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*THE CHICAGO GHETTO.*

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BY CHARLES ZEUBLIN.

Two families constituted the Jewish population of Chicago in 1843, when the first refugees from the German persecution of 1830-1840 found their way to Illinois. The Jewish Colonization Society had purchased a hundred and sixty acres of land at Shaumburg, Cook County; but only a few of the settlers took farms. Those who located in Chicago organized the first Jewish religious society in 1845. The history of the religious organizations forms the history of the colony for many years. In 1848 a society was chartered under the name Kehillath Anshé Maariv (Congregation of the Men of Obscurity). The first religious services were held at the corner of Lake and Wells Streets. In 1849 a synagogue was erected on Clark Street, between Quincy and Jackson. It was from the ranks of the Kehillath Anshé Maariv Congregation that Reform Judaism in Chicago sprung. A few young men in this congregation formed a society called the Reform Association, to introduce changes into the services and doctrines. Unsuccessful in this, they seceded in 1861, and organized the Sinai Congregation, the first Chicago organization of Reform Judaism.

The location of the synagogues marks the region occupied by the Jewish colony. Before the fire they were situated in what is now the chief business district of the city. A whole chapter of social development

might be found in the fact that the leading wholesale houses of the prosperous and influential Jews of Chicago mark the former site of the homes of the refugees from Germany; while the earlier "houses of prayer," on South Clark Street, have literally yielded to "dens of thieves." The dispersion, which took place as a result of the fire of 1871, was already presaged by the removal of many of the Jewish families to the West Side, as is indicated by the purchase of a church building on Desplaines Street, between Madison and Washington Streets, in 1864, by the newly organized Zion Congregation, and by their removal in 1869 to an edifice of their own, at the corner of Jackson and Sangamon Streets. Previous to 1871 all of the synagogues, with one exception, were those of German Jews; and the exception was that of a Prussian Polish Congregation, B'nai Sholom (Sons of Peace). Although there were reported to be 12,000 Jews in Chicago in 1868, the recent growth of the present Ghetto is seen when it is remembered that it is composed largely of Russians; while at the time of this estimate of the Jewish population, there were in Chicago but 118 Russians of all faiths. The last item of interest in the present discussion, which relates to the colony before the fire, is the organization in 1868 of the Western Hebrew Christian Brotherhood. This is worthy of passing note, this proselyting propaganda of zealous Christians, because almost every effort to reach the "chosen people" as a people, and not as individuals, has been by narrow-minded theologians, who have been "instant in season and out of season," even to the extent of using the most pernicious methods of bribery in securing converts, thereby producing a social injury which it

is within the province of this article to consider. The official report of the "Brotherhood" speaks for itself. In 1869, at the first annual meeting, expenditures to the amount of \$1,457 were reported; conversions, four. At the next annual meeting, 1870, the expenditures were reported, \$2,375; conversions, none. If anti-Semitism has been escaped by the Jewish refugee, he has not failed to suffer at the hands of his "friends."

At the present time there is a greater and a lesser Ghetto on the West Side of Chicago. The wider circumference, including an area of about a square mile, and a population of perhaps 70,000, contains as nearly as can be estimated 20,000 Jews. This comprises parts of the nineteenth, seventh, and eighth wards, and is bounded by Polk Street on the north, Blue Island Avenue on the west, Fifteenth Street on the south, and Stewart Avenue on the east. The lesser Ghetto is found in the seventh ward, bounded by Twelfth, Halsted, and Fifteenth Streets, and Stewart Avenue, where in a population of fifteen or sixteen thousand, nine-tenths are Jews. There is no record of statistics accessible, either through the federal or local governments. Estimates must be made from election registration, involving much uncertainty.

The extent of the Jewish population has been greatly over-estimated. The present figures are derived by counting the Jewish names on the registration slips, and making the most liberal calculations possible. The number of residents entitled to and using the franchise is limited by the short period of residence of a large part of the population, the ignorance of the language among many of the older residents, and the presence of

an anarchistic contingent, which discourages many from voting who are nevertheless not opposed on principle to the ballot.

