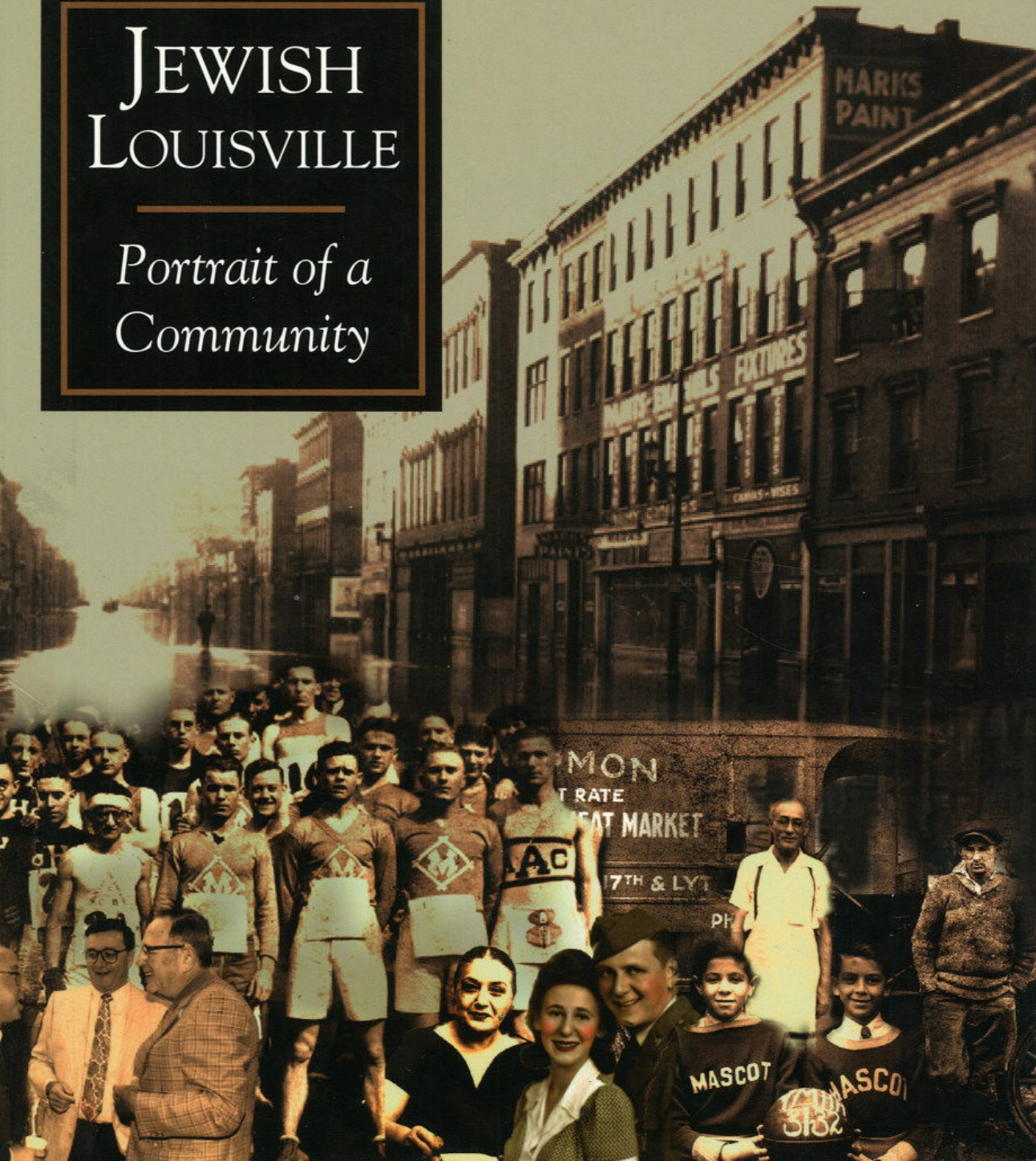
Jewish Louisville

Portrait of a Community




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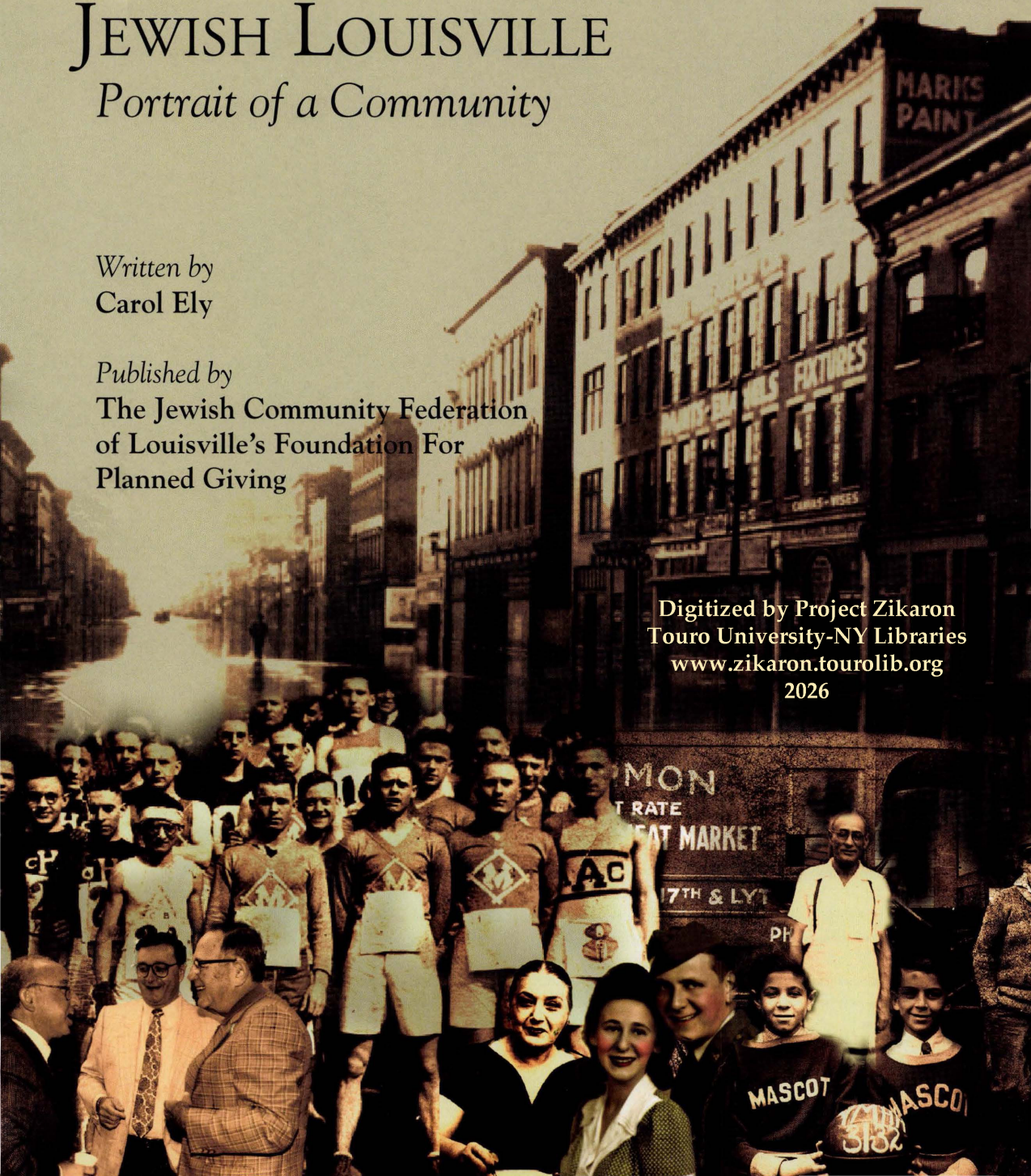
Jewish Louisville

Portrait of a Community

Written by
Carol Ely

Published by
The Jewish Community Federation of Louisville's Foundation For Planned Giving

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JEWISH LOUISVILLE

Portrait of a Community



Publication of this book is made possible in part through the generosity of the children and grandchildren of Charles and Marian Weisberg as a loving tribute to their memory.

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Introduction and Acknowledgements

Jewish Louisville: Portrait of A Community had its origins in the Jewish Louisville Heritage Day held in April 2001. This day-long celebration and month-long exhibit of Jewish Louisville's rich 200-year history provided a forum for the community to retell the story of the Jewish traders and merchants who originally settled in this area, and to recall the waves of immigrants from Germany and Eastern Europe who broadened the population – and its perspectives. We paid tribute to many Jewish leaders in the areas of business, religion, politics, social work, medicine and law – and to the families who helped build the vibrant, diverse Jewish community we enjoy today.

Many in the community stepped forward to work on the committees created to ensure Heritage Day's success, and even more responded to the call for photos and memorabilia. Scores of volunteers spent untold hours gathering material and compiling a huge amount of information. Their precious finds were placed in overflowing display cabinets that drew large crowds to the Jewish Community Center. Everyone involved in the effort quickly came to the same conclusion: unless steps were taken to preserve the resource materials, artifacts, information and anecdotes amassed for the occasion, all their hard work would have been for naught. It seemed prudent at that point to turn the community's energies toward creating a more permanent record of the past – and the present – of Jewish Louisville.

Several volunteers, led by Ruth Greenberg, Ph.D., agreed to continue the work they had begun as part of the Heritage Day project, and formed a Jewish Louisville Book Development Committee with the purpose of incorporating our collective treasures into a volume that would expand on Clarence Judah's early work, *Unity in Community*, and complement Herman Landau's beloved book, *Adath Louisville*, which has been the standard reference volume for this community since its publication in 1981. The Committee's goal was to record the totality of the Jewish Louisville experience – from its earliest days through the dawning of the 21st century.

Under Dr. Greenberg's leadership, members of the Committee spent countless hours interviewing and selecting writers, proofing copy, checking facts, providing direction to the author, and doing the leg work necessary to bring the project to fruition. They are to be commended and congratulated for a truly outstanding finished product. Those Committee members were Jerry Abramson, Edwin Baer, Linda Baer Goldberg, Marcia Hertzman, Herman Landau, Sonny Meyer, Milton Russman, Annette Sagerman, Ed Segal, Phyllis Shaikun, Shiela Wallace, David Weinberg, Morris Weiss, Jr., and Lee Shai Weissbach.

Carol Ely, Ph.D., has been a committed and accommodating author, and has spent a tremendous amount of time ensuring that this work is both historically accurate and truly reflective of our community's proud heritage. Her work is comprehensive, insightful and ultimately readable – a cherished volume for all to treasure.

The Jewish Community Federation's Foundation For Planned Giving embraced the Jewish Louisville book project nearly two-and-one-half years ago, and agreed to provide the funding and sponsorship necessary to move it forward. Without the foresight and commitment of the members of the Foundation's Endowment Committee, publication of this book would not have been possible.

Steve Shapiro graciously stepped forward to chair the Jewish Louisville Book Project Finance Committee, which

was charged with spearheading the tremendous financial, marketing, and sales effort for *Jewish Louisville: Portrait Of A Community*. Steve and his committee members, with extraordinary support from Frances Skolnick, Director of the Federation's Foundation For Planned Giving, and other Federation staff, recruited a major benefactor, sponsors, and patrons to underwrite production of the book. Thanks to their outstanding efforts, proceeds realized from sales of the book will be returned to the Foundation to further its mission to perpetuate the future of our vibrant Jewish community. Members of the Book Project Finance Committee included Alan Broude, Stuart Goldberg, Jessica Loving, Sonny Meyer, Marcia Roth, Maxine Rouben, Steven Sarfin, Michael Shaikun, Harry Shapira, and Helen Sweitzer.

The Foundation is grateful to everyone who supported this endeavor. We are especially indebted to the children and grandchildren of the late Marian and Charles Weisberg, who exhibited the same spirit of community and philanthropy so often associated with their parents and grandparents by stepping forward and agreeing to become benefactors of the book. Their support was crucial to the success of this project.

Valued artist C.J. Pressma, whose family has been an integral part of Jewish Louisville for many years, once more proved that both his talent *and* his heart are in this community by graciously agreeing to design the inspiring book cover. The resulting artwork conveys some important impressions about this book, and helps communicate much about its contents and its message. He has the heartfelt appreciation of everyone involved with this project.

Bill Butler, president of Butler Books and publisher extraordinaire, offered expert guidance on publishing, printing, sales, and distribution as the book moved from development, to draft stage, to finished product. His expertise was critical to making this book a reality. Many thanks also go to Jewish Community Federation Executive Director Alan Engel and Frances Skolnick, both of whom helped shape the vision for this "new" history of Jewish Louisville and provided leadership to keep the project focused, on time, and on track.

Jewish Louisville: A Community Portrait has been a true community project from the start, and a labor of love for many dedicated workers. The book is dedicated to everyone who helped to make it possible. As our generation passes the responsibility of telling our Jewish community's story to the next, we do so believing we have recorded a remarkable record of achievement of which they can be proud. We are pleased to share this work with the community and hope each reader will enjoy exploring and learning about the complexity, richness and strength of the Louisville Jewish community.



The "Israel in the Park" celebration, Jewish Community Center, Sunday, April 26, 1998.

PREFACE

The Foundation for Planned Giving of the Jewish Community Federation of Louisville and the community-wide Jewish Louisville Book Project Committees proudly present this history as a tribute to the individuals whose hard work and dedication helped to create the vibrant Jewish community we enjoy today.

Over the last 200 years, farsighted leaders established the organizations, institutions, businesses, and houses of worship that still enrich our lives. Throughout the pages of this book, you will read their stories and share the pride we feel toward the generations that have gone before us. As they provided for us, so we will continue to provide for our children and their children *l'dor vador – from generation to generation.*

Our Jewish community has consistently responded to communal needs in a spirit of unity and cooperation. Over time, we have been blessed with a variety of outstanding leaders who understood the meaning of *community* and the necessity of taking care of our own. The Federation, Foundation, and other Jewish agencies and organizations were born of their passion and devotion, and our revered leaders and community members – then and now – have given freely of their time and resources to guarantee a better life for us all. This history documents and celebrates their many accomplishments.

The early pioneers who chose to make Louisville their home laid the groundwork upon which others have built. Now it is up to us, the beneficiaries of their largesse, to continue supporting the Foundation for Planned Giving, as well as other local Jewish agencies and organizations, in order to ensure a future as full of promise as our past.

In Memoriam: Charles and Marian Weisberg



Publisher's Note: Charles and Marian Weisberg were an integral part of Louisville's Jewish community for many years. The members of the Weisberg Family – Frank and Barbara Weisberg and their children Nicole, Bradley, and Danielle; Ron and Elaine Weisberg and their children Michael Weisberg and Robyn and Ben Slen; Alan Weisberg and his children Brielle, Spencer, and Quinton — have chosen to honor the legacy of their parents and grandparents by making a generous contribution in their memory to help underwrite the costs of this book. They do so in the belief that Charles and Marian Weisberg, who devoted their lives to their family and to this community, would have supported the project as well. The following brief history of the Weisberg family is presented as a loving tribute to the memory of those two wonderful people.

Charles Weisberg was the son of Russian immigrant Samuel Waisburd, who deserted from the Russian cavalry in the early 1900s as a teenager and joined his brother in America. Renamed "Weisberg" at Ellis Island, Samuel began his life in Louisville as a tailor. There he met his future wife, Mildred Hyman, who was born in Louisville in 1893. The two married, started a small self-service grocery store at the corner of Campbell and Jeffersonville Streets, and lived above it. Charles was born May 9, 1919, and a daughter, Beverly, was born in 1929, but died tragically at age three. Many years later, Charles dedicated the Anshei Sfard pre-school in her memory.

An active member of AZA Chapter 107, Charles earned his lifelong nickname, "Pinky," as the result of a severe wind and sunburn that he suffered while traveling in a convertible with five friends to a national AZA convention. He graduated from Male High School, where he played drums, saxophone and clarinet in the school band, and was drum major and twirler for the marching band. Charles' musical quartet also won the state high school championship. Music remained important to him throughout his life.



Sam and Mildred Weisberg's grocery store.

Marian Jean Bierman, born in 1921, was the only child of Rebecca and Alex R. Bierman. Alex, born in 1893, came to Louisville from Evansville, Indiana, as a young man. He started out earning his living as a bicycle messenger for Western Union, and later began his own delivery company, servicing outlying areas of Louisville by pulling a wooden cart manually until he could afford a horse. Rebecca "Becky" Bass Bierman was born in 1902 in the Ukraine, and came to Louisville with her parents and maternal grandmother. Alex and Becky's store, Bass Supermarket at the corner of 13th and Walnut, was one of the largest groceries in that area.



The Weisbergs in the late 1930s

Marian grew up on Maryland Avenue in the Highlands. She graduated from Atherton High School, where she was in the HBT girls club ("Hags, Bags & Tomatoes"), and also performed on the radio.

According to Bertha Hyman, an aunt, "Charles fell in love with Marian the moment he set eyes on her." They married in 1941 at Adath Jeshurun Synagogue and flew to Chicago for their honeymoon. The honeymoon was cut short, however, when Charles received his draft notice and had to return home for induction into the U.S. Army.

He served in World War II from 1941-1944 in Italy, Sicily, and North Africa, and told stories about living in foxholes for months at a time, cooking in his helmet, and meeting frightened Jews in a small Algerian village. Charles even had an encounter with General Eisenhower. Wounded in action, he was awarded the Purple Heart and other distinguished service medals.

Charles and Marian's first son, Frank, was born on July 21, 1942, while his father was overseas. It was two years before father and son could meet. Their second son, Ronald, ushered in the New Year on January 1, 1946, and third son Alan arrived on Fathers Day, June 20, 1948.

After the war, Charles worked for his in-laws at Bass Supermarket. He and his father-in-law, Alex Bierman, began their days with 4:30 am forays to the Jefferson Street Haymarket to buy produce. They opened the store at 6:00 am, and returned home after closing at 9:00 pm.

In 1952, Charles and Lewis "Sonny" Bass, Marian's cousin, decided to go into business together.



The Weisberg men – Ron, Charles, Frank, and Alan – on a fishing expedition.

They pooled their resources and purchased a foreclosed house, then refurbished and sold it for a profit. Eventually the two decided to get their real estate licenses by paying a $5 fee and supplying affidavits attesting to their moral character, which in those days had to be provided by a single male citizen. Thus Bass & Weisberg Realtors was born. Since the partners could not afford a car, they took streetcars to show houses to clients. They could not afford office space either, so a family friend, Judge Laurence Grauman, provided free space above his law office at 5th and Jefferson Streets.

From 1959 to 1972, Marian and Charles Weisberg led two teenage clubs at the Jewish Community Center, Resnick AZA and Amitié. Marian loved her "Amitié girls" and was a mother figure to many of them. Both Weisbergs were mentors to numerous teens and taught them the values of community service, social responsibility, religion, fair play and personal integrity. Amitié girls and Resnick boys, as well as their sons' friends, were always welcome in the Weisberg home. Those who passed through the club system remember the Weisbergs with great affection and respect, and as important influences on their lives.

Marian Weisberg was an active member of Adath Jeshurun Sisterhood and Hadassah, and was honored by B'nai Brith as "Woman of the Year." She and Charles were known as fabulous dancers. Marian enjoyed playing cards with family and friends, and was a great cook and baker. Family was the center of Marian's world. She always made time for her children and their activities. The Weisberg family enjoyed fishing in Kentucky lakes and boating on the Ohio River with friends. In later years, Charles, his sons, and grandsons enjoyed many memorable fishing vacations together.

In 1979, Frank and Ron Weisberg bought Sonny Bass' partnership interest in Bass & Weisberg Realtors. The family real-estate company continued to grow and prosper, and grew to be the full service, multi-office Prudential Parks & Weisberg Realtors. In 2003, the company celebrated 52 years in business.



The Weisberg family. Top row, Frank and Ron; middle row, Charles, Marian, Barbara, Brielle, Bonnye, Spencer, Elaine, and Alan. Front row, Nicole, Michael, Bradley, Danielle, Quinton, and Robyn.

Charles Weisberg's successful real estate career spanned 32 years, during which time he received many professional awards and honors. He was also one of the founders of the company which later became Humana, Inc. After his retirement, he founded Charmar Galleries, Ltd., an antiques gallery, and was its president until he sold the business in 1998.

Charles Weisberg was a well respected leader, known for his philanthropy and for many charitable and civic activities in both the Jewish and the general Louisville community. He served locally and nationally on numerous Boards, including the Jewish Community Federation, the National Council of Christians and Jews, University of Louisville Board of Overseers, Bellarmine College, the Louisville Community Foundation, Channel 15, the National Boy Scouts of America, the J.B. Speed Art Museum, the Louisville Ballet, the Louisville Fund for the Arts, the Museum of History and Science, and Republic Bank. He served as president of the Jewish Community Center, The Louisville Board of Realtors, and the Kentucky Chapter of Certified Property Managers.



Ron, Frank, and Charles Weisberg after becoming partners in 1979.

Charles Weisberg has been described as one who saw the good in everyone. He was kind, sweet, and compassionate. He was a good friend and conversationalist, very creative and extremely charismatic. A close cousin said, "Pinky always had a sense of grace, of style, and of class."

Marian Weisberg was a thoughtful, nurturing, and loving person who gave freely of herself. She passed away on March 1, 1990, after 49 years of marriage, and is remembered as a wonderful mother, a caring and devoted daughter, a loving and supportive wife, and a cherished friend to many.

Charles remarried Marlene Schneider Trau Gould of Louisville, and maintained his community involvements until his passing on June 10, 2003.

Many have said that Charles and Marian Weisberg each represented the classic embodiment of the term "*mensch*." Their legacy continues on in the memories of their family, friends, and countless others whose paths they joined and whose lives they impacted.



Marian and Charles, mid-1980s.

Sponsors

The following organizations and individuals have chosen to sponsor *Jewish Louisville: Portrait of a Community*. Their generous support has helped underwrite the cost of publishing this work and make it possible to share the story of Louisville's unique Jewish community with the world.

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Jewish Hospital HealthCare Services

L'Dor Va'Dor — From Generation to Generation
May the continuity of Judaism in Louisville,
the United States of America, Israel, and the World be eternal
An Anonymous Family

Patrons

Louisville's Jewish community is special. Whether you are native to the city or a transplant from afar, you experience a sense of belonging from the first day you're here. Thanks to the philanthropy of the Patrons listed below, you will learn much more about Jewish Louisville in the pages of this book. Many thanks go to them for helping to make this project possible.

Dr. and Mrs. Berel L. Abrams
Karen Abrams and Jeff Glazer
Ronald and Marie Abrams
Madeline and Jerry Abramson
Dr. S. P. and Minx Auerbach
Marjorie and Allan Baker
Lewis "Sonny" Bass
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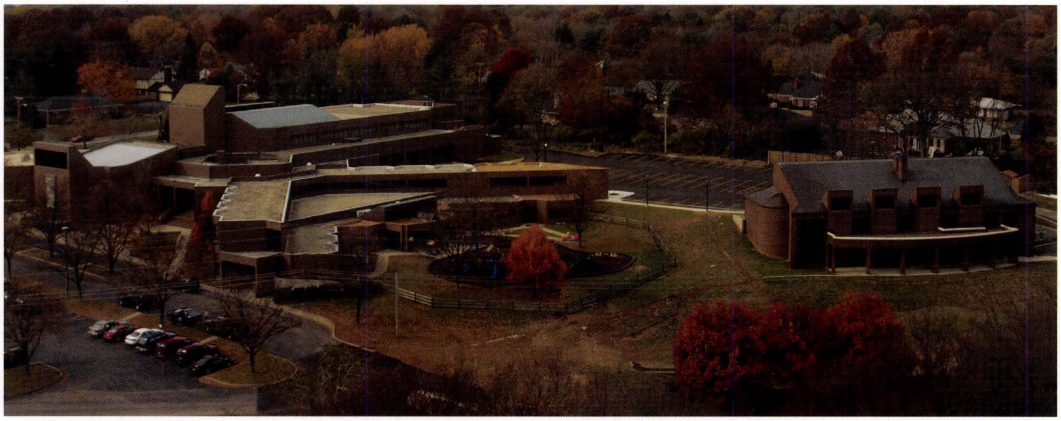
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Alice and Martin Welenken
William B. Yarmuth and Family
Heather and Lior Yaron
Iris and Phillip Yoffe
Betty and Alvin Younger
Ann and Nat Zimmerman

Author's Note

Over the past four years, I have had the privilege of working with scores of people in this community to make their memories first into an exhibit for the 2001 Jewish Heritage Day, and now into this book. This has been a collective process all along, and would not have been possible without the generous sharing of experiences, reminiscences, photographs, and ideas from such a wide group of people. This book belongs to all of them; and they all have my thanks.

This book also benefits immeasurably from the work of Herman Landau, who has been, for fifty years, the repository and the expositor of the Jewish community's history, first as a journalist, and then as the author of the first comprehensive history of Jewish Louisville, *Adath Louisville*, published in 1981 (he also assisted with Clarence Judah's history, *Unity in Community*, published in 1974). The present book does not attempt to duplicate Landau's work, which will continue to speak for itself. This book also benefits from Dr. Lee Shai Weissbach's innovative study of Kentucky synagogues, as well as his research, which creates a context for understanding Southern Jewish communities.

Thanks to the Jewish Community Federation's Foundation for Planned Giving for providing financial and logistical support, and to the dedicated Book Development Committee that reviewed drafts of the book and made suggestions that vastly improved, enriched, and expanded the text. The committee was chaired by Dr. Ruth Greenberg, who championed the project from the beginning. Frances Skolnick, Director of the Federation's Foundation For Planned Giving, provided thoughtful and well-organized support that brought all the diverse personalities and elements of the project together to produce a completed book. Steve Shapiro chaired the committee that secured financing for the project and made it a reality. My thanks to all of them.



Airview of The Temple campus in eastern Louisville. (Photo courtesy Dick and Bert Wolf)

My research would not have been possible without the foresight of many institutions and individuals who saved and preserved historical material, or who held on to cherished memories and anecdotes, and then willingly shared what they had. All those who helped are credited in the Bibliography and Sources section of the book.

Thanks are due in particular to the Jewish Community Center and its archival materials; to Marcia Hertzman and The Temple's archives; to the University of Louisville Archives and Photo Archives; to the Federation's Community newspaper and its editor, Sheila Wallace; the Filson Historical Society; the American Jewish Historical Society; and the University of Louisville's Brandeis School of Law, Brandeis archives. The Louisville Jewish community needs and deserves an archive of its own, a very worthwhile project for the future.

Steve Shapiro and Kate Latts each hosted parlor meetings, which assisted tremendously with information gathering and gave me valuable background and details of life in Jewish Louisville from the 50s through the 80s. Many individuals also responded generously to my requests for interviews and information.

Special thanks go to Peter Anik, Phyllis Shaikun, and David Weinberg for the extensive support they provided, and for all their hard work in collecting artifacts and memories for the Jewish Louisville Exhibition in 2001. Marci Rosengarten gave important assistance over the last year with interviews and compilation of the book's appendices.

A significant element of this book is the inclusion of oral history materials that were recorded on tape beginning in the early 1970s. Many will be surprised to see members of the community quoted here who are long "gone out Preston Street." The oral history tapes record the thoughts and memories of ordinary Jewish Louisvillians as well as important leaders. Another series of tapes was made in the early 90s, and this resource will grow more valuable through the years. In listening to the tapes, and in hearing the memories of other people, I have enjoyed "meeting" people who passed away long before I came to Louisville – Arthur Kling, Morris Simon, Izzy Goodman, Hilda Fox, and many more.

I have also developed a new appreciation for the architecture connected with the Jewish community, which I fear is too often disregarded – the magnificent, domed Adath Jeshurun building on Brook Street; the fine works of Joseph & Joseph architects, particularly the detailed Commodore Apartments in the Highlands; even the once-elegant, now derelict old Bernheim and Grabfelder warehouses of Main Street's "Whiskey Row." The current restoration of the Shapinsky Dry Goods building downtown offers hope for a new appreciation of these resources.

This book can never be an absolutely complete record of the activities of Jews within the Louisville community. Somewhere between thirty and fifty thousand Jews have lived in the city since the 1810s, with between thirty and fifty thousand stories worth telling – but I could not possibly include them all. So I have chosen representative stories, important stories, and compelling and interesting stories. There will inevitably be errors and omissions, despite all of our efforts. Memories fade, documents are lost, mistakes creep in. For all of those things, I apologize now.

My personal thanks also to go to David, Isaac, and Sasha, and to Pete and Marty, for living with this project for so long, with such grace and support.

—Carol Ely

CHAPTER ONE

Origins and Beginnings



An early view of Louisville's Main Street at Third, when the Jewish community was just beginning.

The story of Jews on the Kentucky frontier begins, appropriately enough, with the same story that begins the usual narrative of Kentucky history: with Indian traders such as Daniel Boone. But the Jewish version adds the question not always asked: who sent Daniel Boone to Kentucky? Whose idea was it to ask him to report back on the resources of this unknown territory west of Virginia? Boone and fellow explorers went on several missions with different objectives, but several of Boone's were commissioned and paid for by Jewish merchants looking to expand their markets into the new lands. These Jewish merchants themselves represented the farthest-flung outposts of European trading families (mainly German and English), putting out tentative feelers in the new world. These families were themselves barely established in East Coast cities such as Richmond, Virginia, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

At the time of the American Revolution there were still just a handful of Jews in Virginia (of which Kentucky was still a part), mainly in the capital city of Richmond. Jacob Cohen, who had immigrated from Oberdorf, Germany, and Isaiah Isaacs, from Frankfort-am-Main, via England, became business partners dealing in merchandise and real estate. In 1781, anticipating the end of the war with England that would open up new territory for American expansion, Cohen & Isaacs hired Boone for a survey in the Kentucky region of Virginia. They paid him an advance of £6. Their receipt for the transaction was written in anglicized Yiddish: "Recit fun Kornel Bon for 10000 agir lanit," meaning "receipt of Col. Boone for 10,000 acres of land." They later commissioned him to report back on explorations in the Licking River area.[1] Boone wrote that he had located good lands and was sending a messenger to get the money from "Mr. Jacob Cohons":

> *I will bee acountable for any money put into his hands inless kild by the Indins. The hole a mount, I think, is £22 10s. 8d. 2/2. Your land lyes on Lickeng Rever, on the south side, a bout 50 milds from the Ohigho by water, and a bout 20 by land. Large bouts may come up to your doore.*[2]

Joseph Dinkelspiel, one of the founders of Adas Israel.

The merchant house of Bernard & Michael Gratz of Philadelphia, a well-established family in America's largest Jewish community in the post-Revolutionary War years, outfitted Louisville's founder George Rogers Clark on his expeditions to Kentucky. Their goods were shipped through a small trading port they set up on the Kentucky River – now Gratz, Kentucky, in Owen County. Michael's son, Benjamin Gratz, followed the goods west and arrived in Lexington in 1819, encouraged by a fellow Philadelphian named Salomon who had been doing well as a storekeeper in Harrodsburg. It was noted that "Gratz at first had religious scruples about breaking the Sabbath, but Salomon told him to put his Sabbath and his phylacteries in his *Talith* bag and throw them behind him." Though he married a Christian woman, and founded a prominent Lexington family, Gratz "never threw his religion away entirely," reportedly continuing to attend High Holiday services when they were available. By 1826, the partnership of brothers Simon and Hyman Gratz was doing business with Louisville merchants.[3]

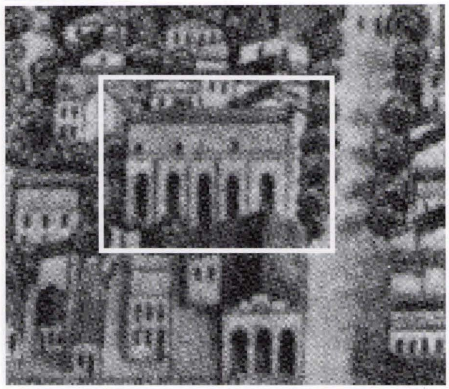


Life on the Kentucky frontier was a challenge to Jews because of the lack of a community that could provide the expected and necessary conditions for an observant life: religious services, burial, *mikveh* (ritual bath), and especially, kosher food. Companionship and marriage were difficult in a territory that initially was settled by young men (including both the Jews and other

settlers). The first historian of Kentucky Jewish life, Lewis Naphtali Dembitz, wrote in 1898 about these first Jews: "Whoever came, came singly, found no one to pray with, and what is more, no one to mate with."[4]

The first Jews who came to the region were forced to modify their definition of what constituted a Jewish life, but many of them retained vestiges of Judaism for themselves, if not for their families. Others used Kentucky towns such as Louisville as way-stations to a larger community and a Jewish life elsewhere. American individualism was also a powerful force working against the kind of cohesive, mutually interdependent Jewish communities common in Europe. It took several decades of exploration, settlement, and both in-migration and out-migration for a critical mass of Jews to gather and form a community. Once the people in Louisville were sufficient to form a kind of cultural net, with at least the minimal amenities of Jewish life, they could catch and hold the other Jews passing through.

Louisville had grown slowly in the first few decades after its settlement at the Falls of the Ohio in the 1770s. Although the town was ideally positioned for trade, there were few settlers on the Western waters and few farmers in inland Kentucky to trade with. Several towns at the Falls on both the Kentucky and Indiana sides of the river competed for the portage trade as boats navigated the Falls down the Ohio from Pittsburgh to New Orleans. Several factors led to the explosive growth of Louisville in the early 19th century, including the acquisition of the port of New Orleans from France in 1803, which allowed goods to and from Europe to travel on American-controlled waters deep into the heartland; the growth of agriculture in inland Kentucky; the arrival of the steamboat in 1811, which made traveling upriver as easy as traveling down; and the opening of the Louisville-Portland Canal in 1830, which allowed boats to bypass the treacherous Falls and ended the competition of the Falls cities by marginalizing rivals Shippingport and Portland. After a brief economic crisis in the late 1830s, when the city's merchants had to adjust to the rapid changes in transportation and commerce, the city boomed during the 1840s. It was, according to French visitor Alexis de Tocqueville, "the entrepot for almost all the goods that go up the Mississippi to provide for emigrants."[5]



A view of the first Adas Israel, on Fourth Street, taken from a bird's eye view map. Courtesy of Lee Shai Weissbach.

By the beginning of the 19th century, Louisville attracted young men, adventurers and entrepreneurs, and success was relatively easy for those who worked hard. Failure was also quite easy, for the nation's primitive banking and credit systems could not keep pace with the development of new business practices and industrial and technological schemes. Louisville was wide open to ideas and, as the gateway to western lands in the early years of the 19th century, attracted many immigrants looking for opportunity in the West. Some passed through, and some stayed – in this, early Jewish immigrants were no different from their non-Jewish counterparts. It was a restless, complex, and highly mobile society, composed of both native-born Americans from east of the Appalachians and new immigrants from Europe, especially France, and, increasingly, Germany and Ireland.

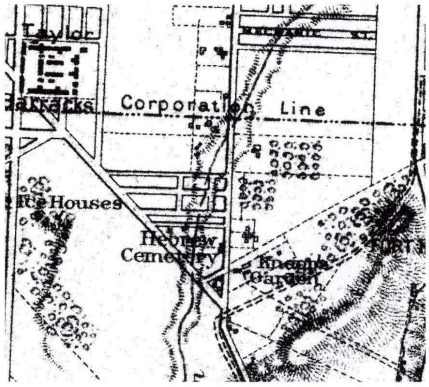
In 1830, Louisville boasted "the handsomest streets in the United States, and the best paved," with twelve churches, a poorhouse, hospital, a theater, a Masonic Hall, a market house, courthouse, prison, large free school, six sawmills, four grist mills, and even a manufactory of queensware.[6]

The presence of at least one Jew who remained loyal to his or her faith in Louisville in 1821 is shown by the evidence of death: in that year Cincinnati Jews bought a burial plot, which was usually the first step in organizing a Jewish communal structure, and reported that they buried three Jews from nearby Kentucky

"and paid all costs to bring a fourth from Louisville, 200 miles away" (by river).[7]

Commerce, not industry or agriculture, was the source of Louisville's growth in the 1830s and 1840s, to the extent that some business leaders worried about the need to diversify. One observed: "It is somewhat remarkable that this population has depended and still depends so entirely on commerce as a means of gain. No other city perhaps in the world has so large a commercial business in proportion to its population."[8] Main Street had become the center of wholesale trade, and Market Street was where the retail merchants were located. Often trading for country produce, small shopkeepers such as retail grocers, provision dealers, clothiers, and auctioneers offered the goods imported by way of steamboats coming downriver from Pittsburgh, carrying the manufactures of New England and New York, or upriver, bringing European goods from New Orleans, as well as the farm produce of Kentucky. This was exactly the kind of business environment that would attract Jewish settlers, whose reliance on trade and commerce gave them the experience to prosper.

Among the earliest known permanent settlers of Jewish background in Louisville was John I. Jacob from Baltimore, who married twice in Kentucky, both times to Christians. But as with other Jewish men on the frontier, it was said that: "He maintained his religion, and he always acknowledged it; though he may not have been as devout in his ritual worship as might have been desired." Jacob became one of the richest men in Kentucky, served as the first president of the Bank of Kentucky, and invested in real estate including "Jacob's Woods," which included much of the land south of Broadway near downtown. His house took up the entire block bounded by 3rd and 4th Sts. between Walnut and Chestnut. His son, Charles, who was raised as a Christian but acknowledged his Jewish heritage, would later become an important figure in Louisville's development.[9]

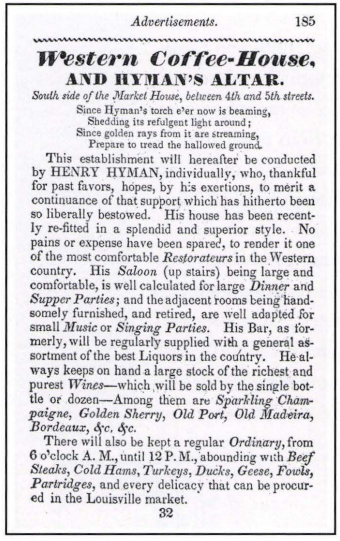


The original site of the Jewish cemetery, from a Civil-War era map.

Another early but temporary Jewish resident was Solomon Hunt, who was in the area by 1828. He came from New York, where he had married Rachel Cohen Peixiotto in the previous year (she may have had relatives in Louisville). Both were originally from Amsterdam. But Rachel and Solomon Hunt moved on–like many others, their stay in Louisville was brief and they made their permanent home in a community with a larger Jewish population.[10]

The Hyman brothers, from Berlin, were the first long-term settlers to maintain Jewish family life and foresee the possibility of an organized Jewish community. Henry and Jacob Hyman arrived in Louisville about 1814. A visitor to Louisville in 1830, Anne Royall, mentioned meeting Henry and wrote that he was a cousin of Mordechai Manuel Noah, a prominent Jewish leader in New York.[11]

Hyman, who had married his first wife, Catherine Hart, in New York City in 1807, was licensed as a tavern keeper in 1826. In 1829 he opened the Western Coffee House, picturesquely known as "Hyman's Altar," which was more a tavern and restaurant than a coffee house. Situated not far from the river on Market Street at 5th, it served the growing steamboat packet trade. When Catherine died, Henry married Eliza Levin, a Louisville Jew, in September of 1833. The family remained in Louisville until at least the 1850s. Henry's son or brother, Samuel, sold dry goods,[12] and members of the family also maintained a dry goods business near the Western Coffee House at Market and 5th, called Hyman & Hewes, in partnership with Daniel Hewes. Jacob Hyman & Co., Clothiers, was located at 25 Water Street in 1838 (Jacob was married to Esther Myers.) This large and active family seems to have provided the stability that the Jewish community needed to grow.[13]



Advertisements. 185

Western Coffee-House,
AND HYMAN'S ALTAR.

South side of the Market House, between 4th and 5th streets.

Since Hyman's torch e'er now is beaming,
Shedding its refulgent light around;
Since golden rays from it are streaming,
Prepare to tread the hallowed ground.

This establishment will hereafter be conducted by HENRY HYMAN, individually, who, thankful for past favors, hopes, by his exertions, to merit a continuance of that support which has hitherto been so liberally bestowed. His house has been recently re-fitted in a splendid and superior style. No pains or expense have been spared, to render it one of the most comfortable *Restorateurs* in the Western country. His *Saloon* (up stairs) being large and comfortable, is well calculated for large *Dinner* and *Supper Parties*; and the adjacent rooms being handsomely furnished, and retired, are well adapted for small *Music* or *Singing Parties*. His Bar, as formerly, will be regularly supplied with a general assortment of the best Liquors in the country. He always keeps on hand a large stock of the richest and purest *Wines*—which will be sold by the single bottle or dozen—Among them are *Sparkling Champaigne, Golden Sherry, Old Port, Old Madeira, Bordeaux, &c. &c.*

There will also be kept a regular *Ordinary*, from 6 o'clock A. M., until 12 P. M., abounding with *Beef Steaks, Cold Hams, Turkeys, Ducks, Geese, Fowls, Partridges*, and every delicacy that can be procured in the Louisville market.

32

In the winter of 1830, Henry Hyman advertised his new tavern:

> *The proprietor has the honor of informing the citizens of Louisville, his friends and the public, that he has taken the spacious three story Brick House on the south side of the Market....The House has undergone a thorough repair, and been fitted out in splendid and superior style, no expense having been spared to render it both comfortable and agreeable. His Bar is supplied with the most choice Liquors, of all description, and all kinds of Eatables, always on hand – such as Pickled, stewed, or fried TRIPE; SOUSED STURGEON; COLD BEEF; COLD HAM; OYSTER SOUP, &c. Any number of persons can be accommodated with SUPPERS on the shortest notice; HOT COFFEE constantly on hand....*[14]

Hyman did not attempt to follow Jewish traditions of *kashruth* in his offerings – ham and oysters were obviously not kosher - but instead followed the customs of the country and offered what his customers would expect and enjoy.

Hyman became a leader of the embryonic Jewish community, which took a step forward in the years before 1832 when they formed the Israelite Benevolent Society. Although the Society may have been in existence for several years, 1832 was the first year that a city *Directory* listing businesses, organizations, and residences was published. As was the pattern of many other new American Jewish communities, this Society was a charitable and mutual aid organization, but not yet a congregation.

Many, but not all, of the adult Jewish men who lived in Louisville in 1832 were members of the Benevolent Society. Many of them worked at similar occupations (dry goods, clothiers, auctioneers) near each other (Market Street, Main Street, 4th Street); some had intermarried with each other's families, and many had arrived in Louisville together. Many had ties with other American Jewish communities before they came to Louisville, primarily a group from Charleston who probably migrated together. Many moved on to larger Jewish communities in New Orleans, Cincinnati, and New York.

Appropriately, ten men were listed as officers of the Society in the *Directory*; unfortunately for posterity, ordinary members were not listed.[15] By cross-referencing with occupational and address listings (and through research in Louisville records and the records of other early Jewish communities by historian Ira Rosenwaike), we know quite a bit about who those men were.

The Society's president was Phineas J. Johnson, the Americanized name of a man born Phineas Israel in Portsmouth, England. Israel/Johnson came to America in 1817 and went first to Indiana, where he changed his name, perhaps believing that a too-Jewish name would be a detriment in business. Johnson was an auctioneer who took the oath required for his profession in 1831 in Jefferson County. His business was on the north side of Main Street between 5th and 6th, and his family lived on 5th between Green and Walnut.[16] This living pattern was typical of Louisville in the era – business on Main or Market paralleling the river and close to the Louisville Wharf, house a few blocks to the south.

Isaac Cohen Labatt, the vice president, was born in Charleston in 1804 and only briefly resided in Louisville. He died in New Orleans in 1870. He owned a clothing business on 4th Street between Jefferson

and Market, Myers & Labatt, in partnership with another Society member, Philip Myers, who served as the secretary. Myers was also listed with a grocer's shop, on the north side of Market Street at the corner of 7th.[17]

Like Labatt, trustee David Lewis, a clothier with a store at the corner of Main and 7th, also came to Louisville through Charleston. He had come to America, according to family sources, with Lafayette in 1777, and went to Charleston, where he joined the synagogue. His Louisville residence was brief, since he was in New Orleans by 1828, and died there in 1839. His son, Alexander Lewis, was also a clothier at A. Lewis & Co., 4th near Market. Alexander Lewis married Rebecca Powers (from Portsmouth, England) in Louisville in 1833, and they had several children. They eventually moved west again to St. Louis.[18]

Commissioner of Charity Noah Ellis, born in New York, was in Charleston in the 1820s like Labatt and Lewis, and married Esther Levin there (she may have been the sister of Jacob Levin, see below). The Ellis family spent at least twelve years in Louisville before moving on, also to New Orleans, where Noah Ellis died in 1867. Ellis, like so many in this group of early Jewish settlers, was a clothier with a business on the west side of 4th Street between Market and Main.[19] Several of these early settlers followed multiple occupations as the commercial diversity and population of the city expanded exponentially.

Treasurer Jacob Levin, born in London in 1802, was appointed auctioneer in Jefferson County in 1830, and promoted his business through an advertisement in the city's first newspaper, the *Louisville Public Advertiser*, which stated that "he has taken a House on 4th Cross between Main and Market Streets, for the purpose of attending to the AUCTION AND COMMISSION BUSINESS, in all its branches. He will attend to the sale of Goods, Furniture, Books, Personal, or Real Estate, either at his establishment or any part of the City." This location also housed his retail dry goods store. Levin advertised an auction for Friday evening, October 15, 1830 "at early candle-light," showing that Levin did not attempt to follow the traditional laws of the

This marker in Daniel Boone National Forest is the oldest Jewish burial in Kentucky.

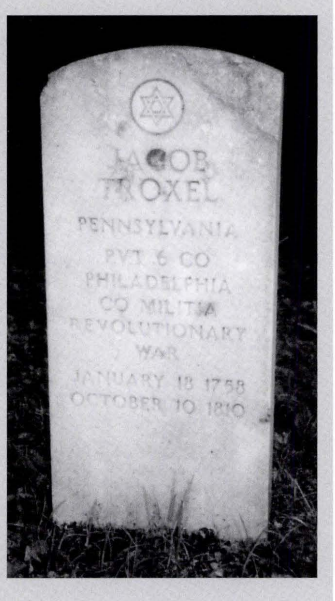
Jacob Troxel

This rather mysterious gravestone stands alone on a road in the Daniel Boone National Forest in McCreary County and may be the oldest Jewish burial site in Kentucky (he died in 1810). The star of David on the stone attests to Troxel's Jewish connections. Jacob's grandfather, Peter Troxel, was a Swiss Jew who migrated to Philadelphia in 1733. Jacob Troxel was born in 1757, and served in the Philadelphia County militia in the Revolutionary War from 1775-1779.

According to family stories, Troxel then traveled to Kentucky in the winter of 1779-80 as an Indian trader in the Cumberland region. He was known for his strength, size, and endurance, and was called "Big Jake." He was able to persuade local Indians not to join the Tory March to the Revolutionary War battle at King's Mountain, a colonial victory.

He married a Cherokee Indian princess, Cornblossom, daughter of Chief Chu'qualitague (called Chief Doublehead by English-speakers). They raised a large family. Cornblossom inherited the leadership of the tribe, with her power exercised through their son, "Little Jake." Half Jewish and half Cherokee, Chief Little Jake Troxel became notorious among the white settlers of the Cumberland River region. In 1810, he turned over his scalping blade to authorities with nine notches on the handle. Descendents of the family still live in the area today.[53]

(Thanks to Jack Benjamin)



Jewish Shabbat, which would have prohibited commerce. Levin moved on to Columbia, South Carolina.[20]

Jacob Emanuel, Benevolent Society Trustee, worked in the partnership of Emanuel & Barnett in 1832, selling dry goods on Water Street near 2nd. Either the partnership or the business was not successful, for in the 1838 City *Directory*, he is listed as an employee in Nathan Hart's store (Hart may also have been Jewish, but the evidence is not conclusive).[21]

Nathan White, a Charity Commissioner, was also in dry goods with a store on the south side of Market between 4th and 5th, and was also an auctioneer and commission merchant (a kind of wholesaler), licensed in 1834, with an auction room on 4th between Main and Market.[22] (J. Marks, also a Charity Commissioner, was not listed in the 1832 Directory, so he may have either just arrived in, or more likely, just left, Louisville.)

Had these ten men wished to form a congregation or even a *minyan* (at a time when only males over thirteen years old were counted for this purpose), there were probably at least a handful of other Jewish men in Louisville they could have joined with, based on the 1832 Directory listings and other clues. They included Moses Ellis, brother of Society member Noah Ellis, a clothier, who moved to New Orleans, probably with his brother; Joshua C. Peixotto (probably from Amsterdam), who resided in M. J. Ellis' household; Joseph Hyman, clothier; Samuel Hyman, who lived with, and was probably the son of, Henry Hyman, who married Isabella Emmett in 1830 and died two years later; his brother Henry Hyman, Jr., a lottery broker, who advertised his office on Wall Street between Main and Water in 1848 – "Tickets always available at this LUCKY OFFICE;" and Alexander Lewis, son of David Lewis.[23]



Abraham Tandler, who offered space and a Torah to the new Adas Israel congregation.

Other possible Jews for a minyan included: Joseph A. Barnett, the business partner of Jacob Emanuel; Joseph Kopman, dry goods dealer, from Savannah, married to Margaret Myers; Aaron Levy, grocer, Water between 2nd and 3rd; Lewis Levi, auctioneer, and Isaac Lyon, auctioneer. Twenty-two year old Lewis C. Levin, who was probably related to Jacob Levin, announced the opening of his school in January of 1830, "For practical, scientific, and classical education, in Mr. Overstreet's Corner building, Main street.... The public are respectfully informed that the exercises of this institution will commence... under the direction of the subscriber. The course of instruction pursued in this institution embraces all the branches of learning usually thought in the most approved seminaries. The government of the school will be mild, consisting solely of moral influence...." He listed as references a number of Louisville's (gentile) citizens. Louisville's educational system was weak, and many private academies were established by those with an Eastern education to meet the need for better schooling. Levin had a distinguished career; he later moved to Pennsylvania, where he would serve as a U.S. Congressman.[24]

Many of these Jewish men had wives and families whose names were not recorded. At least two Jewish women ran households in 1832, Mrs. Levin, probably related to Jacob and Lewis Levin, who lived on the west side of Center Street between Green and Walnut; and Mrs. Hyman, probably related to Henry Hyman, who ran a boarding house (this was one of the very few opportunities to earn a living that was open to women) at Water near 4th.[25]

Nearly all of these early settlers ran small businesses, most in clothing and dry goods, the almost universal occupation of early Jewish pioneers throughout the United States in the 19th century. "Those early settlers, and in fact, all people in former days looked on the Jew as a strictly commercial individual,"[26] wrote an observer in 1901. Rather than work for others, they formed partnerships and pooled resources in order to maintain a measure of independence. The Israelite Benevolent Society was another form of pooling resources, for charity towards the poorer among them, and to begin to form a community.

The dry goods business was thriving in Louisville, since the town was a major stopping point for provisions for migrants heading west. Dry goods wholesalers and retailers sold textiles for clothing and household use and related materials. In 1844, the city had three very large dry goods, auction, and commission businesses and sold to "a large number of country merchants from the south, southwest and western states, and the Territory of Iowa and the upper Missouri, and interior towns of this State, who, from experience, have found this market better and cheaper than any other point on this side of the mountains." There were also nineteen wholesalers and more than a hundred retailers of dry goods.[27]

A visitor noted the presence of Jewish merchants in an unflattering description of the riverfront in the 1850s: "Jew clothiers were numerous in the long row of buildings which looked down upon the levee. And a wild, dirty, bleak, windy, unattractive place that levee is – a steep bank sloping down to the edge of the river, with winding paths traced out [for] the carts to load and unload the steamers."[54]

Despite living on the margins of the Jewish world, unlikely to be able to meet the Jewish obligations of communal worship or study, without access to kosher food, a *mohel*, or a burial ground, these people began the process of organizing a Jewish-identified life by remembering the primary obligation of *tzedakah*. The first historian of Louisville's Jews, Lewis Dembitz, referred to them as assimilated and "lost to their race," and wrote that: "every name in this society represents a branch cut from the tree of Israel."[28] But on the contrary, the Benevolent Society represented the best they could do at the time to state their Jewishness and to practice what they could. While many of the members were indeed lost to Louisville, they were not lost at all to Judaism. Later in their lives, in larger communities, particularly New Orleans, many actively participated as Jews. A handful remained in Louisville, and one member of the Hyman family helped in starting a congregation later in the decade.[29]

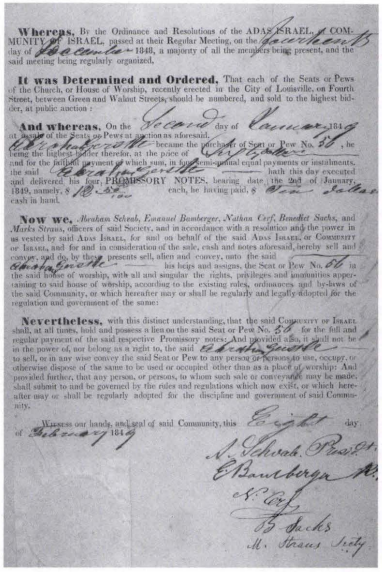
According to those familiar with the events leading up to the founding of a congregation and a communal structure in Louisville,[30] the impetus came with a new migration to Louisville from a different source. The members of the Israelite Benevolent Society had been children of the first migration to America – Dutch, English, and Sephardic (Spanish and Mediterranean) Jews. Many of them were born in America and spoke English as natives. But this new migration represented the outriders of the movement from Germany to America that would grow enormously in the next decade. According to Dembitz, "these, and nearly all those who came after them, remained in their faith."[31]

According to Isaac W. Bernheim, an immigrant from Baden who (among his other accomplishments) wrote a history of Jewish life in the Paducah, Kentucky, region, "Co-religionists, principally from Bavaria, Baden... and other South German States were found scattered along the Lower Ohio and its tributaries many years before 1850." Most were young and unmarried and went to the Midwest through New York and Philadelphia. On arrival in America, they were often helped by relatives. Those who were ambitious continued

west by stagecoach over the Alleghenies, then went by steamboat to Cincinnati and Louisville. "In these two cities respectable beginnings had successfully been made in the formation of Jewish congregations," Bernheim wrote, "and it was here that new connections were formed for commercial as well as social intercourse. Credit was cheerfully extended by their co-religionists, who already... conducted prosperous wholesale establishments." The immigrants scattered as peddlers and storekeepers.[32]

Sometime between 1836 and 1838, Dembitz wrote, three Bavarians settled in Louisville: B. Gettinger, A. Kahn, and Abraham Tandler. Others of Polish descent may have come at the same time, via Charleston. Here they found the early migration of "English" (or Sephardic-origin) Jews. Within a few years more south Germans came. By 1839, Nathan Bensinger, a shoemaker, had arrived in Louisville and lived on the north side of Market between Floyd and Preston. Two years later, he moved to the east side of 3rd between Main and Water and was listed as a tailor. He and his wife, Lena, were raising a large family, and in addition housed at least three servants or boarders from Germany. David and Bernard Wise also operated a store. By 1844, Abraham Gerstel (Gerstle) had arrived, and worked as a tobacconist with fellow Jew Moses Schwabaker in the firm of Gerstel & Schwabaker, on the south side of Market between 2nd and 3rd. He lived at the store. Simon and Elizabeth Bamberger, from Bavaria, arrived in 1841 or earlier.[33] These families were among the founders of the new community.

Before formally creating a new congregation, the Jews in Louisville sought each other out, began at least occasional worship together, and began assembling the components of an organized community. According to Dembitz, "they united in religious work, bought a graveyard, built a *mikveh*, and engaged a *shochet.*" Beginning about 1838, religious services were held in an upper room or rear room of Abraham Tandler's boardinghouse on Market Street between 2nd and 3rd. Abraham Gerstle served as the "*Chasan,*" or reader.[34]



Whereas, By the Ordinance and Resolutions of the ADAS ISRAEL, a COMMUNITY OF ISRAEL, passed at their Regular Meeting, on the [illegible] day of [illegible] 1840, a majority of all the members being present, and the said meeting being regularly organized,

It was Determined and Ordered, That each of the Seats or Pews of the Church, or House of Worship, recently erected in the City of Louisville, on Fourth Street, between Green and Walnut Streets, should be numbered, and sold to the highest bidder, at public auction:

And whereas, On the [illegible] day of [illegible] 184[illegible] at sale of the Seats or Pews at auction as aforesaid, [illegible] became the purchaser of Seat or Pew No. [illegible], being the highest bidder therefor, at the price of [illegible] and for the payment of which sum, in [illegible] equal payments or instalments, the said [illegible] hath this day executed and delivered his four PROMISSORY NOTES, bearing date the 2nd of January 1849, namely, $[illegible] each, be having paid $[illegible] cash in hand.

Now we, *Abraham Schwab, Emanuel Bamberger, Nathan Cerf, Benedict Sachs,* and *Marks Straus,* officers of said Society, and in accordance with a resolution and the power in us vested by said ADAS ISRAEL, for and on behalf of the said ADAS ISRAEL, or COMMUNITY OF ISRAEL, and for and in consideration of the sale, cash and notes aforesaid, hereby sell and convey, and do, by these presents sell, alien and convey, unto the said [illegible] his heirs and assigns, the Seat or Pew No. [illegible] in the said house of worship, with all and singular the rights, privileges and immunities appertaining to said house of worship, according to the existing rules, ordinances and by-laws of the said Community, or which hereafter may or shall be regularly and legally adopted for the regulation and government of the same:

Nevertheless, with this distinct understanding, that the said COMMUNITY OF ISRAEL shall, at all times, hold and possess a lien on the said Seat or Pew No. [illegible] for the full and regular payment of the said respective Promissory notes: And provided also, it shall not be in the power of, nor belong as a right to, the said [illegible] to sell, or in any wise convey the said Seat or Pew to any person or persons for use, occupy, or otherwise dispose of the same to be used or occupied other than as a place of worship: And provided further, that any person, or persons, to whom such sale or conveyance may be made, shall submit to and be governed by the rules and regulations which now exist, or which hereafter may or shall be regularly adopted for the discipline and government of said Community.

Witness our hands, and seal of said Community, this [illegible] day of [illegible] 184[illegible]

N. Schwab, Pres't.
E. Bamberger, Sec'y.
N. Cerf
B. Sachs
M. Straus Sec'y

Pew Deed, Abraham Gerstle, Adas Israel, 1849.

A burial ground was the next order of priority. The first death in this nascent community was a Mrs. Crumlin from Philadelphia–she was first buried in a Preston Street graveyard; then her burial plot was purchased by the congregation, and later would be donated to Adas Israel.[35]

In 1842, Louisville's (and Kentucky's) first Jewish congregation applied for a state charter as Congregation Adas Israel, "according to the form and mode of worship of the German Jews in Louisville." It was granted on January 12, 1843.[36]

The community government included the *parnas* (president), a treasurer, a secretary, and a *shammas* (translated as "keeper" in the charter). Initiation fees were set at $5, and annual dues at $6. By law, officers were required to be at least twenty-three years old and permanently resident in Louisville. The *parnas* was the authority, and could require members to attend funerals and *shiva minyanim* (home prayers with the families of the recently deceased), or be fined. Decorum was to be maintained: fines were levied if members "talked, left their places, or interfered with any of the officers during services." The funds they collected were, by charter, to be used only for buying land and erecting or repairing a synagogue, "relieving the unfortunate," paying salaries for a pastor, reader, keeper, and "*shocat*" (kosher butcher), and establishing schools.[37]

Nearly all of the founders of the first congregation were very recent migrants to Louisville–few appeared in the city business *Directories* of the 1830s. They came mainly from South Germany, and were more traditional in their beliefs and ideas than the larger wave of German immigrants who would arrive in the late 1840s,

including refugees from the failed revolutions, and adherents of the reformist movement within German Judaism. As the only congregation in the region, Adas Israel had to serve a variety of Jews from a variety of backgrounds – American-born, Sephardic, English-born, as well as Germans. Though the congregation would later become completely identified with the movement for reform in Judaism, in its origins it was a traditional congregation. The bylaws stated: "Those married contrary to Jewish law were expelled."[38] A *mikveh* was used, and men and women sat separately. Men covered their heads during services.

While the congregation considered how to raise funds for a permanent place of worship, the room at the rear (or the upstairs) of Tandler's store continued as the synagogue. At the first High Holiday services, Abraham Gerstle served as the reader, and a Mr. Strauss from Frankfort-am-Main was the lecturer. Abraham Tandler, who not only owned the space but had brought the *Sefer Torah* (Torah scroll) from Germany, became the first *Parnas*, President, of the congregation. When this space no longer served the growing congregation, a larger room was rented "uptown," with a Mr. Elsasser as "minister," and regular services were begun. This quickly proved to be too small, so an even larger space was found, probably at Main and Brook. Services were held on the second floor, while the sexton, Mr. Greenebaum, lived below.[39]

The 1843 city *Directory* located Adas Israel on the north side of Market Street at the corner of First, while the 1844 *Directory* placed it on the south side of the street.[40] Presumably the worshippers knew where to find it. Joseph Dinkelspiel was hired as minister and reader – "he being a better *Chasan* than Mr. Elsasser."[41] Though the *Directory* granted him the title "rabbi," Dinkelspiel was neither ordained nor trained. Dembitz was dismissive of his skills: "[I] saw him in 1851 and found him an ignorant *Shochet*."[42] Dinkelspiel, who came to the United States from Munchausen, Bavaria, about 1833, was in fact the *shochet*, or kosher slaughterer, for this traditional community, but perhaps Dembitz had unfair expectations – there were no trained rabbis in America at this time, and Dinkelspiel was a loyal member of the congregation for decades.[43]

By 1847, Adas Israel had seventy-six members, and rented rooms no longer sufficed for the growing congregation. The members voted to build a "Synagog." At the same time, the congregation bylaws were changed so that the officers now consisted of the president, vice president, warden, treasurer, and six trustees. The group also reaffirmed their commitment to traditional Judaism, ruling that "no one should be allowed to read the prayers or blow the *shofar* on holidays if he, on the Sabbath or on holidays, kept open his store, bought or sold merchandise, traveled, or in any way violated these days, or if he ate forbidden food."[44] This was unusual in American congregations, which generally avoided the kind of community proscription on personal religious observances that were common in European communities.

Fundraising for a lot and building continued through 1847 and 1848. By April, 1848, $1220 had been raised and the congregation decided to buy a lot on the east side of 6th Street between Chestnut and Broadway, with pews to be sold for a $50.00 minimum. The cornerstone was laid; however, many members thought the site was just too far from business and homes. After heated discussion, a new lot was found on 4th Street between Green and Walnut, two blocks east and one block north of the original site. Owing to the expense of this new location, pews now had to be sold at a minimum of $60. Building activity moved to the new site. "The Israelites are erecting a synagogue, and are at this time... unprovided with a teacher," according to the 1848 city *Directory*.[45]

During the 1840s, new ideas and changes seen as reforms to Jewish practice, originating in Germany, were arriving in Louisville. Traditionalists and reformers began to take opposing sides on issues of practice and custom – opposition that in the next few years would grow divisive. A suggestion was made that the new building include an organ, but others were appalled by this untraditional idea: "... one of the members threatened to burn down the synagog if an organ were put in." Rules of decorum were to be followed:

"Everyone is to sit in his seat in a modest and respectable manner to bear in mind that he is in the house of God where any indecorous or improper attitude is a sin," directed Article 2 of the Regulations of Order. Article 5 forbade "all the shaking, bowing, jumping, and all other misbehaviors."[46]

Congregation Adas Israel finally achieved its first permanent home, the first synagogue built in Kentucky, consecrated in January 1849. The structure, a "frame house sitting back about fifty feet from the pavement, was well elevated, and reached by a double flight of stairs."[47] Three years later, an early history of Louisville considered it "...the most elegant building in the city."[48] The congregation was estimated to have about seventy-five members – although that number only included the adult male congregants; so the congregation probably included at least two hundred individuals. The 1848 *Louisville Directory* includes an entry for Isaac Levy, "Jewish Rabbi," who lived on 7th Street. There is no other information about him, although he was almost certainly not an ordained rabbi. Did he serve the congregation briefly as a leader? Was he a community member serving in that capacity, or someone brought from out of town who did not stay?

At that time, Louisville's religious diversity was growing. The three Catholic churches already had about six thousand members. The largest of the many Protestant denominations were the three Evangelical Union churches, with over a thousand members, and the seven Methodist Episcopal churches, with 1,720 members. The city also had Baptist, "Christian," Episcopal, Baptist "People of Color," Methodist, Lutheran, Presbyterian, "Society of the New Church," Unitarian, and Universalist churches.

Philadelphia Rabbi Isaac Leeser, on a lecture tour of the United States visiting emerging Jewish communities, visited Adas Israel in December of 1851 and was asked to deliver a sermon there. He described it as "a beautiful building having a pretty portico and a convenient arrangement within," but stated that unfortunately it was not well built, and he predicted that it would need repairs soon. "This is much to be lamented," he wrote, "as the congregation have made great efforts to erect a structure worthy of themselves." The interior featured a "ladies' gallery." He estimated the membership at about one hundred and twenty, but he observed more people than that at services, perhaps drawn by his lecture.[49] Pews in the new synagogue had been sold by auction, with more desirable pews attracting higher bids. The community's hierarchy of wealth was thus displayed in the physical layout of the sanctuary each week for all to see and observe. Leeser also noted during his visit that Mr. Gotthelf, the acting rabbi, "enjoys the confidence of his constituents," and added that "A school for religious education is much wanted at Louisville, and we have no doubt but due efforts will be made before long to establish one on a permanent footing."[50]

During this first year, 1849, the rules of conduct for members were strengthened, and a choir was formed of boys and girls aged nine to twelve. The congregation advertised for a new *Chasan* (cantor, or reader), and began examining the need to establish a school. There were problems with *shechitah* (kosher slaughtering), and the reliability of kosher butchers was much discussed by the Board. The congregation carried on all the communal functions, from education, to assuring *kashruth*, to maintaining the *mikveh*, visiting the sick, burying the dead, and, of course, *tzedakah*. Generosity to those in need was important to the congregation, which not only made donations to the poor of the Louisville Jewish community, but also sent money to New Orleans to aid yellow fever victims, made "donations to Jerusalem through Sir Moses Montefiore," and in addition "donated $119.75 to two strangers who had lost their wares in a steamboat fire," a typical calamity in an Ohio river city.[51]

By September 1849 the congregation had hired B. H. Gotthelf from Philadelphia as the *Chasan* and teacher, charged with starting a day school to teach Hebrew, German, English, religion, and elementary studies, much like the secular and church academies that educated most upper-class and middle-class Louisvillians in the 19th century.

Changes in the congregation were already evident by October 1849, when "it was resolved to conduct the business and keep the records in the German language." Given the large influx of German Jews to Louisville during the 1840s, this may be seen as inevitable, but it can also be interpreted as a conflict between the traditional faction, many of whom were American or English born, and the reformist intellectual faction, many of whom were recent immigrants from Germany who were fiercely proud of their language and culture. They chose German over English, showing a desire to hold on to their culture in the face of potential assimilation. They chose German, which was the language of reform and German nationalism, over Yiddish, which represented to them the traditional isolated "shtetl" (village) community and the language of the "Polish" Jews who also had settled in Louisville and were part of the congregation as well.[52]

Although storms were brewing within the congregation that would soon lead to a permanent split, by 1850, Louisville's Jewish community was established. A beautiful synagogue, a communal structure serving all the community's needs, a planned school, all were supported by an established merchant class based on Market Street, whose numbers were daily swelled with new immigrants from Germany and from other parts of the United States and Europe. Jews were accepted by their neighbors, and had become an integral part of the economy of commercial, expanding Louisville.

ADATH ISRAEL FOUNDERS
(occupations and addresses from the 1848 Directory):

Henry Maier Rosenthal
David Wise
Abraham Gerstle
Henry Goodman
Abraham Weil
Nathan Bensinger, Clothing Merchant, 177 Water between 3rd and Wall
Henry Bissenger
Jacob Wursburger, (Wuertzberger), Wholesale and Retail Merchant, northeast corner Jefferson and Floyd
Moses Schwabacher
Sigmund Ullman, (Samuel), Merchant, Market between 5th and 6th
Abraham Schloss
Judel Backrow, (John), Merchant, Corner of 7th and Market
Emanuel Stern
Sampson Gundelfinger
Henry Lieber
Fais Mark
Leon H. Weishart
Nathan Cerf
Jacob Hyman, Clothier, 470 Market between 3rd and 4th
Bernard Effenheim
Henry Selliger
Abraham Tandler, Merchant, Market Street between 3rd and 4th, home 621 Main between First and Brook
Joseph Greenbaum (Joseph is not listed, but Michael Greenbaum is a peddler and Louis is a cigarmaker)
Emanuel Bamberger, Merchant, 412 Market between 4th and 5th
Mathias Zahl
Isaac Bamberger, Merchant, 462 Market between 3rd and 4th
Theodore Hausah
Isaac Roggesburger (Roggenburger), merchant with Roggenburger and Brothers, 60 Market between 3rd and 4th – his brother/partners lived in Oxford, Mississippi, Philadelphia, and Coffeeville, Mississippi
Maier Kraft, Merchant, southeast corner of Market and 8th
Elias Hilp
Benas Marx, (or Marks), Clothing Merchant, Market between Brook and Floyd
Simon Drumm
Wolf Stepacher
Simon Bamberger, Merchant, 521 Market between 2nd and 3rd
Isaac Gumperts

CHAPTER TWO

The German Era:
Minhag America



Cave Hill gravestone of members of August Willich's 32nd Indiana Regiment.

To a large extent, the nature of the Jewish community of Louisville was set with the German immigration of the mid-19th century. Business-minded, politically liberal, inclined to reform practices in religion, and interested in being part of the wider community, these Jews founded religious and social institutions and a downtown business presence primarily in the dry goods trade. They faced violence against immigrants in the form of the 1850s "Know-Nothing" riots and the challenge of identifying with both segments of a divided Louisville during the Civil War.

During the 1840s, Adas Israel, Louisville's only Jewish congregation, tried to contain different and incompatible versions of Jewish belief and practice. As the Jewish population grew, cracks began to appear in the communal body that resulted in a split into two

congregations, with continuing strain within Adas Israel itself, even after the split. As established, the congregation maintained traditional Jewish practices, which were enforced by the synagogue in its role as *Kahal*, a legally organized community under the German Jewish system. But the diversity of Jews attracted to Louisville clamored for forms of worship that were either familiar from their homelands across Europe, or for practices that "reformed" those aspects of Jewish ritual that they considered as part of the old world and not their new American setting.

In the 1850s, the "German" Jewish community in America actually consisted of two very different groups from distinct regions of Germany. The larger group had migrated from Southern Germany, especially from Bavaria and the Rhineland provinces such as Alsace. These regions had experienced the movement to reconsider and to reform Judaism by modernizing its practices, shifting the role of the law within the tradition, changing the prayerbook and the form of service. Many of these Jews had some secular education, and wanted to bring what they saw as progressive German values of liberalism and rationality with them to start anew in America. They followed a set of customs and rites in worship and life called the "Minhag Ashkenaz."

In contrast, another group of "German" Jews in America came from the Northeastern German region around the city of Posen, formerly part of Poland. After the Polish Revolution of 1831, open hostility prevailed towards Germans and German speakers. In this region, Jews tended to maintain the traditional in religion, and even spoke a different dialect of Yiddish from their southern co-religionists, who tended more and more to use German rather than Yiddish as their daily language. They followed a set of customs and rites in worship and life called the "Minhag Polin."[1]

Nineteenth century Germany consisted of a variety of provinces, regions, and independent cities, each of which had different laws regarding Jewish limitations and freedom. In some regions, Jews were restricted in what occupations they could perform, whether and whom they could marry, and were forbidden to travel between areas. Nearly all Jews were employed in trade, including peddling goods in the countryside and running small stores in dry goods and hardware – it is estimated that up to 96 percent of all Jewish families in Bavaria in the 1820s were in petty trade.[2] Their familiarity with a "middleman" role in the economy, and their role in bringing the new profusion of manufactured consumer goods to rural areas, and their ability to find and take advantage of niche markets and new opportunities, would all be valuable skills when transferred to the developing areas of the American Midwest and South.

The slow and uneven process of "emancipation" of the Jews, inspired by the French emancipation of minority religious groups that accompanied the Revolution, was felt differently at different times across Germany. Through the early 19th century, laws were changed frequently, restrictions disappeared and were then re-imposed, and new laws were only intermittently enforced. The removal of some traditional monopolies that had been granted to Jewish families actually created hardships for some Jewish traders, who had effectively adapted to the old system. For many young Jews, Germany offered an insecure future.

Other new immigrants came from Bohemia, part of present-day Czechoslovakia, and from other parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. These Jews included the relatively sophisticated and middle-class merchant families of Vienna and Prague, as well as village Jews still living a traditional rural life in small businesses and petty trades. They often came in family groups, with some capital to start over again in the New World.[3]

The series of liberal democratic revolutions that broke out in Germany in 1848, which failed in most of their goals, created disillusionment and fear in those who had believed, actively or passively, that a democracy with equal rights was possible in their homeland. Many of the "48-ers," both Jewish and non-Jewish, fled

Germany to America after 1848. Many others who had not taken to the barricades, but sympathized, also made plans to leave. To a large degree, both the political and economic refugees from the German lands to America in the late 1840s through the 1860s were young people. Most of the older Germans stayed and adapted, but their children were gone. Most went as single men and women, sometimes with siblings or friends, and soon married and formed families in America. Often one son or daughter sent to America would raise money to send for the rest. Uncles and aunts in America and networks of *landsmen* – people from the same old-world community – provided temporary homes for migrants.

After the journey by train or boat across Germany to a seaport, then a long and difficult sea voyage, most German immigrants landed in New York, at the Castle Garden immigration center at the foot of Manhattan (it later would be replaced by Ellis Island). A few arrived through Baltimore, Philadelphia, or New Orleans. This migration was by no means exclusively Jewish – Christian Germans, primarily Catholic, were also in the midst of a huge transfer of population to the New World. Many of these German migrants settled initially around Philadelphia, then spread to Western Pennsylvania and were early settlers of the Ohio Valley. By the 1840s, Cincinnati and Louisville were both being transformed from small regional centers to major cities as a result of immigration, much of it German.

By 1850, 17 percent of Louisville's population was German-born (7,537 of 43,217 people); and only two years later, the community was estimated to have grown to include 18,000 Germans. There were two German-language newspapers: the 1844 *Der Beobachter am Ohio* (Observer of the Ohio); and the 1849 *Louisville Anzeiger* (Louisville Advertiser). Groups of "Turners" or Turnvereine, a liberal movement that had begun as a gymnastic group, but had become an advocate of democracy and worker's rights, were brought to America and united Jews and German gentiles in political activism. The English-speaking population of Louisville included people who welcomed and praised the newcomers for their industry, such as journalist Ben Casseday who called the German newcomers: "one of the best classes of our population... careful... industrious... men of some education and ability."[4] Others, however, were fearful of the growing influence of non-English foreign-born Americans, and particularly scapegoated Catholics, including Louisville's French, German, and Irish Catholic population. This "nativist" sentiment would result in political conflicts in Louisville, and violent riots in the mid-1850s.

In the 1830s and 40s, Louisville was undergoing economic transitions, painful for some who lost fortunes or found their jobs disappearing. Previously, Louisville was almost exclusively a commercial city based on the Ohio River trade. But when the Louisville-Portland Canal opened in 1830 (eliminating the lucrative portage industry around the Falls), Louisville responded to a drop in the demand for warehousing and transshipment by trying to diversify into manufacturing, and shipping agricultural products from the Kentucky backcountry. The railroad boom of the 1840s revived Louisville's role in trade. In the early 1850s, new immigrants to Louisville found a city that was shifting focus from the riverfront wharf to the growing commercial houses of Main Street and the retail world of Market Street's dry goods establishments (nearly three hundred of them by 1852), the distilleries that transformed Kentucky grains into a very marketable commodity, and a growing manufacturing sector in clothing and tobacco.

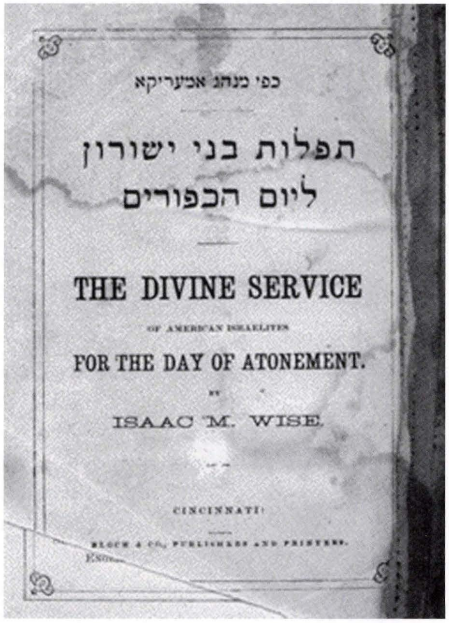
"In the German Jewish community on Market Street, every merchant's family lived where the store was, and the families exchanged visits," Esther Flexner, who arrived in 1855, wrote in a family memoir.[5] Market Street had been the center of the original Jewish community of the 1830s, and for the next few decades continued to be the center of Jewish commercial life.

The increase in the Jewish population in Louisville, and its diversity, was felt at Adas Israel. Rival factions formed over the community school, originally a day school teaching Jewish and secular subjects. In a letter to supporters in Philadelphia, Dr. Abram Bernal, a "teacher of languages"[6] who would go on to found a new, traditional congregation a year later, wrote of the manipulations of the teachers and the School Board at the synagogue in 1850. While the reasons for the conflict and for his own replacement were not stated, it can be inferred from subsequent developments that the traditionalist/reformer split was a factor.

During the next year, 1851, the split became permanent. Dr. Bernal became one of the founders of a new congregation, Beth Israel, also known as "the Polish House of Israel." Isaac Leeser of Philadelphia, a supporter of the traditional in American Judaism, commented during a visit to Adas Israel in December of 1851:

> *... the persons favoring the Polish minhag (which differs exceedingly little from the German, to which the Adath Israel kahal belong)... separated lately to form a congregation of their own. But it gives us pleasure to state that the Rev. B. H. Gotthelf [of Adas Israel] assisted in consecrating the hall which they occupy as a temporary place of worship, thus showing that the separation has not led to estrangement and ill will among the people.*[7]

This temporary hall was dedicated on November 21, 1851. In 1856 Dr. Bernal obtained a state charter, and the next year Beth Israel's first building, on Green Street (now Liberty) between 1st and 2nd, was dedicated for "the Israelitish Congregation, named and styled in their charter Polish House of Grace." That same year the congregation also purchased a cemetery adjacent to the Adas Israel burial ground at Woodbine. The building, the second synagogue building built in Kentucky, was of brick in an Italianate design, with a front gable facing the street and rounded arch windows. The congregation was less than half the size of Adas Israel. By 1880, Beth Israel had 67 members ("members" probably meant adult males), with 55 students in their religious school, while Adas Israel boasted 170 members, with 250 students enrolled in the school.[8]


כפי מנהג אבערריקא

תפלות בני ישורון
ליום הכפורים

THE DIVINE SERVICE

OF AMERICAN ISRAELITES

FOR THE DAY OF ATONEMENT.

BY

ISAAC M. WISE.

CINCINNATI:

BLOCH & CO., PUBLISHERS AND PRINTERS.

Isaac M. Wise's American prayerbook, Minhag America, adopted by Adas Israel.

J. G. Solomon was the first rabbi of Beth Israel. Rabbis who served the congregation in the early years included R. Cohen, Dr. Rosenfeld, Dr. Meyers, and Dr. Hofield. One of Beth Israel's officers was Lewis N. Dembitz, who wrote the community's history. The synagogue would later move to the southwest corner of Floyd and Chestnut Streets.[9]

An observer of the Jewish community estimated in 1852 that between them, the two congregations had weekly attendance of about 400, which was their capacity. The properties they owned were together valued at $11,000.[10]

The splitting off of the "Polish" dissident members in 1851 did not, however, solve the conflicts raging within Adas Israel about the pace and thoroughness of the response to the reform impulse in practice and worship. The building on the east side of 4th Street continued to serve the congregation until 1866. The controversial school, set up to teach English, Hebrew, German, religion, and elementary studies, became private, as Bernal's letter described, was run by a Dr. Felsenheld,

Mr. J. L. Hackenbury,
116 Race St., Phila., Pa.

Louisville Ky. 5 Sept. 5610 [1850]

My dear friend,

Trusting this will find you our dear Rebecca and William in the enjoyment of health, and also all our friends, and wishing you and them a [Hebrew: happy Rosh Hashanah]. I send you an account of the proceedings which have lately taken place here. I must premise that it was at first agreed that an Examination should take place [Hebrew: before Passover] but in consequence of my illness, it was postponed till the vacation in August. Suddenly they resolved to have it immediately after [Hebrew: Shavuot] and without any preparation it took place, and the School Committee made a very favorable report with a vote of thanks, &c, which they wished to have published; but thinking I had to deal with rational beings, I objected to it, as it would have appeared ridiculous to have two examinations in 3 months, and advised them to wait until the general examination in August. Ad interim, the Rev. Mr. Henry, applies for my situation, having discovered that his position in Cincinnati was untenable after the year. As soon as I heard it rumoured, I wrote him and he positively denied it in the most emphatic terms. At the monthly meeting in August of the School Committee, I questioned them about it, and they were polite enough to tell me it was true and that I had better look out for myself. I have done so. Kaal [kahal – the organized Jewish community board] had decided that there shall be no more Public School. So that we shall each open a private school on our own hook and I believe I may say I have secured a living. On Tuesday evening there was a Kaal meeting at which petitions were presented from Mr. Henry and myself for the use of the School-room. The rent with the use of the fixtures &c. was fixed at $50 and I gained it by one vote... I confess I did not think I had so many partisans – the opposite party have resolved (so they say at least) on reconsidering the question of the room, and behold partisans are coming forward against it who I did not dream of. My engagement will be out on [Hebrew: Rosh Hashanah] and on 1st Oct. I commence the Jewish Seminary – and I start with 30 to 40 pupils, when I will write you again – You can (if you like) show or explain this to Rev. Mr. Leeser – to whom as well as to Mr. Kast, Mr. Israel, and all friends please present our best love and with the usual wishes on the Occasion.

Sincerely and truly yours,
A. I. H. Bernal[69]

then was closed. In 1854, it was reopened with a bequest from New Orleans Jewish philanthropist Judah Touro, and operated as a regular private school (not just a Sabbath School).[11]

Like most American Jewish congregations, Adas Israel had to make do with visiting rabbis for the first years, such as the influential reformer Isaac M. Wise of Cincinnati, who declined an invitation to become the permanent rabbi. Very few European-trained rabbis had any interest in moving to America, and there were as yet no American institutions to train Jewish students in rabbinics. There were, however, a number of people who had some training in Jewish law, and others who could act as cantors and leaders to maintain regular services. From 1851 to 1866, Dr. B. H. Gotthelf, a leader but not a rabbi, provided services to the congregation.[12] Still, the lack of trained leaders to help the community grow, and to provide a learned perspective to mediate religious disputes, was felt. The congregation as a community had to maintain all the

functions of Jewish life, from birth to burial, without formal guidance – ongoing tensions and open conflicts within the community were reflected in Board minutes.

An official history of Adas Israel, written in 1906 (when there were still members of the community alive who remembered the early days), reported of the 1850s, "There is constant evidence... of strong efforts to introduce reforms against opposition that was equally persistent." Many members still maintained an Orthodox, or at least traditional, point of view, while others were passionate about the liberalization represented by the growing Reform movement. There were continuous worries about the "undesirable element" of members, and a form of blackballing potential members was discussed.[13]

The pendulum was swinging towards reform, and in January 1855 many of the reforms recommended by Wise were adopted, making Adath Israel one of the first five or six congregations in America to join the Reform movement. The congregation sent Dr. Gotthelf to Cleveland to the first Conference of Jewish Organizations. Wise preached to the congregation twice in August of 1857 on the theme of his new edition of the prayerbook, called "Minhag America" (the customs, or practices, of America). Adath Israel adopted the prayerbook, along with many of the customs advocated by Wise and his Cincinnati congregation. Wise and other reformers believed that American traditions should be created anew, which greatly influenced the reformist group within the congregation. In 1857, Adas Israel was sure enough of its direction to begin to search for a rabbi, a "qualified minister of character," but despite their offer of a five-year contract at $1500 (and a cantor at $600) none was found for nine more years.[14]

In the meantime, in 1858 the congregation celebrated its first confirmation ceremony, and decided to buy a "melodeon," apparently overcoming the initial objections to an organ in the building, made when the building was planned.[15]

In 1859, Adas Israel bought a cemetery on "Preston Street Plank Road, adjoining Wilson's Garden" at the southwest corner of Woodbine, beyond the city limits, called the "Hebrew Cemetery." Though the congregation was still "German," and kept its official minutes in that language until 1868, a concession to English-speaking members was made in 1862 when Mr. Gotthelf was directed to read the "Haphtara" every Saturday in both German and English. A renewed effort at a school was made the next year when a schoolhouse was built, and planning for a new synagogue building was begun soon after.[16]

Finally, in 1866 a few congregation members traveled to Germany determined to find a rabbi. Dr. Leopold (or "Levi") Kleeberg of Elberfeld, who had studied at the University of Gottingen, accepted a salary of $2500 to come to Louisville, along with his family.[17] Gotthelf continued at Adas Israel in the position of Cantor. Kleeberg closed the Jewish School, believing that separating Jewish children and gentile children in schools was not good – a view that became a basic principle for Reform Jews. The school again became just a religious school, held on both Saturday and Sunday mornings.

Fire struck the synagogue on October 12, 1866. Beginning around midnight at the adjoining Louisville Theater, the fire destroyed the building: "...the Jewish synagogue was on fire all over the roof, and small fires were beginning to appear of the roof of the schoolhouse in the rear of the synagogue." The Louisville *Daily Courier* reported "the synagogue would have been saved but for a strange accident"–a cistern caught fire. According to the newspaper, the synagogue building was only insured for $8,000, but valued at $20,000. Although the paper reported the adjoining schoolroom roof to be badly damaged, it must have been salvageable, since the Board decided to use the school building as a temporary place of worship, along with Harmony Hall.[18]

The congregation had already hoped to replace the outgrown building, and bought a lot on the southeast corner of Broadway and 6th – given Louisville's growth, this area was no longer the remote location it had

rejected in the 1840s. The new building was a sensation. Built from 1867 to 1868 for $14,400 by architects Bradshaw & Brother, the medieval-revival style building was called "a thing of beauty and an ornament to the city." It was "one of the handsomest church edifices in the city… an oriental structure in the Byzantine style of architecture, having domed turrets at the angles which impart a very bold and striking effect." Like many buildings of the period, it combined aspects of different architectural traditions, including Gothic, Italianate, and Byzantine, with crenellated corner towers flanking a central gabled entranceway topped by an enormous rose stained-glass window.[19] An imposing flight of steps led up to the door. Its design, and its location on monumental Broadway, were unapologetic – these Jews were proud and not hiding from anyone.

The building was funded in part through the sale of five classes of pews: twelve pews at $1250; thirty-two at $1000; thirty-four at $700; seventy-six at $450; fifty-six at $250.[20] This traditional way of raising money created a socially stratified synagogue building, with the elite sitting near each other in the favored positions, and the less well-off in the rear and side pews.

Adas Israel's temple at 6th and Broadway.



