of our organization who is present in the *Beth Hamidrash,* during the study period. is not permitted to leave. He must join the study group.

7. A member shall pay five cents a week dues for the needs of the organization. If a year passes without paying dues, he looses the privileges of the organization.

8. There shall be an annual *small feast* in accordance with the decision of the trustees on "Shabbos Bereshith" and when a tractate of the *Talmud* or an order of the *Mishnah* is completed. When an order of the *Talmud* is completed a *large feast* shall be arranged, in accordance with the decision of the trustees. Likewise when the six orders of the *Mishnah* are completed.

9. Anyone desiring to join the organization must pay an initiation fee from three to five dollars, in accordance with the decision of the trustees.

10. There shall be an annual election of trustees and officers on Saturday night of "Shabbos Bereshith". The following shall be chosen: two Trustees; one Supervisor of the money; one Supervisor of the Pinkas; three keepers of the *Takanoth*; one Secretary. The secretary shall collect the dues from everybody. There must be a monthly meeting for the good and welfare of the organization.

11. If a member of the organization should become in need, God forbid, it is incumbent upon all members of the organization to assist and to support him in whatever manner possible.

12. May death cease forever. If a member of the organization shall pass away, God forbid, all members of the organization must come and pay their last respects to him. They must also come to pray and to study to the house during the entire first week of mourning. During the entire year one of the members of the organization must recite the Kaddish for the deceased's soul after the study. His name shall be entered in the *Pinkas* as a memorial for the observance of Yahrzeit, prayer and study, and for the recitation of the *Kaddish* for his soul.

13. If a member of the organization shall be in mourning for his father or mother, the members of the organization are obligated to go and pray in his house during the entire week. It is better to go to the house of mourning than to the house of feasting, since this is the end of all man, and the living should take it to heart.

14. It is not permitted for any member of the organization to interrupt the Rabbi, who recites the lesson. But, it is permitted for the Rabbi or the trustee to lengthen or to shorten the lesson. Thus it was enacted and concluded among us on Wednesday the fourth day of Iyar in the year 656.

10

TAKANOTH OF THE HEVRAH TEHILIM OF THE CONGREGATION OHAVE SHOLOM MARIAMPOL. (Literal translation from the Yiddish.)

1 During the summer the recitation of the Psalms has to be finished by one after mid-day.

2. During the night of *Shovuoth* a yahrzeit light has to be kindled in memory of King David, peace be unto him. Also during the night of the second day of *Shovuoth* it is incumbent to come to the synagogue and recite the Psalms.

3. Yizkor shall be recited on the second day of *Shovuoth* for all deceased members of the *Hevrah Tehilim.*

4. The *Aliyoth* of the portion *Nosso* (Numbers 4:21 - 7:89), at both services, belong to the *Hevrah Tehilim.*

5. When one of the members becomes a mourner ten men of the organization must go to his house to pray and to recite the Psalms, until the *Shiva* is over, so that *Kaddish* can be recited.

6. Every member must come to the Synagogue every Saturday to recite the Psalms. If he is absent four Saturdays consecutively, but he stayed home, he will be fined fifty cents. If he does not come for three months, he will be thrown out from the *Hevrah Tehilim.*

7. Every member must pay a weekly dues of five cents to the treasurer of

the organization. When $50.00 are accummulated the trustees have to deposit it in the bank.

8. On the 7th of Adar, annually, the *Hevrah Tehilim* has to kindle a yahrzeit light in memory of Moses our master, peace be unto him.

9. On the day after *Shovuoth*, an annual election of trustees shall take place, and a feast shall be arranged at the cost of the organization.

10. The trustees are permitted to spend up to $3.00 for the needs of the organization.

11. If a member of the organization shall, God forbid, become sick, and it will become necessary to recite the Psalms, ten members must come to the Synagogue and recite the Psalms for the sick.

12. Anyone who will not pay his dues for three months, and he stayed at home, will be thrown out from the organization.

13. A member of our organization, who will be found doing business on Saturdays, will be thrown out from the organization.

14. When a man or a woman of the organization passes away (after a hundred years) the organization must provide a carriage, and four men or four women must escort the funeral procession to the cemetery.

11

TAKANOTH OF THE HEVRAH TORAH OF THE ANSHE KALVARIA. (Literal translation from the Hebrew.)

These are the ways that we shall follow in the *Hevrah Torah* of the *Anshe Kalvaria Synagogue*, in accordance with the enactments and customs of the Synagogue, under whose jurisdiction the *Hevrah Torah* functions. The trustees shall select from its members a first and second trustee and a treasurer.

The first day of *Hol Hamoed Sukkoth* a general meeting shall be held for an annual treasurer's report and for the election of new trustees for the ensuing year, as is customary in all Jewish communities.

All members belonging to the organization, whose names are inscribed in the *Pinkas*, agree to engage a teacher to teach them timely subjects selected by the heads of the organization.

All members are obligated to worship during the seven days of mourning in the house of the mourner: A member who shall not pay dues three months consecutively, has no right to any of the privileges of the organization.

The Aliyoth of the portion of *Yithro* (Exodus 18:1 - 20:26) and the portion of *V'es-hanan* (Deuteronomy 3:23 - 7:11), excepting the ones which have to be given to those who must be called to the Torah on that Sabbath, though not members, are given by the *Anshe Kalvaria Synagogue* to the *Hevrah Torah*, and one of its trustees shall stand near the Torah to distribute the Aliyoth.

B. FROM PUBLISHED SOURCES

1

EXCERPT FROM "ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND THE JEWS" BY ISAAC MARKENS CONCERNING FLAG PRESENTED TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN BY ABRAHAM KOHN.

"It was during the Presidential campaign of 1860 that Abraham Kohn, City Clerk of Chicago, first met Lincoln, the acquaintance being formed in the store of Kohn, at that time a merchant. Kohn was a Bavarian, then in his 42nd year, a man of excellent education, well versed in Hebrew literature and known and respected as a public-spirited citizen. He had been for several years President of the Hebrew Congregation Anshe Maariv (Men of the West). In politics Kohn was described by the Democratic press as "one of the blackest Republicans and Abolitionists." Kohn's popularity and influence had probably been brought to Lincoln's attention, and the latter, consummate politician as he was, recognized in Kohn, presumably, an ally whose acquaintance would prove a valuable asset in the pending election. Lincoln was introduced by Congressman Isaac N. Arnold who accompanied him, and it was this meeting that inspired Kohn with a feeling of admiration for his visitor and a conviction that he was the destined Moses of the slaves and the saviour of his country. Thus says his daughter, Mrs. D. K. Adler, in a letter to the writer. Lincoln in the course of the conversation spoke of the Bible as their book and Kohn, being a devout Jew as well as an ardent patriot, conceived an intense admiration for Lincoln. This found expression in his sending to the President-elect before his departure for Washington a silk flag, the work of his own hands, painted in colors, its folds bearing Hebrew characters exquisitely lettered in black with the third to ninth verses of the first chapter of Joshua, the last verse being:

'Have I not commanded thee, Be strong and of good courage; be not afraid neither be thou dismayed; for the Lord thy God is with thee withersoever thou goest.'

"This flag is referred to by Admiral George H. Preble in his History of the Flag of the United States, published in 1894. The incident being brought to the attention of the late President McKinley, when Governor of Ohio, he thus alluded to it in the course of a speech delivered at Ottawa, Kansas, on June 20, 1895:

'What more beautiful conception than that which Abraham Kohn of Chicago in February, 1861, to send to Mr. Lincoln, on the eve of his starting to Washington, to assume the office of President, a flag of our country, bearing upon its silken folds the words from the first chapter of Joshua? Could anything have given Mr. Lincoln more cheer or been better calculated to sustain his courage or to strengthen his faith in the mighty work before him? Thus commanded, thus assured, Mr. Lincoln journeyed to the Capital, where he took the oath of office and registered in Heaven an oath to save the Union. And the Lord our God was with him, until every obligation of oath and duty was sacredly kept and honored. Not any man was able to stand before him. Liberty was the more firmly enthroned, the Union was saved, and the flag which he carried floated in triumph and glory from every flagstaff of the Republic.'

"Mr. Lincoln at once wrote to Mr. Kohn thanking him for his gift. His letter was sent through a mutual friend, John Young Scammon, a prominent

citizen of Chicago, who delayed its delivery until six months after Lincoln's departure from Springfield, when he wrote to Mr. Kohn as follows:

Chicago, August 28, 1861

Abraham Kohn, Esq.

My Dear Sir: The enclosed acknowledgment of the receipt of your beautiful painting of the flag by the President got among my letters or it would have been sent to you before. Regretting the delay, I am

Truly your friend,
J. Young Scammon.

"Mr. Lincoln's letter to Kohn being lost cannot be reproduced. The whereabouts of the flag cannot be traced, although Mrs. Adler states that while in Washington during the administration of President McKinley she made a thorough search for the relic in all places where it might be preserved but without success. Kohn never met Lincoln after his visit to his store in Chicago. He was one of the citizens appointed by the Mayor to go some distance into Indiana to meet the train bearing Lincoln's body to that city. He died in Chicago in 1871."

2

JEWISH DENOMINATIONAL CONGRESS
August 27-30 1893
PROGRAM

Sunday afternoon, August 27, 3:00 P. M. - Hall of Columbus
Invocation, Rabbi I. L. Leucht, New Orleans
Address of welcome by the President of the World's Congress Auxiliary
Honorable Charles C. Bonney
Address of welcome by the Chairman of the General Committee on Religious Congresses, Dr. John Henry Barrows
Brief Responses by the Chairman and by
Rabbi Isaac M. Wise, Cincinnati
Rabbi G. Gottheil, New York
Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, Chicago
"Synagogue and the Church and their mutual relations with reference to their ethical teachings." Rabbi K. Kohler, New York
Sunday evening, August 27, 8.00 P. M. - Hall of Columbus
Invocation, Rabbi David Levy, Charleston, S. C.
The Fundamental Doctrine of Judaism - Rabbi I. M. Wise, Cincinnati
Popular Errors about the Jews—Rabbi Joseph Silverman, New York
Monday morning, August 28, 10:00 o'clock - Hall IV
Invocation - Rabbi Moses J. Gries, Cleveland Ohio
Ethics of the Talmud - Rabbi M. Mielziner, Cincinnati
A concise digest of the history of the Jews as far as their share in the culture of the various nations and ages is concerned—Rabbi G. Deutsch, Cincinnati
Monday afternoon, August 28, 3:00 o'clock - Hall IV
What Organized Forces can do for Judaism
(a) Societies for popular education
A Jewish department of the Chatauqua - Rabbi H. Berkowitz, Philadelphia
A Union of Young Israel - Mr. S. C. Eldridge, Jefferson, Texas

Jewish Publication Society - Miss Henrietta Szold, Philadelphia, Pa.

Monday evening, August 28, 8:00 o'clock — Hall of Columbus

"Contributions of the Jews to the preservation of the sciences of the Middle Ages"—Rabbi S. Sale, St. Louis

Position of woman among the Jews - Rabbi M. Landsberg, Rochester N. Y.

Tuesday morning, August 29, 10:00 o'clock, - Hall IV

Invocation - Rabbi L. Mayer, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Universal Ethics according to Professor Steinthal - Rabbi Clifton H. Levy, Lancaster, Pa.

Ethical Judaism - How the world has benefited by its teachings - Rabbi A. Kohut, New York

Attitude of Judaism to the Science of Comparative Religion — Rabbi Louis Grossman, Detroit, Mich.

Tuesday afternoon, August 29, 3:00 o'clock.

Reverence and Rationalism - Rabbi M. H. Harris, New York

What Organized Forces can do for Judaism

a) Sabbath School

b) Sabbath School Union—Rabbi S. Hecht, Milwaukee, Wisc.

The study of post-biblical history, - Rabbi B. Felsenthal, Chicago

Tuesday evening, August 29, 8:00 o'clock - Hall IV

What organized forces can do for the Jewish poor and the Jewish immigrants.

Relief Societies - Mr. Henry L. Frank, Chicago

Social Settlements—Professor Charles Zeublin, University of Chicago

Popular Lectures—Rabbi A. M. Radin, New York

Training Schools - Professor G. Bamberger, Chicago

Personal Service Societies — Rabbi A. Gutmann, Syracuse, N. Y.

Wednesday morning, August 30, 10:00 o'clock - Hall IV

Invocation — Rabbi Charles Rubenstein, Little Rock, Ark.

"A Review of the Messianic Idea of the Jews from the earliest times to the rise of Christianity." - Rabbi I. Schwab, Mo.

"The Historians of Judaism of the Nineteenth Century."—Rabbi E. Schreiber, Toledo, Ohio.

Closing remarks by the chairman and others.