The physical characteristics of the Ghetto do not differ materially from the surrounding districts. The streets may be a trifle narrower; the alleys are no filthier. There is only one saloon to ten in other districts, but the screens, side-doors, and loafers are of the ubiquitous type; the theatre bills a higher grade of performance than other cheap theatres, but checks are given between the acts, whose users find their way to the bar beneath. The dry-goods stores have, of course, the same Jewish names over them which may be found elsewhere, and the same "cheap and nasty" goods within. The race differences are subtle; they are not too apparent to the casual observer. It is the religious distinction which every one notices; the synagogues, the Talmud schools, the "Kosher" signs on the meat-markets. Among the dwelling-houses of the Ghetto are found the three types which curse the Chicago workingman, — the small, low, one or two story "pioneer" wooden shanty, erected probably before the street was graded, and hence several feet below the street level; the brick tenement of three or four stories, with insufficient light, bad drainage, no bath, built to obtain the highest possible rent for the smallest possible cubic space; and the third type, the deadly rear tenement, with no light in front, and with the frightful odors of the dirty alley in the rear, too often the workshop of the "sweater," as well as the home of an excessive population. On the narrow pavement of the narrow street in front is found the omnipresent garbage-box, with full measure,

pressed down and running over. In all but the severest weather the streets swarm with children day and night. On bright days groups of adults join the multitude, especially on Saturday and Sunday, or on the Jewish holidays. In bad weather the steaming windows show the over-crowded rooms within. A morning walk impresses one with the density of the population, but an evening visit reveals a hive. As has been said before, however, this is not unlike other poor quarters. There are, though, some physical facts startling in their contrast with other districts. An interesting comparison may be made between the vital statistics of the seventh, sixteenth, and nineteenth wards. The figures of the Board of Health are not minute enough to enable one to compare smaller areas than wards, but these are sufficiently instructive. The seventh ward contains the largest Jewish population in the city. The sixteenth ward's population is chiefly Polish and German, which elements are also in the seventh ward; but in the latter they are also Jews. In the nineteenth ward, which adjoins the seventh on the north, and which in a homogeneous population could not be vitally different from it, there are some Jews, some Germans, many Italians, many Irish, and representatives of several other nationalities. The vital statistics ought not to be very different between neighboring wards with similar material characteristics, nor between wards composed of people from the same European countries and of the same social stratum: but the following figures speak for themselves.

In each thousand of the population there are:—

|           | OVER<br>21 YEARS. | BETWEEN<br>4 AND 21. | UNDER 4. | DEATH RATE. |                   |
|-----------|-------------------|----------------------|----------|-------------|-------------------|
|           |                   |                      |          | GENERAL.    | UNDER<br>5 YEARS. |
| Ward VII. | 600               | 300                  | 100      | 14.18       | 7.88              |
| Ward XVI. | 550               | 310                  | 140      | 19.46       | 12.24             |
| Ward XIX. | 600               | 310                  | 90       | 17.13       | 8.91              |

Whether it is due to his religious observances or his exclusiveness, the vitality of the Jew is incontestable.

A closer study of the institutions and habits of this community may give us a standard of judgment, a desideratum not only that we may do justice to the Jew in these latter days of anti-Semitism, but also because of the magnitude of the problem forced on the city and the country in the necessity of absorbing these foreign elements. Both by the persistence of their traits when segregated, and the readiness with which they assimilate when encouraged, the Jews furnish the most instructive element in our population. We shall find that although the Jew would be characterized by many Americans in the Shakespearian utterance, "God made him, let him *pass* for a man," the open sesame for the inhabitant of the Ghetto is, "God made him, *let* him pass for a man." Opportunity is what the foreigner in our cities needs.