In 1869, "the supreme battle for reform in the mode of worship and observance was fought and won after a contest which occupied five evenings," according to the congregation's minutes. The contingent in favor of English over German won. As a result, Rabbi Kleeberg was to lecture in English once a month; and Friday evening services were added in English.[21] The congregation had already begun keeping records in English. Now in a fine new building, with a prestigious European-trained rabbi in the pulpit and a firm commitment to reform in both practice and worship, Adas Israel would continue to be the largest and most culturally dominant Jewish congregation in Louisville.

When Adas Israel was the only Jewish organization in Louisville, it was the *Kahal*, the community. As the Jewish population diversified, its synagogues no longer attempted to meet every community need, and people formed other kinds of social, cultural, and self-help organizations. In 1852, a Louisville chapter of the men's fraternal organization, B'nai B'rith, was formed in a "spirit of benevolence, brotherly love, and harmony." B'nai B'rith's *Har Moriah* Lodge was the 14th lodge founded in America, at a time when there were fewer than four hundred Jews in the city. It met in a room at the rear of Adas Israel. It was so popular that a second Lodge, the Mendelssohn Lodge, was started in May of 1860 (the two would merge in 1904). These lodges not only provided a familiar setting to meet for the men of the community, they also undertook social welfare, philanthropic, and cultural projects. Most of the prominent Jewish men of the community were members during the 19th century, and many served as president, including Lewis Dembitz.[22]



2tes deutſches Indiana-Regiment.

Achtung Deutſche!

1. deutſches Kentucky Regiment.

Recruiting for the Civil War in the German language newspaper, The Louisville Anzeiger.

Social clubs helped to knit the community together. The *Louisville Anzeiger*, the German-language newspaper that served non-Jewish Germans and German Jews alike, noted in June 1857 the formation of a "Jewish club," "whose purpose was amusement and instruction through lectures in the areas of religion and politics."[23] A club that was a forerunner of the YMHA was probably founded in 1862, the seventh such club in the country. It was reorganized in 1868 and again in 1873 as a literary and charitable organization with a library and by the 1870s was offering lectures, fairs, banquets, and balls. The mission was "to unite on a common platform the young men of the different synagogues and nationalities" (although the initial members were primarily German Jews).[24]

Other social and benevolent organizations had been established by the time of the Civil War, including the Poor Fund Association and the *Hebrah Meshiphath Nefesh* (roughly translated, Fellowship of the Community of Souls). Women also formed organizations to pursue good works and good companionship: the Incorporated Hebrew Ladies Benevolent Society, the Hebrew Ladies Beneficial Society, and the Young Ladies Benevolent Society.[25] These organizations were similar to, and probably inspired by, Protestant and Catholic ladies' charitable groups in the city.

Although the Jewish community was generally accepted in the diverse immigrant population of Louisville, during the 1850s anti-immigrant feeling in the city turned violent. City politics was briefly dominated by the "Know-Nothing," or American Party, whose platform was based on restrictions on immigrants, especially Catholics from Ireland and Germany. In 1855, the City Council ruled that "no schoolteacher could be recruited or employed if he was Catholic or foreign-born."[26] Attempting to take over the Louisville city

government, the Party nominated candidates for Mayor and other city offices. They knew that if the local Irish and German Catholics, who tended to vote for the Democratic Party, could be prevented from getting to the polls, the Know-Nothing candidates might win.

In the August 6, 1855, Louisville mayoral election, Know-Nothing mobs were dispatched to physically block immigrant voting places. Germans were intimidated and beaten, and fires were set in the German neighborhoods east of downtown Louisville and in the Irish neighborhoods to the west. This day became notorious as "Bloody Monday," when at least twenty-two people were killed. The excesses of the anti-immigrant mob ultimately horrified their more moderate supporters, and the Know-Nothing movement faded. Ironically, in the atrocities, Jews were not targeted as Jews–but were still vulnerable as Germans. However, the rioters focused on the large German Catholic community that was more easily located than the smaller, more dispersed, Jewish residences.

Migration from Germany and Central Europe continued before, during, and after the Civil War. The classic story of German-Jewish immigration to America in the mid-19th century is the story of the pack peddler, walking the back country, finally establishing a small village store, perhaps later moving on to the city to set up his own flourishing dry goods establishment and founding a family dynasty. To a great extent, that was exactly the experience of many of Louisville's early Jewish families, with greater or lesser degrees of success. In this, they were following successful paths from their German homelands, where nearly all Jews were involved in trade.[27] In the mid-19th century, pack peddling was an available way for a young man of limited capital to begin to build his fortune. A network of Jewish and other wholesalers in Cincinnati and later other cities provided materials, and credit to buy them was often advanced, or paid, by relatives or friends. Pack-peddling, however, was an option for young men only. German-Jewish immigrant women tended to live in the cities under the protection of family members, and work for relatives or other Jewish residents as seamstresses or clerks until marriage. After marriage they were often virtual partners in a family business, working alongside their husbands in the store. Others started their own businesses.

The stories of three families who emigrated to Louisville from Germany and Central Europe in the mid 19th century – the Flexners, the Bernheims, and the extended Brandeis family–are better documented than most, because children of these families became prominent. Though all three families produced distinguished members of the community, a detailed examination of their experiences, in some ways typical, in other ways unique, provides a window into the experiences of some of Louisville's other early German-Jewish residents.

The Bernheim Brothers

The brothers Isaac Wolf Bernheim and Bernard Bernheim were born in 1848 and 1850 respectively, in Schmieheim, Germany, a village in southern Baden, near the borders of France and Switzerland. In Schmieheim, which had twelve thousand Jews, "Israelites outnumbered Gentiles two to one. The business of the town was in their hands, much of the trade of the countryside for miles and miles around was controlled by them."[28] Their father, Leon Solomon Bernheim, had passed an official exam and became the first Jew in town permitted to open a regular store as a wholesaler in wine (similar to the trade his sons would ultimately run in America).

Ironically, when the Jews of Baden were emancipated in 1861, and won the right to vote, hold office, and have permanent residence status, the position of the Bernheims and other Jews became more difficult.

Village Jews, now able to move about the country freely, migrated to the cities. The family went to Freiburg, a larger city, where Isaac worked in a dry goods house, and then the sons were apprenticed in Mannheim and Frankfort-am-Main. The beginning of the war between France and Germany in 1866 made life even more difficult.[29]

Isaac left Germany first, at the age of eighteen, urged by an uncle in New York City. His passage by rail, boat, and the steamship *Hansa* was paid by his uncle, but when Isaac landed in April of 1867, "an immigrant, at Castle Garden, with only four dollars of American money, " he found that there was no work to be had in his uncle's knitting yarn establishment due to the general post-War depression. His uncle gave him credit for $200 worth of stock, including needles, pins, thread, socks, suspenders, handkerchiefs, and ladies stockings and suggested that Bernheim try pack peddling.[30] He set off through rural Eastern Pennsylvania, where many of the farmers were also German immigrants or their still-German-speaking descendents, many of them from the same areas of Eastern and Southern Germany that were familiar to him.

Bernheim liked the work, was successful, added new stock, then a horse and a wagon. But with that move, he overstepped his limits: "my expenses, especially the cost of keeping a horse, more than outbalanced my expanded earnings," Isaac wrote. Disaster struck – the farmer who was boarding his horse wrote to him:



Isaac Bernheim.

March 1, 1868

"Dear Sir, i thought i would write you and let you no your horse is dead. she dide very suddant last knite we couldant magant what was the matter of her we done all we could for her but it don no good i am very sorried for it but it cant be helpt now.

G.H. Stroh, Eaton, Wyoming Co."[31]

Since Isaac had offers from other uncles to go to Paducah, Kentucky, he set off, and took a position as a bookkeeper for Loebe, Bloom, & Co., a wholesale liquor firm. He progressed to sales, and passed his old job on to his younger brother Bernard, who had left Germany in 1870 to avoid serving in the Franco-Prussian War. Their sisters Babette and Jeannette joined them and eventually married Paducah merchants.[32] The Bernheim brothers made a success of their lives in the classic immigrant pattern – from pack-peddling with credit from relatives, to employment in a trading business, to founding their own business, Bernheim Brothers.

The Flexner Family

For peddlers, the horse was a crucial factor. Moritz Flexner was able to get a bargain on a lame one, and that made all the difference.

Moritz came from Neumark, Bohemia, where his father, Michael, was a teacher, and his mother, Therese, was the daughter of the "Bavarian Hop King," a once-wealthy brewer on the Bavaria/Bohemia border (now the German/Czech border). Bohemia, then in the Austro-Hungarian empire, was much more favorable to Jews than neighboring Bavaria, in Germany, and Bohemian Jews were more often middle-class, with education and business experience, than were Jews from southern Germany.[33] After living for a time in Strasbourg, France, Moritz decided to try his fortunes in America (possibly also due to some problems with his political activities).

In 1853, he traveled in steerage across the Atlantic, arriving in New York penniless. Like other immigrants, he looked for a countryman – French, in his case, and he found work in a French wine store. He felt unsuited to the work and set off with some friends for a city where his French was an advantage, New Orleans. They arrived during a yellow fever epidemic, and all fell ill. Moritz was nursed back to health by the nuns at the City Hospital. Four of his companions died.[34]

Still recovering and on crutches, Moritz abandoned New Orleans and set off by steamboat for Louisville, where Strasbourg friends had settled, his fare paid for by a friend in New Orleans. (Another founder of a prominent Louisville family, Lazarus Selligman, also fled to Louisville from the New Orleans yellow fever epidemic.) With few options, Moritz became a peddler. He got a wagon, and a horse for only four dollars, due to its stiff knee. Moritz would carefully lead the wagon along the gutter, to prevent the horse's splayed-out leg from getting caught in passing traffic. Covering the Kentucky countryside, Moritz would return to Louisville to replenish his stock, and for religious holidays. The wagon allowed him to work as a wholesale peddler, carrying enough to sell to fellow peddlers who needed new stock while on the road. He was happy as a peddler: "He became jovial, he discovered a gift for telling anecdotes, for repeating the gossip and news that was so delightful to the ears of isolated farm families." On one of his visits to the city, he met his future wife.[35]

Esther Abraham also had both French and German in her background. She was born in 1834 in a village in the Rhineland, just a few miles from the French border. Her mother, who was illiterate in German but could read a little Hebrew, believed strongly in educating her children, including her daughters, and she sent the children to a French school. Esther and her sister Caroline were then sent to family in Paris, where they worked as seamstresses in a lingerie shop. Their uncle Godshaw, who had migrated to America, wrote and then visited asking for the girls to join him in Louisville. The girls agreed but planned to return home after five years. They embarked by ship, second class not steerage, and had a terrible journey. They had brought food for the advertised three-week voyage–and the trip lasted nine weeks. Sympathetic crewmembers assisted them.[36]

On arrival in New York in September of 1855, the sisters heard news of the recent rioting in Louisville – the Bloody Monday nativist riots of the previous month – and were fearful. Finally in October they traveled on to Louisville, and went to work for their uncle, Samuel Godshaw. Godshaw, a French native who was then thirty-three years old, had a wholesale/retail china business. He and his wife had several young children. Their household also included at various times a Bavarian servant girl named Eva Hart; boarders such as Simon Bacherd, who was a peddler from Darmstadt; and a slave girl.[37]

The Abraham sisters found their situation uncongenial, but as young, unmarried women they had little choice but to accept the protection of their relatives. Their aunt saw them as employees, not as family: "Our aunt was a businesswoman who wished neither to take advantage of us nor to lose anything on us." The sisters went out to work for wages, with a plan to save money for their return home. They were hired by a Mrs. Fox to make cloaks for her husband's dry goods store.[38]

With their chic Parisian wardrobes, the sisters were quite popular in the Louisville Jewish community, where everyone knew everyone. Esther recounted: "Everyone said we were not 'green' [unsophisticated] -

'Why should they be green? They come from Paris.'" They had many callers. She wrote, "I went to the New Year's Ball with Mr. A. Rosenbaum, and created quite a sensation as we had brought stylish clothes with us… Louisville in those days did not keep up with Paris fashion." For Passover, the sisters made silk dresses for themselves, which they considered to be "American."[39]

When Esther met Moritz Flexner, she chose to stay in America, and they were wed in September 1856. By this time Moritz had a new, stronger horse and a small village store with stock purchased from the Louisville Jewish firm of Bamberger, Bloom & Co., and he worked hard to get enough to set up a nice house for his family, which in the next year included their first child, Jacob. During the Civil War, the rural store in Lawrenceberg was sold to a partner when the pro-Confederate Morgan's Raiders attacked the property of Union sympathizers – the Flexners were raided, but not wiped out.[40]

Over the next few decades, the fortunes of the Flexners would rise and fall and rise again dramatically. Their wholesale hat business in Louisville, Hirsch & Flexner, was a brief success, and eight more children

Lewis Naphtali Dembitz

"[He was] a living university. With him, life was unending intellectual ferment…"[70]

- Louis Dembitz Brandeis

The reputation of Lewis Naphtali Dembitz (1837-1907), one of Louisville's most prominent Jewish citizens, has long been overshadowed by that of his beloved nephew, Supreme Court Justice Louis Dembitz Brandeis. At Dembitz' death, Brandeis wrote:

… the deepest of his studies were those allied to the Jewish religion. He was orthodox. He observed the law. But, he was not satisfied with merely observing it. He sought to understand the law in order to find its reason; he studied deeply into the history of the Jewish people… He recognized in the past the mirror of the future; a future which would be a noble and glorious one for his people. It was natural that he should have been among the first in America to support Herzl in his effort to build a new Palestine.[71]

Dembitz was born in Zirke, Prussia, near Posen, in February 1837, the son of Sigmund and Fanny Wehle Dembitz. In 1849, disappointed with prospects in Europe after the failed revolutionary movement, he joined other young people in the Dembitz-Brandeis-Wehle clan in a move to America. Settling in Cincinnati, Dembitz continued the legal studies he had begun. In 1852, he moved to Louisville, where the rest of the clan had settled, and joined the bar. Unlike his religiously unaffiliated family, "In religion Mr. Dembitz is conservative, living in a measure after the ritual law as handed down by custom."

Called "the Jewish Scholar of the South," besides his legal work in real estate and commerce, Dembitz wrote for the German-language daily *Der Beobachter am Ohio*, and translated *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the anti-slavery novel, into German. He was the author of the legal works *Dembitz on Land Titles* (1885) and *Kentucky Jurisprudence* (1889), the Jewish handbook *Services in Synagogue and Home* (1892), and the first history of Jews in Kentucky for the *Jewish Encyclopedia*. During the 1880s he worked for the city as a tax lawyer and took on other civic roles. He married his cousin, Minna Wehle.

A supporter of abolition, he represented Kentucky Republicans at the 1860 Convention that nominated Lincoln. In later life, he was an outspoken and committed supporter of Zionism.

Dembitz, although a founder of Beth Israel, later joined Brith Sholom and was buried in the Brith Sholom cemetery.

He was physically a very small man, only 5 feet tall and 100 pounds, frail and with poor vision. He was known for being absent-minded. Anecdotes about this trait attached themselves to him. One perhaps apocryphal story concerns the reminders that he wrote for himself, such as: "Trousers on chair, shoes on floor, Dembitz in bed."[72]

were born to the family, including sons Simon (1863) and Abraham (1866). They moved frequently, from a small house on East Street to more fashionable Center Street, up and down the social ladder. As many immigrants did, Moritz also worked to bring the rest of his family and all of Esther's sisters to America, one by one as he could.[41]

Esther and Moritz themselves maintained most traditional Jewish practices, but did not attempt to explain or teach traditional Judaism to their children. Esther wrote in Yiddish to her parents but never used it at home; Moritz and Esther spoke Hebrew, French, and German – their son Simon was embarrassed in later years that he himself did not know Hebrew. Simon remembered that they had two sets of dishes to keep kosher, had Passover seders, and his mother always celebrated Shabbat: "It was a beautiful sight to see her... in a fresh neat dress, just before supper was served... burning the candles. She said a prayer silently, while making movements with her hands. Just what the custom signified was never explained to me." Once he walked in on his father wearing *tefillin* and "mumbling." He thought it odd, but it was not explained.[42]

When the family moved to 6th Street, literally in the back yard of Adas Israel, they were influenced by the rabbis and the sexton there, and joined the congregation.

Moritz (now Americanized to "Morris") went to Temple on Fridays, took the children with him on Saturdays (Simon remembered that the services were in German) and on Sundays the children went to the Temple School. According to Abraham, "At an early age... we began to be affected by the rationalistic spirit of the time. Our parents remained to the end of their lives pious Hebrews, attending the synagogue regularly and observing religious feasts. They saw us drift away into streams of thought and feeling they did not understand. They interposed no resistance.... It did not trouble my mother later that two of her sons married Christian girls."[43]

The neighborhood was segregated by religion, and, according to Simon, on 6th Street "Jews lived on one side of it, Gentiles on the other," and they never mingled, played, or visited. At school Simon felt somewhat excluded as a Jew: "I was aware of it but accepted it." His brother Abraham thought that Louisville was a stratified society, with an upper class of smoking, drinking, gambling, shooting, horse-racers who socialized at the restricted Pendennis Club. Below them were the merchants, always in rivalry with Cincinnati, and then there were the cultured intellectuals like the Brandeis family. At the bottom of the ladder were poor whites and struggling blacks. For those at the bottom, public education was NOT a way out. Abraham remembered with distaste, "The poverty of the city's elementary schools of that day... the teachers were mainly elderly and untrained... chosen through their influence.... The school rooms were bare."[44]

The relationship between Morris and his seven sons was complicated. Simon recalled enjoying being taken by his father to Fuerst's Restaurant on Sundays, where the German-Jewish merchants played cards and chatted in German, and often brought their sons along. According to Abraham, who credited his father with much of his later success: "He was eager that his sons should be professional men – doctors, lawyers, scholars." But Simon instead credited his eldest brother, Jacob, for creating the enthusiasm for learning that led to the successes that he and Abraham and their siblings ultimately achieved.[45]

The Brandeis/Dembitz/Wehle Families

The Brandeis family arrived in America as part of an extended clan of relatives who came from an upper-middle class, educated and cultured milieu in Prague, Bohemia, then part of the Austro-Hungarian empire. Twenty-six people, including young members of the Brandeis, Wehle, and Dembitz families, researched their opportunities in the New World before deciding to leave, and ultimately settled in Louisville where

they became part of an educated Jewish elite. Politics, as much as economics, drove them out – most of them supported liberal reforms in government and society, and a few of them had been active in the 1848 revolutions.

In Prague, their extended family life centered around a large house on the edge of the former Jewish ghetto, with a courtyard and several apartments. Moritz Wehle and his family lived there and helped to raise their niece, Frederika Dembitz, after her mother died. Moritz' brother, Gottlieb Wehle, an importer of dyes for cotton print goods, lived nearby with his wife, Eleonore. She was in business for herself, separate from her husband, in a partnership with a brother-in-law, selling linens made of local Bohemian flax. Although they had twelve children, like the proverbial woman of valor, Eleonore worked all day at her business. At home, she was assisted by numerous servants. They had purchased their house from business associates, the Brandeis family, who owned a nearby factory for manufacturing cotton print goods using hand-block techniques. A son of this family, Adolph, would become the husband of Frederika Dembitz; and the Wehle's daughter would marry his brother, Semmi (Samuel) Brandeis.[46]

Frederika's father was Dr. Siegmund Dembitz, a physician. According to her, "he was very impractical and thoughtless and though he was one of the best physicians of his time and an able surgeon, he had no worldly wisdom and always had difficulty in earning his living." Under the restrictive laws of the time, he could only practice medicine in Prussia, and not in his native Bohemia. Dembitz and his family wandered through Prussia, settling for a time near Posen. Their children Frederika, Lewis (originally Leopold), and Theodore were born. Seigfried and his wife Fanny did not actively practice Judaism. Frederika wrote that "I saw my parents were good Jews, and yet did not associate with Jews and were different from them and so there developed in me more affection for our race as a whole than for individuals." They had a Christmas tree, a cherished memory for Frederika.[47]

When Fanny Dembitz and her son Theodore both died, Siegmund Dembitz had difficulty caring for his other children, and the Wehles became a surrogate family for them. That same year, Frederika met Adolph Brandeis, who worked at the cotton mill across the street from her Uncle Moritz' house.[48]

A political liberal, Siegmund found some solace in political activism, and in 1848 he joined the Polish revolution as a military surgeon. The revolution, an idealistic movement for reform in law and government, was played out in the streets of the city in 1848. Frederika remembered a bomb landing in the courtyard of her uncle's house, while the extended family took refuge inside.[49] The expected reforms did not come, and the revolutionaries were hunted down.

The combined Wehle/Brandeis/Dembitz clan resolved to leave and make a new start in America. In this they were influenced not only by stories of the richness of rural America, but also by the agrarian ideals and the romanticism of the era. They believed that in the country, on the land, they would find a purity in nature and





Adolph Brandeis, founder of the Brandeis & Crawford grain firm, and father of Louis Brandeis.



Louis Brandeis at the age of 8, in 1864.

a spiritual cleansing of European corruption through honest labor on the soil. Gottleib Wehle was man of standing in Prague; when he left in 1849, the Jewish community gave him a testimonial letter. His family had been part of a mystical movement – the Frankist "heresy" of the late 18th century. The Wehles saw this as embracing a higher Judaism beyond mere ritual and dietary laws.[50]

Fortunately, these romantics sent the most practical one of the group ahead to scope out the territory. Adolph Brandeis, 26, newly betrothed to Frederika Dembitz, had followed a course on agriculture and estate management from the Technical School of Prague, and had worked and studied the grocery trade in Hamburg and in London. He was sent ahead to America to judge the possibilities of establishing a farm colony.[51]

Before long, Adolph had to concede that the group's ideas of founding an agricultural colony in the American countryside were naïve and impractical. Adolph loved America, delighting in American freedom, without the internal passports, police regulation, military regime, and spying he had fought back in Prague. He wrote: "I have often thought that even the hard work of these people is a kind of patriotism. They wear themselves out to make their country bloom, as though each one of them were commissioned to show the despots of the old world what a free people can do."[52]

His early romantic notions of farming were overthrown by the experience of working on a farm outside Cincinnati. He wrote to Frederika that farming was boring, physically hard, and monotonous, and, as city people, they would not easily adapt. Adolph sought alternatives and worked for a time in a wholesale/retail grocery.[53]

In April 1849, twenty-six people in the Wehle, Brandeis, and Dembitz families, with servants, left Prague. They took twenty-seven great chests and packing boxes, including two grand pianos, a cheval glass, cooking utensils, pans and pots, china, silver, featherbeds, three dowry chests, silk dresses, books and music, furniture, and Italian paintings and sketches. In the New World, they would not forget Old World standards. Siegmund Dembitz was reported to be wearing "a long Turkish smoking jacket and a becoming embroidered cap, and smoking a long meerschaum pipe." Adolph had advised Frederika: "You ought to make yourself some dresses and even some silk ones... as things are certainly much cheaper over there than here... in order not to get out of fashion you had better choose dark colors."[54]

They fixed on Madison, Indiana, where the new rail line met the Ohio River steamboat traffic. Dr. Dembitz stayed in Cincinnati to practice medicine, and his son Lewis stayed to study law. In Madison, the group started a cornstarch factory, and on the side opened a grocery and produce firm, called G. & M. Wehle, Brandeis & Co. In September of 1849, Frederika and Adolph were married on the same day as Semmi Brandeis and Lotti Wehle. But their fine European-style starch factory, built of brick, proved to be too expensive, and failed after two years. Fortunately, the grocery did well. Adolph traveled the countryside on produce-buying trips. He found so many Germans in the region that he could go for days without speaking any English.[55]

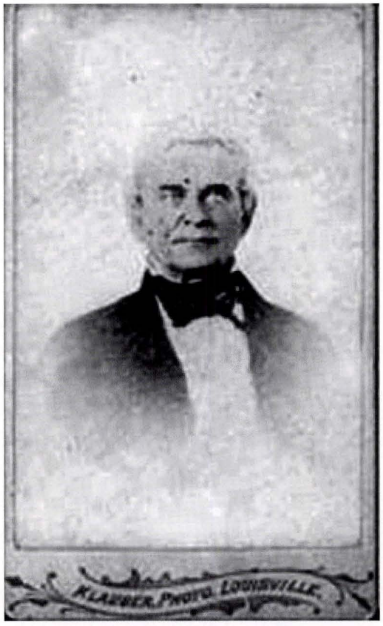
In 1851 the two Brandeis brothers moved to Louisville, Semmi to practice medicine and Adolph in the grain business, called Brandeis & Crawford. They later added a flour mill, a tobacco factory, a farm, and a river freighter named the *Fanny Brandeis.* Adolph and Frederika had four children: Fanny, Amy, Alfred, and Louis. The family lived first in a little house on Center Street (now Armory Place), between Chestnut and Walnut (Louis recalled the white-washed coal shed and linden tree in the yard)[56], moved later to a larger one

on First Street, then built their own fashionable house on Broadway. The children were sent to school – Louis to the German and English Academy (for a solid foundation in the German tongue), and then to Louisville Male High School before doing advanced work when the family returned to Germany for three years in the 1870s.[57]

In Louisville, Frederika Brandeis and her brother, Lewis Dembitz, expressed diametrically opposed opinions and practices on religion. Frederika adopted the views of the most secularized, humanistic German Jews. For her, and for other Jews who, unlike her, did affiliate with Reform Judaism, Judaism meant a sense of morality, justice, obligations to mankind, and high values. She said:

> *I do not believe that sins can be expiated by going to divine service and observing this or that formula; I believe that only goodness and truth and conduct that is humane and self-sacrificing toward those who need us can bring God nearer to us, and that our errors can only be atoned for by acting in a more kindly spirit.*[58]

Her son, Louis Brandeis, later wrote: "My early training was not Jewish in a religious sense, nor was it Christian. While naturally interested in their race, my people were not so narrow as to allow their religious beliefs to overshadow their interest in the broader aspects of humanity." The family did not join a synagogue (although Adolph and Frederika would later be buried at the Adas Israel cemetery), and they celebrated a secularized American Christmas. Semmi Brandeis and his family joined Adas Israel.[59]



Siegmund Dembitz, grandfather of Louis D. Brandeis. Photo by Klauber Studio.

Lewis Dembitz, on the other hand, embraced, studied, and practiced traditional Judaism. He was an active member of the "Polish" congregation, Beth Israel, and published books on Jewish topics. His nephew Louis Brandeis, remembered Shabbat at the Dembitz household:

> *... the joy and awe with which my uncle, Lewis Dembitz, welcomed the arrival of the day and the piety with which he observed it. I remember the extra delicacies, lighting of the candles, prayers over a cup of wine, quaint chants, and Uncle Lewis poring over books most of the day. I remember more particularly an elusive something about him which was spoken of as the 'Sabbath peace' ... Uncle Lewis used to say that he was enjoying a foretaste of heaven.*[60]

Louis Brandeis himself did not have Shabbat in his parents' home or in his own, though in many other ways his uncle influenced him deeply.

The Flexners, Brandeises, and Bernheims all faced the problems of other immigrants to the American Jewish community – making a living and finding a way to maintain culture and identity in a foreign land. They found different solutions, in business, in professions, and in forms of Jewish practice. Each brought the best of European values to bear on American opportunities. In this, they were like the rest of the German

Jewish immigrants pouring into Louisville in the middle and late nineteenth century. While few families succeeded as spectacularly as these, most Jewish immigrants who remained in Louisville found at least a modest living and a community to sustain them.

The coming of the Civil War in the early 1860s presented a challenge to Kentucky Jews. While Kentucky was officially neutral, it was nearly evenly split into supporters of the Union and supporters of Secession. Although it was a slave-owning state, slavery was not as central to its economy as it was to states in the Deep South, and the institution was declining in the decade before the War. Louisville was home to a large proportion of both free black workers and slaves who hired out their own time for wages and lived away from their masters.

Many of Louisville's German-born citizens of all religions were politically liberal and opposed slavery, actively or passively. However, accepting slavery as the custom of the country in which they found themselves, some immigrants, including a few Jews, owned slaves, generally as house servants. But others, such as the Brandeis/Dembitz family, were outspoken against slavery even at the cost of social and political alienation from the leading families of Kentucky.[61]

The presidential election of 1860 revealed the divided views of Kentuckians. Four parties offered candidates; two of them, the Republican Abraham Lincoln and the Southern Democratic Party candidate John C. Breckinridge, were from Kentucky. Among Lincoln's most enthusiastic supporters was Louisville lawyer Lewis Dembitz, "the abolitionist" (and a law partner of James Speed, a Lincoln friend) who was a member of the Kentucky delegation to the 1860 Republican convention in Chicago that nominated Lincoln. Lincoln, however, did not carry his home state, which instead supported Constitutional Union Party candidate John Bell, whose pro-Union and pro-slavery views were in line with Kentucky's divided sentiments.



Frederika Dembitz Brandeis.

New immigrants were eager to show their devotion to their new country and responded to Lincoln's July 1861 call for volunteers. Prussian Army veteran August Willich, an 1848 German revolutionary, established a German-speaking regiment, the 32nd Indiana. Willich recruited his men in part from the "Turnverein" societies of former German revolutionaries. This regiment included several Jews from Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky, along with German recruits from Confederate regions who wanted to fight for the Union.[62]

The regiment and its recruiters reached Louisville Sept. 6, 1861. One of the regiment's Jewish recruits was Lieutenant Max Sachs, a Louisville-born resident of Cincinnati, whose death at the battle of Munfordville was reported in the *Louisville Anzeiger* on Dec. 19, 1861. He was said to have received a dozen bullet wounds before falling. The regiment saw action in Kentucky and at the Battle of Shiloh and other sites in the Mississippi Valley, and some of those killed were buried at Louisville's Cave Hill Cemetery. The Turner movement's Turnhall on Floyd Street between Jefferson and Market was turned into a hospital for wounded soldiers.[63]

During the Civil War, Paducah, Kentucky, and its Jewish community was the focus of one of the most notorious instances of official anti-Semitism in American history – General Ulysses Grant's General Order Number Eleven. Louisville's Jews felt the threat as well. In 1862, Grant was trying to control the black market that had sprung up in Southern cotton, which was badly

needed by Northern textile mills and even by the Union Army itself. Grant was given the unwanted job of licensing this trade, which he felt distracted him from his military goals. Some of the traders seeking licenses, including a few corrupt ones, happened to be Jews, who were active cotton brokers and traders in the cities and towns of the Mississippi Valley.

In the heated climate of the day, all Jewish dealers were stereotyped as corrupt war profiteers. Union General Halleck referred to "traitors and Jew peddlers" in the same breath, and Grant declared that the black market was the work of "Jews and other unprincipled traitors." He ordered Jews off the railroads and refused them trading licenses. Finally in December of 1862 he issued General Order Eleven, which stated: "The Jews, as a class violating every regulation of trade established by the Treasury Department ... are hereby expelled from the Department within twenty-four hours from the receipt of this order." [64]

The order was applied to areas under Union control along the Mississippi, including Kentucky. Not only Jewish traders, but all Jewish families regardless of profession, were expelled by the Army from Mississippi, where Grant was headquartered, and from Paducah, Kentucky. In Paducah, thirty families were forced out of their homes. Paducah Jewish leader Cesar Kaskel appealed to Lincoln, and support rallies were organized by the Louisville Jewish community, and by other cities. B'nai B'rith, anticipating its later role in anti-defamation, also protested.[65] In January of 1863, just after issuing the Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln voided Grant's order, expressing surprise that it had ever been issued. Though it was an ugly episode in Jewish history, it was quickly righted by the declaration of equal status for Jews by the President of the United States.

Louisville served the Union as a supply base, a hospital, and a quartering ground for soldiers preparing for or recovering from campaigns in the Upper South. Louisville's "rabbi" Bernhard Gotthelf of Adas Israel was the second Jewish chaplain to serve in the Union army. Louisville was a hospital city during the War; beginning in 1862, Gotthelf served as rabbi for eighteen Army hospitals. During the war, business was good for Louisville Jewish firms such as Brandeis & Crawford, grain dealers[66], and dry goods manufacturers and suppliers who found a ready market in government contracts for the Army. The city was chaotic, however, with soldiers roaming the streets in search of drink and companionship. Little repair or improvement had occurred, despite the vastly increased transient population.[67]

The War displaced some Jewish families, who were vulnerable in rural areas away from the protection of a Jewish community. The Flexner family fled from Lawrenceberg to Louisville.

Louis Brandeis wrote:

> *I remember helping my mother carry out food and coffee to the men from the North. The streets seemed full of them always. But there were times when the rebels came so near that that we could hear the firing. At one such time my father moved us over the river. Those were my first memories.*[68]

Despite the upheaval of the Civil War years, Louisville's German Jewish immigrants laid the pattern for the years to come. Those who arrived with plans and capital to realize them might still fail, as the Brandeis group did initially – but those who were flexible and willing to try again, as they did, could succeed. Those who came with experience and drive, but little money, like Bernheim, might even succeed spectacularly. Some struggled, like the Flexners, but their children found the path to fame through education and hard work. Expanding Louisville, built on trade and commerce, could use their skills and talents.

CHAPTER THREE

Growth of the Business Community



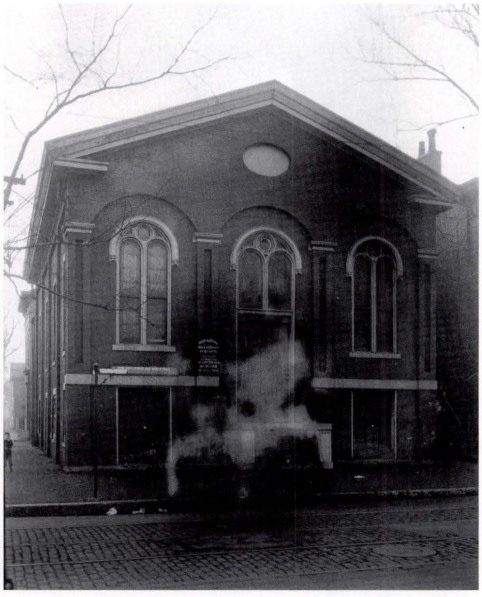
Henry Fleischaker's dry goods store, 632 Market Street, in 1898. With Henry are Katie, Rosa, Freda and Nettie.

The German Jews of post-Civil War Louisville founded successful businesses in retail (especially in clothing and other dry goods) and in manufacturing (especially in distilling), as well as in wholesale distribution. They also began to enter the learned professions – law and medicine. They prospered with large and small stores in the central business district, where they also lived, later migrating into the "Old Louisville" neighborhood. Dynasties were established that have left their charitable mark on the institutions of the

Jewish community. Religiously, they included adherents of the most liberal wing of the Reform movement, as well as more tradition-minded Jews. New congregations were founded. By the 1880s, a new wave of immigrants from Eastern Europe began to transform the community (their story during this time period will be told in Chapter Four).

During this time, the center of the Jewish community was moving east and south as the central business district spread into formerly residential and mixed areas. From the earliest center around Market and 4th Streets in the 1830s, institutions and homes moved to the area around 3rd and Liberty Streets by the 1860s, and then to Chestnut and Walnut Streets near 1st Street and beyond.

In 1878, there were only about 3,600 Jews in all of Kentucky, a tiny fraction of the state's population. By 1881, about 3,000 of them were in Louisville.[1] During the 1870s, two congregations had served Louisville's Jewish community. The larger, on the religious left, Adas Israel, had fully embraced the American Reform movement's innovations. Its members were primarily German-born Jews and their American-born children, who now chose English as the vernacular tongue for worship, study, and all aspects of congregational life. The other synagogue, Beth Israel, was a smaller, more traditional congregation. Orthodox in practice, it included Jews from eastern Germany and others from Austria and other German regions who preferred a traditional Jewish setting. They used Hebrew for worship, and English for congregational business.[2]



Beth Israel Congregation, on Green Street.

As the old joke goes, "two Jews – three congregations." In September 1880, fourteen German-speaking Jews met at Excelsior Hall, First and Market Streets, to form a new congregation, Brith Sholom, that split the religious difference between the existing congregations. They were part of a continuing flow of immigrants from Germany who rejected both "*shtetl*" orthodoxy as well as the radical American version of Reform Judaism. They wanted more Jewish tradition, and they wanted it in German. In the early years, this group of new German immigrants included Herman Meyer, who would become Louisville's Jewish undertaker, and the Kling family. As Arthur Kling had heard from his parents:

> *When my parents and grandparents came over... the ritual at the reform congregation was too radical for them, so they devised their own ritual, which was more conservative, and a very distinguished attorney at that time, Lewis Dembitz... and the Rabbi, a man by the name of Ignatius Mueller, devised a special prayer book, which was not orthodox, but it wasn't reformed in the terms of those days.*[3]

These founders had been active in the Beth Israel School,[4] and at first had hoped to make changes within Beth Israel, but instead developed plans for a new German-oriented synagogue. Brith Sholom's services were held using Hebrew, German, and some English, and meetings were to be held in German (Adas Israel had abandoned German in 1868). Like Adas Israel, Brith Sholom would have an organ, and allow mixed seating of men and women together as in Reform practice. Though Conservative Judaism had not yet



Brith Sholom on First Street.

started as an organized movement, congregations such as Brith Sholom that included aspects of both tradition and reform were beginning to emerge in the United States to meet the needs of new American Jews.

In 1881, Brith Sholom constructed a synagogue, "a small, but imposing brick structure," nearby on First Street, south of Walnut. The long, narrow building had an elaborate street façade that included gothic-arched doors and windows, rounded Italianate side windows with additional round windows above, all capped with three finials at the sides and center of the arched roof. The interior was arranged to allow the bimah to face the congregation, as was more common in the Reform movement. The early records of this congregation have been lost, but some of the early rabbis included Rev. E. N. Myers, Rev. Emanuel Rosenfelder, Rev. Kuttner, and, in 1892, Falk Vidaves. Dr. Ignatius Mueller became rabbi in 1895 and served the congregation for thirty years.[5] In 1894 the congregation received a charter to establish a synagogue "according to the form and mode of worship of the German Israelites in said city of Louisville." Brith Sholom purchased a cemetery in 1887.[6]

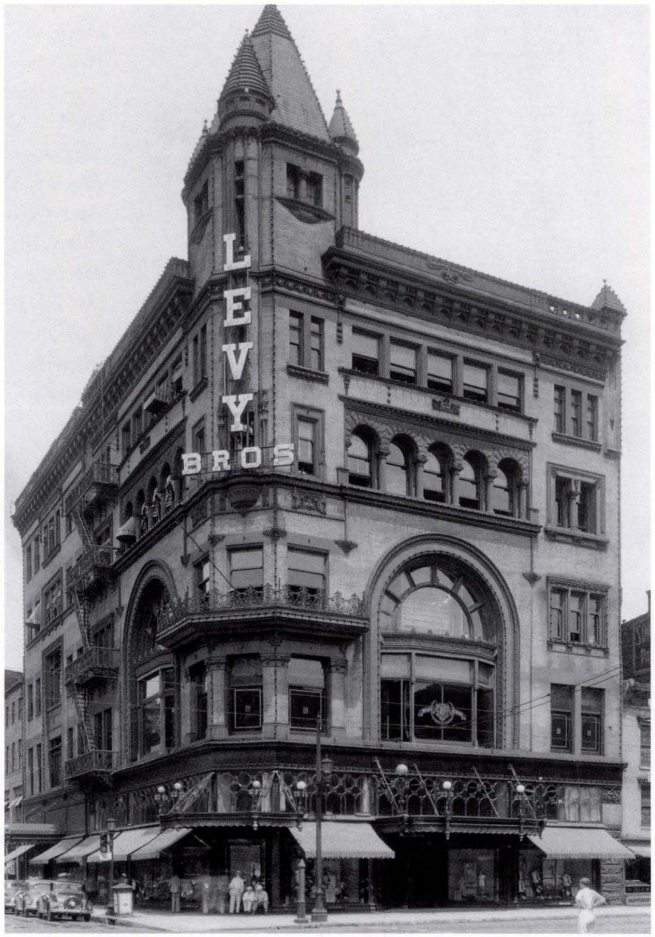
Retaining a connection to German culture and the German language was extremely important to this new immigrant group. The Kling family, for example, were also active members of the "Turner society," the political/gymnastic group founded by the German revolutionary 49ers, which still flourished in Louisville and other American cities. Arthur Kling later recounted that "instead of going to religious services on Saturday morning, I was into Turner Hall to study German."[7]

Adas Israel was now well established in its new, imposing building on Broadway, with a European-trained rabbi, Dr. Levi Kleeberg, to provide spiritual guidance for the congregation. Some of the members were still being reluctantly dragged toward reform. In 1871, it was reported that "it was still impossible to pass a resolution requiring members to take their hats off in the Temple." But as an organization, the congregation was in the vanguard of the Reform movement. In 1873, Adas Israel participated in the conference to establish the Hebrew Union and College in Cincinnati. By 1878, the congregation had 248 members and was the second largest Reform congregation in America.[8]

In 1877 a new rabbi arrived to serve the congregation, Dr. Emil Hirsch, from Baltimore (originally from Luxembourg, where his father was the Chief Rabbi). He was at Adas Israel for only two years, but during that time he was reportedly the highest paid rabbi in the world. Simon Flexner, whose family joined the congregation, found him "a striking figure, young and modern, also an excellent preacher." He spoke English, which was preferred by the American-born younger members of the congregation. Hirsch, in

accordance with Reform views, preached that Jews were not to be viewed as a "chosen people," and that Judaism should be understood as a religion among religions, rather than as a tribe or a "people." He adapted the "social gospel" idea of Christian churches, with the synagogue as a center of community life in all aspects. He expressed a strong belief in social justice with a temple open to rich and poor, with free seating available to those who could not afford to purchase pews. He believed in Sunday services in addition to Saturday, which would focus on a sermon that was a formal lecture and provide education for adults.[9]

In 1880, Hirsch moved on to Chicago and a distinguished career, and was replaced by Rabbi Adolph Moses. Moses had an enormous impact on the congregation, and on Jewish Louisville, during his twenty years at Adas Israel. Moses, called the "dean of reformed Judaism in America," was a scholar who spoke English, German, Hebrew, Latin, and Greek. He was born in the village of Kletchevo and grew up in the town of Santomichel, in the Posen region of Prussia, and was educated at the University of Breslau. Moses left school to go to Naples and fight with Garibaldi, "for the sake of an idea," he wrote, "for the sheer desire to take part in a work of historic moment, I stole away from Breslau ... and besought Dr. Betrani, Garibaldi's right hand man."[10] This dashing move forever after lent an air of glamour and courage to his reputation.



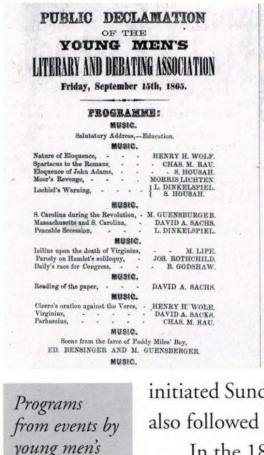
Levy Brothers Menswear Store, 3rd and Market.

In 1870, at the age of twenty, Rabbi Moses arrived in the United States, settling first in Alabama, and then Louisville in 1881 after working with Emil Hirsch to establish the journal *Zeitgeist*, which advocated high Reform principles, a "lofty and liberal Judaism." Since Adas Israel had by then abolished the separate position of cantor, the versatile Moses acted as rabbi, cantor, and Torah reader. He also found time to earn a medical degree at the Louisville College of Medicine. He wrote articles and published books of sermons and a theological work, *The Religion of Moses*. During his long tenure, he was considered Louisville's most prominent rabbi and spokesman for the Jewish people.[11]

Moses preferred to call the religion not "Judaism," but "Jehovaism," or "Yahvism," arguing that anyone was Jewish if he believed in the principles of the religion. A person who didn't believe simply wasn't Jewish – no national, genetic, or clan identities were needed. Judaism was a set of beliefs like any other faith.[12]

... the truly genuine American Israelites have completely emancipated themselves from the yoke of ceremonial laws... the outer wall raised by prejudice, ignorance, race antipathies, and religious fanaticism... is still far from being demolished.[13]

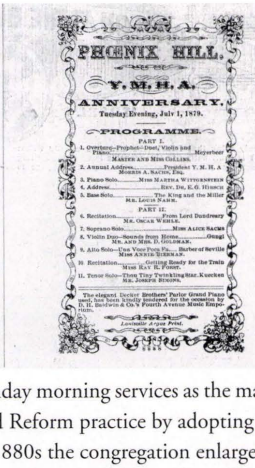
Liberation from Jewish law was a reassuring concept to many of Louisville's Jews. People faced practical conflicts in maintaining their Jewish observance. The main problem was Shabbat – how could these business owners afford to be closed on Saturdays, the main shopping day in Louisville? How could employees of businesses ask for the day off, when Saturday was a regular working day and Sunday was the day of rest? Moses told them: "The customs, usages, and ceremonial laws of the ancient Asiatic Hebrews and of the isolated, medieval Jews are in many respects hopelessly antagonistic to the ways of life of modern Occidental civilization."[14] Moses gave Louisville's Jews permission to adapt.



PUBLIC DECLAMATION
OF THE
YOUNG MEN'S
LITERARY AND DEBATING ASSOCIATION
Friday, September 15th, 1865.

PROGRAMME:

MUSIC.
Salutatory Address,—Education.
MUSIC.
Nature of Eloquence, - - - - HENRY H. WOLF.
Spartacus to the Romans, - - - CHAS. M. RAU.
Eloquence of John Adams, - - - S. HOURAH.
Moor's Revenge, - - - - MORRIS LICHTEN.
Lochiel's Warning, - - - - { J. DINKELSPIEL. S. HOURAH.
MUSIC.
S. Carolina during the Revolution, - M. GUENSBURGER.
Massachusetts and S. Carolina, - DAVID A. SACHS.
Peaceable Secession, - - - - L. DINKELSPIEL.
MUSIC.
Iollius upon the death of Virginius, - - M. LIFE.
Parody on Hamlet's soliloquy, - JOS. ROTHCHILD.
Daily's race for Congress, - - - B. GOLDSHAW.
MUSIC.
Reading of the paper, - - - DAVID A. SACHS.
MUSIC.
Cicero's oration against the Veres, - HENRY H. WOLF.
Virginius, - - - - - DAVID A. SACKS.
Perhaulus, - - - - - CHAS. M. RAU.
MUSIC.
Scene from the farce of Paddy Miles' Boy,
ED. BESSINGER AND M. GUENSBERGER.
MUSIC.



PHŒNIX HILL.
Y. M. H. A.
ANNIVERSARY.
Tuesday Evening, July 1, 1879.

PROGRAMME.

PART I.
1. Overture—Prophet—Duet, Violin and Piano.....Meyerbeer
MASTER AND MISS COLLINS.
2. Annual Address.....PRESIDENT Y. M. H. A
3. Song—Sweet Home, A. Kaufmann, Esq.
4. Piano Solo.....MISS MARTHA WITTENBERG
5. Address.....REV. DR. K. G. HIRSCH
6. Base Solo, "The King and the Miller of Dee".....
MR. LOUIS LEVY.
PART II.
7. Recitation.....From Lord Dundreary
MR. OSCAR WEIL.
8. Soprano Solo.....MISS ALICE SACHS
9. Violin Duo—Sounds from Home.....Ossagi
MR. AND MRS. D. GOLDMAN.
10. Alto Solo—Una Voce Poco Fa.....Barber of Seville
MISS ANNIE SIEBERT.
11. Recitation.....Getting Ready for the Train
MISS KATE R. POOLE.
12. Tenor Solo—Three Tiny Twinkling Stars.....Kuecken
MR. JOSEPH SINGER.

The elegant Decker Brothers' Parlor Grand Piano used, has been kindly donated for the occasion by Messrs. Bauhaus & Co.'s FOURTH AVENUE Music Emporium.

1879.
Louisville Steam Print.

Programs from events by young men's organizations that were forerunners of the YMHA.

In 1869, Adas Israel had responded to this problem by establishing a Friday night service for *Kabbalat Shabbat*, welcoming the Sabbath, for those who were not able to attend on Saturday. Some reformers argued that there was no reason to cling to Saturday as Shabbat – why not just observe the Sabbath on Sunday, as Christians did, and follow the custom of the country? Enough members were persuaded that in 1891, by a vote of fifty-nine to eight, Adas Israel initiated Sunday morning services as the main Shabbat service of the week. Two years later, the congregation also followed Reform practice by adopting the *Union Prayer Book* as the foundation for worship.[15]

In the 1880s the congregation enlarged and improved its building on Broadway at 6th:

The architectural merit of the building was impaired by a very long and steep flight of steps extending nearly the whole breadth of the Broadway front. Within the past year, however, these have been replaced by broad stone steps of easy ascent, leading from each side of the former, concealed by a very handsome stone parapet extending along the front... The whole structure has been painted a cheerful color and now presents the appearance of a new and elegant building.[16]

A few years later, Adas Israel added a new Sabbath-School building. Joseph Cohen, who also taught German in the public schools, was the Superintendent of this school for twenty-five years, and "in this capacity he taught thousands of children." [17]

In contrast to this visibility and permanence, congregation Beth Israel, also known as the Green Street congregation or the Polish congregation, frequently lacked a rabbi, relying on readers and laypeople to run services. The congregation finally hired the Rev. Dr. S. F. Sollinger, who served as rabbi from about 1888 to 1891. Like Adas Israel's Dr. Moses, Sollinger (or Salinger) was both a doctor of medicine and of divinity. Born in Russia in 1860, he studied in Germany and lived in Pennsylvania and Ohio before coming to Louisville. He continued to practice medicine while serving as rabbi.[18]

As the community grew, new arrangements needed to be made for burying the dead because the existing burial ground on Preston and Woodbine just south of the city was too small to serve the expanding Jewish population. In 1873, Adas Israel purchased fifteen acres of land on Preston Street well beyond the city limits. The other congregations, Beth Israel and Brith Sholom, soon followed and purchased land adjoining or nearby. This area remains the primary Jewish burial ground for the Louisville community.

As Jews prospered financially, they sought social reassurance of their place in the elite of the city. Louisville's prestigious Pendennis Club, founded in 1881, was closed to Jews (although an exception was apparently made for Alfred Brandeis, whose wife was not Jewish).[19] A place for businessmen and social leaders to meet downtown, the club was seen as *the* place to belong for the upper classes of Kentucky. The Jewish community soon responded by forming a club of its own. The Standard Club, founded in 1883 and formally incorporated in 1885, became the social meeting place for Jews in the region, as prestigious in Jewish circles as Pendennis was for gentile society. Henry Klauber, owner of Klauber's Artistic Shop, was the first president, with Henry Levy of Levy Brothers as vice president. J. B. Judah was the manager. The downtown building at 5th and Walnut included a magnificent ballroom, which was used for weddings and concerts.[20]



Charles Rosenheim's restaurant supply business on Main Street.

As in other cities, the origins of the Louisville Young Men's Hebrew Association, the YMHA (later the Jewish Community Center) were found in young men's literary and debating societies. These at first served as "the youth wing of American Reform Judaism." One such organization formed as the "M. E. Literary Association" in Louisville in 1864. In September of 1865, as the city was recovering from the Civil War, a group called the Young Mens' Literary and Debating Association offered an evening program of music and addresses, including famous speeches from Roman history and American history. Although the word "Jewish" did not appear on the program for the event, the participants – Dinkelspiel, Sachs, Godshaw, Bensinger – were clearly mainly, if not exclusively, Jewish.[21] Around 1878, the two groups merged into the Young Men's Hebrew Association. Louis Bernard Hess, a pharmacy student from a merchant family, led the organization and was "its original and most active promoter." Bernard Hess' sister, Mrs. Sidney J. Meyers, described the early YMHA:

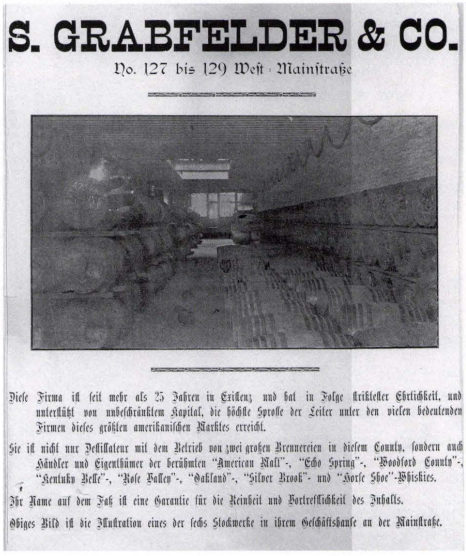
> *It was an independent organization, working along religious, philanthropic and educational lines. Its members gave much time to the study of the reform movement in Judaism at that time and the discussions were worth-while. Events of the day were always taken up and thoroughly discussed, although religious matters were of dominant interest. The yellow fever situation at that time was the most serious problem of the day. The care and housing of refugees from the epidemic stricken districts was one of the humane movements, in which the Y.M.H.A.'s work was telling and helpful.*[22]

On July 1, 1879, the YMHA celebrated its first anniversary at Phoenix Hill Park. Community members, including Adas Israel's rabbi, Rev. Dr. E. G. Hirsch, Morris Sachs, Oscar Wehle, and others offered songs, addresses, and recitations.[23] Unfortunately, Bernard Hess became ill and died young in 1882, and the organization faltered. In the 1890s, the organization would be revived and formally incorporated under Isaac Bernheim's leadership.

Business was the business of Louisville's Jews in the late 19th century. Most Jews continued in commerce and trade, wholesale and retail, usually founding their own establishments rather than working for others. By the 1870s and 1880s, a surprising number of Jewish merchants or their sons made the transition from peddler or small shop owner to become operators of considerable businesses in the downtown district, with a clientele that included the entire population of the city. Some had built their businesses initially in outlying towns, and now moved to Louisville. They sold dry goods, "Queensware" dishes, furniture, hardware, and jewelry. Distilling, a mainstay of Louisville's economy in both manufacturing and distribution, also attracted many Jewish businessmen. Some men ventured into manufacturing.

True to tradition, many Jews were in the dry goods and clothing business, including hatmaking and other branches of the trade. Louisville was a retail market center for the region surrounding it, a source of supply for most of the things farmers needed and wanted. The Civil War had provided new markets for wholesaling and manufacturing, which Kentucky businesspeople quickly seized. A recession followed the War as many Southern firms that were clients and debtors of Louisville businesses failed, and businesses were reorganized. Recovery was underway when the Panic of 1873, a severe financial crisis, hit the country. Many businesses went down in this period, but by the 1880s business was again good. Businessmen who showed resilience and adaptability to changing markets and opportunities were able to recover and thrive.

The late 19th century was a booming time for retail stores everywhere. "Ready-to-wear" clothing was just beginning to be mass-produced in factories, sewn by machine rather than stitched at home. Fashions dictated appropriate accessories, and shops sold hats, corsets, ribbons, shoes, and other custom-made and factory-made items to city dwellers. Houses of those who wished to be in good taste required yards and yards of silk for curtains, cushions, and other drapery, as well as fine furniture and elegant table settings. New methods of merchandising these goods were developed as well – the department store was invented around the time of the Civil War, and shopping, once the province of men, became an acceptable activity for ladies. Advertising as well became a means of informing and enticing shoppers to buy. In Louisville, the center of this retail trade shifted from Market Street to expand along Fourth, which quickly became the preferred address.


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Obiges Bild ist die Illustration eines der sechs Stockwerke in ihrem Geschäftshause an der Mainstraße.

Grabfelder's distillery ad.

The new demand for consumer goods also created jobs in producing them, and Louisville continued to try to diversify its historical commercial base to include more manufacturing. There was room in this economy for enterprising men and women to find niches of demand, and to create businesses to fill them. Opportunity was everywhere. For those who arrived with nothing, opportunity might mean the chance to work in a sweatshop stitching clothes for manufacturers until a better chance came along. Some came with capital, like the Brandeis family, but others started from nothing–

Henry Fleischaker, for example, "came to America in 1888, with his clothes and his character." Twenty years later, he owned three businesses.[24]

Levy Brothers clothiers was one of the oldest and the most well known of the Jewish-owned downtown stores. Moses Levy began selling men's clothing in 1861. The brothers, Moses and Henry, were from Nierstein, Germany, and had trained in their father's hardware store before moving to Frankfurt-am-Main. Arriving in the United States in 1857, Moses, the elder, tried Pennsylvania and then moved to Louisville where he

Barney Dreyfuss 1865-1932



During the late 1800s, frail little Barney Dreyfuss (125 pounds, tops) was a big man in Louisville major league baseball. How he got to Louisville, and how he went on to even greater baseball glory in Pittsburgh during the first third of the twentieth century, is another story — several other stories, in fact, for Barney Dreyfuss was of the stuff of legends.

He was born on February 23, 1865, in Freiburg, Germany. At 16, he left his confining job as a banking apprentice to answer a call to America from two older cousins, Isaac and Bernhard Bernheim, who had emigrated to Paducah, Kentucky, where they founded the Bernheim Brothers Distillery.

Barney later claimed he had started out at the distillery by scrubbing whiskey barrels. Actually, he entered the family's business as an assistant bookkeeper. And since he was, as noted by one his cousins, "exceedingly apt," Barney worked his way up through the distillery's ranks to become its credit manager. More important to his eventual baseball career, he was given a valuable financial interest in the growing company.

Early on in America, Barney became an avid baseball fan, and organized and played on his own team in Paducah. Soon after the Bernheim Distillery moved to Louisville in 1888, he became president of the City Baseball League, in which his company fielded a team. Significantly, he also bought stock in the major league Louisville Colonels. By the middle 1890s, he was on the Colonels' Board of Directors, and before long became the team's president. About this time, Barney's physician told him he needed to get away from the confines of the distillery and get outdoors more. Barney chose baseball. He sold his stock in the distillery and bought control of the Colonels.

In 1899, when the National League tried to solve its financial troubles by reducing the number of teams from twelve to eight, Barney realized the struggling Louisville Colonels were doomed. So he bought a controlling interest in the Pittsburgh Pirates and took most of his Louisville team with him to Pennsylvania — including his protégé, the sensational young Honus Wagner who, after 32 years in the employ of Pirates owner Dreyfuss, went on to baseball's Hall of Fame.

In those same years, "The Little Colonel" from Kentucky did pretty well himself. In 1903, he invented the World Series when the National League Champion Pirates challenged the Boston Pilgrims, champions of the new American League, to an eight-game post-season tournament. Although Dreyfuss' Pirates lost, the World Series became a permanent fixture in baseball. During his 32-year ownership of the National League Pittsburgh Pirates, they won six league pennants, and won the World Series in 1909 and 1925. Dreyfuss brought the ballpark itself into the 20th century, building the first modern steel framed three-tier stadium, Pittsburgh's Forbes Field, in 1909. He also led a successful battle to unify baseball as an organization by creating the position of Commissioner of Baseball.

Barney Dreyfuss is honored in the International Jewish Sports Hall of Fame in Netanya, Israel.

– by Pete Ely

started a clothing store. In 1866 he moved the store to a better location at the corner of 3rd and Market. Henry joined him in 1873, and the store quickly grew to include dozens of staff. Ironically, the Levys were huge suppliers of Confederate uniforms–after the war. They provided commemorative uniforms for reunions, parades and encampments for veterans, many of whom had never had the opportunity to wear an actual uniform, given the acute shortages of the Confederate Army during the War.[25] In 1893, the company built its landmark building at the prominent corner of 3rd and Market. Like most of Louisville's successful German-Jewish businessmen during this period, the Levys joined Adas Israel and were active leaders of the congregation.

The dry-goods trade passed from the age of the peddler to the age of the elegant emporium. Kaufman-Straus pioneered the department store in Louisville. Partners Henry Kaufman and Benjamin Straus personified two paths to success typical of Louisville's Jewish business aristocracy. Kaufman, an immigrant from Baden, Germany, served his apprenticeship there and then moved to New York. He worked his way to Louisville in 1873. Starting with a small store on Jefferson Street between 7th and 8th, he built a new version of a store popular in larger cities that would meet all needs under one roof, with fashionable conveniences like a restaurant in the building. He expanded in 1883 by going into partnership with Straus. Benjamin Straus, unlike his partner, was born in Kentucky. He lived in Howe's Valley and Owensboro before moving to the big city, and once in Louisville he attended business college.[26] In 1887 the store moved to a prestigious location on 4th Street between Liberty and Walnut, the former Adas Israel site. When this building burned, Kaufman and Straus rebuilt on the site and the new building was opened in 1892. This collaboration between the European-born, traditionally educated Kaufman, and the American-born, college trained Straus proved to be highly successful.



Loevenhart's Men's Store.

Herman Straus (no relation) lived a rags-to-riches story as well. His department store at 4th and Market flourished for sixty years. He had come to Louisville in 1865 at the age of twelve, with his parents and eight of their other children, and "the family for a while lived in one room and a kitchen." Only one day after arriving, Straus had a job with Staar Brothers Dry Goods, the largest in the city, and seven years later he had saved $655 in capital and went into business for himself. For a time he was partnered with Samuel Weis, of Reinfanz, Germany, who had a large dry goods store on Market Street in the growing West End. By the end of the century Straus employed three hundred people at his emporium, and was a member of Adas Israel and the social clubs of Louisville's Jewish elite. Weis became president of "the First Street Temple," as Brith Sholom was then known.[27]

Other important stores followed. Lee Loevenhart moved his men's store from Lexington to Louisville and set up at Third and Market directly opposite rival Levy's. Loevenhart, born in Wolfenhasen, Germany, had tried Knoxville, Columbus, Lexington, and Fayette before succeeding in Louisville.[28]

Located on Main Street's wholesale row, Jewish-owned wholesale dry goods firms supplied many of the peddlers and country stores around Louisville, providing the credit that launched many small businessmen. One of the earliest was S. Ullman & Co., founded by Ullman and his partner Bernard Hess around 1855. In 1864 this firm merged with Bamberger, Bloom & Co., a wholesale notion and dry goods business that started so many peddlers into thriving business careers. Nathan Bloom came to America with the '48ers from Hesse-Darmstadt. Bloom started as a migrant peddler who established a general store in Daviess County, Kentucky, and moved to Louisville in 1852 with his brother-in-law, Julius Bamberger, and founded the wholesale dry goods business Bamberger, Bloom & Co. In 1872, the firm built its six-story headquarters building on Main near 7th, part of a district of Jewish- and gentile-owned wholesale businesses and warehouses. "Main Street ... from First Street down to Seventh Street was the wholesale houses... they were Jewish merchants."[29]



Rosenbaum's fur and hide business on East Market Stret. Far left, Kramer's Kosher butcher.

Nathan F. Block, who came to the United States in 1854 from Schoefleish, Bavaria, worked for a time for S. Ullman & Co. before starting his own country store in Lancaster, Kentucky. He then returned to Louisville to start the Lower New York Store, selling dry goods, at 10th and Market (named, perhaps, out of recognition of the Jewish Lower East Side of New York). He later started several other businesses and joined Adas Israel and other Jewish organizations.[30]

Though ready-to-wear clothes were increasingly popular, gentlemen still required tailoring. When tailor Levi Moses came to Louisville in 1850 from Eblesasser, Hesse-Darmstadt, Germany, "his sole capital was his brains, push, and energy." He soon opened a store on Market Street between 7th and 8th Streets. Solomon A. Hilpp, also a tailor, founded Hilpp, Richardson & Co. in 1873 and within twenty-five years employed 250 people manufacturing menswear. Appel's menswear retail store opened next to Kaufman-Straus on Market Street in 1883. Other notable early dry goods stores were Charles Starr's, founded in 1885 on Market near 3rd, and Fleischaker's, a partnership with S. Newburger.[31]

A fine suit from Levy's or dress from Kaufman-Straus required the right hat, and Leopold Mendel, from Gomesweiler, Reinfalz, Germany, could provide it. He had originally settled in the Green River area around 1865, and "became a trader in a very small way," accumulating capital to open a general store in Rochester, Kentucky. This success gave him access to the credit to expand to seven stores with his brothers, Charles and Isaac. In 1886, he sold the country stores, moved to Louisville, and started the wholesale hat firm Mendel, Gosling, & Co. with L. Bretzfelder and I. E. Gosling. Mendel succeeded – he was soon a member of the elite Standard Club. Sigbert Lillienthal, from Eglau, West Prussia, arrived in Louisville in 1881 via Peekskill, New York, and started a retail millinery business before moving into real estate.[32] The Flexner family was also briefly engaged in selling men's hats.

Nathan Bensinger, one of the founders of Adas Israel, initially a tailor, built a furniture store in 1866 at 2nd and Main Streets (later moved to 3rd and Market near Levy's) that remained a landmark for generations.

During the late 19th century, Louisville continued to be a trans-shipment point for goods, including agricultural products. Commission agents bargained with producers for grains, livestock, and other farm products; shipped and warehoused them; and moved them on to customers. Brandeis & Crawford, later A. Brandeis & Son, run by Adolph and his son Alfred Brandeis, was an important company in this trade. After the Civil War, their grain business was in trouble when their Southern clients could no longer pay for grain. Adolph Brandeis remained in business for several years after the War, but then he closed down the firm shortly before the Panic of 1873, saving the family fortune. He reopened it when economic conditions improved. His famous son, Louis Brandeis, recounted that later in life, when Louis met a Kentucky man in Massachusetts, the man was more impressed that Brandeis came from the famous Brandeis grain family than that he was the Brandeis who sat on the Supreme Court.[33]

Other wholesalers found a niche in the chinaware business. Louisville's "King of Queensware," Charles Rosenheim, was born in Bavaria in 1840 and came to the United States before 1860. He first tried the cigar trade, then sold clothes at Rosenfield & Co., then founded his chinaware business in 1866 at 724 W. Main, in the wholesale district, in partnership with Moses Straus. Their 1882 building at the same location was a Victorian masterpiece of cast iron ornamentation and plate glass, with painted diagonal signs on the outside support columns showing their versatility: "Toys, Dolls, Novelties/China, Glass, Ware/Aluminum, Enamel, Ware/Hotel, Restaurant, Supplies."[34]

Louisville was the distribution center for the distilling industry of Kentucky, which included many large and small firms. Some were manufacturers; others were distributors to wholesale and retail dealers.

Jewish Photographers I

Jewish Louisvillians have been prominent in the art and business of photography to an unusual degree.

The photographic process itself was still in its infancy when Edward Klauber arrived in Louisville from Bohemia in 1855 at the age of twenty (possibly in part a political refugee from the Central European revolutions). In 1858, three years before the Civil War spread the popularity of photography, he opened a studio as "Daguerrian artist" on Market Street between 3rd and 4th. At the time there were a variety of photographic techniques, and Klauber mastered most of them, offering daguerrotypes, melanotypes, and ambrotypes made under studio conditions in his "Bee Hive Gallery" (where he also sold art supplies). His sitters posed for small "carte-de-visite" photos and large "imperial cabinet" portraits.

Klauber also did landscapes for the Kentucky Geological Survey, was the first to photograph Mammoth Cave, and followed the troops photographing the Civil War in the region. His nephew J. B. Judah learned the art from Klauber, and photographed Louisville's 1881 Flood.

Klauber's "flare for showmanship won... unusual success," according to a newspaper account. He sought out actors and other celebrities, and made his studio (then on Jefferson Street, at the northeast corner of 3rd) a refuge for stage people from the nearby theaters. He made an excellent living selling actors and actresses their own images, as well as making the photos available to the public.

Klauber was related to the Godshaw, Streng, Flexner, and Abraham families. He died in 1918, but his son Henry continued the business (another son, Adolph, moved to New York and became an actor, theater critic, and producer). The family lived in the Cherokee Parkway area of the Highlands, and was among the first Jewish families to make the move to the suburbs. They were active in Adath Israel, where Edward served as trustee and officer for almost fifty years.[57]



LOUISVILLE, KY., December 21, 1915.

WE WANT YOUR FURS

We are paying today for prime, well handled furs the following prices (unprime furs at their value). We pay 10 per cent more for furs from Indiana, Ohio, Illinois and Virginia. Prices subject to market changes.

	No. 1 Large	No. 2	No. 3	No. 4
RACCOONS	$1.75—$2.00	$1.00—$1.50	$ .60—$ .90	25c to 50c
OPOSSUM	.75— .80	.30— .50	.10— .20	SMALL and TRASH WORTHLESS
MUSKRATS	.30— .35	.15— .25	.05— .10	.....
RED FOX	3.00— 4.00	2.00— 2.50	1.00— 1.50	25c to 35c
GRAY FOX	1.50— 1.75	1.00— 1.25	.50— .80	25c to 35c
MINKS	2.50— 2.75	1.25— 1.75	.50— 1.00	25c to 40c

Civets, 25c to 50c House Cats, 10c to 25c Wild Cats, 60c to 75c

No. 1 large Black Skunk, $2.50; Short Striped, $1.25 to $1.50 Long Striped, 75c to 90c; White, 40c to 45c

Horse Hides, Green Hides, Sheepskins, Wool, Tallow, Roots, are in good demand.

Yours truly,

ISAAC ROSENBAUM & SONS.

Some both made and sold liquor, primarily whiskey. Some German Jewish immigrants to Louisville brought experience working with breweries and distilleries in Europe; others found opportunities to work themselves up from traveling salesmen to owners of distilling firms. In 1888, Isaac W. Bernheim and Bernard Bernheim moved their firm from Paducah to Louisville to take advantage of the railroads. The firm initially distributed products made by others, but in 1896, Bernheim Brothers opened their own distillery, Pleasure Ridge Distillery. First located on Main Street's "Whiskey Row" between 1st and 2nd, they soon moved their headquarters to the former Bamberger, Bloom building at 7th and Main. The Bernheim fortune grew into a major support of Jewish organizations and civic causes throughout the region.[35]

Samuel Grabfelder also made his fortune in whiskey. A native of Rehweiler, Bavaria, he arrived as a young teenager in Louisville in 1857 "dependent entirely on his own resources, knew nothing of the language or customs of the country." He proved skilled in business, working in traveling sales for a liquor wholesaler, and in 1879 founded S. Grabfelder & Co., a leading dealer in Kentucky whiskey and bourbon. Grabfelder's Whiskey Row office and warehouse were adjacent to the Bernheim's. The firm's early advertisements appeared in German and English. Grabfelder took on a prominent role in the community, serving as president of Adas Israel, president of the Standard Club, and other leadership positions.

Charles Bakrow, a Louisville native who trained in business college, worked first at J. Simons & Co. Whiskey, and had his own business by 1885. Richard Bakrow, born in Louisville in 1862, worked in wholesale whiskey with A. Rosenthal & Co. before starting his own business, Bakrow & Goodman, on West Jefferson Street in 1886. Louis Barkhouse, born in Essen, Germany, arrived in America in 1848, stopping in New York, Baltimore, Cincinnati, and finally Louisville. With his brother, he started a whiskey brokerage, and then a distillery. Barkhouse served as president of Adas Israel, and also as a member of the city School Board. Nathan F. Block started a whiskey wholesale business in 1887. Wholesale liquor distiller Hilmar Ehrmann, born in Tirnau, Austria, came to America in 1887. The next year, he started a business making German and French-style cordials at 306 East Market Street.[36] Other prominent names in distilling included the Greenbaum Brothers and D. Sachs and Sons.

Along with whiskey, one of Kentucky's other "sin" industries, tobacco manufacturing, was attractive to Jewish entrepreneurs. The most prominent of these was Samuel LeJeune, cigar manufacturer of the "LeJeune" cigar, a local favorite. Beginning as a salesman for H. Straus, he took a second night job canvassing for a cigar manufacturer, and eventually started his own business. LeJeune cigars were proudly advertised as "Union Made." The Linker family, whose empire ultimately included everything from bakeries to banking, also made cigars. Barnet Linker, an immigrant from Poland, arrived in December of 1894, skilled in the esoteric craft of rolling cigars. His "Linker stogie," sold at three for a nickel, was popular and was the foundation for a business that grew well beyond cigars.[37]

Victor M. Lorch's jewelry store at 256 Market Street was the forerunner of a business that would come to be dominated by Jews in the 20th century. Lorch, a Louisville native, worked in a jewelry store from the age of 13, and was only twenty when he opened his own store in 1882.[38] Other Jewish businessmen started first as pawnbrokers, and gradually came to specialize in the jewelry trade.

Encouraging the manufacture, rather than the distribution, of goods has been emphasized in Louisville's civic planning since the beginning (co-incidentally, it was also a concern in Germany – Jews in particular were encouraged to move from the economic role of middleman to that of producer). In the nineteenth century, only a few Jews ventured into manufacturing. David Hirsch, who founded Hirsch's Cider & Vinegar Works (later called Paramount Pickles) in 1881, was one of the few to take the risk. The company produced, bottled, and distributed pickles, vinegar, and condiments, including Hirsch's Fox Brand Tomato Catsup and Hirsch's Worcester Sauce, made in its Louisville plant. "They bring back your appetite and are an indispensable aid to good living," promised the advertisements. Hirsch was a member of Adas Israel and an enthusiastic supporter of the Grand Army of the Republic, an organization of Civil War Union veterans. He brought the G.A.R.'s 1893 convention to Louisville – a triumph for a Southern city.[39]



Simon Shapinsky came to the United States aged sixteen, in the 1860s, and, with help from Samuel Dinkelspiel, improved the local glass industry and founded a wholesale glass firm. Shapinsky then went on to found a dry goods emporium as well. He was an active member of Beth Israel congregation, and later of Adath Jeshurun. He was also one of the founders of Jewish Hospital.[40] Another major manufacturer, the Adler Manufacturing Company, made pianos, player pianos, and other examples of fine cabinetry and woodworking.[41]

Louisville was also a center for the fur and hide trade, with several major Jewish-owned firms on Market Street. Isaac Rosenbaum came to town as a peddler in 1872, and began to specialize in trading wool, hides, and roots (such as ginseng) on the Louisville-Paoli route. He built an imposing building in 1889 on Market Street near Preston, and was once the largest wool wholesaler in the South. Simon Goodman sold fur and hides as S. Goodman and Sons, also on Market Street. Other firms in this trade in the late 19th and early 20th century included L. S. Dinkelspiel and Co., the Sabel family, and the Tasman Company.[42]

Unlike many immigrants, some members of the Fleischaker family were able to transfer their business skills intact from Germany. Generations of Fleischakers (the name literally means "meatpacker") served as master butchers in their native city of Merchingen. In Louisville, they continued as meat cutters and packers, operating a slaughterhouse business in Butchertown that served both the Jewish and non-Jewish community.[43]

Not everyone who immigrated to Louisville during the late 19th century from Germany founded a family dynasty of business success. Many started modest businesses and remained in modest circumstances. Some worked in the larger establishments as bookkeepers, clerks, buyers, and in other roles. Some failed entirely and moved on. These men rarely became presidents of congregations, or joined the Standard Club, or had buildings named after them (and, of course, regardless of their stature in the community, women

never did). While German Jews in Louisville generally did quite well economically and socially, as they did in other parts of the United States, success was not universal, and there were many supporting players whose names are less known than those of the community leaders whose names appeared on plaques.

Some Jewish Louisvillians sought a path into American society through professions. In the late 19th century, medicine was a largely unregulated profession. Although there were respected schools of medicine in major cities connected with major universities, there were also large numbers of small, under-funded, for-profit medical schools whose education was of indifferent or inadequate quality. Louisville had a number of medical institutions that struggled for students. Since a medical education took time and was relatively expensive even at these smaller schools, people of modest means were rarely able to attempt it. Pharmacy, however, was a profession in the medical field that was easier to enter, and many of Louisville's young Jewish men became pharmacists. The Louisville College of Pharmacy, founded by post-1848 German refugees as a trade school, was one of only three pharmacy schools in the United States. It educated many local pharmacists, including many Jews, through the first half of the 20th century, and helped make Louisville a center of wholesaling as well as retailing in this trade.[44]

The first generation of German-Jewish immigrants included very few physicians (Siegmund Dembitz, father of Lewis Dembitz and Frederika Brandeis, was an exception) because medical schools in Germany and in Central Europe had severely restricted Jewish enrollment. It was the next generation, born in America in the mid-to-late 19th century, who were able to receive training in professions such as medicine and law.



Louisville College of Pharmacy.

One of Louisville's most prominent Jewish physicians was Dr. I. N. Bloom, whose father Nathan had founded the dry goods wholesalers Bamberger, Bloom, & Co. Born in Louisville in 1858, he studied medicine at Yale and Harvard, and then in Vienna, Austria. Returning home in 1883, he began a practice with Dr. Samuel Brandeis. Bloom, a dermatologist, was on the staff at the University of Louisville Hospital and Jewish Hospital, and was one of the founders of the YMHA. He married Fannie Peixotto, of a prominent Philadelphia Sephardic family, whose relatives had passed briefly through Louisville during the 1830s. Bloom became active in education in the city of Louisville, serving as a school trustee and president of the Board of Education.[45]

The story of the Flexner family, several of whose members became nationally famous in their fields, illustrates some of the problems of Jews seeking to move into the professions – and how they overcame them with the support of family members. The Moritz Flexner family had been impoverished by the Panic of 1873, when their business' debtors defaulted. "It was one of the first Market Street houses to go under." Esther Flexner's sister married Edward Klauber, a successful photographer, who established Morris in a small retail hat store and enabled the family to move to a small house on Market Street over the store. Simon Flexner, who had been an unsatisfactory and unmotivated student and had left school without finishing, worked for Klauber, and was fired despite the family ties.[46]

The eldest son, Jacob, had been intended for medicine, but there was no money to pay his tuition. Instead he attended Pharmacy school because he could work his way through by serving an apprenticeship while studying. When he graduated, he started his own twenty-four hour pharmacy in the downtown business district. Because he had to be on the premises at all hours of the day and night, he lived above the shop. His brother, Simon, also went to the Louisville College of Pharmacy and worked with Jacob. Jacob's skill and unusual learning in medicine and study of therapeutic literature led his store to be seen as "an institution rather than a shop." He married Rosie Maas, daughter of the sexton of Adas Israel, whose house adjoined the Flexners' 6th Street house.[47]

Simon saw Jacob as the head and leader of the family during the 1870s, when their father fell into depression and drinking (he died in 1882). Simon, who felt a keen rivalry with Jacob, nonetheless credited him with all of the successes of their family.[48] With his earnings from the store, Jacob paid for his younger brother, Abraham, to study at Johns Hopkins University–the education he himself might have had. Simon later followed. Ultimately, however, Abraham's later success earned him the money to send his elder brother to medical school–and Jacob Flexner did become a physician, prominent and beloved in Louisville, who "paid many a house call with no compensation other than a glass of hot tea." He would be one of the first doctors at the new Jewish Hospital in Louisville.[49]



Simon Flexner.

Their brother, Bernard Flexner, became a lawyer in Louisville and Chicago after studying at the University of Louisville and the University of Virginia,[50] and two younger brothers founded one of the largest financial printing firms in the country, Lincoln Printing, also in Chicago.

As with medicine, training for the legal profession in the late 19th century was also possible at a variety of respected institutions and at smaller, often for-profit, competitive trade schools. Apprenticeship with local attorneys was another way to get the knowledge to pass the bar exam; many lawyers never attended a formal school.

Attorney Lafayette Joseph arrived in Louisville from Gallatin, Kentucky, as a boy in 1850. He worked first in a dry goods store, Hyman, Uri, & Co., and graduated from the Louisville Law Department just after the Civil War. He sat on the City Council, was the Assistant City Attorney, and was the attorney for the Louisville School Board. This achievement gave Louisville Jews a public figure to be proud of, a Jew in a position of community service with a reputation for honesty. According to a 1901 history: "Lafayette Joseph has been of incalculable benefit to Kentucky Judaism, as he has shown to the world how broad, fair-minded, and impartial a Jew can be... He has been in politics for two decades without stain or blemish."[51]

Aaron Kohn was born in Louisville in 1854 to "parents in the humble walks of life." After he left school at fifteen, Kohn sold mattresses to support his family. With higher ambitions, he went to night school at the Louisville Law School and after only one year his special aptitude was so apparent that he was admitted to the Bar at the age of nineteen by a Special Act of the Kentucky Legislature. He read law under Isaac R. Green and then partnered with him in the firm of Green & Kohn, which became Barker & Kohn and then Kohn, Baird, & Spindle. He also served the city as a very successful prosecuting attorney for Jefferson County, a three–term Alderman, and member of the Board of Public Works.[52]

Attorney Lewis Dembitz served in positions of authority in public and professional life. Dembitz practiced in the law firm of James Speed, Lincoln's associate, and published reference books on law.

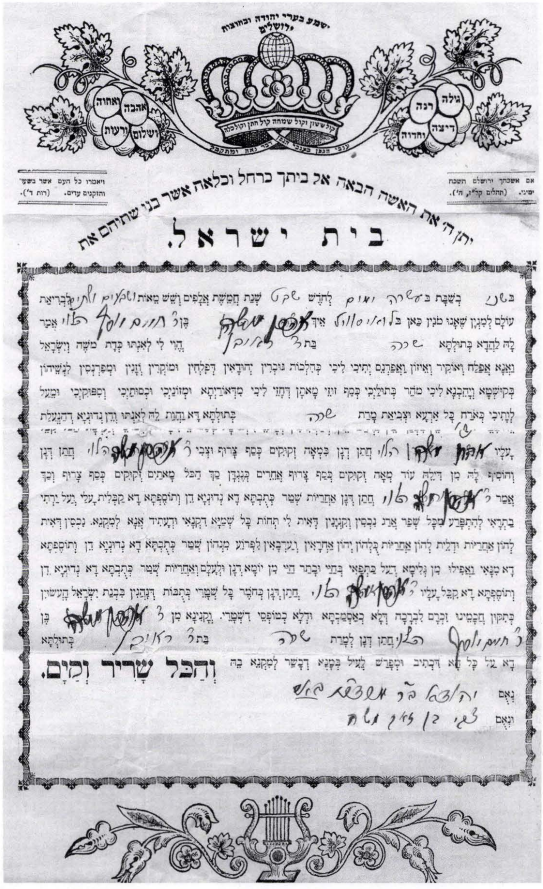
Alfred Selligman and his younger brother, Joseph Selligman, practiced law as partners beginning in the late 19th century. Alfred was frequently drafted to serve as a special temporary judge on the Circuit Court.

His daughter, Doni, remembered him as "a large, dramatic person in a Stetson and a black overcoat." He took special interest in the problems of youth, and besides his work with the YMHA he also founded the Newsboys Home and worked to create a Board of Children's Guardians for Jefferson County. Many Louisville attorneys apprenticed with the firm. Norton Goldsmith, son of attorney Charles Goldsmith, was a partner in the firm.[53] Selligman was very active behind the scenes in politics with the Republican party. He worked with his Democratic counterparts on a special committee to reform politics in the city.

Louisville's most famous native son in the legal profession was Louis Dembitz Brandeis, who never practiced in Louisville, but never forgot where he came from. After completing his education in Germany, he was ready to leave Europe. He wrote: "In Kentucky you could whistle [without being reprimanded by police]… I wanted to go back to America and I wanted to study law. My uncle, the abolitionist, was a lawyer, and to me nothing else seemed worthwhile."[54] Brandeis attended Harvard Law School, was the most outstanding student ever seen there, and practiced law in St. Louis before settling in Boston. His rise was continuous until he received the ultimate honor of being chosen for the United States Supreme Court in 1916, and was the first Jew ever confirmed. He married within his extended family – his wife was Alice Goldmark, a granddaughter of Gottlieb Wehle.

The educational profession was also influenced in Louisville (and later, nationally) by the varied career of Abraham Flexner. After attending Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, he returned to Louisville to teach at Louisville High School. He taught there for four years, then put the educational theories he had developed to work by opening "Mr. Flexner's School" in the fall of 1890. He ran the school for fifteen years with the assistance of his sisters, Gertrude and Mary. "The school was operated without rules, without examinations, without records, and without reports. I relied upon other things: first, enthusiasm; second cleverness in outwitting students who tried to dodge their responsibilities; third, good humor; and finally, emulation and competition."[55] The school was considered the finest in Louisville and the region, and served as a model for other institutions.

These business families founded fortunes that would support the charitable and philanthropic ventures needed in the coming decades in the Jewish community. Only one generation away from Europe, Jews were well established and fully integrated into the business world of Louisville, and were moving into the professional realm as well. Socially, there was only a small degree of resistance in the higher reaches of high society. Most Jews had adopted (or assimilated) American customs and traditions, and aimed to be indistinguishable from their non-Jewish neighbors. Their children spoke with Kentucky accents.


בית ישראל.

Ketubah, or marriage certificate, for Israel Shuster and Celia Morguelan, 1922.

Jewish Photographers II
Louis & Stern Bramson

Louis Bramson came from Germany to America in 1883, and learned photography in Chicago. Bramson founded the Royal Photo Company in 1903 (originally called the Royal Photographic View Company) on West Market Street near 3rd; the firm remained in business until 1972. The company produced remarkable photos of life in Louisville, particularly business and civic life, for most of the 20th century. In its early years, Royal Photo did portraits and commercial work, and during World War I focused on documenting soldiers at Camp Zachary Taylor. After the War they specialized in commercial photography. They made many insurance photos, especially of damage in the 1937 Flood.

When Louis died in 1930, his son, Stern Bramson, became the chief photographer and ran the business. He had learned the art so well from his father that when he joined the Army during World War II, Stern was assigned to teach photography with the U.S. Army Signal Corps. Later, back in Louisville, he won commissions to photograph the construction of the massive General Electric and Ford plants.

He retired in 1972, when urban renewal took his studio for construction of the Convention Center. Although Bramson had no pretensions to being an "art" photographer, his work got a second lease on life when *Courier-Journal* owner Barry Bingham, Jr., purchased the studio's negatives and donated them to the University of Louisville's Photo Archives, where the quality of the work was recognized by photography critics and dealers alike. Bramson's photos were strongly lit, clean, and precise, and often had a slightly surreal air that appealed to the public. His work was exhibited in New York, Chicago, and California, and has been widely published. It is now also sought after by collectors. Bramson died in 1988, mystified by his belated fame.[58]



Louis Bramson (left, in floppy hat) and his son, Stern Bramson, operated the Royal Photographic Studio in Louisville.

CHAPTER FOUR

The East Europeans Arrive:

Founding traditional communities and institutions



In the 1870s, a new group of Jewish immigrants began arriving in Louisville, and by the turn of the century everything had changed in the community.

Wedding of Matthew Posnansky and Lillian D. Weber, 1914.

The new immigrants from Eastern Europe were utterly different. Most did not speak any German or English. Yiddish, a patois of German and other languages, was their common tongue, and most knew Russian, Polish, Czech, or other Eastern and Central European languages. They were committed to traditional Judaism, which was all they had ever known. Many were quite poor, without work experience, education, or financial backing. They did not merge easily with the existing community. Reform practices and services held in German did not appeal to them, and they established their own synagogues and educational and charitable institutions. They lived near these new institutions on the east side of downtown – known to some as the



Groundbreaking for Jewish Hospital, Kentucky Street.

"Preston Street shtetl." Since they arrived in relative poverty, the businesses they established initially were smaller and were more likely to serve neighborhood needs rather than downtown interests.