3

JEWISH WOMEN'S RELIGIOUS CONGRESS

September 4-7, 1893

PROGRAM

Monday, September 4, 10:00 A. M. - Hall 5

Opening Address by Mrs. Charles Henrotin

Welcoming Address by Mrs. H. Solomon

Poem by Mrs. Miriam Del Banco, Chicago

Jewish Women of the Biblical and of Medieval Days to 1500 — Mrs. Louisa Manheimer, Cincinnati, Ohio

Jewish Women of Modern Days from 1500—Mrs. Helen Kahn Weil, Kansas City

Discussion led by Mrs. Henrietta Frank, Chicago

Tuesday, September 5, 9:30 A. M. Hall 5

Women in the Synagogue - Mrs. Ray Frank, Oakland, Calif.

Influence of the Discovery of America on the Jews—Mrs. Pauline H. Rosenberg, Allegheny, Penna.

Discussion led by Miss Esther Witkowsky, Chicago

Mrs. Mary Newberry Adams, Dubuque, Iowa

Tuesday, September 5, 2:30 P. M. Hall 5

Women as Wage Workers with Special Reference to Directing Immigrants—Miss Julia Richman, New York City

Discussion led by Mrs. Sadie Leopold, Chicago

Influence of the Jewish Religion on the Home—Miss Mary Cohen, Philadelphia

Discussion led by Miss Julia Felsenthal, Mrs. Isabelle Beecher Hooker

Wednesday, September 6th 9:30 A. M. - Hall 5

Poem - Miss Cora Wilburn, Marshfield, Mass

Charity as Taught by Mosaic Law—Mrs. Eva L. Stern, New York

Woman's place in charitable work; What it is and what it should be — Mrs. Carrie Shevelson Benjamin, Denver Colo.

Discussion led by Miss Bamber, Boston, Mrs. Nevra, New Orleans

Wednesday, September 6, 8:30 P. M. Hall 5

Mission work among the unenlightened Jews - Mrs. Minnie Louis, New York

Discussion led by Miss Lillie Hirshfield, New York

How can nations be influenced to protest or even to interfere in cases of persecution - Mrs. Laura Jacobson, St. Louis, Mo.

Discussion led by Miss Lillie Hirshfield, New York

Mrs. Celia Woolley, Chicago

William J. Onahan, Chicago

Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, Chicago

Thursday, September 7, 9:30 A. M. - Hall 5

Reports

Paper on organization - Miss Sadie American, Chicago

The following papers will be presented in the General Parliament of Religion on the dates specified

What Judaism has done for Women—Miss Henrietta Szold, Baltimore, Md. Presented in the General Parliament of Religions, September 21

The Outlook of Judaism - Miss Josephine Lazarus, New York to be presented in the General Parliament of Religions, September 26.

GLOSSARY

Ab: Fifth Hebrew month.

Adar: Twelfth Hebrew month.

Adon Olam: Master of the Universe — a hymn.

Atsereth: The Feast of Weeks — Pentecost.

Aron Hakodosh: Holy Ark in Synagogue where Scrolls are kept.

Bimah: Pulpit.

Cabala: Authorization to act as *shohet.*

Chanukah: The Festival of Lights.

Chasan Bereshith: The person chosen for the honor of commencing the reading of the Torah in the Synagogue.

Chasan Torah: The person chosen for the honor of concluding the reading of the Torah in the Synagogue.

Cheder: One-room Hebrew School.

Chol Ha-moed: Intermediate days of the Festival Pessach and Sukkoth.

Elul: Sixth Hebrew month.

Hazan: Cantor.

Hazkarah: Memorial Prayer.

Haphtorah: The Prophetic reading in the Synagogue.

Hevrah Kadishah: Holy Society, organization engaged in taking care of the burial rites.

Kaddish: Mourner's prayer.

Kosher: Fit, Ritually permissible.

Landsleit: Fellow townsmen.

Landsmanshaften: Organizations of fellow townsmen.

Litwaks: People who come from Lithuania.

Maariv: Evening Service.

Machzor: Holiday prayerbook.

Mah Tovu: How good — a hymn.

Matzoth: Unleavened bread eaten on Passover.

Mikvah: Ritual bath.

Minchah: Afternoon service.

Minyan: Quorum of ten men necessary for public worship.

Mitzvoth: Commands.

Mussaf: Additional service.

Pessach: The Festival of Passover.

Purim: The Feast of Lots.

Rosh Hashanah: New Year.

Rosh Hodesh: The beginning of the Jewish month.

Sefer Torah: A parchment scroll of the Pentateuch.

Shacharith: Morning service.

Shohet: A person authorized to kill fowl or cattle according to Jewish ritual.

Shovuoth: Feast of Weeks.

Sidrah: Weekly Biblical portion read in Synagogue.

Siddur: Order of Prayers — Prayerbook.

Shivoh: Week of mourning.

Sh'vat: Eleventh Hebrew month.

Simchath Torah: The Festival of the Rejoicing of the Torah.

Sukkoth: The Festival of Tabernacles.

Talith: Prayer shawl.

Talmud: The rabbinical collection of Jewish law.

Talmud Torah: Hebrew School.

Tamuz: Fourth Hebrew month.

Takanoth: Enactments.

Tefilin: Phylacteries, worn by men during morning prayers on weekdays.

Terefe: Prohibited to eat according to Jewish law.

Tisha B'ab: Ninth day of Ab — Fast day in commemoration of the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem.

Verein: Organization.

Yahrzeit: Anniversary of the death of a person.

Yom Kippur: Day of Atonement.

Yomin Noroim: Days of Awe, Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.

Yeshivah: Academy of higher Jewish learning.

Notes

ABBREVIATIONS

A.J.Y.B.—American Jewish Year Book

AMOPTEIL—Annual of the American Branch of the Yiddish Scientific Institute

D.J.B.—Anshe Sholom, Diamond Jubilee Book

A.Z.D.J.—Algemeine Zeitung des Judenthums

EDWARD'S—Directory of the City of Chicago, Compiled by Edward

H.K.A.M.—Felsenthal, Bernhard and Eliassof, Herman, History of K.A.M.

H.E. or Harper's—Harper's Encyclopedia of U.S. History

I A—Israelitische Annalen

J.A.—Jewish Advance

J.E.—Jewish Encyclopedia

K.A.M.C.B.—Record of Interments, K.A.M. Cemetery (1871-1899)

K.A.M. J.B.—K.A.M. Jubilee Book

M.B.E. or K.A.M.B.E.—Minutes of K.A.M. Board of Education

M.O.S.M.—Minutes, Cong. Ohave Sholom Mariampoler

N.C.H.C.—North Chicago Hebrew Congregation

P.A.J.H.S.—Publications, Am. Jewish Hist. Society

R.A.—Reform Advocate

U.J.E.—Universal Jewish Encyclopedia

U.H.C.—United Hebrew Charities

U.H.R.A.—United Hebrew Relief Association

INTRODUCTION

1) From poem "America" by Edgar A. Guest. 2) Israel Zangawill, *The Melting Pot.* 3) Wendell L. Wilkie, *Creed.*

BACKGROUND

1) *Chicago in Brief,* The Chicago Assoc. of Commerce and Industry, 1949. 2) J. W. Norris, *General Directory and Business Advertiser,* 1844. 3) John Evans, *Chicagoland, Directory of Religion,* 1949. 4) Ibid. 5) In A.J.Y.B., Vol. 45, 1943-44, the Jewish population is given as 363,000. 6) Fred G. Korth, *The Chicago Book,* 1949; Bessie L. Pierce, *A History of Chicago, Vol. I.* 7) *Harper's Encyclopedia of U.S. History,* Vol. 2, pp. 118-121. 8) A tablet on the sidewalk marks the place of the Fort. 9) Harper's, supra. 10) J.W. Norris, supra. 11) Moses Kirkland, *History of Chicago,* 1895, Vol. 2, p. 5. 12) Ibid. Vol. 1, p. 39ff. 13) A T. Andreas, *History of Chicago,* Vol. 2, p. 233. 14) Hyman L. Meites, *History of the Jews of Chicago,* p. 36. 15) Herman Eliassof *The Jews of Chicago,* in P.A.J.H.S., Vol. 2, p.117, states "Prior to 1838 there were no Jews in the State of Illinois." 16) Quoted in Meites, op. cit.; Cf. Robert Fergus, *City Directory,* 1843. 17) J.W. Morris, supra. 18) Samuel D. Schwartz, *Chicago in U.J.E.,* Vol. 3, p. 134. 19) Fergus, op. cit. 20) Ibid. 21) Meites, supra, p. 39. 22) *Works of Benjamin Franklin,* Boston, 1844, Vol. 3, p. 69ff. 23) Cf. Meites, supra, p. xvii ff. 24) Joseph Simon and L. A. Levy are confused at times as one person Simon Levy. Cf. U.J.E. Vol. 5, p. 538. 25) The claims made by the companies to the government were rejected on the grounds that the land was ceded by the Indian tribes to the U.S., and that the individual Indian grantors had no authority to sell the land to the respective companies.

A QUARTER OF A CENTURY

1) Wm. J. Perlman, *The Jews of America,* A Biographical Encycl., p. 329. 2) Cf. "Conflict and Strife" in Part 4. 3) *H.K.A.M.,* p. 12 states that inasmuch as there were only 10 men present "the services had to be discontinued whenever one left the room." 4) M.M. Kaplan, *The Future of the American Jew,* p. 325. 5) Cf. David de Sola Pool, The Mill Street Synagogue, p. 49; M. A. Gutstein, The Story of the Jews of Newport, p. 30. 6) *K.A.M. C.B.,* Introduction. See Appendix. 7) Edward's, 1869-70; K.A.M. J.B., p. 13. 8) H.K.A.M., p. 16, lists 14 people who signed the constitution. 9) In central and western Europe, the Hebrew word "Maarav" meaning west is, at times, pronounced colloquially "Mayriv." 10) P.A.J.H., Vol. 2, p. 117ff. 11) K.A.M.J.B., p. 1. 12) H.K.A.M., p.15. 13) Facsimile of title-page in Meites, p. 73. 14) In the 19th century, it was customary to write the date in official synagogue documents in the civil month and day and in the Hebrew calendar year. In order to change a Hebrew calendar year to a civil calendar year, we add 1240 to the minor notation of the Hebrew. Thus if we desire to change the Hebrew calendar year 5607, we add 1240 to 607. This gives us the year 1847. However, we must bear in mind that inasmuch as the Hebrew calendar year always begins in the Fall, it extends through parts of two civil calendar years. For instance, the current Synagogue year 5713 extends from September 1952 to September 1953. Similarly

the year 5607 extended from Monday, September 21, 1846 to Friday, September 10, 1847. Thus October 3, 5607 was in the year 1846 and not in 1847. It was only after January that 5607 was in 1847. 15) *The Occident* (Phila.), Vol. 3, p. 367. 16) *Chicago Journal*, Nov. 14, 1899, p. 5. 17) Cf. Appendix. 18) *Chicago Israelite*, Dec. 14, 1907. 19) Emma Feslenthal, *Bernhard Felsenthal, Teacher in Israel*, p. 288. 20) Edward's 1869-70. 21) Pierce, supra, Vol. 2, p. 23. 22) *A.Z.d.J.*, 1845, p. 407. 23) *Die Deborah*, 1858-59, p. 126. 24) Edward's 1861-62. 25) The name *B'nai Sholom* was probably suggested by the conflict between the Bavarian and Posen Jaws. 26) Cf. Meites, p. 113ff. 27) Our First Century, p. 11. 28) George D. Philips, *Chicago and her Churches*, p. 560. 29) Judah Rosenthal, *Hist. of the Settlement of East-European Jews in Chicago*, in *Chicago Pinkas*. 30) Our First Century, p. 11. 31) P.A.J.H.S., Vol. 11, p. 125. 32) The Occident (Phila.) Sept. 1854. 33) Chicago Israelite, Dec. 4, 1907. 34) First Annual Report, U.H.R.A., 1860. 35) *Daily Democrat Press*, Feb. 5; March 6, 17; April 19; May 12, 18, 21; July 13, 1855. 36) Ibid. Apr. 3, 1855. 37) Israelite, Aug. 21, 1857. 38) The Beginnings etc. p. 31ff. Sinai was not the first Reform congregation in Chicago. 39) When *Zion Congregation* was organized in 1864, its headquarters were around Jackson and Sangamon. When *North Chicago Hebrew Congregation* was organized its place of worship was around what is now Chicago Ave. 40) Meites, p. 57. 41) Ibid. p. 87. 42) Emma Felsenthal, supra, p. 64ff. 43) Chronology (mimeographed) of Temple Sholom, issued on the occasion of the 80th year of the existence of the congregation. 44) *Chicago Journal*, Aug. 14, 1862; *Chicago Tribune*, August 14, 1862. 45) Judah Rosenthal, supra, particularly text to notes 10-42. 46) Meites, p. 115. 47) Ibid. p. 116. 48) Dr. Z. Abrams, *Book of Memories*, p. 34ff. 49) In the *12th Annual Report of the U.H.R.A.* Cong. *Ahavath Achim* appears as one of the affiliated groups and contributing organizations. 50) *Constitution of Cong. Ohave Sholom*, in M.O.S.M. 51) See chapter "Synagogue Ideology" in Part II. 52) *Chicago Israelite*, Dec. 14, 1907. 53) Ibid. 54) See chapter 4 in Part IV. 55) *Chicago Tribune*, Oct. 23, 25, 1866; Sept. 3, 1867; Aug. 11, 1868. 56) See chapter "Judaica" in Part IV for detail analysis of this publication. 57) The various congregations formed consisted usually of groups coming originally from the same country or provinces in Europe. 58) Annual Report, U.H.R.A. 1874. 59) *The Advance*, May 27, 1868, p. 4; Charles Zeublin, *The Chicago Ghetto*, in *Hull House Maps and Papers*, p. 91ff. 60) See Map in *Edward's*, 1869-70.