So much has been written lately on the general features of Jewish life in crowded city quarters, that the reader's familiarity with these facts may be presupposed.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gregorovius, "Der Ghetto und die Juden in Rom" (Wanderjahre, i.); Booth, "Labor and Life of the People in London," vol. i. (chap. on the Jews by Beatrice Potter Webb); *Century Magazine*, 1892, "The Jews in New York;" Riis, "How the Other Half Lives," chaps. x., xi.; *Forum*, July, 1893, "The Russian Jew;" Zangwill, "Children of the Ghetto," 2 vols. Philipson, "Old European Jewries."

What are the habits and institutions peculiar to the Chicago Ghetto?

*Industrial.* The features of Jewish industry may be classified under the heads of stores and trades. The usual stores of the meaner sort abound for the supply of the daily necessities. The provisions of the "orthodox" are bought at "Kosher" (ceremonially clean) shops. It is needless to say that these articles are only ceremonially clean. The more rigidly "fromm" (pious, in the best sense) are very suspicious even of these stores of their own religionists. But one must eat. It is said that at one time the distress of the "orthodox" was great over the inability to secure meat which had certainly been prepared according to the Mosaic code. One of the philanthropic packers of Chicago came to their rescue by hiring Jews to slaughter a certain number of cattle, cutting their throats as the law demands, instead of employing the method usual at the stock-yards of striking them on the head with a mallet. He was thus enabled to satisfy the consciences of a large number of his fellow-citizens, and incidentally to sell his toughest meat. "Kosher" restaurants also minister to the wants of the Jewish community. These, when public, are only patronized by the more lax; many even of the indifferent or agnostic class preferring to eat where dishes are prepared according to their inherited tastes. The strict religionists, when not able to eat at home, frequent only private restaurants which can be fully trusted. These are not to be found opening on the street, but in an upper story, where privacy can be had, and the patronage is select.

The proprietor of the down-town clothing-store does



not as a rule live in the Ghetto. He, as well as the owner of the pawn-shop, lives over, behind, or near his place of business. This being true, it is hard to find a pawnbroker in the Ghetto. The scarcity of pawn-shops in such a poor district is one of the astonishing features. The greatest enterprise to be placed under the head of stores is the junk-shop. This assumes mammoth and vile proportions. An old storeroom, the cellar or the rear of a house, is made to contain a huge collection of promiscuous pickings which seem useless, but when assorted prove to have a value not to be despised. The pertinacity and vitality of the Jew are seen in his ability to labor in such disagreeable and dangerous surroundings, to put his children through such experiences with the waste and filth of a city, and bring himself and them out into a life many grades above the Italian rag-picker. The chief trades in which the Jew is found here, as elsewhere, are peddling, cigarmaking, and tailoring. The last is a sweated trade.

The most pitiable thing about the sweat-shops in this district is the oppression of Jew by Jew. Righteous recompense has disappeared when the trading instinct inherited from centuries of Christian persecution is directed to the crushing of "the weaker brother," instead of turning upon the persecutor. A pedler's license is the ransom of the unskilled Jew. This enables him to spend the day in the open air, though his lodging may be in no way more healthful than the sweater's den to which his fellow is doomed day and night. It makes of him also an independent capitalist, whose hoardings soon lead to an expansion of business, often to the detriment of the small settled traders. Peddling is an

individual benefit, but a social ill which can only be excused when contrasted with the slavery of the sweaters' victim.