From the 1880s to the 1920s (some say longer), two separate Jewish communities existed in Louisville, with very little social contact. The neighborhood life, religious life, and work life of the two groups, initially split as German/Russian, and later characterized as Reform/Orthodox, had little in common. The established German community in Louisville, as in other cities, did try to help the immigrants – motivated both by altruism and by self-protection. They genuinely felt a call to help the downtrodden, the stranger, and the orphan – and established and supported organizations and institutions to do that. They also wanted to Americanize and tame the immigrants, lest their poverty and "bizarre" and "primitive" practices be seen as a reflection of all Jews, and bring disrespect on them as well.[1]

In 1881, Central Europe (Austria-Hungary and Czechoslovakia), and Eastern Europe (Russia, which included Poland) were the home of about seven to eight million Jews. During the next thirty years, about 3.3 million of them left for America. One son of Russian immigrants who made his way to Louisville, Alex Berman, remembered: "Things in Poland, Europe, and Russia were very desperate for the Jewish people... they were having the pogroms, it was the period of the Czars, they were very hostile towards the Jewish people. One of the things that especially Jews feared... was serving in the Army... it was almost like slave labor. It was very common for Jews in particular to try to escape those countries to avoid military service."[2]



Others chafed at the limitations placed on Jews, especially rural Jews, who sought education: for example, Bert Klein's grandparents came from Riga, Latvia, where, as city Jews, they had been educated at Jewish schools; but Jews from the nearby countryside were often illiterate, since Jewish parents would not send their children to the Christian schools that were the only alternative.[3]

After having lived in uneasy peace with their non-Jewish neighbors for generations, with intermittent persecutions and numerous restrictions, the Jews of Eastern Europe now faced increasing violence and new legislation that made life unbearable. The assassination of Czar Alexander II, who had introduced reforms, led to a wave of destructive *pogroms* ("thunderstorm" in Russian), "a carnival of lying, plunder, and

murder," as Louisville's Rabbi Moses told his congregation,[4] against the Jewish population that left many dead, property damaged, and a feeling of terror and despair in the survivors. The May Laws of 1882 restricted Jewish economic activity, set quotas on Jewish access to education, and further limited freedom of movement. Jews were, however, allowed to leave.

The exodus was of massive proportions and consisted mainly of young people, but also included whole families. Many had little to take with them in the way of possessions and spent all they had on the expenses of the journey, including bribes to allow them to travel. They went by train to ports in Germany and Western Europe, and then traveled by ship in steerage, the cheapest class, to America. Michael Switow recalled his escape from enlistment in the Czar's army by crossing the border on foot at night into Austria, and the subsequent journey to America:

> *One of the men who worked for me [Switow was a foreman on a work crew] left for America. When he got there he wrote... saying that a plain workman could make $2 a day, ...why shouldn't I go? I had saved up a little money, and a young boy who was a friend of mine told me that he, too, wanted to go to America, where he had uncles, and that he would go with me. We went to Hamburg, and we bought a ticket on a ship, which was cheap at that time... I had just about enough to buy it. We spent twenty-one days on the ship.*[5]

Switow traveled from New York throughout the Midwest and West, working on farms, in mines, as a peddler of neckties, as a storekeeper, and as a construction worker for the Chicago World's Fair.[6]

Alex Berman recalled his parents' story of their journey from Russia: "They were able to get enough money together to finance the trip here. They came in the very lowest class possible – they brought with them enough food for the trip and the little money they could get... a Jewish organization in New York,



Jewish Hospital.



Netter's Produce Wagon.

H.I.A.S. [Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, founded by German Jews] ...did what they could to help the newcomers, to advise them where to go in the U. S. to settle... [they] tried to get them to go to the interior part of the country."[7] Though many of the immigrants did settle in the east coast port cities where they disembarked, especially New York, many immediately boarded trains and were directed to other parts of the country where jobs might be found and there were fewer immigrants crowding in.

Later census records of Louisville's immigrant Jews show that many young families stopped in New York for a few years, and others passed through Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, or Tennessee before settling in Louisville (the birthplaces of their children document the migration). Others went straight to Kentucky.[8]

Louisville's Jewish community was not prepared for the newcomers. As Berman recalled:

> *They did not have much in the way of finance... or organizations who would receive and accept foreigners... They had all of the problems foreigners had when they came to this country, they had problems with the language, they didn't know or understand English, they had little if any money, they had the problem of religious difference, really, there was a type of persecution... they were ridiculed, there was a lot of hostility.* [9]

Berman's parents were in many ways typical of the new immigrants. They were young, from a traditional background, and initially very poor. Myer Berman and Esther Shpindler were both born in Grodno, Poland, during the late 1860s. Myer came to the United States with his brother, Nathan, and a cousin, Simon Ades, arrived in Baltimore and spent a short time there before moving west to Louisville. Myer tried selling general merchandise for Nathan & Simon, then took the classic route to success – peddling.

> *He would go into the country with a pack on his back. He'd go to the country people and the farmers, selling them such items as he was able to carry... clothing, pots and pans, incidental items... he was one of quite a few who did that. Thereafter, he was able to get a horse and wagon, he was able to carry more merchandise and sell more merchandise. When they went in the country, they would be gone for a couple of days at a time... they would spend the night with the families, have meals with them, and they made many good friends this way. Many of the country people were very kind to these peddlers.*[10]

As pack peddling had helped many of the German Jews, such as Moritz Flexner, get a start in business, it continued to serve the Russian Jews even while the Germans had moved on to establish stores downtown. "In … [Market Street] are several supply houses kept by Russian Jews, who furnish a peddler with a full stock of goods on credit and start him out. Upon every return to the city, the peddler reports at the stores and turns over his earnings, which plan he keeps up until he has accumulated enough capital of his own to pay for his pack,"[11] the Louisville *Post* reported in 1891.



Myer Berman and Esther Berman.

Myer Berman liked the country, farms, contact with animals and farm produce, and the people he came to know. His success with his Shelby County route allowed him to marry Esther in 1888, and they eventually raised nine children. He opened his first store on Market Street, near Preston, in what was fast becoming the heart of the Russian Jewish community in Louisville. Myer sold general merchandise, but specialized in trade with country people, especially Shelby County farmers who brought their produce into the open-air Haymarket nearby. Every day farmers from the country around Louisville brought farm wagons filled with their vegetables, fruits, and other produce to stalls they rented from the Haymarket Company in the block bounded by Brook, Preston, Jefferson, and Liberty Streets. Berman expanded to West Market Street between 2nd and 3rd,



The Myer Berman family.



Myer Berman's giveaway calendar books.

but kept his focus on the country trade – people who trusted Berman. "Many of these country people, after they'd sold their merchandise, they'd have their money, they'd come over and trade with my father."[12]

Berman was a good businessman, who introduced innovative marketing methods to remind his customers of his store, as son Alex recounted: "I remember very well when I was just a very young child, it would be my job, one that I enjoyed doing, to visit the Haymarket at about 4 o'clock in the morning, and distribute memorandum books to each of the farmers, go through the aisles or rows and pass out these memorandum books, and often there would be a handbill in them of some kind of special sale.... The store name was Myer Berman... the emblem that he used was a bear and written across the bear was the word "man" – "Bear-man," but actually it was Berman."[13]

When the first arrivals from Russia and Eastern Europe began to trickle into Louisville just before the era of mass migration in the 1880s, the existing synagogues were not acceptable to their form of belief, practice, or even their language. So, a new congregation, B'nai Jacob, was founded in 1881 by Lithuanian and Russian Jews, most of whom were former members of Beth Israel. They originally met over a kosher butcher shop on Jefferson Street between Floyd and Preston, and formally formed their new congregation on April 27, 1877.[14] The congregation moved several times, to Second Street, to East Market Street, then in 1891 moved into its own building, a former church, at 432 East Jefferson Street (later 454 E. Jefferson Street). In 1900, the church building was demolished and a synagogue was built in its place, which was referred to on maps as the "Children of Jacob synagogue," (the English version of "B'nai Jacob"). In the Orthodox manner, services were held daily, morning and evening.[15]

In 1887, Beth Hamedresh Hagadol, literally "great house of learning," became the next Orthodox congregation to be founded. The founders included Jews from the Polish sections of Russia, who were socially and culturally distinct from the Lithuanian/Russian Jews who had founded B'nai Jacob. The rivalry of *Litvak* and *Galitzianer* (Lithuanian and Pole) was made manifest in the establishment of competing *shuls* in many American cities. Beth Hamedresh Hagadol may have been an outgrowth of the school founded by members of B'nai Jacob. Though Beth Hamedresh Hagadol moved several times in its earliest years, according to Dembitz, at one point its meeting house at 425 E. Jefferson Street (near B'nai Jacob) was also a school for the "Russian minyan." The building appears in city records as the schoolhouse of Azariah Epstein, and from 1898 to 1900, the congregation was listed as the Talmud Torah (Hebrew School) Congregation. In the first years of the 20th century, the Beth Hamedresh Hagadol Congregation worshiped in a building behind the former St. Paul's German Lutheran Church on Preston and Fehr, while renovating the church into a synagogue.[16]

These Orthodox congregations were smaller and had fewer resources than the established congregations, and renovations were more modest and took longer. The interiors would have included galleries for women's seating apart from the main seating area, and would have had the *bimah*, the reader's platform, within the main seating area with the reader facing the ark holding the Torah scrolls, which would be in the eastern end of the building. The Reform practice of having the reader face the congregation, with a separate pulpit area for the rabbi, would probably not have been adopted by these Orthodox congregations.



Louisville Hebrew School, preparing for a visit from Chaim Bialik.

The children of Jeannie and Morris Lipetz in front of their wallpaper store on Preston Street, c. 1924. Martha, Irving, Sophie, and Ray Eva.

In 1901, an anonymous author (apparently a member of the Reform community) described B'nai Jacob and Beth Hamedresh Hagadol:

> *...whose ritual and services would be quite a revelation to...the average reformed Jew, who has cast off the ancient ceremonies and customs of this race... the intensity and piety of those orthodox Jews who worship in the taliths (prayer shawls), and who do not remove the headgear during the service.... In these orthodox shools there is no sign of ornamentation, as display of this sort is contrary to the old Jewish ideas. The men and women worship in separate parts of the synagogue – in many instances it is nothing more than a large room – and there is not choir or music, as is the case in the reformed synagogues. The service is entirely in Hebrew, and is chanted, the congregation making responses to the Rabbi....*[17]



Both of these congregations were located in the growing Jewish neighborhood on the eastern side of the downtown Louisville business district, including Preston,



B'nai Jacob.

Madison, Brook, Floyd, Market, Green, Jefferson, and surrounding streets and alleys. Some began to see this as the new American version of a *shtetl* – a Russian Jewish village. Yiddish was spoken on the streets. The *Louisville Post* observed in 1891 that on Market Street between Brook and Floyd, "Russian Jews are... in the majority and their little junk shops and secondhand stores make up nearly all the business houses on the south side of the street."[18]

Louisville had distinct Jewish neighborhoods throughout much of its history–never one single area, but several sections, each with a slightly different Jewish character. The very first settlers lived downtown, as did nearly all Louisvillians, as the retail district developed around 4th and Market Streets. By the late 19th century, Eastern European Jews settled in houses, stores, boardinghouses, and apartment buildings on the eastern side of downtown–1st Street, Brook, through to Preston Street, around Madison–what is now the hospital district. For many Louisville Jews, especially those of Eastern European background and traditional religion, this area is the "old neighborhood," the "Madison Street Shtetl." During the first half of the 20th century, this area was within walking distance of the Orthodox and Conservative synagogues, the kosher markets, the Talmud Torah school, and the YMHA. Throughout this period, this neighborhood and its institutions migrated south, toward and south of Broadway, where the German Jews had moved generations earlier.

The Russian Jewish immigrants had unique needs for businesses and services, which they, themselves, had to supply: kosher butchers (and kosher slaughterers), kosher bakeries, ritual objects for home and synagogue, matzoh for Passover. One unique niche was filled by Fannie Wolkow, a Russian immigrant who started F. Wolkow & Sons, a wig manufacturer, in 1894. Her market was Orthodox Jewish women like herself – women who kept their hair covered after marriage in the traditional manner. The business was operated by Fannie and her family for forty years before being sold.[19]

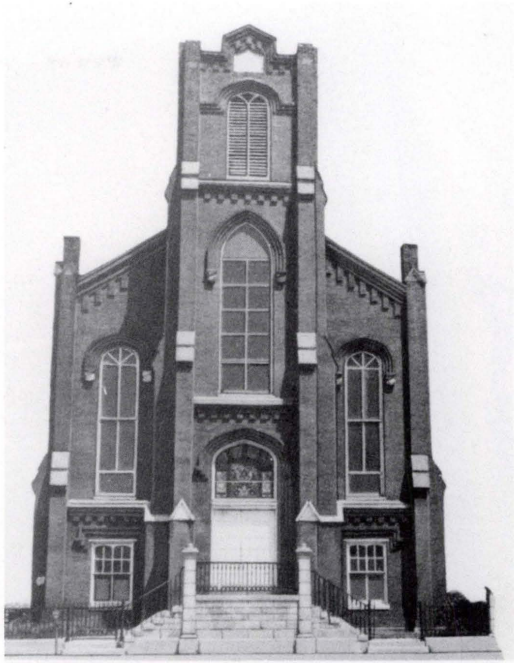
Other women found work in Louisville's sweatshops, sewing shirts and other ready-to-wear clothing. Morris Morguelan remembered his mother's experience:

> *Rose [Seligman, from Bialystok] was a seamstress, she worked for about a dollar a week for a vest-maker by the name of Roth on Preston Street After she worked there for a while she obtained a job with a Meyers at $3 a week – he was a clothier and made suits there... the first job, the dollar-a–week job, was one that her father secured for her. He actually had to pay the owner her first few weeks' salary for him to see whether she was capable of doing the kind of work that they wanted.*[20]

Work in the city's clothing manufacturers caused health problems including lung diseases for many workers, due to the fiber dust raised by the cutting process. For example, Nathan Baer was a cutter at the

Falls City Clothing Company, a men's suit manufacturer, when he was forced to leave to save his health. In 1905 he began his own storefront tailoring supply business, furnishing fabrics, construction materials, and dry cleaning materials to the mens' suit trade. Baer's business, through many incarnations, continues today.[21]

Another Jewish immigrant enclave was emerging, which soon needed its own synagogue. Anshei Sfard congregation was founded by a group of traditional Jews from Eastern Europe living on the western side of downtown Louisville, with 7th Street as their main business street. On Shabbat, when walking was the only way permitted to get to *shul*, the east side of town was too far away. In June 1893, Alex Speevack, Jacob Brownstein, Rubin Anis, Isaac Levitch, Morris Krenica, Henry Roniger, and Marcus Schneider incorporated the congregation, which at first met in homes and rented spaces. The name chosen for the congregation, "people of Sfard," which implies Sephardic origins, instead reveals the Hasidic origin of some of the group's members in the area of southeastern Russia that was home to a Hasidic community that had adopted some aspects of Sephardic ritual instead of Ashkenazic *minhagim*, ritual practices.[22]



Beth Hamedresh Hagadol synagogue.

They met for a time in the house of Jacob Brownstein at 635 8th Street, then in Benjamin Seligman's school building on W. Walnut.[23] On High Holidays, when they needed a larger space, they rented a hall on 7th Street, which was remembered as "a dimly-lit upstairs meeting hall in a private building in the west-end area of the city."[24]

Even in death, members of the Orthodox community had different needs. Louisville's Jewish undertaker for thirty-five years was Gustav Rosenberg, "a short, solemn man with a handlebar mustache." Rosenberg served the entire Jewish community regardless of affiliation. At the time, many undertakers also owned livery stables or were cabinetmakers, but Rosenberg was by trade a haberdasher. Many of the immigrant families tended to be superstitious and fearful of too much contact with the undertaker, who was also known as "*malach hamovet*" – the angel of death.

Jew Louie

A few Jewish women took the low road to success in America. A notorious red light district existed around 6th and 7th Streets at Green Street. "Jew Louie's" brothel, at 612 Green Street, was advertised in the 1895 Grand Army of the Republic Convention's *"Sporting Guide"*: "Very, very plain; nothing suggestive to stranger about the name or place of residence.... She is one of the very few women of her nationality in the country that owns and conducts such an establishment. Miss LOUIE is a typical Jewess... the Oriental splendor in which her house is furnished from pit to dome... Miss LOUIE has twelve of the most accomplished young ladies in the city from the East to assist her in receiving callers...."[51]



Jewish Home for the Aged, Chestnut Street.

Each traditional congregation sponsored a *Chevra Kadisha* to assist in the burial of its members. The *Chevra Kadisha* bathed the body, dressed it in a white linen shroud, and ensured that someone remained with the body at all times until burial. The Orthodox congregations bought their own burial grounds in the same area as the existing Jewish cemeteries.[25]

Changes occurred in some of the existing Louisville congregations as American Jews sought to redefine Judaism and Jewish practice in a way that was true to both their traditions and their lives in America. During the 1890s, Beth Israel Congregation was disbanded. Since the records are lost, it is not clear what happened. At the start of the decade, the congregation worshipped in its Green Street synagogue, and the spiritual leader was Rabbi F. S. Solinger. He left to continue his medical training. The congregation re-emerged in 1894 under the name of Adath Jeshurun, and after a brief interval sold the Green Street building, and purchased, with a mortgage, a very similar building at Floyd and Chestnut. Rabbi Solinger briefly returned as rabbi. Was Adath Jeshurun merely the continuation of Beth Israel under a new name? Or was it dissolved completely, and then some of its congregants began a new organization entirely, calling back a much-loved rabbi? What were the problems or the issues that led to the changes? The record is, unfortunately, not clear.

Even before its formal affiliation with the Conservative movement after the turn of the century, Adath Jeshurun tried to take a middle path between the extremes of both tradition and reform. According to an observer in 1901, Adath Jeshurun was not as "reformed in its ceremonies, ritual, etc." as Adath Israel and Brith Sholom, but it was "somewhat less orthodox" than Beth Hamedresh Hagadol and B'nai Jacob. While the two Reform congregations maintained a Sabbath School, Adath Jeshurun had a Sunday School and also maintained a Hebrew School, meeting three times weekly, to further educate its youth in Jewish knowledge and practices.[26]

Adath Jeshurun was the first congregation in the city to establish a formal Sisterhood, a women's auxiliary, in 1895, "to promote sociability among the members." (Other congregations also had associated women's benevolent and charitable organizations, such as Brith Sholom's Ladies Benevolent Society, founded in 1889, which officially became the "sisterhood" in 1906. Adas Israel's sisterhood was formed in 1903.) Adath Jeshurun's group met monthly at members' homes, and dues were 25 cents paid at each meeting. The Floyd Street building was not well suited to the events that the group wished to sponsor, since it had little room for meetings or gatherings, and no kitchen facilities. Members cooked at home for synagogue events.[27]

Distrust existed between the Reform and Orthodox camps, with congregations falling at various points on the spectrum. Reform Jews believed in a historical progression of Judaism and the Jewish people, from the "narrow bigoted ritualism" of the past to the uplifted high moral and ethical beauty of the present reformed religion; and they were eager to enlighten and uplift the Russians out of their presumed ignorance. "There are some Jews who can neither understand nor appreciate this change, and cling to the idea that their ceremonial forms, *per se*, constitute Judaism, and that the departure from those traditions in such a large measure, is a departure from the basic principles, the very foundations upon which the religion rests. They argue that the dropping of these ceremonies is a departure from Judaism itself, and that the so-called 'modern' Jew is a Jew in name only," explained the author of the 1901 *History* of Louisville's Jewish community.[28]



Bensinger Furnture.

Many American-born Jews who had grown up at Adath Israel or Brith Sholom had never been exposed to traditional forms of Judaism, and had not been educated in practices, such as keeping kosher, that were by then considered by many to be outmoded. "We have heard a number of Jewish young men and women who have visited an Orthodox congregation for the first time, express their surprise at the number of ceremonies in their Faith, of which they had no knowledge... such as... the Phylacteries (Tephillum) [*sic*] about which the average younger reform Jew knows very little.... Thus the change between the ultra reform and orthodox Judaism is seen to be very great...."[29] As for the Russians, they wondered if these "reformed" Jews could be considered Jews at all.

Despite the wariness among different Jewish groups, the established community felt a need to assist immigrants with settling in and living well as Americans in Louisville. One of the major institutions they founded to accomplish this goal still serves as the single most important unifying force and common meeting ground for Louisville Jews.

The Young Men's Hebrew Association, which much later became the Jewish Community Center, was reorganized and formally incorporated at a meeting in the vestry room of Congregation Adath Israel's imposing building at 6th and Broadway, on January 14, 1890. The organization had its forerunners in young men's literary societies and social groups, but it had not been legally chartered. Distiller and philanthropist I. W. Bernheim called the meeting, which included Louis Barkhouse, Nathan Block, Julius Barkhouse, Joseph Cohen, Jacob ("Jake") Flexner, Ben Hirsch, Dave Greenwald, A. L. Dembitz, and Herman Morris. These men organized "an Association, the objects of which shall be the moral, religious, educational, social, and physical advancement of its members," according to the minutes of the first meeting. At the next meeting, with two hundred supporters present, the membership voted to call the organization the Youth Men's Hebrew Association (the name used at



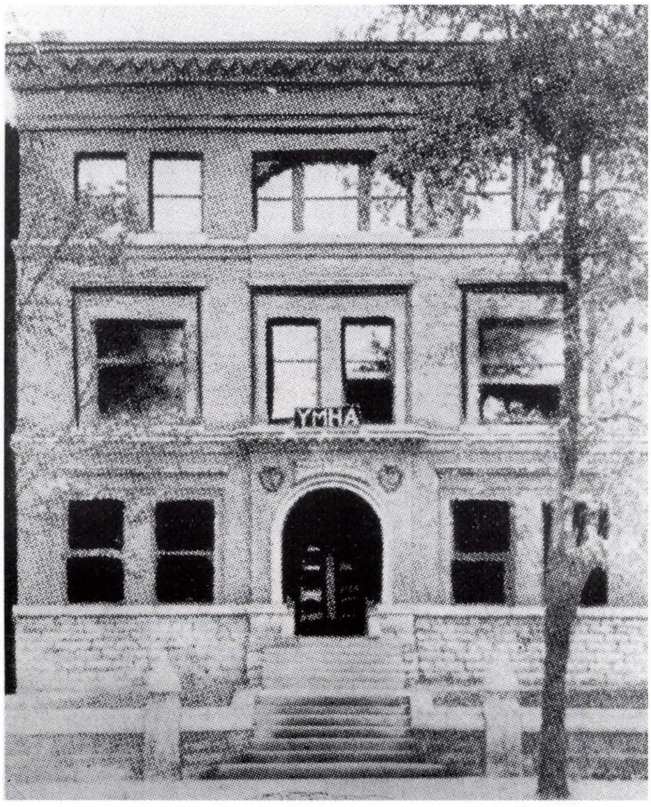
The George Morris School, home of the "penny lunch."

similar institutions in other cities), and set dues at $6 per year. The YMHA's officers were Bernheim as president, Morris as vice president, Alfred Selligman as secretary, and S. J. Grauman as treasurer.[30]

In June 1890, a picnic at Phoenix Hill Park was the first YMHA event scheduled. Since the organization's primary focus was on athletics, a gymnasium committee was started and, by the end of the year, the YMHA had bought land on the east side of 1st Street between Walnut and Chestnut, and constructed a gym at a cost of $3500. According to a later YMHA anniversary program, in the early years "instruction was given to both sexes and all ages and although gym work was limited to calisthenics, simple apparatus work and tumbling,

its quality attract[ed] such attention that an insistent demand compelled our board to extend gymnasium privileges to non-members."[31] Gifts from the Bernheim brothers allowed for the construction of a three-story addition of brick with stone trim in front of the gym in 1895. This addition featured a ballroom, classrooms (topics ranged from political history to bookkeeping), lecture rooms, and baths.[32] Later, boxing was popular, and basketball was introduced in the gym around 1906.[33] The building was used until 1915.[34]

Though the name suggests that the YMHA was for young men only, women were welcomed in many of its facilities and programs early on, and age was not a factor for membership: "Its membership numbers several hundreds and the association affords them mental, moral, and social features," the YMHA *Chronicler* reported.[35] The YMHA was led and supported by leading Louisville philanthropists from the German/Reform community such as the Bernheims, and was seen by the Russian/Orthodox community as a primarily German organization. In fact, a 1901 Louisville Jewish history confirms that the members belonged "chiefly to the congregation of Adas Israel."[36]



Original YMHA building, on First Street.

The Louisville YMHA was a pioneer organization in many ways. It was one of the first YMHAs to construct its own building, and one of the first to hire professional staff in the form of a physical education instructor, which it did in the very first year. It was the first nationally to offer gym classes for women (in 1891, even before New York did). Although women's classes, featuring bloomer-clad "girls," were less strenuous than men's offerings, nonetheless the concern for the active physical health of the female part of the population was novel. An entire "Girls Department" (for women in their late teens through 20s) was soon established. From the beginning, non-Jews could be admitted as full members, and the gym was made available to non-members for a fee. A library was established in 1903, and English classes for new Americans were started in 1906. For many years the director was Samuel Kaufman, whose actual title was financial secretary and building custodian. The Louisville YMHA joined the national YMHA organization as the third oldest YMHA in the country, and I. W. Bernheim became the national YMHA Director.[37]

Immigrants from many nations were arriving in Louisville at the same time as the Russian Jews, and were settling in the same areas – Italians, Syrians (Lebanese), Greeks, Irish, and others. Poor African-Americans lived in back houses facing the alleyways of the neighborhood. The problems of poverty, housing, education, Americanization, and health attracted the attention of middle and upper class reformers. The settlement house movement, which began in Chicago, came to town in the person of Jane Addams, founder of Chicago's Hull



The Ben Snyder family.

House, who spoke in Louisville in 1895. In 1896, Lucy Belknap, of a wealthy philanthropic family, was inspired to start a settlement house for Louisville's poor immigrants. Neighborhood House, as it was known, started at the corner of Jefferson and Preston, the heart of the "shtetl." (It soon moved to the west side of 1st Street between Walnut and Liberty, near Anshei Sfard.) It was meant to be "a settlement where educated men and women could share with their neighbors what was best in each other's lives." [38]

Located as it was within the community, Neighborhood House attracted Jewish immigrants with baths, hot showers (which were not available in the houses nearby), sewing and cooking classes, a safe place for children to play, and sympathetic help and advice. It was as much a part of the community as the YMHA, which was still identified with German-American Jews, and not viewed as welcoming to Russians. Frances Ingram was the long-term director, and Ray Baer, a sports hero in the Jewish community, later worked there. Local Italians and Syrians also went to Neighborhood House. Although Orthodox leaders were afraid that the influence of the settlement would lead Jews away from Judaism and warned against it, Neighborhood House staff did not proselytize, and Jews went there anyway. [39]

Other initiatives to help poor new Americans were undertaken by the National Council of Jewish Women, an organization initially comprised of middle and upper-class German Jewish women. Rebecca Rosenthal Judah, a local women's suffragist whose husband was the manager of the Standard Club, started the Louisville Section in May of 1896, only three years after the founding of the national organization. Focusing on the needs of women in particular, NCJW started a free summer kindergarten for city children

Michael Switow was born in the *shtetl* of Gluhof, Guberni Chernoof, in Russia, in 1864:

When I became seven years old, Mother worried about me very much. I could not go to school because I did not have any boots. I always ran around barefooted. Mother decided to take me to the Shule basement because there was a Talmud Torah. She wrapped me in an old quilt and took me in a sled. There was a stove burning there, and this kept the basement warm. In this basement there were always people learning. She told the good Jews to have mercy on her child so that he could have an education. She left me two kopekas, and these people looked after me. There I learned a little until Friday, and on Friday my sister … came for me with a sled, wrapped me again in a quilt, and took me home for Shabas. Sunday they took me back to the Shule. That's the way I learned the little I know.

—Michael Switow's *Memoir*

in 1897, "run on a $75 budget with equipment borrowed from Temple Adath Israel." In its early years, the organization was very closely affiliated with Adas Israel, which offered meeting and program space. NCJW women worked with Neighborhood House on the kindergarten and other projects, such as offering classes to help girls continue their educations after they left public schools to work to support their families, as many did. NCJW volunteers helped immigrants and the poor with legal issues, and helped to establish the West End Settlement on 7th Street, the other Jewish enclave of Louisville.[40]



Kaufman-Straus Department Store, 4th Street.



Wedding of Joe Friedman and Emma Baron, c. 1910. Rabbi Zarchy officiated. This is the only known view of the interior of Beth Hamedresh Hagadol.

According to a study of ethnic groups in the 1900 census records, the average household in Louisville's Jewish immigrant community was headed by a 37-year old man, who was very likely to speak some English. Almost three-quarters of Jewish households consisted of a nuclear family of parents and their children. Very few households (only 5 percent) included grandparents. The elderly had not made the migration from Eastern Europe. However, many households included other relatives such as brothers and sisters or cousins, and a few families also took in boarders (this made Louisville very different from New York City, where most households had unrelated boarders). The community was therefore composed of people who knew each other, and were related, with very few unrelated single strangers. Jews were more likely than their Italian neighbors (who had similar poverty and language problems) to send their children to school.[41]

In 1900, most Jewish immigrant households (60 percent) had only one family member working outside the home, but by 1910 most (59 percent) had at least two workers. The difference was not that wives worked, because most married Jewish women stayed at home in Louisville. The increase in family members working for wages was due to the fact that many adult children worked while remaining in their parent's homes for a period of time before starting their own households. Many of them worked for a family business. Many Eastern European Jews, like the German Jews before them, started small stores as the most likely path

to stability and security. Those who were peddlers in 1900 were shop owners by 1910. For the Orthodox, ownership allowed them to set the hours and the rules – closed on Shabbat and holidays – despite the costs, with no one to say "no."[42]

The Berman family was typical of this pattern. As soon as he could, Myer Berman turned from peddling to his own small shop, and employed his children in the shop, moving a number of times. From Market and Preston to a larger store at 216 W. Market between 2nd and 3rd, the business then expanded to 220-222 Market. Berman's son Alex said: "We lived with the business. We lived upstairs." When the store moved again, the family moved up to an apartment at 4th and Hill in Old Louisville – the new, more middle-class Jewish section of town. All six of Berman's sons worked at one time in the family store.[43]

For some refugees from the Czar's policies, it became important to own land, which had been forbidden to them in Russia. Helen Helman remembered her father's pride in acquiring real estate, including a boardinghouse and stores along Jefferson Street.[44] Rents were collected and saved to buy more small properties, and eventually the income could provide security for a family.

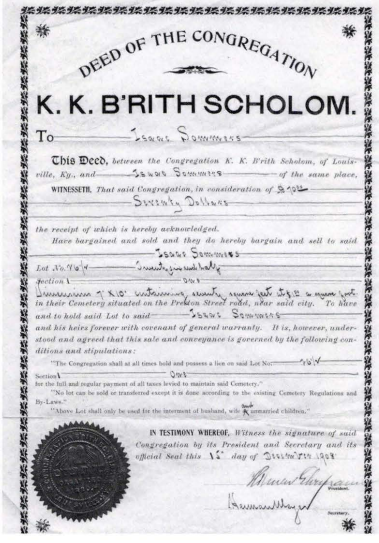
Once in Louisville, Jews tended to stay. It was an end destination for many, not a place to pass through like New York, and the persistence rates (the number of people who stayed for 10 years or more) were high compared with other cities. Though many people moved houses often, the changes represented moving up to better housing within the Jewish neighborhoods.[45]

In 1880, there were only about 2,500 Jews in Louisville. By 1907, at the height of the era of mass migration from Europe to America, there were 8,000 Jews and, in 1927, when immigration had virtually ceased due to changes in American policies, there were possibly as many as 12,500 Jews in Louisville. In 1900, there were two Jewish communities that interacted in limited ways. The Orthodox lived in the area north of Broadway and east of 2nd Street, and operated small businesses in the same neighborhood. Synagogues and social organizations were nearby.[46] The Reform Jews, of German origin but by now increasingly American-born, were moving south of Broadway. Their businesses were downtown, indistinguishable from those of other American businessmen.

Pew Deed, Brith Sholom (K.K. stands for "Kahal Kodesh" – holy congregation).

A study of early 20th century immigrants in Louisville concluded that in economic terms, 1900 was a watershed year: "Those families who were able to establish themselves in the local economy before that time formed the most stable segment of the immigrant communities." After 1900, newly arrived immigrants had a more difficult time. Those who attempted to rise as peddlers after 1900 were less able to succeed and stay.[47] A case in point is the story of O. H. Landau, who emigrated from near Cracow, Poland, to New York, and was faced with starvation when he arrived in Louisville around 1902. As an observant Jew, he would not work on Shabbat, so the regular jobs that required Monday through Saturday attendance were not possible for him, and he had no capital to start a business. He became a peddler, serving the areas of Anchorage, Pewee Valley, and Crestwood. But the era of the peddler was past; people who lived in those areas could travel to 4th Street by carriage or inter-urban railway to shop, and Landau failed to make a living. Landau eventually found work in the Jewish community itself, as the *gabbai*, or assistant, to Orthodox Rabbi Zarchy, and as the *mashgiach* (kashruth supervisor) for a flour mill.[48]

The economic niches were known and filled by then, and later arrivals had to adapt to a more developed economy with a more stratified social


DEED OF THE CONGREGATION

K. K. B'RITH SCHOLOM.

To Isaac Simmons

This Deed, between the Congregation K. K. B'rith Scholom, of Louisville, Ky., and Isaac Simmons of the same place,

WITNESSETH, That said Congregation, in consideration of $75.00 Seventy Dollars

the receipt of which is hereby acknowledged.

Have bargained and sold and they do hereby bargain and sell to said Isaac Simmons

Lot No. 416 in Section 1 Div.

in their Cemetery situated on the Preston Street road, near said city. To have and to hold said Lot to said Isaac Simmons and his heirs forever with covenant of general warranty. It is, however, understood and agreed that this sale and conveyance is governed by the following conditions and stipulations:

"The Congregation shall at all times hold and possess a lien on said Lot No. 416 in Section 1 Div. for the full and regular payment of all taxes levied to maintain said Cemetery."

"No lot can be sold or transferred except it is done according to the existing Cemetery Regulations and By-Laws."

"Above Lot shall only be used for the interment of husband, wife & unmarried children."

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, Witness the signature of said Congregation by its President and Secretary and its official Seal this 15th day of January 1908.

President.

Secretary.



structure. The Russians who arrived after 1900 – most of them – struggled to achieve a place in society. The situation of widows was particularly difficult. "I remember my mother's faith in God never wavering," recalls Faye Perelmuter Davis, "in spite of her being left a widow at thirty-two years of age, with four children and pregnant with a fifth child and in a new country and not speaking any English – only Yiddish and Russian." Her husband had died in the 1918 flu epidemic, and she worked in a small store at 9th and Walnut to support her family. Davis remembers her mother telling how her customers themselves protected her from dangerous elements in the neighborhood.[49]

Other newcomers found good fortune in bad luck. In 1890, Louisville's business district was devastated by a major hurricane. Six hundred buildings were damaged, and needed replacement or repair. Jacob Bornstein brought his construction firm from Atlanta to help in the rebuilding – temporarily. The family is now a fourth-generation Louisville business, and has built many of the structures of the Jewish community.[50]

Although many of the immigrants struggled, strong family and neighborhood bonds and the growing Louisville economy meant that most eventually found a living. The growing Jewish population strained the informal bonds of congregations and community, and in coming years the community would need to organize a better response to the poverty and social needs of a displaced population.

David Gurwitch with his grandson, Alan Moskowitz, in front of Gurwitch's Kosher Butcher shop.



Adath Jeshurun on Brook Street.

CHAPTER FIVE

Jews in the Louisville Community: Creating Institutions (approx. 1900-1918)



Dance at the YMHA, World War I.

The first two decades of the 20th century were a time of explosive growth and change, when Louisville's Jewish community came of age through the founding of significant and lasting community institutions and organizations reflecting the full range and needs of Jewish life. The traditional community continued to grow, and the Reform community reached full integration into Louisville life. As in previous decades, the more Americanized and prosperous Jews who affiliated with Reform congregations led the organizations that would help new Russian immigrants become Americans and supported the indigent of the community, while the new Russian immigrants and their children took charge of providing for their own religious and traditional communal needs within their community.



Brith Sholom on Second Street.

By the early years of the twentieth century, Louisville had six Jewish congregations. Three were Orthodox, all located on the east side of downtown. Three others ranged from ultra-Reform to fairly traditional, with their geographical proximity to the growing "shtetl" area reflecting their degree of religious tradition. Furthest away, at 6th and Broadway, stood the imposing but aging structure of Adath Israel, while closer on the east, but now just south of Broadway at 2nd and College, was the newly renovated former church of Brith Sholom (moving toward Reform ideology under the leadership of Rabbi I. Mueller), and within the immigrant area was Beth Israel's successor, Adath Jeshurun, at Floyd and Chestnut.

In 1906 Adath Israel Congregation (the name was changed from "Adas" Israel around 1904) built a new building on Third Street between York and Breckinridge, moving south of Broadway towards the Old Louisville neighborhood where many congregants now lived. It was an architectural and a social statement.

The religious school at Brith Sholom.

The congregation's imposing, turreted, Byzantine-style building on Broadway had become an embarrassment. Besides its physical limitations and aging structure, the style was all wrong for a progressive congregation at the turn of the century. Victorian fussiness and ornamentation were things of the past, and the purer neo-classicism of the Beaux-Arts movement was seen as expressive of the values of Western civilization, inspired by the Greeks, and embracing Judaism as well. Adath Israel would build itself a modern "temple" in the classical tradition.



The old location at 6th and Broadway "was becoming more and more undesirable. The building itself was antiquated in design. The acoustic properties were poor, the lighting bad ... [with] dark and unpleasing rooms on the ground floor of the Temple."[1] The congregation's Sisterhood was especially outspoken in expressing dissatisfaction with the building.[2] The situation became more urgent in winter of 1904, when a roof leak "disintegrated and loosened certain ornamental parts of the ceiling of the auditorium and caused a considerable



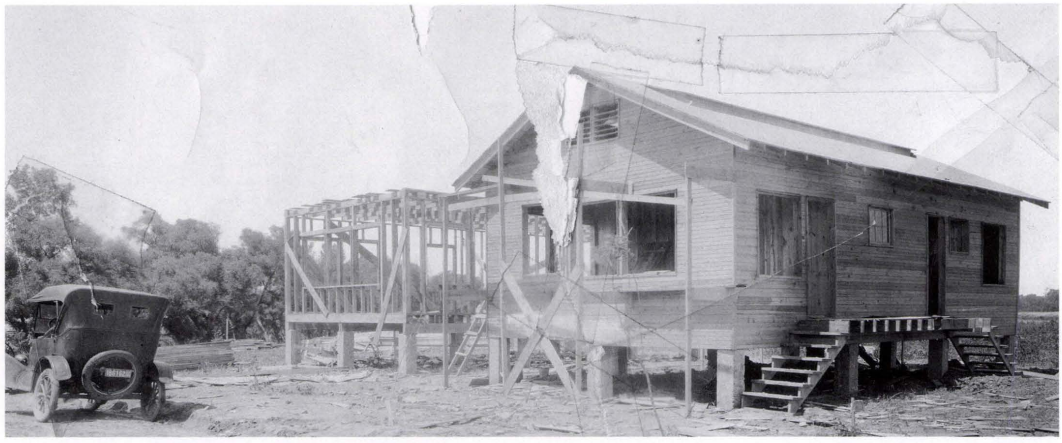
Anshei Sfard on First Street.

portion of it to fall...." While the sanctuary was being fixed, the congregation met at Congregation Brith Sholom, at 2nd and College Streets.[3]

A building committee was formed, and a lot was purchased on 3rd Street near York, south of Broadway, in Old Louisville. In an echo of the congregation's dispute over relocation during the 1840s, some members objected to the site and raised the issue to the Board. The Board, however, disarmed the opposition by adding the objectors to the building committee – and they then recommended the original site chosen on 3rd. The new building was designed by architects Kenneth McDonald and J. F. Sheblessey, who had built notable churches in Louisville, and, probably most important to their choice for this commission, the neoclassical Kentucky building at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair. Congregation member (and McDonald and Sheblessey employee) Alfred Joseph was chosen senior draftsman on the project.[4] According to historian Lee Shai Weissbach, "Adath Israel was attempting to associate itself with the most sophisticated artistic sentiment of the time and the latest developments in American culture."[5]

The cornerstone was laid in 1905 while the congregation continued raising funds both in the form of donations, loans from its members, and through a mortgage. As Adath Israel had done before, the congregation sold pew deeds in several classes (at nine different levels this time), from $100 to $3,000. A balcony was included to expand the seating, and an organ was an integral part of the design. Rabbi H. G. Enelow directed work on the three great stained glass windows, which included Biblical verses and depicted human figures, which is not traditional in Jewish imagery.[6]

Bernard Selligman, congregational officer, described the building as "a pure example of the Grecian Ionic style.... The main auditorium is 72 feet deep by 100 feet wide, this shape bringing all the auditors closer to the



YMHA camp Tapawingo, family cabin under construction.

speaker. The pews are laid out on a circular plan with aisles radiating from the pulpit." The structure included a school building with 12 classrooms to serve about 220 students, and a kitchen in the basement.[7]

The 1906 dedication ceremony for the new building was a celebration of Adath Israel's central position in the community and its universalist vision of Judaism. Remarks by visiting Rabbi Joseph Krauskopf praised Adath Israel's leadership in the movement for Sunday services: "You were not content with conducting a Sabbath Service before a handful of the very aged or the very young … there is no better cure of anti-Semitism than the Sunday service, no better specific against prejudice than the invitation which the open door of the synagogue extends on Sunday to all to come and hear the lessons of humanity which the Jew preaches." He was joined on the podium by Louisville rabbis, other Kentucky rabbis, and other visiting rabbis and dignitaries. The congregation's chorus offered selections from Handel, Beethoven, Mozart, Schubert, Chopin, and Mendelssohn.[8]

The speakers spoke of a day when the social divisions between Jew and non-Jew would fade away with what they saw as progressive changes in Judaism itself. Krauskopf told the congregation: "Doctrines and dogmas that have been responsible for most of the hatred against the Jew are tottering under the heavy blows of modern scientific scholarship."[9] By "dogmas" he meant not only anti-Semitic beliefs from outside, but Jewish beliefs such as the significance of Jews as a "chosen people," association with Israel, and practices such as *kashruth* that separated Jews from their neighbors.



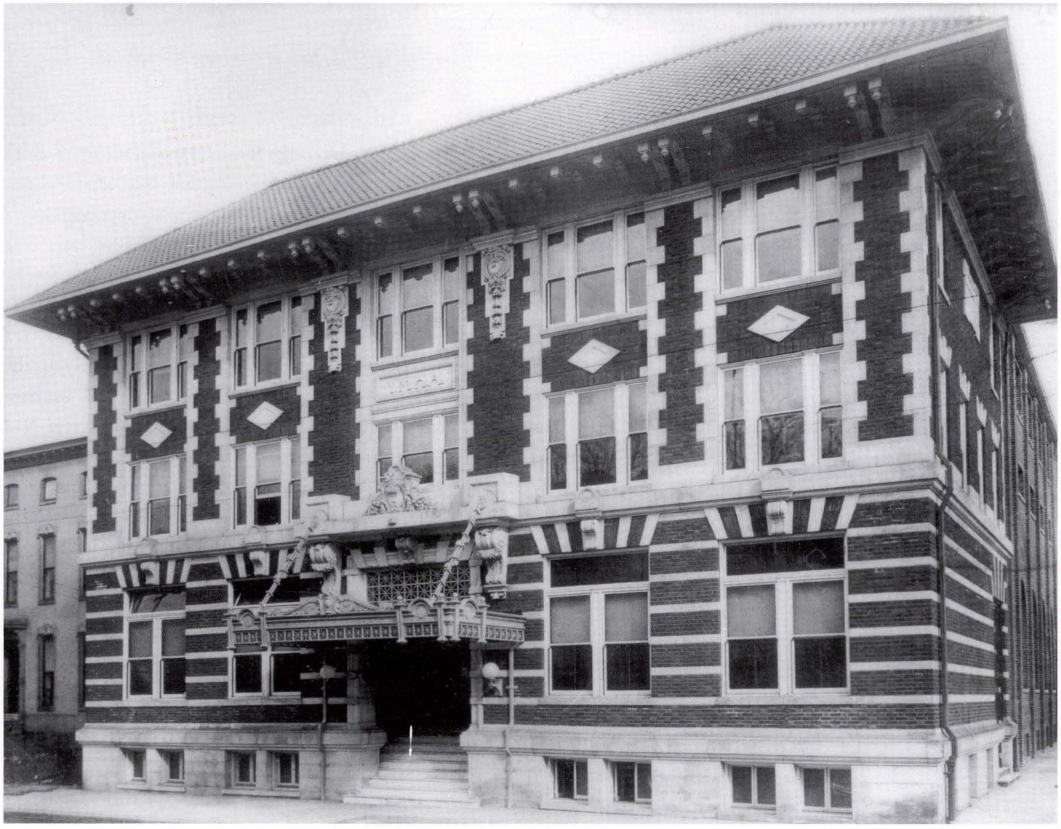
Market Street.

H. G. Enelow, a Hebrew Union College graduate from Paducah, Kentucky, was rabbi until 1912; then Dr. Joseph Rauch served the congregation as rabbi for 45 years.[10] Rauch was a native of Podhajoe, Austria, born in 1880. His parents immigrated to Galveston, Texas, as part of an organized attempt to settle Jews in the under-populated sections of the South and West. Rauch joined them there at the

age of 12 in 1892. He moved to Cincinnati where he studied at the joint Hebrew Union College/University of Cincinnati program, and worked as a rabbi in Sioux City, Iowa, before being called to Louisville. A later rabbi of the congregation, Dr. Herbert Waller, recalled that "Dr. Rauch told me when he came here that someone told him, 'You certainly have big shoes to fill'. Dr. Rauch answered that he didn't intend to try to fill the shoes, he would just go along in his own little slippers."[11]

During his long tenure at Adath Israel, he was the spokesman for the community's Jews in most public affairs, and his ideas and work had a profound impact not just on the Jewish community, but on the broader community, where he served on boards from the University of Louisville to the Louisville Free Public Library.[12]

Congregation member Lewis D. Cole, remembering this era, said, "I grew up in what you might call the classic age of Reform Judaism… the feeling of confidence of American Jews was almost directly attributable to the degree to which they could identify – psychologically, physically, religiously, and every other way – with the general majority of Christian observance."[13] Sunday morning services were replaced by Friday evening services in the 1930s – although one member in opposition *kvetched:* "I'd rather not come Sunday morning than not come Friday night." The congregation lived, to a remarkable degree, very close to the new building, in the streets south of Broadway between First and Brook. A congregational directory published in



The YMHA building on Second Street.

conjunction with the move shows that 222 families, well over half of the members, lived on 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Streets, along the broad, gracious avenues of Old Louisville.[14]

Congregation Brith Sholom had also been moving in the same direction, both religiously and geographically. The congregation's practices had initially taken a middle road between tradition and reform, and in 1898, it referred to its views as "conservative." This attitude was reflected in the decision not to adopt the popular Reform movement *Union Prayer Book*, as Adath Israel had done. Instead, they wrote their own prayer book, with the disclaimer that this was "not a reformed prayer-book. The old liturgy has been abridged... and made suitable for American conservative congregations.... These omissions, however, have been made with due regard to the 'Halacha' or traditional law."[15] Congregants waged a long-running debate over the symbolic issue of wearing traditional head coverings for men in synagogue, which was finally resolved in favor of removing them, as this excerpt from the 1901 community history shows:

> *The ancient custom of keeping on the hat is still in vogue in many of the even semi-reformed congregations, and is a memorial of those days when worship was held in a tent or under the open sun.... It is difficult to... give up this custom, as it is one of the main linkages between the strict orthodox and the reform which binds the members to their ancient ceremonials, while they still have lopped off many of the other observances of the past.*[16]

Rev. Ignatius Mueller (as he was called) continued to serve as the congregation's rabbi until 1925. Born in Hungary, he attended the University of Breslau and a Berlin rabbinical seminary, then studied at Hebrew Union College in the United States. In 1903, the congregation moved from 1st Street to a larger building, a former church at Second and College Streets, preceding Adath Israel in moving south of Broadway. The "ladies of the congregation" raised part of the cost of the move by holding a bazaar which netted over $2,600. In 1920, Brith Sholom became affiliated with the Reform movement.[17]



Talmud Torah boys.

The new Adath Jeshurun Congregation remained firmly on the religious middle ground between the Orthodox and Reform communities. The congregation's first rabbi, Simon Sollinger, had introduced mixed seating of men and women, as practiced by the newly developing Conservative movement. Rabbi Herman Rabinowitz arrived in 1908, and was followed by Rabbi Abraham Nowak in 1912. Nowak began raising funds for a new building. Like its Reform counterparts, this congregation also chose to move to Old Louisville during the first part of the twentieth century. The congregation had first considered rebuilding on the site at Floyd and Chestnut, where "the ark is said to be one of the prettiest in the South," but the members considered the structure to be "old and inadequate," with very limited facilities for events.[18]

The energy and money to make the move came from Michael Switow, by this time a very successful cinema pioneer entrepreneur. His son recalled how:

In order to say daily Kaddish, he would have to take the ferryboat in the morning [from Jeffersonville, Indiana] and went to a synagogue known as Adath Jeshurun which was then located on Chestnut and Floyd Streets and he became a member and became very much interested in it... [after a visit to a black church, he saw that the synagogue was 'outdated and dilapidated'] he came back and interested some of the elders... to build a new synagogue.[19]

Switow served as President of Adath Jeshurun for fourteen years and helped the congregation build its own larger synagogue at Brook and College Streets a few blocks east of Brith Sholom in 1919. This fine example of Moorish-style architecture, with its enormous signature red-tiled dome, still stands. It was designed by architect James J. Gaffney, who also built the similar St. James Church on Bardstown Road, both buildings sharing a golden brick, domed, mosaic-tiled, eclectic style. The building was expanded in the same style with the addition of a community house and classrooms for 200 students in 1923 and 1925. The addition's kosher kitchen was the first of its kind in a local synagogue.[20]



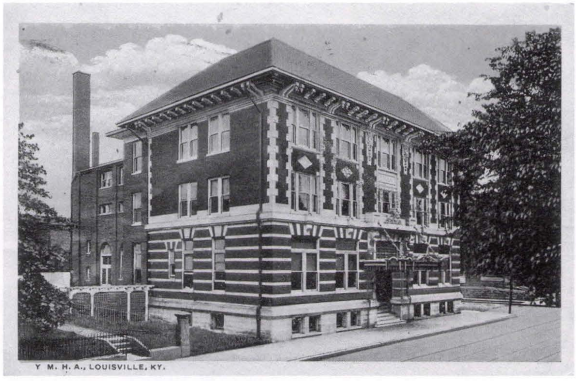
RABBI JACOB J. GITTLEMAN.

Adath Jeshurun's Rabbi Gittleman.

In 1917, Rabbi J. J. Gittleman came to serve the congregation with the opening of the new building at Brook and College, and remained for over forty years as rabbi of Adath Jeshurun. The Russian-born Gittleman was a graduate of New York University and the Conservative movement's Jewish Theological Seminary. When he arrived, the congregation consisted of only fifty families; when he left there were six hundred. He was as identified with his congregation, and with the Conservative movement in Louisville, as Rabbi Rauch was with the Reform wing of the community.[21]

Many of the members of Adath Jeshurun, who were moving up economically, now moved their residences closer to the new synagogue, so they could continue the traditional practice of walking to *shul* on Shabbat and holidays. "When the Floyd and Chestnut Street *shul* moved to Brook and College, it developed a little Jewish community on the other side of Broadway... later on, a lot of the Jewish people moved out towards Brook Street, First Street, Second Street, as their stores got wealthier and better, Market Street – you had to close up your store at night," Jacob Landau recalled.[22]

The fast-growing Orthodox community of Russian immigrants and their children was facing growing pains –small, poor congregations couldn't meet the community's needs any longer. The solution was to pool resources and form a single organized communal entity, while retaining congregational autonomy. B'nai Jacob, which moved to 432 E. Jefferson Street just east of Preston in 1901, and Beth Hamedresh Hagadol, nearby at Preston and Fehr, originally had close ties. During the early years of the 20th century, they joined with Anshei Sfard to establish an organization called the *Va'ad Haer*, or United Hebrew Orthodox Congregations, to hire leaders for the Orthodox community. The *Va'ad,* a forerunner of the present *Va'ad HaKashruth*, was managed by the three congregations on behalf of the Orthodox community and oversaw



YMHA on Second Street.

the community *mikveh* (ritual bath), and supervised the city's kosher butchers, bakers, and other food service establishments. The Va'ad planned to establish a school.[23] The organization brought Rabbi Asher L. Zarchy to the community in 1903 to be the city's Chief (Orthodox) Rabbi, serving as spiritual leader for all three congregations. Zarchy was as dominant in the traditional community as Rauch and Gittleman were in the Reform and Conservative arenas.

Zarchy was from Wolozin near Kovno in Russia, and had lived in both Brooklyn and Des Moines, Iowa, before arriving in Louisville. He had "charge of practically all of the foodstuffs as they affect the dietary provisions of the Jewish law."[24] Zarchy was a small man with a forked beard, who was known for the Yiddish discourses he gave on Shabbat afternoons, rotating among each of his three congregations in a three-week cycle. He hired O. H. Landau as his *gabbai*, or assistant. Landau's son Jacob remembered:

> *Rabbi Zarchy was a scholar.... He was a sickly man... his wife was a wonderful woman. They had no children, and we were their errand boys because we lived across the street from them.... My father would run errands for him. My father would die for him... Every Saturday afternoon, whenever Rabbi Zarchy spoke, I was there to listen to him.*[25]



Louisville's Orthodox rabbi, A. L. Zarchy.

Each of the three congregations, in practical terms, managed its affairs with the help of a *shammas*. The *shammas* would take care of funeral arrangements, work out Bar Mitzvahs and wedding plans, round up the *minyan*, record and remind congregants about *yahrzeits*, collect the dues and keep the records, and welcome strangers to the congregation – much as modern synagogue administrators do. However, the *shammas* was also expected to take a role in ritual as the Torah reader.[26]

It was a poor community, but Zarchy commanded respect from all. Landau remembered: "[Zarchy's salary] wasn't sufficient... he had to draw on his own resources.... I know my father was sometimes asking me to go out and... collect money for certain purposes.... I used to go out on Second Street on Sunday mornings, and I would collect 25 cents from this family, and 25 cents from that family... and I would say to my father, "Papa, what is this money for?" And he would say, "Never mind. It's for the *kahal* – for the community."[27]

Anshei Sfard, the youngest of the three Orthodox shuls, was able to purchase its first building in 1903. This was the synagogue building built in 1881, now being vacated by Congregation Brith Sholom as they moved south of Broadway. Located on First Street near the YMHA, Anshei Sfard's new home was located well to the east of its former home, in the same east-side neighborhood with Louisville's other traditional Jewish institutions. To transform the building from a Reform to an Orthodox synagogue, Anshei Sfard made changes in the interior, adding the gallery for women required by Orthodox practices, and moving the *bimah*, the reader's platform, so that it faced the ark and not the congregation. In 1928, Anshei Sfard was able to upgrade the structure considerably, with impressive Moorish-style arabesque patterning on the front façade, and added a social hall and auditorium, religious school, and rooms for the Sisterhood and Men's Club, all "knitted together with an imposing entrance fronting on First Street."[28]



Front desk at the YMHA.

As the congregation grew, it became necessary to hire a rabbi – the arrangement with Rabbi Zarchy was not sufficient. Rabbi Z. Klavansky was hired. According to Herman Landau, O. H. Landau's son, Rabbi Zarchy "took unkindly to the idea of having a second Orthodox rabbi in the city…he looked upon Klavansky's arrival as an affront to his authority." Anshei Sfard was shunned by the other Orthodox *shuls*, although they all still recognized Zarchy as the Chief Rabbi of the city.[29]

Anshei Sfard's move to the east, while a great opportunity for Anshei Sfard to acquire a suitable building, caused a problem – all three Orthodox shuls were now on the east side of town. The Jews left behind in the West End felt that First Street was too great a distance to travel on Shabbat and holidays, when Jewish law required that they walk.

Thus in 1905, the last of Louisville's four Orthodox congregations was founded. Hyman Gurwitch, son of a family that owned a kosher butcher shop on 7th Street, later said: "Our kitchen was a basis of the forming of Agudas Achim, because every time someone had a *yahrzeit* and wanted a minyan, it was in our kitchen on 7th Street." Agudath Achim was started by a group of West End families, and, like its predecessor, met for years in homes and rented spaces, including Joe Friedman's Department Store at 405 S. 7th Street, Gurwitch's butcher shop on 7th Street between Jefferson and Liberty Street, and even the Odd Fellow's Hall at 6th and Walnut Street This neighborhood was becoming increasingly African-American, with Jewish merchants living above their stores scattered through the West End. According to Gurwitch, "My father and Gus Pototsky formed the Agudas Achim shul… they bought the building on 6th and Walnut… that was the Scottish Rite Building… from there they went to 11th and Jefferson." When St. John's Episcopal Church at 1111 W. Jefferson Street, between 11th and 12th, became available in 1917, the West End Jewish



Girl's gymnastics class at the YMHA.



The Weisberg Family Grocery Store at Campbell and Jefferson Streets.

community purchased the building with a down payment and a mortgage held by Louisville Trust Co.[30] They set up their own cemetery in the Preston Street area of Jewish burial grounds. Rabbi Zarchy added this congregation to his weekly rotation.

During this period, the forerunners of two important Jewish communal organizations, the Jewish Community Federation of Louisville and the Jewish Family and Vocational Service, began with attempts to assist the needy within the community. On January 3, 1909, the Federation of Jewish Charities (a forerunner of the Jewish Welfare Federation and the Jewish Family and Vocational Service) President Emil S. Tachau, issued the organization's first report on needs and disbursements. The Federation supported general relief of the indigent, hospitals, and educational institutions. In 1918, the name was changed to the Jewish Welfare Federation. The original constituent agencies included The Philanthropic Committee of the Council of Jewish Women, Hachnosath Orchim Society, Hebrew Ladies Sewing Circle, National Jewish Hospital for Consumptives (Denver – served the Louisville community also), Brith Sholom Sewing Circle, Jewish Orphan Asylum (Cleveland), Sir Moses Montefiore Kesher Home for Aged and Infirm Israelites (Cleveland), United Hebrew Relief Association, Widows and Orphans Society, The Temple Free Kindergarten, and the Louisville Russian Refugee Association. Many of these groups had been founded and run by female volunteers.[31]



Agudas Achim synagogue on West Jefferson Street.

A Jewish Children's Home was established in 1908 to support homeless children, those who were orphaned, and those whose parents became ill or disabled. With many single-

EAT LINKER'S
PURE BOHEMIAN RYE, FANCY ROLLS,
VIENNA and SEED BREAD
We Cater with Special Cakes to Weddings
LINKER BROS.
BAKERY BAKERY
City 850 1129 W. Market St.

parent and impoverished families in the community, the temporary relief provided by this agency was essential to the survival of many. In 1910, the Home moved from 1501 Brook Street to 223 Jacob Street, then to 1233 Garvin Place, and later 1135 S. First. Annie Nevils (a Catholic woman who had been the family nurse to the Tachau family) was the matron. She was much loved by the children in her care.[32]

In 1911, Tachau asked the Federation's education committee to provide a Fresh Air Fund for summer outings for children. In 1918, the loose Federation of Jewish charities became the Jewish Welfare Federation, and soon afterward the agency helped organize the Community Chest. Herman Landau remembered the agency's work, and its most important asset, Charles Strull:



Sam Shrager's butcher shop.

> *One of the earliest recollections I have... we lived on the 2nd floor of a house on First Street; the first floor was occupied by the Jewish Welfare Federation, headed by Charles Strull, an outstanding man. He was an astronomer, he was a Ph.D. in three languages, he was everybody's friend and confidant. He helped bring people over to this country if they were having any immigration problems, always helping people send remittances to Europe, he was always writing letters for them in Yiddish or even in Hebrew... he left the Federation... but for the rest of his life he was at the beck and call of the Jewish Community.*[33]

The largest and most lasting civic effort by the German Jewish community on behalf of the new immigrants was the establishment of Jewish Hospital, which ended up benefiting the entire Louisville and Kentucky community in ways the founders never could have anticipated. For most of Kentucky, the word "Jewish" means "Jewish Hospital," and "Jewish Hospital" means the highest level of health care available to all, regardless of ability to pay. The benefits through the years have been inestimable.

In February 1903, fifty socially prominent Jewish businessmen met at the Young Men's Hebrew Association on First Street and pledged to build a hospital to provide health care for poor immigrant Jews. It was to be a non-sectarian institution that welcomed both paying and non-paying patients and provided a place where Jewish physicians could practice medicine. The articles of incorporation provided for "a hospital... which shall be conducted on Israelitic lines, and wherein the sick and needy of our coreligionists can enjoy during their illness all the observances and consolation of our religion." All creeds would be admitted.[34]



Jewish Children's Home.

At this time, Louisville had 225,000 people, with five medical schools and eight hospitals: Marine (for sailors), City, Deaconess, Children's, St. Joseph, Saints Mary and Elizabeth, Norton, and St. John's (the "pest house" for infectious diseases).[35]



The David Roth family.

Although Jewish Hospital's founders were wealthy, successful men, the patients they wanted to serve were poor – and Orthodox – with specific needs, such as kosher meals and access to Jewish chaplains, that could not be met at the other local hospitals.[36] In addition, Jewish doctors were generally not welcome to practice or admit patients at the other hospitals. They also faced an (unacknowledged) 10 percent admissions quota at the University of Louisville Medical School, as with other medical schools nationally, and few internships were open to Jewish medical students.

The Jewish Hospital Board included representatives of five congregations: Anshei Sfard, Adath Jeshurun, B'nai Jacob, Brith Sholom, and Adath Israel. Charles Goldsmith of Adath Israel was the president. Five Masonic Lodges were also there: Brith Abraham, Dreyfus Lodge Knights of Joseph, Western Star #55, Dreyfus Lodge Western Star #6, and Theodore Roosevelt Ahavas Israel #112. Also represented were the Brothers of Hebrew Association, the Poor and Aid Association, and the United Hebrew Relief Association. Prominent local distiller Samuel Grabfelder kicked off the fundraising with his pledge of $8,000 (an additional $1,000 from his wife set up the Ladies' Auxiliary). Ed Grauman of the United Hebrew Relief Association pledged $3,500. Emil Tachau organized committees to get support, and a total of $15,000 was pledged.[37]

The founders were a cross-section of the Louisville Jewish business and professional elite. Nathan Bloom, a trustee, founded the wholesale dry goods business Bamberger, Bloom & Co. that launched so many other peddlers into thriving business careers. Grabfelder was a successful distiller. Charles Goldsmith, who chaired the first Jewish Hospital meetings, was the son-in-law of Nathan Bloom. He was the American-born child of Bavarian immigrant parents, and he worked for Bamberger, Bloom & Co. Emil Tachau, born in Louisville of German parents, was a leader in Neighborhood House, a founder of the Welfare League, a president of the Jewish Welfare Federation, and more. Other Jewish Hospital trustees included whiskey broker Louis Barkhouse; clothing manufacturer Solomon Hilpp; attorney and scholar Lewis Dembitz; attorney Alfred Selligman; Leon Sher, merchant tailor and president of B'nai Jacob; Aaron Reichman; Simon Shapinsky, dry goods dealer and former president of Adath Jeshurun; Edward Grauman, auctioneer and president of the United Hebrew Relief Association; Abraham Rothstein; Louis Strauss; and Jacob Hertzman, clothing manufacturer.[38]



The YMHA "baby Marathon" Thanksgiving Day race.



A women's group at the YMHA, April 1919.

On May 6, 1903, the founders purchased a lot at the southwest corner of Floyd and Kentucky streets at a cost of $5,400. The following week the new board authorized $25,000 for construction of the four-story building. The builder was Jacob A. Bornstein. The Hospital would have six wards, eight private rooms and a delivery room – 32 patient beds in all. Rates for those who could afford to pay were $21 per room per week, plus $5 for the use of the operating room. On December 13, 1903, the cornerstone was laid for the new hospital, and the doors opened on May 14, 1905. The hospital's services were free to the needy, and offered on a sliding scale.[39]

Many of the doctors affiliated with Jewish Hospital were familiar figures in the Jewish community. Sidney Passamaneck remembered: "Dr. Solomon with his little beard, who, I was told, would go to the old Jewish homes where they didn't have money, he'd gladly take a piece of ornament they'd brought from Russia as his fee… he was a wonderful doctor." [40] Dr. Brandeis impressed some of her patients because she drove a glass-enclosed, all-electric car, "a

Jewish Hospital Staff, 1903

The dean of staff was dermatologist Dr. I. N. Bloom, and the rest of the medical staff included:
Dr. Herbert Bronner
Dr. Florence Brandeis, pediatrician, first woman doctor in Kentucky
Dr. Leo Bloch, gynecologist
Dr. Oscar Bloch and Dr. Leo Kahn, general surgery
Dr. Sidney Meyers and Dr. DeWitt Henry H. Wolfe, obstetricians
Dr. Frank Fleischaker and Dr. Siegal Frankel, internal medicine
Dr. I. A. Lederman, ear, nose and throat
Dr. Jacob Flexner
Dr. Leon L. Solomon
Dr. B. Dreifus
Operations manager – Minnie Haman[71]



World War I doughboy, Mose Katz.

thing of beauty," according to Morris Morguelan, while others, such as Doni Greenebaum, were admiring because she "had the knack for making you feel she was interested in what you had to say."[41] She also remembered Dr. Sidney Meyers, who drove out in a fine rig from his office at 2nd and Burnett. The hospital relied on its volunteers, many of them from the National Council of Jewish Women, who set up "hospital circles" for sewing and fundraising.

As early as 1908, the hospital expanded and doubled its bed capacity. Always running a deficit due to its generous policies towards those who could not pay, in 1909, Jewish Hospital became affiliated with the Federation of Jewish Charities and received almost 23 percent of the Federation's disbursements that year as reimbursement for the treatment of charity cases. Jewish Hospital reported that 44 percent of its patients were treated free or at a nominal charge.[42]

High-quality nursing was of critical importance for the hospital, in order to maintain the standards it set for patient care. In 1909, administrator Katherine Daum, R.N., started a training school for nurses and, soon after, philanthropist Bernard Bernheim donated an apartment house he owned on the west side of Jewish Hospital to construct a nurses' home. In 1913, the Bernheim Home for Nurses opened. The nurses' living quarters included a basement gym and cozy shared living rooms. In this era, nurses were expected to work "for livelihood, not gain." Nurse Sarah Berlinsky recounted the long days: "We had to count laundry, make beds, scrub and carry in trays. For our 12-hour days we were paid $25/week."[43]

Soon after the founding of Jewish Hospital, a veritable bombshell was dropped on the medical community nationwide. The *Flexner Report* of 1910, written by Louisville's own Abraham Flexner, was harshly critical of the state of American medical education. Its findings and recommendations were adopted nationally and put an end to the semi-amateur system of for-profit medical schools with poorly-trained faculty and sub-standard requirements. Flexner recommended that American medical schools adopt the German model of studies in science combined with practical clinical experience. Before the *Report*, there were nine "medical proprietary colleges" in Louisville. They were competitive: "The owners of these institutions would meet young doctors arriving in Louisville at Union Station and try to bribe them to join their staffs."[44] As a result of Flexner's recommendations, all were closed.



Bernheim Nurse's Home at Jewish Hospital.

Jewish education was also a pressing need in the community. One of the mandates of the Va'ad, the

Orthodox organization that joined the four shuls and employed Rabbi Zarchy, had always been to establish a Hebrew School, a *Talmud Torah*. The earliest attempts at operating a community-wide school, a day school, had ended long before. Some of the congregations, particularly the Reform ones, maintained a Sabbath School or a Sunday School to provide some rudiments of a Jewish education to young people.

The Orthodox community relied on private tutors and the *cheder*, or daily after school Jewish education. One Orthodox student, Hyman Gurwitch, recalled a varied Jewish education: "As a youth, on Saturday we went to Adas Israel to the Sabbath School... I had private tutors... and went to Mr. Rosenthal's on 1st Street across from the Neighborhood House.... I graduated from the Talmud Torah.... One of the highlights of going to the Talmud Torah was the Simon's grocery store on the corner, where for 3 cents we got a big dill pickle and free crackers...."[45] This same tutor, Jacob "Old Man" Rosenthal, was also remembered by another Orthodox boy, Sidney Passamaneck: "I recall vividly going there.... He was a very strict teacher... many a time I felt his ruler on my knuckles."[46]



Abraham Flexner.

During the decade after 1900, Beth Hamedresh Hagadol set up a free *cheder*, or Hebrew School, in a tiny building across Jefferson Street from B'nai Jacob, with one teacher and 10 to 12 students, supervised by



A private room at Jewish Hospital.



A Sukkot celebration at Adath Israel.



The staff of the YMHA's Chronicler in the 1920s.

Rabbi Zarchy.[47] This became the nucleus of the Louisville Hebrew School. Adath Jeshurun had a kind of school as well: "I studied at our shul at Floyd and Chestnut under Max Kolletsky [before the Talmud Torah was formed]," Maurice Grossman recalled, "... there was a Dr. Sollinger, who was in the early days a medical doctor... and he used to act as rabbi there."[48]

Louisville Hebrew School (Talmud Torah) was established in 1908, "to offer to the Jewish public a modern and efficient Jewish Hebrew School, with a definite program." In 1910, the School opened in its own building at 208 East Walnut Street under Rabbi Zarchy's supervision. The community *mikveh* was located in the basement of the building. "The thing about the Hebrew School was, for its time, it was very progressive; even though the old Orthodox tendency was to concentrate on the boys and bar mitzvah, still, when it came to Hebrew School, they took in girls, and they had some brilliant students there,"[49] according to Herman Landau, whose sister Dora was one of those brilliant students.

The school was open to members of all congregations, not just the Orthodox, though students from traditional backgrounds made up most of the student body. The rigorous classes were taught only in Hebrew; no English was allowed. Dedicated students attended school for ninety minutes a day, six days a week. A branch was set up at the YMHA. Isadore Sperleng was the first principal, and then for over forty years, beginning in 1921, Rabbi Joseph Saltzman was a teacher and principal, and his wife Leah was a "beloved teacher" there. Saltzman had come to Louisville from Russia, learned English rapidly, and attended the University of Louisville where his intellectual curiosity and knowledge of Russian literature made friends among the faculty. He studied for the rabbinate by traveling back and forth to New York. A Talmudic scholar, he was an asset to the community, and he prepared generations of young men for bar mitzvah. His daughter Mimi, who was also his student, said of Saltzman, "He was strict but amusing, funny, liberal in his views... most people at the time were more formal, but he was good with children, he loved to talk sports with them."[50]

The boundaries among the groups, Reform German, Orthodox Russian, were not as strict as they sometimes seemed. Some Orthodox children attended Sabbath School at Adath Israel; Reform Jews married Orthodox Jews and went to shul at Anshei Sfard, and others went to hear favorite rabbis from time to time. Maurice Grossman said of his father, a shoemaker with a shop on Jefferson near Preston: "He was one of the most religious Jews in the community, but he was not narrow-minded... he went to shul [Anshei Sfard] twice a day and on all holidays. He loved Rabbi Gittleman, so he would come to Adath Jeshurun on Saturdays so he could hear Rabbi

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Gittleman."[51] Gertrude Feldbaum recalled: "My parents belonged to the one on Jefferson Street between Preston and Fehr [B'nai Jacob]; also they belonged to the shul on 12th Street [Agudas Achim], and in later years we belonged to Adath Jeshurun because I went to Sunday School there... so my parents belonged to three synagogues."[52]

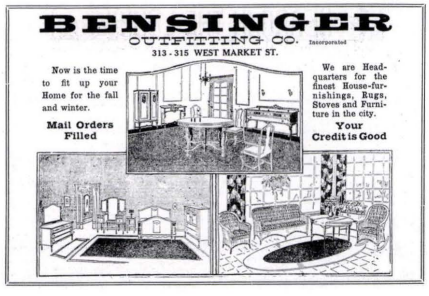
Tobie Wittenbaum remembered the distinct neighborhood groups, "the Market Streeters, the Preston Streeters, the 7th Streeters, and the 2nd and 1st Streeters," but, she recalled, "we had the opportunity of meeting at a very wonderful place called the YMHA."[53] In the 1910s, the YMHA began a decades-long attempt to bridge the divisions in the community. In 1916, under the leadership of Simon Lion, the YMHA undertook a drive for new members and published the results in its publication, *The Chronicler*. New YMHA members lived all over the city, but were especially concentrated in the Market Street area; East Madison and East Chestnut, East Jefferson, and South Preston; with another group around South 6th and 7th Streets.[54]



Dicter's Radiator Shop.

In 1915, the YMHA moved from its small, outdated building on First Street to spacious new quarters just south of Broadway at the corner of 2nd and Jacob Streets, near Brith Sholom. Fundraising and planning for the new facility had taken several years under the leadership of Ben Washer, but finally the YMHA had the space to broaden out from a narrow focus on sports and fitness to fulfill its mandate in education and culture as well. The new building had a library, an auditorium, meeting rooms, an indoor track circling above the gym floor, offices, lodge room, and handball courts. The YMHA had a very practical purpose in immigrant lives as well, as Maurice Grossman remembered: "... a lot of them in those days didn't have a place to take a warm shower."[55]

The staff was expanded to program for the new space, and a lively publication, *The Chronicler*, described life at the "H. A." and served as Louisville's first real Jewish community newspaper. Even today, *The Chronicler's* sense of fun, wit, and excitement leaps off the page. It was assembled monthly by a staff of volunteers and YMHA professionals, including Louis Cohen, Sara Landau, Tony Levitan, Sadie Baer, Charles W. Morris, Izzy Goodman, and others. *The Chronicler* warned members that in the new building, "it may take a little while to get accustomed to heaters that heat, showers that can be regulated, a roof that shelters and floors that support."[56]



"Doc" Max Isaacs was the athletic director. "In those days the YMHA was the leader in amateur athletics in town," Sam Berman recalled. "They had what was probably the best basketball team in town... and the annual marathon race on Thanksgiving morning. It started at Second and College ... and they ended there."[57]



Members of Keneseth Israel Congregation in front of their new building on Floyd Street.

When You're Down in Louisville (Call on Me)
by Irving Berlin

[1st VERSE:]
Goodbye, ev'rybody, I'm on my way to Louisville
I feel, oh, so happy I hardly can keep still
Although my home is very small, I invite you all
If you will come, you'll be welcome any time you call

[REFRAIN:]
Don't forget Don't forget
When you're down in Louisville, Louisville, Louisville
Just call around, I'll be found in the town directory

I'll have the table set
No fancy dishes
But the things you get
Will all be delicious
And you're just as welcome as can be

When you get there, take a Jitney bus
Call on us
I'll have you see the family
If you're ever so lucky to be down in Kentucky
Don't forget to stop at Louie, Louie, Louisville
And call on me

At the Third Annual "Baby Marathon," (1914) as it was called, "The crowds watching the runners were so large that the Police with difficulty kept the course open for the passage of the contestants," *The Chronicler* reported. Wrestling was also a major attraction, and women's sports, such as gymnastics and basketball, were offered as well.[58]

Gradually the perception that the YMHA was only for German Jews or middle-class Jews began to change. Sam Berman remembered that around 1910 he switched loyalties from Neighborhood House to the YMHA: "I was one of those charity cases... they took a lot of poor Jewish kids, we didn't know nothin' about paying to go into the YMHA, we just went, and we were treated as a member."[59]

In April 1914 the YMHA broadened its cultural offerings with the creation of an amateur theater company ("You know we are amateurs. Thank heaven, we know it, too!" the first program declared.) The group, called the AHMY Players, YMHA spelled backward, aimed to study and present "worthwhile" plays. The first production the Players staged was an original play called *The Obligation*, written by Charles W. Morris (future YMHA president and founder of the Jewish Community Federation) and presented at the Macauley Theater, a professional playhouse. The play also featured the new YMHA Orchestra, with Max Frockt as director and first violin, and Herbie Koch, Howard Koch, Jake Seligman, and Ted Solinger. (The orchestra was apparently disbanded after the production and reinstated two years later.)[60]

Credit for establishing an orchestra at the YMHA, at a time when the city of Louisville had no professional orchestra, belongs to businessman Morris Simon. "Morris Simon was Mr. Music," according to Annette Sagerman. "This man could not read a note of music and was the most dedicated individual known to man."[61] It was initially called "The YMHA Little Symphony." Simon recruited amateur musicians, and said that

he aimed to raise the standard of the orchestra and the standard of the audience at the same time. Simon funded the orchestra out of his own pocket, including ransoming instruments from pawnshops from time to time. He added new players who were interested even if their abilities needed developing, and was willing to improvise: "If, for instance, a bassoonist were needed, he purchased a bassoon with his own funds and converted a clarinetist to a bassoonist."[62]

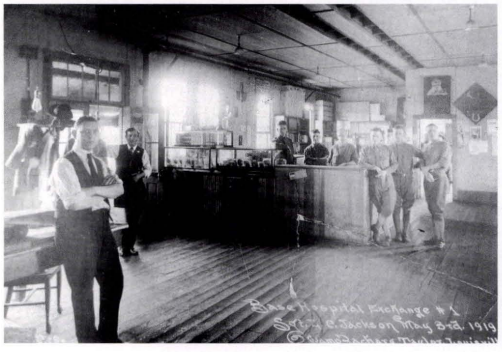
Events in Europe in the decade of the 1910s had a definite impact on life in Louisville. The events leading up to World War I caused all Louisvillians, many of German background, and all Louisville Jews, to rethink their allegiances as Americans, given the conflicts in the countries many of them still thought of as home. As American involvement in the War approached, anti-German feeling ran high among the public and in the press. German-Jewish distiller and philanthropist I. W. Bernheim was so shocked by the anti-German rhetoric of the *Courier-Journal*, edited by Henry Watterson, that he wrote a note to publisher Bruce Haldeman in protest. Haldeman, however, just forwarded the note to Watterson, prefaced: "Enclosed you will find a letter from one of your liquor friends, Mr. I. W. Bernheim...."[63]

When America entered the War in 1917, loyalties became clear. Many Louisville Jews rushed to enlist. By July 1917, eight men from Louisville's Jewish community had signed up and, by August, the number was thirty, with some already serving in France. Sara Landau, a social worker and economist who promoted women's programs at the YMHA, went to France to work as a translator for the Red Cross.[64] Eventually, several hundred Jewish Louisvillians served. A plaque in the entranceway of the present Jewish Community Center commemorates their contributions.

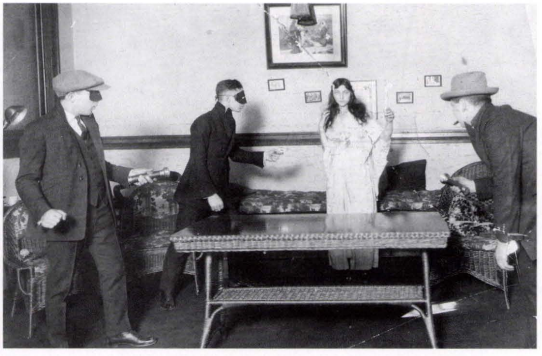
Tony Levitan wrote in the YMHA *Chronicler* that: "Khaki-clad worshipers were much in evidence in our temples during the war. Very few houses in Louisville failed to house at least one boy from Camp Taylor or Camp Knox." Camp Taylor, a major staging area for troops, was between Preston Highway, Watterson, Poplar Level, and Audubon Parkway. At the start of the War, there was no Jewish Welfare Board or USO to



The Jewish Welfare Board at Camp Taylor, WWI.



Sam Weisberg's Store at Camp Taylor during WWI.

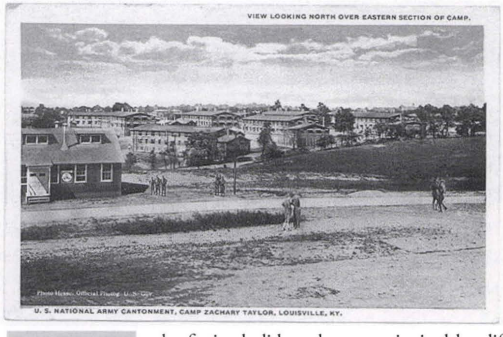


Production by the YMHA's AHMY Players.

help meet the needs of American Jews in the armed forces. Tents were hastily set up, because there were no permanent buildings when the war began. The YMHA offered what help it could by organizing a committee, headed by Ben Washer and Charles Strull, for "Soldiers of Jewish Faith" and arranging for them to get to High Holiday services and setting up family contacts. Louis Cohen of Louisville's YMHA went to New York to help organize the Jewish Welfare Board (JWB), whose mission to assist Jews in the military lasted through World Wars I and II. In the meantime, local Jewish women's organizations served meals, offered home hospitality, visited the sick, and formed a Red Cross unit to knit for the soldiers.[65]

Camp Taylor was now the temporary home of many recent immigrant Jewish soldiers, some with poor English and dietary and ritual needs that were foreign to the Army. Arthur Kling, a student from Louisville who was then studying for the rabbinate at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, found that his classes were all cancelled, so he went to work for the JWB. After a stint at Ft. Oglethorpe, Georgia, Kling transferred to Louisville. By now the new JWB maintained a "hut" at the Camp, and when an officer complained that the Jewish hut flew a Star of David flag instead of an American flag, Kling retorted: "We don't have to tell anyone we're Americans, and we're proud of being Jewish."[66] Kling arrived just in time for the great influenza epidemic of 1918 and worked at Camp Taylor while 11,000 of 60,000 men stationed there were ill. With more than fifty deaths each day, Kling worked at contacting the families and consoling the dying.

When the disease subsided, the YMHA was opened to "doughboys" on weekends: for Saturday dinner, Sunday breakfast, and especially for Saturday night dances with the local young women.[67] The YMHA was challenged by the war to truly become a meeting place for members of Louisville's dispersed and diverse Jewish community. The War was the beginning of the end of the separation of the Reform and Orthodox groups. According to Jacob Landau: "But really the YMHA was not for the real Orthodox for a long time... the Conservative and Reform elements had a lot to do with the YMHA... later on when the War started, when the First World War started in 1914, an influx of Jewish soldiers, Jewish people came to Louisville and changed the whole set-up of Louisville."[68]



Camp Zachary Taylor, World War I.

The women of the community pitched in with the war effort. As Tobie Wittenbaum remembered: "I was taught knitting by Esther, Fanny, and Rose Jacobson. It was during the First World War. We knitted scarves, gloves, helmets, and sweaters for both Navy and Army men. On Saturday nights, the Jewish soldiers from Camp Taylor came in to Louisville... and we had dancing ...they had cots for the soldiers where they spent the nights... for the festive holidays they were invited by different Jewish families."[69] The WWI hospitality program became a national model for the National Jewish Welfare Board and the USO, and was a training ground for the effort that would be required again in the 1940s.

Joseph & Joseph, Architects



Dartmouth apartments, shown here in 1928.

The architectural firm of Joseph & Joseph built much of 20th century Jewish Louisville. They were among the city's premier architects. There were four Joseph partners: the founders were brothers Oscar G. and Alfred S. Joseph, and they brought their respective sons, Graeme and Alfred, Jr., into the firm in the late 1930s.

The founders' parents, Abraham and Joanna Joseph, emigrated from Germany. In Louisville, Abraham Joseph became a broker. Alfred, the elder brother by five years, was born in 1878, and after attending Male High School, went to work with the leading architectural firm, McDonald and McDonald and Sheblessey. There he participated in the design of the Presbyterian Seminary, Temple Adath Israel, and the Weissinger-Gaulbert Apartments, all outstanding buildings of the day. In 1908, he partnered with his brother, Oscar, a civil engineer, to form Joseph & Joseph Architects, which was a charter member of the new Louisville chapter of the American Institute of Architects.

Their first commission was modest – a shoeshine parlor. But their second commission was enormous – the new State Fairgrounds and many of the associated structures. During the next decades they handled very large projects such as the campus and buildings of Murray State Teachers' College. Their range was wide: industrial buildings such as the Reynolds Metals Plant and the Seagram & Sons Distillery; retail stores such as Norman's Jewelry; residences including those of B. H. Straus and J. Harry and Sam Rosenbaum; interiors including Levy Brothers Menswear; and large apartment buildings including the Commodore, Dartmouth, and Willow Terrace Apartments in the Highlands. They could build in any style: Alfred liked classical styles as well as English and Gothic, while Oscar preferred more flamboyant Italianate and Spanish styles.

Their rise coincided with the growth of the motion picture industry, and they built hundreds of theaters including many for Michael Switow. Joseph & Joseph designed Switow's magnificent Kentucky Theater on 4th Street. The firm's notable buildings include Jewish Hospital, Keneseth Israel (on Floyd Street), Keneseth Israel (on Taylorsville Road), The Temple (Brownsboro Road), Anshei Sfard (on Dutchmans Lane), the Kosair Shrine Temple, the Henry Clay Hotel, the Republic Building, Kentucky Baptist Hospital, Colgate-Palmolive in Jeffersonville, county courthouses for Daviess and Shelby Counties, the original Atherton High School, the Kentucky State Prison and the Kentucky State Hospital, and many more.



Kentucky State Prison, LaGrange, Kentucky

Many Joseph & Joseph structures continue to serve Louisville, and many have the honor of being listed on the National Register of Historic Places. The firm continues today under different management.[70]

CHAPTER SIX:

Jews in the Louisville Community:

FAMILY AND BUSINESS LIFE



The Morris Bash Shoe Repair Shop on Preston Street between Jefferson and Market in 1913.

Jewish Louisville reached its peak population and prosperity in the 1920s and 1930s. Lively and diverse, it seemed that it would continue to grow and expand. The neighborhood for families of German background and Reform religion was Old Louisville, which in the early 20th century was an area of wealthy mansions, row houses, elegant apartments, and a few more modest bungalows. Streets here included 1st, 2nd, 3rd, Oak, Hill, and the nearby streets. It was far from an exclusively Jewish neighborhood, yet most families had friends and relatives nearby. As the years passed, members of traditional congregations also began moving into this area. It was a pleasant and friendly place to live. One resident, Mary Helen Byck, remembered: "They were scattered, Jewish families. There were some beautiful houses… we had a wonderful time."[1]

Summers were spent swimming at the Standard Club. Downtown was nearby and easily reached by public transportation. Experiences such as lunch at popular spots or Saturday matinees could be shared with Jewish and non-Jewish friends. Byck remembered:

> *We used to walk over from 3rd Street down from Hill or Magnolia down to the Park [Central Park] – we would skate there and play there and have a wonderful time.... It was wonderful because we were completely independent ... When we wanted to go downtown, we walked over to 4th Street, for a nickel we went in the streetcar ... went to the movies ... we'd go to the Majestic, or we went to the Strand, or Mary Anderson, then we'd go to Miss Jennie Benedict's and get a sandwich and a chocolate soda ... that was a real hub for young people.*[2]

But on the other side of town, Morris Morguelan, who earned his pocket money by selling newspapers on the street, also remembered going to the movies but in a different way: sneaking into the theater on East Broadway, by walking in backwards as crowds exited after the movie let out.[3]

Youth from the Reform and Traditional communities did not mingle socially in those days, as they would later. An Adath Israel member, Lewis D. Cole, said, "Most of my friends represented the same social and economic background as I was from... Hirschs, Levys, Josephs ... I wasn't as much identified with [the YMHA]... and teenage clubs in my generation ... we were a little bit more identified with the Standard Club."[4]

There were several distinct Jewish neighborhoods in the 1920s. Besides the middle-class and genteel Old Louisville neighborhood south of Broadway, Jews were still concentrated in the Preston Street area from Market to Broadway; along 7th Street on the west side of downtown; and in another enclave around 11th and Jefferson even farther west. A handful of Jewish families were scattered throughout the West End, and some of the more elite and upwardly-mobile had established a Jewish presence in the Highlands between Cherokee Road and Eastern Parkway.