THE GREAT FIRE TO END OF CENTURY

1) *Chicago Tribune*, Oct. 11, 1871. 2) *Israelite*, Oct. 20, 1871. 3) *The Israelite*, Oct 11, 1871, states that 13 patients died. 4) Report, U.H.R.A., Nov. 26, 1871. 5) Some reports have it that Dr. Felsenthal was the chairman of the general committee, Cf. Report, Ibid. 6) *Ungarische Juedische Wochenschrift*, vol. 1, p. 378; A.Z.d.J, 1871, p. 1027, quoted text. 7) Meites, supra, p. 132ff. 8) Ibid. p. 134. 9) Report, U.H.R.A. quoted in Meites, supra, p.133. 10) Bernard Horwich, *My First Eighty Years*, p. 122. 11) Louis Wirth, *The Ghetto*. 12) Horwich, supra p. 122ff. 13) Wirth, supra. 14) *Jewish Advance*, Aug. 19, 1881; Report, U.H.R.A., 1875. 15) *A.J.Y.B.*

5660. 16) R.A., Sept. 8, 1893. 17) See chapter "How Came They Here?" in Part IV. 18) Cf. Note 23 and respective text in chapter "Conflict and Strife" 19) There were also some *landsmanshaften* that were organized into a combined aid society and congregation and at the same time also joined the *B'rith Abraham Order* as an independent lodge. 20) Some East-European Jews in Chicago also organized a congregation of tradesmen. Around Union and Maxwell Streets, there was a "Carpenter's synagogue." Such congregations were quite common in eastern Europe. Another interesting group that was organized as early as 1873, was a Hassidic congregation. 21) See list of congregations in R. A., May 4, 1901, p. 366. 22) See, previous chapter. 23) D.J.B. p.38. 24) This congregation is not to be confused with the present *Rodfe Zedek,* which was organized in 1906. 25) *M.O.S.M.,* Sept. 6, 1874. 26) Abrams, (third section p. 4). 27) Ibid., p. 37; M.O.S.M., 1874. 28) Ibid. 29) Meites, p. 48ff. 30) There are various spelling, Kaneseth, Keneseth, K'neseth. 31) Ibid. p. 483. 32) Information given to author by one of the founders, Mrs. Philip Klafter. In the sketch of *B'nai David Ohave Zedek* in Meites, p. 501, there is a reference to these two congregations, but the dates are not given. Cf. *Humboldt Blvd. Temple, Year Book,* 1947. 33) Meites, p. 501. 34) *Golden Jubilee Book, Austria-Galicia Beth El Congregation,* p. 17ff. 35-36) Ibid. 37) The Moses Montefiore Cong. did not consist exclusively of East-European Jews. There were a number of German Jews in the membership. For quite a while the preaching was in German. See announcements of High Holy Days services in R.A. in the '90s. 38) Meites, supra p. 485ff. 39) Ibid. p. 525. 40) Ibid. p. 534. 41) Ibid. 42) Original Minute Book in possession of author. The congregation has ceased to exist. 43) See Introduction to "Sefer Ohel Moed" by Rabbi Lesser, discussed in chapter "Judaica." 44) In some instances the *Mikvah* was in the basement of the synagogue. 45) Cf. Abrams, p. 7ff. 46) See Part IV. 47) Meites, p. 493. 48) The fact that Rev. Mr. Kunreuther conducted the services indicates that it was probably extremely orthodox in the beginning. 49) Hungarian and Bohemian Jews were found in both the near-north and the near-west sides. 50) Meites, p. 130. 51) Ibid. p. 516. 52) Ibid. 53) R. A. October, 1895. 54-56) Ibid. 57) Those with partial German-Jewish membership were *Anshe Emes, Moses Montefiore* and *South Side Hebrew.* 58) *Jewish Advance,* Mar. 21, 1880; Aug. 27, 1880; Cf. Emma Felsenthal, supra, p.316; R. A. May 4, 1901, p. 352. 59) *Chicago Israelite,* Dec. 14, 1907. 60) U.J.E. vol. 4, p. 427. 61) Cf. lists of various fraternal orders and lodges in early *City Directories.* 62) *Chicago Israelite,* op. cit. 63) The B'nai B'rith cemetery was acquired near that of K.A.M. and K.B.S. 64) Meites, p. 98. 65) Ibid. p. 671. 66) Chicago Israelite, ad. loc. 67) Ibid. 68) See chapter "Care of the Needy" in Part IV. 69) See Annual Report of U.H.C., 1900. 70) Meites, p. 661. 71-72) Ibid. 73) A.J.Y.B. 5600. 74) Vol. 2, p. 532-3. 75) A.J.Y.B., 5660. 76) We also have records of an "Independent Order Choveve Zion" in Chicago in the last decade of the century. See Ibid. 5661, p. 172. We also find reference to an "Independent Order of True Sisters," which was called originally "Unabhaengige Orden der Treuen Schwestern," and had its headquarters in N.Y. See Reform Advocate, May 4, 1901, p. 315. 77) Chicago Israelite, December 14, 1907. 78) Meites, p. 666. 79) A.J.Y.B., 5660.

80) Jewish Advance, Aug. 26, 1881. 81) Ibid. Sept. 9, 1881. 82) Herman Eliassof, *The Jews of Illinois,* in R.A. May 4, 1901, estimates the Jewish population in 1900 at not less than 75,000.

SYNAGOGUE STRUCTURE

1) Pool, supra, p. 29ff. 2) Yer. Targ. Exodus 18:20; Pesikta 129b. 3) *Sinai* and *Rodeph Sholom* congregations in Chicago acquired their synagogues in this manner. 4) Grinstein, pp. 267ff, 392. 5) Cf. *Ozar Yisroel,* Edited by J.D. Eisenstein, vol. 2, p. 246. 6) Leopold Mayer, *Jews and Judaism of Early Chicago Days,* pub. in Chicago Journal, Nov. 14, 1899, p. 5. 7) Ibid. Also Cf. S.E. Blogg, *Erzaehlungen Meiner Erlebnisse,* p. 43. 8) Rees & Kerfort, Map of City of Chicago, 1854, shows synagogue on N.E. corner of Clark and Quincy, with entrance on Clark. 9) This was a very usual procedure in the building of synagogues in early America. Cf. Gutstein, supra, p. 90; Pool, supra, p. 29. Later *K.B.S.* of Chicago similarly appealed for assistance. The letter of K.A.M. is not mentioned in any of the records extant. 10) The Asmonean, vol. II, pp. 126, 132. The letter of appeal is also mentioned in the Philadelphia Occident, but is not quoted there. 11) Subscriptions were received in N.Y. at I.D. Walter, 40 Beaver St., Bernheimer Bro. William St., I Dittenhoffer, 44 Beaver St., I. Bachman's Hotel, Grand St., and at the office of the Asmonean. 12) *The Occident,* vol. 8, p. 367 (Oct. 1850). 13) See concerning Rev. Mr. Isaacs, in Grinstein, supra. 14) *Chicago Daily Journal,* June 11, 1851. 15) Ibid. 16) Ibid., June 12, 1851. 17) Psalm, 24. 18) The description of the dedication ceremonies is based on the various news items that reported it. 19) *Asmonean,* June 27, 1851. 20) June 14, 1851. 21) Ibid. 22) The transliteriation was made by the *Chicago Democrat of Mah Tovu* and *Haleluyah.* 23) Phillips, supra, p. 560. 24) Mayer, supra. 25) *K.A.M.B.E.; H.K.A.M.* p. 26. 26) The Hebrew text appears here. 27) *The Israelite,* Vo. 3, p. 339. 28) Ibid. vol. 8, Feb. 28, 1862. See note 38. 29) Edwin M. Mack, *Old Monroe Street,* p. 30. 30) *Sinai* May, 1861. 31) See correspondence at end of *Kol Kore Bamidbar.* 32) See Note 29. 33) *R.A.,* May 4, 1901, p. 323. 34) Ibid. 35) Phillips, supra, p. 650. 36) *Chicago Tribune,* Sept. 25, 1864. Cf. *Our First Century,* p. 13. 37) Hanah G. Solomon, *Fabric Of My Life,* p. 19. 38) *Chicago Tribune,* Sept. 25, 1864; *Israelite,* Vol. X, May 27, 1864, p. 30. The size of the synagogue is given in the latter source. It was 45 feet on 4th Ave., 80 feet on Harrison. The over-all height was 54 feet. 39) Phillips, supra, p. 560. 40) *Chicago Telegraph* was a German Weekly. The address was also published in the *Deborah.* 41) Solomon, supra, p. 27. 42) R.A. May 18, 1895, p. 205. 43) Meites, p. 115. 44) *H.K.A.M.* p. 38ff. 45) The exact name of the *Fifth Avenue Congregation* has not been ascertained. It might have been the *Cong. Ahavath Achim.* 46) The economic conditions seemed not to have been conducive to the building of new synagogues or the rebuilding the old ones. 47) Andreas, supra, vol. 2, p. 101 48) R.A. May 4, 1901, 347. 49) Ibid. 50) Ibid. p. 325. 51) *H.K.A.M.* p.50. 52) Quoted in R.A. op. cit., p. 325. 53) *Chicago Tribune,* Feb. 6, 1875. 54) Ibid. Apr. 9, 1876. 55-56) Ibid. 57) *The Occident,* June 12, 1891. 58) *H.K.A.M.* p. 57. 59) Ibid. 60) R.A., May 4, 1901, p. 328 ff. 61) Ibid. 62) *City Directory,* 1875-76. 63) *Our First Century* p. 18; *Chicago Tribune,* Mar. 24, 1877. 64) The *R.A.* in its announcements always re-

ferred to it as such. 65) Nothing is mentioned of this attempt in *"Our First Century"* 66) *Our First Century*, p. 26. 67) R.A. Sept. 1, 1894, p. 25. 68) Ibid. May 18, 1895, p. 205. 69) Ibid. May 25, 1895, pp. 224-25. 70) Meites, p. 516. 71) *The Sabbath Visitor*, Mar. 25, 1892, p. 379. 72) Ibid. Sept. 9, 1892, p. 147. 73) According to a later source (R.A. May 4, 1901, p. 345) the cost was only $37,760 and that included the carpets, the organ the furniture and all the interior decorations. 74) R.A. May 4, 1901; p. 365. 75) The cost of the synagogue in the report of the dedication is given as $9,000. But this seems to be a mistake. The cost of the lot, according to a later report was $12,000, (See R.A. May, 1901, p. 365) and the mortgage on the synagogue amounted to $10,000. The synagogue itself was valued at $25,000. 76) R.A. Mar. 17, 1899. 77) Ibid. May 4, 1901, p. 364. 78) Ibid. Sept. 8, 1893. 79) Ibid. May 4, 1901, p. 352. 80) D.J.B., p. 38. 81) There is no description extant of this synagogue. The description was culled from some of the comments in the press and from the pictures extant. 82) See note 81. 83) This can readily be gathered from the advertisements in the Yiddish press. 84) Abrams, supra. 85) A Synagogue of *Cong. Ore Chesed Shel Emeth* on 754 Shobert St. is reported in the R.A., Sept. 14, 1895. 86) The Hebrew inscriptions on this synagogue are still visible. The records and the whereabouts of the congregation are not known to the author. 87) R.A., Nov. 10, 1894, p. 191. 88) *Humboldt Boulevard Temple Year Book*, 1945 89) R.A., May 4, 1901, p. 366.