In this connection must be mentioned the efforts of the Employment Bureau connected with the United Hebrew Charities, by far the most satisfactory and praiseworthy department of that organization. In the ten years, 1883-1893, there were recorded 5,457 applicants for work. Work was provided for 4,596; 711 did not call to know the result of the organization's effort; 120 were not found employment; 857 refused the work offered. These applicants represented thirteen nationalities of Jews, of which 2,733 were Russians, 1,929 from Germany and Austria. In 1893 there were 676 applicants from Russia, as compared with 580 in 1892, 342 in 1891, and 191 in 1890. Among the applicants in 1893, the occupations recorded for which no positions were available were, pedler, 44; merchant, 146; student, 10; distiller, 4; miller and physician each 1. It is to the credit of the unemployed Jews to say that while 191 applied for positions as laborers or porters, 364 accepted such positions. 76 clerkships were provided when there had been 88 applications. Of the applicants as bookbinders, cabinetmakers, coppersmiths, blacksmiths, tinsmiths, locksmiths, machinists, painters, shoemakers, tailors, jewellers, printers, watchmakers, iron-moulders, butchers, and furriers, only 20 out of 224 failed to find the employment they desired. This is not only creditable to the bureau, but shows versatility in the Jew.

In the year 1891 a society was organized to care for the large number of Russian Jews driven to Chicago by

the renewed persecutions. For eighteen months the Society in Aid of Russian Refugees succeeded in helping new arrivals, ignorant of language and customs, and without friends. The chief efforts of the society were directed to sending the refugees to homes in smaller cities or in the country. Nearly 1,000 persons were distributed in twenty-four States and Territories, of whom 129 returned unable to find satisfactory employment. The officers of the organization also found employment for over 500 persons during the brief existence of the society. The work thus accomplished during an emergency is a pertinent suggestion of a needful enterprise in Chicago and other large cities. The emigration societies of England accomplish a work which is, if possible, even more needed in the rapidly growing American cities.

The chief labor organizations of the Jews are the Cigarmakers' Union and the Cloakmakers' Union. While these organizations are taxed to keep wages above starvation level, they are composed of an unusually intelligent set of men, when their wages and hours are considered.

*Social.* The social institutions of the Ghetto are not numerous, but for the most part more helpful than similar institutions in other districts. Perhaps the most interesting is the latest acquisition, the Maxwell Street Settlement. At the suggestion of a prominent Jewish rabbi, two young college-bred Jews have taken up residence in the heart of the Ghetto. Another resident has been added since the work commenced. A private residence of a dozen rooms was secured, which has served their purpose during the initial stages of the work; but

its capacity is already taxed. The readiness with which the neighborhood accepted the hospitality of the settlement speaks volumes for the efficiency of the residents and the responsiveness of the Jewish community. The usual social efforts of a settlement are put forth; but, as is natural in a new enterprise, the best work thus far has been educational. Among the more formal social activities may be mentioned three boys' and three girls' clubs, with a total membership of eighty-five, who meet weekly to read juvenile literature; an older girls' club of ten members, and an occasional neighborhood social gathering. Owing to the unusual distress of last winter (1893-1894), some relief-work has been forced upon the settlement; but this has been done by a corps of visitors without in any way encroaching on the time of the other workers. The settlement is demonstrating the faith of a growing number of believers in the Russian Jew, that with the removal of the despotism of his native land his ambition and tenacity will make of him a splendid American, unless he falls a victim to the despotism of commercialism.

One of the indirect benefits of the settlement has been the organization of the Self Educational Club by some of the more intelligent, progressive Jews of the Ghetto, with a view to providing social and educational opportunities for themselves. Club-rooms have been secured at 572 South Halsted Street, and a genuine neighborhood guild is being developed. A musicale every Saturday evening brings the members together weekly for social intercourse. The club is supported by a membership fee of fifty cents, and dues of ten cents a week.