> *"I've always thought of Louisville as a place that incorporated the talents of all of its citizens, and where you could do any job you wanted to if you proved yourself able to do it."*
> Doni Greenebaum

In the west end, Agudas Achim was the smallest of the city's synagogues with approximately sixty member families. In the social hall behind the shul there was a Hebrew School. There was a 210-foot-long yard next to the shul where summer picnics were held to raise money for the shul. "There the ladies auxiliary would put on wonderful chicken dinners to help raise money," Stanley Fischer remembered.[5] Houses and small shops on corners characterized the streets around the shul, while on nearby Market Street wholesale houses, larger stores, and small manufacturers provided jobs. The Wittenbaums' second hand store was typical. Mutzie Friedman recalled how "people would put out what they called 'the show' – they would put their best articles outside so as people walked by it would entice them...."[6] Jacob Landau said:

> *The Linker boys ... established a bakery on West Market Street ... that was the beginning of a community on the western part of town below Seventh Street ... they already had a little community down there – Eleventh Street, Twelfth Street – you could run into a Jewish store.*[7]



Simon's Grocery delivery truck, West End.

Linker's Bakery at 12th and Market was a popular Louisville institution for years. Herman Landau tells this story about local character Sidney "Shimkey" Lyon, a driver for Linker's: "One morning, while on his way from the bakery to serve his clients on Preston Street, Shimkey's horse and wagon went through a stop sign at 4th and Market. The policeman on the corner whistled. "You just went through a stop sign," the officer said. "Excuse me, sir," Shimkey answered, "I was asleep and my horse don't know from stop signs."[8]

Just to the west of downtown, 7th Street had kosher and Jewish-style delis and markets and a significant concentration of Jewish homes within a few blocks. Landau recalled, "The Jewish people who lived below 5th Street, 6th Street, 7th Street, they had little pop and mom stores, they also, on Market Street between 7th and 9th lived in back of their stores. The little Jewish section was a few blocks long." 7th Street was, in Hyman Gurwitch's memory "... a Jewish village... there was a Jewish drugstore owned by Sidney Passamaneck and Leonard Stern which was called the Model Drug Store." Gertrude Feldbaum remembered: "Jewish butcher shops... 7th Street was Mr. Gurwitch's butcher shop where we got our meat... Lerner's Delicatessen... Friedman's Department Store... it was a Jewish neighborhood with all Jewish merchants." There was a kosher restaurant and deli run by the Glazer family, who lived upstairs and ran the deli in one room downstairs.[9]

Neighborhood children played in the streets and alleys: "Handball was one of our greatest sports... we used to play in the alley at 7th and Congress for a nickel a game and it would be war when you lost a nickel," Gurwitch said.[10]

But with four synagogues within a few blocks, the Preston Street area was the heart of the traditional Jewish community, "A place where more Yiddish than English was heard on the street," in Herman Landau's description. It was not exclusively Jewish – the east side of downtown was a working-class entry port for immigrants and home to African-Americans who lived along the alleyways behind the shops and tenements. The neighborhood's popular family physician, Dr. William Pickett, was black (he spoke Yiddish). A Syrian/Lebanese community co-existed with the Jews and other groups, including the confectionery store called Charlie-the-Greek's. Since many of the local homes had no hot water or even indoor plumbing (residents had to haul water from the community pump at Jackson and Jefferson streets), a popular local spot was the public bathhouse on Preston near Jefferson, a city facility.[11]

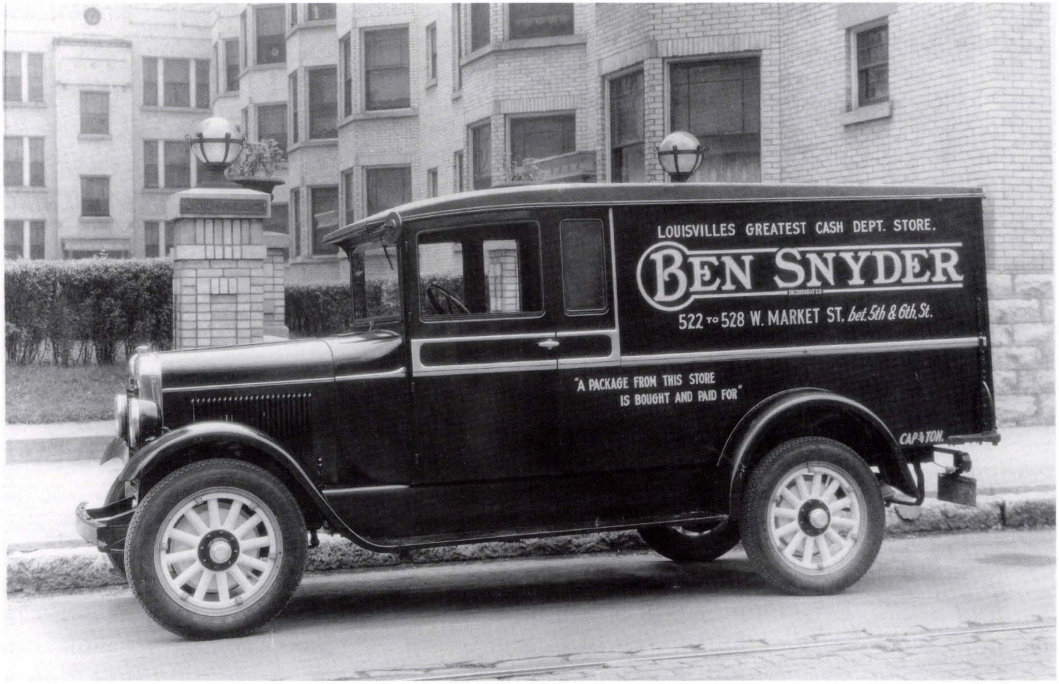
Some people later remembered friendly relations with the non-Jews in the area, even close friendships. Others remembered thinly veiled warfare, and credited rigorous sports and boxing training at the YMHA for helping Jewish boys defend themselves more effectively. In 1921, Dr. I. N. Bloom told the YMHA's Kadima Club that around the turn of the century when the Hebrew School was on Fourth Street, "the school population was 250 pupils. It was no unusual thing then for two or three hoodlums to chase the whole school." Dr. Bloom credited the YMHA "for what it has done in enabling the Jewish youth to overcome this physical obstacle."[12]

Dora Landau recalled:

> *I grew up in a neighborhood that was pretty tough, and so my younger brothers and I became very close. When we went to school we always saved the rocks we could pick up because the only language the Irish, the Italian, the Greek, and the Polish immigrants understood was the language of violence and if you could knock the hell out of them before they could knock the hell out of you, then they were afraid of you and they never bothered you.*[13]

In contrast, an Irish Catholic girl, Maggie Wise Riley (whose widowed mother had to work twelve hours a day, six days a week), recounted the fondest memories of growing up among Jewish families in a mixed immigrant community:

> *Many of us, Syrians, Lebanese, and Jews mostly, lived on the streets behind City Hospital... My friends' mothers usually worked in a store in the Haymarket area, but there was always someone in their home; maybe an aunt or a Zayde. Usually though, a warm motherly voice tinged with Yiddish like Mrs. Schlossberg's greeted us from the kitchen, "kum, kum, essen, essen something... nem a nosh."*

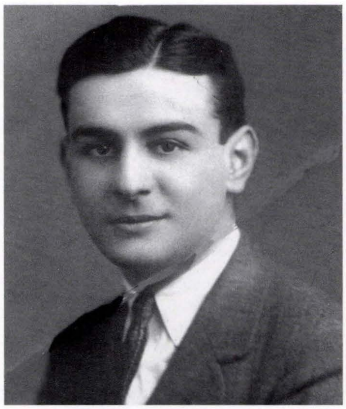


Ben Snyder's delivery truck.

She was fed kugel, latkes, applesauce, herring and sour cream, and fruit salad made from Haymarket rejects. She learned a *bissel* Yiddish, took Jewish holidays off from school, and even visited synagogues with her friends.[14]

Along Preston Street, nearly all of the stores were Jewish-owned, and most families lived behind or above their stores. "... They had all kinds of tradesmen there – there were paperhangers, Jewish paperhangers... We had second-hand stores; we had little department stores like Mrs. Waterman's store.... Practically 90 percent of the stores were Jewish," Jacob Landau said. In this era, many of the upscale 4th Street stores would not sell to black people, so they patronized the Preston Street stores, which were grateful for the business. The largest store in the area was Waterman's Department Store, on the west side of Preston near Walnut. Some stores specialized in products for a Jewish clientele, such as kosher food, Jewish baked goods, or ritual objects and books. On Sundays, many of the stores were open for a half-day or all day, since many were closed on Saturdays in observance of Shabbat.[15] Jacob Landau recalled:

> *On Preston Street ...the majority of people who owned those stores lived in the back of the stores. You wanted to see Mr. Pressma who owned the little dry goods store on Preston Street, you want to go pay him a visit ... you would go through the stores, go back in the house, and there was their kitchen and their living room and everything. Upstairs were more people... everybody in back of the stores. Mr. Lipetz lived in back of his store."*[16]



Herman Handmaker.

If you needed shoes, you went to "Shoe Street" – Preston between Market and Jefferson – where as many as twelve Jewish-owned shoe stores competed and cooperated.[17]

Children (the white children, that is) in the neighborhood went to the George W. Morris elementary school at Floyd and Chestnut (near Adath Jeshurun), and many of the boys went on to Male High School. Jacob Landau remembered: "Now I went to school with a lot of Jewish children – not too many, but just enough to make a little salt-and-pepper... the teachers made absolutely no distinction between the Jewish and the non-Jewish children... I'll give credit to the Louisville public school system..."[18] The Louisville Public Library (located almost next door to Adath Israel) was also a route to education and improvement. Jennie Maas Flexner (daughter of Jacob Flexner and Rosa Maas) was the head of circulation from 1912 to 1928, and in Louisville and later in New York City, she developed the concept of the librarian as "reader's advisor" to help patrons with self-education, job retraining, and personal and intellectual growth.[19]

Much of the ultimate success of the Jewish community in Louisville, and in America, can be attributed to the fact that immigrants who arrived with little or nothing gave each other a hand up as soon as they could. The Orthodox or Russian community provided self-help, and ultimately the established Reform, or German, community organized to help out the newcomers.

One institution that was universally helpful was the Free Loan Society, or *Gemillas Chesed.* Each congregation had one. At Agudas Achim, for example, a Free Loan Society was established around the turn of the century by Meyer Fischer, Joe Friedman, Abe Getzel, David Perellis, and David Gurwitch. They customarily gave *tzedakah* at *shul*, and started the *Gemillas Chesed* when, as Stanley Fischer recounts,

"a Jewish man who did not have any family, and who ran a second-hand store near 7th and Walnut, committed suicide. After the funeral, Joe Friedman learned that he had been destitute, and had pawned his watch for $5. Friedman and his friends discussed the situation and decided that something should be done to help people who might be in similar circumstances."[20] The Association made interest-free loans of $100 to $500, which was enough capital to open a Mom-and-Pop type store. Another *Gemillas Chesed* Society operated at Keneseth Israel, and Louisville's other synagogues all had similar programs for emergency relief and small business loans. With capital of only $500, a family could start a small grocery store, hardware store, dry goods shop, or other small business.[21]

For those who truly needed assistance neighbors and neighborhood businesses could help. Some poor relief was simply one-on-one, in the ancient Jewish tradition of *tzedekah*: "There were a lot of poor people in those days who had nothing. And no matter who came in, they always got something to eat," Gertrude Feldbaum remembered.[22]



Rebecca Judah.

Some Orthodox Jews were determined to maintain traditional practices such as strictly observing Shabbat, even if that meant financial and professional sacrifice. Mr. Zimmerman, the *shammas* at Beth Hamedresh Hagodol, also worked as a builder. According to his grandson, Sidney Passamaneck, "Saturday there was no way he was going to work .... He went into his own little business of fixing chairs, carrying his merchandise on his back and going from door to door fixing chairs."[23]

Many of the new Russian immigrants started their own small businesses in order to have control over the hours and conditions of work. One occupation that soon became dominated by Jews was the junk business – "materials reclamation" or "recycling" today. Jacob Landau remembered "the small dealers, the small wagons would go around and collect junk – they would sell them to Levi's and Wasbutsky's on the uptown side, Levi's downtown, and then there was the Klempner Brothers, S. Weber & Son...." [24]

Morris and George Klempner started Klempner Brothers Scrap in 1905, with a lot on River Road. Immigrant David Blusinsky started Louisville Scrap Materials Company in 1913 with a large lot on the east side of the downtown waterfront at Preston Street. In the early years, he collected scrap metals and processed them himself with a cutting torch and wheelbarrow, selling the metals to brokers. As the company expanded, Louisville Scrap bought disused railroad cars, disassembled them, and then sold the parts. Some family members later changed their surname to "Blue," and continued to expand and diversify the business through the generations to include recycling other metals and materials.[25]

Both B'nai Jacob and Beth Hamedresh Hagadol struggled through the 1920s. Financially limited, they were also in buildings they felt were unsuitable. Meanwhile, members of their congregations were moving away from the Preston/Madison Street area to the more spacious residential neighborhoods south of Broadway on Brook, Floyd, 1st, and 2nd Streets. In 1926, the two congregations merged. The congregations met at Beth Hamedresh Hagadol's building on Preston and Fehr while planning and fundraising for a new synagogue to be called Keneseth Israel, with Rabbi Mandelbaum as rabbi.[26] The lot they purchased at Jacob and Floyd was on the same block as Adath Jeshurun, at the opposite corner, so the two structures nearly met at their back corners. The local Jewish architectural firm of Joseph and Joseph designed the new building in a neoclassical style with tall Corinthian columns. It was constructed by another local Jewish firm, Platoff and Bush, and opened with fanfare in 1929.



Front Row (left to right): Bertha Newman, Sarah Schuhmann Gumer, Rubin Gumer, Morris Heller, Esther Schuhmann Krupp, Hyman Gumer, Wolf Krupp, Sol Perelmuter, Bella Perelmuter (Shackett), Miriam Schuhmann Perelmuter, Hyman Newman, Sophie Schuhmann Newman. Back Row (left to right): Abe Newman, Abe Gumer, Isaac Gumer, Frances Newman (Gumer), Morris Perelmuter (King), Faye Perelmuter (Davis), Harold Krupp, Sam Perelmuter, Abe Kahn.

Schuhmann-Gumer-Newman-Perelmuter family seder, circa 1932.

Jewish Hospital was there to provide health care for everyone, especially the poorer residents of the area. The hospital continued to run a deficit, but the need for such an institution was clear. In 1918, Bernard Bernheim and his brother Isaac committed $100,000 in a trust to fund a new addition to Jewish Hospital. However, other financial considerations, including a decline in charitable gifts, slowed this construction. By 1923, anticipating the loss of underwriting from the Federation and carrying a $10,000 deficit, the Hospital Association began discussing closing the facility. One solution was to become independent of the Federation of Jewish Charities and conduct fundraising independently, which is what was decided. In 1926, a successful fund drive gave hope that an expansion of the hospital in the near future would be a real possibility. The staff announced plans to increase the number of beds to one hundred. [27]

The groundbreaking for Jewish Hospital's new building at Floyd and Kentucky took place on October 28, 1928. The "Bernheim Addition" would house thirty patient rooms on the first and second floors and a nurses' dining room and main and diet kitchens on the ground floor. Rabbi Albert Mandelbaum of Keneseth Israel addressed the assembled notables: "We should give expressions to our religion by having a place specifically Jewish where our people may go for treatment." The addition opened in December of the next year. The modern operating rooms and technical facilities were among the most advanced in the region, and patient rooms offered telephones, radios, and adjustable beds, and tried to offer a home-like setting. It offered a "Ritual Room," or chapel. Jewish Welfare Federation Director Lula D. Krakauer wrote that in this room "every consideration has been given for the comfort and peace of mind of our Orthodox brethren."[28]

In September 1922, the Louisville Conference of Jewish Women's Organizations was established for the purpose of promoting better understanding and coordination among the numerous Jewish women's organizations of Louisville. Women's groups were very active in social reform and social justice causes. The National Council of Jewish Women became involved in issues including slum clearance, improved housing, limiting child labor, anti-lynching laws, creation of public housing, and expanded school lunch programs in the public schools to ensure that poor children got at least one hot, nutritious meal each day. NCJW also worked with Neighborhood House, the community settlement house, to offer English classes for children and adults and orientation for new immigrants starting in 1922. At this time, NCJW was mainly supported by members of the German/Reform community. Jean Brandeis Tachau was active in the Red Cross and the Children's Protective Association, part of the new Federation of Jewish Charities, and helped to start the Kentucky Birth Control League in 1933,

working with Mary Helen Byck and others traveling throughout Kentucky. Mary Helen Byck, whose mother and father were very involved with social issues, remembers that in her family even the children were expected to help: "We always had our little jobs to do for whatever civic endeavors were going."[29]

While some organizations represented a kind of "noblesse oblige," created by successful earlier arrivals for struggling recent immigrants, other groups tried to unify the community on a social level. B'nai B'rith, now more than a half-century old in Louisville, tried to do just that. But, according to Maurice Grossman: "When it first started, it was started by the German Jews, and my father was one of the first – well, he was American-born – I guess that's the reason he was let in. But anyone that was born in Russia couldn't get in, in those days." Herman Landau agreed: "Originally it was set up like a lodge with a secret ritual. Gradually it became more democratic until it evolved into the present concept." The two original Jewish Louisville Lodges merged in February of 1904, to form one Louisville Lodge #14. By 1913 the National organization had launched the Anti-Defamation League, and all leading Louisville Jews belonged regardless of family origin – "It was a matter of prestige for a young man to belong to B'nai B'rith." At the Lodge meetings, a kind of equality began to unite the diverse community.[30]

The YMHA increasingly reached out to all segments of Jewish Louisville. In 1924, Camp Tapawingo, the YMHA summer camp for families, was built on seventeen acres near Harrod's Creek, at Charlesgate Station on Upper River Road. It was eight miles from the city, yet some campers walked back and forth. It was the local equivalent of a Catskills summer resort, with permanent individual family cottages, a communal kosher mess hall, and dormitory-like structures. Camping, sports, and other activities were scheduled

YMHA Camp Song

(to the tune of Tipperary)
It's a long way to Charlesgate Station
But we'll get there don't fear
It's a long way to Charlesgate Station
To the H. A. Camp so dear,
Goodby, Second and Jacob, farewell, city gay,
It's a long way to Charlesgate Station
But we're on our way.[100]



YMHA Camp Tapawingo, River Road.

throughout the summer. Campers could swim and boat in the Ohio River.[31]

> The YMHA advertised: *Families are encouraged to live either in cottages or in tents in addition to the separate groups of boys and girls who come out... it is the YMHA out-of-doors, a place to which all of the activities and the staff and the larger part of the membership are transferred during the hot summer months.... "It is not, as some have tried to assert, a place for a few select people who are financially able to build a cottage and live out there during the summer ....*[32]

Back at 2nd Street, the YMHA continued to field remarkable sports teams, particularly in basketball. Gertrude Feldbaum remembered:

> *When I was a little girl, I belonged to the Brownies, then at the Center, Blanche Mitchell rented the auditorium and had her dance studios there... the men had their basketball team at the Center, these young men like Poachie Marks, Essie Frank, Sammy Handmaker, Harry Linker – I was fourteen or fifteen, I used to go there and watch the games, we all did, and they had dancing after... they played with all the teams... the Center had one of the best basketball teams.*[33]



YMHA club going to Indianapolis, 1939.

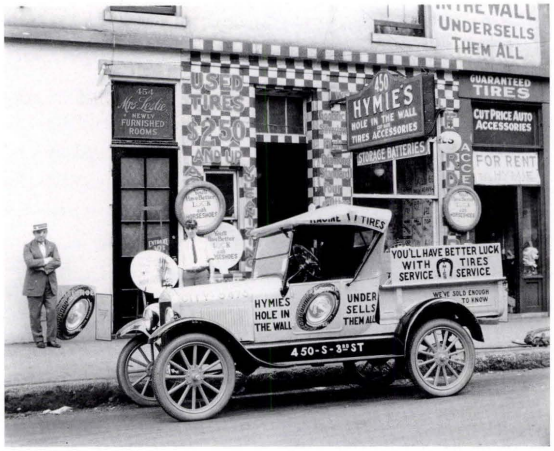
Women had just earned the right to vote in the 1920 election, and the YMHA offered programs to ensure that "each and every girl was inspired to think earnestly for herself before casting her vote." Blanche Ottenheimer and Rebecca Judah, both activists for women's rights, led these sessions and provided practical information about how to register to vote and helped young women who did not have citizenship through their parents apply for citizenship papers themselves.[34]

The high quality of women's programs at the YMHA (called the "Girls Department") was sustained by the "Girl's Secretary," staff member Sara Landau. Landau, who was from a Polish immigrant family, served in France with the Red Cross and worked with NCJW and immigrant aid "doing port work at Ellis Island." Landau described it: "We would meet the boats, immigrants whose families did not meet them directly were assigned to us; the Jewish women to me, the Catholic women to the representative of that group, and the Protestant women to the representative of the YWCA."[35] Landau was a trained social worker and had an MA in Economics. She taught at the University of Louisville and at community Sunday schools.

By the 1920s, the YMHA Board began to reconsider some policies, such as closing on Shabbat and holidays, so that the Orthodox community could

feel that the YMHA was their building, too. Charles W. Morris, YMHA President from 1920-22, believed that the organization needed to show respect for the values of traditional Jews in order to attract them as members and participants.

In 1921, Kadimah sponsored a community debate on YMHA Sabbath observance, and *The Chronicler* printed a cross-section of opinion: Harry Simon "advocated a return to the old-time, century-surviving, Orthodox form of keeping the Sabbath and recommended this plan to the YMHA as an association whose aims and ideals must perpetuate Judaism." Arthur Kling said, "There are activities which could be held on Saturday which would broaden and enlarge the YMHA scope of usefulness... [but] the YMHA would alienate the Conservative portion of its membership and thereby cause a split in the Association." For this reason Kling advised that the YMHA policy not be changed. Jacob Landau "has asked the members, who said they are satisfied with present arrangement, and suggested that maybe the physical department only could be opened on Saturday afternoons." Alvin Linker wanted to "leave the determination of the observance of the Sabbath to each individual... if the YMHA would lay down any set rule it would deprive each individual of his pre-empted right of freedom in his religious belief." [36]



Hyman Morguelan's Hymie's Hole in the Wall.

President Charles W. Morris said that the Board would consider these opinions, and the next month the YMHA Board issued a statement: "All activities in the YMHA are suspended at sundown Friday evening and not resumed until sundown Saturday night." The Auditorium could still be used for free lectures only, and the Lodge Room could be used by groups. The 1922 Annual Report went even further to accommodate the Eastern Europeans by suggesting that "there is undoubtedly a large group in this community uninfluenced by the YMHA because the YMHA has never made provisions for it. Yiddish plays, Yiddish songs and concerts, lectures, etc., belong legitimately in our program and will be provided for in the future."[37]

The Reform community went along with these changes in the interest of community harmony, and many saw Morris as a peacemaker who had the power to bring unity to the Jews of Louisville.

> *Mr. Morris made the YMHA more sectarian, to the glory of Judaism, and at the same time kept the YMHA secular for the benefit of the community. The observance of the Sabbath and of the Holidays and the adherence to Jewish ritual and ceremonies by the Association... gained the YMHA the support of a fraction of the Orthodox element which, before the term of Mr. Morris, had manifested small interest in the YMHA.* [38]

In 1923, the YMHA already had 1,500 members. Men could participate in the Kadimah Club, a current topics supper club; Athletic Club; Quorum (literary); Optimi; Brandeis; Bon Temps; and Boy Scouts. Women had Civics; Ahmsae (literary); Fidelis, organized during the War as a knitting club; Choral Society; Peptimists; Sewing Group; Domestic Science; Embroidery Group; Hi-Y; Girl Scouts; Letovah; JUG; Normal Y Club; Optimists; and Jr. Chorus. For all, there was Drama (the AHMY players grew more and more

Switow's Theatre Empire

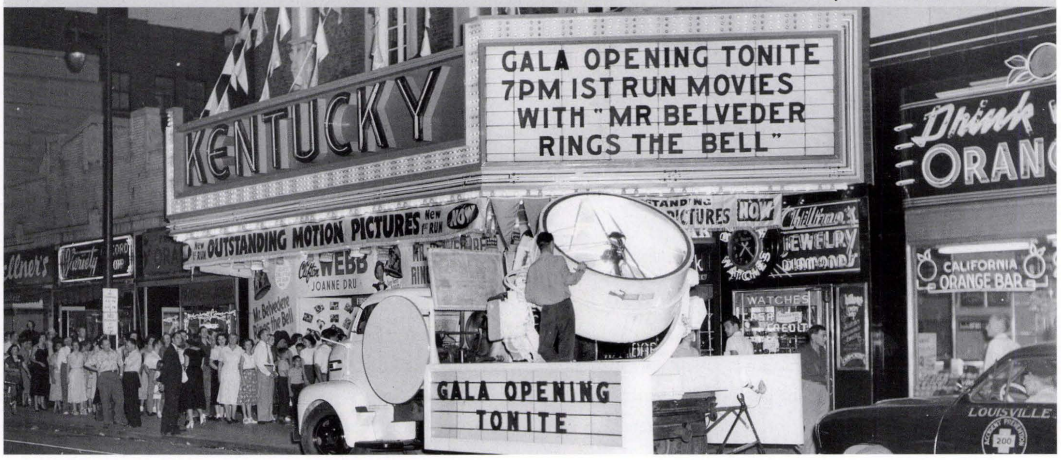
Louisville theater pioneer Michael Switow recognized the power of the movies from the very early days. The motion picture business was dominated by scrappy and aggressive Russian Jewish entrepreneurs who had not yet reached "mogul" status. Production and distribution systems were patched together by these men, who were rapidly expanding into cities and towns across America. Switow converted his Jeffersonville store into a theater, and with the profits began constructing theaters in Louisville and eventually in other parts of Kentucky and Indiana as well, leveraging the profits from each one to build and extend the chain.



Switow's Dream Theater in Jeffersonville, Indiana.

He built the Dream Theater in Jeffersonville; the Crystal, Novelty, Alamo, Cozy, and others, in Louisville; and the Ada Meade in Lexington. The chain ultimately included more than thirty theaters. Some were simple neighborhood movie houses, while others were grand showplaces with ornate lobbies, huge arched halls with decorated ceilings, enormous organs, and state-of-the art projection (and later, sound) systems. The showpiece of the chain was the Kentucky Theater on 4th Street, built in partnership with Colonel Fred Levy, who invested in Hollywood and eventually moved there.

Switow was joined in his ventures by his nephew, Henry Saag, who joined the business after World War II. They built the Hiland Theater in Highland Park and pioneered the drive-in theater with the Preston Drive-In and the South Park Drive-In. The company expanded into real estate development with the construction of theaters in the suburbs. Saag formed Associated Theatres of Kentucky, and with his associates constructed the eight-screen Village 8 Theatre, and built or managed many other multi-screen theaters. The chain included the Vogue Theater in the St. Matthews neighborhood, and the Dixie Dozen, a twelve-screen theater. After Saag's death in 1998, the family sold the remaining theaters, and the Switow/Saag era ended in 2000.[103]



The Kentucky Theater on 4th Street.



Left: The West End Theater.

polished and professional), Orchestra, Gym, and the Yiddish Social Club.[39]

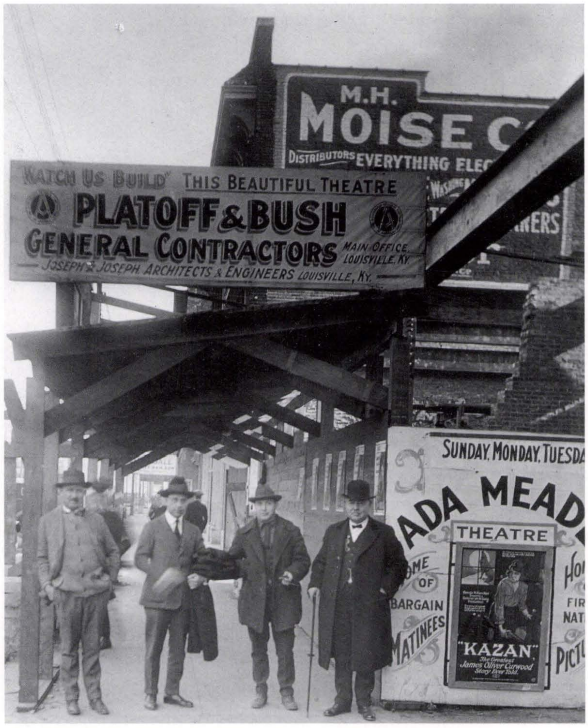
The First World War also led to the formation of an organization within the community that would later become the Jewish Community Federation. It began in 1922 with the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee's efforts to raise a Jewish War Relief Fund, to aid the Jews of Europe who were suffering and living in poverty due to the disruptions of the War. Community leaders who had visited Europe reported widespread starvation and dying children in Jewish districts. Many of Louisville's Jews had left these areas only a generation before and still had family ties.

Colonel Fred Levy, son of one of the founders of Levy Brothers, and Cyrus Adler led the statewide campaign and raised $150,000 for Jewish survivors of the War. Schoolchildren were urged to give, and the campaign was open to donations from non-Jews. A family member, Charles Tachau, called Levy "a big operator," a wheeler-dealer who owned a lot of property and speculated on Hollywood investments. He used these skills to leverage large donations for the community.[40] A few years later, Lewis W. Cole chaired a campaign to benefit Jewish communities in Russia and Palestine for the Jewish Welfare Board.[41]

In 1919, Simon Shapinsky traveled to attend the international Zionist conference in London and personally heard England's Lord Balfour address the gathering, issuing the famous "Balfour Declaration" in support of a homeland for the Jews in Palestine. Shapinsky then went to visit his sister and her family in Lithuania. He had difficulty crossing borders, and when he reached his native city of Lidwanova, he found "of the five or six hundred buildings he had left years ago, three buildings remaining … he found his sister and her family, and the tales of horror which those who are alive to tell the story, are almost beyond our imagination." He traveled home through Germany and noted that "Anti-Semitism thrives chiefly among the so-called high and intellectual class of Germans."[42]

Through the first half of the 20th century, Louisville residents debated Zionism and organized on both sides of the issue. The concept of a Jewish homeland in Palestine appealed most to those whose families had recently escaped persecution in Europe, and least to those whose families had felt secure and accepted in America for generations. Ideology was part of it, too; political Zionism made sense to those who saw Jews as a "people" or a "nation." Those who insisted that Judaism was only a religion saw Zionism as a wrong turn on the path to a progressive Jewish society. In Louisville, the Eastern European traditional community joined Zionist organizations, while the Reform German Jews avoided them or actively spoke against Zionism – with some exceptions.

I. W. Bernheim, a member of Adath Israel, told the 1928 World Union for Progressive Judaism, meeting in Berlin, that: "… we are determined not to isolate ourselves in Palestine. We are utterly opposed and will never willingly or otherwise subscribe to Israel's identification with a national policy or culture, nor will we recognize in any form a flag or national hymn other than the ones in the land in which we live. We shall never allow any man or set of men to lead us… to endorse a movement like Political Zionism."[43] He supported a refuge in Palestine, but not a state. Rabbi Joseph Rauch of Adath Israel was one of a group that broke off from the pro-Zionist American Jewish Conference to form the anti-Zionist American Council of Judaism. This group issued the "Biltmore Declaration," opposed to the creation of a Jewish state anywhere



The Ada Meade Theater in Lexington, Kentucky.

in the world. Rabbi Rauch signed it. (However, once the state of Israel became a reality in 1948, he withdrew from the organization, saying that it was now necessary for all Jews to support the reality of a Jewish state.)[44]

Jewish Louisville's most prominent native son, Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis, was not only a Zionist but was the head of the American Zionist Organization, the umbrella fundraising organization that coordinated all other efforts. His beloved brother, Alfred, a Louisville businessman, however, was not. Alfred's grandson Charles Tachau said: "My grandfather was never a Zionist... he was actively opposed... he and his brother simply had to agree to disagree about that."[45] (However, Alfred Brandeis did sign a letter in 1923 thanking British Prime Minister David Lloyd George for the Balfour Declaration of 1919 granting a homeland for the Jews in Israel.) Louis Brandeis served as a representative of American Zionists at the Versailles Peace Conference that ended World War I in 1919, and believed that all small nations and dispossessed peoples should band together for each other's rights. He lobbied with other groups in the region to find common solutions, and he crossed America raising funds and speaking to groups.[46]

In 1916, he wrote to Alfred: "You cannot possibly conceive of the horrible sufferings of the Jews in Poland and adjacent countries. These changes of control from German to Russian and Polish anti-Semites are bringing miseries as great as Jews ever suffered in all their exiles – Terrible stories of suffering in Palestine and generally. The Jews are having a bad time."[47]

The Louisville chapter of Hadassah, the women's Zionist group, was started in 1919, when three local women – Minnie Isaacs, Betty Ades, and Rebecca Linker – went to a national conference in Chicago to hear Henrietta Szold, Hadassah founder, speak on pioneer health work in Palestine with both Jews and Arabs. Sadie Baer was also a prominent early leader. The group first met in November 1919 at Scher's Restaurant and later at the YMHA. The women raised funds for Palestine, focusing on medical needs and later supporting the Hadassah Hospital in Jerusalem. The movement was strengthened when Szold herself visited Louisville in 1925, and membership peaked at 1,000. Sadie Baer kept the community updated through a monthly column in the Chronicler, "Zionistic Happenings."[48]

Congregation B'nai Jacob sponsored a children's Zionist group called Flowers of Zion, whose young members once included Charles Strull, future community leader. Zionists also organized an immigrant night school and later offered Zion Sabbath School at the YMHA with more than 100 children in attendance per week. Young Judea also maintained active youth branches in Louisville, with children making "blue box" collection drives several times a year.[49]

Besides Hadassah, the Zionist Organization of America included many Louisville Jews, who raised funds for Israel through the Jewish National Fund. Founders of the local chapter included Charles Strull, Mose Ades,

and I. Leo Wolkow.[50]

The relatively prosperous 1920s brought new opportunities for many Louisville young people to attend college and study for the professions. During this time even the daughters of the educated elite Jews of Louisville could aspire to higher education. Doni Selligman Greenebaum, daughter of attorney Alfred Selligman, went to Wellesley College. On her return to Louisville, she set out to work for a living, and found a job in public relations for a bank.[51]

The University of Louisville, America's oldest municipal university, was originally located downtown near the Jewish business and residential neighborhoods. It occupied disconnected buildings for its Medical School (at First and Chestnut), Law School (in upstairs rooms in a small building next to the Medical School), and undergraduate courses. In 1923, the school finally got a campus of its own, the Belknap Campus.

The new campus, at the south end of Old Louisville, was now near the neighborhoods where Jews were relocating. The school offered an opportunity for some upwardly mobile Jews to get an education. With 800 students and a faculty of 47, it was "a streetcar college," where Jewish students could study while still living at home and working at a job to pay tuition.[52] However, there were some limitations – hints that the school, in the 1920s, was not fully hospitable to Jewish students or professors. The University of Louisville had no official policy on record limiting Jewish enrollment, but those who were there at the time believe it to have been the unofficial policy to maintain no more than 10 percent Jewish enrollment.

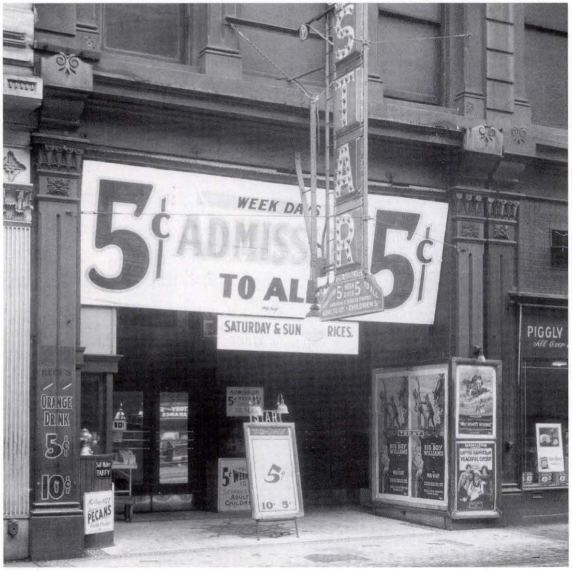
During the first part of the 20th century, American universities and colleges often had an unacknowledged quota limiting "the Hebraic element" in the school. Without these quotas, eager and qualified Jewish candidates would have formed a much higher percentage of the student body. The pressures of the Depression led many young Jews to look to education to improve the lot of their families, who struggled with the family businesses that could no longer support the family.

Alex Berman, the son of a Market Street merchant family who himself earned a law degree, recalled:



The LeRose Theater.

The Star Theater.

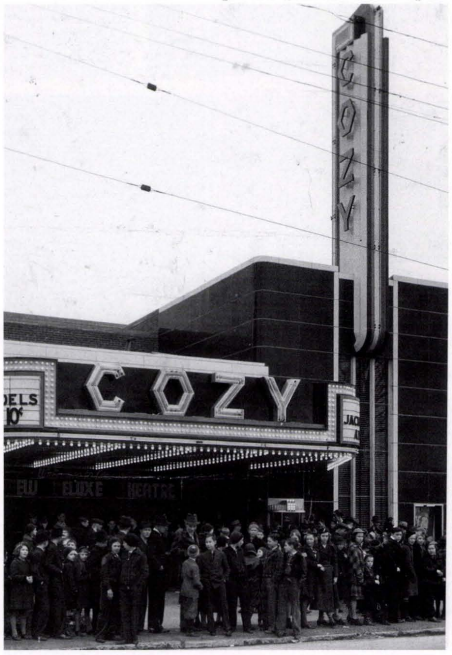


In the period when I grew up in Louisville, there were not a great number of young Jewish people going into professions. Most of the young generation... we planned to remain in business with our families... a great part of the Jewish community was engaged in business. But as time went on, small businesess were not doing so well, especially during the time of the Depression... Jewish young people were starting to look towards professions. Prior to that time... it was difficult for Jewish boys to get into some types of professional schools, engineering, medical school, there was a form of a quota.[53]

He found subtle prejudice in the legal profession. He considered working with the Selligmans, a Jewish law firm, but instead worked with H. A. I. Rosenberg, who, according to Berman, had a very profitable criminal practice defending bootleggers.[54]

The University of Louisville Law Department graduated Jewish attorneys like Norton L. Goldsmith, but many of the city's Jewish lawyers trained at the Jefferson School of Law, sometimes called "the Washer School," which was organized by local attorneys including Benjamin F. Washer, who became a prominent supporter of the Jewish community. It opened downtown in 1905, and offered night classes. Its part-time instructors (including full-time lawyers like Goldsmith) billed the students directly for fees. Sam Berman graduated from this school, as did Ike Gumer, by taking night law courses and working during the day.[55]

By 1927, Jewish faculty at the University of Louisville began to suspect that they were unwelcome, when historian Louis Gottschalk, then at the start of his illustrious career, became the center of a controversy. He was probably the most important scholar to be fired by an American university during the 1920s. Economist Sara Landau was also lost to the University during the incident. During the mid-1920s, the University hired George Colvin as President; his brief term was a disaster for the University. Although according to University historian Dwayne Cox, "He was probably no more anti-intellectual or anti-Semitic than many Kentuckians," he was aware that even the most prestigious colleges practiced discrimination.[56]



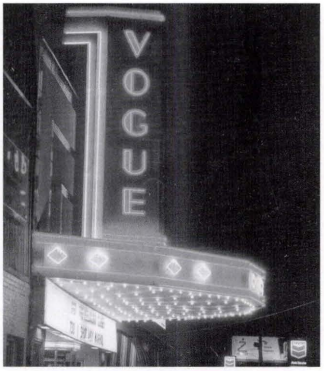
The Cozy Theater.

Colvin immediately began making sweeping changes without the consent or even the consultation of the faculty. He moved to end tenure, imposed one-year contracts, froze wages, insisted on academic privileges and exemptions for athletes, dropped upper-level courses, waived admission requirements at will, suggested that professors teach subjects such as history and economics to "build character" and "avoid contentious questions," and appointed friends to the faculty.[57]

Faculty protests and warnings were not heard. The controversies were aired in the pages of the *Courier-Journal*, and feelings ran very high. The faculty was on the verge of mutiny, and was increasingly perceived as "disloyal" by the Board. When Louis Gottschalk protested to the Board in March 1927 on behalf of a scholar who had not had his contract renewed, Colvin seized the opportunity to denounce Gottschalk to the Board as "the sole or principal cause of trouble at the University."[58] The Board narrowly supported Colvin (Board

member Alfred Selligman apparently supported Gottschalk, as did a few others). Gottschalk was forced to resign. Landau resigned in support.

Gottschalk already had a job offer in hand from the University of Chicago, where he was to spend the rest of his career, so he asked the American Association of University Professors to investigate the University of Louisville on behalf of the faculty. A three-man team was dispatched and, in the fall of 1927, published a report strongly critical of the University's treatment of the faculty.[59] The report also found that Gottschalk and Landau, the Jews on the faculty, had been targeted by Colvin for dismissal even before Gottschalk's appeal to the Board in March. In January, Colvin had told Dean Anderson, dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, that he had "information" about their "disloyalty" and wanted to move to dismiss them. Anderson did not want to do so, and stated in a letter to Colvin:



The Vogue Theater in St. Matthews.

> *The opinion prevails among a number of people in Louisville that you are hostile to Jews. For this opinion I am sure that no one connected with the University is responsible. However it does exist outside of University circles. You will readily appreciate that the action you contemplate in these two cases [Gottschalk and Landau] would go far to strengthen that opinion and create for you a difficult situation.*[60]

Gottschalk always maintained that the University hurt itself more than it hurt him, since other professors left as well. Colvin died the next year. Landau found other teaching positions and worked for the government as an economist. Gottschalk became a prominent interpreter of the American and French revolutions, and in 1930, he married Louisvillian Fruma Kasdan. (In time the University recognized its error, and in 1970 awarded Gottschalk an honorary degree. In 1975, the University's History building was renamed Gottschalk Hall.)[61]

The University nearly missed another opportunity to distinguish itself during the 1920s. During Colvin's presidency, Louis Brandeis became interested in supporting the University and offered to help create a better library to promote research and graduate work. Colvin initially turned him down, since it was his policy to promote undergraduate studies and minimize the University's role in training graduate students and in research. Charles Tachau, Brandeis' nephew and a member of the Board, convinced Colvin and the Board that accepting such a gift would not interfere with undergraduate education.[62]



A Louisville drive-in.

During the next decade, Brandeis gave funds and books for a series of specialized library collections. He also gave extensive support to the University of Louisville Law School. Brandeis had faith in the University's role in the city, to give access to higher education to everyone – those "poor in possessions" could nonetheless be "rich in ideals." He wanted the University of Louisville to be "an institution for Kentuckians developed by Kentuckians" (and Brandeis considered himself to be a Kentuckian despite his time in Boston and Washington).[63]

Preston Street

Unlike cities such as Boston and Baltimore, Louisville never had an area that was wholly Jewish. During the years before World War II, what Louisville did have was Preston Street, a racially mixed half-mile of small shops where you would hear more Yiddish than English spoken on the street.

Preston was more than just a busy street. It was pandemonium, what with the cracking of whips by drayman, the roar of the trucks, the whine of trolley cars, and the usual noises heard whenever crowds gathered. It was not only an artery of commerce, it was a shoppers' mecca, a neighborhood, a *shtetl*, all rolled into one. The half-mile from Market to Chestnut had a distinctly Jewish flavor, even though the street was a major shopping place for African-Americans and a large middle class that lived just east of downtown. The streets were always crowded. The stores, mostly of the mom-and-pop variety, were almost all Jewish, and sold everything under the sun.

Let us don our hindsight glasses and take a closer look.

We start at Market Street, the north end of the *shtetl* area. First off, we have to accustom ourselves to the frightful din.

We come to Isadore Schlossberg's shoe store. Six days a week, Mr. Schlossberg labored behind the counter. On the seventh day, and on holidays, he served as *hazzan* of Adath Jeshurun. We pass Sam Shrager's kosher butcher shop and Isadore Goldstein's bakery. Across the street is Hamburg's pawnshop, whose proprietor was found dead in an apparent burglary. Adjacent to Hamburg's was the public bathhouse. Just before we get to Jefferson Street, we see Ben Klein's grocery, the original discount store. Klein's was the major employer of Jewish teenagers and many a boy and girl was launched into the business world from there.

Before we cross Jefferson, look to the west. That block, now the province of Italians and Syrians (or Lebanese), was once the home of a number of Jewish families long before the big wave of immigration that began in the 1880s.

Now it's time to stop on Jefferson, just east of Preston. This is Feitelson's Deli, the place to get a glass--it was always served in a glass--of tea and read the Yiddish newspapers. Or, if we like, join in the hearty discussion of the day's politics that was always going on.

Just east of Feitelson's is B'nai Jacob, a devoutly traditional congregation founded in 1877. In 1926, it and a sister congregation, Beth Hamedrash Hagadol at the corner of Preston and Fehr (now Liberty) merged to form Keneseth Israel.

Suitably refreshed, we proceed south. The short block between Jefferson and Liberty later was known as "Shoe Street." At one time, there were twelve stores under Jewish ownership dealing in shoes, handbags, and accessories.

Now we enter the real area of mom-and-pop stores, whose number is held down solely by the available rental space. In this era it is possible to go into business for as little as $500. If you lack even that meager capital, you can get it from the Free Loan Society. Many a prosperous family got its start this way. Families live, and children grow up, in rooms behind the store or above it. As their parents eke out a living from their meager operations, the children acquire education and become the lawyers and doctors of the city.

Proceeding southward, and greeting innumerable friends -- in Yiddish, of course -- on the busy street, we come to the area's largest enterprise, Waterman's Department Store. On the way, we pass Beth Hamedrash Hagagodol at the corner of Fehr Avenue (now Liberty Street).

We pass Pressma's Dairy and the establishment of Kreitman the *shochet*, then go past shop after shop until we reach Walnut Street (now Muhammad Ali Boulevard). On the southeast corner stands Morris Snyder's kosher butcher shop, the real centerpiece of our *shtetl*. Next to Snyder's lives Morris Lipetz, the paperhanger, and around the corner is the home of Ralph Persky, the *mohel*.

There are Jewish families living on Walnut just east and just west of Preston. These are mostly store owners who can afford better housing, or people whose occupations make it possible for them to live away from their places of business. An even more prosperous enclave is centered around Jackson and Chestnut Streets.

At the end of the block is Lyons' dry goods store and across the street is Goldberg's bakery. We cross Madison. On one side of the street is the City Hospital and almost to Chestnut Street is Ben Krebs's tailor shop. That shop marks the boundary of the geographical shtetl.

Today, Madison Street has been swallowed up by the Medical Center and Jewish Hospital but, in its heyday, it was a *shtetl* within a *shtetl*. The north side of the block from Preston to Floyd has one-family homes, but the next block is a Jewish enclave. The north side of the block has the usual residential pattern, but the other side consists of about a dozen two-story brick homes. Some are occupied by one family, and some are duplexes. But over all there is a clubby atmosphere, something resembling one big family. In these pre-air-conditioned days, warm weather is spent on the front steps and there is always a lively discussion going on. Those who live on Madison Street carry with them a certain aura, not an air of superiority, but a feeling of being "real Jews." Jewish Hospital takes up the south side of the street.

Not actually in the *shtetl* area, but close to it, are a number of facilities of interest. First, there is George W. Morris School at Floyd and Chestnut. Most of its pupils are Jewish and on the High Holy Days the place is virtually deserted. It is at Morris School that the National Council of Jewish Women, Louisville Section, launched the first school lunch program. Milk and graham crackers with peanut butter cost two cents, and Council even subsidizes those children who can't afford that. Everybody is poor in these days.

Across Floyd and facing Chestnut is Adath Jeshurun, which later moved to its domed structure at Brook and College. On Walnut just east of Brook is the Louisville Hebrew School with the *mikveh* in its basement and on the next block stands Anshei Sfard. Another popular institution is the Neighborhood House on First north of Walnut. Its attraction is as a place where you can get a hot shower. It also holds English classes for immigrant mothers.

With the coming of the automobile, the glory of Preston Street faded. Progress took its toll as families moved farther away. Then came the era of building expressways and the glory that was Preston Street was gone forever.

– by Herman Landau

The gifts were made in honor of family members, and other family members acted as his agents to make sure that the collections were set up according to his wishes. He wrote to his brother Alfred: "It is a task befitting the Adolph Brandeis family which for nearly three-quarters of a century has stood in Louisville for culture, and, at least in Uncle Lewis [Dembitz], for learning."[64]

In honor of Lewis Dembitz, he donated a collection of Hebraica, including a focus on Palestine. This collection was to be added to an existing Judaica collection that had been the gift of Congregation Adath Israel to the University Library. Brandeis wrote to Charles Tachau: "What may not be so well known to you and others of the family, is the extraordinary and widespread veneration in which Uncle Lewis is held by the Orthodox throughout this and other countries... The Dembitz name will undoubtedly help in obtaining support for the collection, from Zionist and Orthodox sources." He added that the committee to oversee this collection "should be composed wholly of Jews," and entrusted his nieces, Stella and Emily Dembitz, to work with this committee.[65]

Rabbi Joseph Rauch also served on the committee, although he was at that time a committed anti-Zionist. Rauch recommended that the Palestine/Hebraica collection be placed at the Speed Museum instead of the University Library. Brandeis agreed, if that was acceptable to the Speed family.[66]

Though aware of the tensions and conflicts among the University president, faculty, and Board, Brandeis simply continued executing his plans through his local agents, his nieces and nephews. Raymond Kent, a respected leader, became president in 1929 and began to repair the damage done over decades of neglect and controversy. At Brandeis' suggestion, Bernard Flexner was chosen to introduce the Palestine collection with



Friedman's Pharmacy.

a lecture to the community.[67] Flexner (brother of Abraham, Jacob, and Simon Flexner) was an attorney and Zionist. He practiced in Chicago after 1911, but was widely remembered in Louisville. He attended the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 with Brandeis, where he arranged aid for displaced Jewish refugees and soldiers. He was a fundraiser for the Jewish Agency for Palestine, and a member of the Economic Council of the Zionist Organization.[68]

Brandeis supported collections of "Kentuckiana" – local history, literature, and law, including contemporary government reports, ordinances, and business reports – because "it is in publications of this nature, usually treated as ephemeral… that the real history of the community is recorded." Through his niece, Fanny Brandeis, he gave his own collections on fine arts, archaeology, and music (and made some additional donations of artifacts to the Speed Museum).[69] The Music Library received the "Hast Collection," named for Brandeis' German piano teacher, Louis Hast. His donation of German books was made in honor of Professor William N. Hailman, founder of the German-American Academy where Brandeis had studied in the 1870s, who had "opened a path to the rich treasures of German literature and science."[70] With the work on the Library collections well under way, Brandeis turned his attention to the Law School during the next decades.



Abramson's Grocery on South Preston Street.

Family Business

Family-owned businesses were the sustaining factor in the longevity and persistence of Louisville's Jewish community. By the early decades of the twentieth century, the established downtown businesses of the German migration were in their third generation, and throughout east and west Louisville, and in Old Louisville, Jews established small mom-and-pop, family owned and run pharmacies, groceries, and other neighborhood businesses. In the West End, nearly every corner had at least one Jewish family living above or behind the family store.

These businesses were possible because of the labor of the wives and children of the owners. Pharmacist Hyman Gurwitch said of his wife, Pauline, "Early in business, she was my right hand, she worked right along side of me."[71] Jerry Abramson, who worked in his father Roy's grocery on Preston Street in a later era, described the kind of relationship that developed between neighborhood merchants and their customers:

A lot of times women couldn't get milk for their babies. I run into people who remember my grandfather providing opportunities for them to get milk. I ran into a guy... who remembers my Dad giving him an overcoat when it was cold... we ran a grocery based on people coming in getting a meal for the day, and we would write down what they had purchased. And at the end of the week, or every two weeks when they'd get their paycheck, they would come in and pay their bill.[72]

Some of these businesses started small and lasted a generation, while others grew, changed with the times, and remain part of the community today. A sampling of important businesses in the first part of the 20th century includes the partial listing that follows.

Pharmacy

Pharmacy continued to offer opportunities for Jews to move into the professions during the first half of the 20th century. The Louisville College of Pharmacy was an important gateway, as Sidney Passamaneck remembered: "It was only a two-year course, Dad didn't have the money to send me.... I was able to work my way through school. I found a job in a drugstore at 7th and Walnut as a delivery boy for Dr. Edelson. The store's name was Model Drug Store. I'd go there in the morning, go to school, go back there...."[73] Passamaneck later became the owner of Model Drugs, which moved to the Highlands at highly visible corner of Bardstown and Eastern Parkway and became a neighborhood landmark.[74] Each corner in the downtown area and the neighborhoods had a drugstore, which often had a soda fountain and sometimes a lunch counter too.

Movies

In Louisville, as in many other cities in America, the first movie entrepreneurs were Jewish. The industry, which was initially considered not very respectable, was an open invitation to recent immigrants looking for an economic niche to fill. Michael Switow, then running a small store in Indiana, discovered the movie business very early. Visiting Chicago, Switow was walking along State Street and saw something he'd never seen before – a movie theater. He paid his five cents, and, in the words of his son Harry: "He was amazed at what he saw – Indians, and horses, and it was a Western.... So he asked the manager how all this happened. And he referred him to a dealer who was selling motion picture equipment; this dealer happened to be Carl Laemmele (later the founder of Universal Studios)."[75] Michael Switow wrote: "I went to see Carl Laemmele at his office. I told him that I lived in a small town and would like to go into the moving picture business. He sold me a machine and some folding chairs... Without telling my wife what I was doing... I went home and started to build a picture show."[76]



Pharmacy interior.

Back in Shelbyville, Switow had a confectionery store. He opened up his back storeroom, set out folding chairs and showed his first pictures, silent films and one- and two-reel shorts. People couldn't get enough. He took in $68 that first night, and "he knew after that night he was no longer going to be in the confectionery business," Harry, who inherited the business, later recalled. The family moved to Jeffersonville and then Louisville, opening the Dream Theater (Jeffersonville), the Crystal, the Novelty, the Alamo, the Kentucky Theater, and many others, some with backing from Colonel Fred Levy.[77]

Dry Goods and Department Stores

During the first part of the 20th century, Louisville's established Jewish community continued to develop prominent and successful businesses in dry goods and department stores, even as the newer immigrants challenged with smaller, neighborhood-oriented stores and downtown specialty shops.

The flagship business was Levy Brothers Department Store, founded in 1861. Their landmark building at 3rd and Market was electrified in 1908, and added a new catchphrase to the local lexicon. From then on, someone who had had a bit too much to drink was "lit up like Levy's." The store took full advantage of its location and its electric supply with lights that outlined the exterior of the building and illuminated display windows. Other newer large downtown stores included Kaufman-Straus, which built its impressive store in the heart of the 4th Street retailing district in 1903.[78] Loevenhart's mens' clothing store, on the corner opposite Levy's, would be an innovator in merchandising through the years, later introducing Louisville to neon lighting, air conditioning, and elaborate street display windows.[79]



Loevenhart's Menswear.

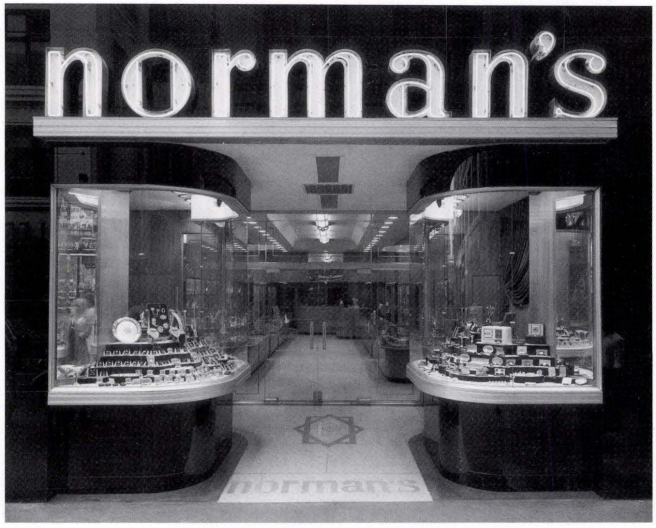
Ben Snyder's Department Store at 9th and Market was one of the largest of the enterprises begun by the Russian immigrants. It was founded in 1913 by Ben Snyder, who had arrived in Louisville twenty years before, at the age of five, from Bessarabia. It was located on Market Street and pioneered "discount" retailing in town. It was the first store in the city to have "coupon days," and even offered cars for prizes. It grew into a chain of eight stores through the decades.[80] Waterman's, in the Preston Street corridor near Walnut, was a neighborhood department store that was a community landmark: "...if any Jewish person needed a job, Louis Waterman always found a slot for them."[81]

Byck's, founded by Louis Byck and expanded by his son Dann, was another Louisville fixture. It began as the Byck Bros. & Co. shoe store, then added women's and children's clothing. The upscale main store was on fashionable 4th Street. The Bycks became important philanthropists and community leaders.[82] The Bon Ton, a women's sportswear store nearby at 4th and Liberty, was started in 1916 by Joseph Greenstein, and run for years by his widow, Sara, who was said to be the only woman in the city to own and operate her own retail

business (and who was one of the leaders of Jewish Hospital as well).[83] Sam and Louis Moseson operated a men's store, Goldstein and Moseson, at 5th and Walnut.

Abe Baer took his father's tailoring and tailoring supply business and found a unique niche as Baer's Button Store, later called, after several locations and changes in stock, Baer Fabrics.[84] (By 2003 this company was the sole survivor of the hundreds of Jewish dry goods businesses that once flourished in Louisville.)

Besides these retail dry goods and clothing businesses, others found a market in manufacturing or distributing products wholesale. Simon Lion, a German immigrant from Spiessen, formed the Gem Manufacturing company, a dry goods commission business, with J. Joseph and M. Land. The Enro Shirt company, started in 1919 by the three brothers Herman, Bernard, and Sidney Rosenblum, employed many new immigrants in stitching and finishing shirts. The Louisville Manufacturing Company, at 30th Street in the far West End, owned by the three Lipschutz brothers, started by making caps and branched out from there.[85] Julius Shapinsky (changed to Shapin) began Sterling Furnishing Goods Co., a wholesale dry goods firm, on Main Street in 1907/8, and sold it in 1921 to Simon Ades.[86]



Norman's Jewelry, designed by Joseph & Joseph.

Jewelers and Pawnshops

Many small businesses got started with a loan from a *shul's* free loan society, or with a leg up from a family member. Businesses that were relatively easy to start, such as peddling, were common with new immigrants, and in many cities another particular market niche was developed by Russian Jews: the pawnshop. A pawnshop could be launched with very little capital. Many of these shops evolved into jewelry businesses. Among the Jewish-owned pawnshop/jewelers in Louisville were Simon Frockt & Sons, which lasted from 1884 to 1962. Originally at 2nd and Market, the store moved several times, including a prominent location in the Sales Building on 4th Street. Later in the century, S.E. Davis ran both a pawn and a retail jewelry shop, originally on Market near 1st, and later on First Street. Zeke's Pawn was in the West End at 23rd and Market, Miltie's was near Churchill Downs, Dan's was on Broadway in the West End. Others included Louis Isaacs Pawn and Jewelry on Market, Garber's, and Harry's House of Style.

Retail jewelers included Vic Lorch & Sons, which had been founded in the 1880s on Market; David Roth & Sons Jewelers, in the 100 block of Market Street West; Davis Center Jewelers at 2nd and Jefferson; Will Sales Jewelers, at a prominent 4th and Liberty location. Norman Jewelers, owned by the Roth family; Buschmeyer's, owned by the Davis family; Gumer & Company; Oscar Sales; and Seng Jewelers all had downtown locations.

Distilling

The onset of Prohibition in 1919 devastated the distilling industry in Kentucky. Most firms had diversified

into other areas, and some were able to ride out the era, which lasted only a decade, with limited production of "medicinal" spirits. The Bernheim Distillery was able to survive on distribution of small qualities of government-authorized pure medicinal bourbon, though nearly all the staff was let go. Many other firms undoubtedly continued some illegal secret operations. This, obviously, remains undocumented.



The Dicter family home on Madison Street, where Jewish Hospital now stands. In the photo are Lou, Goldie, Sammy, Anna, and Meyer Dicter.

Bakeries

Jewish bakeries – either kosher, or non-kosher with traditional Jewish breads and pastries – were found in the Jewish neighborhoods just to the east and west of downtown (non-Jews patronized them as well). The largest of the Jewish bakeries was Linker Brothers on West Market Street, between 11th and 12th, founded by Harry, Wolf, and Ben Linker from Warsaw, Poland, around 1909/1910. During the 1920s and 1930s, Sidney "Shimkey" Lyons was a familiar sight making home deliveries for the Linkers. Other Jewish bakeries included Fleigel's at Floyd and Market; Goldberg's and Goldstein's, both at Preston and Market; Diamond's; and Rabinowitz'.[87]

Butchers

Traditional Jews had a need for specialized butcher shops in order to observe the laws of *kashrut*. Meat came from the kosher butcher shop, but chickens were purchased live and taken to the *schochet*, the kosher slaughterer. The Orthodox community supervised this process, which was later taken over by the *Vaad*.

Butchers (kosher or Jewish-owned) included Sam Schrager's on Preston Street; the Yussman's Louisville Meat Market in the West End and in the Haymarket area; Bloom's Jefferson Meat Market, for high-quality meats, also in the Haymarket area; Schuckman's, initially in Old Louisville and later in the Highlands; Abe's Kosher Food Market – in a later era, on Bardstown Road; Gurwitch's Kosher Meat Market, on 7th Street; and, in the Preston Street area, Sol Weinberg's, Julius Kramer's, Fuchs Butchers, and Max Goldberg's.

Wholesaling and Distribution

Louisville merchants had always been involved in distribution and wholesaling, given the city's strategic location as the gateway to the West and a link between North and South. Railroads intensified the networks – the Bernheim Distillery had moved its operations from Paducah to Louisville to take better advantage of the railroad connections. Main Street was lined with warehouses and large wholesaling firms, including "whiskey row" near 2nd Street. Many Jewish firms, from the beginning of Jewish settlement in Kentucky, had acted as wholesalers. For instance, the Linker Cigar Company, home of the "Linker Stogie," made the switch from manufacturer to distributor in 1918, forming the Linker Distributing Company, which became a huge firm.[88]

The Kling Stationery Co., founded by the Kling family, moved from stationery to wholesale distribution and formed a regional chain of Dimeco Stores as a retail outlet. Given the very high percentage of Jews

among the pharmacists of the region, it is not surprising that pharmacy distributor Morguelan-Walsh, with an office in the Main Street wholesale district, was one of the region's largest.[89] Irvine "Bookie" Grossman ran a toy and sundry novelty business from a Main Street warehouse and from his car. His niece Bettye Abramson recalled: "Uncle Bookie started his business in the back of his car… his business was Grossman Sales Company and he used to take Rita Mae and me to school all the time and have to move his merchandise over."[90]

Even in seafood, a market niche that was not usually a Jewish specialty, the Jewish-owned Fulton Fish Market was the largest local wholesaler of fish in the city. Leo Weil, nicknamed "the Codfather," came to Louisville from Cincinnati in 1922 and made a living by importing haddock by train from Lake Erie. Louisville was an outstanding market for fish, given the high Catholic population at a time when fish-on-Friday was the rule. His grandson, Leo Nathanson (owner of wholesale fish distributor the Foreman Group), recalled how Weil used to fool his competitors by having "workers stack empty fish crates five- and six-feet high and then load them on wagons to make it appear like he was doing great business." The workers would then drive around to the back of the store and unload the empty crates.[91]



The Bon Ton.

The Segal family also owned a fish market. Rather than import ocean fish from the coast, they bought from Ohio River fisherman who worked out of Shippingport. Helen Segal Helman remembered traveling with her father across the canal to the riverfront community to buy perch, shovelfish, and catfish for the family store.[92]

There was even a Jewish milkman. Isaac Goldstein drove his horse and wagon to make home deliveries. People brought down pots and pans to collect the milk, which did not yet come prebottled.[93]

Automobiles

The automobile evolved from a novelty at the turn of the century to a fact of life by the late 1920s, changing living patterns and giving rise to new industries, including car manufacturing, retailing, repair, gas stations, and related industries such as tires and auto glass. Immigrant entrepreneurs found many opportunities to start and grow small businesses in the auto industry, which, in Louisville, happened to be located around Broadway and the streets just to the south in Old Louisville. Meyer Dicter & Sons of Louisville was the first auto radiator shop in the country, and one of the city's first auto body shops. Dicter was a Russian immigrant who came to Louisville with his family and set up shop as a tinsmith. He soon saw the opportunity to transfer those skills to maintaining and repairing auto radiators and other parts, and the business grew



Izzy Goodman's Newstand.

within the family for years.

Louisville Auto Parts filled another niche in the industry. The business was started on East Market Street in 1916 by Meyer Goldberg, who lived above the store with his wife and seven children. The yard covered half of the block bounded by Market, Jefferson, Jackson, and Hancock Streets, and for years, while run by several generations of the family, was one of the largest businesses of its kind in the area.[94]

Among the car pioneers was Abraham Levy, who founded the Kentucky Auto Company early in the century. In the 1920s, "Lippy" (Lipman) Klein and his nephews, Isadore, King, and Harry ("Red") Klein operated Klein Motor Co. at Brook and Broadway, selling Jewett and Page automobiles. The Depression put an end to this new car dealership in 1929, but partners Isadore and Harry Klein rebounded with a used car businesses, King Auto Sales, later known as Ace, King, and Queen, at 3rd and Kentucky. Another Klein brother, Samuel, opened National Auto Sales at 10th and Broadway with his partner and son-in-law Stanley Yarmuth and ultimately had five used car lots in the city; Klein's brother Isadore later joined him. Isadore and Samuel Klein also developed an auto financing company in conjunction with Royal Industrial Bank, which would have significant consequences for the local banking industry.[95]

Banking

During the 19th century, many banks were reluctant to offer credit and loans to Jewish businesses, and many Jews from rural or impoverished backgrounds did not trust banks, so most of the capital to establish Jewish firms was privately raised or came from small free-loan funds at synagogues and temples. By the 20th century, these prejudices had largely dissolved. Jews began to serve as bank officers and open their own banks in the early 20th century.

The Bank of Louisville's first office opened at 427 West Market Street in 1926, founded (as the Morris Plan Industrial Bank) by four businessmen, including Jesse Streng and Grover Sales, both of whom were Jewish. The Royal Industrial Bank was founded in 1934 by Harry Joseph Klein (no relation to Harry "Red" Klein of Klein Motor Co.), David Kasdan, and Louis Cohn. However, Sam and Isadore Klein of the Klein Motor family bought out Cohn in the mid-1950s. In 1963, the Royal Bank and the Bank of Louisville merged under the name Bank of Louisville.

Run primarily by the Klein family, it became one of the largest banks in the city. Bank of Louisville began with consumer credit and later developed a commercial focus. It was noted for serving African-American customers and offering credit to black-owned businesses at a time when other banks would not work with Louisville's black community.[96]

The Union Trust Company was owned by the Linker family, and Greater Louisville First Federal was started by Gustave Flexner. The People's Bank also had Jewish ownership. Others involved with banking in one way or another included Stuart Mann, Lewis W. Cole, and Jesse Rosenbaum.[97] Milton Trost ran a successful brokerage house.



Jewish Welfare Federation/ Associated Charities.

Building and Construction

One of the largest construction firms in the Jewish community continued to be Bornstein Building Company, but they were rivaled in the early 20th century by the building firm Platoff Construction, started in 1913 by Harry Platoff and Isadore Bush. Platoff Construction built the Kentucky Theater, Mengel Body Company Auto Factory, Standard Country Club, Abe C. Levi's store, Ben Snyder's Department Store, and the Jewish Welfare Federation Building, among others.[98] Both firms frequently collaborated with the prominent and prestigious architectural firm of Joseph & Joseph. Joseph & Joseph was founded by Alfred S. Joseph with his brother Oscar in 1908. Among many other commissions, the firm designed the Rialto Theater, the Elks Club, the Henry Clay Hotel at 3rd and Chestnut, the campus of Murray State Teacher's College, the Almsted Building, Seagram & Sons, and the Commodore Apartments. For the Jewish community, the firm designed Jewish Hospital, synagogues, and more.[99]

Other firms in the building trades included Bernard Selligman's Snead Architectural Iron Works, manufacturers of structural steel at 9th and Market; the Bornstein Electrical Company; Max Broida's Tri-City Electric; Herbert Ottenheimer's Home Electric; and Morris Judah's Abram Roofing Company. Jacob Levy & Brothers started at the turn of the century as a scrap firm, but branched out into surplus and finally became a chain of building supply stores.



Max Broida's Tri-City Electric.

Debating Zionism, 1921

In 1921, the Kadimah Club at the YMHA had its largest attendance ever when the Club debated "Is a Jewish Political State Desirable?" and listened to a cross-section of local opinions, including some arguments that still resonate. The event was described in the February 1921 YMHA *Chronicler*:

Messrs Moses W. Ades and Charles Strull, pioneers in local Zionist work led the pro side, while James Careskey and Jacob Grauman took the opposite.

Mr. Ades likened the Jew to a man without a home and said that if a self-governed Jewish commonwealth were established a spirit of independence would radiate from there that would mean much to the Jew throughout the world. From the fact that the Jews have given to the world statesmen whose names live in history, there can be no question of their ability to govern themselves.

Mr. Careskey, himself a native of Palestine, spoke of conditions as he knew them, and said: "As long as cannon will be the means of settling inter-nation disputes, the Jew can not think of being a nation."

"The fact that under 'the new immigration law only 32,000 can immigrate to the United States from what was old Russia, is reason enough for the establishment of a Jewish homeland where the oppressed of Russia can go," said Mr. Charles Strull. From a humane standpoint, from a religious standpoint and from a cultural standpoint, such a thing is desirable because it was when they were living in Palestine that the Jews contributed to the world the things for which they stand out as God's chosen people and a return there would redeem biblical promises.

Mr. Jacob Grauman, who closed, contended that the whole thing was unfair. Today the population of Palestine consists of 60 per cent Mohammedans, 28 per cent Christians and only 12 per cent Jews, and to take the land from the majority for the benefit of the few is an injustice. Instead of spending money on Zionistic work, more could be accomplished, Mr. Grauman contended, if it were spent in obtaining equal rights for the Jews throughout the World.

Mr. Simon Shapinsky, who was present in England as a delegate, when Balfour made his famous declaration, told of the scenes that attended this memorable occasion. [101]

The *Chronicler* on the Balfour Declaration, Dec. 1917:

"The news has brought unspeakable joy to Zionists as well as to non-Zionists the world over. Enthusiastic mass meetings and demonstrations are taking place… out of the war will come healing and comfort to the small nations… now amends are about to be made."[102]

CHAPTER SEVEN

Depression, Flood, and War



The 1937 Flood.

In contrast to its busy, booming start, the second quarter of the 20th century represented a time of sustained crisis for the Louisville Jewish community – as Jews, as Americans, and as Louisvillians, with natural and man-made catastrophes compounding one other.

The coming of the great Depression in 1929 affected every individual and institution of Jewish Louisville, from Jewish Hospital, which nearly failed, to the charitable groups that sought to help the poor, including the groups that would later unite to form the Jewish Family and Vocational Service. This renewed economic and business crisis occurred even as the community faced down anti-Semitism abroad and at home, and committed itself to the task of resettling new refugees from Europe. The devastating 1937 Louisville Flood

brought new destruction and displacement. In response to these challenges, the Jewish community reorganized and mobilized. With the coming of World War II, many Louisville Jews left to serve and those at home provided vital support for Jewish servicemen stationed in Kentucky, especially at Fort Knox, through USO-JWB (United Service Organization/Jewish Welfare Board) programs and home hospitality. Through this experience of weathering the crisis together, the community at last became socially unified.

The most overwhelming fact of life for everyone in the 1930s, Jews and non-Jews, was the Depression. The economic crisis that began in late 1929 deepened with the bank failures of the early 1930s, including the spectacular losses of the Bank of Kentucky. Pain cut across the board, from the wealthy living in Old Louisville, who saw their portfolios plummet along with revenues from their downtown emporiums, to the poor, who found very few jobs open and not much help available from government or charity. "People were looking for answers – middle class persons – in those days, the capitalist system seemed to have failed," said Arthur Kling, who saw an answer in socialist-inspired government assistance programs such as unemployment insurance.[1]

The flood of 1937 remains the high-water mark, literally, of Ohio River deluges in Louisville.

For small businessmen who had been struggling even in the prosperous 1920s, the Depression was the end of the dream of financial independence. Alex Berman remembered his family's difficulties: "Many... who had small grocery stores, hardware stores, clothing and jewelry stores, did very well but as time went on,



when we got into the period of the Depression, many lost their businesses."[2] Harry Switow said, "Almost everyone I knew was in trouble."[3]

When their father became ill and could not work during the catastrophic bank failures of 1931, Arthur Kling and his brother, Morris, "had to take over the business and when the Depression came, this was during the depths of the Depression, we had to manage and keep the business going, and he got a little living." Arthur Kling had studied for the rabbinate, given it up, served with the JWB in World War I, worked in Chicago driving a cab, and then came back to Louisville to help temporarily in the family business, a wholesale stationery establishment, when his mother was ill. The Depression and his father's coronary kept him in Louisville, much to the benefit of the community.[4]

For some, poverty was just life as usual. Irv Lipetz said that on Preston Street, "Everybody there was poor. Nobody knew it." His mother "was a focal point for a lot of people in need... she would somehow get nickels and dimes and quarters for people, never released the names of anybody in need... she helped a lot of people."[5] Bettye Teves Wells Abramson remembered families doubling up in small apartments when times got tough: "At that time you took your relatives in, whether you had room or not."[6]

The National Council of Jewish Women expanded its existing school lunch program so that poor children could have at least one hot, nutritious meal each day. In the school year 1931-32 alone, NCJW served 27,734 lunches.[7] This included the "penny lunches" (which actually cost five cents) offered at the George Morris Elementary School, attended by nearly all the Jewish children of the surrounding Orthodox community. Peanut-butter sandwiches, milk, and crackers were acceptable lunchtime fare for students who only ate kosher food.[8] Arthur Kling, who served as the scout master of Troop 30 at the YMHA, was angry that poor kids couldn't afford scouting: "I felt that I ought to get out of the scouting movement because this was a purely bourgeois movement.... You had to have a uniform in those days, and the poor kids couldn't join, really, and it was meant for middle-class children."[9]

When I entered the University of Louisville, I got an opportunity to teach Hebrew - I didn't know that much Hebrew – at B'rith Sholom Temple. This started in 1932.... I would go to U. of L. Saturday morning, rush from the University of Louisville and get to B'rith Sholom by 11 o'clock in the morning. I'd teach Hebrew from 11 to 12, for which I got a dollar. I would then work for 12 hours at a liquor store from noon 'til midnight, selling liquor retail. I got $3.00 for that. Sunday morning I taught Sunday School, I got another dollar... enough to buy lunches, pay my carfare, and go out the rest of the week.

Irv Lipetz

"About the only thing you could go to that wouldn't cost you a lot was the movies, get your mind off your troubles," said Harry Switow, whose family's chain of movie theaters did relatively well during the Depression.[10] A few manufacturers of lower-cost products, such as the Enro Shirt Company owned by the Rosenblum brothers, found their products to be relatively recession-proof.[11]

In 1933, during the depths of the Depression, Arthur Kling made an unsuccessful run for mayor as a Socialist, winning only 399 votes. His campaign platform called for public ownership of utilities and equality for African-Americans. He organized the Kentucky Unemployed Council. Kling was a consistent voice on the political left in Louisville for decades, and even enjoyed the fact that the FBI tapped his phone – "You could always hear them listening in." Bookstore owner Phil Zimmerman was also affiliated with socialist causes; the authorities kept tabs on his activities as well.[12]

Jewish Louisville had a new voice in politics in Frankfort, the state capital. Leon Shaikun, a Democrat, was elected state representative in 1937, replacing Carl Schneider, who was also Jewish. Shaikun served for twenty



Switow's Grand Theater under water, 1937.

years, first in the House and then in the state Senate. Shaikun traveled the back roads of Kentucky, making a point of refusing to eat pork or other *treif* (nonkosher foods) at political dinners and telling people why. In the Assembly, he worked on liquor legislation, and later in human rights.[13]

The 1930s brought the end of Prohibition and the return of Louisville's distillers to (legal) production. Bernheim Distillers, owned by Isaac and Bernard Bernheim and partners, went back into production. The Shapira Brothers, Gary, Ed, George, Mose, and David, who owned small dry goods stores throughout Kentucky, purchased a Bardstown distillery in 1935, which they renamed Heaven Hill Distilleries. The company's offices and warehouses were in Bardstown, and the company took over the former Bernheim Distilleries in Louisville as well. Heaven Hill also opened an office on Louisville's Main Street many years later, in the building that had formerly been one of the Shapira warehouses.[14]

Pharmacies were licensed to sell alcohol, and many of Louisville's pharmacists branched out partially or fully into retail and wholesale liquor sales and distribution. Pharmacist Herman Waldman remembered driving to Cincinnati to buy whiskey. One day on the return trip, with the car full of whiskey, Herman and his wife, Pearle, were hijacked by men with guns. They were thrown out of the car and later rescued by a passing truck. The car was found later, but the whiskey was long gone.[15]

By the late 1930s, the worst of the hard times seemed to be over. Louisville was slowly moving out of the Depression when yet another catastrophe occurred. The Louisville Flood of 1937 was one of the most overwhelming floods in American history. In early January, it began to rain in the Ohio Valley, and by the time it stopped, half a year's worth of rain had fallen in just three weeks – nineteen inches in all. At its height on January 27, the river crested at 57.15 feet above flood stage, and 60 percent of the city was underwater. On "Black Sunday," January 24, the power failed. A difference of a few feet in elevation was the difference between safety and destruction. Downtown along Main and Market Streets, an island of slightly higher ground remained, but 230,000 people were evacuated from surrounding neighborhoods. In Old Louisville, the area around 3rd Street and Central Park was dry and the Highlands was fine, but the West End was drowning.[16]

Some areas of the Preston Street Jewish neighborhood were above flood stage and soon became crowded with flood refugees. Getting kosher food was a problem, but the Coast Guard helped by delivering relief food supplies to Fuchs Meat Market on Preston. Jane's (kosher) Delicatessen on 2nd Street was flooded, but the Red Cross was able to get a boat in the front window and rescue and distribute all the canned goods. Cincinnati sent emergency kosher meat, chickens, salami, and bread, and the Lazar Kosher Sausage Company of Chicago donated another 200 pounds of kosher salami and hot dogs. For some families, this was the first meat they had tasted in weeks. Rebecca Linker and Sam Solovey did a house-by-house survey to find out who needed kosher meat instead of regular supplies. Relief centers, shelters, and food distribution centers were established in the Highlands at the Uptown Theater on Bardstown Road at Eastern Parkway and at Highland Junior High School. [17]

Everyone who lived in Louisville during the Flood remembered those days:

Bettye Teves Wells Abramson: *"Bardstown Road was full of people walking back and forth... they sent the National Guard down... they were patrolling Bardstown Road.... Uncle Lee [Grossman] was directing traffic in boats in front of the Brown Hotel at 4th and Broadway... Mother went to serve people, the Uptown Theater had refugees.... Highland Junior High School had refugees... .They made a pontoon bridge that led down Bardstown or Baxter...."* [18]

Arthur Kling: *"So, the flood of '37 came along and I worked out at City Hall for a couple of nights, helping get refugees out of the West End. And, I remember on one occasion they sent me out to the Highlands here, out to Bowman Field, which was the only air field, so the only access to Louisville at that time was by plane. All roads were blocked up and they brought bread in on the wings of the airplanes – strapped to the wings of bi-planes."*[19]

Jewish Hospital nurse Mabel Cissell: *"We immediately began discharging all the patients we could and moving the ... very ill patients. We had to use candles and flashlights... it was kind of pretty seeing the lights of the boats on the water stretched out for miles."*[20]

The aftermath was not at all pretty. The receding waters left behind filthy mud and the fear of infection and disease, not to mention undermined foundations and ruined buildings. Hyman Gurwitch, a pharmacist, recalled that by 1937, he had just finally worked himself out of debt for his store, so "I stood here and rebuilt." He had spent the days of the flood working with doctors at the temporary shelter at Atherton High School, dispensing medicines.[21] Boy Scout Troop 30, housed at the YMHA, helped out by surveying vacant houses for the Fire Department and assisting with first aid and neighborhood watches.[22]

Harry Switow had worked to house people temporarily in some of his downtown theaters. Six or seven of the family's movie theaters had been underwater and needed major repair and cleaning. "We took one hell of a bath," he said, "because there was no such thing as flood insurance." The company was in debt to Liberty Bank and Trust, but in the end, "we paid off every dollar we ever owed."[23]



This pontoon bridge linked downtown to the Highlands during the 1937 flood.

Jewish Hospital, the only Louisville hospital to be evacuated during the Flood, suffered extensive damage on its first floor and in the basement, and all the stored records were destroyed. Hospital bookkeeper Sadie Baer recalled, "Two weeks after the flood, Mr. [Arnold] Levy and Mr. [Isidore] Hirsch and I visited the Hospital. All we could see was sickening mud and slime."[24]

The Standard Club's main building, "a beautiful colonial building with a long-veranda"[25] at River Road

and Zorn Avenue, was damaged. The golf course had always been a problem: "Every spring when the water rose in the Ohio River, we couldn't play on the golf course until the water and mud had been cleared out," Clarence Judah remembered.[26] The YMHA's Camp Tapawingo on River Road at Goose Creek was completely destroyed. The YMHA also suffered damage to its 2nd and Jacob building – the handball courts were ruined and all the early records stored in the basement were gone.

THE FINANCIAL WORRIES of the Depression and the catastrophe of the Great Flood were shared by all Louisvillians, but other anxieties of the era were unique to the Jewish community alone. A rise in international and national anti-Semitism created an immediate need to defend Jews at home and help Jews persecuted in Europe escape and resettle in the United States.

Fortunately for Louisville, local anti-Jewish feeling had been minimal throughout most Jewish settlement.



YMHA serves meals to soldiers during the many days of cleanup after the flood.

In was a constant minor undercurrent in neighborhood relations – some Louisville Jews remember only peaceful relations with non-Jews, while others remember that as children, "we used to have fights 3 to 4 times a week" (that was in Jeffersonville across the river).[27] However, in the 20s and 30s, the Ku Klux Klan spoke out against Jews, and radio preachers gave anti-Semitic speeches. "The thing I remember that frightened me, as a little girl, was the Ku Klux Klan. They burned a cross," Helen Helman recalled, "that was my first experience of anti-Semitism." Automaker Henry Ford, one of the most renowned men of the day, spoke frequently about the "Jewish problem" and published a hate-filled newspaper with wide circulation. Louisville auto dealer Emil Ortner lost his Ford dealership when Henry Ford dropped Jewish distributors in the 20s. People feared that this would get much, much, worse, as was happening in Europe. [28]

Jewish anxiety and pride were expressed through letters to the newspaper, sermons and speeches, and

organizing through B'nai Brith's Anti-Defamation League. A city-wide campaign was begun to raise funds to refute "slanderous allegations published in Henry Ford's Dearborn Independent." The national goal was a million dollars; Louisville was expected to raise $10,000.[29]

The dire situation of Jews in Germany was known in Louisville, but opinions differed on how to handle the problem. The realization of how bad things really were developed slowly through the 1930s. Irv Lipetz remembered that "...Rabbi Solomon Bazell [of Brith Sholom]... in the early 30s... literally was screaming about what was happening in Germany, and he knew what was happening, and he preached from the pulpit...." [30] Rabbi Bazell headed the Conference of Jewish Organizations committee on anti-defamation. The Conference itself was established in part as a response to infighting within the community about what to do about Anti-Semitism and the German threat: "At one extreme there were the ultra cautious, the *'sha-sha'* [Yiddish for "quiet"] group, afraid to do anything. At the other extreme, one found a militant group crying out for boycotts, mass meetings and parades."[31]

Immigration legislation of the 1920s made it very difficult for people in Central and Eastern Europe to get visas to come to the U.S. Al Erlen explained:

> *Prior to World War I, anyone could pass a very minor health examination and purchase a ticket to migrate to the United States. After World War I, and because of the nativism... there was a very restrictive immigration policy beginning in 1920-21 and culminating in 1924 which set quotas for immigration... definitely discriminatory against Jews and people from Eastern Europe.*[32]



Emergency medical care, 1937.

The American Jewish community made an effort to figure out how to get every person possible out of Europe. In early 1934, the local Conference of Jewish Organizations set up a Jewish Refugee Committee under the leadership of Charles Strull, with Selma Kling of the Council of Jewish Women assisting, to look after adult and family groups. Strull was "an angel towards the people who were victims of persecution," according to Doni Greenebaum.[33] The Jewish Welfare Federation helped find housing and jobs (not an easy task in the depths of the Depression) and the YMHA offered English classes. Arthur Kling remembered:

> *Mrs. Kling, at that time, was the chairman for the committee for new Americans, the German refugees and the other refugees came over during the 30s and 40s.... She represented the Council of Jewish Women – her responsibility was to meet persons when they came in... a lot of them wanted to stay in New York, and New York was over-flooded with people. They would be shipped down here and she would meet the [train] with somebody else, usually with someone who could speak Yiddish. She... would find an apartment for them... furniture to furnish them and find a tutor to teach them the language and buy some groceries for them and take them around and show them how to shop in America – you know they weren't accustomed to this sort of thing.*[34]



B'nai Brith sponsored social events for soldiers stationed in the local area during World War II.

The first refugees were brought to America by their own families under an affadavit system set up by the immigration laws. By 1937, Charles Strull reported to the Conference that about 29 German-Jewish refugees were currently in Louisville, all employed. Later, a new immigration system gave visas to refugees if Americans paid an affidavit that guaranteed they would not become a burden on the taxpayers. These stranger-financed affidavits were paid for by members of the community and guaranteed by the Conference. In 1941-42, at least ten people who arrived in Louisville were rescued this way. Strull said in 1942 that he believed about 400 refugees from Germany, Austria, France, Czechoslovakia, France, and Italy were successfully settled in Louisville.[35]

Lillian Friedman's story shows that it often required unusual interventions for refugees to succeed in escaping from Nazi Germany:

> *My husband George and I left Germany in May 1939 and went to Cuba on a boat called the St. Louis.... When the boat arrived in Havana, they would allow no one ashore.... The boat turned around to go back to Europe.... Over the loudspeaker they announced for the Friedman family to go to a certain area of the boat.... They took us off the boat and to Havana.*[36]

A distant relative – Sadie Annenberg, daughter of *Philadelphia Enquirer* publisher Walter Annenberg – had sent a lawyer to intervene. The rest of the passengers were returned to Germany. The Friedmans went to New York, from which refugees were placed around the country. They were sent to Louisville with a Greyhound bus ticket and $100 provided by the NCJW, a loan which they later repaid. "They sent us to Louisville on Derby Eve and the social worker was not in the office." They sought out Charles Strull, head of the Jewish Welfare Federation, who provided assistance.[37] Strull personally sponsored refugees and begged family members to do the same, work he continued after the War and through the 1950s.[38] Charles Morris and his wife, Ruth, also personally sponsored refugees such as Anna Frank, who arrived alone from Germany and was taken into their home. The Morrises were also able to bring the rest of Anna's family to America.