SYNAGOGUE LEADERSHIP

1) The first rabbi to settle in North America was Rabbi Abraham Rice of Baltimore. See on this note 14 of chapter V, Grinstein, supra, p. 543. 2) See chapter "Visitors" in Gutstein, supra, p. 146ff. 3) Cf. Salo W. and Jeanette M. Baron, *Palestinian Messengers in America 1849-79*, in Social Studies, 1943. 4) See on the function of the rabbi historically, etc. Grinstein, supra, p. 81ff. 5) Mayer, op. cit. 6) Rev. H.P. Mendes of N.Y. received the M.D. degree from N.Y.U. In the official records of Shearith Israel he is referred to as a "Hazan". Felsenthal received the honorary Ph.D. degree from Chicago University. Other examples are extant. 7) In Chicago we find that *Ohave Sholom engaged* Rabbi Braude first as a Maggid, and only later they retained him as the rabbi of the congregation. 8) Kunreuther, Snydacker, Lebrecht, Mayer and Meiers in Chicago are examples. 9) This can be seen from the advertisements in the *A.Z.d.J.* and in other European publications, where K.A.M. advertised several times for religious functionaries and offered many inducements for their coming to America, without favorable results. 10) Rabbi Chronik was thus engaged as the rabbi of *Sinai*, 11) Cf. Felsenthal and Eliassof, supra, p. 17ff. 12) The Occident, Mar., 1848, Vol. 5, pp. 614-15. 13) Mayer, op. cit. 14) Ibid. 15) *Report of M. M. Gerstley*, August 16, 1874 p. 8. 16) See Certificate in *K.A.M.*, supra, p. 25. 17) Cf. Obituary in *Chicago Tribune, April 13, 1892.* 18) *Israelite*, Vol. 1, p. 94. 19) Meites, p. 55. 20) Grinstein, supra, p. 96. 21) Ibid, p. 219. 22) *Israelite*, Aug. 21, 1857. 23) Grinstein, p. 256. 24) The Asmonean, Vol. 4, p. 75. 25) *Israelite*, op. cit. 26) *Israelitischer Volksleheer*, 1857, No. 50 p. 272. 27) *Israelite*, op. cit. p. 62. 28) Ibid. 29) *The Occident*, July 1855, vol. 13, pp. 200-201. 30) *Israelitischer Volksleher*, op. cit. 31) H.K.A.M., p. 31ff. 32) *Israelite*, Vol. IV,

February 26, 1858, p. 279. 33) Cf. H.K.A.M., p. 31ff; M.B.E. August 3, 1860. The Israelite always maintained an optimistic point of view of the inner changes of K.A.M. Dr. Wise held out great hopes that the congregation would change to modern Reform and adopt the *Minhag America* prayerbook. 34) M. B.E. op. cit. 35) Meites, p. 81. 36) See "Synagogue Ideology" infra. 37) M.B.E. February 12, 1861. 38) Ibid. March 17, 1861. 39) Cf. K.A.M. J. B., p. 37. 40) M.B.E. August 28, 1864. 41) Ibid. February 26, 1865. 42) H.K.A.M., p. 33. 43) A number of eulogies and sermons in English by Adler were published independently. 44) See facsimile of original in German in the handwriting of Adler in Appendix of *H.K.A.M.* 45) Ibid. p. 51. 46) A. J.Y.B., 5664, p. 94. 47) Ibid., p. 83. 48) See note on "Zeitgeist" in Part IV, "Judaica." 49) H.K.A.M., p. 53. 50) Ibid p. 59. 51) Cf. *K. A.M. J. B.*, p. 31ff. 52) *The Occident*, September 1854. Cf. *Our First Century*, p. 11ff. 53) Ibid. p. 12ff. 54) See on Messing's father and family, *J. E.*, Vol. 8, p. 513; U.J.E., vol. 7, pp. 506-7. Both sources do not mention his early ministry in Chicago. 55) The Biographical sketch in A.J.Y.B., 5664, states incorrectly, that Messing assumed the K.B.S. pulpit in 1885. 56) Ibid., p. 101ff. 57) *Our First Century*, supra p. 21. 58) Gershom Bader, *Henry Gersoni*, in *Jewish Morning Journal*. 59) After Gersoni became rabbi of K.B.S. and began to publish the Jewish Advance he found it necessary to defend himself against the accusation of his apostacy by publishing in the *Jewish Advance* the following declaration:

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

A certain publication in this city has made it its special object to blackmail the editor of this paper. Said publication and the publisher thereof are sufficiently known in Chicago for what they are worth. Our friends outside of this city, on whom said publication may impose, are respectfully requested, before giving credence to the libel and blackmail contained therein,

1. To inquire of any Rabbi of New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Chicago, as to the character and capacities of the Editor of the *Jewish Advance*.

2. To refer to Chief-Rabbi, Dr. N. Adler; to Rabbi Dr. H. Adler, and to Prof. W. Marks, of London, England; as also to the celebrated Hebrew author, Dr. Senor Sax, and Dr. Zadok Cohn, Grand Rabbin de Paris, and to Dr. E. L. Silberman, editor of the Hamagid, in Lyck, Prussia, who know the Editor of the Jewish Advance, either personally or by his works.

3. To inquire of any person of responsibility and character in this city about the standing of said publication and publisher who have made it their object to blackmail the undersigned.

Respectfully

Henry Gersoni.

60) Gershom Bader, op. cit. 61) Jewish Advance, May 14, 1880. 62) M. Starkman, *The Evolution of the Yiddish Press in America* (Yiddish) in "Zamlbuch tzu der Geshichte fun der Yiddisher Presse in America", N.Y. 1934, 13ff. 63) *Our First Century*, p. 19ff. 64) Felsenthal, supra, p. 29. 65) *The Beginnings etc.* p. 36. According to the biography by his daughter, "there may have been a second reason" for Dr. Felsenthal's resignation. Some of the "men wished to see

him replaced by a more effective speaker." 66) Ibid. p. 37. 67) *U.J.E.*, vol. 4, p. 27ff. 68) *The Occident*, Vol. 12, p. 285, Sept. 1864; R.A. May 4, 1901, p. 345ff. 69) Meites, p. 98ff. 70) Edward's 1871, p. 42; Likewise Census Report, 1871. A good biographical sketch of Dr. Chronik is given by Esther E. Rawidowitz, in *Pikas Chicago*, p. 137ff. 71) Cf. *Ill. Staatszeitung*, Oct. 3, 8, 12, 26; Nov. 16; Dec. 9, 14, 1867; Oct. 17, Nov. 1, 1871. 72) See note 70. 73) R.A. May 4, 1901, p. 326. 74) Quoted in ibid. p. 327ff. 75) Introduction by Gerson B. Levi, *My Religion by E. G. Hirsch*, p. 12ff. 76) R. A. op. cit. p. 327. 77) *Our First Century*, p. 30. 78) R. A. op. Cit. p. 341. 79-83) Ibid., pp. 342, 343, 347. 84) U. J. E., vol. 4, p. 69. 85) Ibid. Also see Freiberg Hayim D. *Beth Okad Seforim* (Heb.), p. 353. 86) Meites, p. 493. 87) R. A. op. cit. p. 347ff. 88) A. J. Y. B, 5664,p. 96ff. 89) R. A. op. cit., p. 351; Cf. Announcements in R. A. in last decade of century. 90) It seems that *B'nai Abraham* had difficulties in finding a rabbi before Dr. Grossman. In the Occident of Nov. 26, 1880, the following announcement appeared: "The Congregation having heretofore failed in securing a suitable minister, again solicit applications. Liberal salary guaranteed." 91) *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 6, p. 96. 92) R. A. op. cit., p. 345ff. 93) A. J. Y. B., 5664, p: 74. 94) See "The Hoe and the Anvil" in Part IV, infra. 95) A. J. Y. B., 5664, p. 43. 96) Ibid. p. 41 97) *The Occident*, August 4, 1881. 98) *Jewish Advance*, April 22, 1881. 99) Rabbi Ticktin returned to Europe after staying in Chicago for a short while. His friends, however, insisted that he should come back to Chicago. 100) Peter Wiernik, *History of the Jews in America*, p. 177. 101) D. J. B., p. 46. 102) See chapter 1 in Part III *The School*, and *Judaica* in Part IV, infra. 103) D. J. B., p. 37ff. 104) Ibid. 105) Abrams, supra. 106) D. J. B., p. 40. 107-8) Ibid. pp. 41-42. 109) A. J. Y. B., 5664, p. 46. 110) Meites, p. 534. 111) See *Judaica*, infra. 112) Ibid. 113) See B. Horwich, supra, p. 159. 114) Ibid. 115) Philip Bregstone, *Chicago And Its Jews*, p. 6. 116) Hadoar, Adar 14, 5710, p. 435. 117) Ibid. 118) See, on some of these names, A. J. Y. B. 5664 and R. A. op. cit. 119) See "Sefer Sfath Emes" by Rabbi Album, vol. I, Introduction. 120) *Ozar Yisroel*, Vol. 9, p. 307ff. 121) Ibid. 122) H. K. A. M., p. 32. 123) Emma Felsenthal, supra, p. 32. 124) U. J. E. vol. 1, p. 91ff. 125) See, Paper "The Sinai Literary Association", read by author, at 49th Annual Conference of A. J. H. S. 126) *Minutes, The Sinai Literary Association*, in archives of Chicago Historical Society. 127) *Chicago Tribune*, March 21, 1878. 128) Minutes, op. cit. April 3, 1878. 129) Ibid., April 24, 1878. 130) Album, op. cit. Part II, p. 53. 131) *Pirke Ovoth*, 5:10. 132) *Jewish Advance*, July 8, 1881. 133) J. E., vol. 4 p. 214ff. 134) R.A., Oct. 28, 1893. 135-6) Ibid. Nov. 25, 1893.

SYNAGOGUE IDEOLOGY

1) Cf. David Philipson, *The Reform Movement in Judaism*, p. 329ff. 2-3) Ibid. See also article on *Reform Judaism* in U. J. E., vol. 6, p. 240ff. 4) *H. K. A. M.* p. 19. 5) Ibid. p. 23. See letter of B. Felsenthal to Julius Rosenthal, in E. Felsenthal, op. cit. 6) Grinstein, supra, p. 256. 7) *Israelite*, July 2, 1858, p. 415; *Archives Israelites*, 1859, p. 74. 8) *Israelite*, Oct. 2, 1857; H.K.A.M.,

p. 31ff. 9) Ibid. 10) Ibid. Oct. 16, 1857. 11) Ibid. 12) *"May the redeemer rise."* This is a prayer in Aramaic for the scholars in Babylonia and Palestine. 13) *Israelite,* vol. 6, p. 102. 14) U. J. E., vol. 4, p. 27ff; vol. 5, p. 409. 15) This society is not to be confused with the *Reformverein,* which was founded in 1859, by Felsenthal. Cf. *Israelite,* Aug. 21, 1857. 16) *Israelite,* Feb. 26, 1858. 17) Ibid. The news item ends with the Hebrew words "There is hope for the future." *Ohave Or* is thus the first Reform congregation in Chicago. 18) *Der Freitagabend,* July 22, 1859, p. 463. 19) *Israelite,* Nov. 7, 1856, pp. 142-43. The *Illinois Staatszeitung* in June, 1859 published an article by Felsenthal *Die Grundidee der Reformbewegung* — The Fundamental Ideas of the Reform Movement. 20) *Sinai,* Feb. 1857 p. 404ff. 21) *Deborah,* March 13-27, 1857, pp. 237-8, 242-43, 253-4. 22) *Sinai,* Oct. 1858, p. 1058ff. 23) *The Beginnings, etc.* p. 9ff. 24-29) Ibid. 10ff. 30) The proclamation was signed by most members indicating that the *Verein* was in back of the founding of the Congregation. 31) Correspondence published as appendix to *Kol Kore Bamidbar.* 32) B. Felsenthal *Kol Kore Bamidbar,* p. 36. 33-38) *The Beginnings etc,* pp. 20-26. 39-43) See excerpts of translations in Emma Felsenthal, supra, p. 241ff. 44) *Sinai,* May 1859, p. 111ff. Cf. Reference Cards in H. U. C. Library to Foreign Publications referring to American Jewish communities (Marcus' Index). 45) Philipson, supra pp. 340, 349, 370-71. 46) E. Felsenthal, supra, p. 28. 47) *Illinois Staatszeitung,* Sept. 30, 1859; *Sinai,* 1859, p. 153ff. 48) Dr. Felsenthal did not particularly like I. M. Wise's "Minhag America" prayerbook. See Jewish Times, Dec. 20, 1872. 49) *Constitution and By-Laws of Chicago Sinai Congregation,* 1861, pp. III-IV. 50) Ibid. p. 19ff. 51) Sinai, 1861, p. 164. 52) *The Beginning etc.,* p. 35. 53) Constitution etc., op. cit. p. 19. It is probable that men and women did not sit together. See next chapter "Schedule of Services." Also Chicago Tribune, Oct. 2, 1864. 54) R. A., May 4, 1901, p. 324. 55) Ibid., p. 324. Minutes of Sinai Cong., October 27, 1872. 56) Ibid., p. 325. 57) Ibid. 58) Ibid. Eliassof has it that it was Jan. 15th. This is most likely a typographical error for the 15th was on a Thursday. 59) Ibid. p. 326. 60) Ibid. p. 327. 61) *Extract from Proceedings of Chicago Sinai Cong., at its Annual Meeting March* 16, 1865, *and special meeting, April* 9, 1885, quoted in ibid., p. 327. 62) The wording of the resolution passed read: "Resolved, That the Abrahamitic rite is not an essential condition, the compliance with which must precede or follow admittance to membership in Sinai Congregation." 63) Minutes, op. cit. 64) R. A. op. cit., p. 328. 65) Ibid, p. 332. 66) Solomon, supra, p. 33. 67) *Israelite,* Sept. 30, 1859, p. 102. In 1897, when K.A.M. celebrated its 50th anniversary, M. M. Gerstley pointed out that it was in the new synagogue on Wabash Ave. and Peck Court that the organ was introduced in 1866. Cf. Solomon, supra, p. 34. 68) *The Occident* (Phila.) vol. 22, pp. 188-91, July, 1864. Among the five sermons Dr. Adler published in 1866, one of them was preached on the second day of Shovuoth. 69) *Annual Report,* M. M. Gerstley, 1874 p. 3. 70) Solomon, supra, p. 33. 71) Ibid. p. 34. 72) At the office of K.A.M. there is extant one page of an original report written by A. Kohn when he was president of the Cong. Kohn speaks of the ritual in use as the "Minhag Frankfurt." Cf. Hist., K.A.M., p. 38. 73) E. Felsenthal, supra, p. 54ff. 74) *Hist., K.A.M.,* supra, p. 38. Cf. also Annual