Metropolitan Hall, on Jefferson Street, is the dramatic

and operatic centre of the Ghetto. The contrast between this theatre and any other place of amusement in a district of equal poverty is another testimony to the latent tastes of the Jew. It is one of the best places to view the characteristics of the community, if, indeed, the amusements of a people do not always reveal the inner man relaxed as nothing else does. It is a genuine *Volks-theater*. One leaves America almost before entering the theatre. Large signs in Hebrew characters announce the plays, which are given on Wednesday, Saturday, and Sunday evenings. Twenty-five cents admits one to the best seat in the house. The floor is level; the stage quite a little elevated; there are *quasi* boxes on each side, and a well-filled gallery is seen in the rear. The decorations are abominable, but American and not Jewish. The only other American incident is the cat-call, which is periodically heard from the gallery on the appearance of the villain. The play, which gives a large place to the chorus, suggestive rather of the Greek drama than the opera, is genuinely Jewish, and the language, the Jewish jargon (*Jüdisch*). The better type of play usually narrates the experiences of one of the old Jewish heroes, portraying to the intense satisfaction of the audience his triumphs over one of the historic oppressors of the Jews. The poorer plays, which never descend to the level of the American farce comedy, to say nothing of burlesque, treat, for example, of the experiences of a recent immigrant in adapting himself to the customs of his new home. The delightful unconventionality of the place is well exhibited between the acts when the vendor of cakes and confections and fruits makes his rounds. The munching of these delicacies may then be heard,

accompanied by the explosions of pop-bottles. The noise of these latter falling to the floor often disturbs the more sedate in the midst of some very solemn part. To one who looks below the surface, however, there is almost unalloyed delight in the pure, simple amusements of these people, marred only by the regret that they are not hearing their old classic language instead of the frightful jargon. Were a beautiful literature being expounded by these earnest players and singers, the influence on the auditors would be incalculable. As it is, the presence of this theatre is a most hopeful social and educational sign.

Balls are not so numerous in the Ghetto as in other foreign quarters, but they seem to be equally demoralizing. There is a seriousness in the temper of these people which places some damper on amusements. It is also true that the home-life removes the necessity for public amusement so strongly felt by less religious races. The great centre for social influence among the Jews is the home. This is admirably illustrated in the devotion of the children to the home, even after they have lost the religion of their parents. Many of the agnostics observe the religious festivals which centre in the home-circle, simply in honor to their parents. It must of course be recognized that it is almost impossible to maintain the old family life in the environment of the factory system, dependent as it is on the surrender of the individual to the division of labor, with its long hours and employment of women. The astonishing fact is the preservation of so much of the tradition of the family in the face of modern social disintegration.

The synagogue is another important social centre. To

those whose chief topic of conversation aside from business is the Talmud, it is natural that the Temple should prove a social inspiration, especially on Saturday and Sunday. Even more important, because more modest and more numerous, are the Chevras, or smaller religious congregations. These meet in some private house or storeroom appropriately fitted up for religious services. On Sunday, as well as Saturday and Friday evening, the men of these congregations spend much of their time discussing mooted theological points. These religious bodies are a genuine social factor, although their influence is certainly for the most part negative, keeping the men from the saloon or similar social resort, but also hindering a fuller development of the whole man.

The social influence of the saloon is happily small. It cannot be ignored; but in summer a visitor to the Ghetto is struck by the numerous soda-water fountains, showing the general temperate character of the people. So far as the saloon is gaining strength it is in opposition to the traditions of the Jews.

*Educational.* The first educational force to be mentioned in an American city is naturally the public school. The school provisions in the Ghetto are lamentably inadequate. The insufficient accommodation and poor instruction of the public schools have been supplemented by a privately endowed manual-training school, the "Jewish Training School," which has already demonstrated the superiority of modern pedagogical methods, and is, in fact, the educational hope of the community. On Judd Street, between Jefferson and Clinton, stands a fine brick building, erected by wealthy Chicago Jews to overcome the chief deficiency of the