Children were often allowed to leave Nazi-dominated Europe even when their parents were not. Al Erlen was new to Louisville in 1938 when:

> *There was a rescue movement for German Jewish children, the German Jewish Children's Aid Society, and several German Jewish children came to Louisville without their parents ... in which the Jewish Welfare Federation participated in 1938.*[39]

Philanthropist I. W. Bernheim, then in his 90s, used his fortune to try to buy freedom for European Jews. By one estimate, he sponsored the freedom of between 300 and 350 refugees by posting bonds to guarantee them with the United States (and since none of the refugees defaulted, in the end he got his

money back).[40] He was accused of posting bonds in excess of his net worth, and had to ask his bank to furnish information to the government proving that his deposits were adequate so that he could continue to assist Jewish refugees held in concentration camps in Vichy-regime France.[41]

At least some of the people he helped were his relatives in Germany and France. One family reached London, and in a letter apologized for having called on Bernheim for help. His relative wrote in November of 1939:

> *After having gone through all the horrors of the notorious Concentration-camp at Dachau.... It goes without saying that I like all the other Jews had to leave my fortune behind so we arrived in England with only 20 marks in our pockets. I refrain from telling you more details about my experience I had in the concentration-camp. I am quite sure you know all about it.*
>
> *– Eriq Rosenstiel*[42]

Bernheim's secretary, Robert Paul, wired money via American Express, usually $25, month after month, to refugees in France. Bernheim asked for receipts, proof of payment, but as time passed, American Express could no longer locate the payees. By 1941, with America in the war, Americans were not allowed to send money to enemy civilians – not even to Jews. Most of the people that Bernheim was trying to help had reached internment camps in Vichy France.[43] Bernheim helped those he could, but many others were beyond the reach of even his fortune, tied up in red tape in Europe and stopped by the Unites States' refusal to authorize enough visas. To them Bernheim sent sympathy, but said that he had no special strings to pull with the government.

How much did the Louisville community realize about the mass murder of the European Jews during the War? On May 2, 1943, a Service of Intercession was held at Keneseth Israel, a memorial for two million Jews killed by Nazis, the total number of victims known at that point. All the congregational rabbis were present, and local political leaders sent messages of support. Those present passed a resolution that demanded the release of European Jews, the opening of Palestine, acceptance of refugees by the countries of the world, and food aid for victims of the Nazis.[44]

The Great Depression left Keneseth Israel Congregation struggling to pay off the costs of its new building at Floyd and Jacob. Rabbi Albert Mandelbaum was the first rabbi of the newly merged congregation of nearly 500 families, but found himself in conflict with the elder statesman of the community, Chief Rabbi Zarchy. Mandelbaum left under a cloud (he later sued) and was replaced by Rabbi Ben Zion Notelovitz, who also served as the Chief Rabbi of Louisville, replacing the ailing Zarchy in 1932.

Notelovitz was known as the "Sadover Rav" after his Lithuanian birthplace, but his custom of delivering his sermons in Yiddish was not popular with his primarily English-speaking congregation. Keneseth Israel was happier with its next rabbi, Benjamin Brilliant. Notelevitz remained the city's Chief Rabbi, however, and issues of congregational autonomy versus community-wide authority threatened to split the community. He was finally paid by the *Vaad Haer* to leave in 1937. Meanwhile, the shul was able to relieve some of its financial burden through the sale of its former property on Preston and Fehr.[45]

Members of the congregation had signed a loan for the building's construction – at a time when many of them had only a hope, and not a guarantee, that if they were called upon they could pay. Now the business



Passover seder for servicemen and women, 1943.

crisis of the Depression left many of them without even a hope of paying. The few who were solvent renegotiated with the bank and saved the building from foreclosure. Twenty years later, the ceremonial burning of the mortgage at a gala banquet was a heartfelt relief for those whose families had taken the risk of signing.[46]

One bright point of pride for Jewish Louisville was Louis Brandeis, serving as a justice of the Supreme Court since 1916. During the 30s, Brandeis undertook the task of reforming the University of Louisville Law School, then located on Armory Place downtown. The school was undergoing a process of raising its standards, converting from an evening school with part-time instructors and a two-year course to a three-year, full-time program with permanent faculty. It had not yet achieved this goal when Brandeis approached the school, and found little interest from the Board or the community. He wrote to his brother Alfred: "The miserable state of the Law School is visible; every lawyer recognizes it. To give the School essential tools of the trade, and a decent workroom is satisfying an obvious need."[47]

Although Brandeis found the community "indifferent" to the school, he told his brother that "money talks," and he hoped that his offer of cash would sooner or later catch the interest of the trustees. He also donated his personal and legal papers, gave his own law library, offered guidance on legal education, and arranged for the Law Library to be one of only twenty libraries in the nation to be a repository for complete sets of Supreme Court briefs and records. The Law School building at the University's Belknap campus was begun in 1938; Brandeis and his wife would later have their remains buried under the portico of the Law School. He died in 1941. A community memorial service was held at Brith Sholom. Rabbi Rauch, by then president of the University Board of Trustees, eulogized Brandeis for his vision of a "progressive and expanding University."[48] (The University of Louisville School of Law became the Louis D. Brandeis School of Law in 1997.)

Conference of Jewish Organizations

The Louisville Jewish community had no central organizing body until the 1930s. The community had previously organized wide-scale fundraising projects, such as for war relief in the 1920s, but those had been single-purpose and short-lived. In many communities, the organization that handled relief, like Louisville's Jewish Welfare Federation, evolved into a community federation that coordinated the work of all agencies. In Louisville, it was created as a new organization. Al Erlen, brought in to direct the Jewish Welfare Federation in 1938,

Mutzie Friedman:

It seemed like the World Series always came out on Rosh Hashanah or Yom Kippur... there were radios.... At one time or another you'd look around the shul, and you'd see that many of the male congregants had left the synagogue and if you walked outside you'd find them sitting in their automobiles with the radios turned on catching a few innings.

Holiday Meals for Soldiers

The assistance of the entire community was needed to provide soldiers with holiday meals. Passover was a massive challenge. Annette Sagerman recalled an occasion when chickens and other food for the soldiers' seder were spoiled through improper storage just before Passover:



Morris Simon

It is very typical of the Louisville Jewish community that when all of these chickens and chicken soup and matzo balls spoiled, naturally we had to have food for the two seders out at Fort Knox. And Morris Simon, of blessed memory, stationed himself at one of the butcher shops. And when Louisville Jewish housewives went in to buy their orders at the butcher shops, after they would give evidence of the ration stamps... Morris would ask them 'now give us the meat' they had bought, and explain to them what happened, that we had to throw away a lot of our food... the money wasn't the problem, Morris could write us a check, what we really had to replace was the meat and the chickens. We took away everybody's meat orders as they came out and their chickens... there were many meatless seders that year, because [everyone] handed over their meat to Morris Simon.[83]

believed that this arrangement was the result of a power struggle within the community between E. S. Tachau, chairman of the Welfare Federation, and Charles W. Morris, associated with the YMHA. To Erlen, Morris seemed "a strong, compassionate leader," who was more effective and accomplished more, "a power in the Jewish community."[49]

In February of 1934, Morris chaired the meeting that founded the Louisville Conference of Jewish Organizations (Morris served as president until 1950). This meeting was called by Morris, Louis Cohen, and Lewis W. Cole, and was held at the Cole home.[50] Each of the twenty-six people attending paid membership dues of $1, launching the treasury with $26.00. It was an umbrella organization, a confederacy of affiliates, which agreed to have a joint campaign for funds each year to benefit the local agencies.[51] Morris at first declined to keep fundraising records or report totals, "because of the fear that non-Jews would resent Jews for all the money they raised."[52]



Passover seder for servicemen and women.

Ten years later, Morris confessed, "I think it is safe to say that none of us had the slightest notion of the problems that were in store for us, or of the magnitude of the diverse and complicated tasks we would be called upon to perform." Although it was intended originally as a fund-raising agency, the Conference became the organization best suited for dealing with many community problems and issues, including a rising perception of anti-Semitic threats in America and the need for the community to present a united front on issues. Colonel Fred Levy, who had so successfully raised war relief funds in the 1920s, became the first chair of the United Jewish Campaign.[53] Sidney Handmaker was named campaign director and permanent secretary (on a part-time basis). He died in the summer of 1937, and his successor was Clarence F. Judah, who served the

organization for many years.

There were suggestions in the early years that the Conference was not getting an appropriate level of participation from the Orthodox community. When Rabbi Benjamin Notelevitz asked that all United Jewish Campaign functions be kosher to encourage Orthodox men and women to attend, the Conference saw his point. They gave the Kentucky Hotel, where they held many functions, money to purchase a new set of dishes for use of the United Jewish Campaign and other kosher affairs. The Henry Clay Hotel at Third and Chestnut, owned by Colonel Fred Levy and his family, made a similar arrangement.[54]

In 1939, to make the Conference truly representative of the community, a special committee recommended that all local organizations or national groups with local chapters appoint a representative to the Board. Each congregation would elect one representative and each pulpit-holding rabbi would be a member. Ten members at large would be selected by the outgoing Conference. Agency heads would be ex-officio members without power to vote. All terms were for one year, except that rabbis would remain as long as they continued in their pulpits. That same year, the United Jewish Campaign Women's Division was organized under the leadership of Beck Hertzman and Lillian Frehling – six years before the National Women's Division of the United Jewish Campaign was created. Women's giving was originally intended to be a "plus" on top of the family gift their husbands would give.[55]



Visiting the Children's Convalescent Home.

Jewish Welfare Federation

The Jewish Welfare Federation was critical to meeting all the community's many needs in the 1930s and 1940s. Charles Strull was indispensable to the organization for years, focusing on individual needs for relief and on refugees. When he left, the new director, Lula Krakauer, developed the organization as a full-service social service agency, much in demand in Depression-era Louisville. Offices were located at this time at 215 East Walnut Street near the Talmud Torah, in the Family Service Organization building. The agency did everything from finding housing for Jewish transients passing through on the L&N rail line to organizing donations of used clothing.[56]

At first the Federation's help was generous but unsystematic. Like other non-profit organizations of the time, a process of professionalization occurred during this era. Authority for decision-making and management passed from lay leaders – many of them founders who were passionately devoted to the organization – to paid managers. These new managers were expected to have professional training in the skills needed for the work, like Al Erlen, hired in 1938 to be the Executive Secretary of the Jewish Welfare Federation. Alexander Erlen had been born to a Russian immigrant family in Columbus, Ohio, and was attracted to settlement house work, where he discovered the profession of social work. The program he attended at the New York School of Social Work combined Jewish Studies and social work theory and practice.[57]

Erlen was nearly fired in his first year. The chairman of the Federation, E. S. Tachau, "a giant in the community service movement," was a domineering presence. He and Erlen disagreed over procedure and confidentiality. At the Federation, the process had been to report cases that were referred for assistance to a lay committee, which discussed each case and then directed the staff on how to proceed. Erlen insisted that cases be handled under the discretion of a trained caseworker, with privacy for the people involved, and he was willing to lose his job over this principle. According to Erlen, Tachau didn't like the challenge to his authority, and recommended that Erlen be dismissed.[58]

His job was rescued by younger members of the Board, particularly through the intervention of Herman Handmaker, "a very warm person, genuinely concerned with any individual as an individual," who understood and promoted professionalism. Erlen had to replace some staff in order to get the level and quality of service he felt that the organization needed. Handmaker understood those standards, went on to become president of the Jewish Welfare Federation, and later applied the same ideal of professionalism in his leadership of the YMHA. "We saw, out of his leadership... the growth of a professional community in Jewish social work.... I've seen an upgrading of personnel in all fields of Jewish service in this community in the time I've been here... because the community has accepted the concept of professionalism," said Erlen.[59]

The agency supervised the Jewish Children's Home in Old Louisville. Founded for Jewish orphans and those whose parents could not care for them temporarily, for years the Home had very few Jewish children. In 1933 it became instead a nursing facility, the Home for Convalescent Children, for all children in need of long-term care, Jewish or gentile, black or white.

The Baer family, June 1949. Clockwise from top left: Ray Baer, Sidney Baer, Dr. Sylvan Baer, and Nathan Baer.

Jewish Vocational Service

Another innovation came in the 1940s, with the founding of the Jewish Vocational Service (not then

Ray Baer, All-American



"Mr. Baer lived his life caring for children, providing an example, and teaching them to 'play the game, but play it fair.'" [84]

Ray Baer was Louisville's outstanding Jewish athlete in an era when that really meant something. He was an All-American football player at Michigan, and returned to Louisville to serve as the head coach at both Manual and St. Xavier High Schools. He was a youth leader at Neighborhood House and was instrumental in creating the Jefferson County recreation program.

Baer was born in 1905, the oldest of the six children of tailor Nathan Baer and his wife, Simmie Brownstein Baer. His father was a Russian immigrant who was a leader of Anshei Sfard congregation. During Baer's high school years at DuPont Manual Training High, he was considered to be the greatest athlete in the school's history, excelling not just in football but also in basketball, high jump, and track. At the time he was one of only three Jews in the school.

Baer got his Jewish education in part at the Adath Israel Sabbath School which, as the only Sabbath School in the city, attracted traditional Jews as students as well as Reform Jews. He was taught by his aunt, Sadie Baer. Baer remembered the day of his Bar Mitzvah at Anshei Sfard as a mixed blessing: "I was forced to miss the final chapter of the world's best serial, 'The Million Dollar Mystery,' which I had followed religiously at the Walnut Theatre."

His coaching career influenced a generation of Louisville's athletes. His 1938 football team at Manual High School was the best in the nation. At St. Xavier, a Catholic school with a passion for sports, he was affectionately called "Father Ray O'Baer." He ended his career as an insurance salesman, and remained an active supporter of his synagogue, and of sports programs in the Jewish community. He was also a founder and benefactor of Eliahu Academy.[85]



B'nai B'rith Canteen, YMHA.

part of the Jewish Welfare Federation). Before the War, Maurice Grossman had tried to start a vocational assistance program, but it went nowhere. This idea was later picked up by Arthur Kling, Joseph Kaplan, and others, who convinced the Conference of Jewish Organizations to provide minimal funding starting in 1943. The idea was to try to overcome the limitations of the quota system on Jewish admissions to professional schools by acting as advisors and advocates, and to assist people, including recent refugees, with other aspects of career planning. The founders foresaw that with the end of World War II there would be a need for jobs for veterans, and they feared a repeat of the widespread unemployment that had followed the first World War. A tiny office space was squeezed into the lobby of the YMHA; Harold Temin became the first director, and the Jewish Vocational Service was in business. [60]

A relatively small Jewish community such as Louisville could not provide the resources to deal with all the social welfare problems within the community. One strategy was to support organizations in other areas that offered services needed by Louisville Jews. The Jewish Welfare Federation sent annual allocations to the National Jewish Hospital in Denver; the Cleveland Orphans Home; the Montefiore Home for the Aged in Cleveland; and the Leo N. Levi Hospital in Hot Springs, Arkansas, to pay for Louisvillians who needed special care for tuberculosis or arthritis, or who were elderly or orphaned. As the use of these facilities dwindled, the Jewish Welfare Federation asked the Conference of Jewish Organizations to take over this responsibility. Rather than offering general support to those organizations, the Conference decided to pay a portion of the fees when Louisvillians required those out-of-town services.

Jewish Hospital

In 1932, as the Depression deepened, the directors of Jewish Hospital announced that "due to the present economic conditions, a new flat rate averaging a reduction of 20 percent will be issued..." and the board would extend to "the limit of the Hospital's resources" in order to reduce the cost of hospitalization. With charges of $3 per day for wards and $5 for private rooms, the hospital still ran a deficit. The 1937 Flood damaged the building and added the expenses of repair.

The staff of the hospital was close-knit and collegial. Mostly but not entirely Jewish, it also included non-Jewish and African-American doctors (and were open to African-American patients as well, unusual in Louisville where hospitals were segregated). Bookkeeper Sadie Baer recalled, "We were like a family." Dr. Harold Berg described the atmosphere as "*haimish*." Anti-semitism was still a reality – Jewish staff members were not welcome to practice in other places.[61] And even within Jewish Hospital, according to ophthalmologist Dr. Kurt Ackermann, there was little social association between gentile and Jewish doctors.

But Jewish Hospital was outgrowing its building, now forty years old, deteriorating, and overcrowded.

In 1944, Milton Trost, Board of Trustees president, introduced the idea of building a new Jewish Hospital in order to offer an up-to-date facility to interest physicians and nurses returning from the war. The Board at this time was a "who's who" of successful Jewish businesspeople – names such as Ades, Appel, Bensinger, Bottigheimer, Goldfarb, Greenstein, Grossman, Hirsch, Klein, Levy, Lorch, Lynch, Meyers, Moses, Slung, Straus, Waldman, and Sachs. When the fundraising campaign to build a new hospital began in June 1945, Isidore Hirsch offered matching funds for the project, and $750,000 was accumulated in just over a month. The idea of constructing a downtown medical center quickly became a possibility.

Young Men's Hebrew Association (YMHA)

Like every other organization in the country, the YMHA had its own funding problems starting in 1929. The organization was almost forced to close its doors, but was saved by the actions of an emergency meeting of the entire community in September 1931. The temporary solution was to add to the mortgage, increase the dues, and continue to make the case over the long term that the entire community needed to contribute to the support of the YMHA. The organization struggled through the 1930s. Helen Helman, who was on the staff as a clerk typist, remembered weeks when paychecks were held.[62]

Despite limited funds, new programs were initiated, including the Meet-a-Body Club for singles. Squash and handball courts were constructed in 1935 (just in time to be destroyed by the 1937 Flood). The loss of Camp Tapawingo on the Ohio River to the Flood led to a refocusing of camp activities from entire families to children only. Tapawingo had been a family campground with Jewish activities, the local equivalent of a Catskills resort. The new campground, opened in 1938, was known as Camp Tall Trees and was part of Otter Creek Park. It was an overnight camp for children only. A generation of Jewish children grew up there. Sonny Meyer recalls, "That's where I learned to swim... where all of us learned to swim."[63] A day camp, Camp Ricarree, was also started at the YMHA's downtown building.



Charles Weisberg with his father, Sam.

Louisville's Jews have long boasted that the YMHA orchestra gave birth to today's Louisville Orchestra; this is true, but the birth pangs were more painful than is generally acknowledged. Morris Simon's 1916 YMHA orchestra was re-formed in 1926 as the YMHA Little Symphony. In 1931, it came under the umbrella of the Louisville Civic Arts Association (a new arts umbrella organization that included a ballet and a chorus) as the Louisville Civic Orchestra, in order to attract a wider audience and stable funding. Joseph Horvath, who had army band training, was the Symphony's conductor, and Morris Simon was general manager. Sam Hyman, a critic, was press agent for the orchestra and served as the executive secretary.

In 1932, the idea was raised of merging with the new University of Louisville orchestra, so that there would be less competition for qualified players and for an audience. However, Simon wanted to keep control of the orchestra he had founded and nurtured. The University and the Civic Association looked down on Horvath, who did not have the formal training they wanted in a conductor, and on Simon, who spoke with a strong accent and also lacked musical expertise.[64] The Civic Association tried to keep the orchestra going, but struggled with a deficit.

Even the Jewish supporters of the Orchestra, many of whom were part of the Reform Jewish cultural elite, seemed embarrassed by the amateur quality

Izzy Goodman

Israel ("Izzy") Goodman was one of the most colorful characters in Louisville. "Handsome and Runyonesque, he was a jokester and prankster without peer .... Izzy... adopted the American popular culture of the day, especially two noted local activities: baseball and horse-racing."[86] His newsstand, advertised as "the most complete Magazine, Periodical, and Newspaper Shop in Louisville," opened on June 1, 1925, at the corner of Liberty and 4th Streets. It was one of the largest magazine stores in the nation. Izzy's shop was also locally known as the place to put a bet on a race or a game. He was a lifelong sports booster, friend to sportsmen and sportswriters, and a particular supporter of the Louisville Colonels baseball team that played at Parkway Field.

Born in Riga, Latvia, he came to Louisville in 1904 at age twelve with his mother, Hinda Ades Goodman, and lived with her sister, Dora Grossman, and family. Izzy shared a room with his cousin, Irvine "Bookie" Grossman. He worked for a time selling magazines for a distributor, then opened a small store, then the larger newsstand. As a licensed agent for selling racing forms, he had a natural clientele for his less-than-legal activities. "Every night except Sunday, devoted racing fans would queue up by foot and automobile in front of Goodman's and sweat out deliveries of copies of the Daily Racing Form from Chicago, often still damp with black printing ink."[87] Goodman's activities occasionally brought him trouble with the law, although generally bookmakers were ignored by the police – except for planned raids, with friendly a tip-off in advance.



Izzy Goodman's newsstand.

Goodman was active in YMHA sports and wrote a lively sports column in the YMHA *Chronicler* during the early 20s, before the newsstand took up too much of his time. He founded and funded the "most desired prize" in YMHA intermural athletics, the Israel Goodman trophy.[88]

Goodman died while watching the first game of the 1978 World Series on television.

and Yiddish accents of some of the Orchestra's participants. Fanny Brandeis wrote: "The Civic Arts Association have had an orchestra for some years, ruled by two men with the musical comedy names of Simon and Hyman.... The group... have not been able to offer anything that would command either respect or admiration."[65]

In 1937, businessman and philanthropist Dann Byck, a member of Adath Israel, became president of the Civic Association. His wife, Mary Helen, said, "He was not musical himself, but he realized how important the cultural development was for our community."[66] Byck set out to professionalize the organizations he supervised.

"This spring Simon & Hyman were definitely and finally deposed," Brandeis wrote. Joseph Horvath was "retired" against his will. Simon resigned and, feeling at least a little bitter and hurt, returned to the YMHA to start a new YMHA symphony.[67] Some of the musicians followed him. Rubin Sher, who had been concertmaster since he was nineteen years old, stayed, saying that he "couldn't walk out on Morris that first

year."[68] Although the Civic Association was soon disbanded, the orchestra continued under the name of the Louisville Philharmonic Society, with Robert Whitney as conductor, and later as the Louisville Orchestra. There were hard feelings. Some accused Whitney of Anti-Semitism, saying that he would not hire Jewish musicians. Whitney later recalled that "Dann and I got a good laugh out of it."[69] But in time the breach was healed, and the professional Louisville Orchestra and the professional/amateur YMHA/JCC orchestra cooperated to encourage excellence in musical performance at all levels.

As for Morris Simon, he soon had other tasks to occupy his considerable energies, organizing support for servicemen during World War II.

THE ENTRY OF THE UNITED STATES into World War II in December of 1941 mobilized the entire Jewish community. Many had long been ready to go to war against Hitler, knowing of the atrocities committed against European Jews. Local men enlisted, and the home front was as active as the military itself, as the community made plans to accommodate the needs of the soldiers expected to gather at nearby Fort Knox, one of the Army's largest training bases.

During the First World War, the response of Jewish Louisville to the needs of the Camp Taylor soldiers provided a national model. Early in 1941, before hostilities began, the Louisville Army and Navy Committee of the Jewish Welfare Board was formed with a small grant from the Conference of Jewish Organizations, to unite the efforts of local Jewish organizations. Personnel were chosen from those who had WWI experience with soldier assistance. Louis Cohen, who had been the general secretary (director) of the YMHA during WWI, chaired the effort. Others on the committee included Katherine Grauman, Sadie Baer, Tony Levitan, and Lewis D. Cole. YMHA Secretary Lawrence Koch headed a local committee, and Charles W. Morris was the JWB chair for the entire 5th military district. Mrs. Morris Koch, mother of Secretary Koch, who had organizing experience from the 1917-19 efforts, was "adviser." The YMHA served as the headquarters, although many organizations and individuals contributed. Hundreds of volunteers worked under the supervision of a USO-JWB field director. At the peak of operations, the United Jewish Campaign allocated $15,000 for these programs. Lawrence Koch later went into the army, so Jewish Welfare Federation Director Al Erlen took the job on half time and held both jobs at once from 1942 to 1946.[70]

There were up to 3,000 lonely and homesick men at Fort Knox and Bowman Field (Louisville's airport) at any one time. The officers sent to do training often brought wives and families, who had their own needs for housing in town, and, in some cases, jobs for the wives, which the community helped provide through the Family Contact Committee of the Soldiers Personal Problem Committee of the Jewish Welfare Federation.

But the community's main effort went into entertaining soldiers on weekends, trying to meet their Jewish needs for Shabbat and their everyday needs for socializing and recreation. "The YMHA was wonderful during the war," Gertrude Feldbaum remembered. Irv Lipetz recalled that "Jews and non-Jews... in the service always went to the Jewish institutions because they were known for their hospitality and good food."[71] The goal was to make the YMHA a "home away from home." On Friday evenings and Saturday mornings, soldiers could attend the Shabbat services of their choice at the local synagogues. On Saturday afternoons, soldiers came to the YMHA for cookies baked by the Cookie Committee and made reservations for other weekend events. On Saturday night, the Entertainment Committee staged a dance, "furnishing hostesses, dancing partners... good music, sandwiches and drinks" for about 600 soldiers. The YMHA building could sleep 100 men; the annexes at Keneseth Israel and Adath Israel together held 193 more.[72]

A pamphlet sent to Fort Knox asked, "What is more satisfying and homelike than to wake up to a breakfast of scrambled eggs, hot bagel, lox, donuts and steaming hot coffee" on a Sunday morning? Breakfast was prepared by the women of Hadassah's Business and Professional Club. Sunday was Open House at the



Holocaust survivor Ernie Marx at a Yom Hashoah event.

Y, with all its sports and recreation facilities open and refreshments served in the lounge, and a tea dance in the afternoon. On Sunday evenings, a kosher dinner was served. By one estimate, 37,500 men were served at the 280 Sunday night suppers (five years' worth of Sundays). The program served non-Jews as well as Jews, black as well as white. "After a week of eating in the mess hall, I used to love coming here. Not for the religious services, but for the salami sandwiches," remembered Joe Fineman, who liked Louisville so much he moved back after the War.[73]

Since not all the soldiers could get a weekend pass, people were also sent to the bases to deliver food and socialize. Hannah Bronstein was one of those who regularly made the trip for the USO: "We sent them salami sandwiches, and when we sent them corned beef it was something else! We'd send chopped liver… and the boys were so thrilled!"[74] There were, however, some cultural adjustments to be made between the Jewish soldiers, many of them from Yiddish-speaking east-coast families, and the southern Jews of Louisville. "These were New York boys, and they weren't used to salads and vegetables like we were… they'd have soup, some kind of roast beef, some kind of potatoes…," Gertrude Feldbaum remembered.[75]

Another distinctive YMHA contribution was the 60-piece USO Symphony Orchestra under Morris Simon as chairman and Jacques L. Gottlieb, JWB field director, as conductor. Simon was also responsible for starting the USO Show Stars, which became the model for the national program. He recruited local talent in singing, dancing, and performing, with the help of Leo Baron. Hundreds of thousands of soldiers were entertained on bases around the country.[76]

At one point, JWB had eleven staff members in Louisville to organize these efforts. Aaron Schreiber came to Louisville with the JWB/USO and stayed to become the post-war YMHA Director. Annette Sagerman, a Louisvillian, also started with the JWB/USO and stayed to work at the YMHA (later the JCC) – and as of 2003, was still working there.[77]

In all, 725 of Louisville's Jewish men and women served in the military during World War II. Sixteen of them were killed in action. Shirley B. Abramson was one of the women who enlisted, in place of her older brother who was married and had a child. She met her husband, Preston Street grocer Roy Abramson, while serving, and they were married near the end of the War.[78] Charles Weisberg served overseas after being drafted in 1941 and recalled that his son "Frankie was born while I was overseas. He was two years old when I first saw him." He added that "I was one of the few boys who put on *tfillin* in my foxhole."[79] Rabbi Bazell of Brith Sholom joined the Navy as a chaplain and did not return to his pulpit after the War. Lewis D. Cole was "desperate to go into the war" and signed up for officer candidate training, then served overseas for two years.[80] At least one local Jewish soldier, Alvin Sweitzer, was on hand to help liberate concentration camps in Europe.

On the home front, people could buy War Bonds to help the war effort. Harry Switow's family theaters actively promoted bond sales and Harry traveled the state to drum up interest. On the simplest level, families could show their patriotism by blacking out their windows at night, and volunteer patrols enforced this.[81]

World War II was a tremendous challenge, which the community rose to meet with good will, energy, and very few internal divisions or conflicts. In 1944 Charles Morris said: "We have a good community – generous, tolerant, and strong – an old community, proud of its traditions, walking with dignity through the chaos and confusion of these dreadful times."[82]

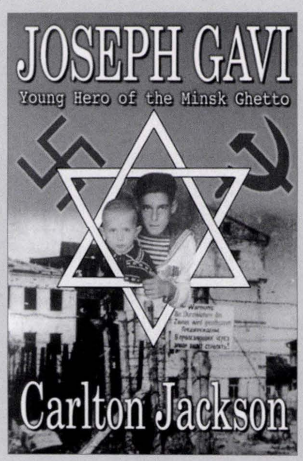
CHAPTER EIGHT

To the Suburbs



In the post-war decades, Louisville's Jews, along with most American Jews, wrestled with the problems that came along with acceptance and success. With prosperity came a physical diaspora, the loss of any concept of Jewish neighborhood and a blending, or disappearing, into the wider world. With acceptance came the end of social barriers, and the rise of fears about the erosion of Jewish social institutions and families. Intermarriage was increasingly common, and it was not clear whether this phenomenon should be considered a threat or a success story about acceptance in America. The Civil Rights movement of the 50s and 60s challenged Louisville's Jews to take a moral stand at a time when they barely felt safe themselves. The

Ladies cooking at one of many Jewish community events.



Joseph Gavi

Joseph Gavi's heroism during the Holocaust has been recognized worldwide from Tel Aviv's Yad Vashem to the Kentucky Senate, which passed a resolution honoring his deeds in March of 2002 (he passed away later that year).

Gavi was born in Minsk, in what is now Belarus. In 1941, when he was ten, the Nazis took over the city and herded its 100,000 Jews into a ghetto, including Gavi's parents and brother. He witnessed many atrocities, including mass graves of Jews buried alive. Gavi, who was physically very small, discovered how to escape from the ghetto and traveled back and forth to the anti-Nazi partisans living in the nearby Naleboki Forest. He guided members of his family and as many as 300 others to safety in the forest, although he was not able to save his father and brother. He then joined the resistance movement and worked to destroy railroad tracks, and at age 13 served in the Soviet Navy (where he learned to read for the first time).

After the war he returned to Minsk and caught up with his education, ultimately earning a doctoral degree in physiology. Because he was Jewish, Gavi was fired from his job in 1978, and with his wife, Ida, and sons, Isaac and Alex, he emigrated to the United States and settled in Louisville, where he ran a popular restaurant near the courthouse.

social and political upheavals of the 60s and 70s allowed women to use their energies productively and openly, but created instability and affected the status quo.

Recovery from the War itself was the first priority of the 1940s. The Jewish Welfare Federation, under the direction of Al Erlen, took the lead in helping with refugee resettlement. This turned out to be an ongoing process, as fresh world crises created new waves of Jewish refugees, a few of whom landed in Louisville. Later, Erlen summed up the program's successes: "... we have helped resettle now, since the end of WWI, five hundred [displaced persons] - about half have remained in Louisville."[1] To help the new immigrants after World War II, Erlen hired Dr. Lena Wolfe, who was both a German refugee and a trained social worker, as an assistant. Erlen recalled:

> *...she always carried a briefcase, like almost all the Germans did. All the first D. P. [displaced persons] group that came over, no matter where they came from, they all had briefcases. In fact, this is after World War II, a guy came in, a D. P., he'd been in a concentration camp, his briefcase opened up and a chicken flew out... in the office! They all carried a briefcase, even if there was nothing in it, or a lunch in it, because that was a status symbol.*[2]



David Weinberg on Village Drive, a Jewish suburban enclave in the Highlands in the 1950s.

Other survivors of the Holocaust and refugees from Nazi Germany arrived in Louisville after first settling in other places throughout the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. Their personal histories are now in a sense part of the collective memory of the Louisville Jewish community. Individuals who have told their stories publicly in the media or to school groups include Ernie Marx, who survived as a teenager on the run in Occupied France (and still regrets that Kristallnacht pre-empted his Bar Mitzvah); Ilse Meyer, who as a young teenager was the only one in her family who was able to get a visa to America after surviving Kristallnacht; Elias Klein, who was on a *Kindertransport* (children's evacuation) to London; Lillian Friedman, previously mentioned, the only one released from the ill-fated *St. Louis* refugee ship in Cuba; Ann Klein, from Hungary, who survived Auschwitz; Herta Beskin, whose family drew a low number in the American visa quota and was able to get out of Germany at the last minute; William Ellenberg, who lived through Dachau and Auschwitz; Melvin Goldfarb, from Poland, who did factory work at Auschwitz; Fred Gross, who was a baby in Belgium when the war started, and whose family escaped from Gurs, a French concentration camp, to Switzerland; Irma Issler, from Vienna, whose family escaped to England; Joseph Gavi, partisan of the Minsk ghetto (see sidebar on previous page) and Allie Smith, a Jewish-American soldier who was taken prisoner and survived concentration camps and death marches. Survivors Dan and Gila Glattstein helped set up annual Holocaust commemorations in Louisville.[3]

At the end of the Second World War, some Louisville Jews still lived in neighborhoods east of downtown, near Broadway, in Old Louisville, and over storefronts throughout the city and the West End. Many had already moved to the Highlands neighborhood. Large established Jewish businesses downtown, such as Levy's, dominated the retail landscape, and smaller Jewish-oriented groceries, delis, and other stores were staples of the neighborhoods. In Old Louisville, nearly every corner had a Jewish pharmacy – Waldman's, Kaplin's, Zeiden's, Zegart's, Rouben's, and Comer's Drugs.[4] Synagogues and temples were all downtown, near where their congregants lived.

By 1970, this had all changed, as the decline of the downtown business district and the destruction of neighborhoods brought about by establishment of the interstate highway, I-65, damaged downtown's attractiveness as a place to live and work. The same phenomenon of post-war middle-class removal to the suburbs and inner-city blight and "urban renewal" was happening across America. Big chain stores and malls killed off small family-run retail stores. In this period, almost all of Louisville's Jewish religious, educational, social, and charitable organizations moved to the Highlands/Taylorsville Road area. Although most large businesses remained downtown, some began planning suburban branches. The existing Jewish Community Federation was formally incorporated in 1954 and played a major role in organizing and supporting local Jewish needs and initiatives as well as Jewish needs around the world. The coming of the Civil Rights



Brith Sholom on Cowling Avenue.

movement energized some of the Jewish community towards a greater level of community action for social justice and work on interfaith awareness.

Since the early 20th century, middle-class Louisvillians, including Jews, looked towards the Highlands neighborhood, on the higher ground to the east and south of downtown. The area had been developed as a "streetcar suburb" with attractive brick and wood-frame single-family houses on narrow lots and some larger apartment buildings, built and advertised by developers. Real estate brochures trumpeted the joys of country living with easy city access: "Most Louisvillians now appreciate that the Highlands, for refined social environment, unusual natural beauty, high elevation and convenient accessibility to the city, is unequaled." Bardstown Road, with its trolley line, was the main corridor of travel.[5]

Jews settled close together even in the Highlands, mainly by choice. There were some restrictive legal covenants on houses forbidding sale to Jews, but generally, if there were restrictions, they were tacitly understood. Castleberry Road and Village Drive were almost completely Jewish in the 50s and 60s, but Sulgrave, adjacent, was restricted. Cherokee Gardens was restricted, but nearby Meadow Road was nicknamed "Mendel Road" for its Jewish character. Randy Farb recalled: "We grew up in the Bon Air neighborhood, a neighborhood that Catholic kids called 'O Little Town Of Jerusalem' because of the majority of Jewish families."

In another neighborhood, John Yarmuth remembers his parents' experience of rejection and of unexpected welcome:

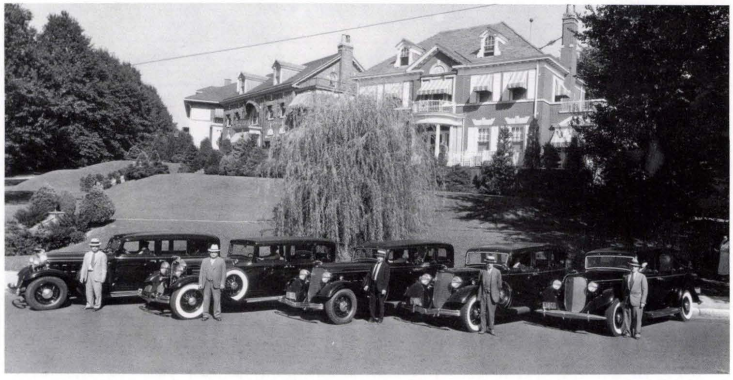
> *It was 1964, a period in which people still felt disturbingly comfortable with their biases. My parents were house hunting, and they had already had the unpleasant experience of being told they were not welcome in a certain neighborhood. When they found their "dream" house in Glenview, they forged ahead in spite of their concern that a young Jewish couple would not exactly be greeted with a parade in that predominantly waspish area. On the day they moved in, my parents were surprised to find Mary and Barry Bingham, Sr. [publisher and editor of the Courier-Journal newspapers], at their door, welcoming them to the neighborhood.*[6]

Some Jewish entrepreneurs saw opportunity in the new real estate boom. In 1952, Charles Weisberg and his cousin by marriage, Lewis Bass, established a real estate firm that still thrives today. In the few hours left over from working in their family's stores, Weisberg and Bass bought a foreclosed home and fixed it up through "sweat equity" for resale. Then they noticed how much the selling agent made, compared with how much they had made, and changed careers. At first, the partners, carless, took the streetcar to show off houses to their clients.[7]

In the early 1950s, the YMHA studied population patterns with an eye to relocation, and found that of an

estimated Jewish population of 8,000, about 57 percent of all households already lived in the Highlands or East End. Old Louisville was still the home of about 17.5 percent of the community's residents. By this time only a tiny fraction of the traditional "shetl" neighborhood remained in the blocks around Madison and Preston, forming less than 7 percent of the community. Another 6 percent were scattered through the West End, and a few more in other areas. The surveyors found that even during the two years that it took to do their study, out-migration was strong.[8]

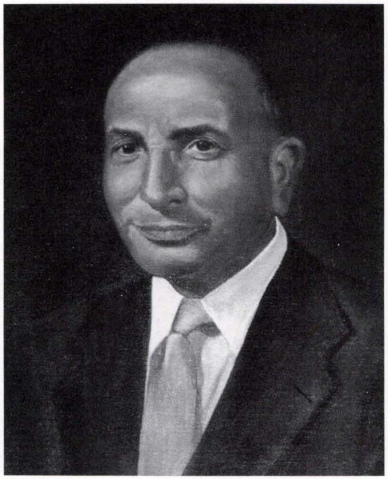
As Jacob Landau put it, "The families gradually spread and spread till you had to move up to the Highlands."[9] Once the movement gathered critical mass, there was less and less reason for families to continue to live in what they saw as overcrowded and unfashionable neighborhoods. For a generation after the people moved residences, the major Jewish institutions remained downtown, but by the 1950s nearly all had moved or made plans to move to the Highlands in the face of urban renewal – specifically the construction of I-65 straight through the heart of the *shtetl* on the east side of downtown and along the edge of the middle class Jewish neighborhood in Old Louisville. Even the old Jewish cemetery at Preston and Woodbine Streets had to move – 150 graves were relocated by Adath Jeshurun, which had inherited responsibility for the old Beth Israel cemetery, and by Adath Israel.[10]



The five sons of Isaac Rosenbaum in front of their homes at the corner of Cherokee Road and Willow Avenue, 1935.

In the 50s and the 60s, the Highlands was the Jewish neighborhood, with Jewish businesses, synagogues, and delis. By 1965, four of the community's five remaining synagogues were in the Highlands, although "each moved reluctantly, after great discussions" (and five former synagogue buildings downtown had been demolished, with others reused by Christian congregations.)[11]

Reform congregation Brith Sholom was the first to decide to make the move out of downtown Louisville. As early as 1945, more than half of the congregation's members were already living in the Highlands or other areas of the East and South Ends. Rabbi Bazell, who had left to do military service in World War II, did not return to Brith Sholom, and his place was soon filled by Rabbi Martin Perley, a former army chaplain with a Bronze Star, who had been educated in Montreal and New York. Perley was an idealist and an activist, whose congregation was alternately enamored of his passion for justice and alarmed by his pursuit of it. One congregant family recalled that after the difficulties of the war years, "It... seemed quite natural in the happy years that ensued for us to follow Brith Sholom to the Highlands



Adath Jeshurun's Rabbi Jacob Gittleman.



The Adath Jeshurun Sisterhood cooks.

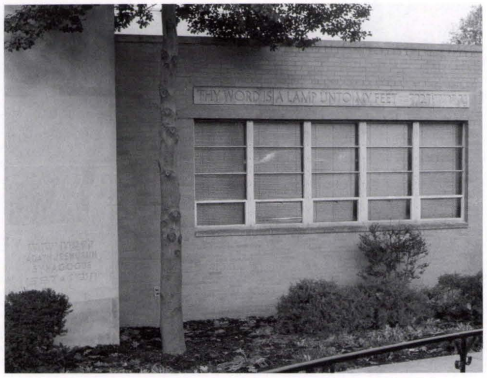
where we lived.... We loved Rabbi Perley and his emphasis on social justice which in our sense of values is the essence of a living Judaism...." Perley rejuvenated the temple's programs, starting a nursery school and restarting the Men's Club, Youth Guild, and the "Mr. and Mrs. Club," all of which had been on wartime hiatus.[12]

In 1949, Brith Sholom purchased land from the former Bonnycastle estate in a prime location near the intersection of Bardstown and Bonnycastle (the actual address was Cowling and Maryland Avenues), and held the land while the congregation worked on raising a building fund. The temple used existing buildings on the estate grounds for some worship services and the religious school, and in 1951 construction began in stages on a new temple building in the Georgian style, red brick with columns, located in front of the former mansion, where the curving driveway had been. The auditorium served for worship until the main sanctuary could be built. The construction was completed and the temple dedicated in 1956.[13]

Adath Jeshurun, the Conservative synagogue, was the next to plan a new home in the Highlands. Despite its attachment to the handsome synagogue building on Brook and College, in 1951 the congregation purchased the former Eleanor Beard estate between Douglass Boulevard and Woodbourne Avenue because that was where the congregants now lived. Like Brith Sholom, the congregation used the estate's mansion as a religious school and community house while developing plans for the new building.[14] This building was retained as a school until a new school was built several years later. Long-time rabbi, J. J. Gittleman, favored the move.

Louis Levy: "Intermarriage" used to mean marriage between German and Russian Jews... a *shonda*! "Integration" meant men and women in the same public High School.

The new synagogue, dedicated in 1957, was designed by Braverman and Halperin of Cleveland, experienced designers of synagogues across the country, in a relatively austere, horizontal, modernist style. According to the architects, the building takes "cognizance of external explicitness as against concentrated inwardness." This consciously intellectual approach of the designers might have been part of the reason that the planners had to go through plan after plan, scheme after scheme, before developing a blueprint that met the congregation's needs and budget. Plan 11, or Plan "K", finally passed committee approval. The building seated 445 worshipers in the main sanctuary, with room for 750 more behind a folding partition into the social hall. The *bimah* was raised like a stage at the end of the room,



Exterior view of the chapel at Adath Jeshurun.



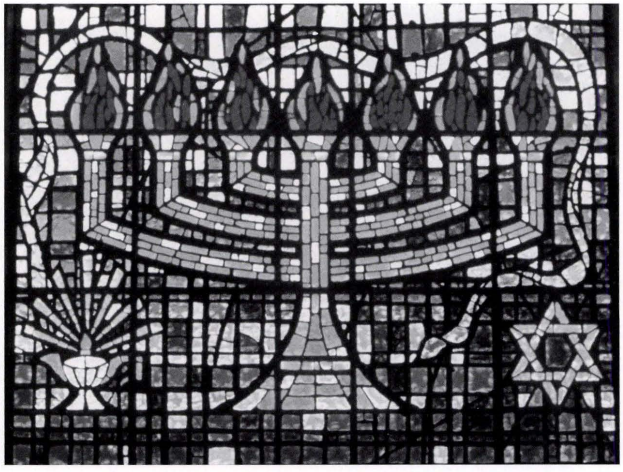
Left: Anshei Sfard's torahs are carried from the First Street building to the new building on Dutchmans Lane.

with the rabbi and reader's table facing the congregation, as in a Reform temple. There was also a small chapel built for daily services and smaller events.[15]

This plan called for a signature sculpture for the Woodbourne Avenue façade, which was intended as the main entrance–a "stylized Menorah," which was sketched in a niche in the architect's plans. However, the artist commissioned to make the piece, Henry Roth of Cleveland, added his own interpretation to his task. The result did not please the congregation. President Bernard Goldstein called it "completely abstract and unrecognizable modern art," but the congregation was forced to accept it.[16] Congregants were also puzzled by the meaning of one of the stained glass windows – which turned out to have been installed upside-down. It was corrected.[17] The plans for the building were completed in 1966 with the construction of a religious and preschool building, the J. J. Gittleman Educational Center, built by Joseph & Joseph architects.

Orthodox Congregation Anshei Sfard also moved to the suburbs, forced to do so by the city of Louisville's plans for urban renewal. At the time, Rabbi Solomon Roodman, who would lead the congregation for forty years, was in his early years as the rabbi. An Orthodox synagogue must be near its observant members, who cannot drive or travel by public transport on Shabbat and holidays. Anshei Sfard was so identified with its location that most Louisville Jews simply called it "First Street." In the early 1950s, with much of the community already discussing relocating to the Highlands, Anshei Sfard received notice from the Urban Renewal authorities that the building was scheduled for demolition for the construction of I-65. The congregation made plans to move.

Suzy Post: "Whatever I was able to become, I did so as a member of the Louisville Jewish community."



Anshei Sfard's stained glass window facing Dutchmans Lane.

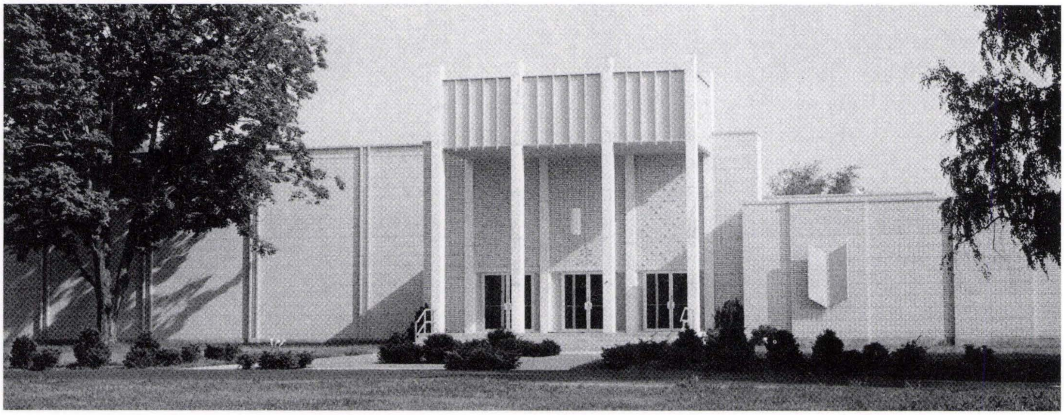
Anshei Sfard bought 17 acres of land adjacent to the land purchased by the YMHA for a new Jewish Community Center on Dutchmans Lane, beyond the limits of the Highlands neighborhood, in what seemed to be the middle of nowhere. The first phase of construction was a school building with a small chapel, the Levitch chapel, completed in 1958. Five years later, the congregation was able to build the main sanctuary, designed by Joseph and Joseph and graced by impressive stained glass windows. Some of the stone facing and ornaments from the First Street building were

saved by Dr. Harold Berg and reused as a historical grace note on the façade of the new, contemporary yellow-brick building. Later, a very large stained glass window in the form of a menorah dominated the Dutchmans Lane side.[18]

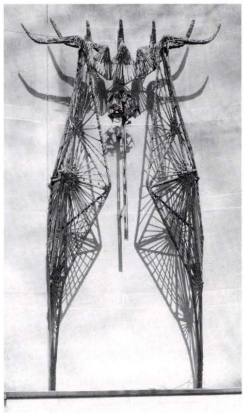
Keneseth Israel, which was downtown at Floyd and Jacob and still an Orthodox congregation, continued to have a troubled time full of internal disputes during the post-war years. In the early 1950s, conflict broke out over the issue of where women would sit in the synagogue. As in all Orthodox congregations, women were separated from men during services. At Keneseth Israel they were accommodated in a balcony. A member of the congregation who grew up with this division, Mutzie Friedman, remembered going there as a child:

> *In those days you not only didn't sit together, you didn't sit on the same floor. Keneseth Israel was a very beautiful synagogue with stained glass windows, a beautiful bimah.... Everyone sat in the same seat every year for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.... Sometimes if you got tired and wanted to go home for a little while, your mother would look over the balcony and try to get the attention of the father... but you couldn't always do it... so they would send one of the children downstairs... even if it was a girl, so she could find her father.*[19]

Some Jewish women in Orthodox congregations were beginning to question this practice, which was not followed in Reform and Conservative synagogues. At Keneseth, some of the older women were just tired of having to climb the steep stairs, and preferred a separate women's section downstairs. One Shabbat in 1951, a group of women "crossed the aisle" to sit in the main area downstairs and staged a kind of sit-down strike, halting the service. The Rabbi, Benjamin Brilliant, and many of the congregation's members did not approve. At one time, police were called to remove the women from the downstairs seats. A compromise was suggested – building a *mechitzah*, a barrier, between separate women's and men's sections on the main floor. But the rabbi would not conduct services with the women downstairs. When mixed seating opponent, Harry Simon, was ejected for creating a disturbance, he sued with the help of his lawyer, Maurice Horvitz.[20] The Conference of Jewish Organizations offered mediation, and sent Chairman Marshall Bensinger and Director Clarence Judah



The original façade of Keneseth Israel on Taylorsville Road.



Left: Adath Jeshurun's controversial sculpture.

to talk with the congregation at a tense, standing-room-only meeting in the disputed sanctuary.

Some compromises were reached, the *mechitzah* remained, and the lawsuit dragged on (when former Federation Chairman Charles W. Morris, a lawyer, was hired by Keneseth in its lawsuit, this led to another round of bad feelings in the community). Some members of the congregation left over this issue. Simon won his suit, and used his payment to help start a Jewish Day School, a fact that did not help the Day School with its potential non-Orthodox supporters. In 1952, Rabbi Brilliant also left. After his departure, the congregation removed the *mechitzah*, and designated the west side seating for men, the east side for women, with the option of "mixed" seating in the center. The *shul* now considered itself to be "Traditional" rather than strictly Orthodox.[21]



During Passover in 1954, just as this situation had finally stabilized, the roof of the building collapsed into the balcony. It was repaired, but the congregation began to consider a move. Many members had already moved their homes from downtown to the Bardstown/Taylorsville Road area, and wanted the synagogue to follow. A lot on Taylorsville Road was purchased that was, according to a synagogue study, within two miles of 75 percent of the members' homes.[22] On the edge of the Highlands, the building stood midway in geography, as it did in philosophy, between Adath Jeshurun and Anshei Sfard. Building began only after Keneseth Israel filed and won a suit against the city of Seneca Gardens, which tried to block construction of the synagogue. Congregation president Isaac Gumer was the attorney of record in the landmark case, which set new legal precedent. In 1963, ground was broken for a design by architect Thomas Nolan, and construction was by the firm of Platoff & Bush. The school and auditorium section of the building was built first, and the dedication was held in 1964.

Louisville's rabbis: front row, Benjamin Brilliant (Keneseth Israel), Joseph Rauch (Adath Israel); top row, Jacob Gittleman (Adath Jeshurun), Martin Perley (Brith Sholom), Solomon Roodman (Anshei Sfard).

Cantor Meyer Elias, whose tenure lasted over thirty years, provided the congregation with a continuous, steadying presence. He arrived in Louisville in 1950. A Holocaust survivor, Elias had been trained in Vilna, Lithuania, in the style of the classic Vilna cantors and had served as chief cantor at the Vilna Staat Shul (national synagogue), had sung with the famous Koussevitzsky, had studied opera in Italy, and was ranked among the top American cantors, known for his innovative arrangements. He remained at Keneseth through the 50s, 60s, and 70s as cantor and teacher until his death (and was particularly remembered for his work with bar and bat mitzvah students).[23]

Throughout the 1960s, Orthodox congregation Agudas Achim, in the West End, struggled for survival in the face of out-migration and the decline of the kind of mom-and-pop neighborhood stores that had sustained so many of its members. The congregation was finally forced out by Urban Renewal in 1970. The doors closed in July 1971. "The $50,000 that the Shul got from the sale of the property was turned over to

Anshei Sfard to maintain the cemetery on Preston Street. Today all that remains where the building once stood is a well-kept grassy lawn that is part of the fire engine station." Former congregation members joined other synagogues, particularly Anshei Sfard. Fifty years earlier there had been four Orthodox congregations in Louisville; now there was one last "bulwark for Torah-true Judaism" in the community.[24]

And now there was only one synagogue left downtown – Adath Israel, which had also been the first. During the early 1950s, Adath Israel was under the leadership of Rabbi Joseph Rauch. While the congregation considered a move to the suburbs, many members felt attached to their Third Street building, which had been improved by the construction of a school annex in 1951. As a fully Reform congregation, members were free to drive on Shabbat and holidays from their suburban homes to the downtown location. When Rauch's health began to fail in the late 40s, Herbert Waller was called to be assistant Rabbi, then co-Rabbi. Rauch died in 1957, after 44 years at Adath Israel, and was universally mourned in the general community as well as the Jewish community. In 1962, the University of Louisville, where Rauch had served as a trustee, dedicated the Rauch Memorial Planetarium in honor of "a man who always had his feet firmly planted on the ground, but a man whose eyes were always on the stars." His widow, Etta Rauch, cut the ribbon at the ceremony. Rabbi Chester Diamond was brought to Louisville in 1966 to serve as assistant rabbi of the congregation and to run the new Hillel program at the university.[25]



The front entrance to the Jewish Community Center on Dutchmans Lane.

As Adath Israel members looked at the development of the Louisville Jewish community, they saw a population drift to the developing East End, along Brownsboro Road, beyond the inner suburbs such as the Highlands. When the congregation's leaders purchased land for a new synagogue in 1966, they passed over the existing neighborhoods to predict that the future lay in what was then country, at U.S. 42 and Lime Kiln Lane. At the time, however, Rabbi Waller said, "There was so much opposition to moving, that we agreed to air-condition our Temple downtown."[26] A good thing, since the congregation waited out the 1960s in its familiar downtown home.

Some Jews did remain downtown, in the middle-class sections of Old Louisville in particular. That neighborhood, however, was growing seedier around the edges, with some of the fine mansions of 3rd and 4th Streets given over to boardinghouses. One enclave that held out was a pedestrian court called Ouerbacker Court, just off Brook Street, which was almost entirely Jewish. Jerry Abramson remembers:

> *...When my grandparents lived downtown... I'd stay quite often on Friday night overnight with them. They lived in Ouerbacker Court in Old Louisville, where the rabbi of Keneseth lived, AND the rabbi of Adath Jeshurun lived, AND the rabbi of Anshei Sfard lived. Gittleman was there, and Polin was there, and Roodman was there, and a lot of other Jews up and down the Court.*[27]

The YMHA joined the procession to the Highlands in the 1950s. In some ways, as the largest Jewish organization, its decision to move influenced all the rest. The organization had considered a new building in

1946, but urgent needs for funds for European and Palestinian Jews had caused the Conference of Jewish Organizations to ask the YMHA to wait. With 1,050 member families in the old Second Street building, there was no question that they suffered from "antiquated facilities, lack of space in every department, and one of the worst parking problems in the city." A staff member recalled that "the crafts classes were in the basement and the pipes leaked. When we needed water to make something, we'd hold up our bowls and catch it from the pipes above." A 1954 promotional brochure offered instead the vision of "ample playgrounds for all sports and activities stretch away invitingly..." in "the very heart of Louisville's Jewish residential area." [28]

There had been some discussion of remaining in the city at a new site. Much of the YMHA's use came from businessmen dropping by before or after work or during lunch to make use of the gym, or for club and organization meetings. Former YMHA president and prominent attorney, Ben Washer, offered a plot of land for a playing field on Kentucky Street between 5th and 6th, and the Y purchased a nearby plot on 4th Street near the Memorial Auditorium. Soon a consensus was reached that this would be a mistake – there would never be the space that they needed, and the members were inexorably moving away. Washer graciously consented to the change in plan, and donated his land to the city instead. [29] Instead, the YMHA purchased a large plot on Dutchmans Lane near the proposed innerbelt highway (which would become the Watterson Expressway), between the Highlands and other East End neighborhoods. The land stood directly across from the restricted (no Jews or blacks allowed) Big Springs Country Club.



The JCC pool was a popular spot from the first day.

Abe Berman was the President, the first of the YMHA "boys" from a "shtetl" Orthodox family who had grown up at the YMHA to become the leader of the organization, [30] a sign of the post-War integration and acceptance of all members of the community. Berman followed a comprehensive and detailed planning process. He described the committee he set up:

> *The committee operated under one basic philosophy – get the best help and listen to everyone; make this a democratic project. I can say without reservation that this principle was adhered to even to the last detail in planning. Board members visited other Jewish Community Centers to learn how they did it. We profited by their mistakes (although we'll make our own).... After the architects Joseph & Joseph finished the plans and specifications, we asked all groups concerned to review these with the idea of modification. If only we had about $3,000,000, we probably could put up a building that might agree with everyone. We had to cut, cut, and cut until the plans might produce a building in the vicinity of $1,000,000.*[31]

The YMHA had commissioned a survey of community needs in association with the National Jewish Welfare Board. The report was done by a committee of 150 people who represented a cross-section of the



Club 60 for active seniors was a popular JCC program for many years.

community, and they consulted with others to get a broad range of ideas and opinions. The committee developed a mission statement (and by now were calling the proposed facility a "Jewish Community Center" in accordance with the new national model): "The Jewish Community Center should seek to develop a broad program which shall contribute toward the personal growth and happiness and communal usefulness of the Jewish people in the community." In addition, it should be "dedicated to the principles of Judaism and democracy," including all ages, both sexes, and all viewpoints. "It should be essentially educational in character," identified with Jewish culture and tradition, be warm and homelike, and allow all people of other cultural groups to join programs.[32]

The new Center was intended to be the "home" for all of the community – all groups were encouraged to hold meetings there, and it would particularly strive to attract the unaffiliated. Transportation would be offered to encourage all to participate, including those who were stranded in downtown neighborhoods. Programs would include a preschool, playgroups, clubs and special interest groups, a day camp, an outdoor camp, a dance school, teen clubs, singles activities, crafts and hobby groups for adults, women's groups, a businessmen's club, a lecture series, Jewish study groups, programs for older adults, kosher kitchen facilities, an auditorium… the list is exhaustive. This programming would operate in addition to the health, sports, and physical education programming the YMHA was already known for, an indoor pool, and an outdoor pool that met AAU standards, including a wading pool and tot lot, a snack bar, and lighting for night use. A

new JCC Health Club with steam rooms and massage was available as an extra on top of yearly membership. All this and sports fields stretching to the far horizon… or at least to the Watterson expressway.[33] (The expressway design was modified for the JCC's benefit, since land demands for the usual cloverleaf exit at Taylorsville Road would have taken a bite out of the JCC's playing fields.)

Community organizations were expressly invited to join the Center in the move to the suburbs. The Louisville Hebrew School, or Talmud Torah, agreed. The Jewish Social Services Agency and the Jewish Vocational Service declined. The Federation also chose to stay in downtown offices for the time being.[34]

The fundraising drive, chaired by Fourth Street businessman Dann Byck, netted $550,000. The sale of the downtown building was supposed to bring in the additional funds needed for construction, but the building did not sell right away. The Conference of Jewish Organizations then offered the YMHA $500,000 in return for delaying any additional building fund campaign during the late 1940s until a time when other needs in the community were less pressing. Some compromise was called for: David Kling, whose father, Arthur, had been on the planning committee, said that: "The building isn't quite what they hoped for, because they didn't have enough money. Originally there were two auditoriums planned, and bowling alleys and a lot of things that didn't come to pass."[35]

The outdoor pool was ready first. A ceremonial first dive by children was held for the press on June 22, 1955. The Center held a grand opening for members on July 4th. Volunteer chef, Gertrude Feldbaum, remembered: "They wanted to have the snack bar open for the 4th of July… we made bologna and salami sandwiches, had potato chips, pretzels, drinks and candy… we couldn't make enough sandwiches fast enough we had such a crowd, then after that we got organized, we had hot dogs… I made fifty pounds of barbeque a week."[36]

Planned for 5,000 members, the new Center opened with 7,000 – and immediately realized that more parking was going to be needed. The building itself opened in December, and by spring, Director Aaron Schreiber announced that new memberships had to be deferred and that 300 more spaces would be added to the parking lot "because of the vast numbers of people using the Jewish Community Center." [37]



A BBYO group prepares for a road trip.

In the new Jewish diaspora of the suburbs, the Jewish Community Center took on a significant new role as a replacement for the Jewish neighborhood. Once it was only one of a variety of Jewish places in close proximity, where there was a constant flow of friends, family, neighbors, and acquaintances passing each other on the street. Now it was the most significant spot that brought members of different Jewish worlds together – Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, secular, political, clubby, unaffiliated. Al Erlen said: "There is no such thing as a Jewish neighborhood anymore…. The influence that the Jewish neighborhood had on a Jewish kid…. Now we have to find a substitute for that, give them a Jewish heritage, a Jewish continuity."[38]

For most of Louisville's young Jews, the 1950s and 60s were a kind of golden age, "a wonderful, happy

time," with a rich and varied social life, a weekly and annual round of exciting activities and events, and a wide circle of interconnected friendships.[39] This group formed very strong bonds, and many are leaders of the community today.

"Friendships were like family." Most lived in the Highlands or nearby, and groups of teens spent Friday nights (after Shabbat dinner, in traditional families) at the neighborhood Uptown or Bard Theaters. On Saturdays "you went to *shul* then you'd get on the bus and go to the movies," at the Rialto downtown, or window-shopping along 4th Street, with frequent stops for Cokes, ice cream, and socializing along the way.



Abe Kaplan at the Around the Clock Deli on Bardstown Road in the Highlands.

When the *shuls* and temples were downtown, young Jews "made the circuit" on Shabbat and holidays, visiting among the nearby congregations. The Broad Brook Bowling Alley, on the same block with Adath Jeshurun and Keneseth Israel, was a hangout after, and sometimes during, services, especially during the fall High Holy Days when Louisville's baseball-mad Jews had to keep up with the World Series games that so often coincided with the holiday. When Adath Jeshurun moved to the Highlands, baseball fans took long walks during services to the Twig and Leaf Diner, about a half-mile away, to check on the scores.

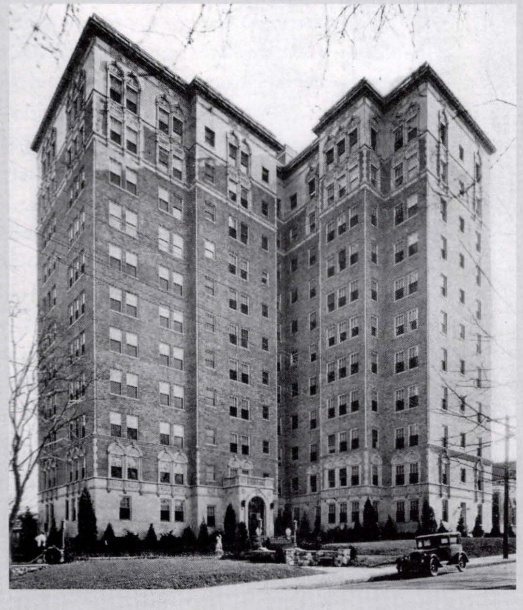
Through the 50s and 60s, bar mitzvah parties became huge and grand, and were often held at the Standard Club or other non-synagogue venues, and "Sweet Sixteen" parties, a Southern tradition, became a Jewish tradition in some areas.

The Around the Clock Deli, at Bardstown and Roanoke in the Highlands, owned by Jerry Binder, was where people went for a kosher-style Sunday dinner with the family. The Cherokee Dairy, Speevack's, and later Greenwald's Delicatessen were all popular, but *the* hangout for teens was Frisch's Big Boy, "a landmark," owned by the Erlichs, on Taylorsville Road across from Bowman Field. Frisch's was on the way from school or home to the JCC, and everyone hung out after school: "You had to be there, you didn't want to miss anything!" For some teens, the rules of kosher eating were still supposed to apply – in part at least so "you'd have a hamburger if you were daring, if you had a cheeseburger everyone talked about you." Some chose just to have a Coke, so that "if it got back to your grandmother she wouldn't have heart failure." It seemed as if everyone knew everyone, Reform, Conservative, Orthodox, it didn't matter. An informal system of relationships governed behavior, since every bit of gossip was known and shared, and negative information quickly got back home: "Sometimes your parents knew what you'd done before you did!"

In the early 50s, most teens went to Male High School (boys) in Old Louisville, or Atherton (girls) in the Highlands near Highland Avenue. Atherton became co-ed in the mid-50s, and later moved to the eastern side of the Highlands; it continued to be the school most Jewish students attended. Social life at Atherton in the 50s revolved around literary and social clubs, and the clubs often excluded Jews. So Jewish young people gravitated to the social life at the JCC, and developed and elaborated the Jewish club system to a high art.

There were about twelve clubs with thirty to forty members each, six for boys (Rauch AZA, Resnick

The Commodore Apartments



The Commodore Apartments have a unique place in Jewish Louisville history – Jewish owned, Jewish built, Jewish-managed – and the residence of loyal generations of Jews and non-Jews alike who treasure the unique architecture and customs of the building. The high-rise building stands on Bonnycastle Avenue in the Highlands, near Cherokee Park. The exterior is red-brick with classical revival details, but the inside is an unusual, creative mixture of New-World motifs including Mayan tiling, and stained-glass windows with a theme of shipping and exploration.

The Commodore was designed and built in 1926-28 by a consortium called the Biltmore Development Company, which consisted of Henry Miller, Benjamin Rosenbaum, and Harry Platoff. The design was by the firm of Joseph & Joseph, and it was constructed by Platoff & Bush. When the building was completed at a cost of $700,000, fifty-seven apartments on fourteen floors were offered for rent. For the first 25 years, the building was managed by Alma New, a relative of the prominent Levy family. At one time, a staff of twenty was employed to keep the building running smoothly. The passenger elevator always required an operator; residents fondly remember Juanita Burks, the longtime elevator operator. The building included a garage for residents' automobiles, and for a time housed a restaurant, The Tea Room.

Due to the Commodore's ownership and management, there was no question of discrimination against Jewish residents as was known to happen in other prestigious apartment buildings. From the beginning, the building attracted prominent business families and the elite of Jewish Louisville; many of the current residents are descendents of the original families. During the 1950s, nearly half of the residents were Jewish, including Colonel and Mrs. Fred Levy, several other Levy family members, the Coles, Goodmans, Loevenharts, Lipskis, Atlases, Ades, Passamanecks, Platoffs, Rosenbaums, and others.

Alma New's nephew, Louis Levy, who grew up in the building and still owns an apartment there, remembers "many happy hours playing basketball behind the garage and 'kick the can' with ... Buzzy Victor, Benjie Rosenbaum, Stanton and Nelson Goodman, Lee Grossman, Marvin Slung, and the other kids in the neighborhood." By the mid-1950s, building residents could walk to Brith Sholom, which had relocated just blocks away, or to Adath Jeshurun, only a short distance farther.



Alma New (right) was the manager of the Commodore Apartments.

The Commodore converted to condominiums in 1980. In 1994, the in-house newsletter announced that the fourth generation of the Victor family, Karl III and his wife, had just moved into the building. Karl's great-grandparents on both sides had lived at the Commodore.[99]

AZA, Vinson AZA, Condors, Pi Tau Pi, Mu Sigma) and six for girls (Jolson BBG, Brandeis BBG, Amitie, Modern Femmes, Gamma Kappa, and Sigma Theta Pi), though the number fluctuated throughout the decade. There were even Junior High Clubs for younger children to get them used to the system (ATC and the Sweaterettes for girls; the Hornets and Yellow Jackets for boys). Membership was a formal process of "bidding," similar to fraternities and sororities. Competition for space in preferred clubs was intense ("it was a caste system"), and failure to get in was painful, "so painful that some people carried it to adulthood." Adults from the community served as club advisors. By the 60s the bid system was opened up a bit for more inclusiveness, and new clubs, such as the Royals, were started to create more spaces to fill the demand.

Some clubs tended to select members from Adath Israel, others favored Adath Jeshurun, "but it did no harm." The clubs met every Sunday at 1:00. Meetings followed Robert's Rules, with elected officers, formal bylaws, and secret rituals. The clubs, while on the surface providing fun, also provided serious training for community service. A girl who had been treasurer of Amitié was ready to keep the books for the National Council of Jewish Women; a boy who had been an officer of Resnick was well suited to later run B'nai B'rith (or, it turned out, serve as mayor of Louisville).

The groups got together for popular annual events such as Quiz Bowl, an academic competition, and Skit Nite, a fundraiser in which groups competed to stage playlets on preselected themes. Skit Nite was highly organized and competitive, with elaborate sets and costumes, and well-crafted scripts. Each individual group also had its traditional annual events, such as the Modern Femmes' Romeo and Juliet dance, or the Harvest Moon ball. These events were usually held at downtown hotels, and were fancy, dress-up affairs.[40] Some events were staged over an entire weekend of activities, from Friday to Sunday, with dinner dances and hayrides. Sports for teens at the Center were also organized through the clubs, with intramural competition in basketball and softball. All summer, everyone went swimming. Poolside, mah-jongg and bridge games were universal. Occasionally, Jewish teens participated in sports competitions in the larger Kentuckiana area, where they learned that they represented not only themselves, but the whole Jewish community. One such example was David Leibson's 1962 win in the Falls City Junior Golf Tournament; he was the first Jew ever to win the event.



Charlie Simon's Deli.

In this close and communal world, most Jewish youth found that their closest friends were also Jewish. They had non-Jewish friends and associates, but much of the time "we breathed Jewish air." Most Jewish families had rules about dating for fear of later intermarriage – Jews only was the rule. Some families were more liberal, but the Jewish clubs supported the rule. In the early years, "you wouldn't dare" take a

Randy Farb: "Mr. Greenwald had a great sense of humor. Whenever someone had a baby and mentioned the baby's weight, he'd ask, "With the bones, or without the bones?" He had a sign in his place, 'You can eat dirt... cheap here.'"

non-Jewish date to a club dance or event, which was enforced by the advisors. "You wouldn't be turned away at the door, just shunned." But with time, the rules relaxed, and later advisors only "encouraged" dating between Jews only.

These clubs provided intense bonding experiences that lasted for lifetimes. When Resnick staged a reunion in 1997 in honor of its very popular former advisor Charles "Pinky" Weisberg, Ron Weisberg noted "the feeling of something very special amongst old friends who went through our teens in a very special time

Charlie Simon's Deli.

Delis



Kosher delis in the very early years seemed to center around Preston Street and along Jefferson Street and on Seventh Street for obvious reasons; that's where the customers lived. Memories of these establishments seem to center around the luscious aromas, stronger in summer when, of course, there was no air conditioning and an occasional fan stirred the air and the aroma. Barrels of dill pickles– a whole generation remembers stopping for a 3 cent pickle and 2 cent crackers on the way to *Cheder* – dill tomatoes and the ever-present *schmaltz* herring were staple parts of the furniture. Watching the owners reach into the wooden bucket of schmaltz herring with bubbles of fat floating on top and throwing it onto the scale for pricing was a mouth-watering experience. A piece of *schmaltz* herring and boiled potatoes was a regular *michel* for those eating in at the deli.

The pickles and tomatoes were in front, readily available for customers to reach in and select for themselves the largest one in which to invest a nickel. Corned beef was the special treat and no matter what the temperature was outside, it lived in a steamer behind the counter and was kept hot and juicy to be sliced to order (and heaven forbid, not on a slicing machine) with the razor sharp knife on the wooden cutting board reserved for just that purpose. Hot pastrami was treated in much the same fashion, but its popularity was not as great as that of corned beef on – what else? – hard crust rye bread.

Yiddish newspapers, *The Morning Journal* and *Der Tag,* were very much in evidence on the tables in the delis, and provided much of the social life that existed among the diners. It was always amusing to those of us who couldn't participate in reading these papers to watch the people who did. They shared articles, showed them to each other, laughed at some of them, and actually cried over the sad stories. The *Bintel Briefs* (Yiddish version of Ann Landers, or an "advice to the lovelorn" column) were shared from table to table and much heated discussion ensued as to whether the advice offered in this column coincided with that which these readers would have offered. It was a great show!

After World War II, as the population moved out of downtown, the delis arrived in the Highlands and in Old Louisville. Enhanced refrigeration and air conditioning changed some of the ambience, but the enthusiasm for kosher delicacies continued for a brief while after World War II ended. But through the 50s, 60s, and 70s, the number of people keeping kosher slowly diminished, and so did the demand for kosher delis and butcher shops.

– by Annette Sagerman



Clarence F. Judah, Federation Director.

and place." Harry Jacobson-Beyer reminisced: "I have many treasured memories of my years in Resnick: car washes, skit nights, meetings, weekends, late-night get-togethers at Lentini's, and, of course, Pinky. But above all, what I treasure most is the enduring friendships...."[41]

The new JCC was a rousing success and was the center of Jewish communal life during the 1950s and 1960s. Everyone was always at the JCC, swimming day and night, for clubs, for dances, for games, for lectures. Support was universal and affectionate. The popular Heritage Theater was started in 1955, with a regular schedule of popular plays performed by community members and aspiring professionals. Modern Dance was strong at the YMHA/JCC under the direction of Selma Erlen, who had been a student of Martha Graham. A new club for older adults – a growing need in the community – also began in 1955, inviting people over 60 to "Add life to your years, not just years to your life." Club 60 sponsored Sunday afternoon "coffees," arts and crafts, an English class, outings and speakers, a newspaper, a rhythm band, parties and events. This program was co-sponsored by the National Council of Jewish Women.[42]

In some ways a rival to the Jewish Community Center, the prestigious Standard Club, which had lost its riverside facilities in the 1937 flood, bought land on Old Brownsboro Road in the East End after the War. In 1951, the club constructed a new clubhouse and golf course of national tournament quality.[43] The clubhouse and pool were an attraction for families and youth.

In the post-War years, many Jewish organizations, like their secular counterparts, went through a process of professionalization – the transfer of many operating responsibilities from volunteers, or lay people, to paid professionals. The Jewish Social Service Agency had already made this transition. During the 1950s, the Conference of Jewish Organizations incorporated, and its long-term founder and president, Charles W. Morris, "the statesman in the Jewish Community," passed on the reins to short-term presidents working with professional staff. Until 1946, the Conference offices were inside Morris' law office. In that year, the Conference hired Alexander W. Erlen as the community coordinator – half-time. The other half of his time was spent as Director of the Jewish Social Service Agency (formerly the Jewish Welfare Federation); he had just resigned his position as interim director of the YMHA. The offices were moved to a suite in the Marion E. Taylor building at Fourth and Liberty. The separate Jewish Vocational Service, under David Dobson, worked with refugees and veterans, and provided career planning and vocational testing that was regarded as virtually mandatory for all of Jewish Louisville's youth.[44]

The trade and professional divisions of the Annual Campaign, set up in 1947, helped fundraising by focusing on the trades that employed most Jews. The Conference had already established a liquor and drug division and a foods division, and now divisions for jewelers, scrap dealers, retail mercantile, manufacturing and wholesaling, lawyers, and insurance underwriters were added.[45]

While those categorizations described much of the community's business enterprises, during the 50s and 60s there were a few new, spectacularly successful ventures. For example, the international MasterCard

charge card actually originated in Louisville in 1964. Raymond Tanenhaus, Hertzle Benovitz, William Benovitz and Mel Benovitz developed the Master Charge credit card locally, operated their company for three years, then sold it to First National Bank of Louisville in 1967. At the time of the sale, the company had over 1,000 merchants and 10,000 cardholders. Many of the cardholders were B'nai B'rith members who were mailed cards unsolicited. Several years later, First National licensed the "Master Charge" name to a group of California banks, and then in the mid-1970s to the Interbank Card Association, which later became MasterCard International. Mel Benovitz worked for First National's credit card and consumer lending division for 16 years before moving to a new JC Penney Company venture that developed the first online, real-time data capture system for credit cards.[46]

Stanley Yarmuth had worked at Sam and Isadore Klein's car lot, and when he took it over in the early 60s he merged with a small insurance company that was publicly owned. Through a series of acquisitions, by the early 70s, Yarmuth's National Industries was a Fortune 500 company, with over $1 billion in sales. The conglomerate, a holding company, owned more than two hundred companies nationally.[47]

International events came crashing into prominence once again in the late 1940s. In May 1947, the

Jewish Photographers – Part III
Hinerfeld and Frank



Between them, Sam Hinerfeld and Gus Frank, friendly rivals in the photography business, photographed nearly every event, personage, and building in the Louisville Jewish Community in the years from the end of World War II to the 1990s. Frank, a Louisville native, and Hinerfeld, from New York, both learned their craft working as photographers for the U.S. Army during World War II.

Gus Frank, a graduate of Louisville Male High School, learned photography from an aunt and uncle during the days of glass plate negatives and explosive flash powder. After his stint in the Signal Corps (where he photographed President Roosevelt and Gen. Eisenhower among others), he returned home and became an active member of the Jewish Louisville community. Frank opened his downtown studio at 411 Chestnut Street in 1946. He credited his wife, Leona, for her support with the business: "Whatever success there is, there's a woman... we worked together 100 percent." Like Hinerfeld, he spent his long career photographing Jewish celebrations, making formal portraits for Jewish agencies of their presidents and boards, and photographing rabbis and cantors for synagogues and temples. He worked for the UJA as well. The Franks were among the founders of Temple Shalom.



Sam Hinerfeld photographed countless Jewish community events – dinners, groundbreakings, fundraisers, celebrations – from the 1940s through the 1960s. After serving in the Pacific as a photographer with the Army, Hinerfeld settled in Louisville soon after his marriage to Louisville native Lorraine Simon. He set up a studio on South Preston Street near Eastern Parkway. He considered himself a "bread-and-butter" photographer who specialized in weddings, confirmations, and bar mitzvahs and other public and private events in the Jewish and general community.

Left: Sam Hinerfeld; above right, Gus Frank.

United Nations partitioned Palestine and allowed for the creation of a Jewish state, which would collapse without the support of world Jewry. The United Jewish Appeal set a $150 million goal. Louisville's quota was $1 million, far more than the city had managed to raise in the past. For many like Clarence Judah, Israel was a mission and a cause that redeemed what had gone before: "Those of us who have lived through these four or five decades have been driven to the depth of despair, as we were in the 1930s and early 40s, and then were given the opportunity to have a part in the making of glorious history in 1947, 1948...." Louisville raised only $801,000, but the national goal was reached and Israel survived. However, the response to this crisis and opportunity apparently depleted either local bank accounts or local enthusiasm, because donations declined from 1949 to 1955.[48]

By coordinating community fundraising and budgeting, the Conference took on a *de facto* community-planning role. In 1951, it made that role explicit through the formation of a social planning committee, which could be proactive, not reactive, in assessing community needs.[49] In 1954, the organization was incorporated as the Conference of Jewish Organizations of Louisville, Kentucky, Inc., with the same constitution and bylaws.



Community leader Arthur Kling.

In 1955, Louisville took part in the national celebration of 300 years of Jewish life in America, the Tercentenary Celebration. Chairman Charles Strull planned a number of civic events, the most notable of which was a community presentation of "The Quilt," an original play about Kentucky Jewish history by Maie Perley, wife of Brith Sholom's Rabbi Perley, and head of the UJC Women's Division. It was performed just once, on March 8, 1955 at the Memorial Auditorium, with a cast from the YMHA Theater (as it was still called), and included the JCC Orchestra, Modern Dance group, and YMHA Chorus. The play featured historical characters such as Lewis Dembitz and Michael Gratz. Twelve hundred people attended the performance.[50]

In the same year, a permanent Community Relations Committee was created with Edgar M. Bottigheimer as the chairman. The group expanded to become the Community Relations Council, and formalized its role in monitoring anti-Semitism and other expressions of prejudice and injustice in the Louisville community.

Israel's 1967 war produced a major fundraising crisis. It began after the regular annual campaign was completed, so the Conference launched an Israel Emergency Fund drive for $1 million (through the United Jewish Appeal), under Stanley Yarmuth and Bernard Barnett (each of whom pledged $50,000 to the UJA). The community gave "an outpouring of support unmatched even in the grim fighting days of 1948," amounting to an unprecedented $1,008,000. Yarmuth and Barnett developed new techniques of raising donations, by setting the "ask" level many times higher than the previous year, and giving specific reasons to give more. In the early 70s, they brought Israel Bonds to Louisville and worked through the congregations to sell them.[51]

In 1951, the Jewish Welfare Federation changed its name and became the Jewish Social Service Agency. Besides serving refugees from the Nazi era, the agency also counseled and placed at least five Hungarians after Russia's 1956 invasion of Hungary, Cuban Jewish refugees in the early 1960s, and Polish Jews around

1970.[52]

The National Council of Jewish Women realized the need for an ongoing source of funding if it was to continue and expand its community service work. Helen Helman suggested opening a resale shop, and in 1956 the Nearly New shop opened on East Market Street with an all-volunteer staff. (It moved to the Highlands in 1988.) Proceeds from the shop and the associated annual sales have raised hundreds of thousands of dollars for the organization's advocacy and charitable projects.[53]

One of the important new initiatives the shop supported was a tutoring and reading program in the public schools, where NCJW members worked directly with students in the most needy schools, especially in the city's West End. Jane Weinberg tutored at Byck elementary during the 1960s: "There was no public kindergarten and these kids didn't get to go to day care or nursery school before first grade. We helped them learn left from right, how to form a circle – things no one had ever shown them." Advocacy issues included study groups and public events on women's and consumer issues, including credit, child care, and relationships with domestic workers. Council members did much of the background research on child care in Kentucky that led to state-wide changes in funding and new organizations and initiatives. Minx Auerbach moved from doing an NCJW study to a position as chair of the Kentucky Commission on Children and Youth in the early 70s.[54]



An early classroom at Eliahu Academy on Douglass Boulevard.

Jewish education was on the minds of many, as the existing institutions seemed to be inadequate for the needs of the dispersed post-war Jews. Arthur Kling helped to get things moving: "...one of the other needs I saw along with Al Erlen... we started discussing the dismal ignorance of our kids as to their Jewish backgrounds. Our religious schools have never been effective with teaching Jewish history or – They only teach Bible, and they go over the same thing time and time again." The answer, as Kling and Erlen saw it, was a Bureau of Jewish Education. The two men set out to build support and were able to "sell" the idea to the Conference of Jewish Organizations.[55]

The Bureau would include the Talmud Torah and a college for teacher and adult education, and would have a director of education charged with working with congregational schools and Jewish agencies. There was discussion about the likelihood of finding someone whose credentials would be acceptable to the Orthodox in order to run the Talmud Torah, and who would also be acceptable to the Reform elements as director of education to coordinate with their schools. In the end, two jobs were outlined, although in practice that proved unnecessary, since Dr. Israel T. Naamani would later fill both positions to the satisfaction of all parties. Through the years, there were many conflicts, studies, and changes in the arrangements. In 1969, another element was added to the educational mix—the High School of Jewish Studies, a free school which met on Monday and Thursday afternoons at the JCC, with Rabbi Chester Diamond of Adath Israel teaching Jewish philosophy and Rabbi Simcha Kling offering conversational Hebrew. This was an attempt, with intermittent success, to reach the difficult post-Bar and Bat Mitzvah age group.[56]

Meanwhile, the Talmud Torah, or Louisville Hebrew School, accepted the Jewish Community Center's invitation to share its new building on Dutchmans Lane. In the early 60s the downtown building on Walnut Street was sold. The building also had been the home of the community *mikveh* (the Louisville Mikveh



The original Four Courts mansion.

Society had actually built the building on East Walnut, and had let the school use it in return for maintaining the mikveh). Half the proceeds went to relocate the *mikveh* to the new Anshei Sfard property, also on Dutchmans Lane.[57]

But for some Jewish Louisvillians, part-time Jewish studies were not enough. They wanted their children to have a full-time Jewish Day School education. In 1953, Eliahu Academy was launched at a meeting of potential parents, most with Orthodox backgrounds.[58] Founder Moses Speevack, whose family had helped create both Anshei Sfard and Agudas Achim, named the school in honor of his father, Eliahu Speevack. Rabbi Roodman of Anshei Sfard offered expertise and fundraising help; others such as local sports hero, Ray Baer, assisted; Abe Pozitzer of Moon Cleaners offered taxicabs to help the children with transportation. Morris Simon donated desks for the classrooms (he later left most of his estate to the school, even though he had no children of his own). One founder, David Kramer, was motivated by his memories of "what it was like, as a child, to be a Jew under the Bolshevik regime. He saw his uncles arrested for teaching Hebrew, and Judaism was taught in some secluded back room…"[59] Although the school was open to the entire community, most of the initial interest came from the Orthodox. Reform rabbis were on record as opposing such a school, preferring the social and religious integration offered by attendance at public schools.[60]

Eliahu Academy opened in September 1953 in a converted residence on Douglass Boulevard (the former home of Colonel Fred Levy), near the property under development by Adath Jeshurun. No child was ever to be turned away because his or her parents could not pay, a practice that produced deficits from the start. One of the attractions of the school was that it offered a kindergarten program at a time when there were no public kindergartens. Though the Academy knew that some parents planned to withdraw their children after the first year, the school tried to "bind" them there with Torah – and it often worked. By 1959, the school had 86 students, and despite the assumed association with Orthodoxy, nearly half the children were from either Conservative or Reform congregations.[61]

Lenn J. Schramm, class of '62, remembered:

> *The white stucco building with the green shutters was already familiar to me on that day in September 1955 when I began kindergarten at the Louisville Jewish Day School: for more than a year I had been coming – often in time for Ein Keloheinu – to services at the Highland Minyan which inherited the premises on Shabbat and Yom Tov.... Education, play, and worship reinforced one another.... Learning was a challenge, a game, a way of life.....*[62]

Although struggling financially, Eliahu was initially turned down for funding from the Conference of Jewish Organizations in 1955, since "too small a segment of the community will, or can, take advantage of the services of Eliahu Academy." Many mainstream Jews felt that Jewishly-segregated education was a mistake, a bad move, when for them the goal was integration between the Jewish and general population. But by the early 60s, Eliahu was able to prove that it had enrolled some Reform and Conservative students. The Conference decided that rather than support the school directly, assistance with scholarships for families

that required them could be provided.[63] In 1965, Eliahu Academy sold the Douglass Boulevard building and moved temporarily to the Anshei Sfard Synagogue building, then to the JCC.[64]

Besides looking after its children, the community also needed to take care of those at the other end of life, the elderly. A new institution, Four Courts, was created in the Highlands, the neighborhood where the community was now centered. The first effort at a Jewish nursing home had been the Netoffsky Home on East Chestnut Street around 1940, but this facility was inadequate to meet the need. Just after the War, Herman Handmaker, president of the Jewish Welfare Federation, called a meeting to discuss the problem; the result was the incorporation of the Louisville Hebrew Home for the "Aged, Chronic, Convalescent" of Louisville Jews. Carl Helman chaired the steering committee. Their work, however, was postponed due to "the critical and almost hopeless condition of European Jewry" – the urgent need to raise funds for the resettlement of displaced persons after the war.