Report, Gerstley, op. cit. 75-76) Ibid., pp. 39, 50. 77) Certificate of affiliation at K.A.M. office. 78) See note 68. 79) H.K.A.M., p. 51. 80) *Israelite*, Vol. VI, p. 102 (Sept. 30, 1859). 81) *Chicago Telegraph*, September 30, 1864. 82) *AMOPTEIL*, supra, vol. II, p. 193ff. 83) *R.A.* High Holy Days announcements, 1899. 84) *Our First Century*, p. 18ff.; Israelite, May, 1877. 85) *The Occident*, Nov. 5, 1880. 86) This happened in 1906. Cf. Chronology in 90th Anniversary Program of Temple Isaiah Israel. 87) *Israelite*, Vol. 28, p. 167 (1881). In Minutes of Sinai Cong. March 14, 1878, it is stated that the small organ was sold to B. A. for $100. 88) Though to the end of the century, Rosh Hashanah was observed two days. See R.A., Sept. 2, 1899. 89) Ibid. May 4, 1901, p. 343. 90) The report is extant in ms. 91) *Friday Night Late Services* were originally a marked sign of Reform Judaism. Even at Sinai Cong. they discussed it and a resolution to have them instead of Sunday services was defeated by a small margin in 1874. 92) Cf. Announcements of Religious Services in R.A., Sept. 2, 1899; Sept. 22, 1900; Nov. 11, 1899. 93) The first confirmation at North Chicago Hebrew Cong. most likely took place in 1875. 94) See note 88. 95) Hist. of Jews in Ill., supra, p. 351. 96) Ibid. 97) See, Announcements of Rel. services in Nov., 1898, in R.A. 98-103) Ibid. Nov. 11, 1899. Sept. 22, 1900.

SYNAGOGUE LIFE

1) L. Mayer, op. cit. 2) Cf. "The Care of the Needy" in connection with the founding of U.H.R.A. 3) See chapter 1 and 2 of "The School," infra. 4) See advertisements in current Jewish press advertising Jewish funeral parlors and undertakers. Some called themselves in German "Leichenbestatter." 5) The Occident, Oct., 1854. 6) Ibid. 7) Constitution, Sinai, supra, p. IV. 8) Constitution, Ohave Sholom, supra. 9) See Apepndix. 10) The earlier constitutions which were written in Yiddish, in many instances a Germanized Yiddish. Cf. Collection of old constitutions in library of A.J.H.S. 11) The one printed by N.C.H. Cong. in 1882, was called "Constitution". The one printed in 1899, was called "Constitution and Laws." 12) See Appendix and some of the illustrations. 13) See facsimile of Pinkas of Hebrah Tehilim. 14) R.A., May 4, 1901, p. 328. 15) Ibid. 16) Constitution etc. op. cit. 17) Told to author by some of the old residents. 18) *Chicago Tribune*, October 2, 1864. 19) The local press apparently took delight in referring to the quarells in the synagogue. 20) See excerpts of Constitution in Appendix. 21) Ibid. 22) M.O.S. supra. 23) K.A.M. had such an office. See, *Israelite*, Oct. 16, 1857. 24) This was true particularly of the early German congregations, like *Sinai*, *Zion* and *B'nai Abraham*. 25) M.O.S., 1874-8. 26-27) Ibid. 28) See Takanoth in Appendix 29) Ohave Sholom, etc. op. cit. 30) *Israelite*, Oct. 2, 1859. 31) See early correspondence from Chicago to *Israelite*. 32) Greenebaum was forced to resign from K.A.M. in order to retain his membership and office in K.B.S. Also see, Ohave Sholom By-Laws 33) Constitution, etc. of Sinai Cong., 1861, p. 17ff. 34) See Ohave Solom Const. op. cit. 35) Referred to in Meites. 36) Minutes of Annual meeting, March 27, 1883, of Sinai Cong. quoted in R.A., May 4, 1901, p. 327; Extracts of Minutes of Special Meeting of Sinai Cong. April 9, 1885, p. 3. 37) That was particularly true of the early

German and East-European congregations, Sinai called it "admission fee." 38) This was a usual procedure in most of congregations even if it was not provided in the By-Laws. 39) Constitution, N.C.H.C., 1899. 40) These fees, however, were shortly increased. 41) By-Laws, Ohave Sholom, op. cit. 42) See Constitutions, *Sinai, N.C.H.C., Ohave Sholom.* 43) Ibid. 44) R.A. June 27, 1896. 45) Similar advertisements appeared later in the Yiddish press. 46) Not in all congregations could Pews be resold. 47) Constitution, N.C.H.C., 1882. 48) Constitution, Sinai Cong., p. 19, Section "Festivals and Public Services." 49) Cf. The Occident, Oct. 1, 1880. 50) This custom is still retained in some Orthodox synagogues. 51) Constitution, Sinai Cong., 1861, p. 21ff. 52) M.K.A.M., Feb. 12, 1861. 53) Messing had a reputation as a good preacher and in his correspondence (See AMOPTEIL; Vol. II, p. 206ff.) he prides himself with the fact that he was the first rabbi to preach in the congregation. 54) Chicago City Directory, 1862-63, Religious announcements. 55) Constitution, Sinai, p. 21ff. 56) Rabbi Braude was elected first as the Maggid (preacher) of the congregation (See The Diamond Jubilee Book p.41). Rabbi Messing speaks of Maggidim among the "Litwaks." 57) Preaching and prayers in the German language dominated the early German-Jewish Congregations. The German spirit predominated in the Reform Synagogues of the nineteenth century .

In an article on "JEWISH PREACHING AND PREACHERS", published in Historia Judaica, Oct., 1945, Vol. VII, No. 2, p. 130, the author quotes, Dr. David Einhorn, who on July 12, 1879, voiced the following sentiments: "I cannot forget that the Old Homeland is the land of thinkers, and at the present time the most cultural country in the world. It is, above all, the country of Mendelsohn, and the birthplace of Reform of Judaism. Its culture has been carried farther and farther to other countries and across the seas. Remove the German spirit, or - what comes to the same thing—the German language, and you have removed the ground from beneath human culture and the delicate flower must wither. The object of PREACHING in German can be nothing more than to make use of the treasures of the German spirit and of German literature for the enhancement and enrichment of religious life... Where the German language is banned, there Reform of Judaism is nothing more than a glittering veneer." 58) R.A., Sept. 14, 1895; Sept. 2, 1899. 59) Ibid. 60) See Annual Reports of M. M. Gerstley, 1874 and 1878. 61) See advertisements in Jewish Courier, in last decade of century. 62) U.J.E., vol. 2, p. 73ff. 63-65) Ibid. 66) See, Prof. G. Zelikowitch (Editor) "Bar-Mitzvah Speeches," N.Y., 1928. Other earlier collections are also extant 67) Ibid. 68) Cf. R.A., Nov. 16, 1895, p. 647. Rabbi Samuel Marks, while rabbi of K.B.S. announced that he prepares students for Bar Mitzvah. Similarly, Rabbi Bonnheim. 69) M.K.A.M., Dec. 29, 1861. 70) *South Side Hebrew, Anshe Emes* and *Moses Montefiore* congregations announced Confirmation services in the nineteenth century. 71) As a rule the Confirmation service was tantamount to a Graduation Exercise of the Sunday School, and the majority, if not all, of the confirmands were girls. 72) Both of these congregations featured the Bar Mitzvah ceremonies in their respective synagogues in the press. 73) R.A., May 25, 1895, p. 221ff.; Cf. *Minutes of Sinai Cong.*, Jan. 6, 1883. 74) See announcements in R.A. in latter part of century.

75) Mayer, supra. 76) American Hebrew, Nov. 29, 1889, article "A Few Words Concerning Funerals." 77) Ibid. 78) Ibid., June 14, 1901, pp. 105-6. 79) This was in spirit of the *Shulchan Aruch.* 80) Constitution, N.C.H.C. 81) Ibid. 82) See extracts of *Takanoth* in Appendix. 83) Constitution, etc., Sinai Cong., p. 22ff. 84) Minutes, *Mishkan Israel,* Cf. Appendix. 85) Minutes, *Ohave Sholom,* 1874-88. 86) See Appendix. 87) Ibid. 88) See note 79. 89) Constitution, etc. Sinai Cong. op. cit. 90) See Cemetery Records of K.A.M., supra. 91) See Appendix. 92) Const. Ohave Sholom, in Minutes, supra. 93) Ibid. 94) Hebrew Leader, May 10, 1867, article "Exclusiv Juedische Begraebnissplaetze Oder Nicht?" (Exclusive Jewish Burial- places Or Not?). 95) Letter from Perlman; See Appendix for excerpt. (Galena R.R. advertised funeral trains), See note 99 infra. 96) The hands symbolize the traditional blessing of the *Kohanim* and the jug of water symbolizes the traditional washing of the hands by the *Laivee,* 97) See, By-Laws of Ohave Sholom in Minutes, supra, 1874-88. 98) Ibid. 99) *The Lakeside Directory of Chicago,* 1874-5 refers to Waldheim being "Ten miles from the Court House on Galena div. C. & N.W. Ry, office 85 Dearborn." Similarly, reference is made to Rosehill cemetery which is "seven miles from city on Milwaukee Division, C. & N.W. Ry." 100) See Takanoth in Appendix, and facsimiles of minutes. 101-105) Ibid. 106) Chicago Israelite, Dec. 14, 1907. 107) Humboldt Blvd. Temple, Year Book, 1945.

FROM THE MELAMED TO THE SUNDAY SCHOOL

1) George Foot Moore, *Judaism,* vol. 1, p. 285. 2) L. Mayer, supra, p. 5; Leonard C. Mishkin, *Die Erste Yiddishe Shule in Chicago,* in *Ingritz Yom Tov Shriften,* June, 1938, pp. 37-8; Harold Korey, *The History of Jewish Education in Chicago,* a dissetration submitted to the faculty of the Division of the Social Sciences in candidacy for the degree of M.A. (Typewritten), p. 13ff. 3) In the *Occident* (Phila.), March, 1848, vol. 5, pp. 614-15, it is stated explicitly that Kunreuther was also the teacher in the community. 4) Appeared for the first time in the *Asmonean,* vol. IV, p. 75 and ran until vol. IV, Sept. 5, 1851. 5) *The Israelite,* vol 1, p. 94. The letter is addressed, Chicago, Sept. 15, 1854. 6) The book was published in New York in 1850. Cf. Grinstein, supra, p. 256. 7) L. Mayer, supra. 8) The direct cause of the founding of the K.A.M. day school must have been both the agitation within the congregation for organized education and the organization of the *Reformverein.* 9) Grinstein, supra, p. 225ff. 10) Ibid. Also see Gutstein, supra, p. 117ff. 11) Thomas M. Gilland, *Origin and Development of the City Superintendent,* p. 185. 12) Bessie L. Pierce, *A History of Chicago,* vol. 1, p. 239. The first parochial school for boys in Chicago was opened by Bishop William J. Quarter on June 3, 1844. 13) This distinction between the day school and the parochial school was definitely true in Chicago. The fact that non-Jewish children attended the Jewish day school proves that it was a Public School rather than a parochial school. It is to be noted also that religious instruction in the day school was given Saturday afternoons. 14) See *Chicago Weekly Democrat,* June 11, 1859, announcing the opening of the K.A.M. Day School. See Extract of Minutes and School Report of M. M. Gerstley, who was the chairman of the School Board of K.A.M., as well as the Constitution and