persecuted Jew, the lack of industrial adaptability. The building, which has a seating capacity of eight hundred, contains twenty-two rooms. The machine-shop accommodates thirty boys, and the joining-shop thirty-five. There are also moulding, drawing, sewing, and kindergarten rooms, and a physical and chemical laboratory. When the school was opened in October, 1890, there were sixteen hundred applicants, of whom eleven hundred were accepted; but lack of accommodation compelled the sending of two hundred of those in better circumstances to the public schools. Since then the enrollment has never been less than nine hundred. The school is not only accomplishing its mission in providing the much-needed manual training, but is doing what the public schools failed to do, destroying the prejudice in favor of the private schools, the "Cheder," conducted by inexperienced teachers, called by the children "Rebbi," but not to be confused with the Rabbis. These Talmud schools, which have not by any means been exterminated, are held in little stuffy rooms, where, with insufficient light, young boys ruin their eyesight over Hebrew characters, distort their minds with rabbinical casuistry, impair their constitutions in unventilated rooms, and defer the hopes of American citizenship by the substitution of Jüdisch for English. The able, progressive superintendent of the Jewish Training-School and his carefully chosen associates are a God-send to this people.

The Ghetto students who advance to the public high schools are a great credit to the community, one recently taking the highest honors in the gift of the West Division High School. There were formerly night sessions



held during the winter at the training-school, but lack of funds compelled their discontinuance. Many Jews attend the public night-schools; and the classes recently organized at the Maxwell Street Settlement are overcrowded, although but a very few deserted the public schools for them. Among the classes at the settlement are civil government, with an attendance of fourteen, meeting twice a week; German, eleven members, twice a week; arithmetic, fifteen members, three times a week; beginning English, twenty-five members, meeting three evenings a week; grammar, fifteen members, twice a week; George Eliot, fourteen members, twice a week; club on questions of the day, ten members, meeting weekly; book-keeping, eighteen members, twice a week; physical culture, eight members, weekly; and American history, ten members, weekly. A literary society meets every Sunday evening; and a concert is given on the first Sunday afternoon of the month, the other Sunday afternoons being devoted to lectures.

The settlement does not monopolize the literary activities of the Ghetto. There are other independent literary societies accomplishing a very desirable work. There is a society for the study of Hebrew literature. Lectures are delivered in pure Hebrew, and the minutes are kept in Hebrew. The Self Educational Club has classes in United States and Jewish history, civil government, English language and literature, French, physiology, bookkeeping, arithmetic, and medical and pharmaceutical Latin.

The synagogue must be mentioned as an educational factor, because the magnificent literature of the Hebrews is there brought before the people, whose literary taste

is well nigh annihilated by the frightful jargon of their daily conversation.

The Jewish papers, except the small number published abroad in Hebrew, are even worse in their educational influence than the American dailies, owing to the added demoralization of Jüdisch. All of the Jewish papers have a too foreign tone; but happily with the acquisition of English the Jewish paper loses its interest.

There are one or two reading-rooms, where, in addition to the current Jewish papers, much good Hebrew literature is found. These have doubtless a greater social than educational value.

*Political.* There are several "orthodox" Republican and Democratic clubs in the district, organized mainly through the influence of the ward "heelers." The recent Jewish immigrant seems to choose the Republican party. It is not easy to say whether the idea of protection attracts him, or, as has been suggested, he has become familiar with the term "republican" abroad as contrasted with monarchical, while "democrat" suggests social democracy and atheism. His choice is quite probably a sentimental one. At the opposite pole from these blind followers of the politician are the anarchists. There is quite a body of those whose memories of oppression form their present political creed. An agitation meeting is held every Sunday in some good-sized hall, attracting sometimes several hundred Jews. The anarchism of the leaders is almost purely philosophical, and the majority of the adherents manifest their belief simply by neglecting the polls. The socialists probably outnumber the anarchists by a very small margin. The leaders are blind in their devotion to the Socialist Labor

party, and bitter in their antagonism to the anarchists. They seem to be at present the political leaven of the community, because they, at least the leaders, have thought their way to their present position, and they are not merely dreaming, but are engaged in active politics, bringing every election not merely votes from the old parties, but new voters to the polls. They also carry on agitation meetings on Sunday; but their educational influence has been, until this year, limited by their bondage to Continental socialism. During the campaign of 1894 the socialists aided the People's Party. Politics cannot be said to be healthy while they are Jewish; but the great weakness of the Jewish leaders is their ignorance of English. Few of them can make a good address in English. It is some gain, however, to get the civic centre out of the synagogue; and it must be said of the radical political leaders, at least, that they are no longer the abject slaves of tradition.