A prime location came on the market – the Leland Taylor estate on Millvale Road in Cherokee Park. Mrs. Michael Switow and Annie B. Shapira were delegated to see if they could use their connections to get the property at a "sacrifice price."[65] Taylor, a former mayor, had been sympathetic to the Jewish community, and his widow accepted an offer of $60,000 for the mansion and 14 acres of rolling parkland. After renovation, the mansion opened to eighteen residents in September 1949, complete with a chapel and facilities for serving kosher meals, under the supervision of Director Israel Silverberg.[66]

Driven by the philosophy that residents would be happiest if they could feel useful and active, Silverberg gave them small jobs to do and plots of land to garden. The goal was to be "as un-institutional as an institution can get" with drapes, carpets, books, pictures, and upholstered furniture in the common rooms. Ten years later, a 27-bed nursing wing offering medical treatment was added.[67] Religious services were offered regularly.

And, not surprisingly, during the 1950s the community's sole Jewish funeral home, Herman Meyer & Son, also moved away from downtown. The business had been founded in the previous century

The YMHA Building

The old YMHA building on Second Street had a brief new life as the "temporary home" of the Second Presbyterian Church, a neighbor, whose building had burned down in February of 1956. The JCC offered the former YMHA rent-free. The building was finally sold in 1957 for only $85,000 to Max Broida, who moved in his business, Tri-City Electrical Company. A few years later, the building was demolished. Fortunately, as Annette Sagerman recounted, she was able to rescue the stone YMHA nameplate from above the front door: "We were passing there when the wrecking ball was hitting the building. We stopped the car and I ran in." The "YMHA" sign was re-erected near the entrance to the new JCC.[98]





Services in the chapel at Four Courts.

by undertaker G. S. Rosenberg, who passed the business on to Herman Meyer. His son, Emanuel, took over, and in 1955 gave up on the home's long-term location on 3rd Street in Old Louisville to move to Ellison Avenue in Germantown, adjacent to the Highlands and close to the Preston Street cemeteries.[68]

Jewish Hospital moved too – but not to the suburbs. The hospital moved instead closer to downtown, grew in size and importance, and redefined its role in the community. Fundraising for a new hospital began immediately after WWII. More than just a new building was at stake – the hospital began to work with other medical institutions in the community on the concept of a joint downtown medical center, a hospital district that would provide the full range of medical care with all of the increasingly complex support and technical services that modern health care demanded. These negotiations were tough and prolonged and involved city officials as well. The University of Louisville and its medical school and hospital eventually became the primary allies of Jewish Hospital.



Architects plans for the new Jewish Hospital.

Finally in November 1949, Jewish Hospital was able to tell its supporters that "a Medical Center for Louisville is now assured," and that agreement had been reached with the University to "condemn and purchase all of the property located between Chestnut and Madison between the General Hospital and Brook Street." The cost would be partially financed by a bond issue, and Jewish Hospital would pay $70,000 to the University as its share of the land costs; then the property would be leased to them at $1 a year.[69] The resulting medical complex would include Children's Hospital, Louisville General Hospital, Jewish Hospital, the University of Louisville School of Medicine, and a proposed rehabilitation center.

In July 1951, the land was cleared for construction. Most of this land was the former Jewish neighborhood of Madison, Brook, and Chestnut Streets. For a better Jewish Hospital, the homes and former homes of many of its supporters and patients would be condemned and destroyed. The state-of-the-art new hospital opened on January 30, 1955. The existing hospital's patients were moved in ninety minutes – 18 adults and 7 babies. The building was in high demand and instantly overcrowded. Only five years later, Jewish Hospital built an addition, designed by Joseph and Joseph. A successful fundraising drive and a million dollar federal grant allowed for an expansion that would bring the hospital's capacity to 252 beds. Three more stories were added onto the north wing in 1961. The hospital's president at the time was business-owner Sara Greenstein (of the Bon Ton), one of very few women presidents of a large non-profit organization.

Although Jewish Hospital was now a large and progressive institution, the staff still valued the personal – and the Jewish – touch. For years head nurse Hilda Fox ("the hospital was her life," a family member said) made sure that a menorah was set up in the hospital lobby each Chanukah, and every night of the holiday she lit the candles. She died suddenly on the fourth night of Chanukah, 1956. Her family took on the responsibility of lighting the candles each year in her memory, a tradition that continues today.[70]

During the 1960s, Jewish Hospital developed a successful specialty in hand surgery with Dr. Harold E. Kleinert. Success in kidney transplants and adult open-heart surgery followed, and then a new Intensive Care unit was needed, due to the number of high-maintenance transplant procedures being done at the hospital. To make space for this advanced medical care, the obstetrics department closed in 1967.[71]

By the 50s and 60s, the old divisions within the community between German and Russian, Reform and

Orthodox, were dissolving. While differences in religious practices still existed, families crossed lines socially and different groups "intermarried." Clarence Judah observed that: "A good part of that softening of difference and wiping out of lines between sections of the community, between ideologies... was the result of external pressures, persecutions overseas, the need to gather together to raise funds for common causes...."[72] Lewis D. Cole saw the same experience of unity in response to external pressures: "All of us realized... we were still Jews and we had much in common, and in the process of this hardship... we found we were all pretty much the same, anyway."[73]

Al Erlen found that the erasing of class divisions was what brought the community together:

> *The actual fact was we began to have second and third generation people from both groups, the German group and the East European group. Before 1930, it was considered almost a calamity for a German family if a son or a daughter married someone from Eastern Europe. And Jewish country clubs were pretty restrictive about membership and most were organized by German Jews. But then Eastern European Jews also became more financially viable, which took another generation after the first group that came, just as it did with the German Jews.*[74]

Some people claimed that when the East European Jews got more wealth, for prestige they joined the Reform movement. There were, through the years, many instances of the descendents of founders of Orthodox *shuls* choosing instead to attend more liberal congregations, and the association of German ancestry with Reform affiliation and East European with Orthodox affiliation was no longer axiomatic. Many people belonged to more than one synagogue – perhaps to the one they had grown up in, and another that suited a spouse better or suited a new religious philosophy. Geography played a role as well, with the decline of defined Jewish neighborhoods and improved access via car to a range of places of worship.



Moving Jewish Hospital patients to the new building. Nurse Hilda Fox is on the left.

Another factor that contributed to the blending of Jewish cultures was the influence of community-wide organizations that had neither denominations nor stratification by class, such as the YMHA and Jewish Community Center. There the sports programs fostered recognition of ability and effort, and the arts programs allowed skills to shine regardless of origin. Clarence Judah noted that when the Conference of Jewish Organizations was founded in the 1930s, "The top leadership wasn't German-Jewish... the original founders of the organization and contributors included many of Eastern European origin, so they had already begun to make an impact on this community,early."[75]

Jews also moved into positions of greater authority and power within the general Louisville community, as unwritten social restrictions that had put limits on their drive to public service were removed. Clarence Judah recalled representing Louisville at a regional meeting of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds. The issue of responding to community complaints that Jews and Jewish organizations only supported themselves and did not care about the general community was raised. Judah stood up and stated:

> *In my community, I am not faced with this problem. At the present time the President of the Board of Alderman is Jewish; the President of the Community Chest is Jewish; the County Attorney is*

Shoe Street

Starting in 1884 and lasting until the end of the twentieth century, South Preston Street between Liberty and Jefferson was Shoe Street. At its peak in the 1950s, twelve shoe stores, nearly all Jewish-owned and operated, lined both sides of the street, selling everything from high-fashion pumps for women to discount brogues for men, children's shoes, extra-wide, anything and everything for the foot, as well as handbags and leather accessories. All of Louisville went to Shoe Street. The store owners knew their customers, their preferences and dislikes, and built their businesses on an ethic of service.

When most of the family owned stores on the east side of downtown left for the suburbs or closed in the years of urban renewal, Shoe Street was left behind as a remnant of the old days, at least for one more generation. But ultimately, as Goldy's Shoe Mart owner Norma Feldbaum acknowledged in 1996, "Times have changed and women no longer come downtown to do their shopping." The small stores could not compete with the malls and chain shoe stores, and one by one they closed.[102]



Wittenbaum's on "Shoe Street."

Shoe Street was:
Sam Pozitzer, 201 South Preston
Schlossberg's, 203 South Preston
Potter's, 204 South Preston
Mel Golde Men's Shoes, 205 South Preston
Boot Strap, 206 South Preston
Strasburg's, 209 South Preston
Sam Wittenbaum, 219 South Preston
Goldstein Bros., Preston and Jefferson
Travers Shoe Store, 211 South Preston
Williams Shoe Center, 223 South Preston
Watterson Bootery, 331 South Preston
Goldy's Shoe Mart, 339 South Preston





Goldy's Shoes on "Shoe Street."

Jewish; the President of the Board of the Public Library is Jewish; the Chairman of the local chapter of the Red Cross is Jewish; and the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of our local university is Jewish." A voice from the back of the room inquired: "What is the name of your city, Tel Aviv?[76]

Relationships with the greater Louisville community became crucial in the 1950s and 60s, as civil rights issues came to the forefront. Jewish relations with black Louisvillians had generally been friendly, if wary at times. Jews in the Madison/Preston Street neighborhood lived in a multi-ethnic and interracial community. Irv Lipetz recalled the variety of the area:

Next door to our [wallpaper] store was a meat market that was operated by the Snyder family. Mr. Snyder had one of the two or three or four butcher shops ... everybody knew Snyder the butcher. Next door to us the Kommors lived, he was an entrepreneur, had had a dry-cleaning plant. He did very well; next door to them was the Gershune family ... he peddled hot dogs... weinerwurst – on the street ... on that same street were blacks, were Italians, but nobody knew about segregation. The only problem I really had... was I could never figure out why one of my little friends did not go to school with me.... I was much older when I knew about segregation.[77]

The Jewish-owned stores of the Preston Street area, and in the increasingly black West End, had always welcomed black patronage at a time when African-Americans were not welcome in the upscale downtown stores. However, the prestigious downtown women's store, Jewish–owned Byck's was an exception, too: Mary Helen Byck let African–American women not only purchase, but also try on clothes in her store, very progressive for the era.[78]

Schools were segregated, as were most hospitals – but not Jewish Hospital. Black doctors, such as Dr. S. Jesse Bell and Dr. William Moses, were allowed to practice there and black patients were treated there. Bell recalled that "my patients appreciated the reception and the kindness of the hospital." Jewish Hospital staff pathologists offered assistance to the staff of the black-only Red Cross Hospital.[79]

The Jewish Community as an organized body, through the Conference, initially did not take a public stand on issues of civil rights and equality for black Americans, but instead worked quietly through its Community Relations Council to mediate issues and raise concerns. Individual rabbis and other organizations, however, were more active and public. During the 1950s, Adath Israel's Rabbi Rauch served on the Board of the segregated Louisville Free Public Library and helped to end discriminatory policies there.[80]

Minx Auerbach remembered being present at a small turning point during the period of lunch-counter sit-in protests. She happened to be talking with the manager of a Walgreen's drugstore when a waitress rushed up to him, saying, "A black just sat down at the counter. What do I

Jerry Abramson: I grew up in a middle-class family. My father went to work six-and-a-half days a week to open the grocery at six in the morning and close it at six at night. Except on Sundays, he would only work a half-day... He also was the one, during Yom Kippur, who opened up the grocery for the little kids to be able to have lunch, to provide them with Cokes and sandwiches and things, at the point during the fast when they no longer could. He was the center of attention... because they knew when Dad opened up the grocery, all the kids had the opportunity to eat.

do?" The manager hesitated. "Serve him," Minx said. "Serve him," the manager ordered.[81]

On the state level, legislator Leon Shaikun was crucial to the effort to repeal the infamous "Day Law," a 1904 statue that prohibited black students from attending most colleges. Kentucky colleges dropped their color barriers. The University of Louisville was integrated in 1951.[82]

Rabbi Martin Perley of Brith Sholom was the most active and visible representative of the community on these issues. In 1957, he was invited by Louisville Mayor Hoblitzell to serve on the Mayor's Civic-Religious Advisory Committee and worked to organize the first Mayor's Advisory Committee on Human Relations, an organization that worked to encourage voluntary desegregation in housing and employment. This group became the Human Relations Commission in 1962, and included the Louisville Area Council on Religion and Race, with Perley as chairman. When voluntary means proved ineffective at overcoming injustice, Perley and the Commission began to work for a city-wide anti-discrimination ordinance. Congregation Brith Sholom supported the rabbi, and in 1964 unanimously endorsed a statement on Human Rights that called for fair employment, training, and divestiture, and urged members not to support organizations or clubs that had racial criteria for membership. (The YMHA/JCC reminded supporters in 1954 that it had always had an "open-door membership policy.")[83]



Brith Sholom children's choir.

The open-housing fight was supported by the Louisville B'nai B'rith lodges, which were instrumental in the passage of a city ordinance banning discrimination in housing in 1958. Eric Tachau remembered it as an intense battle that lasted only one year once the activists such as Suzy Post realized the power of public marches and demonstrations. Tachau observed: "That was the greatness of Martin Luther King – he taught people how to get the attention of the power structure."[84]

Outraged by events in Selma, Alabama, in March 1965, where peaceful marchers were attacked and tear-gassed, Perley organized a memorial sympathy march in Louisville to protest the "brutality and violence." Three thousand people, black and white, marched and rallied on the Courthouse steps. Perley spoke, noting that: "We meet here not only without restraint but with the fullest cooperation of our county government." Kentucky, fortunately, was not Alabama. Government officials were there, as were representatives of religious organizations. The work that had been done on inter-group relations through the years, often behind the scenes, effectively kept the lines of communication and cooperation open.[85]

Another partnership was forged between the Council on Religion and Race and the National Council of Jewish Women on issues including open housing. NCJW sent member Minx Auerbach to work with churches and synagogues on civic issues of access and discrimination. Martin Perley, who had resigned from Brith Sholom, was tapped to be the new director of the divided Louisville and Jefferson County Human Relations Commission. Irv Lipetz noted that Perley was "quite a social activist, and maybe a little too active socially for his congregation."[86] Now he was able to fully engage in work on behalf of the entire Louisville community.

But the days of non-violent protest were ending. The assassination of Dr. King led to a wave of riots in cities across America. Some members of the Conference of Jewish Organizations felt that the Conference was not active enough in helping black people in Louisville; others felt that too much visibility on the issue would only hurt Jews. Jews were divided in their responses to the *Kerner Report's* recommendations on responses to the recent riots. The *Report* had called the unrest a result of racism and legitimate frustration and called on communities to end discrimination, unequal access to housing and employment, and police

brutality. Conference Director Clarence Judah thought that "a number of Louisville Jews opposed the recommendations, either because of their own opposition to civil rights programs in general or because they feared some of the recommendations might affect their personal financial interests."[87] Others felt that Jews were too vulnerable to take public positions on these issues, even while they might have privately supported the civil rights movement.

On the night of May 28, 1967, rioting broke out in Louisville's West End, and parts of the neighborhood were looted and burned. Jewish-owned corner stores dotted the neighborhood, and many were caught in the general destruction. Perley and others worked to calm tensions, visiting hospitals and homes, urging calm, and the riots were subdued – but not the problems that had caused them. According to Lewis D. Cole, Perley "showed physical courage and maintained visibility in precarious situations." It was the end of the Jewish West End and South Central (Old Louisville) community. The existing trend of middle-class exodus, white and black, from the West End to the suburbs, was intensified. Jewish business owners packed up and either closed or relocated. The Conference tried to provide some assistance to those affected.[88]

A year later, Perley also mediated student-led disorders at the University of Louisville and helped the University set up Black Studies programs in response to student demands.[89] Perley tried to "employ and involve members of the black community... especially those who identified with the prevalent feeling of frustration."[90]

The Jewish-owned Bank of Louisville responded to the 1968 riots by investing in the African-American community. Bank President Bert Klein said, "In order to have a viable community where my grandchildren could live, I knew it was important to have good strong black churches" that could provide stability and assistance as needed in the community. The Bank "never lost a dime on any loan to any church."[91]



Louisvillians at the IU-SAM Formal, January 5, 1952. Top row, left to right: Alan Bornstein, Arnold Belker, Barry Davis, Joe Davis, Bobby Marks, Red Norman, Sonny Samuel. Bottom row: Francis Wolff, Alan Cohen, Harry Lee Meyer, Louis Levy.

The 1960s were an era of change in race relations, with some quiet assistance from individual Louisville Jews and some Jewish organizations. Others watched from the sidelines. Many of the problems of relations within the city would recur in the next decade in new forms. Many Jews found that their beliefs were well to the left, politically, of those of many of their fellow Kentuckians, on issues besides black enfranchisement. Jean Brandeis Tachau, who had spoken for women's rights since the 1930s, supported racial integration and participated in open housing movement demonstrations.[92]

Suzy Post, daughter of Morris and Betty Kling, worked with the Kentucky Civil Liberties Union (later part of the ACLU) on discrimination. In 1972, she filed a lawsuit challenging school segregation in Kentucky. "I could never have been a little Jewish housewife," she said, although she raised five children. Participation in anti-Vietnam war protests "radicalized" her, and she became an activist on behalf of women's rights issues as well as desegregation. She worked for the KCLU/ACLU for forty years, bringing a feminist agenda to the attention of the National Board, and later went on to create the Metropolitan Housing Coalition, the Reproductive Freedom Program of the ACLU, and the Kentucky Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty.[93]

Marie Abrams, primed and trained in Jewish values and advocacy work through NCJW (she remembered as a young child playing in Minna Cole's garden while her mother was at section meetings), became active



Charles Wendell Morris

If one person can be credited with making the Louisville Jewish community what it is today, it would be Charles Morris. Morris was a founder of the Conference of Jewish Organizations (forerunner of today's Federation) and served as its president for sixteen years. He was the president of the YMHA during the early 1920s and helped unite the Orthodox and Reform elements of the community through the YMHA and its programs. He was a national officer of the JWB-USO.

Born in Glasgow, Kentucky, Morris moved to Louisville as a teen. At Male High School he made an immediate impression. "I recall that in his senior year, Charlie got up and made a speech, 'I Am a Jew'. It's true. The boys were not permitted to applaud, but he set the house on fire that time...." He joined the YMHA's Junior Social and Literary Society, and was a popular debater, humorist and orator, part of a circle of young Jewish men and women who produced the lively *YMHA Chronicler*. He was active in amateur theater with the YMHA' s AHMY Players as an actor, writer and backstage manager.

Morris became a successful trial lawyer, although he yearned to be a writer and poet. He was active throughout his life in the Democratic Party, "a Roosevelt liberal," and a supporter of civil liberties and human rights. A Reform Jew, he had a deep and real respect for traditional Jews and all other ideologies, and his attitudes helped shape a community structure that was inclusive of all. He was a founder of the Louisville Chapter of the National Conference of Christians and Jews in 1938, and a national vice-president of the American Jewish Committee.

He was an outstanding fundraiser for Jewish causes, particularly the UJA and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Morris and his wife, Ruth, personally brought and resettled refugees from Germany in the years just before World War II.[101]

on a statewide level during these years. Inspired at first by the idealism of the Kennedy years, Abrams worked with the Democratic Party, often behind the scenes in Frankfort. She ran for the state legislature in 1969, the first Jewish woman to run in Kentucky, and remembered taking her children to preschool then having political "coffees," and "dragging" the children door to door with her while campaigning. She was one of the women who provided consistent and active leadership in many aspects of the community, including serving as a trustee of the University of Louisville.[94]

Inter-religious and church/state issues also came up during the 1950s and 1960s. Adath Israel's Rabbi Rauch had generally been accepted as the Jewish representative to the non-Jewish world. Herman Landau felt that "Dr. Rauch's greatest accomplishment was... as a bridge between the general and Jewish communities in an era when Jews were looked on as second class citizens." As a trustee of the University of Louisville, a member of the Library Board, chairman of the Red Cross, and a frequent speaker at churches and civic organizations, he represented Jews to non-Jews. [95]

Louisville had a great deal of tolerance for the role of religion in public life – which cut both ways for the Jewish community. Although Jews faced less discrimination in Louisville than elsewhere, and Jewish leaders were included and Jewish religious expressions welcomed, this also meant that the Christian role in the public sphere was an accepted fact of life. Jews were often the ones, alone, to raise issues of separation of church and state, religion and public life, Bibles in the schools, Christmas trees on the courthouse lawn. Rabbi Herbert Waller of Adath Israel, who served on the Board of Education during the early 60s and was a founder of the Kentucky Interfaith Council, said that while "Louisville has more of an ecumenical spirit than many communities," he also found that "the problem of religion in public education continues to be one of the problems in the community."[96] Al Erlen concurred that this was "a problem that will never be resolved in a plural society, totally, when the vast majority is Christian, so it takes constant working at."[97]

CHAPTER NINE

Fiddler on the Suburban Roof



During the 1970s and 1980s, the Louisville Jewish community settled into a suburban life, with the only predominently Jewish neighborhoods in sections of the Highlands. Along with the benefits, suburban life meant driving everywhere for young families, and relatively few Jewish kids in the neighborhood to make friends with; for elders, it brought isolation. It meant that being Jewish was an active choice that took effort, and no longer just a comfortable identity.

Heritage Weekend on Louisville's Belevedere.

Some institutions, such as The Temple, moved even further out from the old urban core. Nonetheless, the institutions of the community were flexible enough to change and thrive with the times. Congregations



Zimmerman's bookstore, owned by Phil and Abe Zimmerman, was a downtown retail fixture.

merged; a new congregation, Temple Shalom, was formed; and an old one, Agudas Achim, closed down. The community welcomed newcomers from Russia and Israel. The population became relatively stable and extraordinarily committed to its synagogues, temples, and other community organizations. Though some sensed a drift away from a Jewish identity during the trend to join with the American mainstream in the 60s and 70s, this began to reverse itself with a new commitment to Jewish pride in heritage and history in the 70s and 80s. Women came into their own as leaders of the community at all levels.

By the 1970s, the handwriting was on the wall for downtown retail business merchants, Jewish and non-Jewish alike, though some held out. Many had expanded to branch stores in the suburbs during the 1950s and 1960s, but the next decades were a deluge of sell-outs to larger corporations, closing downtown flagship stores, and by 2000, the near-total elimination of a Jewish merchant presence in the city of Louisville (along with a disappearance of most retail stores of any kind in the central business district).

During the 70s and 80s, the surviving remnants included "Shoe Street," an enclave of small Jewish-owned new and discount shoe stores on Preston Street between Market and Liberty, and a handful of retail stores such as Baer Fabrics, Gumer & Company Jewelers, Dan's Pawnshop, and Davis Jewelers on the east and west sides of downtown. Furriers Kleinman's and Yudofsky's held out downtown for a long time, but closed in the 90s. Irvin Kahn & Son, carpet wholesalers, remained in Butchertown.

The bustling shopping district of 4th and Market to Broadway gradually became a hollow shell, anchored by an urban shopping mall, later enclosed and called the Galleria. Byck's women's store, upscale shoes and clothing, moved its main downtown store (there was also a St. Matthews branch opened in 1946) to become an anchor store in the new downtown mall, but the company ultimately closed all of its stores in 1991. Kaufman-Straus, which built its impressive store in the heart of the 4th Street retailing district in 1903, was gutted, but the façade remained as an entrance to a section of the Galleria.

Levy Brothers' men's clothing store, once the jewel of Market Street and originator of the catchphrase "Lit up like Levy's," opened a suburban store in 1955 and closed its famous downtown store in 1979. The architecturally-striking building remains (it became a restaurant), but Levy's sold out to a larger chain and no longer exists. Kaufman-Straus was sold to the Ayres chain. When "the prestigious jeweler" Vic Lorch died, his heirs closed the store. Will Sales, "the popular jeweler," moved to St. Matthews in the 60s and later closed. Louisville Auto Parts, forced to move by expressway construction, closed in 1981. Fulton Fish Market closed in 1984. In 1988, Ben Snyder's, the "bargain-hunter's paradise" that had stretched along West Market Street between 5th and 6th for 70 years, sold its city and suburban stores to Hess. The downtown store was closed and a parking garage was built on the site. [1]

Jewish-owned corner groceries in the West End, the Preston Street area, Old Louisville, and Smoketown (east of Old Louisville) gave up the struggle against the supermarkets and urban blight. Mom-and-Pop retired.

Although the Jewish retail community had largely left downtown, Jewish companies such as Louisville Scrap and Klempner Brothers continued to be important in the scrap business. In the expanding field of banking, the Jewish-owned Bank of Louisville was joined by the new Republic Bank, founded in 1977 in Shelbyville, with a branch in 1982 on Louisville's Bardstown Road. Republic was founded by Bernard Trager (who had worked for and built up a small loan company in Louisville), and was the first new bank chartered in Louisville in 30 years. The fast-growing company continued to expand regionally under Bernard Trager's leadership, and later through the added leadership of his son, Steven Trager; in 1987 the bank constructed a new headquarters building in downtown Louisville. Republic went public in 1998 and by 2003 had more than 25 branches and was still growing. The Trager family became significant supporters of organizations within the Jewish community and the Louisville community.[2]

During the 1970s and 1980s, Jewish leaders became prominent as board members and administrators in city and county government as well as charitable and cultural organizations, from Metro United Way to the Louisville Ballet, Actors Theatre, and the Louisville Science Center. One such example is Minx Auerbach, who sat on the Louisville-Jefferson County Planning Commission for over a decade after a stint as the high-profile Director of Consumer Affairs for the city of Louisville. These political advances established Jews within the power structure of the city and county.

The Jewish population became even more dispersed after 1970, with only a handful of Jews remaining (or returning) to live downtown (only 1 percent of the Jewish community lived there in 1991). In seeking housing, many Jews were attracted to new areas being developed in the East End along Brownsboro Road. When the two major Reform congregations merged in 1970 and bought land on the outer edge of the East End developments, this area became a new location for Jewish life in the late 20th century. The Highlands continued to be the only area with any real concentration of Jews, but that was lessening. In 1991, only 20 percent of Louisville's Jewish population lived within the 40205 zip code, which included the Highlands and neighborhoods along Taylorsville Road and Dutchmans Lane around the JCC and Shalom Tower. Several other East End zip codes were each home to about 5 percent of the Jewish population. Jews did not live in the South or West Ends, but were spread out in the East, as far as Oldham and Shelby counties in some cases.[3]



Bernard Trager, founder of Republic Bank.



Republic Bank's branch in the Highlands.

In 1980, the merged Congregation Adath Israel – Brith Sholom dedicated The Temple in the East End, consolidating Jewish population drift to the outer suburbs. Adath Israel had remained downtown the longest, but then moved out the farthest, pulling the smaller Reform congregation, Brith Sholom, into its orbit. The two had discussed merger as early as the late 1940s, but Rabbi Rauch's



Rabbi Chester B. Diamond of The Temple.

Rabbi Herbert Waller of The Temple.



insistence that Adath Israel absorb Brith Sholom and retain the Adath Israel name had created resistance to the concept, and Brith Sholom's move to the Highlands had given that congregation a new lease on life. Talks began again in 1973.[4] Adath Israel felt increasing pressure from some of its congregants to move to the suburban neighborhoods where they lived, and Rabbi Diamond was alarmed by a drop in religious school enrollment as young families chose the suburbs. The issues before the congregation were twofold: move, and/or merge.

First, the congregation voted to move east. In June of 1976, by a vote of 396 to 136, Adath Israel members decided to move to the land they owned on Lime Kiln Lane by 1978, building in stages. They also continued merger talks. Only three months later, both congregations brought the merger to a vote after all details had been worked out in committee. The new congregation would use the Brith Sholom building on Cowling Avenue in the Highlands while planning and constructing its new building at Brownsboro Road and Lime Kiln Lane. In order to make the new arrangement acceptable to all parties, it was to be called a "consolidation" and not a "merger." Both congregations' names would be retained in the new name; all decisions would be made on a 50/50 basis, even though the congregations' populations were 65/35; and there would be a policy of flexibility on ritual issues such as wearing kippot.[5]

At Adath Israel, merger was widely popular: the final vote was 481 to 17. However, Brith Sholom struggled. A substantial minority of the members were happy in their Highlands synagogue, liked the small, *haimish* congregational family, and were proud of their own traditions. Rabbi Leonard Devine said, "I was quite divided in my own feelings.... I decided in the long run it would be good for the community." The pro-merger majority prevailed in the vote 317-129 after an emotional three-hour meeting. Brith Sholom President Ronald Abrams called it "a great night for Reform Judaism," adding that "everybody voted their conscience and we shall move forward together."

He was a bit too optimistic. Some of the anti-merger minority went along with the decision, but others were not pleased and immediately began planning to withdraw from the merged organization. Rosalie and Harold Eskind said: "It was an easy decision for us at the time of the 'split' to go with the smaller group and not be swallowed up in the large numbers of the new merged temple."[6] Gus Frank expressed the views of many: "When I learned that Brith Sholom Temple would no longer exist as such, but would merge with Adath Israel, I felt very sad.... I had been a member for fifty years. My parents were married in the temple, and had been members since the turn of the century."[7]

Era Ends: 3rd Street Moving to Cowling Avenue read the February 18, 1977, headline in *Community*, the Federation's newspaper. There were now no Jewish houses of worship in the city center of Louisville. The final worship service in Adath Israel's 1906 building on 3rd Street was held on March 4, and the first combined service on Cowling Avenue was held the next day. The congregation at first adopted the double-barrelled name of Congregation Adath Israel-Brith Sholom, but in 1979 simplified it to "The Temple." The old Adath Israel building was sold to the Greater Bethel Apolostic Church, an African-

American congregation.

There was some strain between the members of the merged congregations during the cramped period they shared at the Cowling Avenue location. Some former Adath Israel members felt that they had simply joined Brith Sholom, rnot created the new entity they had imagined, and they resented the more traditional ritual that was now imposed on them. Rabbi Diamond said, "It had to be the way it was. It was the only way we were able to do it." The move to the new building helped everyone to get a fresh start.[8] (At The Temple's 150th anniversary celebration in 1993, Rabbi Emeritus Dr. Herbert Waller, who had been Adath Israel's rabbi at the time of the merger, quipped, "How nice it is to see old friends... oh, and the Brith Sholom people, too." By then, it was acceptable to joke about the former split in the community, because it was healed.[9])

For the new building on Brownsboro Road, the congregation hired architects Joseph & Joseph, as well as the firm of Arrasmith, Judd, Rapp, and Associates. Both of these firms had principals who were members of the congregation. Building committee chairs, Dr. Richard Wolf and Alvin Rouben, worked with the architects to design a modern building with several wings meeting at a central lobby. The main sanctuary would seat 480 people, but, with the additional seating option of expansion into a multipurpose room, could fit up to 1,500. The raised *bimah*, with steps along the entire width, was covered by a skylight. Striking Jewish ritual art works were commissioned throughout the building: Artist Efram Weitzman created a *ner tamid* (eternal light) that was six feet in diameter; the ark was constructed of anodized aluminum in a sunburst design; and ten windows of faceted glass, each five feet by twenty-four feet, were designed by Fenestra Studios of Louisville. The chapel seated 182. Another wing held the school, with 21 classrooms and rooms for Scouts (Troop #30 moved here), a teen room, a preschool with an indoor playground, and an outdoor play area. The administrative wing held offices, a library, and gift shop. In all, the new Temple cost $6 million including furnishings.[10]



Rabbi Leonard H. Devine of The Temple.

The Temple incorporated the rabbis of both founding congregations as co-rabbis. However, Dr. Herbert Waller, formerly of Adath Israel, and Rabbi Leonard Devine, formerly of Brith Sholom, were both nearing the end of their active careers. Co-Rabbi Chester Diamond, formerly Waller's assistant rabbi, became the main spiritual leader as the two older men moved into emeritus status in the 1980s. To counteract the sense that it was too large and impersonal, the congregation held retreats and formed *chavurot*, small groups of families that met together outside the formal congregational activities.[11]

Another new congregation was created in 1976 by former members of Brith Sholom who dissented from the Temple merger. This was the first completely new congregation formed in Louisville since 1905. Founder David Kling remembered:

> *Temple Shalom was started in our kitchen....We sat down in the kitchen and wrote a letter to all of the former members of Brith Sholom and told them we were going to have a meeting, 'cause we felt there had always been two viable Reform congregations in Louisville.... We had about 6 people sign that letter – we had about 45 people come to a meeting.... Out of that 45, 25 people said they would join. There were a lot of people who felt the way we did.... We tried to stay with the small family-type congregation.*[12]

1976 letter from David Kling:

"Dear Fellow B'rith Sholom member:

As you know, last week a majority of the congregation voted to consolidate with Adath Israel. It is the feeling of many families that there is a need for an alternative Reform congregation in Louisville.

If you are interested in continuing the tradition of Louisville having a relatively small Reform congregation, please call: [numbers omitted]

David Kling

also signed: *Aline Baer, Helen Evans, Gus & Leona Frank, Milton & Janet Greenbaum, Marcia & Leonard Klein, Margot & David Kling, Seymour & Dorothy Krinsky, Bernard Mohr, Jack & Lore Silverman*[69]



Temple Shalom on Taylorsville Road.

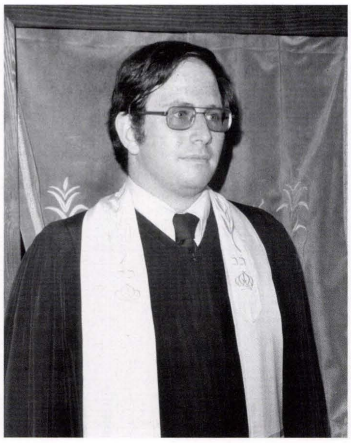
Margot Kling recalled: "Our first meeting was in the party room of the Royal Ambassador Condominiums. We voted on the name 'Temple Shalom' and I passed the hat around and everyone present contributed a few dollars – that's the beginning of the Temple Shalom treasury. Milton Greenbaum was elected president." Seventy people came to that meeting and affirmed their interest; the first service was set for November 5th, a Friday evening. Initially meeting at the JCC's Patio Gallery, members built a portable ark and borrowed a Torah from Congregation Adath Jeshurun. Prayer books came from the old Brith Sholom. Individual members of the congregation, along with a bi-weekly rabbi from Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, led services.[13]

The Patio Gallery, where local artwork and Jewish artwork were exhibited, had certain drawbacks. "One service evening we had Father Schmidt give a talk, and lo and behold, the exhibit for that month consisted of life-size paintings of a rather suggestive nature – women on bicycles whose derrieres were prominently displayed." Eventually, the JCC told the congregation they would no longer be able to use the Patio Gallery for worship. According to JCC administration, the Center was intended to be non-sectarian, and not for use as a temple or shul, but as a neutral meeting ground for the entire community.[14]

In 1979, the congregation found a temporary home at Bellarmine College in the Highlands. The Catholic clergy there shared their chapel and allowed the congregation to cover the cross during services, and store its portable ark and prayer books there, and even rescheduled their own services when Jewish holidays led to scheduling conflicts. High holiday services were later held at St. Mark's Church, and Margot Kling recalled the kindness of the clergy there: "I can remember the candles we lit at night, and in the morning when we arrived at the church, Reverend Price greeted us with the candlesticks which he cleaned because he thought we might need them again for the morning service."[15]

Cemetery space was also a problem. The existing Jewish cemetery land on Preston Street was needed by

the congregations that owned the plots, and no room could be found to accommodate the new congregation. Temple Shalom finally acquired and consecrated a section of land at historic Cave Hill Cemetery, where generations of the city's elite were buried.[16]



Rabbi Stanley Miles of Temple Shalom.

Temple Shalom had the warm, family feeling that its founders wanted, and members remember those early days with nostalgia. It was a time when they had to do everything for themselves, and they loved the sense of discovery and mutual reliance. Leadership of services rotated through the membership: "Each member became a lay rabbi, as we were exposed to each of us conducting Friday Shabbat services, all with varying degrees of Hebrew and a degree of peace and warmth from each other," Joyce and Joe Wolf recalled. Rosalie and Harold Eskind remembered services as "a homemade but heartfelt effort. There was a simplicity and an honesty to those days that has never been invoked for us by magnificent places of worship." Beulah Fleischaker-Berry recalled a very cold Sukkot holiday, "the first Succah built on a trailer bed in the driveway at Moody Frank's and the seven children, teachers, and parents working with gloves on their hands to decorate it for use at the service that night 'in the snow' with the members participating and adjourning into the house for the Oneg...."[17]

Rabbi Stanley Miles came to Temple Shalom in 1978 from a pulpit in Lake Charles, Louisiana. Miles had married Sheilah Abramson of Louisville in 1970, so he knew the community. In fact, as Miles recounted, when he and Sheilah were married at Keneseth Israel, the shul was between rabbis, so Rabbi Roodman of Anshei Sfard performed the service. So, the rabbi of Louisville's newest Reform congregation had been married in Louisville at a Traditional synagogue by an Orthodox rabbi.[18]

Like its predecessor, Brith Sholom, Temple Shalom aligned with the more traditional wing of the Reform movement. Miles said, "I made sure when I came to Louisville, I said, 'Now this rabbi prays with his head covered, I hope that's not a problem' and of course, at Temple Shalom it never has been." His wearing of the *kippah* and extensive use of Hebrew seemed unusual to Louisville's Reform community, but Miles assured the community that this was now common practice at the Reform movement's Hebrew Union College, part of the return to some aspects of tradition.[19]



Interior of Temple Shalom, Taylorsville Road location.

Temple Shalom wanted a space of its own. In July 1981, the congregation bought and remodeled a house at 4220 Taylorsville Road as a temple. Members did most of the work themselves. Doris Paster remembers being the first adult to have a bat mitzvah there: "There was only one place it could possibly take place – our little house on Taylorsville Road. Had we been able to build a replica of the Temple in Jerusalem, I could not have been more proud than I was the day we



Rabbi Stanley Miles at the groundbreaking for Temple Shalom's Lowe Road building.

bought it."[20]

Other congregations also built in the 1970s. In 1971, Keneseth Israel's building on Taylorsville Road in the Highlands was expanded to include a large and innovative main sanctuary designed by Joseph and Joseph and built by the construction firm of Platoff and Bush (Bush was a member of the congregation). The sanctuary featured distinctive stained glass windows representing each of the Jewish holidays; they were designed by local artist William Fischer. Keneseth Israel's sanctuary embodied several connections with the past in its arrangement. Seating was divided into three sections, paralleling the divisions in the old Jacob Street building – allowing separate sections for men and women, and mixed seating in the center (though in practice this applied only to a few rows in the front, which are still marked with a symbolic *mechitzah* in the form of a cloth marker).[21] As a remnant of Orthodox practice, the reader's table, where the cantor stands, faced the ark instead of the congregation. The sanctuary was designed with a very high *bimah* with steps only at the far sides, forming a relatively inaccessible stage-like space. But below it, on the floor where the congregation sat, was the cantor, who sang as a part of the congregation, not as a performer on a stage.

Keneseth's beloved cantor, Meyer Elias, died in 1980 after serving the congregation for over thirty years. During his tenure, he established a popular men's choir. He was remembered as a very devout and stubborn man, both humble and temperamental. As one congregant remembers: "Cantor Elias was ill one Yom Kippur, but he refused to take his medicine. His son, Sherman, Rabbi Glickman, and practically everyone else begged him to rest, but he was stubborn. He finally stopped and let the choir take over, but he wouldn't take his medicine on Yom Kippur."[22]

The Orthodox and observant Jews of Louisville faced a crisis in 1978, when the last of the Vaad-certified kosher butchers, Stan Goldberg, announced that he was going out of business in a month. Without access to kosher meat locally, people who observed the laws of *kashruth* (which included many Orthodox-affiliated, some Conservative-affiliated, and a few Reform-affiliated Jews) would have to arrange to import poultry, meat, and, for the truly observant, fish, from Cincinnati or Chicago, which would diminish the attractiveness of the community for anyone considering moving to town or, in the case of young people, staying in town.



Moving the Torahs into Keneseth Israel's new building on Taylorsville Road.

Keneseth Israel's Rabbi Glickman approached grocer Max Kreitman, who had a store at Bardstown Road and Winston Avenue, and asked him to put in a kosher section, which Glickman would oversee. Unfortunately, Anshei Sfard's Rabbi Roodman did

Marie Abrams: *"I've been extraordinarily fortunate. We all stand on the shoulders of women who came before us and did things first. Hopefully I provide shoulders for some young women now. I just wasn't going to let anyone stop me. But I never had trouble about being Jewish – people knew that when I asked them for support."*

not accept Kreitman's certification as kosher, and Louisville's observant community had to choose which rabbi's authority to follow. In 1983, to find a solution, a group of laypeople representing each of the synagogues concerned with the issue – Adath Jeshurun, Keneseth Israel, and Anshei Sfard – convened a meeting to reconstitute the Louisville *Vaad HaKashruth*, which under Roodman's control had not actually met for about six years. New bylaws were drafted defining each rabbi's areas of jurisdiction and the supervisory role of the Vaad over communitywide affairs, with a neutral rabbi from Cincinnati to settle disputes. The congregations signed, but the controversies continued. (In the late 1990s, Adath Jeshurun withdrew from the Vaad.)[23]



Fannie Rose Rosenbaum, first woman president of the Jewish Community Federation of Louisville.

A pair of enterprising entrepreneurs tried to keep the Louisville deli tradition alive by transplanting it to the suburbs. In 1980, Josh and Jaye Sparber took over "The Bagel Shop" on Taylorsville Road at Hikes Point and started a kosher deli. Jaye's great-uncle, Charlie Simon, had been the proprieter of a popular kosher-style deli decades before. Although Jaye declared, "This is the love of my life," the venture lasted only a few years. Over the years, others briefly attempted to establish kosher-style delis, but the true deli culture, so much a part of people's memories of Jewish Louisville, was essentially gone.[24]

The Jewish Community Federation of Louisville was born on September 30, 1971, when the Conference of Jewish Organizations changed its name and adopted a statement of purpose broadening its scope. The board of directors expanded from 18 to 24 members, an executive board was created, and two full-time professionals were hired as staff. The Federation was moving toward a strengthened role as the central agency for Jewish planning in the community.

In 1972, the Federation elected its first female president, Fanny Rose Rosenbaum. She had been active in numerous Jewish women's organizations and community causes. She said:

> *Over the years I had expressed concern with the direction the Jewish community was taking. I had a tremendous admiration for the way the Jewish community had been constructed and had evolved. I felt it had sort of stopped progressing and had lost contact with the grass roots of the community, that it was operating pretty much as an establishment.* [25]

Rosenbaum "came in with a feminist agenda," according to Suzy Post, and was a very smart and competent woman whose "presence as first women president of Federation was a tremendous symbol." She "broke the

mold" of what community leadership was and what women might aspire to within the Jewish community.[26] Rosenbaum wanted to find out what the real needs of the community were and opened communication.

Toward that end, the next year the Federation launched *Community,* a biweekly newspaper for the entire community, covering Jewish affairs locally, nationally, and internationally. Initially, *Community* had a relationship with the existing independent newspaper, the *Kentucky Jewish Post and Opinion*, edited by Gabriel Cohen. Herman Landau, veteran Jewish newspaperman, was the link between the publications. Rosenbaum wanted the paper to include different viewpoints. First editor Alice P. L. Schwartz wrote: "We'll endeavor to make *Community* reflect the traditionally progressive and intellectual concern with our fellowman that has always been the hallmark of the Jewish ethic.... Our goal will be to foster awareness, education and enlightenment that will bolster community participation."[27]

Community balanced local news with international events, which came to the forefront when the 1973 Yom Kippur War in Israel shocked the Louisville Jewish community, as it did the rest of the world. At the time, Naomi Pressma had just become the first female general chairperson of the United Jewish Campaign. The community held an emergency rally at Keneseth Israel on October 9th and raised $500,000 on the spot. That year, the UJC had its first $2 million campaign in an outpouring of support for Israel.[28]

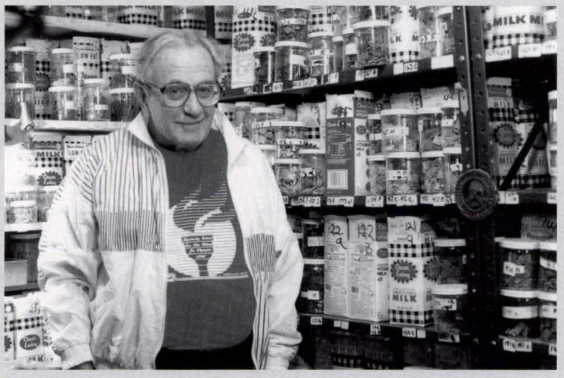
After a period of overwhelming popularity in the 1950s and 1960s, the Jewish Community Center experienced a decline. "We had been one of the top centers," Annette Sagerman said, "and we rested on our laurels." The building was shabby, and membership was dropping. Competition from newer sports and recreation facilities had increased. With so many civic and local activities completely open and welcoming to Jews, Jewish-affliated clubs began to experience a decline. Non-Jewish organizations offered sports and camps for children. With the drop in JCC membership there was less money to update and maintain the building, which fell into minor disrepair – which in turn made it less attractive to new members.[29]

The JCC's Camp Ben F. Washer, 1974.

In 1967, the JCC responded to the Louisville congregations' desire to build up their own youth groups by closing the Center to youth on the first Sunday of the month. Perhaps the most significant change,



Harold Berg



Physician and mosiacist. Not your usual combination of talents, but that was Louisville's Dr. Harold Berg. His detailed mosaic artworks grace buildings across America, with themes from medicine and Judaism.

Berg was born in Brooklyn and came to Louisville to attend to attend University of Louisville and its medical school. During World War II, he served in the Army Medical Corps, and on his return to Louisville began a surgery practice at Jewish Hospital, where he was president of the Medical Staff in 1984-5. He also taught at University of Louisville School of Medecine.

On a visit to Mexico, Berg toured a mosaics factory and was enchanted by the art. He studied mosaics in Italy, and it became a lifelong avocation and passion. His work as a surgeon trained his hands to be precise and meticulous, which Berg thought gave him the skill he needed to realize his artistic vision. Berg usually donated his works, which could be quite large, to organizations he admired.



Among other works, Berg created a large wall mosaic on a Holocaust theme for the auditorium of the Jewish Community Center, Maimonides' Prayer for physicians for the entrance hall of Jewish Hospital, a memorial to Abraham Flexner at the University of Louisville Medical School, and works for the Kentucky School for the Blind, the Israeli Embassy, the Wall Street United Methodist Church, and many more. Berg had a secret addition to many of his works – he incorporated children's teeth as a design element.

A member of The Temple, he died in 2002. [70]

however, was a reorganization of the Center's youth clubs early in the 1970s. Decreased participation and membership had pared down the number of clubs to only seven, four for young men and three for young women. These groups were invited to affiliate with BBYO – B'nai B'rith Youth Organization, a national group that sponsored regional and national conferences and provided assistance with running youth groups. Six of the JCC groups voted to affiliate: the young men's groups Rauch, Resnick, and Mu Sigma joined the AZA (male BBYO); and Modern Femmes, Amitié, and Gamma Kappa joined BBG (female BBYO). Only Pi, a young men's club, did not affiliate right away, although later it did. A new group, L'Chaim BBG, was founded in the 80s, but later in the decade, Modern Femmes and Resnick "were on their last legs." [30]

Participation in the Jewish clubs was declining for several reasons, including the greater acceptance of Jewish participation and leadership in school social groups and athletics – Jews didn't need the Jewish clubs in quite the same way. Beginning in the mid-70s, school desegregation and busing meant that Jewish students were now dispersed throughout the city and did not have the same close daily associations. The population was continuing to disperse, and people who lived in the East End began to find that the Standard Club was a closer (and more prestigious) place to hang out at the pool, play tennis, or even golf, so the JCC and its

clubs were marginal in the lives of some teens. Finally, the culture of the 70s was less supportive of formal organizations with rules and traditions. Informal and open forms of association and socializing were preferable for many young people. In Louisville, this was a gradual process, since the strength of local tradition and family ties kept the system going for a long time.

Ironically, as society changed and families were increasingly broken apart by divorce, club advisors felt that the clubs were more necessary than ever as a kind of surrogate family. One 1970s member, Randy Farb, observed:

> *By the time the 1960's and 1970's arrived, Jewish students were no longer outcasts, and high school sports and activities became more important. Another thing that may have hurt the clubs was that it took a lot of work and discipline to make them work. Robert's Rules of Order were followed; recording secretaries had to take minutes; sergeants-at-arms had to keep the meetings orderly. The 1970's generation was a much looser group, influenced by the anti-establishment of the 1960's, when they were born. At least, that's my theory.*[31]

Families struggled with the issue of interdating between Jews and non-Jews, which was still taboo in many families, while other parents chose to encourage their children to balance their time between Jewish and non-Jewish friends. "You needed a Jewish date for Jewish dances, but otherwise...." recalled one former 80s teen.

People who were teens in the late 60s through the early 80s remember the club system as still important, but not as central to their lives and identities as it had been for the previous generation. Parents who had themselves loved the clubs encouraged (sometimes forced) their children to join BBYO – "it was a given." Synagogue or temple-based clubs were important for some, though others did not participate in organized youth groups at all. Cotillion class, a Southern tradition, was one place where all of Louisville's young Jews came together. In preparation for the bar and bat mitzvah year, each congregation sent its 12 and 13 year-olds to study dancing and the manners required for formal events. Cotillion class is now remembered by many with both nostalgia and chagrin. From the 1950s to 1990, it was led by Mr. and Mrs. Ogburn.



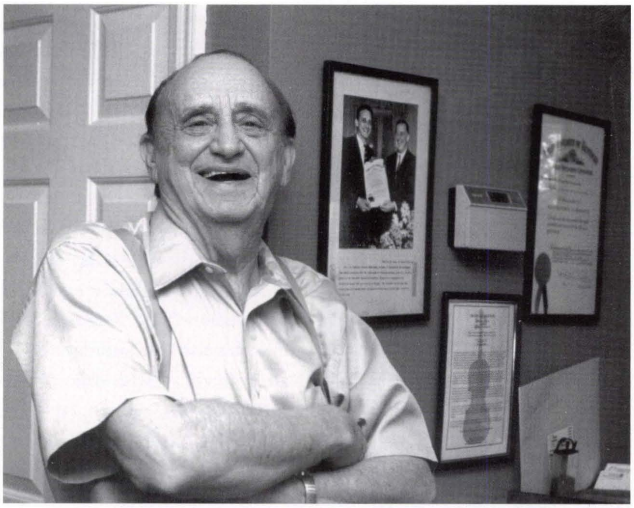
Harold Berg presents a mosaic.

Even in the early 80s, a BBYO dance was still a four-day event that included not only the dance itself (some cost upward of $10,000) at a hotel, but members and their dates would take day trips to amusement parks and go to midnight movies as part of the weekend. Skit Nite, in which clubs competed by presenting original scripted and elaborately costumed skits on assigned themes for an audience and a panel of judges, continued to be a popular feature of club life. "It was a really big deal, a lot of effort." There was always a big after-party to look forward to. But ultimately, as clubs shut down, there were too few to compete, and the final Skit Nite was held in 1994.

Hebrew High School was also an important unifying experience in the 70s and 80s. An important class that many remember vividly was Richie Bergman's "intense" course on the Holocaust; another

was the Death and Dying course taught by funeral home directors Sonny and Janet Meyer.

More children and younger teens went to camp in the 70s and 80s; some worked there as counselors when they were older. Jewish camps played a large part in making friendships and having fun doing Jewish things. In the early 70s, the JCC overnight camp for older children, Camp Ben F. Washer (renamed in 1967, formerly "Tall Trees") at Otter Creek Park was closed in favor of increasing activities at the JCC day camp, Camp Ricaree. Some young people attended other Jewish overnight camps farther away, such as the Cincinnati JCC's Camp Livingston (now a regional camp) or B'nai Brith Beber Camp in Wisconsin, where they had a chance to meet and socialize with Jewish youth from other communities.



Ruben Sher, longtime conductor of the JCC Orchestra.

Opportunities had to be organized so that Jews could meet Jews in the increasingly open American community. Many Jewish parents feared that their children would intermarry, and that intermarriage would ultimately lead to extinction of the Jewish people. The question of how to handle couples proposing to intermarry came up again and again, and the answers were personal and denominational. The Reform movement was first to attempt to embrace intermarried couples as an opportunity to increase Jewish participation. Adath Israel's Rabbi Chet Diamond recalled that, when he came to Louisville, Rabbi Waller would officiate at mixed marriages if the couple agreed to raise Jewish children. Diamond saw the results – people did stay in the congregation, so the strategy was a success: "The vast majority of the people who made a promise to raise the children in the Jewish faith, did so." Orthodox and Conservative congregations could not be so accepting, though through the years they adopted some aspects of the Reform position. Some intermarried couples found themselves more comfortable in a Reform setting.[32]

The JCC had to meet a new range of needs at the end of the 20th century. In 1972, Aaron Schreiber, JCC Director since 1946, retired, and was eventually replaced by Al Cheistwer in 1973. Cheistwer immediately began a

Trivia

Schools named for Jewish Louisvillians:

Brandeis Elementary
Bloom Elementary
Byck Elementary

Streets:

Abraham Flexner Way (Hospital district)
Brandeis Avenue (near University)
Arthur S. Kling Way (Old Louisville)
Ray Baer Drive (behind Manual High School)
Waterman Alley (Smoketown)
Jacob Street (Old Louisville)
Bloom Street (Old Louisville)
Bernheim Boulevard

Parks:

Ben F. Washer Park (Old Louisville)
Bernheim Forest (Bullitt County)
Eva Bandman Park (River Road)

Jewish Louisville slang expressions:

"Lit up like Levy's" = drunk
"Gone out Preston Street" = died

fundraising campaign that would eventually be used to restore and upgrade the building. Despite its problems, the Jewish Community Center remained the physical center of the community during the 1970s. Part of a campus of Jewish-related organizations, it was the one place where every Louisville Jew – religious or secular, young or elderly, native-born or newly arrived – had a place.

Naturally it was also a testing ground, at times, for the ability of such a diverse people to share a common ground. One highly contentious issue had always been whether the Center should be open on Saturday, Shabbat. During the 1920s, this issue had been decided – "no" was the answer – by a largely Reform-oriented Board out of respect for, and in partnership with, a growing Orthodox constituency. But with Jews merging into a society where Saturday more often meant shopping and sports than worship, the issue would not go away. In the early 1980s, it exploded.

After heated Board discussions, JCC President Marcia Schuster announced the decision in July 1982: the Center was now open to members on Saturday at 1:30 pm, in order to "offer its members the opportunity to observe the Sabbath afternoon in a Jewish atmosphere with their families at the Center," with an emphasis on educational and cultural programs, no competitive sports or sports classes, no arts and crafts, no money transactions, and an assurance that Jewish staff members would not be compelled to work on Shabbat.[33]

The rabbis of the Conservative and Orthodox congregations of Louisville weighed in with opinions on the decision in the pages of *Community* – an unusual step in a community where consensus and compromise were prized and disagreements were rarely aired in public. Rabbi Roodman of the Orthodox Congregation Anshei Sfard declared: "I was, am, and will always be unequivocably opposed to the new arrangement. Aside from its obvious *halakhic* prohibitions, there is the spirit of Shabbat sanctity to consider." He pointed out that it would now become difficult to explain to the wider non-Jewish community why Jews protest when graduation and other programs are scheduled on Saturdays. Rabbi Glickman of Keneseth Israel agreed that, although the JCC had planned its opening in such a way as to minimize *Chilul Shabbos* (desecration), he found the motives of those who desired the change to be suspect: "The vast majority of the people who want the JCC open and available on *Shabbos* don't really care for the *Shabbos* at all. They just want to swim, play tennis or racquetball, etc., whenever they wish."[34]



Louisville Hebrew School, 1981.

The Conservative rabbi, Simcha Kling of Adath Jeshurun, tried to find a middle ground that included respect for Shabbat and for the needs of contemporary Jewish families. Kling wrote that originally he opposed the opening, but had changed his position because of the opportunity to enhance appreciation of Shabbat: "I see so many young people spend Saturday afternoons in a completely non-Jewish environment and many adults utterly ignoring the Sabbath." He declared it a worthwhile experiment if Jewish law could be followed, and pointed out that athletic participation on Shabbat was not forbidden by Jewish law.[35] The Center has been open on Saturdays ever since, with largely the same limitations in place – no organized sports activities or classes, no financial transactions within the building, and optional staff work.

One successful educational initiative of the 1970s was the upgrade of the Bureau of Jewish Education

Library (called the Naamani Library after the death of educator Israel T. Naamani in 1979) under BJE Director Bill Swartz and professional librarian Evie Topcik, with funding from the Federal government's CETA program and the Jewish Community Federation. Reuben Resnick was a supporter, as was Arthur Kling. The library, which remained part of the BJE, was initially located in a top floor room at the Center; it was later moved downstairs to a location near the main entrance. A card catalog helped patrons, and the Eliahu Academy students, then housed upstairs at the Center, had a fine library. An annual Jewish Book Fair was begun. The Naamani Library at the Center, the largest Jewish book repository in the state of Kentucky, now includes films, audio materials, and other collections.[36]



Louisvillians joined the March on Washington for Soviet Jews, 1986.

Throughout the 1970s, Louisville Jews, along with other Jews around the world, lamented the situation of their Russian coreligionists. In Louisville, Congregation Adath Jeshurun initiated the concept of "twinning" bar and bat mitzvah students with Soviet Jews who, under the Soviet regime, were forbidden to practice or teach Judaism and were discriminated against in higher education, housing, and employment. If they applied to leave for Israel or the United States, they would lose jobs and worse. Groups in America and internationally began a campaign urging the Soviet government to let them go.[37]

Marches and rallies were held, letters were written, and bit by bit, a few Jews were let go, a drop became a trickle and a trickle became a flood. And Louisville Jews had a new refugee problem (or refugee opportunity, depending on how one looked at it) to deal with. With memories of the inability of world Jewry to rescue Jews from Hitler, local response was strong. "Some of the guilt [about not doing more for refugees from the Nazis] we all feel as American citizens... shows itself in what we're doing for Russian Jews," Al Erlen said.[38]

During the mid- to late-1970s, about 200 Russian refugees came to Louisville, mainly in family groups. The Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, HIAS, sent arriving immigrants to Jewish communities across America. The Federation's New American Resettlement Committee coordinated basic services through the Jewish Social Service Agency and the Jewish Vocational Service (which merged in 1978 to form the Jewish Family and Vocational Service). This organization had the primary responsibility of resettlement, with crucial volunteer assistance from the National Council of Jewish Women.[39]

Like other refugees, the Russians had little, often arriving with no money and only the clothing and goods they could carry. Household goods might arrive months later, if at all. But unlike most other refugees, many of the Russians were educated and had held professional positions as engineers, doctors, or scientists in the USSR. This proved to be a problem, since it was difficult for the community agencies to find jobs to suit their high skills and low levels of English fluency. Some community agencies found the Russians to be the hardest group that they had ever had to work with.[40]



The 1988 Walk for Israel.

To illustrate the problems, *Community* tracked the second Soviet immigrant family to be sent to



Construction for the new Four Courts.

Louisville in a series of articles. Emanuel and Nina Belitsky arrived in late 1973. They had been in Israel for a year before coming to America. He was a math expert with a Ph.D. and experience in building construction; she had a doctorate in microbiology. JFVS began looking for jobs for them in December of 1973. By March of 1974, he had a menial job, but she was unemployed and depressed. "She is prepared to do anything so she can be self-sufficient. All she wants is a job," *Community* reported, "She says, 'I understand I cannot work at the type of job I had in Russia because of the language barrier.'" In October 1974, *Community* reported that all five immigrant families brought over to date were employed and being tutored, but that many of them probably had to settle for jobs well below their skills.[41]

Rita Murrey, a Soviet immigrant, found a job at Jewish Hospital. In an interview with *Community*, she said, "To make it in the U.S. one must have patience, and with hope for a better future – sooner or later you will find your way." She credited her ability to keep her job to the patience of her supervisor, who waited out her struggle to learn English. She stressed that language was the main reason why so many Russians struggled to find and hold jobs, especially jobs in their areas of skill. Other cities, she knew from contacts with other Soviet Jews, offered intensive total-immersion language classes, which Louisville did not have. The area's poor public transportation was another isolating factor, since most Russians did not have driver's licenses or cars and had to rely on the kindness of volunteers to get to classes or jobs.[42]

1974 Tornado

On April 3, 1974, a devastating tornado ripped through the Highlands and Glenview sections of Louisville, crossing Bardstown Road near Eastern Parkway and destroying hundreds of trees in Cherokee Park. Due to the particular path the tornado took, Jewish businesses and homes were particularly affected. Sidney Passamanack's Model Drugs was damaged, and his home was destroyed, along with those of more than sixty other Jewish families.

At the JCC, out of the direct path of the storm, hundreds of Hebrew School children were in the midst of a model seder when the tornado touched down across the street at Bowman Field. The students were quickly herded to a small room in the basement for safety. Music teacher Zehava Naamani played the piano and sang with the children to keep them calm, and instructed parents and teachers to give them candles to hold when the power went out. Her own home was destroyed.[72]

Staff workers at JFVS, on the front lines of providing service, often found the Russians difficult to work with. Besides problems with poor English but advanced skills, they found that Russians were unfamiliar with how employment decisions were made in a non-centralized, capitalist economy. In contrast, Russians saw JFVS workers as the people in control of jobs, and couldn't understand why jobs were being withheld from them. They had to learn how to create a resumé, search for opportunities, and network. Some later refugees took a different path and created their own small businesses instead of seeking jobs in existing ones.[43]

Many Russian immigrants eventually settled around Jeffersontown, continuing the expansion of the community in the Taylors-



Left and below: Heritage Festival on the Belvedere.

ville Road corridor. Once a network of successful Russian immigrants was established, it was easier for them to assist the ones who came later. Official sources of aid were essential, but what Russians needed were jobs they could be proud of, friends, and, as Murrey said, patience. JFVS Executive Director Stephanie Speigel said, when she began her job in 1979: "These people are 'survivors' with considerable spunk and intelligence. The families are going to make it in America. They are the ones who had the courage to stand up to the Soviet government and apply for emigration."[44]

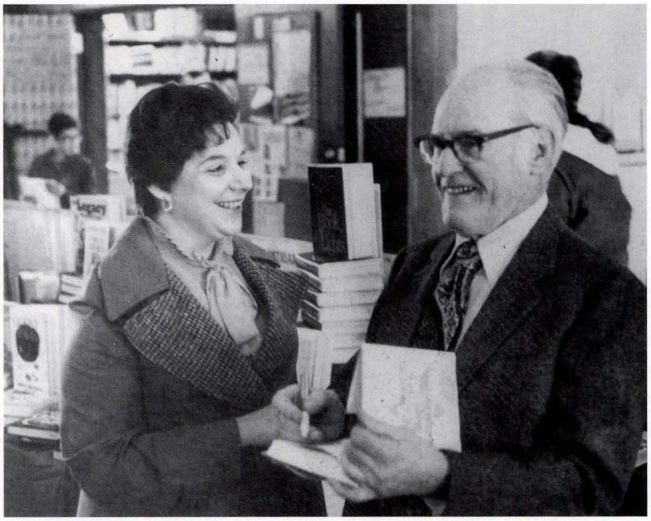
There were success stories, when local employers cooperated. One family, the Shusters, were successful in finding work. Dmitri Shuster had trained as an auto mechanic in Russia, and a local Jewish-owned business, Bluegrass Auto (Herb Vine) hired him. His wife, Flora, got a job with Tri-Pack Systems, owned by Harry Kletter and Sam Rosenberg, who were the first in the area to set up a training program for new immigrants. They employed five new Americans in 1980.[45] Joseph Gavi, who survived the Holocaust as a Russian partisan fighter, came to Louisville in 1981 and opened Gavi's Restaurant on 7th Street, where he served the courthouse crowd of lawyers and jurors and became a familiar figure in downtown Louisville.[46]



There were also many small acts of aid and kindness. The Klempner Brothers, scrap dealers

Irving and Jack, made sure that all the arriving Russians got their baggage through customs and to the right place in Louisville. NCJW members bought and repaired musical instruments for two cellists, Sofia Tsarfin and Vladimir Ostromensky, professional musicians who needed to audition for the Louisville Orchestra.[47] Most of the Russian Jews came with no religious education at all, and were unfamiliar with the most basic aspects of worship, holidays, Hebrew, and Jewish history. Religious school classes for children and adults were begun in 1981. Eliahu Academy took in many Russian children as scholarship students.[48]

In addition to resettling new immigrants, during the 1970s the community gave its attention to its temporary residents – college students. In 1973, the University of Louisville Hillel hired a full-time director, Judy Gross. The campus Ecumenical Center, built in 1974, included office and meeting space for Hillel along with the campus Catholic group, the Newman Center, and the United Campus Ministries, which ministered to Protestant students. The Federation contributed to the building on behalf of Hillel. Hillel also became affiliated with B'nai B'rith, national sponsor of Hillel activities.[49] Though Hillel continued through the later decades of the 20th century, participation declined due to decreased enrollment of Jews at the University of Louisville. Greater affluence and higher levels of achievement by local Jewish students opened many options for college, and a large percentage chose to attend universities outside of the area. However, graduate and professional students were still present at the University of Louisville, as well as many Jewish faculty and staff members.



Herman Landau celebrates the publication of "Adath Louisville."

For the 40th anniversary of the Jewish Community Federation in 1974, former Executive Director Clarence Judah, with assistance from Herman Landau, wrote *Unity in Community*, the organization's official history and the first history of Louisville's Jewish community (though its scope was limited). By this point in time, Louisvillians were reflecting and looking back on their heritage and asking questions about their identity as Jews in Louisville and Kentucky. Issues of "identity" and "heritage" were raised again and again in the last quarter of the 20th century. This was an era in America when other ethnic groups were undergoing the same "roots" phenomenon of rediscovery of culture. The Bicentennial in 1976 encouraged a renewed interest in American history and historic preservation, heritage and memory.

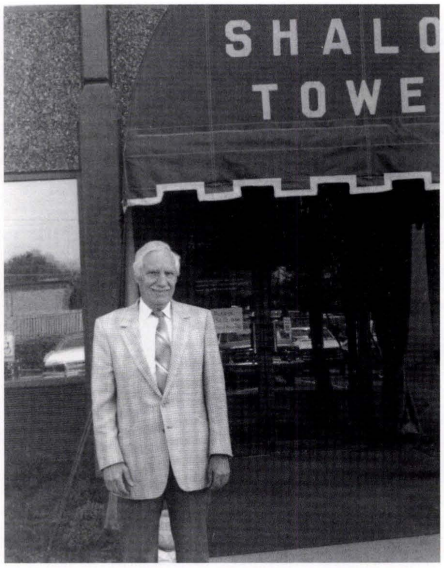
The strength of this feeling was illustrated by the vast outpouring of time, emotion, and enthusiasm devoted to the first Jewish Heritage Weekend, held Labor Day weekend 1977 at the downtown waterfront Belvedere as part of the Louisville Heritage Commission's ethnic weekend program. Stuart and Phyllis Grossman chaired the event with the cooperation of virtually every local Jewish group and hundreds of volunteers. Over 115,000 attended. For a period of time this was an annual event, but it was this first one in 1977 that had the greatest impact on the community's view of itself.

Jewish Heritage Weekend 1977 was an extremely public acknowledgement of the "Jewishness" of Jews. It was a celebration of history and culture right in front of and together with crowds of gentiles, something

Louisville's discreet Jewish community had rarely done. It was unapologetic and unafraid. Federation President Stuart Handmaker said: "We needed a way to say to the entire community – to Shively and to Prospect, to rednecks and to bluebloods, to the American Legion and to River Valley, 'Hey, we're here and we've always been here, and we're going to stay here, and this is our city, too, and we're Jews. Not Hebrews, not Israelites, Jews.' " [50]

"We did not, even in our wildest dreams, guess the success the weekend would be," the Grossmans said. It included all aspects of international Jewish cuisine, from lox and bagels to latkes, from strudel to felafel; there were art and craft sales, choral singing, an Israel booth, folk dances, and souvenir T-shirts emblazoned "Shalom Y'all." It even had a "fiddler on the roof." A shofar blast opened the festivities. The Sunday gala Louisville Orchestra performance of music by Jewish composers was played to a crowd of 30,000 – the largest the orchestra had ever performed for.[51]

As Handmaker said, "Nine thousand Jews sang, and shouted, and sold, and serenaded. A hundred thousand Louisvillians heard and applauded and rejoiced with us.... By the very act of nailing up displays, shlepping tables, stuffing falafels, we acknowledged to each other and to ourselves our peoplehood and our identity."[52] In his remarks, Handmaker was repudiating a version of Southern Jewish identity that emphasized fitting into gentile society, copying its ways, and not making a big fuss about differences. Some people applauded his forthright expression of the right to be different and enjoy Jewish culture, while others probably wondered what the fuss was – hadn't Louisville Jews always been accepted for who they were without problems?

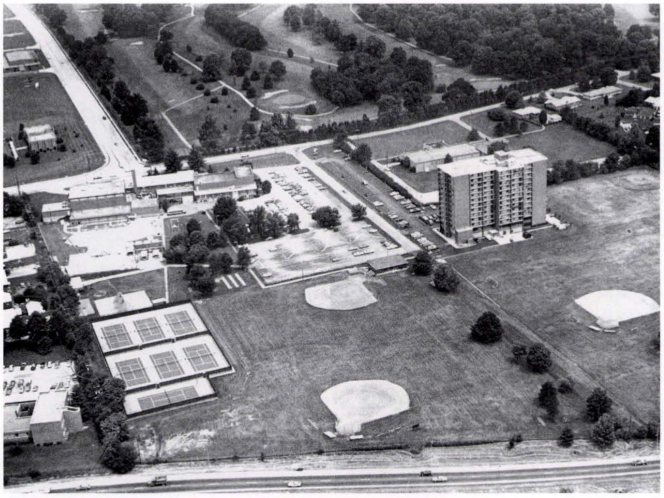


Senior activist Irv Lipetz.

Another "heritage" project of these years was the research and publication of Herman Landau's *Adath Louisville*, the first comprehensive history of the Louisville Jewish community. Landau had been a journalist on the staff of *The Courier-Journal*, and through his writings for the B'nai B'rith newsletter, the Federation's *Community*, other Jewish community publications, and the *Filson Club Quarterly*, he became the unofficial community historian and chronicler. Landau's book had its origin in a long article written for the 1976 Bicentennial issue of *Community*, which was expanded over the following years and ultimately published in 1981.

Al Erlen: *"When I came, the Jewish community was concentrated in two [or three] residential areas: Preston Street, Madison, Chestnut, some on 2nd – downtown; South 2nd and 3rd Street, Brook Street, Floyd; and the better-off people lived in the Highlands. Today the only one that exists at all is in the Highlands.... There is no such thing as a Jewish neighborhood anymore... the influence that the Jewish neighborhood had on a Jewish kid.... Now we have to find a substitute for that, give them a Jewish heritage, a Jewish continuity."*[68]

A major accomplishment of the Jewish Community Federation in this era was the construction of Shalom Tower, an apartment complex designed for the elderly and people with physical disabilities, on land adjacent to the JCC. The needs of the aging were capturing the community's attention because so many people were aging and living longer, and because activists like Arthur Kling and Irv Lipetz were fighting on



The Jewish Community campus, soon after construction of Shalom Tower.

their behalf.[53]

In 1978, Louisville's Aldermen approved the construction of a tower on the former JCC baseball diamond #4, behind Congregation Anshei Sfard. William Levy chaired the steering committee. The building would have 150 units on eleven residential floors, with a first floor community area including kitchen, lounge, activities area, clinic, and commissary, all with special security systems and safety devices for older adults. Rents were on a sliding scale, and according to the planners, "over three hundred persons have already expressed an interest in moving in to the new building." The location was perfect for elders who frequently visited the JCC and needed access to its hot kosher lunch program and Club 60 events. As a bonus, offices for the Federation and JFVS would be installed on the lower floors. When completed, Shalom Tower also provided subsidized housing for refugees, especially elders, from the Soviet Union, East Asia, and Ethiopia, and for people with physical disabilities. The first tenants moved in (with help from JFVS) in September 1979.[54]

In 1986, under the initiative of the National Council of Jewish Women, Louisville Section, Parkside, an adult day care facility, was opened in unused space at Four Courts Senior Center. This center could serve about 20 adults every day and offered a sliding payment scale. It served "people who are socially isolated or limited in activities because of physical disabilities or who need support services during the day in order to live independently," and tried to stimulate minds and bodies and keep seniors active and included. Though non-sectarian, Parkside served kosher meals to meet the needs of the entire community. It closed in the late 1990s.[55]

Four Courts Senior Center had been the community's residential home for the elderly since 1949. In 1980, a much-needed expansion added new beds and many new facilities in a wing that replaced the original mansion section of the building, but the cost was high – too high. In 1983, after a period of overseeing management of the facility, Jewish Hospital Health Care Services purchased Four Courts from the Louisville Hebrew Home (which was nearly bankrupt and facing closure) with the assistance of the Jewish Community Federation. Four Courts became the first member of the Jewish Hospital Health Network. Jewish Hospital's action provided a permanent, sound financial base for this crucial institution.

Another expansion of Four Courts in the late 80s was necessary due to demand for quality care for elders. The architecture of the updated building reflected Jewish Hospital's commitment to quality and beauty – the 1959 wing was torn down and new construction added more beds (to a total of 97). Designers blended the new facility into its beautiful Cherokee park setting by including spacious views and evoking the ambiance of a stately home with high-quality, homelike furnishings. Dedicated in 1992, it had an outdoor patio, a two-story atrium, gardens, and a library. Kosher meals were still served. With the resources and skills of Jewish Hospital as the managing organization, "Four Courts is taking its place as a provider of the most modern – and the most caring – recuperative care," according to Jewish Hospital Senior Vice President Ron Greenberg.[56]

In late 1977, the Jewish Social Service Agency and the Jewish Vocational Service merged, to avoid

duplication of services and create a stronger agency. The new organization, the Jewish Family and Vocational Service, had its hands full with help for New Americans. Al Erlen remained director through the transition, with Bob Tiell of the former Jewish Vocational Service as vocational director. In 1979, the new organization hired Stephanie Speigel, who had been a social worker with the agency, as executive director. Speigel found the transition easy due to the quality of the mentoring done by Al Erlen.[57] The Home for Convalescent Children, a related Jewish charity located in Old Louisville, closed in 1975; the resident children were sent to the Home of the Innocents.[58]

National Council of Jewish Women continued to supply the entire community with energy and advocacy for women, families, and children. In 1972, the organization opened the Jewish Resource Center at the JCC, to supply parents and teachers with books, games, learning aids, and other materials for informal Jewish education.[59] NCJW provided seed money for the California neighborhood Day Care Center in 1971, and in 1977, began the Kentucky Youth Advocates program. The Council funded its programs through proceeds from the Nearly New Shop and an annual "Fashion Encore" sale that raised thousands for charity from the sale of donated gently used clothing.[60]

NCJW leadership provided an important training ground for dynamic Jewish women who went on to become leaders in the Jewish community as a whole, and to take positions in Louisville and Kentucky government and social advocacy groups outside the Jewish community. Women had always wielded power in Jewish Louisville; through their social influence and activism they improved the lives of women and children. But in the early days, that power came through their husband's or father's rank, position, and wallet. By the 1970s and 1980s, that power was their own.

NCJW and other women's organizations were beginning to feel the challenge of women returning to the work force, cutting down drastically on their volunteer energies. Women like Betty Jane Fleischaker initially went to work because they had to, but in the process of becoming the CEO of Kentucky's first HMO, she "found out who I was."[61] Organizations that succeeded, like NCJW, became imaginative about finding causes for which their members would sacrifice time, and ways they could participate that fit a working schedule.

Community relations, an evolving area of Federation activism that was once characterized by early-70s Federation President Fanny Rose Rosenbaum as "everything we do that isn't all the other things we do," was a crucial area of concern in this era. In the 1970s, race relations in Louisville were affected by continuing attempts to desegregate schools through busing. The CRC, with Dr. Martin Perley, set up community-wide programs to defuse tensions when court-ordered busing became a fact in 1974. The Federation worked with other groups in the community, and urged compliance with the court's desegregation order.



On the terrace at Four Courts.

In the *Community* newspaper, Dr. Herbert Waller of The Temple told the community that "Judaism applies to school desegregation," stressing the Jewish ethical viewpoint "no one element of society can be

comfortable and happy while others are deprived and dispossessed." His view was that the attitude of the citizens of Louisville alone could determine if integration would succeed – and he was proven right, as relative calm prevailed in Louisville during the 1974-75 school year, while other areas of the nation going through the same process of busing faced violent confrontations.[62] Waller, working with others in the Jewish and Christian communities, formed the Kentuckiana Interfaith Community in the spring of 1979, as a forum for Jews and Christians (and later other religions as well) to find common ground and discuss issues that divided them through a peaceful dialogue.[63]

An unexpected – and partly unwelcome – benefit of court-ordered integration was a rush of applications for admission to Eliahu Academy, the Jewish Day School. Parents who feared violence, a decline in public school quality, or other fallout from busing sought admissions to private schools. In 1974, Eliahu received five times the normal number of applications. After deliberations, the school decided to expand its kindergarten program, in hopes that parents who enrolled because of busing would stay. However, in the upper grades the school would not compromise its standards and decided to accept only new students whose Hebrew fluency was comparable to existing students who had been through the Eliahu program – that is to say, very few students.[64]



Alan Engel, Ron Abrams and Lewis D. Cole, 1988.

Eliahu Academy, housed at the JCC, was now large enough to fill a larger building and, in 1983, leased the former Hikes Lane Elementary School building from the county. The location was not at the center of Jewish population. Later that same year, the school received accreditation from the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools and seemed on the brink of the established success for which it had worked so hard.[65]

Jewish Hospital continued to expand in the final quarter of the 20th century to become one of Louisville's star organizations and a nationally recognized health care institution. A merger with Frazier Rehabilitation Center in 1994 resulted in a hospital center providing the full range of services envisioned by its planners in the 1950s.[66] Henry C. Wagner came to the hospital as director in 1973, just as the new Wheeler Tower expansion was in progress. When it was finished the next year, it brought the size of the facility to 375 beds (more were added in 1975), and included a new emergency room. As part of the redevelopment of the area's streets, native son Abraham Flexner, author of the famous "Flexner Report," was memorialized by renaming the remaining section of Madison Street (the 200-300 blocks between Preston and Brook) "Abraham Flexner Way" where it passed through the hospital area.[67]

Changes in the organization of health care in the United States meant that Jewish Hospital needed to restructure and add new services to remain competitive with new for-profit hospitals. In 1982, Jewish Hospital was reorganized into a holding company called JH Systems Inc., which eventually expanded to become Jewish Hospital Healthcare Services (JHHS).

This change in the hospital district symbolized in some ways the transition from the old Jewish Louisville, where people worked, lived, and worshipped within a few crowded blocks, to the new Jewish Louisville of prosperous and strong institutions, but a dispersed population whose individuals and families enjoyed an array of American options, and Jewish community was a matter of choice.

CHAPTER TEN

Modern Jewish Louisville



Jewish success in Louisville was apparent to all in 1985, when Jerry Abramson, son and grandson of South Preston Street grocers, was elected mayor with 73 percent of the vote, then re-elected for two more terms, serving until 1998. During the 1980s and 1990s, his administration greatly expanded both Louisville's national reputation and its economic and physical revitalization. Abramson's accomplishments as mayor included Operation Brightside, inner-city housing, recycling, airport expansion, expansion of the Convention Center, a Triple-A ballpark, Waterfront Park, the Main Street Cultural Arts district, the Olmsted Conservancy

Jerry Abramson is sworn in as Mayor of Louisville, January 1986.



Mayor Jerry Abramson with family and friends on election night.

– and the list of improvements rolls on. Abramson had a background in legal practice with the firm Greenebaum Doll & McDonald, PLLC. He also served as alderman and as general counsel to the governor before running for mayor. Abramson was so popular that he was affectionately referred to as Louisville's "Mayor for Life." When city and county governments merged in 2002 to form Louisville Metro, Abramson was again elected mayor of the merged city, now sixteenth largest in the country.

Louisville did not hesitate to support a Jewish candidate and loved its Jewish mayor. Unlike many who leave their community behind when they enter public service, Abramson, who had always been active in Jewish organizations, maintained his ties to the community, even serving as United Jewish Campaign co-chair while in office as mayor. As one community member, Gertrude Feldbaum, put it: "Jerry Abramson was one of the boys, and he's still one of the boys."[1] Abramson gives the community credit for his electoral success as well, as volunteers and financial supporters of his campaign before he was widely known. Abramson was also active in organizations in the wider community, serving on the boards of Metro United Way and the University of Louisville Board of Trustees.

For most of the 20th century, Jews were accepted at the highest levels of Louisville's civic life without stigma. Jewish-sponsored organizations took the lead in providing many social services to the citizens of Louisville, such as JFVS' role in immigrant acculturation; partnerships between Metro United Way, the JCC, and JFVS; and the work of the National Council of Jewish Women with the court system. Jewish Hospital expanded and became known both nationally and locally for its high-quality care and innovations in healthcare services.

Challenges of the era included keeping good relations with the wider community; maintaining a stable Jewish population; attracting skilled clergy and professionals; and keeping high standards for Jewish education at all levels. International events continued to draw attention and resources, particularly the support needed for Israel during periods of crisis and threat. All synagogues and temples were challenged to respond to change through greater participation of women in ritual life, changing definitions of family, and an aging population, as well as the renewed interest in many more traditional practices. All of them responded by

Jerry Abramson: *"I'm proud of being Jewish. At the inaugural of my first term as Mayor, we had a service at Keneseth and invited the entire community because the tradition in the old city was to have a red-cap Mass at the Cathedral, and we had the synagogue. So I've always been very proud of the fact that I'm Jewish – with this* punim *[face], they know I'm Jewish! So everybody's aware and I've never had any problem.... When I began to run for Mayor in '85, there were an awful lot of successful Jewish people who contributed to my campaign, and it gave me an immediate financial base that many others might not have had, to begin to introduce myself to the rest of the community. So that kind of financial contribution and that kind of voluntarism that started up at the beginning of the campaign [helped] - ultimately as the campaign evolved I picked up lots of people from all over the city who would help. But you need to have a base to start on, from day one."*[66]

finding new avenues for participation in Judaism and the Jewish community.

The Temple initiated a new role for women in Jewish life, as clergy. In 1988, the congregation brought husband-and-wife rabbis, Joe Rooks Rapport and Gaylia Rooks, to Louisville. Rooks became the first woman to serve as a rabbi in Louisville (and in Kentucky) when she became associate rabbi in 1990. The couple was also the first in the world to be employed by one congregation as co-rabbis in an equal capacity.[2]

During the 1990s, The Temple followed the national trend in the Reform movement of re-examining and re-incorporating aspects of traditional practice, such as the use of Hebrew, that had been rejected by early American reformers. Some members of the congregation supported a return to family participation in a more traditional Shabbat and urged The Temple to reconsider practices such as covering the head during worship. Adath Israel always saw itself at the very forefront of progressive Judaism, which had meant not only rejecting, but even forbidding, traditions such as wearing the *kippah*. Brith Sholom had never been as radical in its observances. The merged congregation felt its way among a variety of views and practices. Not only were there a variety of Reform beliefs, the congregation also had among its members people from traditional Jewish backgrounds who chose to worship at The Temple for its location, its rabbis, its egalitarian policies towards women, or its inclusive approach to intermarriage. By the 1990s, even some of the most staunch supporters of The Temple, such as Lewis D. Cole, had begun to feel that during the previous decades, "Reform Jewish houses of worship... made such an effort to become Americanized that they really almost lost... all identification with any kind of historic Judaism."[3]



Rabbis Gaylia Rooks and Joe Rooks Rapport.

In 1999, the Reform movement's rabbis voted to reverse many of the 1885 Pittsburgh Platform principles; return to a celebration of tradition and spirituality, Hebrew learning, *mitzvot*, Shabbat observance; and continue the existing emphasis on *tikkun olam* and *tzedakah*. Louisville rabbis responded differently to this decision. The Temple's Rabbi Joe Rapport emphasized the voluntary nature of the changes: "a clear statement... of reaffirmation of Reform Judaism's individual autonomy based on what you choose to embrace." Temple Shalom's Rabbi Stanley Miles, whose congregation already followed more traditional practices such as the (optional) wearing of the *kippah*, said, "I... believe that the return to the notion of Shabbat observance and individual commitment to study mirrors a real maturation in the American Jewish community."[4]

Despite these changes, The Temple's clergy responded to the needs of some of the older members of the congregation, who had been raised with and valued the classical Reform tradition, by developing a special service to be held several times a year. This classical Reform service uses Wise's prayerbook and includes an organ with familiar melodies for prayers. Other special services include healing services and family nights.[5]

The re-thinking of the role of tradition and change in Judaism was a national trend and affected traditional congregations as well. During the same period, Keneseth Israel, once Orthodox, moved toward egalitarian treatment of women, which had once been viewed as a radical Reform innovation. Although still a member of the Orthodox Union, the congregation had already moved away from strict Orthodox practice, replacing its strict Orthodox identity with that of a "traditional" congregation in 1952 after the mixed seating controversy.

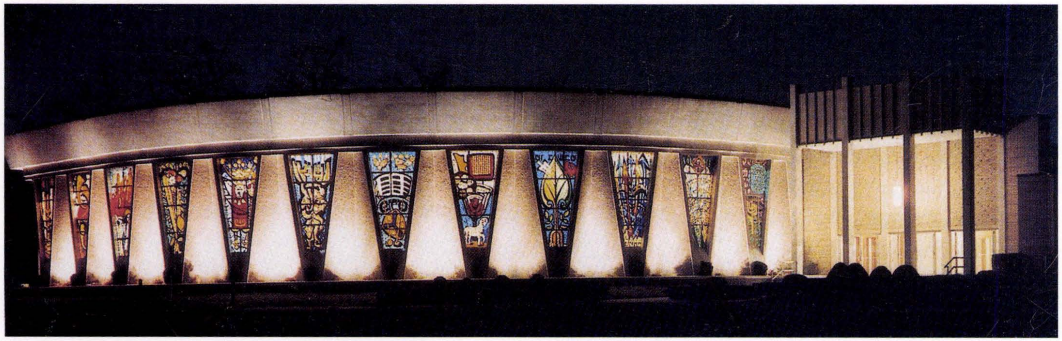
Adath Jeshurun, on the other hand, had been outspoken about women's participation since the 1960s, and was already fully egalitarian.

During the 1980s, the issue of women's participation arose again at Keneseth Israel. Despite a lack of enthusiasm from the various rabbis who served the congregation during this period, several members of the congregation advocated a more active role for women. Some worked to educate themselves and the congregation about what egalitarianism might be like. Others did not seek full participation or radical change, but wanted to be able to be counted in the daily *minyan* in order to strengthen the *minyan.* (According to tradition, 10 adult male Jews are needed for a complete service, and a complete service is required for those who must recite the *kaddish*, the prayer said by mourners after a death. If women could be counted, a full *minyan* would be achieved consistently, and *kaddish* could be said.)

Evie Topcik remembered how, as a girl at Keneseth Israel, she was permitted to participate in bar mitzvah celebrations in a more limited way than she would have liked: "We arranged the cookies in patterns. That's what we did." She added, "I couldn't understand why I didn't learn Hebrew. It hurt me so much to have 9 men and some *shlub* from out of town [counted in the *minyan*], when here were these women who lived for this shul."[6]

In the main service, the evolution was gradual. First women sat on the *bimah*, then did the *Ashrei* prayer from the *bimah*, then were permitted to carry the Torah, then had shared *aliyot*, and then a woman was permitted to read from the Torah. In 1989, Rebecca Temes celebrated the first Shabbat morning bat mitzvah at Keneseth Israel instead of the Friday night version, which was seen by many as a real breakthrough. A group of older women also had bat mitzvah ceremonies there.[7]

Below: Keneseth Israel's striking sanctuary windows are perhaps the most well recognized Judaic art in Louisville. They are the work of local artist William Fischer, who spent more than two years designing them and overseeing their installation. Each of the 12 panels represents a Jewish holiday.