By-Laws of the School and the Board in the Appendix. 15) Cf. Abraham Simon and William Rosenau, *Jewish Education, A Historical Survey* in The Jewish Chautauqua Society, 1912, p. 66ff.; Cf. Article 2 of Preamble to *Constitution and By-Laws of Chicago Sinai Congregation*, 1861. 16) Edward's Directory, op. cit. 17) Solomon, supra, p. 24. 18) Emma Felsenthal, supra, p. 38; Edward's Directory, op. cit., p. 975. 19) This would imply that K.B.S. also had a day school. However, we have no record of a day school connected with that congregation. 20) M.B.E., supra, Nov. 25, 1859. 21) Ibid. See also Andreas, supra, p. 100, concerning "school inspector." 22-32) M.B.E. 33) The closing of the school may have been intended only as an expression of mourning for Dr. Friedlander. 34) M.B.E., Oct. 30, 1860. It has been suggested by some writers that Mr. Gleason also instructed in the Hebrew department. The minutes do not convey that impression at all. Inasmuch as the school was in reality a public school, it remained open as such. But Hebrew was not studied during that period. 35-55) M.B.E. 56) Gerstley, Annual Report, 1874, p. 9. 57) Korey, op. cit. p. 16ff. 58) Emma Felsenthal, supra, p. 38. 59) R.A., May 4, 1901, p. 324. 60) Edward's, supra. 61) Cf. "Conflicting Ideology". 62) R.A., Jan. 20, 1894. 63) Ibid. 64) M.B.E., April 6, 1875. 65) Ibid. October 31, 1875. 66) Eliassof, supra, p. 326; Jewish Advance, June 20, 1879. 67) See chapter "Judaica" and Annotated Bibliography in Emma Felsenthal, supra. 68) M.B.E., April 6, 1875. 69) Executive Board Minutes of Sinai Cong. Dec. 31, 1871; Eliassof, supra in R.A., May 4, 1901, p. 324. Copy of one volume is found in library of Chicago Historical Society. 70) M.B.E. Oct. 23, 1872. 71) "Spiritual Questions for the Sabbath School," 1891, p. 25ff. 72) Ibid. 73) Cf. chapter "Judaica." 74) Cf. Bibliography in Emma Felsenthal, supra. 75) This book was widely advertised in R.A. 76) Minutes, Sinai Cong. April 24, 1883. 77) J.A. April 4, 1879. 78) Minutes, Sinai Cong. Feb. 19, 1880. 79) The Occident, Sept. 24, 1884. 80) M.B.E. Mar. 26, 1876. 81) Ibid. May 24, 1876. 82) Eliassof, supra, p. 335. 83-84) Ibid. 85) M.B.E. Nov. 1871. 86) Jewish Directory, Chicago 1884, published by Associated Press Bureau. 87) Cf. Correspondence of Rabbi Messing in AMOPTEIL, supra. 88) Minutes, Exec. Bd. Sinai Cong. Aug. 14, 1893. 89) R.A. Jan. 20, 27, 1894. 90) Cf. article on Sunday School, J.E. vol. 10, p. 602. 91) Quoted in Korey, supra; Cf. J. A., June 20, 1879. 92) See note 55. 93) Minutes, Sinai Cong. 1894; Cf. J.A. April 4, 1879. 94) J.A. Apr. 9, 1880. 95) Ibid. 96) R.A. Nov. 7, 1891. 97) Ibid. and later issues. 98) The Occident, Jan. 30, 1885. 99) R.A., Nov. 14, 1896. 100) Korey, op. cit. p. 76; Chig. Tr. May 29, 1891, where it is reported that the "Chicago Hebrew Mission, No. 22 Margaret Street, held its festival yesterday afternoon. Two hundred children who attended the mission, and many of the friends of the institution witnessed the exercises." In *Jewish People, Past and Present*, vol. II, p. 155, it is stated: " During the latter part of the nineteenth century, schools frequently referred to as 'mission' schools were organized in the poorer neighborhoods by the sisterhoods of wealtheir congregations. The Jewish Education Association of Chicago succeeded in establishing Sabbath schools in those parts of the city where heretofore religious education has been neglected." 101) Quoted in Korey, op. cit. p. 78. 102) Ibid. 103) Jew*ish Education* vol. 6, Jan. - Mar., 1934, p. 40. 104) Chicago Israelite, May 25,

1900. 105) Ibid. 106) Quoted in Korey, p. 88ff. Cf. Report of the Religious School Work Committee of the Council of Jewish Women, publ. in Chicago Israelite in 1902 and quoted in "Jewish Education in Chicago," an M.A. thesis in the Social Science division of the U. of C. by Lottie Lavin. 107) Gerstley, Report, 1874, supra. 108) Quoted in Meites, p. 135. 109) Ibid. 110) Eliassof, supra, p. 348. 111) J. A. June 13, 21, 1878. 112) Ibid. June 26, 1878, Sept. 13, 1878. 113) M.B.E., July 26, 1863, Sept. 27, 1863. 114) Harold Korey, *The Story of Jewish Education Prior to* 1923 publ. in *Jewish Education*, Vol. 6, Jan. - Mar., 1934. 115) J.A. Dec. 19, 1879. 116) The Occident, Dec. 26, 1879. 117) No doubt the fact that many East-European Jews lived in the neighborhood of B'nai Abraham prompted the contemplation of this school. Cf. R.A. Oct. 19, 1895. p. 567. 118) Cf. AMOPTEIL, vol. 2, p. 205; The Occident, Oct. 15, 1880.

FROM THE CHEDER TO THE YESHIVAH

1) While there were public schools in the larger cities and also in some smaller cities, Jewish parents would not send their children to them. There was no compulsory education laws. Hence most of the people grew up without any other education except that received in the Cheder. Since arithmetic and Yiddish were indispensible to many, these subjects were included in the Cheder curriculum. 2) Cf. Wirth supra, p. 19. 3) Meites, supra, p. 115; Diamond Jubilee, Book of Cong. Anshe Sholom, 1945, p. 33ff. 4) Korey, supra, p. 55; Meites supra, p. 483. 5) This school appears under different names at various times and in various sources. However, the official name was as we give it in the text. Cf. Meites, supra p. 159; Story of Education, supra, p. 43. 6) J.A., Aug. 12, 1881. 7) *The Occident*, Jan. 11, 1895; Cf. Bernheimer, supra, p. 215. 8) Information gathered from conversation with elderly people, who experienced it. 9) Introduction to *Sepher Ohel Mo-ed*, p. 4; Minutes, Cong. Ohave Sholom, 1874-78. 10) Ibid. 11) *The Occident*, May 13, 1881. 12) *Diamond Jubilee Book, supra*, p. 33ff. 13) Korey, supra, p. 55. 14) Ibid. 15) In all schools of East-European Jews, Yiddish was used as the language of instruction. 16) Meites, p. 483. 17-18) Ibid. 19) The Occident, Aug, 17, 1883. 20) Meites, p. 483. 21) Korey, supra p. 56. 22) Ibid. 23) Meites, p. 214. 24) See note 9. 25) The influence is obvious in the name *Etz Chayim*, which the Yeshivah in Chicago adopted. 26) Meites, p. 551. 27) Cf. U.J.E. article, Yeshivah College. 28) Meites, p. 213. 29) Lavin, op. cit. p. 22. This author gives the date of the establishment of the Yeshivah as 1889. But it seems that the record must have been copied wrongly, for documentary evidence seesms to point to the fact that the first Yeshivah *Etz Chayim* was not established until 1899. 30) Meites, p. 213. 31) Ibid. p. 551.

THE JEWISH TRAINING SCHOOL

1) The school is also referred to occasionally as "The Jewish Manual Training School." There was a general manual training school in the city, which was given financial support by the U.H.R.A., Cf. *Annual Report* of U.H.R.A., 1884, p. 14. 2) *Annual Report*, J.T.S., 1890-91, pp. 8, 64. 3) *Chicago Israelite*, Dec. 14,

1907. p. 25. 4) The contributions for the Training School were very generous. Leon Mandel initiated the drive for funds with a contribution of $20,000. The Y.M.H.C.A. raised an initial gift of $16,500. There were many other large donations. 5) *Annual Report, J.T.S.,* 1890-91, p. 31ff.; 1891-02, p. 42ff. 6) The patrons of the school were headed by Dr. E. G. Hirsch. Charles H. Schwab was the first president. The administration consisted of German Jews exclusively. Most of the members were from Sinai Cong. 7) Annual Report, supra, p. 7 Cf. *Chicago Israelite,* Dec. 14, 1907, p. 25. 8) Ibid, 1891-2, p. 52. 9) Ibid. 1890-1, p. 8; 1881-2, p. 42ff; 1892-3, p. 52. 10) Cf. Report of U.H.R.A., 1884-5, p. 14. 11) *Chicago Israelite,* op. cit., p. 25. It is to be noted that the objectives of the J.T.S. were not to keep away the children from Hebrew School. The objectives were to supplement the Hebrew education with a secular education with emphasis on manual training. 12) Ibid. 13) Cf. Chicago Tribune, Oct. 20, 1890. 14) Annual Report, supra, 1892-3, p. 52. 15) *Chicago Israelite, supra,* p. 25. 16) Ibid. Also, Cf. R.A., Sept. 2, 1893, p. 41ff. 17-19) Ibid. 20) Annual Report, supra. 21) *Chicago Israelite,* supra. 22) R.A., Sept. 16, 1893. 23) *Chicago Tribune,* Sept. 23, 1894. 24) *Chicago Israelite,* supra. 25) R.A. May 4, 1901. 26) *Chicago Israelite,* supra.

HOW CAME THEY HERE?

1) Pool, supra, p. 49; Cf. *The Immigration of German Jews up to 1880* by Rudolf Glanz in the YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science, vols. 2-3, pp. 81ff. 2) Ibid. p. 85 Cf. Paul Masserman and Max Baker, *The Jews Come to America,* pp. 133ff. 3) Glanz, supra, p. 85; Cf. A.Z.D.J., July 30, 1837. 4) Glanz, supra, p. 87ff. 5) AZDJ, May 9, 1837. 6) IA, Aug. 30, 1839. 7) AZDJ, June 30, 1837. 8) PAJHS, Vol. 20, pp. 147-8. 9) AZDJ, 1839, p. 159. 10) Ibid. May 25, 1839. 11) Quoted in Masserman and Baker, supra, p. 136. 12) Historia Judaica, Edited by Guido Kisch, vol. 6, No. 1. 13) See Note 11. 14) *Deutsch-Amerikanische Skizzen fuer Juedische Auswanderer und Nichtsauswanderer, Leipzig,* 1857, p. 23. 15) Quoted in Meites, supra, p. 40. 16) Isaac M. Wise, *Reminiscences,* Cin. 1901, p. 38. 17) *Chicago Journal,* Nov. 14, 1899, p. 5. 18) *History of the Jewish People,* Margolies and Marx, p. 694. 19) *The Jews in America,* supra, p. 202. 20) Masserman and Baker, supra,, p. 223. 21-23) Ibid. pp. 223-4. 24) Cf. J.D. Eisenstein, *Otzar Zichronosai,* and *The Founding of the Beth Hamidrosh* in PAJHS. Vol. 9; J.E., vol. 12, p. 367; Wiernik, supra, p. 225. 25) Horwich, supra, p. 112. 26) April 15, 1872, p. 4; AZDJ, 1872, p. 416. 27) Chicago Journal, Nov. 14, 1899. 28) Chicago Pinkas, supra, Hebrew section, p. 13. 29) J.A., Nov. 8, 1878. 30) Chicago Weekly Democrat, June 11, 1859. 31) Andreas, vol. 2, p. 447, (12,000); The Advance, May 27, 1868 (9000). 32) Cf. Hull House Maps and Papers, 1895, 91ff. 33) Ill. Staatszeitung, Apr. 15, 1872; AZDJ, 1872, p. 416. 34) R.A. May 4, 1901; AJYB, 5662.

CONFLICT AND STRIFE

1) Cf. Rufus Blanchard, *The Discovery and Conquest of the Northwest,* Chicago, 1830, p. 628. 2) Hull House Maps, supra, p. 91ff. 3) Ibid. 4) Wirth, supra, p. 203. 5) See, Hull House Maps, op. cit. 6) Quoted in Wirth, supra, p. 205

7) Horwich, supra, p. 131ff. 8) *The Occident* (Phila), Sept., 1846; Dec., 1845; April, May, June 1847; *Asmonean*, Nov., 1894. 9) *Israelite*, May, 1851; Aug., 1863. 10) *Jewish Messenger*, Apr. 18, 1870. 11) *Israelite*, June 17, 24, July 1, 1870. 12) See, *AMOPTEIL*, vol. 2, p. 161. 13) *Hebrew Leader*, June 10, 1881 14) *American Hebrew*, June 23, 1882. 15) Hebrew Leader, June 28, 1882. 16) *Neuzeit*, May 25, 1882. 17) *Israelite*, Sept. 1872. 18) Quoted in Meites, p. 133. 19) Chicago Weekly Democrat, June 11, 1859. 20) Chicago Journal, Nov. 14, 1899. 21) *Archives Israelites*, 1866, p. 241. 22) Ibid. Oct. 1, 1873, p. 607. 23) Quoted by Korey, supra. 24) Charles S. Bernheimer, *The Russian Jew in the U.S.*, p. 135ff. 25) Dr. Hirsch assisted the East-European Jews whenever possible. 26) *AMOPTEIL*, Vol. 1, p. 278. 27) *Die Deborah*, April 4, 1856. 28) Ibid. 29) *Israelite*, vol 24, p. 118. 30) Letter by Leopold Mayer to Bernhard Felsenthal, quoted in Emma Felsenthal, supra, p. 98. 31) R.A. June 25, 1896. 32) Abrams, supra. 33) *Jewish Advance*, August 12, 1881. 34) Ibid. Aug. 19, 1881.