*Religious.* The synagogues and chevras conserve the religious life of the majority of the inhabitants of the Ghetto. Their power is not so great as that of the congregations of the old Continental ghettos, or even those of the present London Jewish quarter; but no spark of Reform Judaism has yet entered. The long coats and the curls before the ears, so familiar in Europe, are seldom seen in Chicago; but the Jewish festivals are rigorously maintained, and the ceremonial restrictions observed even in the more prosperous families, where a Christian servant helps to tide over the Sabbath without sin as well as without physical inconvenience. Even the orthodox cannot deny the growing heterodoxy of the Jews of the large city, despite the conservative influence of the

Ghetto. On the whole, the religion of the Chicago Ghetto seems to have a hygienic value of a certain kind ; but its ethical significance is seen only in its effect on the family life, the larger social duties remaining untouched. One other good thing ought perhaps to be credited to a religious inspiration, — the charity of the poor Jews to their poorer neighbors may originate in religion or in race. At all events, the Ghetto rabbi is in no sense a minister. His functions could as well be performed by a phonograph.

The Hebrew papers also exert a conservative religious influence.

There is a Hebrew Christian Mission of some importance on Margaret Street and Fourteenth, near the western limit of the Ghetto. A neat two-story brick building is devoted to religious meetings, kindergarten, sewing-classes, and similar work, while the missionary lives on the second floor. Quite a number of Jews visit this place. The children are attracted by the friendliness and cheer of the house and the workers, as well as by the little forms of bribery that characterize such enterprises ; the older Jews, always eager for religious discussion, attend the preaching services. A small number of converts is made, some of them remaining faithful, but others undoubtedly attracted merely by the hope of employment or other reward. There can be no question as to the good intentions of these "friends" of the "chosen people ;" but certainly many Jews are pauperized by such efforts, as well as by the counter-deeds of zealous Jews.

The Maxwell Street Settlement and the Self Educational Club are religiously independent.

The evils of the Ghetto may be generalized under two heads, — the environment, including the wretched houses, narrow streets, and the conditions of employment, over which the Jews have little or no control; and the conservatism of the majority of the population. Their conservatism is being slowly undermined. The use of the jargon in their papers, conversation, the Talmud schools, business, and the political organizations, is being counteracted by the social and educational forces already mentioned, as well as by minor influences. The public schools ought to be doing much more than they are. Illiteracy will prevail so long as the municipal conscience slumbers. Nevertheless, the greatest need of the Ghetto is its annihilation. The forces working for good in it are such as are tending to exterminate it. Some of the brightest minds are leaving the community as they advance in professional circles, taking prominent positions as lawyers, physicians, and in the daily press, as well as in business. The Jewish Training-School is making an important contribution in preparing the coming generation for broader fields of industrial activity. The Maxwell Street Settlement is enlarging the social life and consciousness. The socialists are teaching social responsibility. Some of the native qualities of the Jew, such as love of home, seriousness, and ambition, are antagonistic to the existing conditions. It remains to be seen whether external forces will teach him to expand both his personal and social horizon, or lead him, as in the past, to draw himself within his shell. "The poverty of the poor is their destruction." The annihilation of the Ghetto means wealth to the Jew, the wealth of Jesus and Ruskin, that wealth which is life. But the

responsibility is not altogether or chiefly his. The qualities he is seen to possess, even under the distressing environment of the Chicago Ghetto, would enable any man to be free were opportunity free. If the versatile, tenacious Jew leads us to apprehend this fact, we may find that even social "salvation is of the Jews."