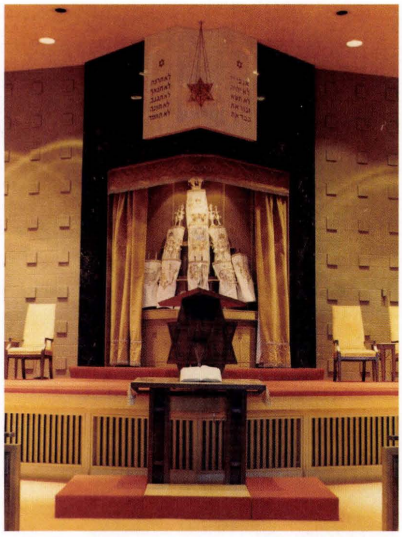
The windows were created using a unique design process which began with drawing a full size "cartoon" of the image; each window was then fabricated in colored, faceted glass by Louisville's Penna Company based on its design. The sanctuary was dedicated in 1971.

Evie Topcik and Ruth Greenberg arranged for Keneseth's first experimental egalitarian service in January 1990. Rabbi Marvin Feigenbaum read the Torah, but Greenberg gave the sermon and carried the Torah. She said "It's very exciting to be able to do some of the things that you've been watching other people do all of your life, and to be an active participant," and added that this service didn't solve the problem of equality, "but it's a good way to begin." Alternative services for women were held on a more regular basis. At first "we had no knowledge – we had the transliterations," but a group of women began to develop their skills. On Simchat Torah, women were allowed to carry the Torahs – but only in the outer hallway, not in the sanctuary itself. Eventually Rabbi Feigenbaum was replaced by Rabbi Shmuel Mann, whose Orthodox training and beliefs would "not go over that line" into accepting women's equal participation.[8]

In 1994, Keneseth joined the Conservative movement by a 60 percent/40 percent congregational vote, and became one of the few Conservative congregations that did not allow full equality for women. Mann

remained through the transition to equality in the late 1990s, but then left the congregation. Despite fears that the change would cost the congregation many members, only a few families left. Greenberg concluded that it was "a very divisive issue; there were many congregants who wanted to preserve the status quo, who were very comfortable with, used to, the way things were." They didn't leave, however, because "more powerful than anything was their commitment to Keneseth Israel – this was their home."[9]





In 1998, the congregation voted to become egalitarian, with full participation by women in all ritual observances. Rabbi Bradley Tecktiel became the rabbi in 2001. In 2002, the first female cantor in Louisville, Paula Pepperstone, was hired as *hazzan* of Keneseth Israel, and the congregation now found itself in the more progressive wing of the Conservative movement.

During this era, Temple Shalom outgrew its converted house and purchased land on Lowe Road in 1986. The modern building was designed by local Jewish architect Gerald Baron in a style meant to suggest Jerusalem. Rabbi Miles said: "This is one of the things that I'm proudest of with regard to Temple Shalom – it is a Louisville enterprise.... It was designed by Gerald Baron, it was built by Bornstein, and the interior of the sanctuary, an *aron kodesh*, the *bimot*, were lovingly designed by Jack Silverman and constructed by David Kling." Some of the work and fundraising was done by the congregation's women: "The Women's Auxiliary has always been there to represent Temple Shalom; the annual rummage sale; purchase of the riding mower so the grass could be cut; outfitting the kitchen at Taylorsville Road and in the new building...."[10] Although the hands-on quality and family feeling of Temple Shalom had to give way somewhat with the larger size and professionalization of the organization, the congregation has worked to maintain a close community. "Temple Shalom looks at itself as *mushpocha* and *mishpocha* stays together," says Rabbi Miles. Services were designed to be flexible, incorporating new elements from time to time as members grew in their knowledge and practice, rather than offering "alternative" services.

Above left: Avrohom Litvin of Chabad in 1992.

Above: Interior of Keneseth Israel.

Below: Purim at Temple Shalom.



An unusual partnership of Conservative and Reform congregations was forged in 2000, when Temple Shalom and Keneseth Israel agreed to merge their Sunday religious schools; that merger occurred in 2001. Although Adath Jeshurun had also been involved in joint curriculum planning, it decided not to participate in that merger. All three congregations, however, did combine their 7th and 8th grade students into a joint program called Kehila. In 2003, 6th grade students from Keneseth Israel and Temple Shalom also joined the Kehila program.

The Orthodox movement in Louisville was now represented only by Anshei Sfard, which was strengthened by the remnants of the former Agudas Achim. In 1985, however, the landscape changed for traditional Judaism with the arrival of Rabbi Avrohom Litvin to open a branch of Chabad in Louisville. Chabad, the Hasidic-inspired outreach movement, works to bring Jews of all denominations to a more traditional form of practice through programs like the traveling Sukkah-mobile. Chabad's activities gave new energy to the Orthodox community.



Anshei Sfard's Rabbi Solomon Roodman.

The retirement of Anshei Sfard's Rabbi Roodman in 1985 produced a change that had an impact both on the congregation and on the community at large. Roodman had been the spiritual leader of Anshei Sfard since 1946, known for his focus on Jewish interests to the exclusion of civic matters. He took on the duty of supervising *kashrut* and the *mikveh* for the community; was a founder of Eliahu Academy and was very involved with supervising its curriculum and development; and was a popular speaker and author of several books. Rabbi Chester Diamond of The Temple called him "the epitome of the meaning of *Rav u-Moreh*, rabbi and teacher." His retirement from the pulpit and shift to emeritus status in the early 1980s left a void in the congregation and community that proved difficult to fill. For several years, Roodman continued to serve as a supervisor of kosher manufacturing plants in Kentucky and Indiana, driving around the region to make inspections. An assistant, Rabbi Etengoff, filled in, but he left in 1984; Rabbi Goldenberg served the congregation from 1985 to 1988, but also left.[11]

Anshei Sfard interviewed candidates for the position of rabbi, but could not find a suitable candidate willing to move to Louisville's small Orthodox community. The congregation even tried raising the height of the *mechitzah*, since the existing one was a relatively low and discreet version of the barrier required between men and women during worship. Finally, the congregation's leaders approached Rabbi Litvin, who was obviously satisfied working with Louisville's Orthodox population. Some in the congregation were opposed to having a Hasidic rabbi, since Anshei Sfard had always been a mainstream modern Orthodox congregation. Litvin agreed to cooperate with things as they were and make no major changes; so a match was made.[12]



Photo by Ed Hastie

A photo of some members of the Kentuckiana Board of Rabbis and Cantors, 2003. Top row from left: Rabbi Joe Rapport, Rabbi Robert Slosberg, Rabbi Stanley Miles, and Rabbi Bradley Tecktiel. Bottom row from left: Rabbi Andrew Pepperstone, Cantor Paula Pepperstone, Rabbi Laura Metzger, Cantor David Lipp.

During the 1970s and 80s, the Orthodox movement had redefined itself nationally in fundamental ways, but these changes didn't reach Louisville until the 1990s. The new emphasis was on children – not only on having more of them, but making them welcome in services. Decorum was relaxed, and children were allowed on the *bimah*. Anshei Sfard's services were changed to include a class for children held during the Shabbat Torah reading, and

to allow pre-bar mitzvah students to lead the end of the service.

The Orthodox community also wanted an Orthodox educational setting for its children with extensive Hebrew instruction. So in 1996, Torah Academy opened with five students. Based at Anshei Sfard, each year the school added a grade or two, so that by 2003 the school's enrollment totaled 30 children in the Gan Torah program for preschoolers and the Torah Academy elementary school (through 7th grade). The school emphasizes building Jewish pride and an integrated Hebrew/English curriculum, and the small scale allows students to travel to participate in many community activities. Litvin says that "virtually all students are reading both Hebrew and English fluently by the time they enter first grade," with mornings taught in Hebrew and afternoons in English. Although many in the community questioned whether Louisville could or should support two day schools, the Federation provided funding starting in 2000. Torah Academy received full accreditation in May 2003 (the first year of eligibility). Its Gan Israel Day Camp offers a summer month and a winter week of activities.[13]

Jerry Abramson: *"There's a great story about Jewish Hospital: Andy Cuomo came to town as Secretary of HUD, and he came in at night, and I met him the next morning at the Seelbach for breakfast. And he said to me 'How many Jews are in this community?' and I said 'Oh, about ten thousand' and he said 'Ten thousand! I came down I-65, I saw Jewish Hospital, I saw Jewish Skycare, I saw the Inn at Jewish, I saw the Jewish Doctor's Office Building... I thought I was in New York!' I mean, it is a point of pride, as I have tried to tell many people, who are involved with other hospitals. It ain't the same. When you're Jewish, you're involved with Jewish Hospital."*[67]

For a time, the city also had a breakaway Orthodox minyan (known variously as "Beth Israel," "the *Shteibel*," and "the White House synagogue") that met in a white house on Almara Circle owned by the Sosowsky family. Services were led by minyan members, and sometimes by Rabbi Chaim Seiger, formerly of Keneseth Israel. According to some participants, the minyan was originally created by some Anshei Sfard members who were offended by a sermon given by Rabbi Roodman in 1985. However, many people who attended simply liked the warm, traditional atmosphere, and the participation of members in leading services. It disbanded by the late 1990s.[14]

A crisis for those who kept kosher developed again in 1992, when Kreitman's Strathmoor Market, the last kosher butcher, decided to close. Temporarily, Congregation Anshei Sfard and the Federation stepped in and arranged food orders from out of town. Finally, rescue came from Kroger, a supermarket chain with outlets in neighborhoods with many Jewish customers. At Kroger's Hikes Point store, a kosher department was established with groceries, frozen food, and a Vaad-certified butcher shop. The venture turned out to be even more profitable for Kroger than predicted—originally the congregations and the Federation paid the store to provide the service for only a six-month trial.[15] Since that time, the venture has been self-sustaining.



Ruthie Passamaneck, a community mashgiach, *helps ensure the* kashrut *(kosher standards) of events.*

The Louisville Vaad refurbished the community *mikveh* in 2002, adding new tile and a cistern, and an attractive tile mosaic by local artist Harold Berg. For years the mikveh had been dusty and cold and was rarely used except when necessary for a conversion ceremony or before a wedding. But demand from the growing Orthodox community led to the renovation, benefiting a new group of regular users.[16]

Conservative Judaism also changed with the times. In 1991, Adath Jeshurun suffered the loss of its beloved leader. Rabbi Simcha Kling, a skilled teacher and gifted writer, had been at the synagogue since 1965. He had studied in Tel Aviv, Cincinnati and New York, and had experience at other congregations before coming to Kentucky. Kling's strong advocacy for equality of women in Judaism helped encourage the congregation to accept equal participation by women in services and in all roles in the congregation, making Adath Jeshurun a national pioneer in this effort. He was the author of a well-received book on conversion, *Embracing Judaism*. He died after a long illness.[17]



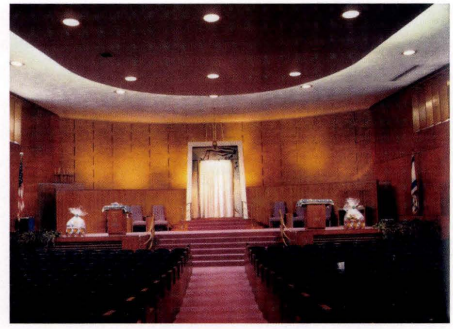
Interior of chapel, Adath Jeshurun

Ten years earlier the congregation had hired an assistant rabbi, Robert Slosberg, straight out of rabbinical school. Slosberg shared Kling's views on the role of women, seeing equality as "an ethical imperative in Judaism." As Kling's health declined, he moved to emeritus status in 1988, and Rabbi Slosberg became rabbi of Adath Jeshurun. One of Slosberg's first priorities was the declining preschool; he was able to turn it into a financially viable and successful educational program. During the 80s and 90s, Adath Jeshurun strengthened its other educational programs and offered new adult education programs such as scholars-in-residence, retreat weekends for families, and escorted trips to Israel – much of it made possible through an expanded endowment program.[18]

During this period, Adath Jeshurun's cantors included Morris Pernick and Marshall Portnoy. Since 1994, the congregation's cantor has been David Lipp, who brought a strong background in the history of Jewish music, and who continued a series of annual Jewish music festivals, initiated in earlier years by Cantor Portnoy, to educate and entertain the community. Rabbi Laura Metzger, a Reform rabbi married to Cantor Lipp, served for a period as the outreach director of the congregation and offered a popular "learner's minyan" to introduce the meaning of the service to adults.[19]

In the late 90s, Adath Jeshurun received a large bequest that would allow the congregation to buy land and relocate or stay and renovate the aging building in the Highlands if it chose to do so. A committee was formed called CD-ROM: Congregational Decision–Renovate or Move, which surveyed the congregation and examined all sides of the question. The resulting decision to stay in the Highlands surprised many.

Rabbi Slosberg supported the choice, explaining that half of the congregation still lived in the neighborhood; the Highlands itself was being rejuvenated with new paving, lights and plantings, and rising home values; the location was just as close to the East End as various parts of the East End were from each other; the Louisville Police Department (and particularly its anti-terrorism unit) was right across the street; and, finally, "the building is nestled in a beautiful and secure neighborhood" spiritually suited to the congregation. The building, however, said Slosberg, "doesn't connect with people like it did in the 50s." Plans for the future include a revamped main sanctuary with better natural lighting, a warmer atmosphere, and a better, less movie-theater-like seating arrangment.[20]



Interior of sanctuary, Adath Jeshurun

During the 1980s, the Jewish Community Federation of Louisville took a hard look at its own organization and purpose, and at the community it served. In 1985, the Board organized a self-study committee headed by Martyn and Toni Goldman, with professional assistance from the national Council of Jewish Federations. There was a general sense that the Federation was not functioning at maximum effectiveness. Critical issues included loss of Federation visibility, a need to attract top leadership, a lack of activity, burnout of leadership, poor meeting attendance, misplaced funding priorities, limited interactions with agencies, and a lack of future planning. A tall order, but the Goldmans were able to pull together effective committees that analyzed and re-envisioned the Federation.[21]

The results were published in 1987 in a publication titled *The Future of Federation: A Report of the Goldman Committee.* This report is widely credited with stimulating major improvements in all areas of Federation operations. The committee wrote a new mission statement for the Federation and recommended changes in the Board's composition, the establishment of year-round committees (instead of an annual campaign focus), a new role for the Executive Director, education for volunteers and leadership training, long-range planning, and an upgrade to all publicity, particularly the *Community* newspaper. To begin implementing these changes, the Board hired a new executive director, Alan Engel, in 1988. President Ron Abrams began the task of implementing the recommendations step by step. Philanthropist Mason Rudd made financial commitments to the Federation that set new levels of giving for the Jewish community, and raised the bar for community support, and made possible the realization of many of the report's recommendations.[22]

Following *The Goldman Report*, the Federation's Long Range Planning Committee, chaired by Robert Sachs, commissioned a study of the Jewish community of Louisville (with substantial funding from Jewish Hospital), officially called the *Demographic and Attitudinal Study,* but referred to as "The Tobin Study," which was carried out by professional researchers from Brandeis University and published in 1990. The results were surprising. At the Annual Meeting, Federation President Marcia Roth declared:

> *Our own demographic study shows that we are not the community that we think we are. Those of us in this room are not even reflective of the Jews in Louisville, Kentucky, today, 5 percent of whom are new Americans, many of whom are divorced or never married, some of whom are gay....* [23]

Perhaps most unexpected was the realization that only just over half of Louisville's Jews had been born and raised in Kentucky (and only 38 percent had lived their entire lives in the city) – the perception of Louisville's Jewish families as an unchanging and established community, with few newcomers, needed some rethinking. The population was estimated at 8,700 individuals, fewer than many people assumed and hoped, and it was an aging community. Although the Louisville Jewish community was no longer centered downtown, Jews were living in a relatively small area; five zip codes housed two-thirds of the community. As for religious affiliation, Louisville's Jews were more likely both to belong to a congregation and to attend services than Jews in comparable cities. Of those who expressed a denominational preference, 14 percent were Orthodox, 38 percent were Conservative, and 40 percent were Reform.[24]



Federation President Jane Goldstein, 2003.

Since its publication, most of the recommendations of *The Goldman Report* were implemented and have succeeded. The Federation has become a year-round, professionally staffed organization that serves as the central agency for community planning — stimulating, coordinating, and directing community responses to changing conditions, opportunities, and crises. In 2003, Engel sees the community "working together in a healthier way" and looks to new endowment funding initiatives to ensure the future stability of Jewish Louisville.[25]

Emigration of Soviet Jews and then Jewish refugees from former Soviet states including Russia, Belarus, the Ukraine, and Georgia increased dramatically in the early 1990s, far surpassing the numbers of new Americans who had arrived during the 70s. This time, American Jews were much better prepared and equipped to assist them. The national Council of Jewish Federations adopted a policy of "equitable collective responsibility" to resettle Russians. Communities chose to accept immigrants or pay other communities to do so. Louisville chose to accept as many as possible, ultimately resettling about 900 individuals. Federation played a big role in organizing the response from all sectors of the community, so successfully that Louisville became a model for the rest of the country.



Right: Jewish Hospital provided employment to many New Americans, including Irina Zgurzhnitsky.

Although these newcomers faced many of the same problems as earlier immigrants, such as finding jobs that suited their skills (a high proportion of them were academics or had other advanced degrees), this time the community was prepared to offer at least interim employment and training positions. New immigrants were paired, when possible, with older immigrants. Jewish Hospital became the largest employer of new Americans (and provided free health care for all new arrivals). Many of the displaced medical professionals from Russia who could not use their skills in America were retrained or re-certified through the support of Jewish Hospital, including a handful who were able to earn back their full status as physicians. More than 100 Louisville businesses were recruited by JFVS to offer jobs, including H&S Hardware (the Sosowsky family), Keneseth Israel Preschool, Rally's (Rick Sherman), Jones Plastic (Joe Weis), Cardinal Kitchens (Chuck O'Koon), the Blue Boar Restaurant, Citizen's Fidelity Bank, the Humana

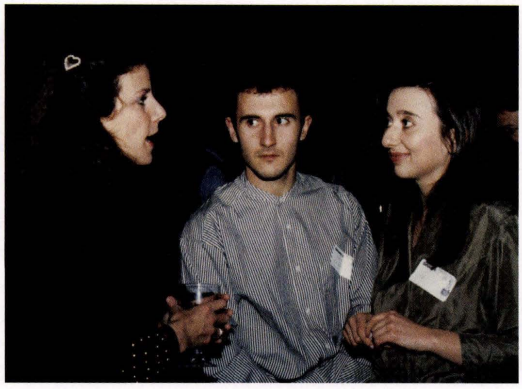


New Americans Nora Pribleeda, Irena Sulyevich, Isak Pribleeda and Pavel Sulyevich.

Corporation, and many more.[26]

The Nearly New Shop operated by the National Council of Jewish Women provided free clothing, and Evans Furniture (the Winkler family) donated warehouse space for donated furniture and household goods that were distributed by JFVS volunteers.

The Jewish Community Center developed an Acculturation Program in 1992 in response to the renewed wave of immigration. With a grant from the Federation, the JCC offered formal classes and informal programs such as a model *seder*, a *Matzoh* bakery, and other holiday celebrations. "I Love Louisville" tours introduced new Americans to local sites and landmarks. A Russian Club was started at the Center. The Acculturation Program also offered classes in the Russian language, so that the children could connect with the history and culture of their parents.[27]



Karen Abrams (left) with New Americans David and Alla Klionsky.

To assist New Americans in becoming renewed as Jews, the Federation provided day school scholarships for every child for at least two years, and local congregations offered free membership and transportation to services. "I couldn't understand anything the rabbis said, but it looked like a large family," said Tatiana Reynberg.[28]

In this second wave of immigration, many came to join family members already in Louisville, which helped ease the transition. Inna Elkin and her family, from Tashkent, joined her aunt Miriam Ayzikovich, who had settled in Louisville in the 1970s. Elkin, a concert pianist, worked at Adath Jeshurun and showed

her appreciation by giving concerts for the community. The Zlatin family worked together and purchased a small grocery store, Gagel's Market, in the Portland neighborhood. Dynya Zlatin remembered their struggles with English: "A customer might come in and ask for cat litter, and we would show them calculators, or they might say 'it's chilly out' and we would show them chili."[29]



The focus of assistance for new Americans changed during the 1990s as their needs changed – help with language was less urgent, but employment assistance was still needed. "Our goal," JFVS Executive Director Stephanie Speigel said, "was to help them feel successful and good where they were." JFVS staff realized that help with setting up small businesses would be of value not only to Russians, but to other new Americans and other Louisvillians. In 1992, the Family Business Center was established, and three years later the Center for Microenterprise Development was initiated.[30]



Above and right: New Americans at a JCC acculturation program.

JFVS' offices had been located in Shalom Tower, adjacent to the Jewish Community Federation offices, for many years. In a bid for larger and better space for offices, counseling rooms, and meeting rooms, JFVS launched a fund drive, and by 1998 had raised $2.8 million to construct its own building. The site was at the corner of Dutchmans Lane and Cannons Lane, directly across from the JCC and in front of the Eliahu Academy building, on land acquired earlier by the Federation. The Louis and Lee Roth Family Center, as the new headquarters was called, opened in 1999. Designed by local Jewish architect Mark Isaacs, who had studied at Israel's Technion as well as at MIT, the innovative design featured weathered copper cladding and many "green" features intended to save energy and make a warm, cheerful setting for staff and clients.



Right: Jewish Family and Vocational Service's Building, the Louis and Lee Roth Family Center.

"The process of doing this building *was* Torah," Isaacs said. Director Stephanie Speigel called it "the most Jewish building in Louisville." Isaacs designed it to echo a stylized menorah structure with eight window bays and a ninth "*shamash*" window on the Dutchmans Lane front, which was chosen, Isaacs explained, because JFVS was a place where great miracles happened. The village-like interior has "streets" and gathering places to evoke a community. Jewish art includes cheerful *menorahs* on every door. On the east side, the green copper corners spell "*chai*" – life – in Hebrew. According to Isaacs, the meanings encoded in the building weren't apparent even to him until it was completed, when he noticed, while

giving a tour to Temple students, that the copper edging on the west corner spells out in stylized Hebrew, "*ein sof*" – the infinite.[31]

Through the 1980s and 90s, education was the biggest challenge for the Louisville Jewish community. Various forms of organization and community-wide efforts were attempted, with both modest successes and one spectacular failure. The 1991 *Tobin Study* found that the most important issue for Jewish Louisvillians surveyed was the perceived poor quality of Jewish supplemental education (synagogue Sunday schools, the Louisville Hebrew School, and the High School of Jewish Studies). The study found that this issue was "viewed so negatively that major revisions in the structure of education in the Louisville Jewish community" were needed immediately, and that cooperative mechanisms would be of value as "part of an overall strengthened central agency for Jewish education," like that of most other Jewish communities of similar size.[32]

In 1985, Dr. Moshe Papo became director of the Jewish Education Association (JEA), which included the Hebrew School, High School of Jewish Studies, adult education programs, the Naamani Library, the Resource Center, and the Principals' Council – all of the Jewish educational organizations except for Eliahu Academy, Temple Hebrew School, and the synagogue religious schools.[33]

Following the *Tobin Study's* revelations of the perceived educational deficiencies of the supplemental schools, it seemed to many that the need existed for a central agency under which the components of the JEA along with Eliahu Academy could operate. Such an umbrella organization could pool resources, develop coordinated curricula, provide for teacher training, and more. The new organization was named CAJE, the Central Agency for Jewish Education, with Dr. Larry Florman as president.

Eliahu Academy moved to a former office building recently purchased by the Federation, near the intersection of Dutchmans Lane and Cannons Lane, across from the JCC. Moving Eliahu to this new home

Louis T. and Lee Fuenfer Roth



Louis T. Roth was responsible in large part for the initial development of endowments at the Jewish Community Federation of Louisville. Roth, an accountant, came to Louisville just before World War II to work as an auditor at the Brown Hotel, and soon left to become an active CPA with his own business, Louis T. Roth and Company. He was active in the sale of Israel bonds, and realized that "because I'm engaged in public accounting, I have had contacts with people who were able to create philanthropic funds." He encouraged his clients to think about establishing charitable endowments as part of their estate planning.

Roth was able to help his clients not only do well for themselves, but establish the concept of, and funding for, community endowment funds that will benefit future Jewish Louisvillians for many generations.

Modest, down-to-earth people, Lou and Lee raised their five children in a loving home on Douglass Boulevard. The Roths were active in many organizations and for numerous causes within both the Jewish and general Louisville communities. They were philanthropists in their own right, and in their lifetimes established the Roth Family Foundation, which continues today. The Roth family honored the legacy of Louis and Lee Roth through their generous support for the new JFVS building.



Eliahu Academy.

also fit one of the conclusions of *The Tobin Study*, which had suggested that the isolated location of Eliahu in the former Hikes Lane School was a deterrent for parents thinking of enrolling their children. The new location was central and far superior because of access to the facilities of the JCC. Architect Mark Isaacs was hired to turn the former office building into a school. The CAJE office was to be located there as well.[34]

Money was a major issue. The first executive director of CAJE was hired and expected to do double duty as the principal of the Day School. This did not work, and she departed within a matter of months. A second executive director was hired along with a new principal of the Day School. In this instance, the executive director was expected also to run the supplemental programs. But the concept of an educational umbrella agency as implemented did not yield the anticipated benefits and, in 1995, after extensive community-wide deliberations and discussions, it was dissolved. The constituent schools and programs continued as separate entities.

"Bringing them all together under one umbrella organization to operate schools and develop programs hasn't worked," acknowledged Robert Sachs, president of CAJE at the time. The experience left strong and bitter feelings for many of those involved.[35]



Right: CAJE Day School in the early 1990s.

A brighter spot in the late 1990s was the launching of the Florence Melton Adult Education Program, an internationally recognized course of study focusing on interpretation and discussion of Jewish texts in a planned and sequenced two-year curriculum of classes. Alan Klugman, the Federation's assistant executive director, and David Chack, the Jewish Community Center's assistant executive director, saw an interest among adults in developing a deeper understanding of Judaism, and designed the plan for bringing the program to Louisville. The Federation funded a pilot effort through the JCC's Jewish Life and Learning Department, led by Peter Anik, and continues to subsidize this popular program held at the JCC in 2003.

In the late 90s, the Louisville Jewish Community Federation began a new community initiative, Partnership 2000, in conjunction with the Jewish Agency for Israel. The partnership was meant to be a reciprocal exchange between Israelis and Americans, rather than a one-way flow of resources. Louisville

Bernheim's Legacy



Isaac Bernheim

I. W. Bernheim was not only a benefactor of the Jewish community, his philanthropic gifts enriched Louisville and surrounding areas of Kentucky. He donated the statue of Thomas Jefferson that stands in front of the Jefferson County Courthouse and the statue of Abraham Lincoln at the main branch of the Louisville Free Public Library at 3rd and York.

Bernheim Arboretum and Research Forest in nearby Bullitt County is the most extensive and beloved legacy of the Bernheim family. In 1928, I. W. Bernheim bought Ledgerock Farm, 12,500 acres of worn-out farmland. Additional tracts had also been used formerly as a saltworks and iron mine. The native trees had been harvested for timber. Bernheim formed a charitable foundation and deeded a total of 14,000 acres (along with a substantial endowment) to be used as an arboretum and a natural museum for the public to enjoy. The restoration of the land to a "natural" state, however, took decades. Fire tracks and watchtowers were built, roads were laid out, and the original farm's tenant buildings and fences were removed. Trees, native and exotic, were planted.

The Frederick Law Olmsted firm, designers of Louisville's park system, developed the master site plan in 1931. Lakes were created and nature trails linked scenic and educational areas of the Forest. Bernheim Forest finally opened to the public in 1950. In addition to being used for recreation and enjoyment, the Forest is managed as a research institution studying the ecological diversity of the region.[69]

I. W. Bernheim died in 1945, at age 96, and was buried at Bernheim Forest. Bernheim Arboretum and Research Forest continues to be an important, vibrant force in the Greater Louisville area in the early 21st century.

(along with twelve other communities in the Midwest) was partnered with the Western Galilee region of Israel (to the north of Haifa, including the city of Acco and many *kibbutzim* and *moshavim*) in order to effect joint planning and administration of UJA dollars, to build bridges between Jews and Arabs in a relatively peaceful region, and to serve as an "active vehicle to develop that personal and lifelong relationship with Israel and Israelis," according to Mark Isaacs, Partnership 2000 chair at the time. Businesses, schools, and cultural institutions all participate; for example, the Israeli museum called the Ghetto Fighters House (a Holocaust museum) works with Louisville's Central High School, Atherton High School, and the Louisville Hebrew School on curricula and programs.[36]



Left: Kesher Kentucky is a leadership development program for high school juniors that includes a summer segment in Israel. This showcase program is sponsored by the Federation and subsidized by synagogues. It was created in Louisville in 1995 and later adopted by other communities. Here students meet with Fred Joseph to plan a program.

The Federation's Community Relations Council (CRC) addressed some new challenges, and brought a new focus to some old issues. Louisville's role as the headquarters of the Southern Baptists brought conflicts, as this branch of the Baptist Church embraced fundamentalism. In 1999, the Southern Baptist Convention declared a drive to convert the Jews of America and issued a pamphlet aimed at Jews that appeared just in time for Rosh Hashanah. Local Jews were offended and outraged. The Southern Baptists did not respond to Jewish criticism, except to

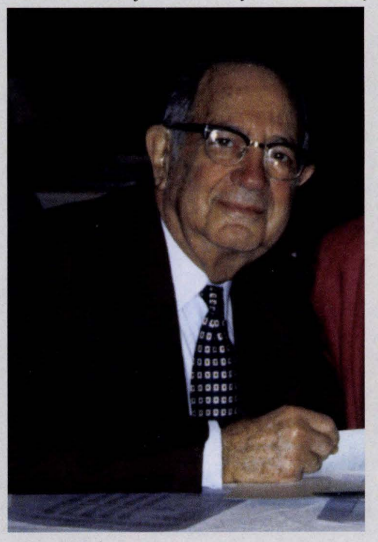
re-emphasize their missionary vision, but many local churches rushed to disassociate themselves from the conversion drive. Presbyterian Church USA, also based in Louisville, contacted the CRC chair Maura Temes, to offer support to the Jewish community. Many local Baptists and Baptist congregations were as upset as the Jewish community about what they agreed was an offensive attempt at coercion. But the Baptist Seminary and other local congregations such as Southeast Christian Church, one of the largest congregations in the country, continue to believe in the conversion mission.[37]

Mayor Jerry Abramson, a former CRC chair and a forthrightly Jewish public figure, reported that as mayor he would play an educational role in public gatherings where ministers are asked to pray and they would conclude their prayer, "in Jesus name we pray." Abramson's efforts paid off. As he explains, "Even the

Lewis D. Cole

"I guess you'd say that's what you'd call a blessed life, blessed for me because I'm able to do the kinds of things that give me such great joy, to meet and know and become friendly with people of infinitely greater stature and to look up to them with admiration and feel that in my own small way, I'm living up to a tradition of service, which, whatever benefit it may or may not have brought about to the people whom I've worked with, the benefit it gave to me was immeasurably greater."

(Lewis Cole, interview with Shiela Steinman Wallace, editor of *Community*)



Lewis Cole

The "senior statesman" of the Louisville Jewish community, Lewis D. Cole has served as an officer or president of every major Jewish organization and many other Louisville institutions as well. Born in 1913, Cole is a descendent of some of the original founders of the Louisville Jewish community (5th generation on one side of the family, 3rd on the other) and a nephew of philanthropist I. W. Bernheim. His parents were actively involved in service to both the Jewish and the general community, and Cole considers himself to be a "Louisville chauvinist."

After college at Dartmouth and marriage to Jean Rothschild, Cole returned to work at his family's business, a chain of groceries called Steiden Stores. Despite having a young family, Cole joined the Army during World War II and served in Washington, then returned to Louisville to find the family business sold. He went into business for himself with a partner.

Cole played an important role as a leader in creating the Jewish Community Federation (and was extremely active in its Community Relations Council), the Jewish Welfare Board, the YMHA and the Jewish Community Center (and was president at the time the planning was done for the move to the Dutchmans Lane building), Jewish Hospital, and the Jewish Family and Vocational Service.

Through his activity with Jewish community organizations, Cole became aware of the needs of the greater community as well. He was part of the group that organized Metro United Way from existing social service organizations. For example, he served as president of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council (NJCRAC). Later, he served on the board of Spaulding University, a Catholic institution. He also represented the Louisville Jewish community on boards of national organizations. Politically, Cole calls himself "a yellow-dog Democrat," active in the ACLU and with the Fairness Campaign.

Archbishop gets it. Any time he's in a public situation... a public dinner, a public function, an inaugural or something, he always ends his prayers with just 'amen.' Most of the ministers can get it. Now, some don't. But most people do."[38]

Some issues that had been problems in the past appeared to be fading, particularly as the public school system recognized the diversity of students' cultures and beliefs, and began to celebrate that diversity rather than feel threatened. Teachers were less likely to assume that all students celebrated Christian holidays, and the days of school Bible readings ended. The CRC now provides calendars and holiday information to the schools each year to help avoid scheduling conflicts for students and teachers; and also works with teachers on Holocaust programming, including sponsoring annual teacher trips to the Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C. Abramson says: "I think that this community has come a long way from twenty years ago to where we are today. For the most part, it seems like this community is embracing diversity in the international sense, cultural sense, and religious sense far, far, better than it ever did in the past."[39]

In 1998, the Federation's CRC initiated the ROAR Lieracy Initiative, which places more than a hundred volunteers a year in local primary schools to assist 2nd and 3rd grade students with reading and act as one-to-one tutors. The program began with a few schools and later expanded. The success of the program was demonstrated not only through improvements in the students' reading scores, but in improved confidence. Volunteers found that they formed very special bonds with the students they served.[40]



Sandee Linker volunteers in the ROAR Literacy Initiative.

The National Council of Jewish Women continued to expand its activities through the 80s and 90s. In 1985, the group inaugurated the CASA (Court Appointed Special Advocate) project, which still continues to offer support and expertise to children caught up in the judicial system, and ten years later began the Court Watch program, monitoring domestic violence cases. In 1999, the Louisville Section was honored at the national NCJW convention for its work on domestic violence awareness. Then-President Ellen Prizant remarked:

> *We learned that many things have changed in the world, but the need to fight for social justice has not. We still face critical issues such as poverty, racism, child abuse, domestic violence, discrimination, and more. Throughout our history, the women of NCJW have helped to raise the consciousness of others and draw attention to societal problems and unmet needs. We will continue to do so.*[41]

In the 1980s, the JCC modernized and expanded its facilities with a building campaign. In 1986-88, the Center added one third more space, expanding to 100,000 square feet; it now included a second gym with a suspended running track around the perimeter, a toddler playroom, two new lounges, a remodeled health and fitness wing, and landscaping and other improvements. A kosher "sidewalk café" on the lower level of the JCC became Louisville's – and Kentucky's – only Vaad-certified kosher restaurant. During the 1990s, the JCC wrestled with growth and demographic issues. The local Jewish population was not growing, so any expansion of JCC membership, which was needed to fund renovations and new programming, had to come through the inclusion of non-Jews as members. By this time, according to the executive director,

Al Cheistwer, the JCC had 6,000 members, a third of whom were not Jewish.[42]

Cheistwer retired in 1996 and was replaced by Howard Schultz, who brought new ideas and energy. His first initiative was the new Cyberlab, supported by a grant from the Federation's Foundation For Planned Giving, and designed as an advanced computer lab for training people in all aspects of computer and internet use; it was designed to appeal to everyone from business executives to senior citizens. The new Healthy Lifestyle Center, a fitness and wellness facility at the Center, was designed and promoted in partnership with Jewish Hospital, which provided funding. The opening of this facility was delayed, however, by another catastrophic flood in March 1997. The entire lower level of the Center was affected – offices, lounges, and café – but especially the sports facilities. New handball courts were destroyed (just as in 1937), and the indoor pool cracked. However, the flood was a blessing in disguise, since the subsequent repair and renovation work resulted in the improvement of many facilities that otherwise would not have been a priority. Jewish Hospital also provided substantial funding—two million dollars—for this project.[43] A new JCC executive director, Gary Bernstein, arrived in June of 2003.



BBYO members, early 1990s.

BBYO youth programs continued to diminish in number and in activity. JCC Youth Director Peter Anik is credited with creating a brief revival in the early 90s, but it was not sustained. In 2003, the BBYO program consisted of one club for boys and one for girls, which as part of the BBYO system retained access to regional programs and conventions that provide some of the excitement of being part of a large and committed group. Previous generations of youth club members expressed disappointment at the decline of the system. Said one person, "It's the saddest thing.... Those kids get ten percent of what we got." But the many demands on the time of teenagers prevent the kind of intense commitment of earlier generations. Recent BBYO advisors, who were once active and enthusiastic members themselves, blame the priority on high school sports, and on parents' lack of interest or commitment to Jewish activities for their kids as they reach the teen years.[44]



Right: The Federation's Young Leadership Development in Washington, D.C. in 1992.

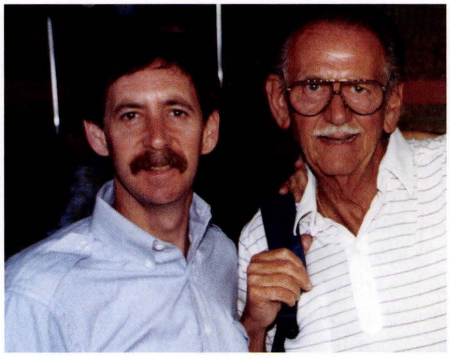
Jewish parents of young

children today face a bewildering array of choices for their children's time, with Jewish activities being only a small portion of those choices. The high quality of Louisville's Jewish preschools, four of which are located at synagogues or temples, provide an easy choice for the earliest years. Some parents choose to send their children to a day school, often as much in order to ensure that their children have Jewish friends and a Jewish environment as for the more formal aspects of education. Sunday schools, Shabbat programs (always in conflict with school sports schedules), congregational clubs and activities, and Hebrew school all compete for time and transportation, along with secular options. Maintaining Jewish identity and participating in Jewish activities are choices that require work and commitment, now more than ever.[45]



Sam Gordon of the Louisville Hebrew School assists a student at a menorah ceremony.

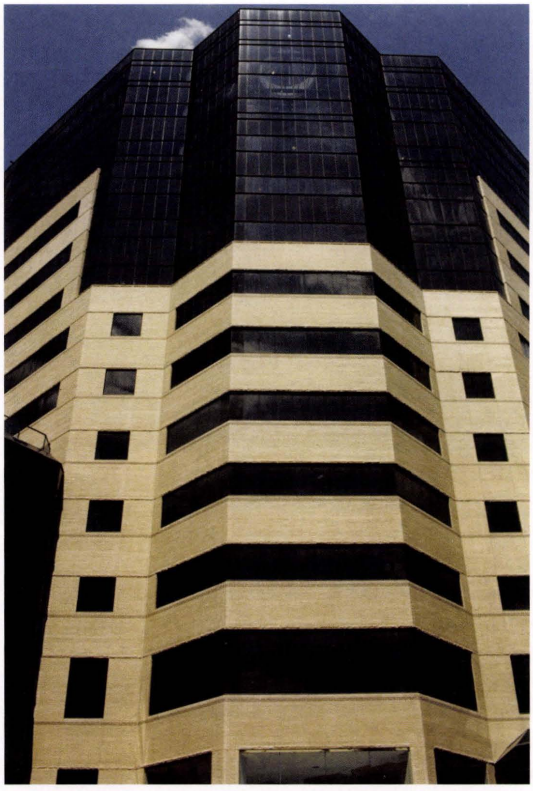
At the close of the 20th century, the theme of heritage and nostalgia was present at the JCC as well as other community organizations. In September 1997, the former young men's club, Resnick AZA, sponsored a reunion weekend chaired by Ron Weisberg, which honored his father, Charles, who served as Resnick advisor from 1958 to 1971. Mayor Jerry Abramson, a Resnick member, was the master of ceremonies. Classmates joked that Abramson only ran for Louisville mayor because he lost the election to be *Aleph Gadol* (president) of Resnick. Twice. Ron Weisberg said: "Emotions were high and it was a weekend that could not have been better. It didn't matter where it was, or what we ate, it was the feeling of something very special amongst old friends who went through our teens in a very special time and place." Annette Sagerman summed it up nicely: "It was the funnest weekend in years."[46]



Left: Ron Weisberg and his father, Charles.

Two years later, the Center hosted a reunion for students of Morris Elementary School, which had educated a generation of Louisville's Jews when it was centrally located at the corner of Floyd and Chestnut. Classes were a mixture of Jewish, Lebanese, and Italian immigrants with students from Syria, Russia, Germany, France, England, and Canada, all residents of Louisville's equivalent of New York's Lower East Side. The school closed in 1961, but led to lasting friendships among immigrants of varied backgrounds. At the reunion, one Irish resident, Maggie Riley, recalled that her classmates' families were so helpful to her that "for a long time I thought Yiddish meant 'goodness' and 'kindness'."[47]

In 2001, the Center, with the Federation, sponsored Jewish Louisville Heritage Day, a celebration of Jewish Louisville history that involved hundreds of volunteers and nearly three years of planning. With David Weinberg as chair, various committees collected memorabilia and photographs from the community and used the JCC Cyberlab to scan them to create a permanent archival record. A business database was begun as an attempt to document the history of Louisville's Jewish-owned businesses. The event included a month-long exhibit in the JCC's Patio Gallery and a day of presentations, reminiscences, and Jewish foods,





Above: Jewish Hospital's Rudd Heart and Lung Center.

Mason Rudd, owner of a construction equipment business and respected philanthropist for a wide range of projects that have improved the lives of all Louisvillians.

with a mock deli set up in the JCC café.[48]

Jewish Hospital continued to play a crucial role in the community during the last decade of the 20th century and into the 21st century. According to Alan Engel, while Louisville's Jewish agencies are "as good as any in the country... the one thing that distinguishes us from others is Jewish Hospital." The hospital provided vital financial and logistical support to the JCC, JFVS, and Russian resettlement efforts, and continued to seek out Jews to serve on its Board, even while it reached out to the state and the region. Jerry Abramson noted that Jewish Hospital is "a significant point of pride, happens to be an outstanding institution medically, but also for the community. When Four Courts was in trouble, Jewish Hospital stepped in. When the Jewish Community Center needed to be updated, new equipment, Jewish Hospital stepped in."

Changes in the organization of health care in the United States meant that the hospital needed to restructure to remain competitive with new for-profit health care providers, and needed to add new services. A merger with Frazier Rehabilitation Center in 1994 resulted in a hospital center providing the full range of services envisioned by its planners in the 1950s.[49] New Jewish Hospital Healthcare Systems members in the 1990s included Clark, Washington County, and Scott Memorial Hospitals in Indiana, and Jewish Hospital Shelbyville, Pattie A. Clay Hospital in Richmond, and Taylor County Hospital in Campbellsville, Kentucky. In 1992, Jewish Hospital established a relationship with Hospital #122 in St. Petersburg, Russia. As part of the Federation's Partnership 2000 program with the Western Galilee region of Israel, Jewish Hospital also created relationships with health care providers in that area.

In 1995, Jewish Hospital's Heart and Lung Institute moved into the newly constructed, state-of-the-art 14-story Rudd Heart and Lung Center, one of the largest cardiac surgery centers in the nation. Philanthropist Mason Rudd, a Board member who forged close ties between Jewish Hospital and the University of Louisville, was the primary benefactor of the new facility. The Jewish Community Federation helped contribute to the Jewish symbolism of the building by giving a mezuzah for the door and a 53-foot stained glass frieze that included imagery of a Torah scroll.[50] Besides its prominence in cardiac care, including an



Left: Aerial view of Jewish Hospital.

experimental artificial heart program, the hospital continued its leadership in hand care and surgery. But the hospital also remembered the personal touch – Chanukah candles were still lit in the lobby each year in honor of Hilda Fox, and in 1997, the hospital commissioned internationally-renowned local artist, Julius Friedman, and glass artisan, Mark Fowler, to design a permanent lobby menorah.[51] The hospital also contains several mosaics from local physician and artist, Harold Berg.

In 2003, the hospital opened a new branch in the east end of Louisville, Jewish Hospital Medical Center East, near the Jewish Community Center and closer to the expanding suburban population, and dedicated the building with a mezuzah ceremony.[52]

The University of Louisville is an important factor in the Jewish community as an employer of many of the city's Jewish academics and professionals, and as a partner in medical ventures with Jewish Hospital. During the 1990s, the university welcomed its first Jewish (and first female) chair of the Board of Trustees, Minx Auerbach.[53] With the School of Law named for Louis Brandeis, the Planetarium honoring Rabbi Rauch, and the belated recognition of Louis Gottschalk's principled actions through the dedication of the History Department's Gottschalk Hall, the University has had, through its students, Board, and its faculty, an important role in development of the Louisville Jewish community.

Just as the BBYO system declined over the last two decades of the 20th century to a shadow if its former



Below: Jewish Hospital's new Medical Center East, an outpatient care facility which offers state-of-the-art diagnostic and procedural technology to Louisville.

Louisville Jewish Sites listed in the National Register of Historic Places

(Many other properties are within the boundaries of Historic Districts but are not listed separately)

Adath Israel Cemetery
(Temple Cemetery)
2716 Preston Street, Louisville
Architect, builder, or engineer: Maury & Dodd, Grove, Benjamin

Adath Israel Temple
834 South 3rd Street, Louisville
Architect, builder, or engineer: McDonald Brothers

Adath Jeshurun Temple and School
749-757 S. Brook Street, Louisville
Architect, builder, or engineer: Gaffney, J. J.

Bernheim Distillery Bottling Plant
822-828 S. 15th Street, Louisville

Brandeis House
(Also known as American Turners)
310 East Broadway, Louisville

Commodore Apartment Building
Bonnycastle Avenue, Louisville
Architect, builder, or engineer: Joseph & Joseph

Charles D. Jacob House
1020 South Fourth Street, Louisville

Jewish Hospital Complex
(Also known as Cornerstone Apartments)
236 East Kennedy Street, Louisville

Kaufman-Straus Building
427—437 South 4th Street, Louisville
Architect, builder, or engineer: Maury, Mason

Keneseth Israel Synagogue
232-236 West Jacob Street, Louisville

Levy Brothers Building
235 West Market Street, Louisville
Architect, builder, or engineer: Clarke & Loomis

Republic Building
429 West Muhammad Ali Boulevard, Louisville
Architect, builder, or engineer: Joseph & Joseph

Schuster Building
1500-1512 Bardstown Road, Louisville
Architect, builder, or engineer: Nevin, Wischmeyer & Morgan
(home of Model Drugs in the 1950s)

Many other commercial buildings survive, including the former Bernheim and Grabfelder distillery offices on Distillery Row on Main Street between 1st and 2nd. They are marked with sidewalk plaques on the Washington Street (back) side.

self, many of the adult clubs and fraternal organizations that once enjoyed a similar intensity and vibrancy also disappeared or greatly reduced their activities. B'nai Brith Lodge #14, the men's club, became dormant; a phenomenon that also occurred nationally. Hadassah activity lessened from previous decades. Synagogue and temple sisterhoods and men's clubs took on supporting roles or died out. These activities competed for time with a wide variety of other options, not to mention increased work demands. Only the National Council of Jewish Women fully succeeded in adapting to change and remained strong, although the organization's leaders also lamented the reduced energy that women have for volunteer work with so many of them working.

Minx Auerbach: *"Council [NCJW] is so current with what is happening today – that's what piques womens' interest – what do we need to address? What do we need to fix?"*[68]

The Federation itself became a focus for volunteering and energized a variety of committees and task forces that helped connect Jews to the community. Super Sunday, for example, continues to mobilize hundreds of people annually to raise money for community agencies and projects. The Federation also reached

out to women through study groups and educational opportunities. Women are now highly visible community leaders—Jane Goldstein, current Federation President, says that Louisville's Jewish women have "absolutely" come into their own in the last decade. And in 2002, when Israel was in crisis, the Federation initiated a Special Israel Emergency Terror Relief Campaign, chaired by Kim Frankenthal and Sheldon Gilman. As in other difficult times for Israel, the Louisville Jewish community rallied to show support, and over $900,000 was raised for emergency relief in Israel.

As Louisville entered the 21st century, a number of challenges remained for the Jewish community. Sheer population figures tell part of the story. The city's Jewish population has been declining slowly for decades, masked in part by the influx of Russians that temporarily increased numbers. The population is aging, and many young Jews go elsewhere to attend college, and rarely return. The city itself faces problems of attracting the kinds of jobs that bring educated and skilled residents to the city.[54] The growing acceptance of Jews in the larger community paradoxically can lead to complacency and loss of identity. Jerry Abramson believes:

> *We've been mainstreamed so successfully.... It's great that our kids look a lot like everybody and they dress a lot like everybody, but they live in communities that you can't differentiate .... We've lost some of that edge that made us very special within this society.*[55]

The continuity of Louisville's Jewish community, one of the oldest in America, suggests that it will find the resources to sustain future generations. In 1993, The Temple celebrated its 150th anniversary, an event chaired by James and Marcia Hertzman. In addition to special speakers, services and celebrations, banquets and displays, the congregation held a program honoring the descendents of the founders – an unbroken line of a remarkable number of people with roots in Louisville going back five, six, and seven generations. The names included descendents of Emanuel Bamberger, Nathan Bensinger, A. Dinkelspiel, Abraham Tandler, L. Godshaw, Hilmar Ehrman, and more, many still living in Louisville.[56]



The Shalom Tower Chorus includes, from left, Martin Glazer, Rae Craven, Alvina Frith, Sylvia Weis, Sarah Rose Sexter, Faye Applebaum, Harol Baizen, and Henny Witzer, around 2000.



The fourth grade at The Temple buys food for the homeless on Mitzvah Day.

Yet at least half of Louisville's Jews weren't born here, as some point out, a fact that is not always fully acknowledged by community leadership. Although the closeness and commitment of the family dynasties with which Louisville's Jewish community has been blessed is a real strength, community continuity and health also rely on active efforts to embrace newcomers and move them into the structure of the community. One of the challenges for the community in coming years, Federation Executive Director Alan Engel believes, will be really including our Russian community, "We have to do a better job of reaching out." Social services have been outstanding, but as Jews, Engel feels, we have not done a good job of integrating the newcomers into congregations, as volunteers and as part of Jewish Louisville leadership. "We need to do a better job Judaizing."[57]

Another challenge is retaining and attracting young people to the community. Conventional wisdom says that Louisville's young Jews are gone, that they never return after college. The absence of young people is a city-wide phenomenon, a "brain drain" lamented by the city as well as the Jewish community. Programs exist to try to attract people in their 20s and 30s back to Louisville – JFVS tried with some small success; the City of Louisville runs outreach programs to Chicago and Atlanta; and Louisville's Anshei Sfard actively recruits young Orthodox couples and families to relocate here (with some success, considering local housing prices and quality of living compared to New York).

More and more, the health and vibrancy of Louisville's Jewish community will depend on the health of the economy and culture of the city of Louisville. Nothing is separate, and Louisville's business people know that. Jobs are what keep young, skilled, professional Jews, and jobs will bring them back. A strong business sector, especially in health care, a strong university, a high quality of life – these are not assets the Jewish community can provide in isolation.

Statistics bear out the truth of this problem. At the same time, however, some natives have returned to Louisville and are having a significant impact on the community. A sizeable minority of very dedicated people, including professionals in medicine and law, and a new generation of young entrepreneurs still find Louisville a favorable climate for doing business in the 21st century. "We're out here," says Jordan Pohn of First Residential Mortgage. "We're just not showing up at Jewish events because we're working all the time." He recalled that he had to resign from a Board position at a Jewish



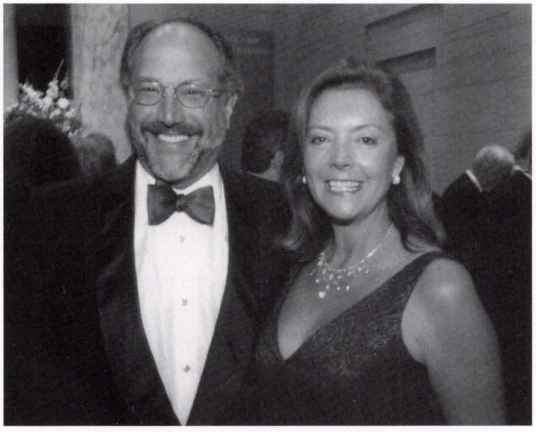
Right: The Temple Habitat for Humanity workers in 1999 include Mindy Needleman, Nancy Gall Clayton, Lee Benovitz, Toni Goldman, Julian Chunavik, Lou Vogel, Mary Jane Gallagher and Jim Hytken. The project was organized and coordinated by Amy Benovitz.

agency because he always missed the 5 p.m. meetings: "Five o'clock is in the middle of my day!"[58]

Along with the rest of the country, Louisville's economy has changed from manufacturing to service, and historically, Louisville has always been strong in distribution, as it continues to be today. New and revitalized businesses are primarily in the areas of development and finance, with some exceptions.

Young Jewish businesspeople point to a slightly older group of entrepreneurs as role models, including, among others, Stuart Frankenthal, a specialist in venture capital for turnarounds and startups, and Lior Yaron, an Israeli native who founded LSY International to fill a niche market distributing Louisville-manufactured General Electric appliances that are compatible with international standards to executives, diplomats, students, and others leaving the U.S. to live abroad. LSY's other clients include the Israeli government. In 2003, Yaron also chairs the Midwest Region of Partnership 2000, and has served two years as co-chair of the United Jewish Campaign.

Other innovative business leaders include Mark Isaacs, the architect, who now develops "infill" city real estate projects that include residences and retail, as well as larger ventures; and Rob Auerbach, a "serial entrepreneur," who started the Rainbow Blossom natural foods stores in the 1970s, and has now branched out into wholesale baking, and who runs a separate toy company that manufactures in China and sells internationally. Auerbach says, "All my friends I grew up with... everybody stayed and has a successful business." His daughters now work at the stores with him. He feels that being part of the Jewish community is helpful, since people like to do business with people they know, "You can't underestimate the value of that long-term relationship."[59]



Steve Bass of Hamilton Printing with his wife, Terri.

Some young businesspeople continue family businesses, but bring their own legal or business savvy to the organizations to create virtually new ventures. Mike and Andy Vine run their family's BlueGrass Motors auto dealership. James Karp (of the Kaden Companies) and his son, Jordan, turned the Louisville Public Warehouse, a former whiskey warehouse, into a profitable storage and distribution facility for pharmaceutical supplies, called MDI (Making Distribution Intelligent), and Jordan went on to found a related venture, RxCrossroads.[60] Michael Rudd continues to run the coal and heavy equipment business that his father made successful. Steve Bass, of the real estate family, is president and COO of Hamilton Printing, a $24 million commercial printing firm with offices on Brook Street in Old Louisville.

In 1987, Steve Trager, president and CEO of Republic Bancorp, joined the organization that his father, Bernard Trager, founded. He put his degrees in finance and law to work reorganizing the complex structure under which the bank operated and streamlined operations by 1994, so that the bank was able to grow exponentially to over 30 branches in Kentucky and Indiana. Republic is the only Jewish-owned bank currently in Louisville, and also the only locally owned bank. The Tragers, like many of the new generation of business people, are active philanthropically in the Jewish and general communities. Bernard Trager says, "The community has been good to us and we want the money to stay in the community."[61]

Kate Shapira Latts is the third generation of her family to work for Heaven Hill, the largest family-owned distiller in America. Two years ago she joined the firm as marketing director, bringing work experience

from Proctor & Gamble and an MBA. "I cannot say that it was ever an expectation that I had to come back to help," Latts says. "My dad [Max Shapira] prides himself on never pressuring the next generation to come back because I think he felt pressure when he was in his twenties, but I think that it was something that I always knew that I wanted to do." Latts adds that her father always said that "the best measure of success is creating a company that the next generation *wants* to come back to."

Brothers Saul and Jordan Pohn, who own and operate First Residential Mortagage Company from a large new office on Hurstbourne Parkway, are among the youngest of the successful entrepreneurs. Saul Pohn's experience in mortgage banking and Jordan's background in law have created a company that in only eight years has grown to 400 employees, mainly through offering mortgages over the internet. Much of this business is in refinancing, and although the company has offices in several southern cities, Louisville, the Pohn's home, is its headquarters. Besides hiring from "a good local talent pool," the company brings in young professionals from other cities to work here.[62]

Next door to First Residential, in another gleaming Hurstbourne office building, William Yarmuth, son of National Industries' Stanley Yarmuth, runs his own business founded in the early 1980s, Almost Family, which operates nursing homes, adult day care, and home health companies. Downtown, in a renovated building near the Slugger Field baseball park, is his brother, John Yarmuth, at the offices of LEO, the Louisville Eccentric Observer, a weekly alternative newspaper he started in 1990; John recently sold the paper but remains its editor, and has several other enterprises. (A third brother, Bob, runs a chain of restaurants from a Florida office).[63]

Directly across Hurstbourne Parkway from First Residential is the new location of Davis Center Jewelers, a retail jewelry store that was located downtown in the old Jewish neighborhood for generations. The Davis family expanded the store to its current Hurstbourne location, and then closed their downtown store. A short distance down the road is the new location of Gumer & Company Jewelers, owned and operated by Bruce Gumer. Hurstbourne Parkway is beginning to look like the new Preston Street.

The Blue brothers stand out among entrepreneurs who are remaking Louisville. Jewish dominance nationwide in the scrap business ended in a series of "hyper-consolidations" in the early 1990s. The assets of Louisville Scrap Metal Company, founded by David Blusinsky and transformed by his son, George Blue, and George's son, David, into the seven companies of the Blue Industrial Group, were sold in the late 1990s. However, the family kept its real estate on the Louisville waterfront, which became the basis of a new business that is remaking a section of downtown in an old/new image.[64]

Brothers Jonathan and Todd Blue began Cobalt Ventures (named both for "blue" and the family heritage in metals) from the profits of the sale of their great-grandfather's company. Both brothers had left Louisville for college and work experience out of town (their father's requirement if they wished to later join the family firm). They developed a love for urban areas, an appreciation of the liveliness of cities with downtowns that work (such as Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia), and a belief that "the urban environment is the heart of the body" of the city. Since then, "Every project we've thrown ourselves into is to make Louisville better and like other great cities," Todd says.

They set out to rejuvenate the section of downtown between Main Street and the waterfront, near Preston Street, the site of their family's former scrap business at the edge of the old Jewish neighborhood. They traded part of their property to be used for Slugger Field, itself a vast improvement to the area and, with partners, began building a new structure nearby, the office building Preston Pointe, visually striking for its tent-like, pointed roof. The brothers stress that they are in this neighborhood for the long haul, and since "urban redevelopment is an art and not a science," it may take a long time to turn downtown around after



Left: The old Shapinsky Dry Goods store stood at the corner of Market and Jackson Streets, where Preston Pointe (above) is under construction in 2003.

years of disregard and neglect. They credit Mayor Abramson as a supporter of their vision, as was former Mayor Dave Armstrong. They see Jewish Hospital as "the big driver, the steady engine," needed to create an economic impetus for downtown revitalization. They expect medical firms to occupy much of the space they are building and renovating.

The Blues' latest project could not be more appropriate for a Jewish-owned firm in Louisville's old Jewish neighborhood. Cobalt is currently renovating the old Shapinsky & Co. Dry Goods building at the corner of Jackson and Market into a medical building to be called Cobalt Marketplace. The historic structure was the showplace of a business founded in 1868, just after the Civil War, by Simon Shapinsky. In remarks introducing the project, Jonathan Blue revealed the results of his own research:

> *Back to the past: Imagine that the year is 1900. The setting – right here at Market and Jackson Streets. Look around the neighborhood. Market Street is the merchant center of the city. An entire scope of amenities and services within one city block. In 1900, Market Street really was living up to its name.*
>
> *At this location stood one of East Market Street's larger complexes, Simon Shapinsky and Brothers Wholesale Notions, Hosiery and Fancy Goods. The business was established in 1868, and from its inception, the store "secured a large, widespread, and lucrative patronage, its wares commending themselves to the trade and the public generally by their freshness, novelty, and general superiority."*

This complex utilized Market Street's central location, and was comprised of two adjoining buildings. As you walk into the retail section of the building, one would find the latest novelties in ladies' and gents' furnishings including underwear, hosiery, gloves, shirts, collars, cuffs and the most fashionable designs and patterns in fancy goods, linens, cottons, white goods, laces, trimmings and embroideries, ribbons and notions, all of which made their debut here as soon as they were offered for sale in London and New York. Thirteen polite and active assistants are in attendance and orders are filled for the entire city and state at the lowest prices.

Back to the future: The year is 2002. Cobalt, in conjunction with the Mayor and the City of Louisville, will attempt to do its part in recreating the energy that East Market Street possessed in 1900. The goal today of our public/private partnership and the renovation of Cobalt Marketplace is to begin to recapture the magic from 1900. Mayor Armstrong's attempts to bring people back to the city to live, work and play, have energized Cobalt and expedited our commitment to development in downtown Louisville.[65]

A Partial Record of Louisville Jews in Public Service

Marie Abrams: numerous boards, including Louisville –Jefferson County Youth Commission and U of L Board of Trustees; delegate to Democratic National Convention

Jerry Abramson: Mayor of Louisville Metro 2003- ; Mayor of Louisville, 1985-1999; 3rd Ward Alderman

Minx Auerbach: Chair, Louisville-Jefferson County Planning Commission; Chair, University of Louisville Board of Trustees

Louis Barkhouse: School Board

Samuel Blitz: President, City Council

Dr. I. N. Bloom: School Trustee; President of the Board of Education, 1908, 1914, 1921

Louis D. Brandeis: United States Supreme Court Justice

Lawrence Grauman: Judge, Jefferson Circuit Court; City Prosecuting Attorney

Isaac Gumer: Police Court Prosecutor, City of Louisville

Herman Handmaker: Kentucky House of Representatives

John I. Jacob: City Council

Lafayette Joseph: City Council; City Attorney; Attorney for the Louisville School Board

Aaron Kohn: Prosecuting Attorney for Jefferson County; 3-term Alderman; member of the Board of Public Works

Charles Leibson: Judge, Jefferson Circuit Court

Julius Leibson: Judge

Col. Fred Levy: Park Board

Jessica Loving: Chair, University of Louisville Board of Trustees

Samuel Rosenstein: Judge, U.S. Customs Court

Benjamin Roth: Kentucky House of Representatives

Marcia Roth: Director, Office of Women, Jefferson County

Louis M. Roth: City Council

Carl Schneider: Kentucky House of Representatives

I. L. Shulhafer: Alderman

Alfred Selligman: Judge, Circuit Court

Leon Shaikun: Kentucky House of Representatives; Kentucky Senate

Judah L. Skolnick, M.D.: Louisville-Jefferson County Air Pollution Control Board

Allan Steinberg: Alderman, City of Louisville

Samuel Steinfeld: Judge, Kentucky Court of Appeals

Maura Temes: Senior Assistant to the Mayor for Boards and Commissions, Metro Government; Executive Assistant to the Mayor, City of Louisville

Marsha Weinstein: Executive Director, Kentucky Commission on Women

The story of the Blue brothers reflects the synergy between historical legacy and modern business savvy, and the combination of tradition and innovation, that the Louisville Jewish community is capable of at its best. The resources and the will, many believe, are there in this community. The challenges are there as well.

WHO IS A JEW IN 21ST CENTURY LOUISVILLE? Is it someone who attends synagogue daily? Someone who lights Shabbat candles weekly? Someone who gives to Federation? Someone who volunteers to read to children in a public school every week? Someone who buys kosher food? Someone who works with secular organizations on social justice issues? Someone who comes to America and starts a small business to pay for bringing the rest of the family? Someone who visits schools to tell the story of surviving the Holocaust? Someone who starts a family business to employ people locally? Someone who visits the Preston Street grave of a great-great-great grandfather? Someone who drives the children to Jewish preschool every morning?

It's all of these, and many others.



Keneseth Israel observes the ritual of Tashlich on Rosh Hashanah at Big Rock in Cherokee Park in 2000.

ENDNOTES

Chapter 1

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7. Herman Landau, *Adath Louisville: The Story of a Jewish Community* (Louisville: Herman Landau & Associates, 1981), 16.
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11. Lewis N. Dembitz, "Kentucky", in *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York and London: 1904) v. VII, 467-8; Anne Royall, *Mrs. Royall's Southern Tour*, v. 2, 1830.
12. Jefferson County Court Order Minute Book, 14: 390; 1832 *Directory*, 44; Rosenwaike, 39; Jefferson County Marriage Register Book 2: 114; Rosenwaike, 40; 1832 *Directory*, 44.
13. Jefferson County Court Order Minute Book, 14: 390; 1832 *Directory*, 41, 44; Rosenwaike, 39, 40; Jefferson County Marriage Register Book 2: 114; Collins' *Louisville Directory*, 1838-9; Anthony Low Joseph, correspondence with the author, Feb. 10, 2003.
14. *Louisville Public Advertiser,* Jan. 21, 1830.
15. 1832 *Directory,* 144. They were P. J. Johnson, J.C. Labatt, P. Myers, J. Levine [Levin], H. Hyman, David Lewis, J. Emmanuel, N. White, N. J. Ellis, and J. Marks.
16. Jefferson County Court Order Minute Book, 16: 18; 1832 *Directory*, 46.
17. Rosenwaike, 38; 1832 *Directory*, 49, 61.
18. Rosenwaike, 38; 1832 *Directory*, 51; Anthony Low Joseph, correspondence with the author, Feb. 10, 2003.
19. Rosenwaike, 39: 1832 *Directory*, 31.
20. Jefferson County Court Order Minute Book, 15: 342; *Louisville Public Advertiser*, Oct. 7, 1830; 1832 *Directory*, 51; *Louisville Public Advertiser*, Oct. 7, 1830; 1832 *Directory* 145. Levin was also listed as the Secretary of the Louisville Royal Arch Chapter no. 5 Masonic Lodge – Louisville Masons, like Masons elsewhere, did not discriminate against Jews.
21. Rosenwaike, 40: 1832 *Directory*, 31.
22. 1838-39 *Directory,* 114; Rosenwaike, 40: 1832 *Directory*, 86.
23. Rosenwaike, 40; 1832 *Directory*, 31; Collins 1848 *Directory*, 326.
24. Rosenwaike, 41-42; 1832 *Directory*, 31, 51; *Louisville Public Advertiser*, Jan. 8, 1830.
25. 1832 *Directory*, 44, 51.
26. 1901 *History*, 13.
27. Haldeman's *Picture of Louisville*, 1844-45, 116.
28. Dembitz, "Jewish Beginnings," 100.
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32. I.W. Bernheim, History of the Settlement of Jews in Paducah (Paducah: 1912), 13-15.
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34. Dembitz, "Kentucky," 467-8; Dembitz, "Jewish Beginnings," 101; Charles Goldsmith, Alfred Selligman, et al., *History of Congregation Adath Israel... at the Dedication of its New Temple, Sept. 7, 8, and 9, 1906* (Louisville: 1906), 13.
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36. J. Stoddard Johnson, *A Memorial History of Louisville from its First Settlement to the year 1896*, 2 volumes (Chicago & New York, n.d., probably 1896-7), 274.
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41. Landau, 21-22.
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43. Oral History Interview, Minna Cole; 1901 *History*, 13
44. Landau, 22.
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46. Adath Israel 1906 *History*, 16; Rabbi Joe Rooks Rapport, "The Roots of Reform in Louisville," in honor of the 150th Anniversary of The Temple, 1993, 3. The rebellious member of the the congregation who made the threat about the organ was named in the minutes as Mr. E. Wolf.
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50. Leeser, 76.
51. Adath Israel 1906 *History*, 15-17.
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5. James Thomas Flexner, *An American Saga: The Story of Helen Thomas and Simon Flexner* (Boston: 1984), 10.
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7. Isaac Leeser, excerpts from *The Occident* 1846-1856, in Jacob Rader Marcus, *Memoirs of American Jews 1775-1865*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America: 1955), 75.
8. Herman Landau, *Adath Louisville: The Story of a Jewish Community* (Louisville: Herman Landau & Associates, 1981), 43; Charles Goldsmith, Alfred Selligman, et al. *History of Congregation Adath Israel… at the Dedication of its New Temple, Sept. 7, 8, and 9, 1906* (Louisville: 1906), 14; Bernal died in 1868 and was one of the early burials in the Beth Israel Cemetery, later Adath Jeshurun (AJ Archives, Box 12B, file 11: Misc. Cemetery); Jefferson County Deed Book 98: 419; Lee Shai Weissbach, *The Synagogues of Kentucky: History and Architecture,* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky: 1995), 56-57; Lee Shai Weissbach, "Kentucky's Jewish History in National Perspective: The Era of Mass Migration," *Filson Club Historical Quarterly*, 69: 3 (July 1995), 260n.
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31. Bunce, "Dreams," 325-6.
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50. Goldmark, 191-192 .
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52. Goldmark, 200-202. He did become a citizen, in Louisville, in 1872 – Naturalization Papers, Jefferson County, July 24, 1872, Brandeis Papers, University of Louisville School of Law, microfilm reel #119 (dates are unclear, this seems most likely).
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63. Miller, "German," 471, 468.
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CHAPTER 3

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8. *Adas Israel* 1906, 22 .
9. Landau, 205; J.T. Flexner, *Saga*, 46; David Kaufman, *A Shul with a Pool, The Synagogue-Center in American Jewish History* (Boston: Brandeis University Press: 1998), 15, 17-19.
10. Adolph Moses, *Yahvism and Other Discourses*, edited with an introduction by H. G. Enelow (Louisville: Louisville Section, National Council of Jewish Women: 1903), xxii.
11. 1901 *History*, 14, 23-25; Abraham Flexner, *An Autobiography*, (New York: 1960), 20; Landau 26; Moses, *Yahvism*, xxvi-xxvii.
12. James Thomas Flexner, *An American Saga: The Story of Helen Thomas and Simon Flexner* (Boston: 1984), 47.
13. Moses, *Yahvism*, 9.
14. Moses, *Yahvism*, 10.
15. Landau, 20; *Adath Israel* 1906, 23.
16. J. Stoddard Johnson, *A Memorial History of Louisville from its First Settlement to the year 1896*, 2 volumes (Chicago & New York, n.d., probably 1896-7), 274-5.
17. 1901 *History*, 101.
18. 1901 *History*, 31; his descendents reportedly include the writer J. D. Salinger.
19. "Pendennis Club," in John Kleber, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Louisville* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 697 (Jo M. Ferguson); Oral History Interview, Charles Tachau .
20. 1901 *History*, 21; Landau, 200; 1901 *History*, 165.
21. Programs reproduced in YMHA history issues of *Chronicler* and "YMHA 1890-1940 Golden Anniversary Souvenir Book," 1940, JCC Archives.
22. Mrs. Sidney J. Meyers, "Memories of the Old YMHA," YMHA *Chronicler*, Nov. 1920, 1.
23. Kaufman, *A Shul with a Pool*, 51-52, 59; Gleanings from the Past", YMHA *Chronicler*, May 1917, 13.
24. 1901 *History,* 147.
25. 1901 *History,* 55; Landau, 244-5.
26. *Encyclopedia of Louisville*, 244-5 (Kenneth L. Miller); 1901 *History*, 49; 1901 *History*, 59.
27. Landau, 244-5; 1901 *History* 45, 127.
28. Landau, 244-5; 1901 *History*, 79; *Encyclopedia of Louisville*, 525 (Kenneth L. Miller);
29. 1901 *History*, 81; 1850 U. S. Census; Barbara Zingman and Betty Lou Amster, *A Legendary Vision: The History of Jewish Hospital* (Jewish Hospital Health Care Services, Louisville: 1997), 16; Oral History Interview, Jacob Landau.
30. 1901 *History,* 61.
31. 1901 *History*, 75, 95, 97, 123; *Encyclopedia of Louisville*, 40 (Kenneth L. Miller).
32. 1901 *History*, 85, 93.
33. Josephine Goldmark, *Pilgrims of '48: One Man's Part in the Austrian Revolution of 1848 and a Family Migration to America* (New Haven: 1930), 285.
34. 1901 History, 65, 157; photo, Chas. Rosenheim & Co., University of Louisville Photo Archives.
35. 1901 *History* 43, 34.
36. 1901 *History*, 53, 63, 103, 115.
37. 1901 *History*, 143, 158; Landau, 249.
38. 1901 *History*, 121.
39. 1901 *History*, 83, ad 112 .
40. 1901 *History*, 73; author's conversation with Alice Davidson, July 2003.
41. Oral History Interview, Doni Greenebaum.
42. Landau, 254; Oral History Interview, Doni Greenebaum.
43. Interview with Betty Jane Fleischaker, June 2003.
44. J.T. Flexner, *Saga*, 104; "Pharmacy and Pharmacists" by C. Lewis Diehl, in Johnson, *Memorial History*, 49-56
45. 1901 *History*, 77.
46. A. Flexner, *Autobiography*, 7, J.T. Flexner, *Saga*, 27.
47. J.T. Flexner, *Saga*, 28, 45, 109; A. Flexner, *Autobiography*, 24-5.
48. Flexner, *Saga*, 4, 36 – Simon Flexner took issue with his brother Abraham's statements, in his *Autobiography*, praising their father's love of learning and support of his sons. Simon felt it was due to Jacob's intervention that they had received the education and support they needed.
49. A. Flexner, *Autobiography*, 24.
50. *Encyclopedia of Louisville*, 295.
51. 1901 *History*, 69.
52. 1901 *History*, 51, Landau, 43, 233; some sources state that he was a member of Adas Israel, others that he was part of Beth Israel – possibly more than one "A. Kohn" was involved.
53. 1901 History, 71; Oral History Interview, Doni Greenebaum.
54. Goldmark, 286.
55. A. Flexner, *Autobiography*, 38, 45.
56. Landau, 5.
57. Klauber, Edward, U. of L. Photo Archives research file; additional files at the Temple archives.
58. "Bramson, Stern J." *The Encyclopedia of Louisville*, 112-113.

CHAPTER 4

1. "Bizarre" is I.W. Bernheim's term, in Bernheim, I. W., "An Address ... at the Dedication Services of the First Reform Congregation of American

Israelites, Los Angeles, California, April 7, 1935," Bernheim Papers, Filson Historical Society, Louisville.
2. Oral History Interview, Alex Berman. Alex Berman was the 8th of 9 children. He regretted that while his parents told stories of their early life to older brothers & sisters, he wasn't interested at the time.
3. Interview with Bert Klein, June, 2003.
4. Adolph Moses, *Yahvism and Other Discourses*, edited with an introduction by H. G. Enelow (Louisville: Louisville Section, National Council of Jewish Women: 1903), 279.
5. Michael Switow, *Memories of My Life*, typescript, no date (c. 1930s), JCC Naamani Library, 5.
6. Switow, *Memories*, 6-8.
7. Oral History Interview, Alex Berman.
8. Gregory Kent Stanley, "Making a Home: Italians and Jews in Louisville," *Filson Club Historical Quarterly*, 68:1 (Jan. 1994), 37-46.
9. Oral History Interview, Alex Berman.
10. Oral History Interview, Alex Berman.
11. Quoted in Herman Landau, "First Person History: American Ghetto," *Filson Club Historical Quarterly*, 72:2, (April 1998), 195.
12. Oral History Interview, Alex Berman.
13. Oral History Interview, Alex Berman.
14. Lewis N. Dembitz, "Kentucky", in *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York and London: 1904) v. VII, 467-8; Herman Landau, *Adath Louisville: The Story of a Jewish Community* (Louisville: Herman Landau & Associates, 1981), 55 ; Lee Shai Weissbach, *The Synagogues of Kentucky: History and Architecture,* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky; 1995), 138. This is supported by Johnson's *Memorial History*, which also gives the 1882 date.
15. Weissbach, 42, 21; Louisville *Directories*, 1898, 1900, 1891.
16. Weissbach, 139; 20; Personal communication with Lawrence Schuster and Harris Berman, Sept. 2002.
17. The Jewish Historical Society, *A History of the Jews of Louisville, Kentucky* (New Orleans, 1901), 18-19
18. The *Louisville Post,* Sept. 9, 1891, quoted in Landau, "Ghetto," 195.
19. "F. Wolkow and Sons," in John Kleber, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Louisville* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 325-6 (Allejandro Magallancz).
20. Oral History Interview, Morris Morguelan.
21. "History of Baer Fabrics," correspondence with Stuart Goldberg, June 2003.
22. Landau, 51; Dembitz, "Jewish Encyclopedia," 467-8.
23. Weissbach, 21; *Louisville Directory* 1897.
24. 80th Anniversary Commemorative booklet, 1893-1973, Congregation Anshei Sfard .
25. Interview with Sonny Meyer, February, 2003.
26. 1901 *History*, 18.
27. "Adath Jeshurun Sisterhood," undated typescript, c. 1956-7; Landau 28.
28. 1901 *History*, 17.
29. 1901 *History*, 18-19.
30. *Chronicler* Jan. 1930, 2 "Inception," by Alfred Selligman.
31. *Chronicler* Jan. 1930, 9 "The Physical Aspect," by Tony Levitan.
32. 1901 *History*, 20.
33. *Chronicler* Jan. 1930, 9 "The Physical Aspect," by Tony Levitan.
34. *Chronicler* Jan. 1930, 2 "Inception," by Alfred Selligman.
35. 1901 *History*, 20.
36. 1901 *History*, 163.
37. Landau, 92; Borish, Linda. "An Interest in the Physical Well-Being" *American Jewish History*, 87:1 (1999), 78-9; 1901 *History*, 163; J. Stoddard Johnson, *A Memorial History of Louisville from its First Settlement to the year 1896*, 2 volumes (Chicago & New York, n.d., probably 1896-7), 275; *Chronicler* Jan. 1930, 2 "Inception," by Alfred Selligman.
38. George Yater, *Two Hundred Years at the Falls of the Ohio: A History of Louisville and Jefferson County* (Louisville: Heritage Corporation of Louisville and Jefferson County: 1979), 129, 155.
39. *Encyclopedia of Louisville*, 648 (Jean McVickar); Landau, 190; Dembitz, "Jewish Encyclopedia," 467-8.
40. 1901 *History*, 165; *History, Louisville Section, National Council of Jewish Women*, pamphlet, undated, c. 1916, NCJW Archives. Other founding members were: Mrs. Charles Goldsmith, Corinne Bamberger, Mrs. Leon Goodman, Mrs. A Lapp, Mrs. Mattie Tachau, Mrs. I. W. Bernheim, Mrs. Benjamin Straus, Bella F. Lieber, Mrs. L. N. Dembitz, Clara Rosenthal; *Encyclopedia of Louisville*, 646 (Barbara Zingman); from *Courier-Journal*, Sept. 21, 1965, in NCJW clippings scrapbook; Landau, 189; "A Century of Commitment," by Linda Stahl, *Courier-Journal*, Sept. 24, 1995.
41. Stanley, 37-46.
42. Stanley, 46-50.
43. Oral History Interview, Alex Berman.
44. Oral History Interview, Helen Helman.
45. Stanley, 51, 54.
46. Weissbach, 149; Weissbach, Lee Shai Weissbach, "Kentucky's Jewish History in National Perspective: The Era of Mass Migration." *Filson Club Historical Quarterly*, 69:3 (July 1995), 263.
47. Stanley, 53.
48. Landau, Herman, "Landau Annals: A Family Saga," 1995, typescript, Adath Jeshurun archives.
49. Faye Davis, interviewed by Ann Friedman, JFVS, undated 2001 or 2002; author's interview, Faye Davis, March 2003.
50. Oral History Interview, Donald S. Bornstein interviewed by Madeline Bernstein, October 22, 2001, JFVS;."Bornsteins Build Longevity," *Courier-Journal*, March 12, 2003.
51. GAR (Grand Army of the Republic) *Sporting Guide*, 1895, 7, collection of Louis Cohen.

CHAPTER 5

1. Charles Goldsmith, Alfred Selligman, et al. *History of Congregation Adath Israel... at the Dedication of its New Temple*, Sept. 7, 8, and 9, 1906 (Louisville: 1906), 26, essay by Charles Goldsmith.
2. *Adath Israel History 1906*, 26.
3. *Adath Israel History 1906*, 27.
4. *Adath Israel History 1906*, 28-29; Lee Shai Weissbach, *The Synagogues of Kentucky: History and Architecture,* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky: 1995), 24.
5. Weissbach, 74.
6. Weissbach, 24, 108; *Adath Israel History 1906*, 30-31.
7. *Adath Israel History 1906*, 34, 35; essay by Bernard Selligman; 1901 *History*, 159; *Adath Israel History 1906*, p 34, 35.
8. *Adath Israel History 1906*, 39-41.
9. *Adath Israel History 1906*, "The Sunday and the Synagogue" by Rabbi Joseph Krauskopf, 85-86.
10. *Adath Israel History 1906*, 24.
11. "The Temple Dedicates Religious School Wing in Dr. Rauch's memory," *Community* April 16, 1982, 4.
12. John Kleber, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Louisville* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 749.
13. Oral History Interview, Lewis Cole.
14. Herman Landau, *Adath Louisville: The Story of a Jewish Community* (Louisville: Herman Landau & Associates, 1981), 33; Analysis based on *Adath Israel History 1906* .
15. Landau, 28.
16. The Jewish Historical Society, *A History of the Jews of Louisville, Kentucky* (New Orleans, 1901), 18.
17. 1901 History, 28; file: Brith Sholom cornerstone 1903, Temple Archives; "History of Brith Sholom Temple Dates Back to Meeting in 1880," *National Jewish Post*, Oct. 27, 1950.
18. *Encyclopedia of Louisville*, 5 (Landau); "Our Rabbis," YMHA

Chronicler, April 1917, 8; Landau, 43; "Adath Jeshurun Sisterhood" typescript, undated probably 1956/7; "Current Jewish Events," YMHA *Chronicler*, Aug. 1917, 9.
19. Oral History Interview, Harry Switow.
20. Weissbach, 77; *Encyclopedia of Louisville*, 5 (Landau); Landau, 44; "Adath Jeshurun Sisterhood".
21. "Our Rabbis," YMHA *Chronicler*, Dec. 1917, 8.
22. Oral History Interview, Jacob Landau.
23. Landau, Herman Landau, "First Person History: American Ghetto," *Filson Club Historical Quarterly*, 72:2, (April 1998), 193; Lee Shai Weissbach, "Kentucky's Jewish History in National Perspective: The Era of Mass Migration." *Filson Club Historical Quarterly*, 69:3 (July 1995), 264; Landau, 8-9.
24. "Who's Who," YMHA *Chronicler*, June 1917, 5.
25. Oral History Interview, Jacob Landau.
26. Landau, 11-12.
27. Oral History Interview, Jacob Landau.
28. Weissbach, 44, 81, 91; Anshei Sfard 80th Anniversary Commemorative Booklet, 1973, 34.
29. Landau, 52.
30. Oral History Interview, Hyman Gurwitch; Interview with Sam Perelmuter by Ann Friedman, July 17, 2001, JFVS; Weissbach, 23-24.
31. "Jewish Social Service Agency Supplants Welfare Federation," *Kentucky Jewish Post & Opinion*, Jan. 8, 1951, 1; "The Place of the Federation of Jewish Charities in the Community," YMHA *Chronicler*, Feb. 1915; Landau, 124.
32. Landau, 126; "Miss Annie Nevils Proves to be a Real Mother," *Kentucky Jewish Post & Opinion*, July 27, 1951, 1.
33. Oral History Interview, Landau/Grossman – Landau is quoted.
34. Barbara Zingman and Betty Lou Amster, *A Legendary Vision: The History of Jewish Hospital* (Jewish Hospital Health Care Services, Louisville: 1997), 14.
35. Zingman, 14.
36. Zingman, 14-15.
37. Zingman, 15.
38. Oral History Interview, Jacob Landau; Zingman, 16-20.
39. Zingman, 22.
40. Oral History Interview, Sidney Passamaneck.
41. Oral History Interview, Morris Morguelan; Oral History Interview, Doni Greenebaum.
42. Zingman, 29.
43. Zingman, 30-33.
44. The Flexner Report; Zingman, 34.
45. Oral History Interview, Hyman Gurwitch.
46. Oral History Interview, Sidney Passamaneck.
47. Landau, 77-8.
48. Landau, 77-8; Oral History Interview, Landau/Grossman – Grossman is quoted.
49. Oral History Interview, Landau/Grossman – Landau is quoted.
50. Landau, 8-9; Interview with Mimi Saltzman Metz, June, 2003.
51. Oral History Interview, Landau/Grossman – Grossman is quoted
52. Oral History Interview, Gertrude K. Feldbaum
53. Oral History Interview, Tobie Wittenbaum
54. Analysis based on *YMHA Chronicler*, Feb. 1917, 12
55. Oral History Interview, Landau/Grossman – Grossman is quoted; Landau, 94; "Athletics," YMHA *Chronicler*, June 1914
56. Tony Levitan and Hugo Kohlman, Notes and Comments," YMHA *Chronicler*, Feb. 1915.
57. Oral History Interview, Sam Berman.
58. "Third Annual Baby Marathon," YMHA *Chronicler*, Dec. 1914; "Athletics," YMHA *Chronicler*, June 1914.
59. Oral History Interview, Sam Berman.
60. "YMHA Players Organize," YMHA *Chronicler*, Nov. 1920, 15; AHMY Players, program at Macauley Theater, April 6, 1914, JCC archives; "Morris Simon Has Personally Built Two YMHA Orchestras," *Kentucky Jewish Post & Opinion*, December 2, 1955, 2; "Clubs," YMHA *Chronicler*, Feb. 1915.
61. Oral History Interview, Annette Sagerman.
62. "Mr. Music," Eliahu Academy: Morris Simon Memorial Journal and Second Graduation, May 29, 1960, pamphlet, JCC archives; Landau, 213.
63. George Yater, *Two Hundred Years at the Falls of the Ohio: A History of Louisville and Jefferson County* (Louisville: Heritage Corporation of Louisville and Jefferson County: 1979), 165.
64. "Local Jewish Boys in Military Service," YMHA *Chronicler*, Aug. 1917, 8; "Miss Sara Landau Appointed Girls Secretary," YMHA *Chronicler*, Aug. 1922, 6.
65. "Welfare Work Among Soldiers of Jewish Faith" YMHA *Chronicler*, Sept. 1917, 8; Landau, 170; Sam Berman interview; Adath Jeshurun Sisterhood" typescript, undated probably 1956/7.
66. Landau, "Kling," 68.
67. Oral History Interview, Arthur Kling.
68. Oral History Interview, Jacob Landau.
69. Oral History Interview, Tobie Wittenbaum.
70. *Architecture and Design*, vol. XII, July 1948, "Selections from the Offices of Joseph and Joseph"; communication from Alfred Joseph III, Feb. 2003; "Joseph & Joseph, Joseph & Joseph, Partners," *Herald-Post*, Louisville, March 2, 1935, 19, Louisville Landmarks Commission files; *Architecture and Engineering by Joseph & Joseph*, 1940.
71. Zingman, 25.