SABBATH AND RITUAL OBSERVANCE

1) Quoted in Meites, p. 45ff. 2) Ibid. p. 40. 3) Solomon, supra, p. 16. 4) Mayer, op. cit. 5) *AMOPTEIL*, vol. 2, p. 214. 6) Zwee Shimon Album, *Sefer Divre Emes*, vol. 2, p. 72. 7) The analysis is based on a study made by Dr. Kaplan. That Sabbath observance became a vexing problem can be seen from the resolution passed in Cincinnati, October 6, 1859. See *Hist. of the Jews in the U.S. by Shappes*, p. 392ff. 8) Mayer, op. cit. 9) Solomon, supra, p. 16. 10) Cf. Album, op. cit. 11) *AMOPTEIL*, vol. 2, p. 214. 12-21) Album, supra, p. 54ff. 22) Abrams, supra. 23) Ibid. 24) *M.O.S.*, May 15, 1886. 25) Ibid. 26) Abrams op. cit. 27) Cf. *U.J.E.*, vol. 6, p. 241.

THE HOME, THE YOUNGER PEOPLE, THE WOMEN IN THE COMMUNITY

1) Joseph H. Hertz, *Book of Jewish Thoughts*, p. 11. 2) Mayer, op. cit. 3) Ibid. 4) *Israelite*, Sept. 30, 1859. 5) Hamaggid, vol. 6, p. 244. 6) Daily Democrat, June 14, 1851. 7) Cf. Morris A. Gutstein, *The Literary Societies in Chicago in the 19th Century (Ms.)*, Paper read at 50th Annual Conference of A.J.H.S. 8) *Chicago Israelite*, Dec. 14, 1907. 9) Mayer, op. cit. 10) *The Literary Societies*, op. cit. 11) Ibid. 12) J.A., July 8, 15, 1881. 13) Solomon, supra, p. 38ff. 14) Cf. Grinstein, supra, p. 194ff. 15) *Literary Societies*, op. cit. 16) Ibid. 17) Sabbath Visitor, July 1, 1892, p. 67. 18) See List of constituent organizations in First Annual Report of U.H.R.A., 1860. 19) *R.A.*, May 4, 1901, p. 305. 20) *J.A.*, May 23, 1879. 21) *Literary Societies*, etc. op. cit. 22) Emma Felsenthal, supra, p. 41ff. 23) *J.A.*, Nov. 22, 1878. 24) *Literary Societies*, op. cit. 25) *J.A.*, Dec. 13, 1878. 26) *R.A.* March 24, 1892; *Sabbath Visitor*, May 20, 1892, Oct. 7, 1892. 27) *J.A.* Nov. 15, 1878. 28) Ibid. Oct. 23, 1879. 29) *Literary Societies* etc. op. cit. 30-31) Ibid. 32) J.A., Aug. 8, 1879. 33) Ibid. Jan 17, 1879. 34-37) *Literary Societies*, etc. op. cit. 38) *Sabbath Visitor*, Dec. 2, 1892. 39-41) Ibid. 42) Meites p. 549ff. 43) Bregstone, supra, p. 49ff. 44) Meites, p. 44. 45) *AMOPTEIL*, vol. 2, p. 196ff. 46) Meites, p. 186. 47) *The American Jewess*, vol.

1. No. 1. 48) See Appendix. 49) R.A., Jan. 27, 1894. 50) Ibid. 51) See "Judaica."

THE JEW AND HIS NEIGHBOR

1) Meites, p. 55. 2) *The Advance*, May 21, 1868; *The Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 8, 1878. 3) *Archives Israelite*, 1868, 9. 409. 4) *Revue Israelite*, 1870-71, p. 67. 5) *Hazefirah*, 1880, p. 12. 6) *Zeitgeist*, April 15, 1880. 7) *J.A.* May 21, 1880. 8) Emma Felsenthal, supra, p. 316. 9) Ibid., p. 311ff. 10) *Chicago Republican*, Feb. 28, 1869; *Chicago Evening Journal*, Jan. 26, 1869, *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 17, Mar. 11, 1869. 11) *La Presse Israelite*, 1869, p. 478; *Archives Israelite*, 1869, p. 424; *Revue Israelite*, 1870-71, p. 761. (The publications refer to the *Chicago Times*) 12) *Ill. Staatszeitung*, Aug. 21, 1879. 13) Cf. Mayer, supra. 14) *Annual Report of U.H.R.A.*, 1869. 15) Ibid. A letter concerning a Christian lady from Hamburg appears in the report which states: "I made vain attempts to have her admitted to the various Catholic and Protestant Hospitals, but was in all cases refused." The only hospital that admitted her was the Jewish Hospital. 16) The press reported collections at Zion and K.A.M. for the victims of Yellow Fever. 17) *J.A., vol.* 1, Nov. 26, 1878. 18) Ibid. 19) Ibid. Oct. 7, 1881, p. 2. 20) Ibid. 21) Meites, p. 164. 22) Ibid., p. 162. 23-24) Ibid. 25) J.E., vol. 4, p. 26. 26) Ibid. 27) Meites, p. 162. 28) Cyrus Adler, *I Have Considered The Days*, p 171. 29) Ibid. 172ff. 30) Meites, p. 176. 31) R.A. Aug. 26, 1893, p. 20. 32) See, Appendix for complete program. 33) Meites, p. 699ff. 34) See, *Judaism at the World's Parliament of Religions*, compiled by Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1894. 35) R.A., Sept. 2, 1893. p. 37. 36) Ibid. The Biblical quotation was the motto of the Parliament of Religions. 37) *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 28, 1893. 38) See Appendix. 39) R.A. Spet. 30, 1893 (Editorial). 40) Ibid. 41) Ibid. Nov. 11, 1893. 42) Ibid. May 19, 1894. 43-44) Ibid. June 2, 1894.

WITH MALICE TOWARDS NONE

1) Jer. 29:7. 2) From letter by Theodore Roosevelt, quoted in *The Jew and Civilization*, p. 9. 3) H.E., vol. 9, p. 105. 4) *Israelite*, Aug. 7, 1857. 5) *Chicago Dem. Press*, August 3, 1857. 6) Meites, p. 61. 7) *Israelite*, October 9, 1857. 8) Ibid. Vol. 4, p. 42. 9) Masserman and Baker, *Jews Come to America*, p. 166. 10) *U.J.E.*, vol. 7, p. 656ff. See letter of Dr. Mensor in *Israelite*, Aug. 27, 1858; See, Shappes, supra, pp. 385ff., 673ff. 11) *Israelite*, vol. 5, p. 60. 12) Markens, *Lincoln and the Jews*, p. 3. 13) Ibid. p. 25. 14) Meites, p. 84. 15) Ibid. 16) *Chicago Times-Herald*, June 9, 1895. 17) *Sinai*, July, 1862, pp. 158-63; P.A. J.H.S., vol. 9, p. 52 18) *Ill. Staatszeitung*, July 9, 1862. 19) Joshua 1:4-9. 20) Quoted in Meites, p. 85. 21) Markens, supra, pp. 27-8. 22) Simon Wolf, *The Am. Jew as Patriot* etc., p. 143ff. 23) Ibid. p. 164ff. 24) Andreas, supra, vol. 2, p. 233ff. 25) *Chicago Tribune*, August 16, 1862. 26) Cf. Wolf. supra, p. 164ff. 27) Meites, p. 90ff. 28-31) Wolf op. cit. 32) Both sermons are published in Herz's *Abraham Lincoln and the Synagogue*. Dr. Felsenthal's sermon was published originally in the *Staatszeitung*. 33) *Chicago Evening Journal*, May 2, 1865. 34) Quoted in Markens, supra, p. 42.

CARE OF THE NEEDY

1) Isaac Markens, *Hebrews in America,* p. 33ff. 2) Quoted in Herz, *Book of Jewish Thoughts,* p. 31ff. 3) *Occident* (Phila) vol. 12, p. 526. (Jan. 1855) 4) Cf. *First Annual Report of U.H.R.A.* 5) *Chicago Daily Democratic Press,* Sept. 2, 1855; Oct. 3, 1855. 6) Cf. Gutstein, *The Literary Societies,* etc. supra. 7) Cf. *First Report, U.H.R.A.* op. cit. 8) *Israelite,* Sept. 30, 1859. 9) First Report, op. cit. 10) *Israelite,* vol. 7, p. 182; Dec. 7, 1860. 11) Ibid. 12) Meites, p. 101ff. 13) Cf. *Chicago Tribune,* Oct. 23, 1866. 14) Meites, p. 104 15-17) Ibid, p. 102ff. 18) *Chicago Tribune,* Sept. 3, 1867. 19) Ibid. 20-21) Meites, p. 106. 22) The member organizations of the U.H.R.A. raised funds for the general treasury, or else did independent charity work, clearing it with the office of the U. H. R. A. 23) *Chicago Israelite,* Dec. 14, 1907. 24) The first reports (Israelite) were that the hospital patients perished in the fire. 25) The U.H.R.A. took exception to the fact that the B.B. took the initiative in the relief work. 26) The non-Jewish community was very cooperative. 27) See, Andreas, vol. 2. 28) Annual Report, U.H.R.A., 1880-1881. 29-30) Ibid. 31) In the cornerstone were deposited many documents and newspapers, among them some of the sermons by Drs. Felsenthal, Hirsch and Adler, as well as a Report of the Cleveland Orphan Assylum and a list of all Jewish societies in Chicago. 32) Meites, p. 145ff. 33-40) Cf. Ibid., and *Reports of U.H.R.A.* 41) *Chicago Israelite,* December 14, 1907. 42) Ibid. 43-45) *Reports of U.H.C.* 46) *The Young Men's Hebrew Association* is not to be confused with the *Young Men's Associated Jewish Charities,* which was founded later in 1906. Cf. *Chicago Israelite,* Dec. 14, 1907. 47-57) All the information is based on the book by Morris Fishbein, *Joseph Boliviar DeLee, Crusading Obstetrician,* N. Y. 1949, p. 50ff. 58) *Chicago Israelite,* Dec. 14, 1907, p. 25. 59) Ibid. p. 9. 60) *Report, U.H.C.,* 1895. 61-62) *Chicago Israelite,* Dec. 14, 1907, p. 7. 63-64) *Report, U.H.C.* 65) *R.A.,* Aug. 4, 1894, p. 442. 66) *Report, U.H.C.* 67) See Apendix. 68) Abrams, supra. 69) Bregstone, supra. 70) Ibid. 71) R.A., May 4, 1901, p. 366. 72) *Chiacgo Israelite,* Dec. 14, 1907, p. 9. 73) Ibid. 74) Meites, p. 195. 75) The Hebrew names of such charity organization were typically East-European in character. The earlier German-Jewish charity groups as a rule were called *relief societies.* 76) Eliassof, *Hist. of Jews in Ill.* in R.A., May 4, 1901, p. 359, 77) Chicago Israelite, Dec. 14, 1907. 78) Ibid. May 4, 1901. 79) Meites, p. 169. 80) Ibid. 81) This organization is not to be confused with the Alliance Israelite Universelle. 82) Sabbath Visitor, April 8, 1892, p. 395. 83) Chicago Israelite, Dec. 14, 1907. 84-85) Ibid. 86) Abrams, supra. 87) Bregstone, supra, p. 48ff. 88-89) Ibid. 90) R.A. Sept. 22, 1894, p. 73. 91-92) Bregstone, supra, p. 49ff. 93) R.A. December 9, 1893, p. 272; Feb. 22, 1894, p. 23. 94) *First Annual Report of Associated Jewish Charities,* 1900-1.

THE HOE AND THE ANVIL

1) U.J.E., vol. 3, p. 268ff. (article Colonies). 2) Isaac Goldberg, *Major Noah,* p. 189ff. 3) Gabriel Davidson, *Our Jewish Farmers,* p. 196ff. 4) Cf. *The Story of Jewish Agriculture in America, until* 1880, in *AMOPTEIL,* Vol. 1 p. 60ff

5) Ibid. 6) Meiets, p. 160. 7) *A. J. Y. B.*, 5663, p. 116ff. 8) Ibid. 8) Ibid. 9) Ibid. Cf. also *Our Farmers*, op. cit. 10) Cf. *AMOPTEIL*, vol. 1, p. 91ff. 11) *Israelite*, Sept. 30, 1859, p. 102. 12) *Chicago Journal*, Nov. 14, 1899. 13) *The Jewish Trade Union Movement* (1888-1938) by Herman Frank in *AMOPTEIL*, vol. 1, p. 109ff. 14) *The Clothing Industry and the Sweatshops* in "The History of the Jewish Labor Movement", vol. 1, p. 382. 15) Ibid. 16) One example of a prominent poet, who worked in a sweatshop was M. Rosenfeld. 17) *U.S. Manufacturing Commission, Reports on the Sweating System, Washington* 1893. H.R. No. 2309, pp. 92-4. Quoted in *Hist. of Labor Movement*, supra, p. 400ff. 18) Ibid 19) Translated from the Yiddish, quoted in Ibid., p. 401ff. 20) Ibid. 21) Charles S. Bernheimer, *The Russian Jew in the U.S.*, essay on "Economic and Industrial Conditions in Chicago" by A. Bisno, p. 135ff. 22) Ibid. 23) Application Records of O.S.M. 24-28) Bisno, op. cit. 29) Bregstone, supra 61. 30) Hull House Map and Papers, by Residents of the Hull House, Boston, 1895. 31) Meites, p. 468ff. 32) The exact date of the formation of this union is not definite. Meites gives 1888; Bregstone, 1892; Dr. Frank in *Hist. of Labor Movement*, op. cit. gives 1900 33) Bregstone, supra, p. 61.

JUDAICA

1) See "Synagogue Leadership" with reference to the background of all three men. 2) Emma Felsenthal, supra, p. 19. 3) The brochure was reviewed in *Sinai*, May, 1859, p. 111ff. 4) See, Grinstein, supra, pp. 97, 361ff, 506ff. 5) See, Index to Annotated Bibliography in Emma Felsenthal, supra. 6) Annotated Bibliography, supra #28. 7) A very scholarly essay written by Dr. Esther E. Rawidowicz was published recently in *Pinkas* Chicago. 8) Ibid. See also "Synagogue Leadership" in re: to Dr. Chronik. 9) This quotation is from Meites, who spells the name Chronik with a "c" at the end. 10) *Zeichen der Zeit* may not have been the first periodical of Jewish contents published in Chicago. The A.Z.d.J., May 7, 1867, p. 381, speaks of a weekly "Die Reform," published in Chicago under the editorship of Mr. J. Gruenhut. It was not possible to locate a copy of "Die Reform" 11) Dr. Fuerst was a German-Jewish Orientalist and Bibliographer. His point of view was rather liberal and critical. See "Juedisches Lexikon", Berlin 1928, Vol. 2, p. 850. 12) See text to notes 74-75 infra. 13) See note 10. 14) The *Jewish Advance* had a special German section, but it can not be classed as a German publication. 15) *Seventy-five Years of the Yiddish Press in America* (Yiddish) p. 9ff. 16) Meites and others give the date 1879 for the founding of this publication. But see Annotated Bibliography in Emma Felsenthal, supra, p. 314, where there is reference to an article by Dr. Felsenthal published in the *Israelitische Presse*, vol. 2, No. 42, Nov. 1, 1878. 17) See on Gersoni "Synagogue Leadership". 18) Cf. AMOPTEIL, Vol. 2, p. 181ff. 19) See note 16. 20) note 15. 21) *Occident*, Feb, 4, 1881: note 15. This publication is not mentioned in any bibliography. 22) *Seventy-five Years of the Yiddish Press*, supra, p. 19. 23) Ibid. 24) Moses Starkman, Chicago Yiddish Press, in Pinkos Chicago, supra, p. 76 (Hebrew) 25) It is regretful that a complete file of the *Courier* was not available to the author in order to make a complete analysis of this publication. 26) See concerning Wiernik,

U.J.E., vol. 10, p. 516. 27) Meites, p. 359. 28-29) Ibid. 30) See note 24. Concerning Zelikowitch see *U.J.E.* vol. 9, p. 471. Also Cf. A.J.Y.B., 5660, p. 277. 31) Meites, p. 360. 32) Meites states that the first publication of Liebling in Chicago was called just *Yiddisher Progress,* which was a weekly. Then it changed into a biweekly under the title *Yiddishe Presse.* But see bibliography of Yiddish Newspapers in Chicago in Starkman's article in *Pinkos Chicago* p. 73ff (Hebrew). 33) *Bibliography of Foreign Language Newspapers and Periodicals,* published in Chicago (W.P.A. Project). 1942. 34) Note 24. 35) Ibid. 36) *Hadoar,* Kislev 13, 5696, article by E. R. Malachi "L'Toldoth Ho-Itonoth Ho-Ivrith B'Chicago," pp 60-62. 37) Ibid. 38) See facsimile of first issue in Meites, p. 161. 39) Hadoar, op. cit. 40) Complete files of the *Hapisgah* are available in the library of the Hebrew Theological College of Chicago. See, article on Hebrew Press in Chicago by Prof. Hayim M. Rothblatt, in *Pinkos Chicago,* p. 35ff. (Hebrew) where an excellent account of the *Hapisgah* is given. 41) Ibid. 42) A complete file of the *Occident* is found in the Chicago Historical Society. 43) Ibid. A publication by the same name appeared in 1893, in Baltimore. Cf. A.J.Y.B., 5660, p. 275 44) The Maccabean lasted less than a year. See Meites, pp. 140, 143. 45) A. J. Y. B., 5702, p. 381. 46) Ibid. p. 382. 47) Sabbath Visitor, Apr. 21, 1893. 48) A.J.Y.B., 5702, p. 382. 49) Ibid., 5660, p. 278. 50) J.E., vol. 9, p. 616. It is interesting to note that the A. J. Y. B., 5660, fails to mention this publication. 51) In J. E. Ibid., this periodical is described as "scientific, religious, Zionistic." 52) Cf. *The Literary Societies,* supra. A copy of *The Hebrew Student* is found in the library of the Chicago Hist. Society. According to Hannah Solomon, supra, the journal of the Zion Literary Association was known as "Zion Lit" and was "a carefully prepared news journal that was presented at each meeting." 53) The collection was called "Nur Hinauf." See, Emma Feslenthal, supra, Annotated Bibliography No. 16. 54) The hymns in the second edition were published in German and English texts. 55) A number of editions appeared of the book. Subsequently it was replaced by the *Union Hymnal.* 56) See advertisements of Bloch Pub. Co. in R.A. 57) Ibid. 58) See Jastrow's prayerbook and others. The prayers before the open Ark and before the Kaddish in one of the traditional prayerbook with and English translation, published in the latter part of the century, are in German. 59-70) Cf. Ephraim Deinard, *Koheleth Amerika* for bibligraphical data on all books mentioned. 71) The C.C.A.R. published collections of sermons. Cf. also *Sefer Ohel Moed* by Rabbi Lesser. 72) See advertisements in R.A. 73) Some of these sermons were incorporated in the volume "My Religion" by Dr. Hirsch, published posthumously by G. B. Levi, in 1925. 74) The title of this collection of sermons is taken from the book in Yiddish-German by the same name, also called "Teitch Chumosh." 75) Consists of 54 sermons, "one for each Sabbath of the year, with two additional ones for leap years." These sermons were culled from the original German sermons. 76) It was advertised in R.A. 77) It was a small booklet published by Max Stern, Goldsmith & Co. 78) Hebrew poems by other authors were published later in the *Hapisgah.* Cf. note 40. 79) Eliassof, Hist. of Jews of Ill., p. 369. 80) Text in Appendix of Hist. of K.A.M., supra. Title taken from Psalm 113:13. 81) See note 76. 82) Cf. U.J.E., Vol. 7, p. 343. 83) R.A. Sept. 9, 1893. 84) Cf. files of *Jewish*

Advance, Occident, and *R.A.* 85) E. Felsenthal, supra, Annotated Bibl. No. 134. 86) *PAJHS.* vol. 2, pp. 21-8. 87) See note 14 of "A Quarter of a Century." 88) In introduction, Felsenthal admits that the work was written solely by Eliassof. 89) *PAJHS.* vol 11, pp. 117-129. 90) Neither Eliassof nor Felsenthal can be accused of having been prejudiced. 91) Cf. Shappes, supra, pp. 306ff, 647. 92) See *Synagogue Leadership.* 93) Cf. Felsenthal, Annotated Bibliography No. 263: Deinard, op. cit. 94) See *The Romance of Zion* infra. 95) *U.J.E.,* vol. 6, p. 429. 96) See "Synagogue Leadership." 97) See files of R.A. 98) Cf. *Beth Hamidrash,* section in *Sefer Ohel Moed* by Rabbi Lesser and *Nimuke Ridvaz* by Rabbi Wilkowsky. 99) Cf. article by Leah Mishkin *Hebrew and Yiddish Publications in Chicago* in *Pinkos Chicago,* p. 79 (Hebrew). 100) See reproduction of title page among illustrations. 101-115) See Deinard, op.cit. 116) Otzar Yisroel, vol. 9, p. 308 ff. 117) Ibid. 118) This work was published in the early part of the 20th century. 119) Meites, p. 196. 120) See note 99. 121) See note 26. 122) Meites, p. 360. 123) Ibid. 124) See note 32. 125) Meites, p. 363. 126) Pinkas, supra, p. 81ff. 127) Ibid. p. 82; Leo Wiener, *Hist. of Yiddish Literature in the 19th century,* p. 118ff. 128) Meites, p. 357. 129) In Mrs. Mishkin's essay referred to in note 99, the names of the various publishing houses are mentioned.

THE ROMANCE OF ZION

1) *Hamelitz,* May 3, 1886, p. 502; See *Jewish Advance.* Sept. 16, 1881 concerning "Ahavath Zion Society" which collected $114 "for the promotion of agriculture" in Pal. 2) Very little is found in the Chicago press on this organization. 3) *Hamelitz, op. cit.* 4) Ibid. 5) *Hazefirah,* Feb. 17, 1896, p. 19. 6) Ibid. 7) See, U.J.E., vol. 10, p. 646ff. 8) Rev. Mr. Blackstone was interested in general in good-will movements, and his attempt in this respect seemed to have been a genuine effort to help the Jews. 9) See, Meites, p. 685, for complete text and signatures. 10) Ibid. p. 688. 11) Quoted in ibid. p. 167. 12) Meites maintains that as a reult of the Blackstone Memorial the Chicago *Hovevei Zion* group was founded. He is not right. See text and notes 1-5, supra. 13) Meites, p. 549. 14) See, Sketch of *Zionist Movement in Chicago* in Meites, p. 643ff. 15) Ibid. 16) As early as 1893, Felsenthal published an article in the *Jewish Voice* on the Palestine Question indicating Zionist inclinations. 17) Horwitch, supra, p. 231. 18) Ibid. p. 232. 19) Ibid. 20) *Die Welt,* Jan. 14 1898, p. 9. 21) Ibid. 22) Ibid. Feb. 4, 1898, p. 12. 23) Ibid. Mar. 11, 1898, p. 9. 24) Ibid. Apr. 22, 1898, p. 11. 25) Ibid. Sept. 16, 1898, p. 14. 26) Meites, p. 196. 27) Ibid. 28-29) Die Welt Sept. 16, 1898. 30) R.A., May 4, 1901; A.J.Y.B., 5660, p. 38 lists the following Zionist groups in Chicago: Dorshei Zion; Independent Order of Chovevei Zion; Knights of Zion; South Side Chicago Assoc.; and Zion Assoc. 31) Ibid. 32) *The A.J.Y.B.,* 5661 lists in addition to the above: Ohave Zion, est. 1897; L'maan Zion, est. 1897; and the following "Gates" of the K. of Z.: *Chicago Zion, Heroes of Zion, Doreshei Zion, Kadimah, Clara de Hirsch,* and *Herzl Literary.* The Gates were affiliated with the *Federation of Am. Zionists.* 33) Meites, p. 644.

THE JEW AND THE LARGER COMMUNITY

1) R.A., May 4, 1901. 2) Ibid.; Cf. Pierce, supra. 3) *U.J.E.* vol. 8, p. 62. 4) Ibid. p. 60. 5) Cf. artile on Music by Eugene Malek in Sentinel issue of 100 Years of Chicago Jewry, Aug., 1948, p. 28. 6) *Chicago Israelite*, Dec. 14, 1907. 7-13) Cf. Malek's article, op. cit. and *U.J.E.* vol. 8, p. 63ff. 14) Meites, p. 103. 15) Ibid. p. 407. 16) See early written reports in possession of author. 17) R.A. May 4, 1901, p. 386. 18) Ibid. 19) Ibid. p. 387. 20) Meites, p. 409. 21) Ibid. 22) Ibid. p. 154. 23) Ibid. p. 407ff. 24) Ibid. p. 409. 25) Ibid. p. 396. 26) Ibid. p. 398. 27) *Israelite*, Sept. 2, 1859. 28) R.A., May 4, 1901, p. 389. 29) Ibid. 30) Ibid. p. 390. 31) Meites, p. 393ff. 32) R.A. Sept. 9, 1893. 33) Ibid. May 4, 1901, p. 388. 34) Meites, p. 357. 35-38) Ibid. p. 355. 39) Ibid. p. 357. 40) Simon Wolf. *The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen*, 164ff. 41) Ibid. p. 143ff.; *Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 4, 1891. 43) Ibid. p. 141. 44-53) Based on section "Public Office" in Meites, p. 421ff. and newspaper reports.

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ERRATA

Page	*Paragraph*	*Line*	
19	2	4	Should read "*Indians*" instead of "Indianas"
20	5	1	Should read "1803" instead of "1830"
204	5	5	Should read "*group also reveals some interesting elements in synagogue life.*" instead of "group was not too rigid in enforcing this rule. If one was"
415	5	6	Should be inserted on Page 415, Paragraph 3, following Line 5.