CHAPTER 6

1. Oral History Interview, Mary Helen Byck.
2. Oral History Interview, Mary Helen Byck.
3. Oral History Interview, Morris Morguelan.
4. Oral History Interview, Lewis Cole.
5. Information from Stanley Fischer, Jewish Louisville Heritage Day, 2001.
6. Oral History Interview, Mutzie Friedman.
7. Oral History Interview, Jacob Landau.
8. Landau, Herman Landau, "First Person History: American Ghetto," *Filson Club Historical Quarterly*, 72:2, (April 1998), 198.
9. Oral History Interview, Jacob Landau; Oral History Interview, Hyman Gurwitch; Oral History Interview, Gertrude K. Feldbaum; note from Norman Glazer to Herman Landau, June 2003.
10. Oral History Interview, Hyman Gurwitch.
11. John Kleber, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Louisville* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 728 (Herman Landau); Landau, "Ghetto," 193-197.
12. "The Kadima Hears of Louisville Educational Problems," YMHA *Chronicler*, March 1921, 12.
13. Dora Landau, quoted in Landau, Herman, "Landau Annals: A Family Saga," 1995 (typescript, Adath Jeshurun archives).
14. Personal correspondence from Maggie Wise Riley, March 2003, including an article she wrote for *Community*, "Meine Yidden (My Jews)," no date included.
15. Oral History Interview, Jacob Landau; Landau, "Ghetto," 193-197.
16. Oral History Interview, Jacob Landau.
17. *Encyclopedia of Louisville*, 728 (Herman Landau).
18. Oral History Interview, Jacob Landau.
19. Susan Halpert, "Jennie Maas Flexner," in Hyman, Paula, and Moore, Deborah Dash, *Jewish Women in America: an Historical Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, 457-458.
20. Information from Stanley Fischer, Jewish Louisville Heritage Day, 2001.
21. Herman Landau, *Adath Louisville: The Story of a Jewish Community* (Louisville: Herman Landau & Associates, 1981), 8.
22. Oral History Interview, Gertrude K. Feldbaum.
23. Oral History Interview, Sidney Passamaneck.
24. Oral History Interview, Jacob Landau.
25. Landau, 253-4; "The Blue Brothers: Meet the ambassadors of

Louisville's New Wave of Leadership," *Courier-Journal*, Jan. 26, 2003; Blue Industrial Group brochure, courtesy of Cobalt Ventures.

26. Lee Shai Weissbach, *The Synagogues of Kentucky: History and Architecture,* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky: 1995), 28; Landau, 56.
27. Landau, 115.
28. Barbara Zingman and Betty Lou Amster, *A Legendary Vision: The History of Jewish Hospital* (Jewish Hospital Health Care Services, Louisville: 1997), 38-43. This discussion of Jewish Hospital is based in part on a timeline of Hospital history prepared by Phyllis Shaikun for Jewish Louisville Heritage Day, April 22, 2001.
29. Landau, 189; Jean Brandeis Tachau manuscript, "A Story," Jean Brandeis Tachau papers, Filson Historical Society, Louisville; Oral History Interview, Mary Helen Byck.
30. Oral History Interview, Landau/Grossman.
31. Oral History Interview, Morris Morguelan; *Encyclopedia of Louisville*, 158 (Herman Landau). The Camp was destroyed by the 1937 Flood and not rebuilt.
32. "The YMHA Camp and the Jewish Community," YMHA *Chronicler*, June 1925, 1.
33. Oral History Interview, Gertrude K. Feldbaum .
34. "Girls Hear Talk on Registration and Voting," YMHA *Chronicler*, Oct. 1920, 8.
35. "Miss Sara Landau Appointed Girls Secretary," YMHA *Chronicler*, Aug. 1922, 6; Landau, 157n.
36. "The Kadima Holds Two Interesting Meetings in December," YMHA *Chronicler*, Jan. 1921, 8.
37. "Sabbath Observance Rules Outlined," YMHA *Chronicler*, Feb. 1921, 3; "A Resume and a Look Forward" YMHA *Chronicler*, Sept. 1922, 11.
38. "Charles W. Morris," YMHA *Chronicler*, Feb. 1923, 6.
39. Landau, 95-6.
40. Oral History Interview, Charles Tachau; "Col. Fred Levy Succumbs at Miami Winter Home," *Kentucky Jewish Post & Opinion*, April 1, 1955.
41. "Kentucky Raises $200,000 for Jewish War Sufferers," YMHA *Chronicler*, April 1919, 9; YMHA *Chronicler*, March 1922.
42. "Simon Shapinsky Relates Experiences Abroad," YMHA *Chronicler*, Sept. 1920, 6.
43. Bernheim, I. W., *Address to the World Union for Progressive Judaism*, Berlin, Aug. 18-21, 1928, pamphlet, collection American Jewish Historical Society, 43.
44. Clarence F. Judah, *Unity in Community* (Louisville: The Jewish Federation of Louisville: 1974), 35.
45. Oral History Interview, Charles Tachau.
46. Landau, 197; Bernard Flexner, *Mr. Justice Brandeis and the University of Louisville.* (University of Louisville, Louisville: 1938), 35.
47. Louis Brandeis to Alfred Brandeis, Dec. 12, 1916, in Philippa Strum, *Louis D. Brandeis: Justice for the People* (Cambridge: Harvard U. Press, 1984), 256.
48. *Encyclopedia of Louisville*, 364 (Shirley Schramm); Landau, 194; "Hadassah Remembers a Founder: Sadie Baer" by Ruth Rosenstein, *Community*, Dec. 7, 1984, 8; Sadie Baer, "Zionistic Happenings," YMHA *Chronicler*, Nov. 1919.
49. "Strull Looks at the Heavens, Works for Migrants, Israel," *Kentucky Jewish Post & Opinion*, November 18, 1955, 1; "The Passing of a Quarter Century," YMHA *Chronicler*, Feb. 1915; Correspondence, Milton Russman, May 2003.
50. Landau, 197; In 1946, Louisville's Zionists raised $25,000 towards the establishment of Nachlat Zarchy in Palestine in memory of Louisville's popular Orthodox Rabbi, A. L. Zarchy.
51. Oral History Interview, Doni Greenebaum.
52. Oral History Interview, Bernard Goldstein.
53. Oral History Interview, Alex Berman.
54. Oral History Interview, Alex Berman.
55. Dwayne Cox and William J. Morison, *The University of Louisville* (University Press of Kentucky, Lexington), 59; "Past Presidents of the YMHA: Norton L. Goldsmith 1898-1900," YMHA *Chronicler*, Dec. 1914; Oral History Interview, Sam Berman; "Racquetball Pioneer Ike Gumer Dies" *Community*, Aug. 28, 1992, 11.
56. Cox, 77.
57. Cox, 76; Works Progress Administration, A Centennial History of the University of Louisville (Louisville: 1939), 196.
58. Report on the University of Louisville, 429, *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors*, vol. XIII: 6 (Oct. 1927).
59. WPA *History*, 198. The Report did however support the Board's right to make policy on issues of curriculum.
60. W. M. Anderson to George Colvin, Jan. 24, 1927, in *AAUP Report*, 457-58.
61. *Courier-Journal*, May 21, 1970; *Encyclopedia of Louisville*, 498 (Katherine Burger Johnson); Gottschalk file, University of Louisville Archives.
62. WPA *History*, 195.
63. B. Flexner, *Brandeis,* 3-5.
64. L. D. Brandeis to A. Brandeis, Feb. 18, 1925, in B. Flexner, *Brandeis,* 7.
65. B. Flexner, *Brandeis,* 36, 40.
66. B. Flexner, *Brandeis,* 41-42.
67. Louis D. Brandeis to Dr. Rauch, Sept. 20, 1929, Reel 113, Brandeis Papers, University of Louisville Law Library.
68. *Encyclopedia of Louisville*, 295; "Brandeis Elected Honorary President of Zionist Organization," YMHA *Chronicler*, Aug. 1920.
69. B. Flexner, *Brandeis,* 11; Louis D. Brandeis to Alfred Brandeis, Nov. 16, 1927, Reel 113, Brandeis Papers, University of Louisville Law Library; B. Flexner, *Brandeis,* 15-20, 23.
70. Louis D. Brandeis to Alfred Brandeis, Nov. 5, 1926, Reel 113, Brandeis Papers, University of Louisville Law Library.
71. Oral History Interview, Hyman Gurwitch.
72. Author's interview with Jerry Abramson, March 2003.
73. Nearly all these corner stores are gone – one of them, the former Zeiden's pharmacy at 3rd and Oak streets in Old Louisville, has been turned into a restaurant that retains some of the pharmacy's décor.
74. Oral History Interview, Arthur Kling.
75. Oral History Interview, Harry Switow.
76. Michael Switow, *Memories of My Life*, typescript, 1937, JCC Naamani Library, 15.
77. Oral History Interview, Harry Switow; Switow, *Memories.*
78. The façade of this building was incorporated into the Galleria mall on 4th St..
79. Landau, 244-5; 1901 *History*, 79; *Encyclopedia of Louisville*, 525 (Kenneth L. Miller).
80. Encyclopedia of Louisville, 86.
81. Oral History Interview, Mutzie Friedman.
82. *Encyclopedia of Louisville*, 151-2.
83. *Encyclopedia of Louisville*, 104 (Kenneth Miller).
84. Landau, 206n; "History of Baer Fabrics," Author's correspondence with Stuart Goldberg, June 2003.
85. Landau, 249, 250.
86. Oral History Interview, Sarah Oppenheimer.
87. Landau, 248-9.
88. Landau, 249.
89. Oral History Interview, Morris Morguelan.
90. Oral History Interview, Bettye Tevis Wells Abramson.
91. Landau, 250; "The Codfather," by "KS," *Louisville Magazine*, March 2003, 41.
92. Oral History Interview, Helen Helman.
93. Oral History Interview, Hannah Bronstein.
94. From Charles Niren, in JCC archives, "The Radiator Core" May 1972; correspondence with Stuart Goldberg, June 2003. Louisville Auto Parts

was displaced by construction of I-65, and closed in 1981.
95. Landau, 250; Author's interview with Bert Klein, June 2003.
96. Author's Interview with Bert Klein, June 2003.
97. *Encyclopedia of Louisville*, 64; Landau, 251; *Encyclopedia of Louisville*, 485; *Encyclopedia of Louisville*, 295-6; Author's interview with Bert Klein, June 2003.
98. YMHA *Chronicler*, Feb. 1923, 13.
99. *Encyclopedia of Louisville*, 43 (Stephen A. Wiser).
100. YMHA *Chronicler*, June 1925, 3.
101. "Jewish Political State Discussed by Kadima Members," YMHA *Chronicler*, March 1921, 12.
102. "Palestine to be Restored to the Jewish People," YMHA *Chronicler*, Dec. 1917, 8.
103. Switow, *Memories,* 15-17; Oral History Interview, Harry Switow; notes prepared by Sonia Saag, Jewish Louisville Heritage Day, JCC archives.

CHAPTER 7
1. Oral History Interview, Arthur Kling
2. Oral History Interview, Alex Berman
3. Oral History Interview, Harry Switow.
4. Oral History Interview, Arthur Kling .
5. Oral History Interview, Irv Lipetz.
6. Oral History Interview, Bettye Abramson.
7. Herman Landau, *Adath Louisville: The Story of a Jewish Community* (Louisville: Herman Landau & Associates, 1981), 189; "A Century of Commitment," by Linda Stahl, *Courier-Journal*, Sept. 24, 1995.
8. Author's correspondence with Milton Russman, May 2003.
9. Sam Berman also said in his oral history interview that his family was too poor for scouting, even before the Depression.
10. Oral History Interview, Harry Switow.
11. George Yater, *Two Hundred Years at the Falls of the Ohio: A History of Louisville and Jefferson County* (Louisville: Heritage Corporation of Louisville and Jefferson County: 1979), 199, 194.
12. Herman Landau, "Kentucky Biographical Notebook: Arthur S. Kling," *Filson Club Historical Quarterly*, 59:1 (Jan. 1985), 68. Oral History Interview, Arthur Kling; Thomas, Charles H. "First Person History: the Old Thompson Block: A Touch of Bohemia," *Filson Club Historical Quarterly*, 71: 4 (Oct. 1997), 417; Author's interview with Suzy Post, June 2003.
13. Landau, 235; Author's correspondence with Phyllis and Michael Shaikun, June 2003.
14. Landau, 245; Heaven Hill "Corporate Backgrounder" information, 2003; interview with Kate Shapira Latts, July 2003. The company is now in the hands of the second and third generations of the family, including Max and Harry Shapira.
15. Interview with Herman Waldman, by Marcy Rosengarten, March 2003.
16. Yater, 200; John Kleber, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Louisville* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 296-97 (Aaron D. Purcell).
17. Landau, 4; correspondence with Milton Russman, May 2003.
18. Oral History Interview, Bettye Abramson.
19. Oral History Interview, Arthur Kling.
20. Barbara Zingman and Betty Lou Amster, *A Legendary Vision: The History of Jewish Hospital* (Jewish Hospital Health Care Services, Louisville: 1997), 49.
21. Oral History Interview, Hyman Gurwitch.
22. "Troop 30 Marks 75th Anniversary," *Community*, June 25, 1991, 5.
23. Oral History Interview, Harry Switow.
24. Zingman, 49.
25. Oral History Interview, Doni Greenebaum.
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Taped Interviews

[Note: There are two series of interviews represented here. The first series was done in the late 1970s under the auspices of the Oral History Project at the University of Louisville Archives. Many of these interviews were done by the project staff, and some are several tapes long. A few were transcribed. The second series was done by the Family History Project of the Jewish Community Center in the early 1990s by volunteers. These tapes are usually shorter in length. Some people were interviewed by both projects.]

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Doni Greenebaum, interviewed by Clarence F. Judah, 472-3:04/20/77.

Transcribed Interviews

Jewish Family and Vocational Service, Louisville, 2000-continuing. Questionnaires were given and the answers were recorded by volunteers.

Personal Interviews, Correspondence, or Information

Marie Abrams
Jerry Abramson
Minx Auerbach
Rob Auerbach
Mel Benovitz
Harris Berman
Todd & Jon Blue
Ann Bush
Aaron Chase
Jennie Cohen
Louis Cohen
Patsy Cohen
Alice Davidson
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Chet Diamond
Alan Engel
Randy Farb
Betty Jane Fleischaker
Libby Frank
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Allan Steinberg
Judy Tiell
Evie Topcik
Bernard Trager
Herman Waldman
David Weinberg
Frank & Ron Weisberg
John & William Yarmuth
Lior Yaron

Discussion Groups – two groups of friends met to share their memories for this project

Group #1: Jane Belker Shapiro, Steve Shapiro, Linda Baer Goldberg, Stuart Goldberg, Marty Snyder, Janet Lyons Meyer, Sonny Meyer, Judy Mazin Hummel, Dennis Hummel, Jane Goldstein, Marshall Kahn, Ivan Marks, Frank Weisberg.

Group #2: Brian Goldberg, Deborah Stein Goldberg, Scott Weinberg, Deborah Topcik, Sara Klein Wagner, Mona Benovitz Schramko, Maureen Heideman, David Kohn, Michael Cohen, Reed Weinberg, Craig Greenberg, Paul Levitch, Kate Shapira Latts, Jeffrey Goldberg.

Individuals and Organizations That Donated or Loaned Materials For Jewish Louisville Heritage Day Exhibition, April 2001, Which Were Used in Preparation of This Book

Adath Jeshurun Congregation
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Keneseth Israel Congregation
Temple Shalom
The Temple
Jewish Hospital
Jewish Community Federation
Eliahu Academy
Jewish Family and Vocational Services
National Council of Jewish Women
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Rayma Shuster
Leon Simon
Stanley and Rose Sosowsky
Donald Stern
Dolly Sturman
Evie Topcik
Mildred Weinberg
Max Weinstein
Frank Weisberg
Ron Weisberg
Lee Shai Weissbach
Melody Wolder
Betty Wolff
John Yarmuth
Judy and Bill Yesowitch
Alvin Younger
Previous Donors to the JCC Archives

PHOTO CREDITS

The Jewish Community Center Archives provided a majority of the photographs in this book.

Individuals and organizations which supplied images include Jewish Community Federation, Todd Blue/Cobalt, Jewish Hospital, The Temple, and many individuals who generously shared their private photographs.

The University of Louisville Photographic Archives provided images on the following pages: 49, 51, 53, 56, 57, 61, 64, 71, 74, 75, 77-79, 82, 83, 85, 100, 113, 122, 124, 125, 127, 128, 130-132, 135, 146, 152, 153.

Notes on terminology

This book uses modern spellings and transliterations of words (such as "Shabbat" instead of "Shabbos"), unless in a direct quote, in which case they appear as in the original.

All quotations are given verbatim, even when they include usages and grammar that we would not consider to be correct today. Any errors of actual fact in a quotation have been omitted or, in a few cases, corrected.

"Reform" in capitals refers to the organized movement; "reform" refers to a concept; the same for "Orthodox" and "Conservative."

Street names are given as of the time under discussion:

Green Street = modern Liberty Street (western end)
Fehr Avenue = modern Liberty Street (eastern end)
Walnut Street = modern Muhammad Ali Boulevard
Center Street = modern Armory Place

Nicknames for synagogues and temples – early/mid 20th century:

First Street = Anshei Sfard
Second Street = Brith Sholom
Third Street = Adath Israel
Brook Street = Adath Jeshurun
Cowling Avenue = Brith Sholom

Glossary of Yiddish/Hebrew/Jewish terms:

ark (in Hebrew: *aron kodesh*) – cabinet that holds the Torah when not in use.
Ashkenazic – of German or Eastern European cultural background.
Bar Mitzvah – first "aliyah" – call to the Torah, for 13-year old boys.
Bat Mitzvah - first "aliyah" – call to the Torah, for 12 or 13-year old girls.
bimah – raised platform in a synagogue or temple where the Torah is read.
chasan (hazzan) – cantor, leader of synagogue services.
cheder – traditional Jewish school for young children.
Chevra Kadisha – traditional burial society.
eruv – marked community boundary, necessary for Orthodox Jews.
gabbai – sexton, organizes Torah readings and synagogue service participation.
Gemillas Chesed – Free Loan society.
haimish – homelike, friendly.
hazzan – cantor, leader of synagogue services.
Kaddish – prayer said by mourners.
kahal - community.
kashrut(h) – the rules of diet given in the Torah and interpreted. through the centuries
kibbutzim – Israeli cooperatively owned and managed communities.
kippah, kippot (Yiddish: *yarmulke*) – traditional men's head covering, skullcap.
kosher – fit to be eaten, according to the laws of kashrut.
kosher-style – restaurant or deli serving traditional Jewish foods, but not under official kosher supervision.
kvetch – complain, gripe.
mashgiach – supervisor of kashrut.
mehitzah – barrier separating womens' and mens' sections in an Orthodox synagogue.
menorah – seven-branched candlestick, symbol of Judaism (the nine-branched Hanukah candlestick is a *hanukiah*, though often called a menorah).
mezuzah – small container for the *Shema*, a sacred text, installed on all doorposts and gates.
mikveh – ritual bath.
minhag – custom, way, tradition.
minyan – a group of at least 10 adult Jews meeting for services (Orthodoxy counts men only).
mitzvah (plural: *mitzvot*) – commandment, good action.
moshavim – Israeli collectively managed community.
mohel – specialist in ritual circumcision.
schochet, shochet – kosher slaughterer.
Sephardic – of Mediterranean or Spanish cultural background.
Shabbos (Yiddish) **Shabbat** (Hebrew) – Sabbath, from sundown Friday to sundown Saturday; work and many other activities are forbidden to traditional Jews.
shammas - caretaker of a synagogue building; also the candle used to light other candles in a menorah.
shiva – seven days of mourning after a death; mourners "sit shiva".
shonda – a shame, an outrage.
shul – synagogue, place of worship and study (literally, "school").
Talmud Torah – traditional Jewish school for older children, or Hebrew School.
tallis, tallitot, tallesim – prayer shawl(s).
tfillin – ritual boxes containing important texts that are wrapped around the head and arm during weekday prayer.
temple – Reform Jewish house of worship, term rarely used by traditional Jews.
tikkun olam – "healing the world".
Torah – scroll of the Five Books of Moses, the Hebrew Bible.
treif – not kosher, improper.
tzedakah – assistance to the poor or needy, literally "righteousness".
vaad – or Vaad HaKashruth, organization that supervises kosher foods, the mikveh, and other religious functions for the entire community.
yahrzeit – yearly commemoration of a person's death.

Appendix 1
Current Community Leadership

[Please note that the information contained in this Appendix has been obtained from the agency or organization to which it applies and/or other sources within the community. Every effort has been made to ensure its accuracy and completeness.]

JEWISH COMMUNITY FEDERATION

Board of Directors (2003-2004)
Jane Goldstein, President
Karen Abrams, Vice President
Alan Friedman, Vice President
Robert Sachs, Vice President
Lior Yaron, Vice President
Stuart Goldberg, Treasurer
Helen Sweitzer, Secretary
Marc Abrams
Ronald Abrams
Lee Benovitz
Gary Bernstein
Todd Blue
Britt Brockman
Lewis Cole
Kim Frankenthal
Frann Gersh
Sheldon Gilman
Jeffrey Glazer
Edwin Goldberg
Jeff Goldberg
Anita Goldwin
Joshua Golding
Toni Goldman
David Goldstein
Richard Goldwin
Eric Goodman
H. Philip Grossman
David Hyman
Alfred Joseph, III
Marshall Kahn
David Kaplan
Cheryl Karp
Harold Klein
Howard Klein
Herman Landau
Sanford Lapin
Kate Latts
Rabbi Avrohom Litvin
Victor Meyerowitz
Rabbi Stanley Miles
Lori O'Koon
Vicki Phillips
Rabbi Joe Rooks Rapport
Fanny Rose Rosenbaum
Marcia Roth
Susan Rudy
Denise Schiller
Lillian Seligman
Michael Shaikun
Julian Shapero
Steven Shapiro
Rabbi Robert Slosberg
Stephanie Speigel
Bruce Tasch
Rabbi Bradley Tecktiel
Gerald Temes
Edward Weinberg
Karen Weiss
William Yarmuth

Jewish Louisville Book Project Development Committee
Ruth Greenberg, Chair
Edwin Baer
Linda Goldberg
Marcia Hertzman
Herman Landau
Sonny Meyer
Milton Russman
Annette Sagerman
Phyllis Shaikun
Frances Skolnick
Shiela Wallace
David Weinberg
Morris Weiss, Jr.
Lee Shai Weissbach

Jewish Louisville Book Project Finance Committee
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Stuart Goldberg
Ruth Greenberg
Jessica Loving
Sonny Meyer
Marcia Roth
Maxine Rouben
Steven Sarfin
Michael Shaikun
Harry Shapira
Helen Sweitzer

Endowment Committee
Ronald Abrams, Chair
LouAnn Atlas
Minx Auerbach
Alan Broude
Lewis Cole
Maud Fliegelman
Sheldon Gilman
Edwin Goldberg
Stuart Goldberg
Toni Goldman
Jane Goldstein
Stuart Harris
Charles Koby
Robert Kohn
Arthur Lerman
Stephen Linker
Carolyn Neustadt
Mark Oppenheimer
Vicki Phillips
Bruce Roth
Martin Ruby
Steven Sarfin
Michael Shaikun
Steven Shapiro
Mark Switow
Frank Weisberg

Community Relations Council
Phil Grossman, Chair
Marie Abrams
Ronald Abrams
Peter Anik
Rabbi David Ariel-Joel
Margot Barr
Carol Behr
Betsy Bennett
Amy Benovitz
Carl Bensinger
Gregory Berman
Robert Bornstein
Lewis D. Cole
Jeff Davis
Julie Ellis
Norman Epstein
Harold Frankel
Jeanette Garber
Jenny Garber
Jenny Glantz
Marlene Gordon
Craig Greenberg
Mark Isaacs
Annette Kaplan
David Kaplan
Jon Klein
Susan Klempner
Margot Kling
Barry Jay Kornstein
Helene Kramer Longton
Allan Latts
David Leibson
Udell Levy
Alan Linker
Jessica Loving
Ernest Marx
Milton Metz
Rabbi Stanley Miles
Greg Nefouse
Peter Pearlman
Betty Pohn
Suzanne Post
Roger Prizant
Edward Rothschild, II
Kate Rudd Sarfin
Linda Schuster
Edwin Segal
Ellen Shaikun
Steven Shapiro
Rabbi Robert Slosberg
William Stone
Leni Sweet
Bruce Tasch
Rabbi Bradley Tecktiel
Maura Temes
Deborah Topcik
Sara Wagner
Shiela Wallace
Robert Waterman
Scott Weinberg

Staff
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Sara Wagner, Associate Executive Director
David Weinberg, Chief Financial Officer
Frances M. Skolnick, Director, Foundation for Planned Giving
Peter Anik, Director, Community Relations Council
Delores Gold Glazer, Director, Aging Services
Shiela Steinman Waller, Editor/Communications Director
Bonnie Schneider, Assistant Communications Director
Phyllis Shaikun, Public Relations Manager
Robin Miller, Campaign Associate
Kay Kauffman Hardy, Advertising Sales Manager
Deborah Goldberg, Advertising Sales Representative
Paula DeWeese, Senior Secretary
Mary Jean Timmel, Secretary
Amy G. Lawson, Secretary
Carolyn Roberts, Secretary
Kathy Luxemburger, Accounting
E. J. Owsley, Accounting
Shari Beavin, Accounting

Kentuckiana Board of Rabbis and Cantors
Rabbi Bradley C. Tecktiel, Keneseth Israel, President
Rabbi David Ariel-Joel, The Temple
Rabbi Sharon Cohen, Ohavay Zion, Lexington, KY
Rabbi Chester B. Diamond, The Temple
Rabbi Barry Friedman, Temple Adath B'nai, Evansville, IN
Cantor David Lipp, Adath Jeshurun
Rabbi Laura Metzger, Adath Jeshurun
Rabbi Stanley Miles, Temple Shalom
Rabbi Andrew Pepperstone, Keneseth Israel
Hazzan Paula S. Pepperstone, Keneseth Israel
Rabbi Joe Rooks Rapport, The Temple
Rabbi Gaylia R. Rooks, The Temple
Rabbi Nadia Siritsky, The Temple
Rabbi Robert Slosberg, Adath Jeshurun

Adath Jeshurun Congregation Board of Trustees
Robert Slosberg, Rabbi
David Lipp, Cantor
Ralph Green, President
Jonathan Blue, Vice President, Fundraising Chair
E. Britt Brockman, Vice President
Elaine Stauble, Vice President, Social Events Chair
Janet Levitan, Secretary
David Handmaker, Treasurer
Doug Sharps, Assistant Treasurer
Samuel Gordon, Cemetery Warden
Stephen J. Evans, Assistant Cemetery Warden
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Ellyn Berman
Judith Boggs
H. Edwin Bornstein, Past President
Shifrah Bornstein
David Carney, Past President
Martin Carney
Stephen Evans, Past President
Stuart Frankenthal, Past President
Harry Geller
Amy Gilbert
Sheldon Gilman, Past President
Susan Griffin
Muriel Handmaker
Joy H. Haskell
Jonathan Hodes
Barbara Isaacs Hymson
Frank Kasdan
Laura R. Klein
Arnold Levitz
Esther Levitz
Connie Moser
Kenneth Richter
Elliott Rosengarten, Past President
Armand Rothschild
Felice Sachs, Past President
Robert Sachs, Past President
Farrell Salzman, Past President
Barry Schermer, Past President
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Raymond Schwartz, Past President
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Fred Seifer
Alan Slyn
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Donald Stern, Past President
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Bruce Tasch, Past President
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William Yesowitch, Vice President
Stuart Harris, Treasurer
Simon Wolf, Secretary
Toby L. Horvitz, Cemetery Warden
Judy Berman
Jerry Fleischer
Coleman Friedman
Bonnie Cohen
Richard DuBou
Hindie Hyman
Rabbi Yosef Levy
Allen Moskowitz
Shirley Perchik
Sidney Perchik
Leon Simon
Adele Singer
Ronald Snyder
Sharon Stone
Mark Weiss

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Hazzan Paula Pepperstone, Cantor
Harry Shapira, President
Yael Melzer, Vice President
Nathan Goldman, Vice President
Barbara Kalef, Vice President
Murray Rose, Treasurer
Deborah Topcik, Secretary
William Benovitz, Past President
Harris Berman, Past President
Sharon Czerkiewicz
Norma M. Feldbaum, Past President
Rosalind Fishman
Larry Florman, Past President
Lawrence Fox
Paula Frank
Myra Goldman, Past President
Ruth Greenberg, Past President
Robert Kohn, Past President
Ivan Marks, Past President
Martin Marks, Past President
Rodney Marks
Zach Melzer
Allan L. Myers, Past President
Murray J. Rose, Past President
Stanley Rosenthal
Mayer Shaikun, Past President
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Stephanie Stein
David Weinberg
Faye Weinberg
Scott Weinberg
Gracie Wishnia
Jacob Wishnia
Sheldon Yoffe

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Stanley Miles, Rabbi
Mark Jorrisch, President
John Silletto, President-Elect
Linda Shapiro, Treasurer
Ellen Goldwin, Secretary
Kathy Karr, Vice President, Membership
Richard Goldwin, Past President
Al Ungar, Vice President, Fundraising
Joan Epstein, 2-year Trustee
Helen Wiser, 3-year Trustee
Michael Ginsberg, Generations Committee
Andrew Koven, Generations Committee
Tonya Michelson, Education Committee
Sheila Abramson-Miles, Educator
Richard Goldwin, Leadership & Nominating Committee
Margot Kling, Music & Ritual Committee
Hilary and Bill Easley, Tikkun Olam
Carol Savkovich, Communications & Marketing
Jack Satton, Building Committee
Ruth "Cookie" Honigberg, Youth Group
Sheilah Abramson-Miles, WOTS (Sisterhood)
Ron Leitner and Mick Savkovich, Brotherhood

The Temple Congregation Adath Israel B'rith Sholom Board of Directors
Joe Rooks-Rapport, Senior Rabbi
Gaylia R. Rooks, Senior Rabbi
David Ariel-Joel, Associate Rabbi
Nadia Siritsky, Assistant Rabbi
Chester B. Diamond, Rabbi Emeritus
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Janet O'Koon, Vice President
Debbie Perellis, Vice President
Mark Oppenheimer, Treasurer
Robert Waterman, Senior Vice President
Leslie Aberson, Past President
Leslie H. Aberson
Ronald Abrams, Past President
Jack Benjamin
Amy Benovitz, Secretary
Julie Benson, Past President
Jack Bergwerk
Bonnie Bizer, Cemetery Chair
Susan Blieden
James Davis, Past President
Ann P. Friedman
Arnold S. Friedman
Richard Frockt, Past President
Harry Geisberg, Past President
Leonard Goddy, Past President
Larry Goldberg
Toni Goldman
Irvin Goldstein

Stephen Goodman
Sara Gould, Past President
Kenneth Grossman
H. Philip Grossman, Past President
Karla Guess
Carol Heideman
Michael Heideman, Past President
James Hertzman, Past President
Howard Hess, Past President
Susan Hiken
Jim Hytken
Mark Judah
Marshall Kahn, Past President
Barbara Myerson Katz
Robert Keisler, Jr.
Robert Klein, Past President
Susan Lancaster
Milton Metz
Shelley Meyers
Jacques Morris, Past President
Mindy Needleman
Mercedes Nibur
Houston Oppenheimer, Past President
Daniel B. Penner
Ellen Prizant
Mark Prussian
Harold Rosen, Past President
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Marty Ruby
Benjamin Schaffer
Lillian Seligman
Ximena Valdes-Sessler
Ellen Shaikun
David Shapero, Vice President
Steven Snyder
Jerry Uslander, Vice President
Jay Waldman, Vice President
Barth Weinberg
Edward Weinberg, Vice President
Brian Yesowitch
Martin Zukof

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Aaron Chase, Vice President
Golda Litvin, Secretary/Treasurer
Steven Caller
Richard DuBou
Bruce Gumer
Stuart Harris

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Britt Brockman, Vice President
Harry (Butch) Schulman, Treasurer
Steve Sarfin, Secretary
Barbara Nefouse, Principal
Tracy Blu
Evan Comer
Rhonda Faller
Deborah Goldberg
Barbara Isaacs-Hymso
Mindy Klein
Paul Levitch
Sandra Meyerowitz
Bea Rosenberg
Rabbi Robert Slosberg
Rose Sosowsky
Brenda Spivak
Bill Yarmuth

Jewish Community Center Board of Directors (2003-2004)
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Shari K. Cohen, Vice President
Dennis Hummel, Vice President
Craig Lustig, Vice President
Lance Gilbert, Treasurer
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Mark Eichengreen
Julie Ellis
Jon Fleischaker
Mutzie Friedman
Jeanette Garber
Sean Garber
Estelle Garmon
Harry Geller
Steve Goldberg
Elise Goldstein
Sue Goodman
Marlene Gordon
Craig Greenberg
H. Philip Grossman
Stuart Harris
Cookie Honigberg
Debbie Hyman
Craig Kamen
Elizabeth Kaplan
George Klein
Laura Klein
Mindy Klein
Risa Koby
David Kohn
Andrew Melendez
Bruce Miller
Eileen Meyer Renco
Susan Rudy
Robert Sachs
Steve Snow
Susan Tecktiel
Scott Weinberg
John Yarmuth

Jewish Family and Vocational Service Board of Directors
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Lowell Katz, President Elect
Marjorie B. Kohn, Ex-officio
Gail Pohn, Ex-officio
Barbara Goldberg, Vice President
Jay Klempner, Vice President
Robert W. Riley, Vice President
David Handmaker, Vice President & Treasurer
Mark Ament, Assistant Treasurer
Eric Bass
Emily Benovitz
Julie Y. Benson
Lisa Bernstein
Jon Dubins
Simon Fields
Ann P. Friedman
Debbie Friedman
Jane Goldstein
Jordan Green
Richard A. Greenberg
Elizabeth Kaplan
Jon Klein
Richard L. Levine
Mindy R. Needleman
Suzy Post
Jim Potash
Judy Shapira
Susan Waterman
Reed Weinberg
Frank Weisberg
Bennie Zelkind

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Nathan Goldman, President
Joseph Castriota, Vice President
Harold E. Frankel, Treasurer
Barbara Kalef, Secretary
Rabbi Avrohom Litvin, Kashruth Administrator
Harriet Frankel Firkins
S. Philip Greiver
Jerry Fleischer
Larry Singer
Ray Kalef
Judy Berman
Jack Czerkiewicz
Ray Eva Lipetz
Rabbi Naftali Michalowsky
Martha Ziskind

National Council of Jewish Women Board of Directors
Sandi Friedson, President
Sandi Weiss, Vice President, Administration
Madline Abramson, Vice President, Community Services
Mindy Klein, Vice President, Membership
Mona Schramko, Vice President, Membership
Judy Borinstein, Vice President, Nearly New Shop & Fashion Encore
Judy Shapira, Vice President, Nearly New Shop & Fashion Encore
Sharon Berger, Vice President, Public Affairs
Harriett R. Behr, Vice President, Ways and Means
Ellen Rosenbloom, Treasurer
Lois Dunner, Assistant Treasurer
Helene Banks, Secretary
Sue Paul, Financial Secretary
Susie Pomerance, Assistant Financial Secretary/Retention
Elaine Weinberg, Advisor
Leni Sweet, State Public Affairs
Carol Leibson
Phyllis Leibson
Mindy Needleman
Cathy Schuster
Eleanor Schwartz
Jane Shapiro
Shane Shaps
Julie Strull
Susan Tecktiel
Pam Vitaz
Martha Weinberg

Louisville Hebrew School
Frann Gersh, President
Barbara Berger, Vice President
Ken Richter, Treasurer
Laurie Slafkes, Secretary
Samuel Gordon, Executive Director
Karen Abraham
Deb Amchin
Joy Kaplan
Kathy Karr
Sandy Lapin
Laurie Levin
Cantor David Lipp
Ronna Mark
Tanya Michelson
Sheilah Abramson-Miles
Rabbi Stanley Miles
Sue Paul
Hazzan Paula Pepperstone
Diane Richter
Dafna Schurr
Rabbi Robert Slosberg
Rabbi Bradley Tecktiel
Bonnie Walker
Susan Waterman
Beverly Weinberg
Dorrie Zimmerman

Appendix II

Listings of Historical Community Leadership

[Please note that the information contained in this Appendix has been obtained from the agency or organization to which it applies and/or other sources within the community. Every effort has been made to ensure its accuracy and completeness. In some instances, especially with regard to agencies and organizations that no longer exist, records may not have been available.]

Jewish Community Federation of Louisville Inc. Past Presidents
Charles W. Morris 1934-1950
J. Marshall Bensinger 1950-1952
Samuel J. Beierfield 1952-1955
Lewis D. Cole 1955-1957
Norbert Friedman 1957-1960
William S. Heidenberg 1960-1962
Herman G. Handmaker 1962-1964
Hugo Taustine 1964-1966
Phil B. Levitch 1966-1967
Joseph J. Kaplan 1967-1969
Murrel D. Klein 1969-1972
Fanny Rose Rosenbaum 1972-1974
Farrell E. Salzman 1974-1975
Stuart Handmaker 1975-1978
Frank K. Lipschutz 1978-1981
Toni G. Goldman 1981-1984
Allan B. Solomon 1984-1986
Michael G. Shaikun 1986-1988
Ronald W. Abrams 1988-1991
Marcia L. Roth 1991-1993
Edward B. Weinberg 1993-1995
Alfred S. Joseph III 1995-1998
Gerald D. Temes, M.D. 1998-2001
Jane Goldstein 2001-Present

Presidents and Board Chairs of Jewish Organizations and Agencies
B'nai B'rith Louisville Lodge #14 Past Presidents*
Bernard Berman
David Carney
Henry Frank
Bernard Goldstein
Sidney Passamaneck
Vic Rosenbaum
Leon Seidman
Erwin Sherman
I.M. Wabner
Milton Pearlman
Rabbi Soloman Roodman
Alvin Rosenberg, Jr.
Farrell Salzman
Michael Shaikun
Jacob Stein
Alvin Wax
Herbert Vine
Gerald Baron
Jerry Abramson
Bob Koloms
Robert H. Fine
Morris Borowitz
Alex Berman
Saul Anhouse
Les Aberson
James Davis
James Fine
Richard Heidman
Jan Morris
Bernard Bensie Fox
Lawrence Fox
Joe Fink
Stanley Loeser
Richard Shuster
Peter Pearlman
Norton Frank
Brian Goldberg
Joel Selker
Gary Anderson
**Dates of terms not available*

Eliahu Academy – The Louisville Jewish Day School Principals
Rabbi Theodore Charner 1953-1962
Rabbi Simon Murciano 1962-1968
Jay Yanoff 1968-1970
Samuel Gordon 1970-1972
Rabbi Hillel Smulowitz 1972-1976
Rabbi David Levin 1976-1978
Abraham Atkin 1978-1979
William Z. Swartz – Director 1978-1979
William Z. Swartz 1979-1985
Theresa Jensen – Curriculum Coordinator 1980-1984
Theresa Jensen 1985-1988
Yaakov Halpern – Director 1985-1989
Yaakov Halpern 1989-1991
Glee Snyder – Executive Director, CAJE 1992
Alane Goldstein 1993-1995
Rabbi Edward Treiser 1993-1995 –Director of Community Education
Barbara Nefouse – Educational Coordinator 1988-1994
Barbara Nefouse 1995-present

Eliahu Academy Presidents
Moses Speevack 1953-1962
Hinda Goldstein 1962
Myron Horvitz 1963
Theodore Schramm 1964
Felix Bronner 1965
Stanley Sturman 1966
Morris Yudofsky 1967
Myron Horvitz 1968-1972
David Carney 1972-1975
S. Philip Greiver 1976-1978
Abraham Rolnick 1979-1980
Sharon Gould 1980-1982
Richard S. Rosenbaum 1983-1984
Harry Shapira 1984-1988
Alane Goldstein 1988-1989
Sandy Berman 1989-1991
Jane Portnoy - co-chair Day School Advisory Committee 1991-1993
Deborah Slosberg - co-chair Day School Advisory Committee 1993-1995
Deborah Slosberg 1995-1997
Robin Wolff 1997-1999
Peter Pearlman 1999
Elaine Stauble 1999-2001
Jeffrey Glazer 2001-2003

Federation Of Jewish Charities of Louisville Presidents
Emil S. Tachau 1908-1910
Edward Sachs 1911-1912
Sylvan Kahn 1913-1914
Mose Grabfedler 1914-1915
Henry Klauber 1916-1917

Four Courts Senior Center Chairmen of The Board
Samuel A. Stern 1978-1981
Michael G. Shaikun 1981-1983
Betty S. Fleischaker 1983-1985
Laura M. Koby 1985-1988
Betty S. Fleischaker 1988-1990
Betty Frankenthal Behr 1990-1992
Laura M. Koby 1992-1995
Edward B. Weinberg 1995-1999
Harold F. Klein 1999-Present

Four Courts Senior Center Executive Directors*
Israel Silverberg
Herman Margulies
Israel Silverberg
Adelaide Shultz
Debbie Molnar
Larry Kirschenbaum
Marvin St. John
Peggy Howe Levy
Rick Hutchinson
Sharon Sizemore
Pamela H. Best 1990-2000
Deborah A. May 2001-Present
**No dates available*

Jewish Welfare Federation Presidents
~Name changed to JSSA (Jewish Social Service Agency) on 04/25/1950
Arnold H. Levy 1918-1920
Victor J. Burger 1921-1942
Herman G. Handmaker 1942-1946
J. Marshall Bensinger 1946-1949
Lewis A. Hirsch 1949-1952

Jewish Social Service Association Presidents ~Name changed to JFVS (Jewish Family and Vocational Service) on 03/29/78
Henry A. Levy 1952-1955
Abe Yoffe 1956-1959
Joseph Madalie 1959-1962
David Gittleman 1962-1965
Robert Loeb 1965-1968
Lewis Cole 1968-197
Shelton R. Weber 1971-1974
Julian Shapero 1974-1978

Jewish Vocational Services Past Presidents*
Edgar Bottigheimer
Joseph Kaplan
Arthur Kling
David Kling
Leonard Lewis
Howard Markus
Joseph Medalie
Irving Perlstein
Boris Pressman
Sam Rosenberg
Edward Rothschild
**Dates of terms not available*

Jewish Family and Vocational Service Presidents
Howard Markus 1978-1980
Mitchell Charney 1980-1983
Shirley Markus 1983-1986
Jane Goldstein 1986-1989
Robert Levine 1989-1991
Jeff Weiss 1991-1994
Lillian Seligman 1994-1997
Gail Pohn 1997-2000
Marjorie B. Kohn 2000-2002
Steven Shapiro 2002-Present

Louisville Chapter of Hadassah Presidents
Mrs. Jacob Ades 1919
Mrs. Sam Brodoffsky 1921
Mrs. Louis Isaacs 1923
Mrs. Barnett Linker 1925
Mrs. Mose Ades 1927
Miss Jennie Borenstein 1929
Mrs. Louis Perlin 1931
Mrs. I. C. Elman 1933
Mrs. Alex Berman 1935
Mrs. Max Waldman 1937
Mrs. David Cohen 1939
Mrs. Julien Greenfield 1940
Mrs. Louis Kleinman 1942
Mrs. Joseph Goldberg 1944
Mrs. Irving Sotsky1945
Mrs. C. E. Dickstein 1948
Mrs. David Bordorf 1950
Mrs. Abe Baer 1952
Mrs. Joseph J. Shapiro 1954
Mrs. David Greenberg 1955
Mrs. Morris Kling 1957
Mrs. Max Miehl 1961
Mrs. Julien Greenfield 1962
Mrs. Morris Pernick 1964
Bess Caller 1966
Mrs. Curtis Ehrlich 1968
Gita Comer 1971
Joan Stein 1973
Phyllis Grossman 1975
Shirley Schramm 1976
Anita Zeiden 1979
Roz Slyn 1981
Doris Benjamin 1982
Roz Nussbaum 1982
Ruth Rosenstein 1984
Susan Rostov 1986
Joan Bogarad 1987
Roz Slyn 1988 - present
Shirley Schramm 1988 – present

Jewish Hospital Board of Trustees Past Presidents and Chairs
Samuel Grabfelder 1903-1905
Charles Goldsmith
Samuel Hess, & A.B. Flarsheim 1905-1924
S. Frank Block 1924-1934
Arnold H. Levy 1934-1938
Isadore Hirsh 1938-1941
Bertram Strauss 1941-1944
Milton S. Trost 1944-1948
Saul B. Ades 1948-1953
Edgar M. Bottigheimer 1953-1956
Harry J. Klein 1956-1959
Edgar M. Bottigheimer 1959-1962
Sara Greenstein 1962-1965
William M. Flarsheim 1965-1968
Mason C. Cole 1971-1973
Robert H. Loeb 1973-1976
Frank K. Lipschutz 1981-1984
Shelton R. Weber 1984-1987
Howard J. Markus 1987-1990
Stephen A. Goodman 1990-1993
Marcia P. Schuster 1993-1994

Jewish Hospital HealthCare Services Board of Trustees Chairs
Frank K. Lipschutz 1983-1987
Stanley W. Bayersdorfer 1987-1990
Shelton R. Weber 1990-1993
Henry M. Altman Jr. 1993-1996
Martin S. Margulis 1996-1999
Martin H. Ruby 1999
Henry M. Altman 1999-2003
Julian L. Shapero 2003 to present

Jewish Hospital Medical Staff Presidents
Isadore Nathan Bloom, M.D. 1905-1907
Isaac Lederman, M.D. 1909-1910
Herbert Bronner, M.D. 1911
Siegel C. Frankel, M.D. 1926
I.T. Fugate, M.D. 1929
Lee Kahn, M.D. 1932
Morris Flexner, M.D. 1934
Henry Rubel, M.D. 1935
David Cohen, M.D. 1936
Karl N. Victor, M.D. 1940
J.W. Heim, M.D. 1941
Joseph Frehling, M.D. 1942
H.C.T. Richmond, M.D.
Max L. Garon, M.D. 1943
William Curry Martin, M.D. 1944
Morris M. Weiss, Sr., M.D. 1945
H.C.T. Richmond, M.D. 1946
Joseph Frehling, M.D. 1947
L. Wallace Frank, M.D. 1948
A.B. Loveman, M.D. 1949
Arthur O. Goodman, M.D. 1950
Armand E. Cohen, M.D. 1951
Harry Goldberg, M.D. 1952
Samuel S. Gordon, M.D. 1953
Meyer M. Harrison, M.D. 1954
Alvin B. Ortner, M.D. 1955
Max L. Garon, M.D. 1956
Abraham M. Gordon, M.D. 1957
H. Lester Reed, M.D. 1958
Abraham W. Krupp, M.D. 1959
Shelton H. Mann, M.D. 1960
Bernard Schneider, M.D. 1961
Harry R. Golde, M.D. 1962
Avrom M. Isaacs, M.D. 1963
Gerald Greenfield, M.D. 1964
Harold G. Eskind, M.D. 1965
Herbert Wald, M.D. 1966
David H. Neustadt, M.D. 1967
Warren H. Ash, M.D. 1968
Alvin Lebendiger, M.D. 1969
S. Pearson Auerbach, M.D. 1970
Leonard Leight, M.D. 1971
Harold E. Kleinert, M.D. 1972
Allan M. Lansing, M.D. 1973
Harold G. Eskind, M.D. 1974
Arnold M. Belker, M.D. 1975
Angelo A. Cilberti, M.D. 1976
Gary Fox, M.D. 1977
Ronald L. Levine, M.D. 1978
Martyn A. Goldman, M.D. 1979
S. Philip Greiver, M.D. 1980
William M. Moses, M.D. 1981
Abraham S. Rosenstein, M.D. 1982
Robert S. Howell, M.D. 1983
Harold F. Berg, M.D. 1984
Judah L. Skolnick, M.D. 1985
Berel L. Abrams, M.D. 1986
James L. Bersot, Jr., M.D. 1987
Mark S. Sexter, M.D. 1988
Theodore N. Lynch, M.D. 1989
Norton G. Waterman, M.D. 1990
Stuart Urbach, M.D. 1991
Joseph E. Kutz, M.D. 1992
S. Lyle Grahm, III, M.D. 1993
Stephan J. Sweitzer, M.D. 1994
David H. Goldstein, M.D. 1995
Gerald D. Temes, M.D. 1996
Robert L. Falk, M.D. 1997
Martha T. McCoy, M.D. 1999-2001
David R. Watkins, M.D. 2001
Lowell Katz, M.D. 2003 to present

National Council of Jewish Women Presidents
Mrs. J. B. Judah 1896-1910
Mrs. Henry Klauber Part of 1910
Mrs. L. Levy 1910-1912
Mrs. R. D. Bakrow1912-1916
Mrs. H. E. Ottenheimer 1916-1919
Mrs. Alfred Joseph, Sr. 1919-1921
Mrs. Jacob Zellner 1921-1923
Mrs. E. H. Wehle 1923-1925

Mrs. J. M. Fuhrman 1925-1931
Mrs. E. C. Kaufman 1931-1934
Mrs. J. M. Fuhrman 1934-1936
Mrs. J. Harry Rosenbaum 1936-1939
Mrs. Herman Handmaker 1939-1942
Mrs. J. M. Fuhrman 1942-1945
Jessie Grauman 1945-1948
Mrs. Marshall Bensinger 1948-1951
Ann Helman 1951-1953
Betty S. Fleischaker 1953-1955
Mrs. David S. Traub 1955-1957
Maud Fliegelman 1957-1959
Mrs. Max Bornstein 1959-1961
Ilma Hirsch Part of 1961
Mrs. Edward Frank 1961-1963
Minx Auerbach1963-1967
Mrs. S. T. Fish 1967-1969
Mrs. Lloyd Greenebaum 1969-1970
Carolyn Neustadt 1970-1972
Nancy Abrams 1973-1975
Marie Abrams 1975-1977
Jane Emke 1977-1979
Rita Steinberg 1979-1981
Jean Lee Bensinger 1981-1983
Marcia L. Roth 1983-1985
Renee Loeb 1985-1987
Elaine Weinberg 1987-1989
Lynn Meckler 1989-1991
Helene Banks 1991-199
Betty Pohn 1993-1995
Phyllis Present 1995-1997
Ellen Prizant 1997-1999
Shellie Benovitz 1999-2003
Sandi Friedson 2003 to present

Jewish Community Center Presidents
I. W. Bernheim 1890-1898
Norton Goldsmith 1898-1900
Alfred Selligman 1900-1901
Benjamin F. Washer 1901-1905
Simon Dreifus 1905-190
I. N. Bloom 1907-1909
Nathan Kahn 1909-1910
Herbert Bronner 1910-1911
Benjamin S. Washer 1911-1920
Charles W. Morris 1920-1923
Fred Levy 1923-1926
M. F. Marx 1926-1928
Arthur Fleischaker1928-1930
Louis Cohen 1930-1936
Joseph M. Frehling 1936-1940
Sidney H. Appel 1940-1946
Arthur S. Kling 1946-1948
Lewis D. Cole 1948-1951
Abe B. Berman 1951-1955
Joseph J. Kaplan 1955-1958
Samuel Steinfeld 1958-1960
Norbert Friedman 1960-1963
Morris M. Kling 1963-1966
Borris Pressma 1966-1969
S. Arnold Lynch 1969-1972
Charles L. Weisberg 1972-1974
David Kling 1974-1978
Joseph E. Fineman 1978-1980
Frankye K. Gordon 1980-1982
Marcia P. Schuster 1982-1984
Stephen A Linker 1984-1986
Edwin L. Goldberg 1986-1988
David J. Leibson 1988-1990
Arlene K. Kaufman 1990-1992
Jill E. Simon 1992-1994
Robert A. Kohn 1994-1996
Martin H. Ruby 1996-1998
I. Marshall Kahn1998-2000
Sandra B. Hammond 2000-2002
Howard Klein 2002-Present

Shalom Towers, Inc. Board of Directors Presidents
William Levy 1979-1981
Jane Greenebaum 1981-1982
Rosa Lee Fleischaker 1982-1985
Irving Lipetz 1985-1988
Rosa Lee Fleischaker 1988-1992
Sandra Berman 1992-1996
Anita Goldin 1996-1999
Edith Kling 1999-2001
Anita Goldin 2001-Present

Adath Jeshurun Congregation Presidents
Simon Shapinsky 1912-1919
Michael Switow 1919-1929
Sol Goldstein 1929-193
Simon Ades 1931-1935
Max Waldman 1935-1938
Murrel D. Klein 1938-1940
Sol B. Winer 1940-1943
Irvin Kahn 1943-1946
Fred T. Switow 1946-1949
Robert Berman 1949-1951
Hyman Frockt 1951-1953
Hyman Morguelan 1954-1955
Bernard Goldstein 1955-1958
Leon J. Shaikun 1958-1960
Harold Morrison 1960-1963
Alvin Younger 1963-1965
Stanley J. Bordorf 1965-1967
Albert Gordon 1967-1969
Stuart M. Schulman 1969-1971
Farrell E. Salzman 1971-1973
Julius L. Kozlove 1973-1975
Sidney A. Winer 1975-1976
Donald Stern 1976-1978
Barry Schermer 1978-1980
David Carney 1980-1982
Stephen J. Evans 1982-1984
Raymond Schwartz 1984-1986
Sheldon G. Gillman 1986-1988
Felice Sachs 1988-1990
Stephen D. Berger 1990-1992
Robert H. Sachs 1992-1994
H. Edwin Bornstein 1994-1996
Elliott Rosengarten 1996-1998
Bruce Tasch 1998-2000
Stuart Frankenthal 2000-2002
Ralph Green 2002-Present

Adath Jeshurun Sisterhood Presidents*
Bettie Ravitch
Dora Berger
Dora Simons
Mollie Hyman
Pauline Frehling
Hannah Hausman
Rebecca Linker
Annie Switow
Annie Seidenman
Clarabel Shapinsky
Rose Slote
Minnie Miller
Minnie Shapero
Irene Gould
Julia Fine
Betty Bernstein
Nettie Schwartz
Yetta Waldman
Tillie Cohen
Sylvia Gittleman
Mary Robenson
Ruth Mattson
Margery Belker
Ruth Mattson
Sylvia Gittleman
Margery Belker
Rosalee Herman
Yetta Abroms
Miriam Blue
Helen Goldberg
Bernice Ament
Gerry Eichenholz
Sonia Saag
Thelma Chase
Roz Schneider
Phyllis Grossman
Carol Goldberg
Stella Parris
Judy Tarbis
Renee Greenspan
Sylvia Kozlove
Eileen Churney
Sarah O'Koon
Barbara Gordon
Jackie Rubin
Stephanie Sarasohn
Beth Branson
Katharine Greenberg
Mindy Jaffe
Judy Boggs
**Dates of terms not available*

Congregation Anshei Sfard Presidents *
Simon Fliegel*
David Lynchiz *
Benjamin Cohen *
Jacob Brownstein 1892-1939
Nathan Baer *
Peter (Praidel) Greenberg*
Louis Brownstein 1939-1943
William Sexter 1943-1944
Isadore Ignatow 1944-1946
Carl K. Helman 1946-1948
Ray Baer 1948-1950
Sam Cohen 1950-1952
Herman Wasserman 1952-1967
Coleman Friedman 1967-1977
Myron L. Horvitz 1977-1979
Stanley Sosowsky 1979-1981
Harold E. Frankel 1981-1983
Stuart Harris 1983-1985
Roy Hyman 1985-1988
William Yesowitch 1988-1994
Jim Potash 1994-1996
William Yesowitch 1996-1998
Joshua Golding 1998-2000
Richard Dubou 2000-2002

Harold Frankel 2002 to present
**Dates of terms not available*

Anshei Sfard Sisterhood Past Presidents*
Simmie Baer
Sarah Wasserman
Eva Lerner
Bertha Levitch
Tillie Eichel
Ruth Sexter
Rosalie Sclarenco
Ann Snyder
Fannie Wolder
Blanchie Wasserman
Esther Zachariah
Esther Kastan
Natalie Wolder
Hazel Klempner
Annette Kramer
Anna Schwartz
Lil Schifman
Gertrude Mocerf
Reva Lee Strauss
Rose Goldberg
Charlotte Stern
Ruth Yudofsky
Frances Smith
Ada Greenspan
Anita Frankel
Betty Baker
Toby Horvitz
Sharon Stone
Sharon Gould
Deborah Roodman
Muriel Rubin
Judy Rothstein
Rose Sosowsky
Reva Lee Carrico
Bonnie Cohen
Billie Kelman
Adele Pearlman
Judith M. Berman
**Dates of terms not available*

Anshei Sfard Men's Club Presidents*
David Kramer
Ray Baer
Dave Ignatow
Sylvan Wolder
Edward Plotle
Isadore Ignatow
Albert Wolder
George Gibson
Hy Levy
Ben Kraus
Murrel Small
Irwin Cohen
Sol Schulman
Sam Rubin
Harold Zachariah
H.D. Berman
Abe Weiser
Sol Mocerf
Sam Deleon
Arthur (Skippy) Davis
Ken Satton
Harold Frankel
Peter Pearlman
Jack Satton
**Dates of terms not available*

Keneseth Israel Congregation Presidents
Leon Sher 1923-1931
Abe Zimmerman 1923-1931
Wolf Smith 1931-1932
Max O'Koon 1932
Sam Goldstein 1933-1943
Alex Berman 1943-1947
Louis N. Schuster 1947-1948
Sol Goldberg 1948-1950
Alex Bass 1950
Louis T. Roth 1950-1952
Morris Kleinman 1952-1953
William Benovitz 1953-1955
Leon C. Sherman 1955-1956
William Benovitz 1956-1957
Hyman Gurwitch 1957-1959
Isaac R. Gumer 1959-1965
William Kiel 1956-1971
Mayer Shaikun 1971-1973
Ivan Marks 1973-1975
Ben Shavinsky 1975-1977
Stuart Yussman 1977-1979
Harris J. Berman 1979-1981
Robert A. Kohn 1981-1983
Larry Florman 1983-1985
Isaac R. Gumer 1985-1986
Allan L. Myers 1986-1988
Jacob Wishnia 1988-1989
Elaine Lerner1989-1991
Stuart Yussman 1991-1993
Martin Marks 1993-1994
Ruth Greenberg 1994-1996
Norma M. Feldbaum 1996-1997
Murray J. Rose 1997-1999
Myra Goldman 1999-2001
Harry Shapira 2001-current

Keneseth Israel Congregation Sisterhood Past Presidents
Tillie Gross 1931-1933
Dora Fine 1934-1935
Gertrude Feldbaum 1936-1937
Sadie Kleinman 1938
Bess Harris 1939
Ethel Levinstein 1940
Stella Jacobs 1941
Jeanette Goldstein 1942-1943
Faye Davis 1943
Esther Zeiden 1944-1945
Pearle Waldman 1946-1947
Lillie Pearl Goldberg 1948-1949
Miriam Goldberg 1949-1950
Gertrude Feldbaum 1950-1952
Lillie Pearl Goldberg 1953-195
Miriam Goldberg 1957-1958
Florence Goldstein 1958-1960
Reva Rosenberg 1961-1963
Judy Gross 1964-1965
Rosalie Baizen 1965-1969
Norma Feldbaum 1969-1971
Mutzie Friedman 1971-1973
Myra Klein 1973-1975
Evelyn Lou Topcik 1975-1977
Phyllis Heideman 1977-1979
Davida Levin 1979-1980
Elaine Lerner 1980-1982
Barbara Kalef 1982-1983
Barbara Kaplan 1983-1984
Anita Zeiden1984-1986
Bertha Garber 1986-1988
Geri Anderson and Susan Morris 1989-1990
Sara Lee Goldstein 1991-1992
Anita Zeiden 1993-1994
Sara Lee Goldstein 1997-1998
Bertha Garber and Susan Morris 1992-1993
Kim Klein 1995-1996
Harriet Frankel Firkins 1999-2003
Harriet Levin 2003-present

Keneseth Israel Congregation Men's Club Presidents*
Lou Frankel1982-1989
Alec Fox 1989-1999
Eric Kreitman 2000-2001
Jim Reskin 2000-2001
Gary Levin 2001-present

Temple Shalom Presidents
Milton Greenbaum 1976-1978
Leonard Klein 1978-1979
Seymour Krinsky 1979-1981
Joe Wolf 1981-1983
Jack Silverman 1983-1985
Leonard Wexler 1985-1987
David Kling 1987-1989
Larry Cohen 1989-1991
Jerry Ran 1991-1992
Carolyn Vine Greene 1992-1994
Milton Greenbaum 1995-1995
Wesley Gersh 1195-1997
Alan Hyman 1997-1998
Richard Goldwin 1998-2002
Mark Jorrisch 2002-Present

Presidents of Temple Shalom Auxiliary
Alice Helft 1977-1979
Janet Greenbaum 1979-1981
Joyce Wolff 1981-1983
Beulah Berry 1983-1985
Esther Brown 1985-1987
Fran Wexler 1987-1989
Judy Sharp 1989-1990
Jolyn Levinstone 1990-1991
Sharon Ran 1991-1993
Esther Brown/Judy Sharp 1993-1995

Presidents of Temple Shalom WOTS
Esther Leah Nochlin 1995-1996
Sheilah Abramson-Miles 1996-1999
Nancy Redmon/Laurie Slafkes1999-2000
Sheilah Abramson-Miles/Beverly Koloms 2000-2003
Sheilah Abramson-Miles 2003-present

Presidents of Temple Shalom Men's Club
Barry Kornstein 1995-1996
Al Ungar/Richard Goldwin 1996-1997
Paul Gold 1997-1998
Jerry Ran 1998-1999
Mick Savkovich 1999-2000
Mick Savkovich/Ron Leitner 2000-present

Adath Israel Presidents
Abraham Tandler 1842-1846
Joseph Abraham 1847
A. Schwab 1849
S. Ullman 1849
M. Straus 1850-1851
A. Gerstle 1852
M. Lieberman 1853
M. Straus 1854-1856
Abe Gerstle 1857-1858
S. Mass 1859-1860
E. Hirsh 1861-1862
M. Goldberg 1863-1864
Jacob F. Bamberger 1864-1868
Nathan Bloom 1869-1872
S. Ullman 1873-1875
Levi Bamberger 1876-1877
S. Ullman 1878-1880
Julius Barkhouse 1881-1883
Samuel Henle 1883-1884
Louis Barkhouse 1885-1888
N. F. Block 1889-1893
Samuel Grabfelder 1893-1897

Charles Goldsmith 1897-1907
Louis Barkhouse 1907-1909
Abraham Levy 1900-1911
Charles J. Rosenham 1911-1914
Alfred J. Selligam 1914-1917
Ben S. Washer 1917-1920
William Trost 1920-1923
Isadore Hirsch 1923-1926
Emil Steinfeld 1926-1929
Lewis W. Cole 1929-1932
Charles W. Morris 1932-1935
William S. Heidenberg 1935-1938
Melvin S. Meyers 1938-1941
Stuart G. Levy 1941-1944
Gilbert S. Ades 1944-1947
Frank W. Fleischaker 1947-1950
Sol W. Marx 1950-1953
Sam Levy 1953-1955
Samuel H. Klein 1955-1957
Charles V. Lorch 1957-1959
S. Arnold Lynch 1959-1961
Stuart G. Levy, Jr. 1961-1963
Harold Rosen 1963-1965
Mortimer Goldsmith 1965-1967
Arthur Klein 1967-1968
Howard Hess 1969-1971
Samuel Gordon 1971-1973
Harry Geisberg 1973-1975
Phillip Flarsheim 1975-1976
Phillip Flarsheim and Ronald Abrahams, Co-Presidents of B'rith Sholom 1976-1977

The Temple Congregation Adath Israel B'rith Sholom Presidents
Leonard Goddy 1977-1979
Jacques Morris 1979-1981
James A. Hertzman 1981-1983
Michael Heideman 1983-1984
Richard Frockt 1984-1986
Houston Oppenheimer 1986-1987
I. Marshall Kahn 1987-1989
Jerry Uslander 1989-1990
Edward Weinberg 1990-1992
Sara F. Gould 1992-1994
Jay L. Waldman 1994-1996
H. Philip Grossman 1996-1998
Robert Klein 1998-2000
Julie Benson 2000-2001
David Shapero 2001-2002
Greg Nefouse 2002-Present

B'rith Sholom Presidents
Henry Shoninger 1880-1884
Abraham Lederman 1884-1894
Joseph Newberger 1894-1896
Sam Weis 1896-1901
Solomon A. Hilpp 1901-1906
Hilmar Ehrman 1906-1910
Solomon A. Hilpp 1910-1911
Nat Hoenig 1911-1913
Hilmar Ehrman 1913-1915
Moritz Mayer 1915-1917
Morris M. Kling 1919-1920
Henry Fleischaker 1920-1921
Henry Mueller 1921-1924
Ben Rosenbaum 1924-1927
Joseph Lang 1927-1929
Jacob Isaacs 1929-1931
Edward Brooks 1931-1932
Maurice L. Garfein 1932-1934
William Frentz 1934-1936
J. Irwin Essig 1936-1938
Ben Rosenbaum 1938-1944
Maurice L. Garfein 1944-1945
Charles Z. Mueller 1945-1946
Hugo Taustine 1946-1951
Stanley Lowenstein 1951-1953
Joseph Fleischaker 1953-1956
Zach Oppenheimer 1956-1958
Morris Kling 1958-1961
Ed Winkler 1961-1964
Sidney Baer 1964-1966
James S. Davis 1966-1967
Zach Oppenheimer 1968-1969
Sam Fishman 1969-1971
Milton Berman 1971-1973
Leslie Aberson 1973-1975
Ronald Abrams 1975-1976
Ronald Abrams and Phil Flarsheim Co-Presidents for B'rith Sholom 1976-1977

The Temple Sisterhood Presidents
Marcia Hertzman 1977-1979
Joan G. Lynch 1979-1981
Lynn Goddy/Gail Schwartz 1981-1983
Beverly Shuckman 1983-1985
Susan Albert 1985-1987
Susan Abramson Lancaster 1987-1989
Aline G. Baer 1989-1991
Ann P. Friedman 1991-1993
Candy Harrison 1993-1995
Candy Harrison/Karen Waldman 1995-1996
Sandy Braunstein 1996-1998
Jean Eglinton 1999-2000 (November)
Jean Eglinton/Mercedes Nibur 2000-2001
Mercedes Nibur/Yvonne Wenger 2001-2003

The Temple Brotherhood Presidents
Ed Rosen 1977-1979
Gerald Uslander 1979-1981
Gerald Ehrlich 1981-1983
Greg Nefouse 1983-1985
Andrew Mellman 1985-1986
Ed Rosenbluh 1986-1988
David Simon 1988-1991
Ed Rosenbluh 1991-1993
Steve Silverstein 1993
William Braunstein 1994-1995
Jay Mills 1995-1997
Peter Pearlman 1998-2000
Jim Hytken 2000-present

Adath Jeshurun Rabbis
Simon F. Salinger dates not available
Herman Rubenovitz dates not available
Abraham Nowak dates not available
Isadore Schlossberg dates not available
Jacob J. Gittleman 1917-1965
Simcha Kling 1965-1991
Robert Slosberg 1981to present

Anshei Sfard Rabbis
Z. Klavansky
H. Leibowitz
W. W. Wulf
Benjamin A. Cohen
Charles B. Chavel
Solomon Roodman dates not available
Avrohom Litvin dates not available

Keneseth Israel Congregation Rabbis
Albert N. Mandelbaum 1927-1929
Ben Zion Notelvitz 1929-1935
Benjamin I. Brilliant 1935-1952
Baruch Rubinowitz 1952-1956
Milton H. Polin 1956-1966
Stephen Marcu 1966-1970
Irving P. Glickman 1971-1989
Chayim Seiger 1989-1990
Marvin N. Feigenbaum 1990-1991
Shmuel Mann 1992-2001
Bradley Tecktiel 2001-Present

Adath Israel Rabbis*
Leopold Kleeberg 1866-1877
Emil Hirsh 1877-1881
Adolph Moses 1881-1902
H.G. Enelow 1902-1911
Joseph Rauch 1912-1957
Herbert Waller 1947-1976
Chester B. Diamond 1966-1976

**Prior to 1849 Adath Israel had lay readers. In 1849 B.H. Gotthelf of Philadelphia was elected Hazan, teacher, and lecturer.*

B'rith Sholom Rabbis
Rev. E.N. Myers 1881-1892
Rev. Falk Vidaves 1892-1895
Ignatius Mueller 1895-1921
Jerome Rosen 1921-1926
Solomon Bazell 1926-1943
Alfred Barnston 1943-1944
David Raab 1944-1946
Martin Perley 1946-1968
Leonard Devine 1968-1976

The Temple Congregation Adath Israel B'rith Sholom Rabbis
Herbert Waller 1977-1987
Emeritus 1987-1990
Leonard Devine 1977-1986 Emeritus 1986-1996
Chester B. Diamond 1977-2000 Emeritus 2000 to present
Joe Rooks Rapport 1988 to present
Gaylia R. Rooks 1990 to present
David Ariel-Joel 2002 to present
Nadia Siritsky 2002 to present

Adath Jeshurun Cantors
Morris Pernick 1940-1970
Marshal Portnoy 1972-1994
David Lipp 1994 to present

Keneseth Israel Congregation Cantors
Abe Goldstein Thru 1950
Meyer Elias 1951-1980
Joseph Birnholtz 1982-1995
Elihu Flax 1995-1998
Hazzan Paula Pepperstone 2002 to present

Presidents of Louisville Hebrew School and High School of Jewish Studies*

Steve Berger
Harold Frankel
Frann Gersh
Myra Goldman
Dr. Ralph Green
Carol Klein

Presidents of Louisville Hebrew School and High School of Jewish Studies* (cont'd)
Marjorie Kohn
Sandy Lapin
Joanie Lustig
Jackie Rubin
Phyllis Shaikun
Erwin Sherman
Arlene Skolnick
Maura Temes
Sally Wax
** Incomplete; alphabetical listing*

APPENDIX III
Community Awards

[Please note that the information contained in this Appendix has been obtained from the agency or organization to which it applies and/or other sources within the community. Every effort has been made to ensure its accuracy and completeness. In some instances, especially with regard to agencies and organizations that no longer exist, records may not have been available.]

Jewish Community Federation of Louisville, Inc. - The Julie E. Linker Community Relations Young Leadership Award
Terry Herman 1985
Mark Isaacs 1986
Laurie Garron 1987
No Recipient 1988
Rabbi Stanly Miles 1989
Rabbi Joe Rooks Rapport 1990
Susan Albert 1991
No Recipient 1992
Peter Pearlman 1993
Audrey Korotkin 1994
Meg Goldstein 1995
Amy Benovitz 1996
Jeff Barr 1997
Udell Levy 1998
David Kohn 1999
No Recipient 2000
Jeanette Garber 2001
David Kaplan 2002
Deborah Topcik 2003

Jewish Community Federation of Louisville, Inc. - Ronald and Marie Abrams Volunteer of the Year Award
Herman Landau 1991
Rosa Lee Fleischaker 1992
Donald Stern 1993
William G. Levy 1994
Rose Jacobson 1995
Ernie Marx 1996
Ilse Meyer 1997
Carol Heideman 1998
Boris and Naomi Pressma 1999
Leonard Wexler 2000
Annette Gale 2001
Irving Lipetz 2002
Norma Feldbaum 2003

Jewish Community Federation of Louisville – The Lewis W. Cole Memorial Leadership Award
Laura Koby 1977
Mickey Heideman 1978
James Fox 1979
Stuart Goldberg 1980
Michael Shaikun 1981
Mitchell Charney 1982
Helen Sweitzer 1983
Stephen Linker 1984
Alan Linker and Julie Linker 1985
Jim Goldberg 1986
Siddy Eiferman 1987
Stuart Frankenthal 1988
Ralph Green 1989
Jenny Birge 1990
Stuart Pressma 1991
Peter Resnik 1992
Robin Miller 1993
Kim Frankenthal 1994
Sandy Hammond 1995
Bruce Miller 1996
Stacey Kohn 1997
Steve Snow 1998
Jodi Lapin 1999
Glenn Fine 2000
Lance Gilbert 2001
Howard Wagner 2002
Julie Ensign 2003

Jewish Community Federation of Louisville, Inc. - The Joseph J. Kaplan Leadership Award
Naomi Pressma, Prior to 1977
Stuart Handmaker, Prior to 1977
Farrell Salzman, Prior to 1977
Edward Post, Prior to 1977
Inge Ehrlich, Prior to 1977
Erwin Sherman, Prior to 1977
Donald Stern, Prior to 1977
Michael Gross. Prior to 1977
Leslie Aberson, Prior to 1977
Carolyn Neustadt Prior to 1977
Jay Jacobson, Prior to 1977
Susan Jacobson, Prior to 1977
Kenneth Handmaker, Prior to 1977
Gail Schwartz, Prior to 1977
Ivan Marks, Prior to 1977
Shelley Zegart, Prior to 1977
Ronald Abrams, Prior to 1977
Alvin Wax, Prior to 1977
Carol Heideman, Prior to 1977
Marie Abrams, Prior to 1977
Richard Bergman 1977
Maura Temes 1978
Mickey Baron 1979
Gerald Temes 1980
Marcia Roth 1981
Jerry Abramson 1982
Arlene Skolnick 1983
David Roth 1984
Shelley Kahn 1985
Alan Feldbaum 1986
Eddie Cohen 1987
Jill Simon 1988
Mickey Ruby 1989
Howard D. Klein 1990
Marty Ruby 1991
Sheri Roth 1992
Ken Grossman 1993
Mark Switow 1994
Robin Wolff 1995
Shellie Branson 1996
Craig Lustig 1997
Karen Abrams 1998
Joanie Lustig 1999
Heather Yaron 2000
Phil Grossman 2001
Mandy Vine 2002
Glenn Lipton 2003

B'nai B'rith Louisville Lodge No.14 – Person of the Year Award
Norbert Friedman 1958
Arthur S. Kling 1959
Joseph J. Kaplan 1960
Phil Levitch 1961
Morris M. Kling 1962
Lewis D. Cole 1963
Hugo Taustine 1964
Rabbi J.J. Gittleman 1965
Boris Pressma 1966
Fannie Rose Rosenbaum 1967
Max Waldman 1968
Edward J. Winkler 1969
Murrel D. Klein 1970
Sam Fishman 1971
Sam Steinfeld 1972
Sam Rosenberg 1973
Erwin A. Sherman 1974
Farrel Satzman 1975
Naomi Pressma 1976
Samuel A. Stern 1977
Charles Weisberg 1978
Bess Caller 1979
Irving and Helen Friedman 1980
William G. Levy 1981
Frank K. Lipschutz 1982
Stuart A. Handmaker 1984
Ivan D. Marks 1985
Toni and Martyn Goldman 1986
Stephen A Linker 1987
Marcia Schuster 1988
Michael Shaikun 1989
Joseph Fink 1990
Howard and Shirley Markus 1991
Ronald W. Abrams 1992
Jill Simon 1993
Jane Goldstein 1994
Betty and Gail Pohn 1995
David J. Leibson 1996
Herman Landau 1997

Joe Fink B'nai B'rith Youth Organization Community Service Award
Shannon Ginsburg 1996
Benjamin Weinstein 1997
Lindsey Weinberg 1998
Shannon Levine 1999
David Katz 2000
Jamie Snow 2001
Meredith Thomas 2002
Daniel Solzman 2003

Jewish Community Center – Arthur S. Kling Award
Bryna Woodman and David Wayne 1985
Annette Sagerman 1986
Patsy Jean Logsdon 1987
Jaye Sparber 1988
Estelle Garmon and Ruth Burke 1989
No One 1990
Scott Weinberg and Amy Eiferman 1991
Peter Anik 1992
Peter Anik 1993
Nathan Goldman 1994
Lynn Hamburg 1995
Marsha Bornstein and Frank Weisberg 1996
Slava Nedelin 1997
Eloise Stemmle 1998
Karen Edwards-Hunter 1999
Jeff Callam 2000
Frankye Gordon 2001
Mark Eichengreen 2002
Larry Mestel 2003

Jewish Community Center – Elsie P. Judah Award
Denise Wolff 1973
Rae Solzman 1974
Bea Rouben 1975
Elle Gold 1976
Else Eichhorn 1977
Herman Greengard 1978
Evalyn Weiss 1979
Luke Kleinsman 1980
Rosalie Fleischaker 1981
Estelle Garmon 1982
Grace Cohen 1983
Abe Hoffman 1984
Abe Jacobson 1985
Irvin Zegart 1986
Ethel Levy 1987
Esther Zachariah 1988
Ethel Cohen 1989
Ann Rosenbaum 1990
Natalie Rosenblatt 1991
Miriam Sherman 1992
Henry Witzer 1993
Milton Russman 1994
Sheree and Mike Zalampas 1995
Roselee Katz 1996
Sam Perelmuter 1997
Irv Lipetz 1998
Les Cohen 1999
Zelda Pearlman 2000
Al Goldin 2001
Ruthie Passmaneck 2002
Lotte Widerschein 2003

Jewish Community Center – Blanche B. Ottenheimer Award
Mayor Charles Farnsley 1960
Lyman Dawson 1961
Philip Davidson 1962
Marlin Volz 1963
Mrs. Dann C. Byck 1964
Barry Bingham, Sr. 1965
C. H. Parrish 1966
Rev. Monsignor Alfred S. Horrigan 1967
Lee B. Thomas, Jr. 1968
Arthur S. Kling 1969
Dorcas Ruthenberg 1970
Lewis D. Cole (Chair 1976) 1971
Woodrow Strickler 1972
J. VanDyke Norman, Jr. 1973
John H. Hardwick 1974
Fanny Rose Rosenbaum 1975
Lyman T. Johnson 1976
Clarence F. Judah 1977
Sister Eileen Egan 1978
Maurice D. S. Johnson 1979
Sara H. Landau 1980
Rev. Stanley A. Schmidt 1981
Herbert Waller (Chair 1985) 1982
David A. Jones 1983
Eugene Petrik 1984
Jane Greenebaum (Chair 1988) 1985
J. David Grissom 1986
Wilson W. Wyatt, Sr. 1987
Irving M. Lipetz (Chair 1992) 1988
Alexander W. Erlen (Chair 1990) 1989
Charles L. Weisberg (Chair 1991) 1990
Mason C. Rudd (Chair 1993) 1991
Woodford R. Porter, Sr. 1992
H. Charles Grawemeyer 1993
Honorable Jerry Abramson 1994
Arthur M. Walters 1995
Betty Jane Fleischaker 1996
Honorable Romano L. Mazzoli 1997
Suzy Post 1998
Marie Abrams 1999
Hank Wagner 2000
William E. Summers, IV 2001
Minx Auerbach 2002
Gerald Temes 2003

Jewish Community Center – Stacy Marks Nisenbaum Leadership Award
Noah Simon 1990
Elisia Cohen 1991
Jamie Baron 1992
Shannon Ginsberg 1993
Allison Cohen 1994
Lori Levinstone 1995
Shaina Geron 1996
Adam Anderson 1997
Nadav Klugman 1998
Rachel Ament 1999
Adam Rowe 2000
Krissy Harrison 2001
Scott Goldman 2003

Jewish Community Center – Ellen Faye Garmon Memorial Youth Service Award
Shelley Frockt 1969
Helen Rosenblatt 1970
Bobbi Katz 1971
Paula Rubin 1972
Joan Michel 1973
Shelley Spivak 1974
Rachel Hertzman 1975
Anita Bloch 1976
Leslie Michelson 1977
Sherry Silon 1978
Beth Abrams 1979
Iris Shaffer 1980
Frances M. Skolnick 1981
Melissa Gordon 1982
Sara Klein 1982
Susan Skolnick 1983
Susan Sherman 1984
Hillary Gordon 1985
Melissa Weiss 1986
Hope Shaffer 1986
Holly Steinberg 1987
Gwen Shaffer 1988
Jennifer Greenberg 1988
Denise Kohn 1989
Melissa Gordon 1990
Tracey Bowen 1991
Wendy Seligman 1992
Deborah Topcik 1993
Leigh Seligman 1994
Slava Lipskiy 1995
Lindsey Weinberg 1996
Ayelet Blumberg 1997
Jaime Snow 1998
Meredith Thomas 1999
Joel Zimmerman 2000
Daniel Solzman 2001
Shana Honigberg 2002
Allison Cooper 2003

Jewish Community Center – Jewish Sports Hall of Fame Inductees
Raymond Baer 1995
Sonny Bass 1995
David Rubenstein 1995
Justice Samuel Steinfeld 1995
Maurice Richlin 1995
Albert Wolff 1995
Evelyn Simon 1996
Maxine Cohen Berman 1996
Isaac "Ike" Gumer 1996
Charles Isenberg 1996
Jacob "Jack" Stein 1996
Susan Sweitzer 1996
David Gradman 1997
Morris "Poachy" Marks 1997
Morris Morguelan 1997
Carol Fleischaker 1997
Irv Zeitman 1998
Max Weinstein 1998
Gail Schwartz 1998
Jon Fleischaker 1998
Earle Grabfelder 2000
Mitch Netter 2000
Richard Rubenstein 2000
Rudy Cooper 2000
Fred Michels 2002
Jill Hertzman Prolman 2002

Jewish Community Center – Past Youth Sports Award Winners
Ryan Bowen 1995
Daniel Goldstein 1996
Alexandra Lutnick 1996
Michael C. Davis 1997
Scot Corson 1998
Adam Anderson 2000
Shanna Engel 2000
Nancy Benovitz 2002
Benjamin Grafchik 2002

Jewish Community Center and B'nai B'rith Youth Organization – Stuart Pressma JCC Student Senior Leadership Award
Darren Carrico, Shaina Geron, Kim Hendler, Shannon Levine, Peri Schultz, Laura Weinstein 1999
Rebecca Easley, Shira Easley, Kelly Finerty 2000
Rebecca Katz, Adam Rowe Katie Ruby, Julie Sarasohn, Jamie Snow 2001
Nancy Benovitz, Travis Haynes, Stephanie Kushman, Rachel Maya, Michael Schultz, MeredithThomas, Jessica Waterman 2002
Daniel Solzman 2003

Jewish Family and Vocational Service – The Mary Gunther Memorial Award
Robert Tiell 1993
Tom Allen, Bonnie Lewis, Sarah Oatley, Helen Robertson 1993
Judith Cumbler-Judy Freundlich Tiell 1995
Tom Allen 1996
Patti Schiller and Ruth Farrell 1997
Judith Cumbler and Mauri Malka 1998
Tony Glore 1999
Irene Post and Tom Allen 2000
Irene Post and Phyllis Leibson 2001

Ellen Shapira 2002
Mary Cleary, Kay Stanton, Jennifer Ratoff, Janet Geurin, Alane Goldstein 2003

National Council of Jewish Women – Hannah G. Solomon Award
Jeanna Frank 1966
Betty Jane Fleischaker 1967
Til Meyer 1968
Helen Helman 1969
Minx Auerbach 1970
Maud Fliegelman 1971
Louise Flarsheim 1972
Fanny Rose Rosenbaum 1973
Minna Cole 1974
Selma and Arthur Kling 1976
Carolyn Neustadt 1977
Jane Greenebaum 1978
Alexander Erlen 1979
Carolyn Balleisen 1980
Marie Abrams 1981
Lewis Cole 1983
Irving Lipetz 1984
Rita Steinberg 1986
David Richart 1990
Jerry Abramson 1993
Marcia Roth 1997
Marsha Weinstein 1999
Ellen Prizant 2001

National Council of Jewish Women – Henrietta Herzfeld Award
Miriam Weil 1976
Sylvia Goldstein 1977
Ilma Hirsch 1978
Helen Helman 1980
Sonia Levine 1983
Marilyn Bornstein 1985
Jean Lee Bensinger 1988
Jane Weinberg 1989
Ellen Shapira 1991
Audrey Pohn 1994
Maud Fliegelman 1997
Shellie Benovitz 1999
Connie Fox 2001
Ellen Rosenbloom 2002

National Council of Jewish Women - Award for Emerging Leaders
Lynn Meckler 1988
Helene Banks and Carol Tullman 1990
Phyllis Present 1991
Joyce Finkelstein and Kate Rudd Sarfin 1995
Carol Leibson and Judy Shapira 1996
Sandi Friedson and Susie Pomerance 1999
Madeline Abramson and Jill Goldberg 2001
Judy Borinstein and Marlene Schaffer 2002



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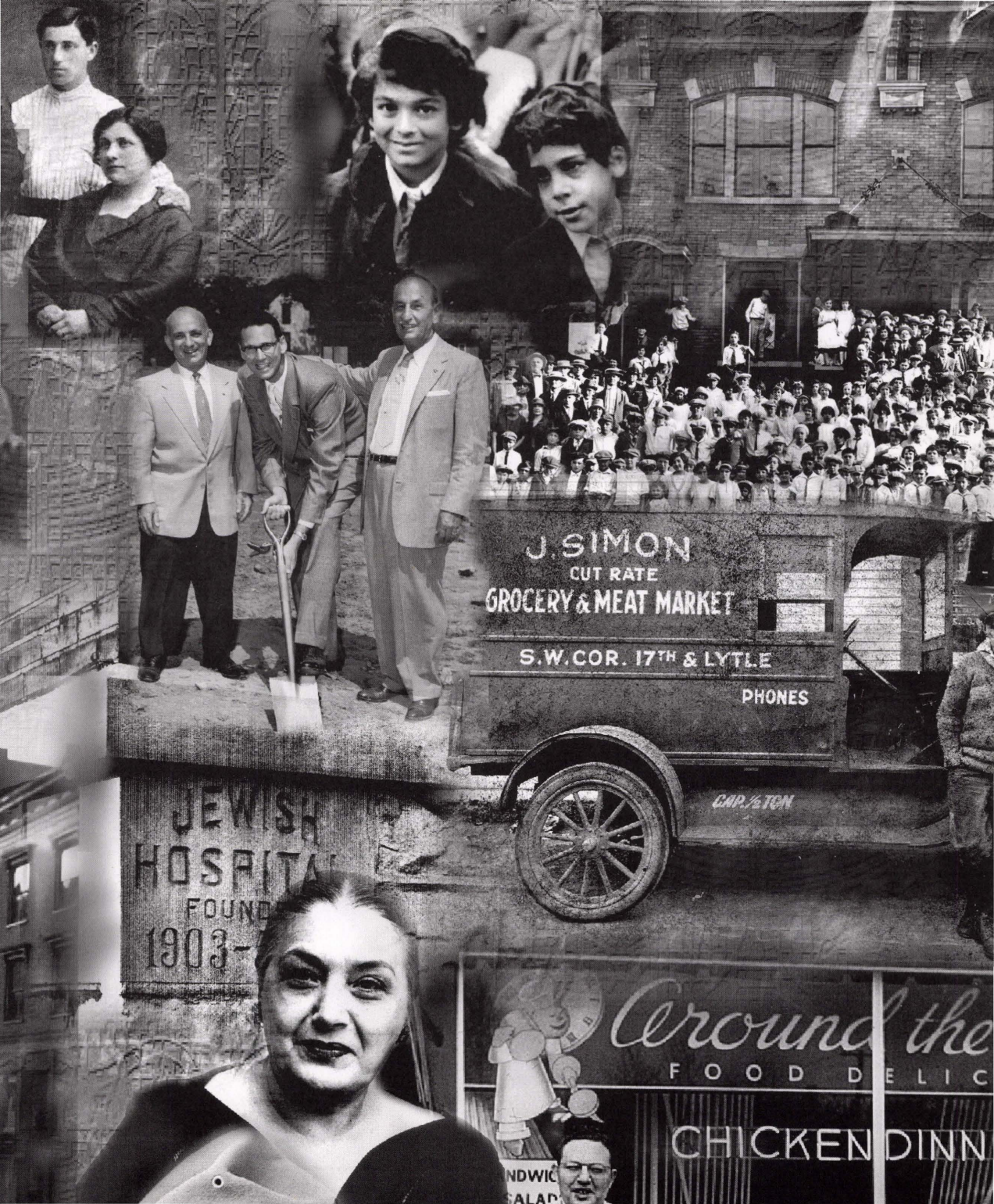
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